

Hope for breakthrough schizophrenia drug
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Why the US didn't need a Draghi report
JANAN GANESH, PAGE 19

Beirut blasts Second wave of explosions

An ambulance arrives in Beirut's southern suburbs near a funeral for some of those killed in Tuesday's pager attacks after a second wave of wireless communication devices exploded across Lebanon yesterday.

At least nine more people were killed and 300 more injured in the blasts, bringing the toll from two days of explosions to 21 dead and more than 3,000 injured. The militant Hezbollah group has blamed Israel and has vowed revenge against the Jewish state, which has not commented on the explosions.

As well as detonating walkie-talkies yesterday, there were reports of other electronic devices exploding, including rooftop solar-energy panels. Images circulated on social media showed buildings ablaze and bloodied people being rushed to hospitals.

Vulnerabilities exposed page 3
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Fidel Itani/AFP via Getty Images

Briefing

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The money manager and the technology giant have teamed up to launch one of the biggest investment vehicles ever on Wall Street, to build data centres and energy projects in order to meet AI-led demands.— PAGE 6

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Facebook's parent group is facing a big EU fine over its alleged effort to dominate the advertising market, as Brussels pushes to quash anti-competitive practices among big tech groups.— PAGE 8

Fed's half-point cut to interest rates signals era of easing policy has begun

◆ More reductions to follow ◆ First decrease in over four years ◆ Bigger move amid slowing job gains

COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON

The Federal Reserve cut its benchmark interest rate by half a percentage point yesterday and signalled more reductions would follow, launching its first easing cycle since the onset of the pandemic.

The US central bank's first cut in more than four years leaves the federal funds rate at a range of 4.75 per cent to 5 per cent. Michelle Bowman was the only member on the Federal Open Market Committee to vote against the decision, favouring a quarter-point reduction.

The half-point cut is larger than the Fed's more customary quarter-point pace and suggests the US central bank is concerned about the prospects of a weakening economy after more than a

year of holding rates at a 23-year high. The last time the Fed cut rates by more than a quarter point was when Covid-19 tore across the global economy in 2020.

In a policy statement yesterday, the FOMC said it had gained "greater confidence" about inflation, even though it remained "somewhat elevated".

Amid slowing job gains and a higher unemployment rate, officials noted the risks to achieving their price stability goal while also maintaining a healthy

Fed rate-setters said that they had gained 'greater confidence' about the inflation picture

labour market were "roughly in balance".

US stocks rallied immediately after the announcement. The S&P 500, which was steady earlier in the day, jumped as much as 0.9 per cent, surpassing the intraday record high it briefly hit on Tuesday. Treasury yields fluctuated between gains and losses after a mild sell-off before the announcement.

In the latest "dot plot" of officials' forecasts, most expected the policy rate would fall to 4.25 per cent to 4.5 per cent by the end of 2024, suggesting another large half-point reduction at either of the two remaining meetings this year or two quarter-point reductions.

Overall, that is a significantly larger reduction than the quarter-point cut projected by most officials in June, when

the dot plot was last updated. Policy-makers also expected the funds rate to fall another percentage point in 2025, ending the year between 3.25-3.5 per cent. By the end of 2026, it was estimated to fall just below 3 per cent.

In considering additional cuts, the FOMC said it would "carefully assess incoming data, the evolving outlook, and the balance of risks".

Yesterday's decision is a milestone for the central bank after more than two years battling inflation — and a significant moment in this year's presidential election.

Falling borrowing costs will be a boon for Democratic candidate Kamala Harris, whose campaign has been dogged by voter disquiet over high living costs even as the US economy has boomed.

The cut comes as Fed officials grow more confident that inflation is under control and turn their focus to the health of the labour market.

After peaking in 2022 at about 7 per cent, the personal consumption expenditures price index was just 2.5 per cent in July, closer to the Fed's 2 per cent target.

But jobs growth has cooled in recent months and other measures of demand, such as vacancies, have also slowed, even though the number of Americans filing for unemployment benefits remains historically low.

While the Fed has said it does not want to see further labour market weakening, it is also concerned about moving too slowly in loosening its grip on the economy by lowering borrowing costs.



Pakistan electricity crisis sparks Chinese solar dash

Debt laden grid ► PAGE 4

Google finds relief from Brussels heat by winning appeal against €1.5bn fine

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS

Google has won an appeal against a €1.5bn competition fine from the European Commission in a victory for the Big Tech group as it comes under growing scrutiny from Brussels regulators.

The EU's General Court said yesterday that while it accepted "most of the commission's assessments" that the search giant had used its dominant position to block rival advertisers, it annulled the hefty fine levied against Google.

When launching the action in 2019, Margrethe Vestager, EU competition chief, said Google had imposed anti-competitive restrictions on third-party websites for a decade between 2006 and 2016. She justified the €1.5bn fine by saying it reflected the "serious and sustained nature" of the infringement.

However, the Luxembourg-based

General Court found that the commission had failed "to take into account all the relevant circumstances in its assessment of the duration of the contractual clauses that it had found to be unfair".

The commission, which is likely to appeal, said it took "note" of the judgment and "will carefully study the judgment and reflect on possible next steps".

Google said: "This case is about a very narrow subset of text-only search ads placed on a limited number of publishers' websites. We made changes to our contracts in 2016 to remove the relevant provisions, even before the commission's decision. We are pleased that the court has recognised errors in the original decision and annulled the fine."

The court case is one of three the EU has fought against Google over the past few years, which have amounted to fines of roughly €8.25bn. Critics have said

that the market for online advertising has already been cornered by the tech group and that antitrust action had been too slow and ineffective.

Yesterday's loss comes after the commission scored a big win against Google in a separate case after the European Court of Justice said the tech group had abused its market power by ranking its shopping services ahead of competitors.

In that case, the EU's top court upheld a €2.4bn fine.

Brussels still has an open case against Google related to its dominance in the ad tech market. Last year, the commission threatened to break up the company as the only viable solution to address competition concerns.

The EU is still deciding whether to act and to impose further fines on Google, said people with knowledge of the case.

Meta antitrust threat page 8

Austria	€4.60	Luxembourg	€4.60
Bahrain	Din19	Malta	€4.20
Belgium	€4.60	Morocco	Dh50
Croatia	€4.50	Netherlands	€4.50
Cyprus	€4.30	Oman	OR1.60
Czech Rep	Kc130	Poland	Zl26
Denmark	Dkr47	Portugal	€4.30
Egypt	EE100	Serbia	NewD550
France	€4.60	Slovenia	€4.30
Germany	€4.60	Spain	€4.30
Greece	€4.30	Switzerland	Sfr6.80
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Italy	€4.30	UAE	Dh25

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Sep 18	Prev	%chg	Pair	Sep 18	Prev		Yield (%)	Sep 18	Prev	Chg		
S&P 500	5621.63	5634.58	-0.23	\$/€	1.112	1.112	€/\$	0.899	0.899	US 2 yr	3.65	3.61	0.05
Nasdaq Composite	17564.27	17628.06	-0.36	\$/£	1.321	1.319	£/\$	0.757	0.758	US 10 yr	3.69	3.64	0.04
Dow Jones Ind	41537.01	41606.18	-0.17	€/¥	0.842	0.844	¥/€	1.188	1.185	US 30 yr	3.99	3.94	0.06
FTSEurofirst 300	2036.25	2045.46	-0.50	¥/\$	142.020	141.705	¥/€	157.898	157.639	UK 2 yr	3.91	3.82	0.09
Euro Stoxx 50	4838.41	4860.78	-0.46	¥/£	187.629	186.860	£ index	84.589	84.637	UK 10 yr	3.92	3.84	0.08
FTSE 100	8253.68	8309.86	-0.68	Sfr/€	0.940	0.942	Sfr/£	1.117	1.116	UK 30 yr	4.42	4.35	0.06
FTSE All-Share	4511.60	4541.00	-0.65						JPN 2 yr	0.38	0.38	0.00	
CAC 40	7444.90	7487.42	-0.57						JPN 10 yr	0.82	0.83	0.00	
Xetra Dax	18711.49	18726.08	-0.08						JPN 30 yr	1.99	1.98	0.01	
Nikkei	36380.17	36203.22	0.49	Bitcoin (\$)	59679.00	60545.42			GER 2 yr	2.27	2.23	0.04	
Hang Seng	17660.02	17422.12	1.37	Ethereum	2298.50	2339.60			GER 10 yr	2.19	2.14	0.05	
MSCI World \$	3640.50	3640.73	-0.01						GER 30 yr	2.46	2.39	0.06	
MSCI EM \$	1090.51	1086.02	0.41										
MSCI ACWI \$	828.72	828.42	0.04										
FT Wlshire 2500	7247.24	7241.48	0.08	Oil WTI \$	69.43	69.96							
FT Wlshire 5000	56394.00	56344.20	0.09	Oil Brent \$	73.13	73.70							
				Gold \$	2574.55	2584.00							

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INTERNATIONAL

Sanctions regime

EU weighs more curbs on exports to Russia

Officials set sights on foreign subsidiaries of European companies

LAURA DUBOIS — BRUSSELS

The EU is considering extending its sanctions regime against Russia to include the foreign subsidiaries of European companies in order to restrict the flow of sensitive goods reaching the country's war machine, the bloc's sanctions envoy has said.

"A lot of the product going through China [to Russia] is coming from subsidiaries of western companies in south-east Asia," EU sanctions envoy David

O'Sullivan said at an event in Brussels yesterday. "We are focusing our efforts more on trying to stop the transshipment from there through to China."

Since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the EU has imposed 14 packages of sanctions against Moscow. These include export controls to stop Moscow procuring goods crucial to its war effort. The EU has also banned re-exports of certain sensitive goods via third countries.

But discussions on further rounds of sanctions, which have to be agreed unanimously by all 27 member states of the EU, have become increasingly fraught as countries find fewer areas on which they can agree without damaging

their own economies. O'Sullivan said that an extension of the re-export controls to subsidiaries of European companies was discussed at a meeting between business and European commissioners Valdis Dombrovskis and Mairead McGuinness last week.

"One of the ideas we had was to extend the no resale to Russia clause . . . which we now wanted to extend to subsidiaries," O'Sullivan said.

He added that "there was some resistance" from the companies to the idea, and that it was a "difficult conversation" as it would impact production in third countries that have not aligned themselves with the EU sanctions regime.

Discussions on such an extension are likely to be controversial among EU countries as it would cause significant burdens for the businesses concerned.

O'Sullivan said the European Commission was conducting an impact assessment of how such a step would work. "We may find ways forward in a future package," he said.

Two EU diplomats said that previous proposals to extend bans of re-exports to Russia had not been popular.

"The assessment might be a good basis for a new try," one diplomat said.

Olena Bilousova, a sanctions expert at the Kyiv School of Economics Institute, said that electronics manufacturers often outsource their production,

increasing the risk of their products ending up in Russia, which operates a vast network of intermediaries around the world.

"Stronger regulations for subsidiaries are crucial, but should also be paired with monitoring and holding companies to account for negligence," Bilousova said.

While such measures would extend EU sanctions, they would still fall short of the US system. The American authorities regard any product — even those made abroad by foreign companies — as potentially subject to their regulations if the items are produced using US technology or equipment.

See Opinion

Electric vehicles

Italian PM condemns Brussels' green rules for car industry

AMY KAZMIN AND GIULIANA RICOZZI
ROME
ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS
GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

Italy's Giorgia Meloni has lashed out at the EU's ban on the sale of new fossil fuel-powered car engines after 2035 as a "self-destructive" policy, vowing to get Brussels "to correct these choices".

Addressing Confindustria, the Italian industrial association, the prime minister yesterday called the "forced conversion" to electric propulsion of the EU market for new light vehicles within a decade "not very smart as a strategy".

"The green transition cannot mean destroying thousands of jobs, or dismantling entire industrial segments that produce wealth and employment," Meloni said, as she slammed the "disastrous effects" of the European "Green Deal" and its "ideological approach".

Her fierce criticism comes as Italy, Germany and some eastern European countries such as the Czech Republic — which makes car components — step up calls for an early, urgent review of the EU's car emission rules, which in effect amount to a ban on the sale of new combustion engines by 2035.

The rules, adopted in 2023, are among the most contested parts of the Green Deal, with carmakers — and the governments of car-producing nations — calling for a delay of the ban or more flexibility in the rules, including allowances for the use of carbon-neutral e-fuels.

"Europe is losing credibility because it is setting targets that it cannot even achieve itself," said Volker Wissing, Germany's transport minister this week.

Brussels can review the legislation in 2026, prompting conservative lawmakers — including members of European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen's own European People's party — to ask Brussels to use that opportunity to rethink the ban.

Italy is pushing for the review process to be brought forward to next year, as its own car industry faces collapsing production amid muted consumer demand for electric vehicles.

According to the National Auto Industry Supply Chain Association — which represents Italy's car and component makers — just 225,000 passenger cars were produced in Italy in the first seven months of 2024, down 35.5 per cent on the same period last year.

"The Green Deal as it was designed has failed," Adolfo Urso, Italian industry minister, told a recent business forum. "The European auto industry is collapsing. Decisions have to be made. We cannot wait two years."

Meloni argued that the EU should have followed a principle of technological neutrality, allowing each member state to define their own tactics for cutting CO₂ emissions, rather than prescribing a wholesale switch to EVs.

"We want to defend European industrial capacity," she said, arguing that "we do not own the raw materials and do not control the value chain" for EVs.

But Teresa Ribera, the EU's presumptive new executive vice-president overseeing green policy, told the Financial Times that setting the phaseout date for combustion engines from 2035 had given the European car industry the "stability and reliability" they needed to build up the EV ecosystem.

Politics. Dissidents

Hammer attack claims split opposition to Putin

Allegations that a fellow activist targeted a former Navalny aide divide anti-Kremlin groups

POLINA IVANOVA

For months, staff of late Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny believed a gruesome hammer attack in Lithuania against the dissident's ex-chief of staff was the work of Kremlin thugs. But after investigating the assault against Leonid Volkov, they dropped a bombshell: they now believed the attackers were hired by another dissident.

The community of activists and politicians that makes up the Russian opposition abroad has always been prone to infighting. But it is the first time Navalny's influential Anti-Corruption Foundation has accused a supposedly ally in the fight against the Kremlin of ordering a violent attack on one of their own.

In a video, viewed 1.3m times since it was posted online late last week, Navalny's aides accused the wealthy businessman and outspoken Kremlin critic Leonid Nevzlin of hiring two Polish men to beat up Volkov outside his home — and of being motivated by a dispute over political views.

They base their claims on what they say are screenshots of private conversations on the Signal messaging app between Nevzlin and a shady fixer. Nevzlin is alleged to have ordered the attack on Volkov and to have suggested he may be left "wheelchair-bound" or then "delivered" back to Russia, where he would most likely be jailed.

"Time to do away with the idiot," reads one of the messages, which the Navalny team claims was written by Nevzlin. The chat includes several covertly shot photos of Volkov and other Navalny team members going about their daily lives in Vilnius. Some of the covert photos incorrectly identified them and their homes, which the Navalny team ascribed to the incompetence of the hired assailants.

But the provenance of the screenshots — supplied by a middleman accused by Navalny's team of having links to Russia's FSB security service — have led others to question the evidence and see in it a Kremlin ruse.

Nevzlin has strongly denied the claims. "I have nothing to do with any attacks on people, in any form whatsoever," he wrote on his Telegram channel.



Crime scene: Leonid Volkov's car is taken away following the attack in March. Below, Volkov, left, with Alexei Navalny

Petrus Malukas/AFP/Getty Images; Leonid Volkov/AP

He described the investigation into the assault — and other attacks against Navalny allies and team members that the group also claims he was involved in — as a "leak concocted in Moscow" to discredit him and divide the opposition.

Nevzlin told Sota, a media outlet he funds, that he filed a report to the Lithuanian police on August 5, when he first heard that this alleged data leak and the accusations against him were being shared online, the outlet reported.



In the statement, as shared by Sota, Nevzlin claims his interlocutor, the fixer, was sending provocative text messages seeking to implicate Nevzlin in ordering the attack on Volkov.

"Let's have an independent investigation into these so-called 'materials'," Nevzlin said, "and, if the investigation deems it necessary, a court in a democratic country can assess them too. I am convinced that justice will confirm the absurdity and complete untenability of the accusations against me."

Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda said this week the country "will always support the opposition that fights the Putin regime, and we will responsibly weigh all statements about who organised what".

Navalny's Anti-Corruption Foundation also claimed Nevzlin was behind an attack on the wife of well-known economist Maxim Mironov, who lives in Argentina and has previously criticised Nevzlin on social media.

The Navalny team did not explain in depth what it believes to be the motives

'Either the accusations are true, and Nevzlin has lost his mind. Or they are an FSB provocation and a fake'

Africa

Russians and Ukrainians help train same side in Sudan's war

ANDRES SCHIPANI — PORT SUDAN
CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV
POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN
CHRIS COOK — LONDON

Russian and Ukrainian fighters, whose countries are locked in a full-scale war, have both been helping to train the same side in Sudan's civil conflict, according to senior military intelligence officers from the African state.

Retired pilots from Ukraine and snipers from Russia are both working with the Sudanese Armed Forces of de facto president General Abdel Fattah el-Burhan, adding to the complex web of external actors involved in the brutal 17-month war.

Their rivals, the Rapid Support Forces of the warlord Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemeti, have in turn been accused of deploying "mercenaries" from a number of countries in the region such as Chad, the Central African Republic and Libya.

While Russia has long been trying to establish a strong presence in Sudan, the participation of trained ex-servicemen from Ukraine underscores how the conflict has attracted profiteers, mercenaries and foreign powers all looking to cap-

italise on the upheaval for financial gain or geopolitical advantage.

But unlike the war in Ukraine, regarded as a strategic conflict with clear geopolitical alignments, the string of proxies involved in the Sudanese conflict does not line up neatly.

Countries are competing for supplies of resources — Sudan is one of Africa's top gold producers — and access to a long stretch of Red Sea coastline, where the likes of Iran and Russia are keen to establish a foothold.

"Everything is up for grabs in Sudan. And it will get more ugly and more complex," said a senior western diplomat involved in the Horn of Africa.

Sudan's army spokesman Nabil Abdullah has previously denied an official "Ukrainian presence" in Sudan. But Kyiv's defence ministry confirmed that Ukrainian "civilians" who "earlier served in the air force" were acting as "instructors" of the Sudanese air force.

A senior foreign diplomat with knowledge of Sudan said the Russian snipers supporting the Sudanese Armed Forces were "proper Russian" military.

Russia has in recent years expanded its military footprint in Africa. The

Africa Corps — which has taken over on the continent from the Wagner private military group established by the late Yevgeny Prigozhin — has a strong presence in the Central African Republic, Sudan's south-western neighbour.

Russia's allegiances in Sudan were at first unclear due to its previous ties with Hemeti, who visited Moscow on the eve of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and had done business with Wagner mercenaries. But Moscow appears increasingly aligned with Burhan and the Sudanese army, in what senior western diplomats say is a sign Russia may be hedging its



Russian snipers and retired Kyiv pilots are working with Sudan's army

bets on who will ultimately win the war. Senior officials from Moscow and Port Sudan, where the Sudanese army's top generals are now based after leaving the capital Khartoum, have exchanged visits since last year. Sudanese military leaders have spoken of reviving plans to allow a Russian naval base to be built on the Red Sea.

Last September, Burhan also met Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and discussed "the activities of illegal armed groups financed by Russia", referring to Wagner mercenaries. Sudanese generals said Wagner was still helping Hemeti, which he denied.

"The Russians played both sides before, including Wagner supporting the Rapid Support Forces . . . but they now think the best bet to get the port is to support the Sudanese Armed Forces," said Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, a senior fellow at the Center for Advanced Security, Strategic and Integration Studies at the University of Bonn.

The Sudanese army may be "playing the Russian game now, too — they play both sides, they can tell the Russians, 'look we need weapons and we also have the Ukrainians here,'" he added.

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LEBANON EXPLOSIONS

Hizbollah walkie-talkie blasts add to death toll

Second day of attacks on communication devices comes as Israeli defence minister says war is entering a new phase

RAYA JALABI AND MALAIKA KANAANEH TAPPER — BEIRUT

Handheld walkie-talkies and other wireless communication devices used by Hizbollah were detonated across Lebanon yesterday, killing at least 14 people and injuring more than 450 a day after thousands of pagers exploded in the country.

The fresh blasts compounded the shock in Lebanon from Tuesday's unprecedented attack via electronic devices, which Hizbollah blamed on Israel and for which it promised to take revenge.

The latest deaths and injuries brought the toll from the two days of blasts to 26 dead, including at least two children,

and more than 3,000 injured. Almost 300 of those wounded in Tuesday's blasts remained in a critical condition yesterday.

Israel has not commented directly on the blasts, but defence minister Yoav Gallant told troops yesterday that "we are at the start of a new phase in the war — it requires courage, determination and perseverance".

He added that "the centre of gravity is shifting to the north by diverting resources and forces", while praising the work of Israel's army and security agencies.

Gallant spoke after the Israeli army's 98th division — which includes paratroopers and commando units — was

ordered to move to Israel's northern border, according to a person familiar with the matter.

The fresh blasts came as the UN's high commissioner for human rights, Volker Türk, said of the pager attacks that "the fear and terror unleashed is profound". He urged world leaders to step up "in defence of the rights of all people to live in peace and security".

Türk said the targeting of thousands of people, whether civilians or members of armed groups, without knowledge of who held the devices or their locations, was a violation of international law.

Hizbollah and Israel have been engaged in a cross-border war of attrition since Hamas's October 7 attack on

Israel. Hizbollah said yesterday it had launched rockets at Israeli artillery positions over the border, the first strike since Tuesday's attack raised the prospect of a wider regional conflagration.

'We are at the start of a new phase. The centre of gravity is shifting north'

Yoav Gallant, defence minister

Asked about Tuesday's explosions, US secretary of state Antony Blinken said in Cairo that he was focused on agreeing a ceasefire deal in Gaza that could also bring calm to the Israel-Lebanon bor-

der. When the US and other mediators believed they were making progress on such a deal, Blinken said, they had often "seen an event that . . . threatens to slow it, stop it, derail it".

Other explosions, including from handheld radios, came yesterday in southern Beirut, Tyre, Nabatiyeh, Hermel and the Bekaa Valley, as well as in scattered villages and towns in the south, according to the state news agency NNA and emergency responders. The agency also said there was heavy Israeli surveillance drone traffic over the country's south. These are all areas with a heavy Hizbollah presence.

Gruesome images circulated on social media for a second day, showing fire-

damaged cars and motorbikes, homes and shops ablaze, and bloodied people being rushed to hospitals.

At least one explosion took place near a funeral in Beirut's suburb of Gobeiry for several of the people killed on Tuesday. Thousands of mourners had gathered for the funeral of a child, two Hizbollah members and a health worker.

That funeral was interrupted by a loud boom, sending mourners stampeding away in fear. A Lebanese soldier stationed near the funeral, where weeping family members held up images of their slain relatives, said "two devices had exploded".

Additional reporting by Neri Zilber in Tel Aviv

Investigation. Evidence

Trail of clues leads from Beirut to Taipei and Budapest

Taiwan electronics company and elusive physicist at heart of probe into audacious attack

MEHUL SRIVASTAVA — LONDON
KATHRIN HILLE — TAIPEI
MARTON DUNAI — BUDAPEST

Founded three decades ago, Gold Apollo is a nondescript, 40-person company in a shabby Taipei suburb, one of the tens of thousands of Taiwanese companies that manufacture the ubiquitous, cheap electronics of daily life.

Launched in 1995, when mobile phones had yet to supplant pagers, one of its current bestsellers is the vibrating pucks that coffee shops hand out to customers to signal their drink is ready.

Then, at 3.30pm local time on Tuesday, thousands of Gold Apollo-branded pagers exploded in Beirut, plunging the Lebanese capital into a panic and sending hundreds of members of the powerful Lebanese militant group Hizbollah to overcrowded hospitals with mangled hands, facial injuries and worse.

The bloody trail left by the weaponisation of this almost obsolete gadget has yielded some tantalising clues. They stretch from a befuddled Taiwanese chief executive suddenly swarmed by reporters to an elusive Hungarian particle physicist who had made an unexpected detour into selling cheap electronics from an office building next to a Budapest motorway.

Hizbollah's preliminary investigation, according to one of its officials, alleges that Israel's spies somehow hijacked a delivery of pagers to Lebanon, packed them with a tiny load of explosives and components and then detonated them almost simultaneously.

"It's something that can be done, and has been done by Israel, but never on this scale," said a person with previous experience in using communications equipment to infiltrate espionage targets. "To do this at exactly the same time to this many devices — it's unheard of."

At least a dozen people were killed, including two children, and at least 2,700 people were injured, according to Lebanese health officials. Hizbollah said 10 of those killed were its members. It has blamed Israel and vowed revenge,



Hsu Ching-Kuang, Gold Apollo founder, surrounded by media. Below, BAC Consulting HQ in Budapest

Yan Zhao/AP/Getty Images; Laszlo Balogh

increasing tensions between the foes after 10 months of escalating cross-border attacks that have threatened to boil over into all-out war.

The Israeli government declined to comment as part of its long-running policy to neither confirm nor deny its involvement in such attacks. A senior Israeli official working in its clandestine

services replied with a winking emoji when asked if the spy agency Mossad was involved in the attack.

The apparent act of international espionage and subterfuge has thrilled the Israelis and embarrassed Hizbollah, coming just months after the assassination in a Beirut suburb of Fuad Shukr, one of the group's senior commanders.

The practical complications of carrying out such an attack have left a mystery straddling three continents. In Taiwan, the Shilin prosecutor's office said a department handling national security cases was investigating. How a batch of black AR924 pagers carrying the Gold Apollo branding ended up at the heart of this operation has confused even Hsu Ching-Kuang, the company's founder and president, who was swarmed by media outside his office yesterday.

In the course of a few hours, he and his staff offered half a dozen different explanations. A sales manager first said the company had been selling to Leba-

non for years. The government released a statement saying such pagers were made and assembled in Taiwan. But then Gold Apollo pointed to Budapest, naming BAC Consulting as a company with which it had a long-running licensing agreement. This allowed BAC to design, manufacture and sell the pagers in designated regions but under the Gold Apollo brand and trademark.

Taiwan officials and industry experts said any such device assembled in Europe or the Middle East would still have to source most components from Taiwanese- or Chinese-owned companies. It highlights the complexity of technology supply chains, which span tens of thousands of often small Taiwanese businesses. Many are run by founders, people with ample experience in running factories in China or Vietnam but little understanding of cross-border security issues or export control rules.

"The key parts of pagers are low-end communications chips, receivers and

'It can be done, and has been done by Israel, but never on this scale. To do this at exactly the same time to this many devices is unheard of'

basic-grade motherboards," said an official at Taiwan's economic affairs ministry. "Most of these are made by Taiwanese companies and Chinese companies."

BAC Consulting, according to Hungarian company records, was set up in May 2022 by a woman called Cristiana Rosaria Bársony-Arcidiano, now aged 49. She is apparently sole director of a company that generated revenues of about \$800,000 in 2023. She did not reply to messages seeking comment.

Her LinkedIn profile lists a PhD in particle physics from UCL in London among her qualifications, as well as stints at other elite UK institutions such as Soas and the London School of Economics. A person who met her in recent years at a communications conference in Latvia described her as an academic.

Company records list her home as a Communist-era high-rise in Budapest. Four neighbours and a hairdresser in the building said they did not recall seeing her in recent years.

The apartment, shared with her mother, who neighbours said lived abroad, had a security door with three heavy locks. While her mother "comes here once in a while", Bársony-Arcidiano last visited "a long time ago", her next-door neighbour said.

There was little activity yesterday at her office building, a nondescript house next to a motorway leading out of Budapest. The exception was two men who pulled up in a black Mercedes.

Her picture also appears on the website of a company called Eden Global Impact, which lists an address in San Francisco's Mission district, and describes her as an "expert in humanitarian and social action and programs, with extensive competences in the non profit sector". The group lists products for sale including solar power generators, water filtration systems and an "off-grid satellite decentralised phone".

It is unclear how or why an academic with wide expertise in climate change, particle physics and the global economy would be selling Taiwanese pagers to Lebanese buyers. She told NBC News yesterday: "I don't make the pagers. I am just the intermediate. I think you got it wrong."

Additional reporting by Raya Jalabi in Beirut

Aftermath

Militant group struggles to restore calm after double blow exposes its vulnerabilities

RAYA JALABI AND MALAIKA KANAANEH TAPPER — BEIRUT

Hizbollah was reeling yesterday from twin attacks that detonated thousands of electronic devices carried by its members, causing mayhem across Lebanon in a humiliating blow to militant force once seen as impregnable.

A day after the initial attack targeting pagers belonging to Hizbollah members that killed 12 people and injured thousands, the group — also the dominant political force in Lebanon — was still grappling with its implications when a second round of blasts hit, this time from walkie-talkies and other devices.

The explosions left the militant group contending with badly reduced access to key communication channels.

The pagers blew up, notably in Hizbollah strongholds, after a coded message was sent to them at around 3.30pm on Tuesday, said a Lebanese official with knowledge of the preliminary investigation. There were indications that the detonations were caused by explosives inserted in the pagers, rather than by a remote cyber attack, the official said.

A person familiar with Hizbollah's thinking said that "internally, there are big questions being asked about how this was even possible", adding: "Right

now, they are trying to reassert calm after a night of panic and anger."

The person was speaking before the explosions yesterday killed at least 14 people and injured more than 450, compounding the panic in Lebanon.

Hizbollah blamed the initial attack on Israel, which has not commented. The militants' leader, Hassan Nasrallah, is due to speak today, with people across the region, who already feared an escalation of the conflict with Israel, nervously awaiting his response.

Israel has also hinted at a broadening of the conflict after adding to its objectives the return of displaced residents in the north, near the border with Lebanon, before the pager blasts. The head of the Israeli army's northern command, Ori Gordin, told troops yesterday: "The mission is clear — we are determined to change the security reality [in northern Israel] as soon as possible."

The pager attack left blood-spattered scenes at hundreds of locations in Beirut, including supermarkets, offices, hospitals and homes, as well as striking regional locations and setting off blasts in Syria. Hizbollah said 10 of its members were killed, including the son of a prominent Hizbollah MP and four health workers. At least two of the dead were children aged eight and 11.

The attack has embarrassed the militant group in front of a base and a nation weary from nearly a year of the war of attrition with Israel.

More than half of the almost 2,800 injured were in Beirut and its southern suburb Dahiyeh, while 750 were scattered throughout the south and about 150 in the Bekaa Valley — all areas where Hizbollah is dominant.

Witnesses spoke of gruesome injuries. "It's like we were on a battlefield doing wartime triage," said a nurse at Bahman hospital in Beirut's southern suburbs, who asked not to be named.

"Hands blown off, holes in people's

thighs, head and eye wounds — you name it, we saw it all day."

Nearly 300 people were in a critical condition, said health minister Firas Abiad. Nearly 500 operations have been performed, including to eyes and faces and amputations of fingers and hands.

Yesterday's explosions, including at a funeral for victims of the initial blasts in southern Beirut, left bloody scenes echoing the aftermath of the Tuesday attacks. Just before a detonation plunged the funeral ceremony into chaos, an elderly woman said Tuesday's attack had been an "act of terrorism".

Hizbollah has long used pagers, but



Relatives mourn Fatima Abdallah, who was killed by a pager blast — AP/Getty

has increased use of the low-tech devices since the start of the Gaza war, which the Iran-backed militant group joined in support of its ally Hamas.

Israel's assassination of the Hizbollah commander Fuad Shukr in Beirut in July triggered an internal assessment of its communications vulnerabilities.

"This is worse [than Shukr's assassination]," said the person familiar with the group's thinking. "This attack exposed just how vulnerable Hizbollah truly is — this was the back-up communications system, and even this was tampered with. Was this network under surveillance for months before this too?"

Earlier this year, people familiar with Hizbollah's operations said it had switched to lower-grade communications systems in an attempt to evade Israeli surveillance and assassination attempts.

Since October, Israel has conducted targeted killings of field commanders and strikes on weapons depots and munitions factories in Lebanon and Syria, alarming Hizbollah's leadership about the level of intelligence its enemy possessed, and in effect triggering a ban on fighters carrying smartphones.

The person said the militant group believed Israel was deploying a combination of voice recognition surveillance

software, artificial intelligence and spies on the ground to deadly effect.

Pagers are carried by some of the group's fighters and military leadership, including near the front line in Lebanon's south and in Syria, where Hizbollah fighters support President Bashar al-Assad's regime. But many plain-clothes members also carried them, the people said. Some members also had regular jobs outside Hizbollah, meaning many civilians were close to the explosions.

The attack, in reaching across the group's base and into the civilian population, severely hit morale, said the person familiar with its thinking.

Deeb Badawi, head of the traders' union in Tyre, said ahead of yesterday's attack that the blasts on Tuesday deeply affected the civilian population, adding: "Tyre is in a state of shock. It was a big surprise for everyone . . . it's affected their psyches. There are so many people who were injured who have no party affiliation."

Hizbollah has vowed to retaliate. "But they have to think very hard and very carefully about how they do it," said the person familiar with the group's thinking. "We are at the most dangerous point in the war so far."

Additional reporting by Neri Zilber in Tel Aviv

INTERNATIONAL

Communications

Encrypted service for global crime foiled

Ghost platform was used to distribute drugs and order killings by gangs

LAURA DUBOIS — BRUSSELS

International police forces have taken down an encrypted communication platform and arrested 51 people, marking a success for co-ordinated efforts to crack down on anonymous messaging services used by criminal groups.

Europol and law enforcement agencies from nine countries dismantled Ghost, an online platform that used three different encryption standards and allowed users to destroy all

messages by sending a specific code, Europol announced yesterday.

The crackdown is the latest operation by international agencies to decode encrypted messaging services used by criminals to manage their international operations, following the takedown of platforms such as EncroChat and Sky-ECC in recent years.

"Italian organised crime, outlaw motorcycle gangs, Middle Eastern organised crime and Korean organised crime have been using Ghost in Australia and overseas to import illicit drugs and to order the killing of individuals involved in various criminal enterprises," David McLean, assistant commissioner of Australia's federal

police, said at a press conference in The Hague.

Based on a joint investigation that began in 2022, 38 people were arrested in Australia, 11 in Ireland, one in Canada and one in Italy, the latter belonging to the Sacra Corona Unita mafia organisation based in the southern Puglia region, Europol said.

McLean said Ghost was administered by a 32-year-old man from Australia, one of the operation's principal targets. As a result of the decryption, the death or injury of as many as 50 people could have been prevented, McLean said.

Further arrests based on the decryptations are expected, Europol added.

According to Europol, the EU's law

enforcement co-operation agency, several thousand people used Ghost around the world, with around 1,000 messages exchanged every day.

National police have been struggling to tackle the global operations of criminal groups, and the ability to read their messages is a key element in prosecuting them.

"Encrypted phone communication is a challenge for contemporary policing, but one which we are now making significant inroads into," said Justin Kelly, assistant commissioner of the Garda Síochána, Ireland's police force.

Jean-Philippe Lecouffe, deputy executive director of Europol, said Ghost had a smaller user base than previously

decrypted platforms EncroChat or Sky-ECC, indicating that criminals are using a wider range of encrypted message platforms.

"The landscape is now much more fragmented, we have multiple smaller networks that are used by the criminals," he said.

EncroChat was decrypted by international police forces in 2020. Last year, Europol said its decryption led to 6,500 arrests worldwide and the seizure of about €900,000, mostly in cash.

Afterwards, many users switched to SkyECC, which was unlocked by Belgian, Dutch and French law enforcement in 2021, leading to large-scale raids and arrests.

Budget payments

EU move to deny Hungary €200mn deepens rift over asylum

DARIA MOSOLOVA — BRUSSELS

Brussels has said it will deduct €200mn from EU budget payments to Hungary, increasing tensions with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's government over its approach to immigration.

The move by the EU's top court comes a day after Budapest missed a deadline to pay a fine of the same value for breaking EU asylum laws.

"The commission is, in accordance with the applicable rules, moving to the offsetting procedure," a European Commission spokesperson said yesterday.

The commission will deduct the sum from forthcoming payments to Budapest from the EU budget. "In theory, any payments can be looked at, nothing is excluded," the spokesperson added.

"There is a hunt under way against politicians and governments who oppose migration," said Hungary's foreign minister Péter Szijjártó in response to the European Court of Justice's move.

"The only way to protect Schengen is by defending the external borders."

The EU has repeatedly frozen Hungary's funds due to concerns over the rule of law in the eastern European member state.

The ECJ in December 2020 upheld the commission's complaints that the country's asylum process breached EU law, allowing for unlawful detention of applicants in "transit zones" and blocking applicants' right to appeal.

The court imposed its fine in June this year, and accused Hungary of "an unprecedented and extremely serious infringement of EU law" for failing to implement the judgment. It accused Budapest of "disregarding" and "deliberately evading" the application of EU common policy.

The ECJ simultaneously imposed a daily fine of €1mn until Budapest amends its legislation, which has so far built up to almost €100mn. The commission on Monday sent out its first request for payment of the fines over a period spanning 93 days. Hungary has refused to pay and has not indicated it will make the necessary legal changes.

Hungary's "conduct constitutes a serious threat to the unity of EU law", the court said, and "seriously undermines the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility between the member states".

In a post on X in June, Orbán called the fine "outrageous and unacceptable. It seems that illegal migrants are more important to the Brussels bureaucrats than their own European citizens."

Orbán's government boosted its domestic approval ratings in 2015 when it closed a transit route used by asylum seekers fleeing war, and has maintained a hardline stance on migration since.

The dispute is the latest between Brussels' institutions and the Eurosceptic government of Orbán, who has sought to block the EU's military aid to Ukraine and this year met Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow. In July, it took over the bloc's rotating presidency of the EU Council and will hold the role until the end of the year.

Hungary's spokesperson in the EU did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

South Asia. Energy supply

Pakistan grid overpowered by China solar panels

Businesses and homes race to buy imported technology as cost of electricity surges

HUMZA JILANI
SIALKOT AND ISLAMABAD

Businesses in Pakistan are racing to cover their factory rooftops with ultra-cheap Chinese solar panels after a surge in electricity prices that has made the state-owned power supply among the most expensive in South Asia.

"Every bit of space I have, even if it's a few feet, I want it covered in solar panels," said Khawaja Masood Akhtar, chief executive of Forward Sports, whose factory near the Indian border is one of the world's largest makers of footballs.

His company had already doubled the level of solar in its energy mix to 50 per cent over the past two years, in response to pressure to go green from Adidas, which contracts Forward to churn out millions of balls each year.

Akhtar is now ploughing some of last year's profits into importing more panels from China to lift solar supply to his operations to 80 per cent by next April.

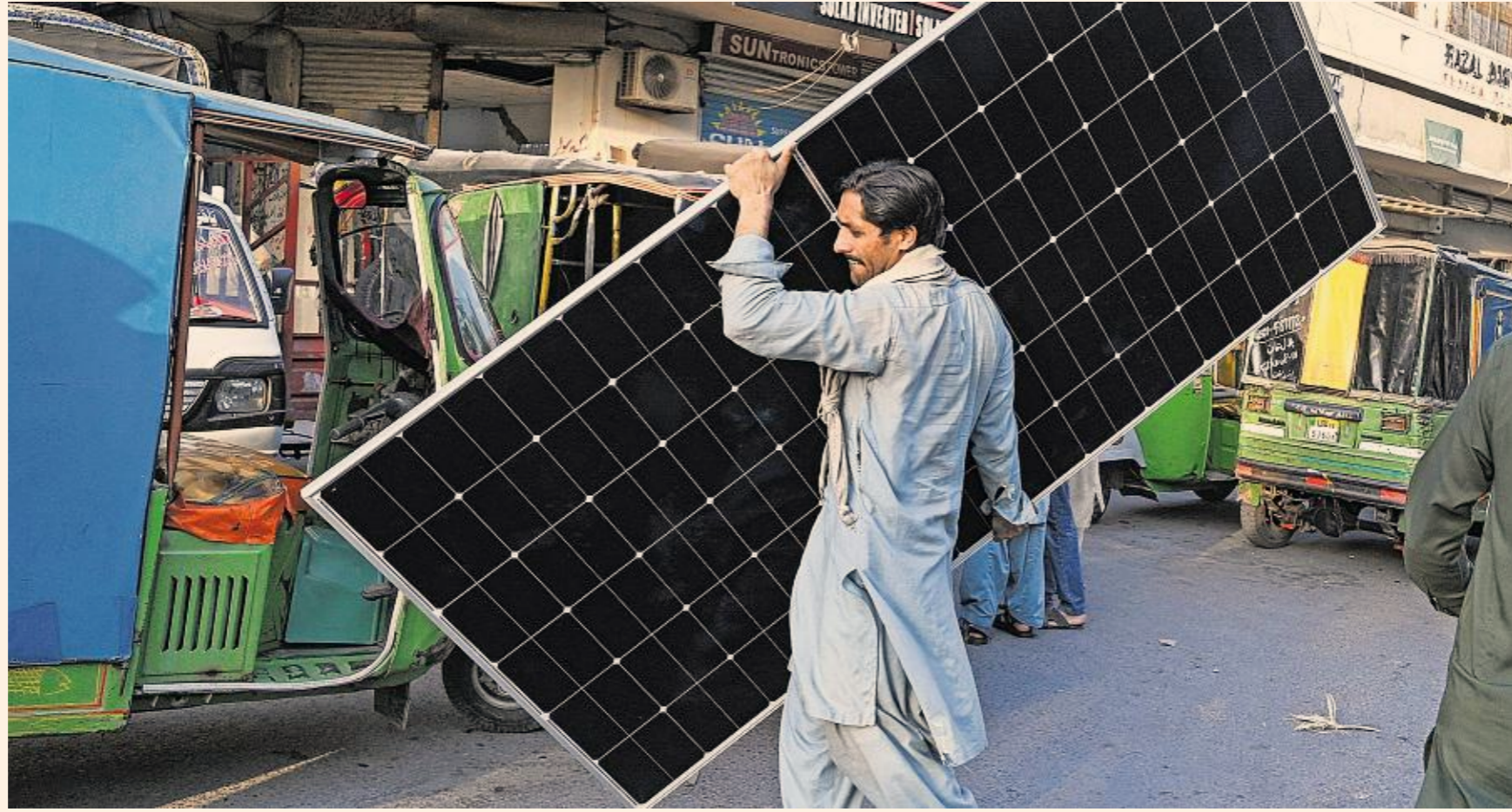
"It's the only way we can beat our competitors" in China and India, he said. "Allah has given us this gift to get out of this mess."

China is also involved on the other side of the "mess". In order to put an end to widespread electricity shortages a decade ago, the Pakistani government drew in billions of dollars from Chinese and other lenders to its power sector with promises of sovereign-backed, dollar-indexed returns and commitments to pay for even unused electricity.

Financing mostly flowed to the coal-fired plants and power tariffs in Pakistan have more than doubled over the past three years as the cash-strapped government scaled back subsidies and passed the capacity payments made to power producers on to consumers.

In response, moneyed Pakistanis have capitalised on the country's harsh sunlight by importing Chinese solar panels worth \$1.4bn in the first half of this year, making it the third-largest national destination in the world, according to data compiled by BloombergNEF. Panels now sit atop a vast array of factories, households, hospitals and mosques.

Irteza Ubaid, chief operating officer of Shams Power, a Lahore-based importer,



Power balance: wealthier Pakistanis and businesses are rushing to install cheap Chinese solar panels, while poorer customers are trapped paying for expensive electricity from the state grid
Arlif Ali/AFP/Getty Images

said multinational companies in Pakistan, including Coca-Cola, Mondelez and Hyundai, were gobbling up the panels he imported from China, chasing electricity bill savings of up to 70 per cent.

The government sees the switch to solar as being in the country's environmental interests as climate change has brought more extreme weather including heatwaves and floods, which caused the deaths of more than 1,500 in 2022.

But the mass adoption of solar panels also risked making power provided by the Pakistani grid "unaffordable", Awais Leghari, the energy minister, told the Financial Times. "Demand is shrinking off the grid. That's a big concern for us."

Earlier this year, the ministry complained that "solarisation has grown too fast" as a result of a policy to buy some excess solar power from households and industry at above market prices.

An estimated 30mn low-income consumers who cannot afford the new solar panels or lack the rooftop space now face rocketing prices for the state-owned power supply.

Local industrial groups complain that energy costs are double those of busi-

nesses in India and Bangladesh. Some factories have been forced to shut.

Jenny Chase, lead solar analyst at BloombergNEF, said the cost of panels had halved to about 10 cents per watt, from 24 cents last year. "Electricity prices throughout the country have really gone up, so it's become economically viable for factories and wealthier households to pay the upfront cost of setting up solar," she said.

Pakistan pays for 40,000MW of installed power capacity despite its population consuming about half of that per year and tries to recoup the cost by passing it on to household electricity bills.

While the investment in power supply has helped to alleviate load shedding, it has saddled Pakistan with more than \$9bn of mounting debt, according to analysts and government officials.

Rising debts have created a vicious cycle in which increasing power tariffs push wealthier households and businesses to invest in solar panels and cut the bills they pay to power distributors.

This incentivised those left reliant on the expensive existing grid with the choice of saving money to do the same,

'It's the price of electricity that's kicking people out of the grid. I don't blame them'

Awais Leghari, energy minister

or to refuse to pay their bills, said Asha Amirali, a fellow at the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Bath. "Chinese [solar panel] imports are contributing to difficulties servicing power debt, including to Chinese investors," she added.

Power consumption from the expensive grid fell by about 9 per cent last year as double-digit inflation shredded purchasing power and the climbing bills led people to turn to solar and other off-grid options.

Despite the federal government's concern about its power network, the provincial government of Punjab, home to more than half of Pakistan's population of 240mn, said in July it would give away free or heavily subsidised solar panels for millions of citizens struggling with rising electricity bills.

The party that rules Sindh province, with more than 50mn citizens, said last month it would follow suit with a similar policy for its poorest residents.

"It's the price of electricity that's kicking people out of the grid. I don't blame them, we need to improve ourselves," Leghari said.

Capital projects

South Korea becomes top US investor as Beijing tensions rise

AMANDA CHU — NEW YORK

South Korean companies are investing record amounts of capital in the US economy as the Biden administration's efforts to cut China from its supply chain and subsidies for advanced technology manufacturers spark a surge in project commitments from Seoul.

US project commitments from South Korean groups were \$21.5bn last year, more than any other country and surpassing Taiwan, the largest investor in 2022, according to data from the UN Conference on Trade and Development analysed by the Financial Times.

Last year marked the first time for at least a decade that South Korea secured the top spot as China's position has fallen. Beijing was the top investor in the US in 2014 but ranked eighth last year after investments had fallen by a third, according to the UN data, which tracks greenfield projects — commitments to build facilities and jobs — and does not include acquisitions.

While last year's commitments from South Korea were 11 per cent lower than the previous year, the data totalled 90 projects from South Korean companies, the highest on record and up 50 per cent

year on year. "The US doesn't want to be sourced from China any more. This is giving Korean companies an opportunity to become US suppliers," Chihwan Kim, chief executive of Samkee, a Korean auto supplier, said. Last year, Samkee invested \$128mn to open its first US factory in Tuskegee, Alabama, to build vehicle parts.

The surge in South Korean investment follows the Biden administration's passage of the Chips and Science Act and the Inflation Reduction Act in 2022, offering hundreds of billions in tax credits, loans and subsidies to jump-start US manufacturing of semiconductors and clean technologies, including solar panels and electric vehicles, and reduce reliance on China, the dominant producer.

More than a third of Korean project announcements in the US tracked by fDi Markets last year were in the automotive or electronics sectors.

Tensions between Washington and Beijing have also put pressure on South Korean companies to limit their operations in China to pursue US expansions. The Chips Act, for example, outlines "national security guardrails" for its funding, preventing recipients from expanding manufacturing capacity and

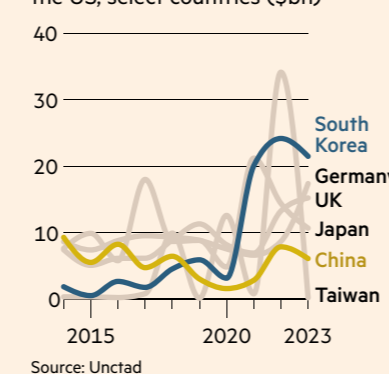
restricting technology licensing efforts in China and other "foreign entities of concern".

More than half of South Korean outbound investment flowed to the US last year, up from 18 per cent in 2019. China received less than 1 per cent of South Korean investment last year, down from 11 per cent in 2019, according to Unctad.

The largest announcements include a \$4.3bn investment from Hyundai to manufacture battery cells with LG

South Korea becomes top investor in US

Announced greenfield investment in the US, select countries (\$bn)



Source: Unctad

Energy Solution to supply its electric vehicle factory in Georgia and a similar \$3.5bn investment from Samsung SDI with GM in St Joseph County, Indiana, according to fDi Markets, a subsidiary of the Financial Times.

Tough macroeconomic conditions, falling import prices and slowing demand for electric vehicles have delayed some investments from Korean manufacturers and sparked calls for greater US trade protections. In July, LG Energy Solution paused its \$2.3bn battery storage factory in Arizona, citing "market conditions". Samkee is delaying adding its electric vehicle lines by one to two years because of slower than expected adoption.

"Manufacturers like Qcells are losing billions of dollars a month. Investments across the sector are at critical risk of failure," said Hal Connolly, head of public policy and government relations at Qcells, a Korean solar parts manufacturer in Georgia, at a Department of Commerce and US International Trade Commission hearing in May.

The company has filed a petition with other US solar manufacturers for extra tariffs on Chinese solar companies for alleged dumping in south-east Asia.

US presidency

Election will dictate pace of climate change, warns Gore

ATTRACTA MOONEY — LONDON

The US faces a "Manichaean choice" over climate action in the presidential election, according to former vice-president Al Gore, who joined scientists and green business leaders in warning a Donald Trump victory "would be very bad".

Gore, who won an Oscar and Nobel Peace Prize for his 2006 film *An Inconvenient Truth* on global warming, said that voters who cared about climate change faced the "clearest choice ever" at the November election.

"The contrast actually could not be any clearer. It's a choice between a candidate who believes the climate crisis is real and has been very vigorous in acting accordingly . . . and another candidate who regularly spreads falsehoods about the reality of the crisis, the efficacy of the solutions and much else."

Climate change has not featured prominently in the contest between Kamala Harris and Trump, meriting one question in a recent debate.

But Gore said their respective policy

positions were evident. "Most climate activists that I know in the United States believe that the single most important near-term decision America can make with regard to climate is who is the next president. It's a bit of a Manichaean choice."

Despite his strong views about the consequences of a Trump election, Gore also argued the shift to a cleaner economy was "unstoppable at this point".

"The direction of travel for the world as a whole . . . is now set," he said. "The remaining question is how fast this transition can occur. And of course, that will be affected by who is the next president of the United States."

Gore was speaking as Generation Investment Management, the sustainable investment manager where he is co-founder and chair, published its eighth Sustainability Trends Report, which points to fraught geopolitics, including between China and the west.

Many governments remained captive to the fossil fuel industry, he said, and oil and gas producers were "seeking to block positive changes".

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Companies & Markets

Microsoft and BlackRock to launch \$30bn AI energy fund

- Urgent need to boost infrastructure
- Nvidia to advise on factory designs

BROOKE MASTERS, ANTOINE GARA AND JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN — NEW YORK
STEPHEN MORRIS — SAN FRANCISCO

BlackRock is preparing to launch a more than \$30bn artificial intelligence investment fund with technology giant Microsoft to build data centres and energy projects to meet growing demands stemming from AI.

The financial partnership, which BlackRock is launching with its new infrastructure investment unit, Global Infrastructure Partners, would be one of the biggest investment vehicles raised on Wall Street.

Microsoft and MGX, the Abu Dhabi-backed investment company, are gen-

'Mobilising private capital to build AI infrastructure will unlock a multitrillion-dollar opportunity'

eral partners in the fund. Nvidia, the fast-growing chipmaker, will advise on factory design and integration.

The investment vehicle is aimed at addressing the staggering power and digital infrastructure demands of building AI products. Severe capacity bottlenecks are expected in coming years as the computing power of AI requires far more energy than previous technological innovations and has strained existing energy infrastructure.

Dubbed the Global AI Investment Partnership, it seeks to raise up to \$30bn in equity investments and leverage to support up to an additional \$70bn in debt financing.

The fund would be GIP's first big vehicle since the private infrastructure investment group agreed to be acquired by BlackRock for \$12.5bn this year. That deal is due to close in October.

BlackRock, the world's largest money manager, has highlighted the energy

sector as one of its top opportunities for growth. "Mobilising private capital to build AI infrastructure like data centres and power will unlock a multitrillion-dollar long-term investment opportunity," Larry Fink, BlackRock chief executive, said in a statement.

The fund is the latest vehicle created by a large asset manager to meet ever-growing demand for energy to power generative AI and cloud computing.

Earlier this year Microsoft agreed to back \$10bn in renewable electricity projects built by Canada's Brookfield Asset Management. Microsoft has made a commitment to ensure 100 per cent of its energy consumption is matched by zero carbon energy purchases by 2030.

"The country and the world are going to need more capital investment to accelerate the development of the AI infrastructure needed," said Brad Smith, Microsoft's president.

MGX was created this year with the backing of Abu Dhabi's sovereign wealth fund Mubadala to advance the country's progress in AI. It has been in talks to invest in Open AI's next funding round.

In 2017, Blackstone announced plans for a \$40bn infrastructure vehicle with Saudi Arabian backing, and Brookfield raised \$28bn in 2023 for what was called the largest infrastructure fund to date.

The International Energy Agency estimates that global electricity consumption by data centres could surpass 1,000 terawatt-hours by 2026, more than twice the amount used in 2022.

"Accelerated computing and generative AI are driving a growing need for AI infrastructure for the next industrial revolution," Jensen Huang, Nvidia's chief executive, said in a statement.

In the US, which hosts one-third of the world's data centres, electricity demand is rising rapidly. A report from Grid Strategies shows five-year projections for electricity demand growth in the US have nearly doubled over the past year.

Low spirits Campari shares retreat after boss of six months resigns with immediate effect



Among the group's brands are Campari, Courvoisier, Wild Turkey, Grand Marnier and Skyy — Francesca Volpi/Bloomberg

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN

Campari's chief executive has resigned with immediate effect after less than six months in the role, sending shares in the Italian spirits group down more than 7 per cent.

The Milan-based company said Matteo Fantacchiotti was stepping down with immediate effect for personal reasons, after taking up the role in April.

Fantacchiotti, who joined Campari in 2020 and had worked at companies including Carlsberg and Diageo, took over from Bob Kunze-Concewitz, who expanded the group through 27 acquisitions over his 16-year tenure.

Yesterday, Campari, whose brands include Skyy vodka, Wild Turkey whiskey and flagship red-orange aperitifs Campari and Aperol, said chief financial officer Paolo Marchesini and general counsel Fabio Di Fede had been appointed interim

co-CEOs. Kunze-Concewitz will chair a leadership transition committee.

Fantacchiotti's exit comes after Campari's half-year earnings in July missed expectations, when the drinks group said bad weather had weighed on performance.

Campari's shares also fell sharply last week, after it made comments about weak demand in the sector.

Campari was forced to issue a press statement to "clarify" that the comments did not relate to its own specific performance, namely its assertion that "some of the softness that has been seen in the first half of this year is persisting slightly longer than expected into the third quarter".

Chair Luca Garavoglia, a member of the family that controls the group, said Campari's "growth ambitions" remained "strong" and "the future is solid thanks to the strong group organisation and a unique portfolio".

The group's brands also include

Grand Marnier liqueur and Bulldog gin, and last year it bought Courvoisier from US-Japanese spirits group Beam Suntory in a deal valued at \$1.32bn, marking Campari's largest acquisition.

It came as leading cognac producers reported a slump in sales amid slowing demand. At the time, Kunze-Concewitz told the Financial Times the downturn was "temporary" and "we are very bullish on the medium and long-term prospects of the brand".

Analysts at RBC Capital Markets said Fantacchiotti had led Campari in the context of a "tough trading environment and the transformational — and not universally applauded — acquisition of Courvoisier".

However, analysts were "reassured" by the fact that Campari's statement yesterday made no mention of the group's performance or change to guidance.

Additional reporting by Madeleine Speed

JPMorgan asks top banker to oversee junior staff welfare

JOSHUA FRANKLIN — NEW YORK

JPMorgan Chase has tasked one of its bankers with overseeing the company's junior banker programme, a response to renewed concerns about working conditions for young employees on Wall Street.

JPMorgan, the largest US bank by assets and often a bellwether for the industry, named Ryland McClendon global investment banking associate and analyst leader, according to a memo to employees this month.

Analysts and associates are entry-level positions on Wall Street. In the role, McClendon "will help to support their wellbeing and success, as well as equip and enable them to deliver for our business, clients and each other", JPMorgan said in the memo, which was reported earlier by CNBC.

Investment banking for decades has been synonymous with 100-hour weeks and high-stress deal pitches where tens of millions of dollars in fees can be at stake.

The conditions are under renewed scrutiny following the death in May of a junior banker at Bank of America, who was a veteran of US special forces. Although the cause of death of Leo Lukenas III was ruled to be a blood clot, it became a fresh rallying cry for junior bankers seeking a healthier working environment.

At an investor event in the wake of Lukenas's death, JPMorgan chief executive Jamie Dimon referred to "that unfortunate death" and said the bank was looking to learn lessons from it.

JPMorgan has recently capped junior bankers' working week at 80 hours, although the limit does not apply when working on live deals, according to a person familiar with the matter.

McClendon has worked at JPMorgan for nearly 14 years, latterly as head of talent and career development.

Efforts to improve working conditions have been made before, including after the 2013 death of a Bank of America Merrill Lynch intern in London, and in 2021, when a group of first-year investment banking analysts at Goldman Sachs compiled a slide deck documenting their arduous hours.

Many senior investment bankers say work culture has improved over the years, but calls for easier conditions can be at odds with the premise that high fees put banks at clients' beck and call.

Apple credit card page 8

Family's elite plumbing service poses challenge to private equity

BUSINESS

John Gapper



The office of WeFix London, a new plumbing and home repairs service, sits on Newport Street in Vauxhall, opposite a line of railway arches. Blue-painted vans with personalised number plates such as WEF 7X wait there, ready to be dispatched to homes in affluent districts such as Chelsea and Fulham.

Three generations of the Mullins family — the patriarch Charlie, his son Scott and his grandson Ashley — were at WeFix last week, preparing for its launch. Charlie plans to sell his £10m penthouse flat in London and take up residence in Spain and Dubai to escape likely tax rises under a Labour government but the Mullins family business has hardly shifted.

WeFix is a stone's throw from Pimlico Plumbers, the company he founded in 1979, the year Margaret Thatcher was elected UK prime minister. Charlie, now 71, sold Pimlico to Neighborly, the US home services platform owned by the private equity group KKR for about £140m three years ago. The non-compete deal expires next month and the family is going back into business.

It is a quixotic challenge to the power of private equity and the billions being poured into acquiring family-owned plumbing, electrical and home services businesses in the US and UK. But Mullins was always a maverick: Pimlico was a pioneer of charging well-off customers a higher hourly rate for reliability.

Instead of plumbers who turned up late if at all, and exploited their customers' ignorance of home piping to overcharge, Pimlico offered a consistent service from uniformed engineers who were polite and cleaned up their mess afterwards. It was a simple formula, but someone had to reform a fragmented, opaque cottage industry and Mullins was the innovator.

Private equity has now seen its own opportunity, having rolled up family-owned veterinary and dental practices. Brookfield Asset Management struck a £4bn deal in 2022 to acquire HomeServe, the UK home repairs cover group. As family founders of home services companies approach retirement, investors want to increase the scale of the industry, while maintaining quality.

Although he profited from it, Charlie Mullins does not think that this will work. "A family business is more personal, more caring, we put more into it," he said.

WeFix bears all the hallmarks of his formula for Pimlico: a call centre on the premises, vans waiting to be cleaned and valeted, a space for apprentice training. It will squarely target the same group of customers.

If anything, it will be more elite: the new business plans to charge £180 an hour for daytime jobs, compared with Pimlico's £125 hourly minimum for plumbing. This will enable its top engineers, classed as self-employed with some workers' rights after a 2018 Supreme Court ruling involving Pimlico, to earn between £150,000 and £200,000 per year, according to Scott.

The family has become a dynasty,

with 15 members, including partners, now involved in WeFix. Scott is chief executive and Ashley managing director; Charlie has no stake, but the company is infused with his philosophy. Scott compared its approach to personal service with the luxury department store Harrods: "You know the prices, you know the quality, you know you'll be looked after."

But while they have high ambitions for quality, they are modest about WeFix's potential size. They are keener to replicate and refine the old Pimlico model than to extend it further. Charlie said that Pimlico had about 250 engineers when he sold it — many more than the average home services business — but standards had been slipping.

"We took on some people who were not up to our standards. We fell into the trap of growing too fast because demand was so high," he said. They intend to proceed more slowly this time, aiming ultimately to reach about the same size as Pimlico. WeFix London will not expand beyond the city: the family feels most comfortable on its home turf.

This leaves plenty of space for private equity-backed platforms such as Neighborly, which says it has invested in technology since the Pimlico acquisition and reduced turnover among engineers. They lack the personal touch of a family outfit such as WeFix but they can offer a reliable enough service at greater scale. There will still be opportunities to roll up family firms.

Charlie Mullins will himself be spending more time abroad: "They're penalising successful people. It will be harder in London," he said of the new government. But the family's business still has a point to prove there.

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AN OPEN LETTER

Europe needs regulatory certainty on AI

Fragmented regulation means the EU risks missing out on the AI era.

We are a group of companies, researchers and institutions integral to Europe and working to serve hundreds of millions of Europeans. We want to see Europe succeed and thrive, including in the field of cutting-edge AI research and technology. But the reality is that Europe has become less competitive and less innovative compared to other regions and it now risks falling further behind in the AI era due to inconsistent regulatory decision making.

In the absence of consistent rules, the EU is going to miss out on two cornerstones of AI innovation. The first are developments in ‘open’ models that are made available without charge for everyone to use, modify and build on, multiplying the benefits and spreading social and economic opportunity. Open models strengthen sovereignty and control by allowing organisations to download and fine-tune the models wherever they want, removing the need to send their data elsewhere. The second are the latest ‘multimodal’ models, which operate fluidly across text, images and speech and will enable the next leap forward in AI. The difference between text-only models and multimodal is like the difference between having only one sense and having all five of them.

Frontier-level open models – based on text or multi-modal – can turbocharge productivity, drive scientific research, and add hundreds of billions of euros to the European economy. Public institutions and researchers are already using these models to speed up medical research and preserve languages, while established businesses and start-ups are getting access to tools they could never build or afford themselves. Without them, the development of AI will happen elsewhere – depriving Europeans of the technological advances enjoyed in the US, China and India. Research estimates that Generative AI could increase global GDP by 10% over the coming decade¹ and EU citizens shouldn’t be denied that growth.

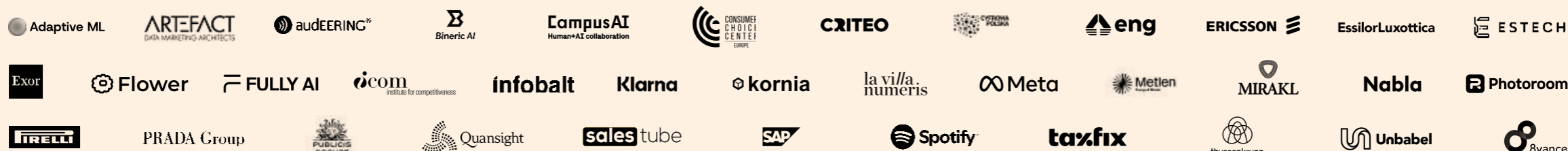
The EU’s ability to compete with the rest of the world on AI and reap the benefits of open source models rests on its single market and shared regulatory rulebook. If companies and institutions are going to invest tens of billions of euros to build Generative AI for European citizens, they require clear rules, consistently applied, enabling the use of European data. But in recent times, regulatory decision making has become fragmented and unpredictable, while interventions by the European Data Protection Authorities have created huge uncertainty about what kinds of data can be used to train AI models. This means the next generation of open source AI models, and the products and services we build on them, won’t understand or reflect European knowledge, culture or languages.

Europe faces a choice that will impact the region for decades. It can choose to reassert the principle of harmonisation enshrined in regulatory frameworks like the GDPR and offer a modern interpretation of GDPR provisions that still respects its underlying values, so that AI innovation happens here at the same scale and speed as elsewhere. Or, it can continue to reject progress, contradict the ambitions of the single market and watch as the rest of the world builds on technologies that Europeans will not have access to.

We hope European policymakers and regulators see what is at stake if there is no change of course. Europe can’t afford to miss out on the widespread benefits from responsibly built open AI technologies that will accelerate economic growth and unlock progress in scientific research. For that we need harmonised, consistent, quick and clear decisions under EU data regulations that enable European data to be used in AI training for the benefit of Europeans. Decisive action is needed to help unlock the creativity, ingenuity and entrepreneurialism that will ensure Europe’s prosperity, growth and technical leadership.

Signed,

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|
| Alexandre Lebrun
CEO, Nabla | André Martins
VP of AI Research, Unbabel | Aureliusz Górski
Founder & CEO, CampusAI | Börje Ekholm
President & CEO, Ericsson | Christian Klein
CEO of SAP SE | Daniel Ek
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CCCO, METLEN Energy and Metals | Yann LeCun
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Researcher, Czech Institute of Informatics, Robotics & Cybernetics, Czech Technical University | | | | | |



Join us in calling for regulatory certainty: EUneedsAI.com

¹‘Is generative AI a game changer?’, JP Morgan, February 2024

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Financial services

Grant Thornton US vies for UK stake

PE-backed auditor joins buyout groups on shortlist for share of franchise

ALEXANDRA HEAL AND SIMON FOY
LONDON
STEPHEN FOLEY — NEW YORK

Grant Thornton's US business and two European buyout firms are among bidders to have made a shortlist of suitors vying to buy a stake in the mid-tier accountant's UK franchise.

Grant Thornton's private equity-owned US business, Sweden's EQT and London-based Permira have been put through to the next round of bidding in a process aimed at securing a valuation of

up to £1.5bn for Grant Thornton UK, people familiar with the matter said.

Cinven, another mooted bidder, declined to comment on whether it had made the shortlist.

Grant Thornton operates as a global network of legally separate partnerships, and merging the UK business into the US firm would be a significant innovation. Top executives at the US firm believe it would turbocharge growth by allowing them to better target international clients.

Grant Thornton US recently sold a majority stake to a consortium led by the private equity group New Mountain Capital, which is keen to bankroll global expansion. It has proposed the idea of

acquiring not just the UK outfit but also Grant Thornton Ireland, which has hired bankers to consider the idea, the Financial Times has reported.

Alternatively, a stake sale to a buyout firm would mark the most significant private equity transaction in the UK's accounting industry to date.

The two firms and Grant Thornton US declined to comment.

"It's fascinating to see that world opening up to private equity and they actually want us to own them," said an executive of one of the contenders for Grant Thornton, referring to the buyout industry as a whole. "It's a people business and we understand people businesses because we are one."

Private equity has been active in the US accounting sector. The sale by Grant Thornton US of a 60 per cent stake to a consortium led by New Mountain in March marked the largest deal so far.

The potential sale of Grant Thornton UK initially garnered interest from a host of buyout groups including Blackstone, Carlyle, Bridgepoint and CVC Capital Partners.

Luxembourg-based CVC, which was seen as a frontrunner, considered making an offer but decided not to bid, people with knowledge of the process said.

CVC's ownership of Teneo, to which it bolted on Deloitte's former restructuring unit in 2021, may have made it too complicated for the private equity firm

to bid for another financial services company, another person with knowledge of their operations suggested.

UK rules mandate that audit firms must be majority owned by trained accountants, meaning any investment by a buyout firm would be likely to involve ringfencing Grant Thornton UK's audit practice.

Grant Thornton UK said "no decisions have been made" about the sale.

Carlyle, Blackstone, Bridgepoint and Rothschild declined to comment. CVC did not respond to a request for comment.

Additional reporting by Ivan Levingston in London
See Lex

Technology

Meta faces hefty EU antitrust fine over classified ads practices

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS

Meta faces a hefty EU fine over its alleged efforts to dominate the classified advertising market, as Brussels pushes to quash anti-competitive practices among the world's biggest technology companies.

EU regulators will claim Facebook's parent company links its free Marketplace services with the social network in an effort to undermine its rivals, said people familiar with the matter.

The bloc's decision could come as early as next month, said three senior people with direct knowledge of the probe, and would mark one of the final investigations overseen by Margrethe Vestager, the outgoing competition chief.

The commission declined to comment on the case.

Meta also declined to comment but pointed to a previous statement that said: "The claims made by the European Commission are without foundation. We continue to work with regulatory authorities to demonstrate that our product innovation is pro-consumer and pro-competitive."

This antitrust probe was launched in 2019 after accusations from rivals that Facebook was abusing its dominant position by offering free services while

"The claims are without foundation . . . our product innovation is pro-consumer and pro-competitive"

profiting from data, mostly from businesses, that it collects on the platform.

In December 2022, the European Commission provided initial findings that Meta was distorting competition in the online classified ads market, as well as using the data accessed from businesses for free to then sell ads to users.

Meta can appeal against the ruling. If the tech giant is found guilty, it could face penalties of up to 10 per cent of its global annual revenue, which in 2023 came to nearly \$135bn. Regulators, however, typically issue much lower sanctions.

The tech giant has argued that Facebook Marketplace operates in a highly competitive landscape and does not use data from rivals on the platform to compete against them, the people familiar with the company's position said.

Commission president Ursula von der Leyen is preparing her team to start the next five-year cycle at the EU's executive body, which could delay an announcement further, the people familiar said.

Von der Leyen said on Tuesday that Spain's Teresa Ribera would take over from Vestager as the bloc's antitrust chief.

Vestager, who is preparing to leave by the start of November, was keen to finalise this probe against Meta before she ended her decade of antitrust enforcement, the people added.

During her tenure in charge of the bloc's competition policy, Vestager has repeatedly targeted the world's biggest tech companies, with some of the toughest actions against tech giants such as Apple, Google and Microsoft.

Other jurisdictions are also seeking to rein in Big Tech and have cases against Meta. The UK's Competition and Markets Authority closed an investigation last year after Meta promised to limit the use of data it gathers from other businesses.

Financials. Asset management

Apollo pushes into high-grade debt business

Rapidly growing leveraged buyout pioneer has evolved into a bulge-bracket lender

SUJEET INDAP AND ERIC PLATT
NEW YORK

Jamshid Ehsani began his Apollo career betting on death. Now he is the central executive behind its effort to help companies breathe life into their operations.

Apollo's private credit strategy is taking on the largest traditional banks in the race to fund the billions needed by groups such as Intel, AT&T, AB InBev and Sony Music, which historically relied on high-rated bonds or vanilla credit facilities.

Asset managers have long been established as alternatives to banks. But Apollo's rapid growth over the years has created a unique opportunity: to be the one sponsor with the firepower to move beyond the mid-market clientele typical of the sector and step into underwriting the biggest companies.

Apollo says it could originate more than \$200bn in overall corporate loans annually by 2026. One part of that effort is what it calls its "high-grade capital solutions" strategy. Apollo then places the paper it spins up into its retirement annuities affiliate Athene, as well as third-party insurers and other asset managers, the latter two generating management and transaction fees.

In the middle of the effort is Ehsani, who has a PhD in energy economics from the Sorbonne and arrived at Apollo in 2010 after stints at Swiss Re, UBS and the World Bank. Among Ehsani's original assignments were "structured settlement" deals — acquiring life insurance policies that pay out to the buyer on the customer's death.

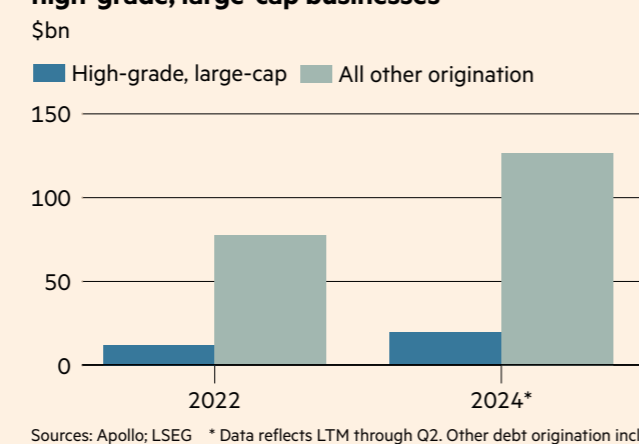
Colleagues describe Ehsani, whose title is global head of principal structured finance, as a hard-charging dealmaker prone to speaking sharply to colleagues. "He's probably the most powerful person at Apollo that a limited amount of people know about," said a fellow Apollo executive.

Marc Rowan, Apollo's chief executive, has told investors that the firm's biggest private credit opportunity is not the competitive "direct lending" business of funding risky leveraged buyouts. Instead, many creditworthy groups, including large ones, have unique projects or strategic objectives better served by customised structured financing.

Each deal has different terms but all transform a cash flow waterfall into investment-grade debt that is supposed to simultaneously solve a challenge for



Apollo increasingly able to lend billions to high-grade, large-cap businesses



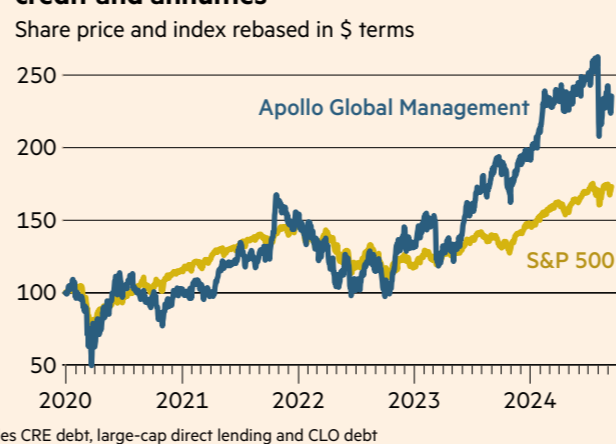
Apollo's private credit drive is overseen by Jamshid Ehsani, who is described by colleagues as a hard-charging dealmaker — FT montage/Getty Images

the Apollo counterparty, support retirement savings of Athene's elderly customers and give Apollo a higher rate of return for its shareholders.

In the instance of AB InBev, the beverage company sold half of an unwanted metals plant for \$3bn to Apollo. For Intel, Apollo invested \$11bn to help pay for the completion of an Irish semiconductor fabrication facility. At AT&T, Apollo contributed \$2bn to the telco's wireless segment used to build out mobile phone networks.

For the \$50bn or so that Apollo has cumulatively originated in high-grade debt, it also earns placement and management fees for the portion syndicated to other asset managers or insurers. Apollo can charge interest rates that are 1 to 2 percentage points higher over more conventional loans or bonds as a premium paid for illiquid private debt.

Wall Street rewards Apollo's shift into private credit and annuities



Annual profits from lending out insurance customers' funds at Apollo top \$5bn and are growing at double-digit rates; the company's market cap has risen to about \$65bn. Since the start of 2020, shares of Apollo have more than doubled, far outperforming the S&P 500.

The pitch to corporate clients is just one part of Apollo's broader lending push, as it looks for loans of all kinds that can feed both its own and third-party insurers. It provides financing underlying rail cars, aeroplanes, music royalties, machinery, inventory, real estate and even other asset managers that are in need of capital.

"They just really understand how to drive through these alternative structured pathways and then they get paid for it," said an executive from a firm that is financed by Apollo. "They have

'[Ehsani] is probably the most powerful person at Apollo that a limited amount of people know about'

Financials

Cohen steps back from trading at Point72

COSTAS MOURSELAS — LONDON
AMELIA POLLARD — NEW YORK

Steve Cohen, founder of US hedge fund Point72, is stepping back from trading to focus on running the firm he founded a decade ago.

Cohen was "taking a break from trading his own book and he feels he can have a greater impact by focusing on running the firm, driving strategic initiatives, and mentoring and coaching to the next generation of talent," Point72 said.

Cohen, who is also owner of the New York Mets baseball team, will remain co-chief investment officer of the hedge fund alongside Harry Schwefel. The firm managed just over \$35bn and had more than 2,800 employees around the world as of the beginning of July.

Cohen founded Point72 after his previous firm SAC Capital pleaded guilty to insider trading and paid \$1.8bn

in fines. The US Securities and Exchange Commission banned him from managing other investors' money for two years.

Since its launch, Point72 has become a big operator in field of so-called multi-manager hedge funds, competing with rivals such as Izzy Englander's Millennium and Ken Griffin's Citadel.

Unlike a traditional hedge fund that might trade one or two strategies in one asset class, Point72 has hundreds of investment staff across 185 teams around the world, working on a variety of trading strategies in equities, macro and computer-driven trading.

Point72 has enjoyed a strong run of performance and is up 10 per cent this year to the end of August, said people who have seen the numbers. It has also grown rapidly, almost doubling in size since 2021, when it managed \$20bn.

A person familiar with the matter said

that while Cohen was stepping away from trading, he could return to manage a portfolio in the future.

"There's huge value in having Steve as an impactful mentor for our investment professionals; he's been doing this for 40 years," the company added.

Point72 has also explored returning profits to investors for the first time, which could come after the end of the year, although the plans could change, said a person familiar with the matter. The firm has had discussions with investors about this possibility in order to help plan how to redeploy capital.

Aside from Wall Street, Cohen has become a fixture in New York sports. He bought the Mets in 2020 and recently sought to gain approval for a proposed multibillion-dollar casino next to the baseball team's Citi Field stadium.

The news of Cohen's decision was first reported by Bloomberg.

Banks

JPMorgan in talks to take on Apple credit card

JOSHUA FRANKLIN — NEW YORK

JPMorgan Chase has held initial talks with Apple about taking over the iPhone maker's credit card programme, which is currently managed by Goldman Sachs, according to people familiar with the matter.

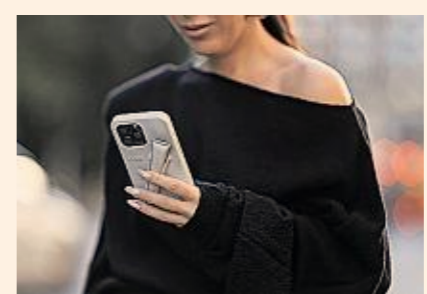
The discussions were at an early stage and an agreement may not materialise, the people cautioned. The talks, which were first reported by The Wall Street Journal, are the latest move by Apple and Goldman to untangle their credit card partnership that launched in 2019, which now has about \$17bn in balances.

The companies declined to comment. Apple last year proposed winding down its credit card and savings account partnership with Goldman, which has been paring back its retail banking after years of losses.

The talks have partly focused on

JPMorgan looking to move Apple away from its practice with Goldman of billing all card customers at the start of the month, as opposed to spreading those out — a policy that can lead to a logjam of customer service queries.

JPMorgan chief executive Jamie Dimon has repeatedly cited Apple, as well as other tech companies, as emerging competitors to traditional banks in



Apple has been cited as an emerging competitor to traditional banks

offering financial services to customers. "Apple moves money, holds money, lends money," Dimon said at an investor event earlier this year. "They're becoming a bank." JPMorgan is the largest US bank, with more than \$2tn in deposits.

Credit card partnerships such as these typically work by a company like Apple putting its brand on the card. The bank maintains the underlying infrastructure and does the lending.

Goldman's partnership with Apple was treated at the time as a landmark deal for the Wall Street bank in its nascent retail banking business. It built a platform from scratch for Apple and agreed terms that other traditional providers of corporate credit card partnerships would not.

Goldman's retail banking efforts have racked up billions of dollars in losses. It has now scaled back much of its retail business.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Fast fashion innovator Shein forced to fend off rival Temu as it waits for Beijing to permit IPO

Retailer faces threats both to its business model and over its decision to relocate headquarters from China to Singapore

ELEANOR OLCOTT AND TINA HU
PANYU, GUANGZHOU

Every few minutes a newly finished garment is added to mounds of leopard-print skirts, winter coats and fluorescent polyester tank tops in a factory in Panyu, southern China. Each has been made at the behest of a single retailer: Shein.

The scene is repeated in thousands of workshops in Panyu's garment-making district, the heart of Shein's retail empire. Garments from each teetering pile will go to one of its nearby warehouses, then by truck to a Guangzhou airport and on to a cargo flight. Soon a distribution network thousands of miles away in Europe or the US will fulfil an online order by whisking the clothes to a young shopper's doorstep.

Speed is of the essence. "It's never easy dealing with Shein orders. We have to finish within seven days, which means we often have to work overtime," said a factory manager supervising a largely female workforce.

Shein's control of this process — seen in visits to eight factories and other facilities, and explained in talks with merchants, supply chain experts and employees — has made it one of the world's hottest retailers. The China-founded group made more than \$2bn in profits for 2023 and registered sales of \$4.5bn on its website. It is working on plans for an initial public offering in the UK, having been valued at \$66bn in its latest funding round.

But pressure is mounting on Shein — and its business model.

While the retailer does not sell in China and relocated its headquarters from China to Singapore in 2021, it still needs to have any IPO approved by Beijing regulators, who are unhappy with the company's move to "de-Chinafy" itself, according to people familiar with the matter.

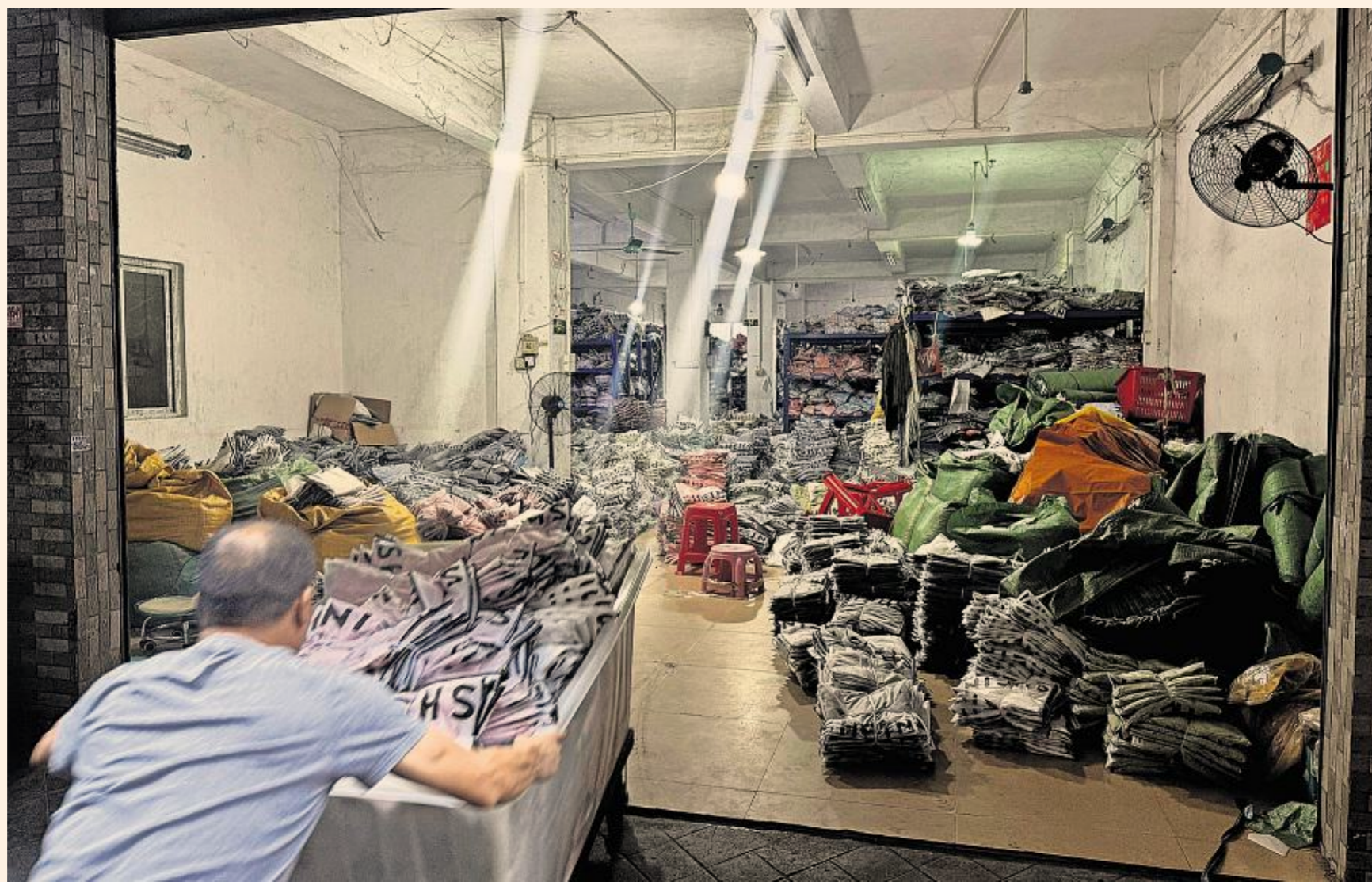
Meanwhile Temu, a well-funded retail rival owned by China's PDD Group e-commerce giant, has unleashed a marketing blitz and aped Shein's methods, even poaching suppliers in Panyu. More than local rivalry is at stake for Shein, which has pitched its "special relationship" with manufacturers as a competitive advantage.

Last Friday the Biden administration moved to close a trade loophole that had supercharged Shein's growth by allowing its packages into the US free of customs duties, presenting a new challenge to the company.

"Shein created a whole new model for retail and an entire new supply chain to make that model successful," said Britain Ladd, a US supply chain consultant. Now, Temu is "leveraging the efficiency gains that Shein has given the supply chain", he said, while Shein itself tries to diversify its business outside of female fashion.

"This is a pivotal moment for the company," he said.

Today, the central hub of Panyu has become known as "Shein village". Before Shein's founder Sky Xu set up there, factories in Panyu predominantly worked for international fashion



A warehouse in Panyu, which has become known as 'Shein village'. Below left, food stalls adjoining the district's clothes factories. Below right, a Panyu worker makes garments for Shein — *Ellie Olcott/FT*

groups, handling big orders with lead times of up to a year from design to shop floor.

Xu had to persuade the factories to adopt his model of low batch ordering: first making 100 pieces of a new item, then increasing volumes only if it sold well on Shein's website. "When Shein first arrived, no one wanted to work with them because the orders were too small," said one factory manager.

Shein got them onside with better payment terms. From an industry standard of 90 days, some started to get paid in as little as one week, according to the suppliers, while Shein's surging volumes gave Panyu's suppliers confi-

dence. With gossip coursing through WeChat groups in Panyu, word quickly spread that there was money to be made working with Shein.

"By 2020, everyone was working with Shein because their orders were so big," said the factory manager.

One factory owner estimated that at its peak about 80 per cent of the 7,000 clothes-making factories in Panyu worked for Shein either as a contract manufacturer or taking overflow orders.

Shein bore down on costs, pressing factory bosses to source cheaper materials to squeeze margins — though some factories that produce designs and order materials get higher margins for taking on greater costs.

The company also introduced an electronic ordering system to track how products were selling and adjust output accordingly.

Xu "helped the whole supply chain go electronic. Before Shein came along, we were all taking orders over the phone. His contribution was to improve efficiency," said Bing Gongsun, a merchant that sells on all major e-commerce platforms.

In the eight factories the Financial Times visited, managers were seated near workers at sewing machines, with monitors where they could view automated order updates via an operating system built by Shein.

However, much of the rest of garment-making in Panyu remains low-tech, and wages have been rising as young workers shun factory jobs. Fac-

tory workers that source to Shein typically get paid between Rmb7,000 (\$988) and Rmb12,000 monthly, depending on how many clothes they finish, according to the factory managers, compared with between Rmb5,500 and Rmb6,500 for other blue-collar workers in the area.

The company monitors quality by checking pictures of the clothes and weighing them upon delivery to the warehouse. "Shein is not that picky. But it does check the clothes," said one finance director at a Shein factory.

Over a decade, Shein's growth has transformed Panyu. Hipster coffee shops have shot up and restaurants

'Shein created a whole new model for retail and an entire new supply chain to make [it] successful'

serve dishes from all over China to armies of migrant workers.

Now, another company has designs on Panyu: Temu. It has flooded Instagram and Facebook with adverts and has displaced Amazon as Google's largest single advertising contributor, according to people familiar with the matter. Google declined to comment.

In 2022 Temu established its office in Panyu and began raiding Shein's staff and supplier base, prompting the rival to go on the defensive.

Shein ordered its suppliers to stop working with Temu and said any merchants found selling to both platforms would be fined and have contracts cancelled, according to suppliers who described a de facto "er-xuan-yi" policy — Chinese for "choose one or the other".

Still, Panyu factory owners have found creative ways to navigate the fight. "There are lots of ways around the rules. Many of the suppliers have several factories. You just register under a different name and use those companies to sell to both platforms," said the finance director.

Shein said it "has never instituted an er-xuan-yi policy".

Temu said: "While some former Shein employees have applied to join us, we are cautious about hiring from direct competitors, and the number of such hires has been limited."

In 2023, as part of a move to clean up its supply chain ahead of an IPO, Shein ditched a group of suppliers after auditors found that they had been violating its certification standards. Many of those suppliers switched to selling on Temu.

Shein has also been battling concerns over the provenance of cotton in its supply chain. The US has banned imports of cotton from China's Xinjiang province because of concerns over alleged use of forced labour, which China denies. Shein has publicly said it has "zero tolerance for forced labour" and requires "our contract manufacturers to only source cotton from approved regions", while avoiding explicit references to Xinjiang.

As its business has matured, Shein has begun to chase new revenue streams. Last year, it launched a marketplace for merchants to sell everything from garden furniture to electronics, and has begun working with factories in Brazil and Turkey to bring some production closer to shoppers in the Americas and Europe.

Such ventures are part of the growth story that Shein would like to sell to investors — if Beijing does give its blessing for the company's IPO. With no assurance about its plans to list, Shein is in "a wait-and-see mode", according to one person close to the company.

Panyu's factory managers pay little attention to such regulatory intrigue. The focus remains as it was before Xu arrived: how to survive in a world of wafer-thin margins. Whether Shein or Temu pays the bills, said one, "we just go wherever there are orders".

Additional reporting by Stephen Morris in San Francisco



Healthcare

Bausch + Lomb in talks with potential bidders

OLIVER BARNES — INDIANAPOLIS
MARIA HEETER, ERIC PLATT AND
JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN — NEW YORK

Blackstone, Advent International and TPG are among a list of private equity firms studying bids for Bausch + Lomb, according to people close to the talks, after the eyecare company kicked off a sale process to break the impasse over a spin-off from its indebted parent.

Bausch + Lomb was put up for sale after a planned separation from Bausch Health, formerly known as Valeant, unravelled amid tensions between activist investors and creditors owed \$21bn by the parent.

Private equity groups KKR, CVC Capital and Hellman & Friedman are also considering bids for the eyecare business, ahead of a soft deadline later this week, according to people familiar with the matter.

The firms have held meetings with Bausch + Lomb's management team — which is led by chief executive Brent Saunders, a well-known dealmaker — in recent weeks, they added.

Potential bidders will have to express interest in making an offer by tomorrow, people familiar with the matter said. There is no guarantee that the sale process will result in a deal. Bausch Health is also exploring other options, including refinancing some of its debt.

Bausch + Lomb, which is being advised by Goldman Sachs, wants to enter into exclusive talks over a possible sale by the end of October. A target sale price for the business could not be ascertained, but is likely to come at a premium to the current enterprise value including debt of \$11.5bn.

TPG is interested in Bausch + Lomb as it could extract synergies with BVI Medical, an ophthalmology company it already owns, one person said.

Bausch + Lomb and Goldman Sachs as well as Advent, Blackstone, H&F, KKR, CVC and TPG declined to comment. Bausch Health did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

After announcing a spin-off four years



The eyecare business is likely to seek a sale price of more than \$11.5bn

ago, Bausch + Lomb was listed as a separate business in 2022 but Bausch Health retained an 88 per cent share. Because of concerns from lenders over the health of Bausch Health's balance sheet, the original plan to strike a deal with investors to exchange Bausch Health stock for Bausch + Lomb came undone.

Bausch Health creditors, including Apollo Management, Elliott Management, GoldenTree Asset Management and Silver Point Capital, opposed a spin-off over concerns that it could leave the parent insolvent, as it would lose its more profitable subsidiary just ahead of roughly \$10bn worth of maturities coming due before the end of 2027.

In contrast, Bausch Health's top shareholders, activist Carl Icahn and John Paulson's fund Paulson & Co, which have board representation at both the parent company and its subsidiary, had supported the completion of a spin-off as it would give them a large shareholding in the more profitable eyecare business.

A sale, however, could satisfy both parties, as it would realise a sizeable return for shareholders and give Bausch Health cash to pay its debts.

Bausch + Lomb is projected to generate nearly \$860mn in adjusted earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation from \$4.7bn in revenues this year.

Energy

Solar panel maker Meyer Burger slashes jobs

RACHEL MILLARD — LONDON

One of Europe's largest solar panel manufacturers, Meyer Burger, is to cut nearly a fifth of its workforce and overhaul management as it tries to return to profitability in the face of stiff competition from Chinese rivals.

The Swiss company said yesterday that chief executive Guntar Erfurt would step down, to be replaced by executive chair Franz Richter. Chief financial officer Markus Nikles will also depart.

The company would shed about 200 — 19 per cent — of its roughly 1,050 global workforce by the end of 2025, it said.

In March, Meyer Burger, which has factories in Germany and the US, reported a loss of SFr292mn (\$346mn) for the 2023 calendar year, blaming "severe price undercutting in the European solar market" for missing sales targets. It has postponed publication of results for the half-year to June 30 until at least the end of this month because of the challenges of reflecting its restructuring in the figures.

Solar power has grown strongly over the past few years, with a record 346 gigawatts installed globally in 2023 — potentially enough to power hundreds of millions of homes — driven by a surge in China.

However, panel makers have struggled because of a sharp rise in manufac-

turing capacity, also fuelled by China, which has depressed panel prices and pushed many makers into losses.

Panel prices fell more than 60 per cent between July 2022 and July 2023, according to data from BloombergNEF, triggering calls from Meyer Burger and others for more protectionist trade measures in Europe.

In a lengthy statement yesterday on social media site X, outgoing chief Erfurt accused European politicians of

'The industry of the future has been sacrificed to China [and this will] one day be regretted'

being "too afraid of China" and "not prepared to protect the European solar industry against unfair competition".

"The industry of the future has been sacrificed to China," he wrote, warning this would "one day be regretted".

"Europe has both the technology, the trained people and the entrepreneurial creativity to succeed," he wrote. "It just needs industrial policy that not only recognises the signs of the times in speeches, but courageously translates them into action."

Meyer Burger said yesterday it would focus on "achieving profitability as

quickly as possible" and was considering selling some of its technology and equipment to customers to lift revenue.

Its shares were down 12.9 per cent in Zurich at SFr1.67, giving the company a market capitalisation of SFr54mn. The shares reached a peak of SFr108 in September last year.

Meyer Burger has shifted some production to the US, tempted by the subsidies on offer in President Joe Biden's Inflation Reduction Act.

However, it has also struggled there, and in August it announced a planned 2GW solar cell factory in Colorado was "no longer financially viable" and would not go ahead.

In addition, it suspended plans to expand capacity at a new panel assembly site in Goodyear, Arizona. It shut a panel assembly site in Freiberg, Saxony, in April, but still has a cell manufacturing facility in nearby Thalheim.

Of the 200 roles due to go, Meyer Burger said there was a "disproportionate reduction in Europe" although it did not specify how many.

It highlighted new chief executive Richter's "extensive experience restructuring industrial companies". He is currently chair of the supervisory board of Dr Hönle, a German supplier of technology using ultra-violet light for manufacturing and other applications.

See Moral Money

COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Pound moves close to its highest point of the year against the dollar
- Investors offload gilts while Treasuries also hit by selling
- European stocks retreat, weighed down by declines for Novo Nordisk

The pound neared its highest point of the year against the dollar yesterday after UK core inflation came in slightly stronger than expected in August.

Sterling rose 0.7 per cent to \$1.3253, near its year peak of \$1.3266, before later paring gains to stand up 0.4 per cent on the session.

Investors scaled back their bets that the Bank of England would cut interest rates today after core UK inflation — which strips out volatile food and energy prices — increased from 3.3 per cent in July to 3.6 per cent last month.

That was slightly above the 3.5 per cent forecast by economists polled by Reuters. Headline inflation remained at 2.2 per cent, in line with expectations.

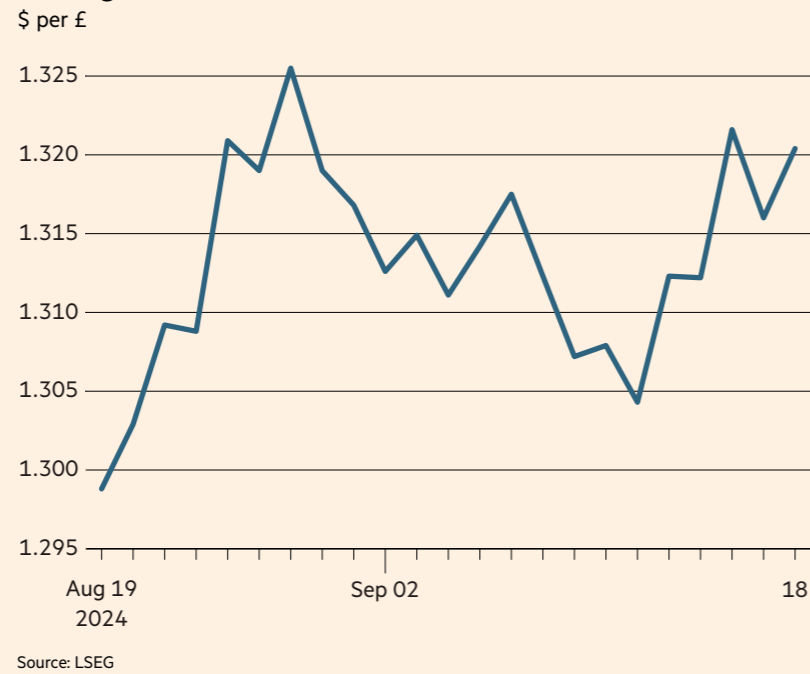
Yields on interest-rate sensitive two-year gilts rose 8 basis points to 3.90 per cent while those on benchmark 10-year bonds rose 2bp to 3.84 per cent as investors offloaded the debt.

Swap markets priced in a 15 per cent probability that the Bank of England would institute a quarter percentage point cut when it meets today, according to data from Bloomberg.

Tim Graf, head of macro strategy at State Street Global Markets, said there were signs that the BoE would need to move more aggressively towards the end of this year.

“UK prices have been rising at a slower

Sterling climbs on inflation data



than normal pace since May and suggest gravity will win in the end and that the MPC will probably deliver more easing than is currently priced,” he said.

Treasury bonds eased as investors yesterday expected the US Federal Reserve to make its first interest rate cut since the coronavirus pandemic.

Yields on 10-year Treasuries rose 4bp to 3.68 per cent by midday trading in New York while those on rate-sensitive two-year bonds gained 6bp to 3.64 per cent.

On Wall Street, the blue-chip S&P 500 index and the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite were both flat.

The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 index shed 0.5 per cent, weighed down by declines for Novo Nordisk, the region's largest company by market value.

Shares in the Danish drugmaker slipped following reports that the company's weight-loss drug, Ozempic, would “very likely” be the target of price reduction negotiations with the US government as part of its Medicare programme.

London's FTSE 100 index retreated 0.7 per cent, the Cac 40 in Paris was down 0.5 per cent while Frankfurt's Xetra Dax edged 0.1 per cent lower. **Rafe Uddin**

Questions loom over stake sale in Commerzbank

Craig Coben

Markets Insight



When governments divest shares in quoted companies, two objectives reign supreme: maximise taxpayer returns and ensure procedural transparency.

The recent sale of Commerzbank shares to UniCredit has failed on both counts, offering a textbook example of how not to create price tension in a capital markets offering.

The €700mn disposal of shares, orchestrated by Germany's federal finance agency, has ignited a firestorm of recriminations and raised questions about who knew what and when — and why crucial information seemed to fall through the cracks. It also wrongfooted the German government in dealing with UniCredit's broader strategic ambitions.

A quick recap: the FFA invited a cadre of investment banks last week to bid on a block of 53mn Commerzbank shares.

JPMorgan Chase and Goldman Sachs emerged victorious and re-offered the shares to investors via a fast-track process called an “accelerated bookbuild” where stock is sold quickly without formal marketing. The offer price was €12.48 — less than a 1 per cent discount from the day's closing price of €12.60.

While pricing block trades isn't an exact science, the banks were undoubtedly underwriting at an aggressive level — good for the seller but it's “squeaky bum time” for syndicate bankers until the block is “off the pad” and sold. I experienced it myself as a banker.

But then entered UniCredit, which swooped in later that evening with a reported €13.20 per share bid for the entire block, scuppering the bookbuild.

Combined with a 4.5 per cent stake that it had built up with derivatives, this left it in control of 9 per cent of Com-

merzbank. By the following day, speculation about UniCredit's strategic intentions catapulted Commerzbank shares up more than 20 per cent, reaching €15 per share with further gains following.

The FFA appears to have followed standard protocol for a government-organised bookbuild. And the German government used this playbook before.

State development bank KfW auctioned off €2bn of Deutsche Post shares in February, followed by €2.5bn of Deutsche Telekom shares in June, both through accelerated bookbuilds. These sales were executed with minimal fuss at tight discounts of just over 2 per cent.

The FFA presumably thought a simi-

It is a troubling trifecta of naïveté, opacity and poor execution, leaving German taxpayers short-changed

lar process would flush out the highest bids for Commerzbank.

But UniCredit's swoop raises many questions around the co-ordination and communication within the German government. The Italian bank's chief executive, Andrea Orcel, claimed that the German government was “well aware” that UniCredit had already amassed a 4.5 per cent stake in Commerzbank.

If true, then the decision to launch a stock market offering defies belief.

Strategic buyers such as UniCredit typically pay hefty premiums — often in double-digit percentages — whereas accelerated bookbuilds normally price at a discount to the last quoted price.

The outcome? Germany has forfeited well over €100mn in potential gains on

the stake sale that it might have expected to secure from the premium paid by a strategic buyer. It also may find itself strategically outmanoeuvred with its grip over Commerzbank's future potentially weakened.

By launching the accelerated bookbuild in this way, Germany painted itself into a corner with little choice but to accept UniCredit's lowball bid as the alternative was even more unpalatable.

The FFA could have refused to allocate UniCredit's eleventh-hour order but that would have meant settling for the lower price from institutional investors.

There are also questions over the role of the banks. JPMorgan is reported to have invited UniCredit to make an offer for the block but it is not clear when the approach was made or who (if anyone) in the German government had authorised the outreach. And once the deal evolved from a capital markets offering to a straight sale, Goldman Sachs resigned from the deal to avoid a conflict of interest with its position as Commerzbank's long-term strategic adviser.

Goldman's withdrawal and UniCredit's bid price meant that, assuming typical fee arrangements, JPMorgan might have earned as much as €10mn.

This would amount to quite a windfall fee. It's telling that, even though this was a government sale, it's not yet publicly known what remuneration was paid to JPMorgan.

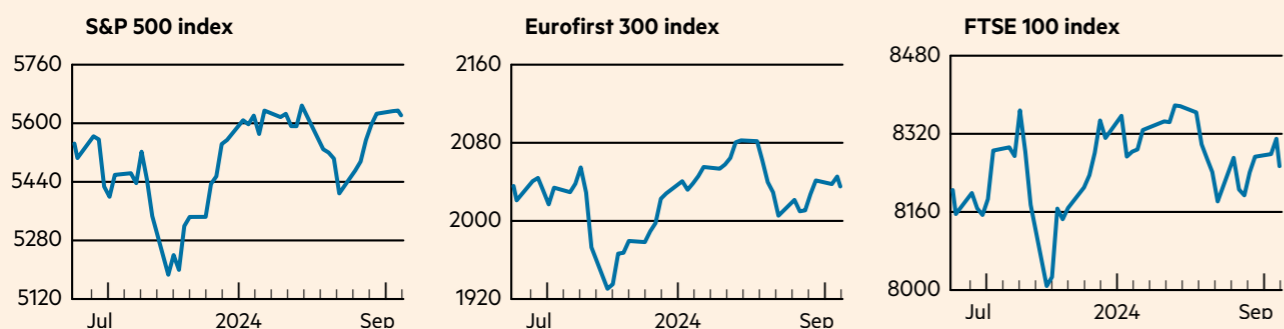
The sale highlights a troubling trifecta of naïveté, opacity and slipshod execution — leaving German taxpayers financially short-changed and the government strategically outflanked.

Craig Coben is a former global head of equity capital markets at Bank of America and a managing director at Seda Experts

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	5621.63	2035.25	36380.17	8253.68	2717.28	134159.88
% change on day	-0.23	-0.50	0.49	-0.68	0.49	-0.59
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	100.849	1.112	142.020	1.321	7.089	5.469
% change on day	-0.045	0.000	0.222	0.152	-0.069	-0.656
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	3.686	2.192	0.822	3.923	2.032	11.603
Basis point change on day	4.360	4.900	-0.320	8.100	-0.800	-9.500
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	544.54	73.13	69.43	2574.55	30.68	4082.70
% change on day	-0.26	-0.77	-0.76	-0.37	-0.74	-0.31

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
Up	West Pharmaceutical Services 4.65	A.p. Moller - Maersk B 3.30	Reckitt Benckiser 1.24
	C.h. Robinson Worldwide 2.39	Telecom Italia 3.00	Rightmove 1.19
	General Motors 2.37	Saipem 2.79	Kingfisher 1.15
	Monster Beverage 1.97	Bay.motoren Werke 2.52	Centrica 1.03
	Centene 1.96	Basf 2.37	Wpp 0.93
Downs	Resmed -5.79	Novo Nordisk -2.35	Jd Sports Fashion -5.95
	Sysco -3.55	Grifols -2.00	Rentokil Initial -4.59
	Avery Dennison -2.87	Edenred -1.78	Diploma -2.89
	Albemarle -2.63	Philips -1.66	Legal & General -2.85
	Intel -2.54	Pernod Ricard -1.66	Halma -2.35

Equities

India overtakes China's weighting in world's biggest investable benchmark

ARJUN NEIL ALIM — HONG KONG
CHRIS KAY — BENGALURU
JOSEPH COTTERILL — LONDON

India has overtaken China's weighting in one of the biggest stock market benchmarks as share sales and rising liquidity in Indian companies make the country more open to investors.

India's share of the free-float “investable” version of the MSCI All-Country World index, which tracks almost all global stocks that can be bought on the open market, rose to 2.33 per cent this month, eclipsing China's 2.06 per cent.

The shift makes India the sixth-largest weighting in an index that is dominated by US companies. It also reflects demand in India's red-hot stock market, which is also unlocking shares for global investors to buy just as the Chinese economy slumps and fund managers dump China-related stocks.

“It is a natural evolution of the market,” said Vivian Lin Thurston, a portfolio manager at William Blair Investment Management. “You have Indian equities

performing strongly and Chinese ones lagging. There is a rebalancing happening as MSCI adds and drops names so some of the Indian stocks that have improved liquidity get a bit more weight in the system.”

India's blue-chip Nifty 50 index has hit record highs this year as the country's economy registers the strongest

‘You have Indian equities performing strongly and Chinese ones lagging. There is a rebalancing’

GDP growth of any major economy and millions of middle-class households pile their savings into local mutual funds.

Some \$38bn of domestic money has flowed into Indian equities this year, exceeding the annual level of each of the past 16 years.

Indian companies have rushed to take advantage of the country's soaring stock markets with scooter manufacturer Ola

Electric and mortgage provider Bajaj Housing Finance among the biggest initial public offerings so far this year.

More than \$38bn has been raised on its equity market this year, the highest in Asia and more than double the amount over the same period a year ago, Dealogic data shows.

Earlier this month, the free float of Indian stocks also supplanted Chinese counterparts as the largest country in the MSCI Emerging Markets investable index, at 22 per cent to 19 per cent.

When not adjusted for free float, China remains ahead of India in the closely watched MSCI Emerging Markets index, which does not include small-cap companies.

But China has seen its share fall from 40 per cent in 2020 to a quarter while India's has risen to a fifth from below 7 per cent 10 years ago.

Even so, China and India — and emerging markets as a whole — are still overshadowed by the bull run in US stocks, which make up two-thirds of the world index.

Out now: The fDi Report 2024

Global greenfield investment trends

The fDi Report 2024 is the annual assessment of crossborder investment, based on data from fDi Markets – a service from the Financial Times.

Key foreign direct investment trends spotted include:

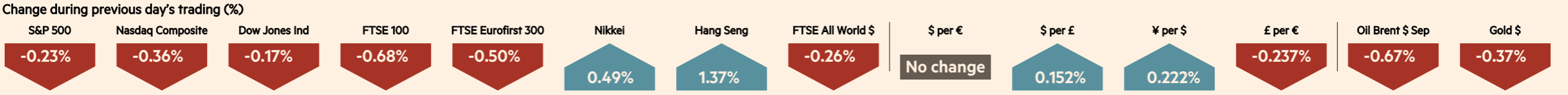
- Renewable energy retains its position as the sector with the highest capital investment for the fourth year in a row
- The US remains the top source and destination country for FDI by capital investment
- The semiconductor sector experiences a large year-on-year decline in capital investment, falling 50% from \$109.5bn to \$55.2bn.

Download your free copy of the report: fdiinsights.com/fdi/report2024



WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

FT.COM/MARKETSDATA



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

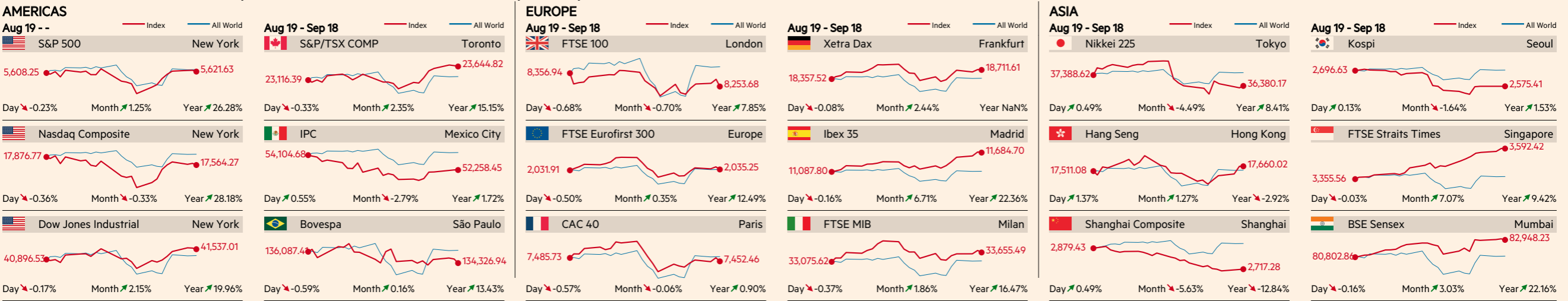


Table with 12 columns for different regions: AMERICAS, EUROPE, and ASIA. Each column contains a table of stock indices with columns for Country, Index, Latest, and Previous values.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table with 4 columns: AMERICA, LONDON, EURO MARKETS, and TOKYO. Each column lists stock symbols, their latest prices, and percentage changes.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table with 4 columns: FTSE 100, FTSE 250, FTSE Smallcap, and Industry Sectors. Lists winning and losing stocks with their respective price and percentage changes.

CURRENCIES

Table with 4 columns: DOLLAR, EURO, and POUND. Lists various currencies and their closing, mid, and day's change values.

FTSE ACTUARIES SHARE INDICES

Table listing FTSE Actuarial Share Indices with columns for Index Name, Closing, Day's Change, and other metrics.

FT 30 INDEX

Table showing FT 30 Index performance with columns for Date, Index Value, and other metrics.

FTSE SECTORS: LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table listing FTSE sectors with columns for Sector Name, Index Value, and percentage change.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table listing FTSE 100 constituent companies with columns for Company Name, Closing Price, Day's Change, and other metrics.

UK RIGHTS OFFERS

Table listing UK rights offers with columns for Company Name, Amount, Latest date, and other details.

UK COMPANY RESULTS

Table listing UK company results with columns for Company Name, Turnover, Pre-tax, EPS, Divid, Pay day, and Total.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table listing UK stock market trading data with columns for Order Book Turnover, Order Book Buys, and other metrics.

Figures in £m. Earnings shown below figures in light text are for corresponding period year earlier. For more information on dividend payments visit www.ft.com/marketsdata. All elements listed are indicative and not guaranteed.

MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

Table of fund performance data with columns for Fund, Bid, Offer, Dv, Yield. Includes Algebris, Blue Whale, and Candriam sections.

Algebris Investments logo and regulated fund list including Algebris Financial Credit, Algebris Financial Income, and Algebris Financial Equity.

Blue Whale Investment Funds ICAV logo and list of funds including Euro High Income, High Income, and Sterling Bond.

Artemis The Profit Hunter logo and list of fund managers including Artemis Corporate Bond, Artemis European Select, and Artemis Global Income.

Brown Advisory logo and list of fund managers including Artemis SmartGARP, Artemis SmartGARP Glo, and Artemis SmartGARP UK.

Brown Advisory logo and list of fund managers including Artemis SmartGARP, Artemis SmartGARP Glo, and Artemis SmartGARP UK.

Ashmore logo and list of fund managers including Ashmore Group and Ashmore Dynamic.

Candriam logo and list of fund managers including Candriam Investors Group and Candriam Absolute Return.

Atlantis Sicav logo and list of fund managers including Atlantis Dynamic and Atlantis One.

Equinor Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Equinor Asset Management and Equinor Global Equity.

FIL Investment Services logo and list of fund managers including FIL Investment Services and FIL Global Equity.

Foro Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Foro Asset Management and Foro Global Equity.

Findlay Park logo and list of fund managers including Findlay Park Funds and Findlay Park Equity.

Fundsmith Equity Fund logo and list of fund managers including Fundsmith Equity Fund and Fundsmith Global Equity.

Marwyn Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Marwyn Value Investors and Marwyn Global Equity.

Mirabaud Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Mirabaud Global Equity and Mirabaud Global Income.

Table of fund performance data with columns for Fund, Bid, Offer, Dv, Yield. Includes Janus Henderson and LGT sections.

Janus Henderson Investors logo and list of fund managers including Janus Henderson Global Equity and Janus Henderson Sustainable.

LGT Wealth Management logo and list of fund managers including LGT Wealth Management and LGT Global Equity.

Foro Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Foro Asset Management and Foro Global Equity.

Fundsmith Equity Fund logo and list of fund managers including Fundsmith Equity Fund and Fundsmith Global Equity.

Marwyn Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Marwyn Value Investors and Marwyn Global Equity.

Mirabaud Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Mirabaud Global Equity and Mirabaud Global Income.

Stonehage Fleming logo and list of fund managers including Stonehage Fleming Global Equity and Stonehage Fleming Global Income.

Superfund Invest Better logo and list of fund managers including Superfund Global Equity and Superfund Global Income.

Toscafund Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Toscafund Global Equity and Toscafund Global Income.

Troy Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Troy Asset Management and Troy Global Equity.

Milltrust International logo and list of fund managers including Milltrust Global Equity and Milltrust Global Income.

Mirabaud Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Mirabaud Global Equity and Mirabaud Global Income.

Prusik Investment Management logo and list of fund managers including Prusik Global Equity and Prusik Global Income.

Purisma Investment Fds logo and list of fund managers including Purisma Global Equity and Purisma Global Income.

Ram Active Investments logo and list of fund managers including Ram Active Investments and Ram Global Equity.

Table of fund performance data with columns for Fund, Bid, Offer, Dv, Yield. Includes Ruffer and Stonehage Fleming sections.

Mirabaud Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Mirabaud Global Equity and Mirabaud Global Income.

Oasis Crescent Global Investment Funds logo and list of fund managers including Oasis Crescent Global Equity and Oasis Crescent Global Income.

M & G Securities logo and list of fund managers including M & G Securities Global Equity and M & G Securities Global Income.

Marwyn Asset Management logo and list of fund managers including Marwyn Value Investors and Marwyn Global Equity.

Platinum Capital Management logo and list of fund managers including Platinum Global Equity and Platinum Global Income.

McInroy & Wood Portfolios logo and list of fund managers including McInroy & Wood Global Equity and McInroy & Wood Global Income.

Guinness Global Investors logo and list of fund managers including Guinness Global Equity and Guinness Global Income.

HPB Assurance Ltd logo and list of fund managers including HPB Assurance Global Equity and HPB Assurance Global Income.

Janus Henderson logo and list of fund managers including Janus Henderson Global Equity and Janus Henderson Global Income.

Janus Henderson Investors logo and list of fund managers including Janus Henderson Global Equity and Janus Henderson Global Income.

Ministry of Justice Common Investment Funds logo and list of fund managers including Ministry of Justice Global Equity and Ministry of Justice Global Income.

Janus Henderson Investors logo and list of fund managers including Janus Henderson Global Equity and Janus Henderson Global Income.

Janus Henderson Investors logo and list of fund managers including Janus Henderson Global Equity and Janus Henderson Global Income.

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ARTS

Dazzling show of friendship

THEATRE

Sarah Hemming



A few years ago Toby Marlow and Lucy Moss blazed on to the musical theatre stage with their wildly improbable – and hugely successful – *Six*, in which the wives of Henry VIII formed an impromptu girl-band to challenge history with a blast of “her-story”. They’re still strutting their Tudor style all over the world.

But success brings its own headaches – not least the challenge of the next project. One of the charms of Moss and Marlow’s *Why Am I So Single?* is that it confronts that issue head-on. With a lot of fourth-wall-breaking and metatheatrical mischief, they make their new “big fancy musical” about two best-friend-writers (played with fabulous charisma by Jo Foster and Leesa Tulley) supposedly penning a West End show, but in fact spending the evening raking through their unwanted single status. They end up scrolling through dating apps, watching *Friends* yet again and working their way through a fair amount of prosecco.

It’s wickedly self-referential and completely daft – there’s a standout number about the trauma of getting a bee out of your flat, for goodness’ sake. It really shouldn’t work. But it does – dazzlingly so. Why? Because it’s frank, funny, wittily self-deprecating – “You don’t think it’s a bit lazy and forced?” asks one character – packed with dizzying musical parody, and, above all, because at its heart is a tender and sincere celebration of friendship.

As with *Six*, we’re back with relation-

ship problems – although losing your head over a bad date isn’t quite the same as actually losing your head. Here, as friends Nancy and Oliver (favourite musical: *Oliver!*, who knew?) analyse their lack of romantic success, the show unpacks the multiple hazards of the dating-app age – as particular in their agony as the ball-going perils of Jane Austen’s time.

So we have “8 Dates”, whisking us through brutal last-minute cancellations, and “Meet Market”, satirising the transactional nature of online dating, with potential partners hurtling around the stage pushing shopping trolleys. Perhaps smartest of all is “C U Never”, in which Ellen Kane’s exuberant choreography matches tap routines to the tip-tap sounds of texting.

The whole thing has a breezy, bonkers late-night Fringe quality, underpinned by playful design from Moi Tran (set) and Max Johns (costumes). In Moss’s production even the furniture (played by the company) gets in on the act, with the cheese plant upstaging everyone by entering too early.

But streaking through it is something sadder: a soaring solo from Tulley’s Nancy reveals that she is still grieving her ex and the loss of her father; a striking number from Foster’s Oliver demonstrates how he/they (the character is non-binary) hides insecurity beneath a bubbly facade. It’s in fronting up to these issues that they realise what they have in each other.

It’s a long joke, frantic in places, and the extra framing of the prologue and epilogue feels unnecessary. But the show has so much effervescent joy, and is delivered with such energy and heart by Foster, Tulley and the terrific ensemble, that it’s irresistible. And, in the end, under cover of obsession with romantic love, it smuggles in a refreshing musical paean to platonic love.

To February 13, whyamisingle.com



Above: Leesa Tulley in ‘Why Am I So Single?’. Left: Mariam Haque and Nathaniel Curtis in ‘The Real Ones’ – Matt Crockett. Helen Murray

Platonic soulmates are having their moment in the spotlight on the London stage. With *Why Am I So Single?* blazing away, here too is Waleed Akhtar’s touching exploration of friendship, *The Real Ones*. The two couldn’t be more different in style and yet both foreground the importance of love between friends – specifically, in both cases, between a queer person and a straight woman.

But where the musical covers one evening, Akhtar’s drama spins over nearly 20 years, tracing the highs and lows of Zaid and Neelam’s friendship and the way the two are buffeted by social prejudice, family and cultural pressures and economic realities. This time, relationships are complicated by the fact that both characters come from strict Muslim families.

Akhtar’s last work for the Bush was the immensely moving *The P Word* about two gay men, one Pakistani, the other British-Pakistani. *The Real Ones* has the same quality of emotional honesty. There are moments in Anthony Simpson-Pike’s production when the characters seem to strip off a layer of skin: the exuberance at their discovery that they can confide in each other aged 19 matched by the harrowing frankness of a blazing argument later in life.

That is met by two wonderfully open and believable performances from Nathaniel Curtis and Mariam Haque. They have great chemistry. When we first meet their characters, high and buzzing, Curtis and Haque burst like excited puppies on to Anisha Fields’ circular pit of a set. But Curtis subtly changes from a raw teenager, terrified of coming out, into a more complex 36-year-old. Haque modulates from a brittle, brilliant rebel into a more grounded

wife and mother. Gradually, their paths begin to diverge.

The play’s ambitious scope and episodic nature also undermine it, however. There are too many issues, many of them covered in quite short scenes. Both characters suffer loss and grief. There’s a strand about representation in theatre, with a posh white director, Jeremy (Anthony Howell), asking Neelam to change her work to make it more accessible to a white audience. Zaid never comes out to his father; Neelam’s partner, a British Nigerian man, Deji (Nnabiko Ejimofor), has to convert to Islam so that they can get married.

All these areas feel like they need more time. It’s uneven, then, but, at its best, this is a beautifully frank tribute to platonic friendship.

To October 26, bushtheatre.co.uk

“Why are you still talking?” asks Professor Henry Norris Russell of PhD student Cecilia Payne. “Don’t you know when to be quiet?”

Payne has just submitted her thesis



Trailblazer: Maureen Beattie in ‘The Lightest Element’

Why Am I So Single?
Garrick Theatre, London

★★★★☆

The Real Ones
Bush Theatre, London

★★★★☆

The Lightest Element
Hampstead Theatre, London

★★★★☆

on the composition of stars, concluding that they are made mostly of hydrogen and helium. She’s right. But this is 1925, her findings are radical and, besides, she’s a young woman. It will take another four years for Russell to acknowledge her discovery – and then he will barely mention her.

When to be quiet is one of the running themes of Stella Feehily’s fascinating if fitful play, *The Lightest Element*, about this trailblazing astronomer and the battles she – and many other female scientists – faced in an ego-heavy and sexist academic world. We next join her in 1956, now Payne-Gaposchkin (her husband is Russian), when she has been appointed the first female full professor at Harvard. But can she become the chair of astronomy in the teeth of oppo-

“Why Am I So Single?” has a breezy, bonkers late-night Fringe quality

sition from crusty old dons and an underhand campaign to paint her as a communist sympathiser?

It is a gripping subject and Feehily raises great questions about the impact of prejudice and personal interest on progress. But the script struggles with the weight of exposition, some sketchy characterisation and the pointed delivery of contemporary resonances. One reactionary old academic rails against “progressive philosophies” on campus – the parallel with today is valid and disturbing, but it feels too strategically introduced.

Still, that prof is, pleasingly, a bit part in what is Cecilia’s story. She is played with tremendous zest and wit by Maureen Beattie, who suggests her character’s sharp mix of darting intellect and shrewd pragmatism, and is well supported by Rina Mahoney as Cecilia’s watchful assistant and by Annie King-north as Sally, a young would-be journalist who is sent to interview Cecilia.

Director Alice Hamilton makes great use of the theatre’s revolve, sending characters spinning around the stage as if in orbit. Sarah Beaton’s set is backed by a curved, planetarium-like screen, sometimes studded with constellations, sometimes with scribbled equations, catching something of the thrill of astronomy and the beauty of these great celestial bodies.

It might not quite reach the stars, then. But the play ends on a high, with 76-year-old Cecilia delivering the Henry Norris Russell Prize Lecture. With richly enjoyable irony, she addresses the young women in her audience: “Don’t let anyone shut you up. Make some noise, ladies!”

To October 12, hampsteadtheatre.com

Company takes flight in migration story

DANCE

Scottish Dance Theatre

The Place, London

★★★★☆

Louise Levene

Last seen in panto mode with their charming Christmas show *Pirates!*, Scottish Dance Theatre were back in London this week with the double bill of mainstream contemporary dance they performed at this year’s Edinburgh Festival.

The Flock, by Roser López Espinosa, is inspired by the migration of birds. It was created in 2017 for the National Dance Production of Catalonia but was reworked for SDT last year using fresh input from its new cast. The eight dancers – more a litter than a flock, surely? – are dressed in a come-as-you-are collection of dark mixed colours and perform on a white floor against a white backcloth.

The Flock begins in flight formation with a series of physical jerks to a metronomic soundtrack by Mark Drillich and Ilia Mayer. No one was actually doing burpees, but the star-jumping ensemble had a decidedly callisthenic vibe. After this exhausting warm-up, the cast crash to the floor and things take a more interesting turn as Ben McEwen wanders among the sleeping figures, repositioning them in new combinations like a game of Twister in which the players are all half-cut.

Gradually the dancers regain autonomy and embark on a tireless series of acrobatic rolls, tumbles and capoeira kicks: part assault course, part children’s playground. Figures are tossed

larkily skyward in birthday “bumps” or swung round in “helicopters” like a child in its father’s arms. Moves ricochet from one body to the next and dancers are forever being upended or thrown in a daisy chain of lifts, falls and catches.

There is nothing horse-frighteningly original in López Espinosa’s writing but it is all gleefully executed by the eight-person team and although 40 minutes feels overstretched there is enough variety of scale, mood and tempo to hold the interest. In the closing moments, the group reverts to the bird motif, wheeling around the space in tight formation, arms blissfully outstretched, heading for the warm south.

The second piece, *Moving Cloud*, is by Italian dancemaker Sofia Nappi whose CV lists Hofesh Shechter and Ohad Naharin’s “Gaga” movement system among her influences. She clearly shares Shechter’s willingness to yield to rhythm and there are odd glimpses of

his trademark trudge, but her piece is saved from homage by the idiosyncratic zest of the dancers and a propulsive soundtrack by Donald Shaw, founder of folk outfit Capercaillie. During the Edinburgh run, Glasgow band TRIP played the neo-Celtic score live but the music’s flavour endures even when canned. The whole company caper and shimmy maniacally to Isla Callister’s busy fiddle.

Alison Brown dresses the nine dancers in a flamboyant collection of period haberdashery – gathered yokes, full sleeves, the odd *jabot* – and there is even a species of army surplus kilt for McEwen. This witty, characterful wardrobe and the company’s flair for dance drama hint at a narrative that, sadly, never quite crystallises. An intriguing cast of characters who have lost the plot but will put on a good show regardless.

Touring to Newcastle and Leeds, scottishdancetheatre.com



Scottish Dance Theatre in ‘The Flock’ – Tiu Makkonen

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FT BIG READ. HEALTH

US regulators are expected to approve a novel treatment for schizophrenia. But with a healthcare system that struggles to provide adequate care for those with serious mental illness, how much help will it be?

By Oliver Barnes

A new drug for the ‘cancer of psychiatry’

FT montage/Unsplash/Dreamstime

When a rash broke out on the hand of a patient taking part in the trial of a promising schizophrenia drug, clinical investigator Greg Mattingly began to fret that it might be an allergic reaction.

Instead, it turned out to be a mark of success: the patient, in his fifties, had landed his first job in more than a decade as a waiter, and the skin inflammation was a side effect of washing dishes.

Securing a full-time job may seem unremarkable, but for most people living with schizophrenia, it can represent a triumph against the odds.

Schizophrenia sufferers are frequently pushed to the fringes of society, haunted by the delusions and hallucinations that define the worst flare-ups of the illness, while poorly served by a choice of old and imperfect treatments. In the US, they are vastly over-represented in the jobless, homeless and prison populations.

Now hope is at hand. If approved by regulators at the US Food and Drug Administration later this month, the experimental drug, known as KarXT, will arguably be the first truly novel treatment for schizophrenia in more than seven decades.

Existing medicines serve to do little more than sedate patients or are undermined by a long list of side effects. “A shot at a normal life has been out of reach for most patients,” says Mattingly, who has overseen more than 400 trials testing psychiatry drugs.

Schizophrenia typically emerges in late adolescence as a result of genetic predisposition, combined with environmental factors such as stress or drug use. Sufferers can experience symptoms ranging from scrambled short-term memories and social isolation, to psychotic breakdowns lasting for weeks.

Neuroscientist Steve Paul, who developed the precursor to KarXT while working at Eli Lilly, describes schizophrenia as the “cancer of psychiatry”, because of the damage it does to sufferers, which can result in their lives being cut short by almost 30 years compared with the average life expectancy.

Globally, about 24mn people, or one in every 300, are affected by the disease. However, in the US rates are thought to be even higher – with estimates of prevalence ranging from 0.25% to as high as 1.6%, or 3.8mn adults. The US government has said the country is in the grip of a mental health crisis. Schizophrenia alone costs the US \$170bn a year.

New solutions to America’s mental health crisis could be on the horizon, however. KarXT is widely expected to receive regulatory approval in the US, which could pave the way for its rollout in global markets. Big Pharma has renewed enthusiasm for neuroscience, illustrated by Bristol Myers Squibb’s \$14bn acquisition of Karuna Therapeutics, the biotech behind KarXT, announced at the end of last year.

But innovative medicines butt up in the US against a healthcare system ill-equipped to provide adequate psychiatric care. A relentless decline in psychiatric bed capacity has left patients adrift, leaving prisons and jails as the de facto mental health institutions, and there is also a growing shortage of psychiatrists.

The cost and complexity of the US healthcare system are also a challenge. The Institute for Clinical and Economic Review, an influential drug pricing non-profit, recommended that KarXT is priced up to \$20,000 a year, a high price that may limit access.

“How much can new therapeutics solve this crisis when you have an underfunded mental health system with an inadequate workforce and a chaotic melange of services? It’s a piece of the puzzle but it’s not a panacea,” says Ken Duckworth, chief medical officer of the National Alliance on Mental Illness, a non-profit.

With 86bn neurons, the brain is the most complex human organ – and has proved to be science’s most elusive target for treatment.

Animal models, which seek to first test medicines in mice, have faltered with psychiatrist drugs because of the uniquely intricate circuitry of the human brain. “The thing that really makes us human is what is the root cause of schizophrenia,” says Alan Breier, a psychiatry professor at Indiana University and former chief medical officer at Eli Lilly. “How do you get an animal model for human thought and human emotion? It’s very difficult.”



‘We used to talk about drugs to keep people safe, now we’re talking about job training, cooking meals and exercise’

Consequently, the biggest breakthroughs in schizophrenia drug development have a habit of happening by accident.

While testing out allergy medication chlorpromazine as a painkiller in the 1950s, French military surgeon Henri Laborit realised that the drug also dulled the frightening delusions of soldiers in the grip of psychosis, by blocking receptors of the feel-good chemical dopamine, excess levels of which are linked to schizophrenia.

The discovery offered the first alternative to the crude lobotomy procedure as well as to the reflex to lock schizophrenia patients up in asylums.

Similarly, after Eli Lilly scientists developed the company’s first experimental Alzheimer’s drug – xanomeline – in the 1990s, they were surprised to discover during clinical trials that it reduced the psychosis symptoms experienced by about a third of patients with the disease.

More than a decade later, this drug would be licensed by Karuna’s founders and combined with another drug, trospium, to quell gastrointestinal side effects, creating KarXT. The drug works by targeting muscarinic receptors in the brain that modulate dopamine release at the source, rather than blocking dopamine directly.

But the current generation of schizophrenia medications, often hailed as big advancements by drugmakers when they were released and mostly known as atypicals, are really just iterations of chlorpromazine.

They often succeed in stopping psychotic episodes, but leave patients listless and withdrawn, and prone to rapid weight gain. Up to half of patients on traditional antipsychotics end up having a disorder known as tardive dyskinesia, which causes involuntary, uncontrollable movements.

Like most men with schizophrenia, Robert from Cleveland, Ohio, first developed symptoms in his early

twenties. Robert, now in his late twenties, dropped out of university a semester before graduation as the illness began to take hold. He has now tried four different existing drugs to tame his symptoms, including most recently Invega and Lamictal.

But his mother, Jill, a trained psychotherapist, says he dislikes the medication and is reluctant to take it. The problem for many patients, explains Henry Nasrallah, an emeritus professor of psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati, is not a lack of access to medication, “it’s simply that they deny they’re even sick” – a condition known as anosognosia.

For Jill, helping her son acknowledge the depth of his illness is a slow process. “We don’t have to agree on the treatment options, but we can agree that you want to get to this point where you can live alone and have a meaningful life,” says Jill. “Right now, he’s thinking, ‘I’m good enough, I hate medications, I don’t want to try anything new.’”

Robert spends most of his time locked away in his childhood bedroom, broken up by the occasional outing to a restaurant or a bowling alley with his parents. Robert and Jill have both been identified by a pseudonym, due to the continued stigma around the disease.

Jill says she is open to her son Robert trying KarXT as it has been shown to better combat symptoms of anhedonia, which leaves patients unable to experience pleasure, and resolve cognitive impairment including poor memory retention.

But she remains cautious, in large part because of her mistrust of Big Pharma. “We’re talking about my son’s wellbeing, this isn’t about treating cholesterol,” says Jill. “If this drug is as they say, then great but there’s a vested monetary interest for the pharmaceutical industry to get this drug out there. They have billions of dollars invested in this; I have my son’s livelihood at stake.”

The risks are high for both patients and drugmakers. Many companies, including Pfizer and Bristol Myers Squibb, had backed away from developing neuroscience drugs, in large part because of the high failure rate in clinical trials resulting from the struggles that animal models face in accounting for the brain’s complexity.

Of the 13 main therapeutic areas, drugs targeting the central nervous system have the second lowest probability of making it from pre-clinical trials to approval, succeeding just 6.7 per cent of the time, according to a study published in the *Jama medical journal* this year.

Such disorders “are among the most common afflictions of humankind but drug development has been slow and disappointing over the past few decades”, says Paul, who served as CEO of Karuna from 2018 until its acquisition

by BMS last year. “But things are starting to change.”

In addition to BMS’s acquisition of Karuna at the end of last year, AbbVie spent \$8.7bn on neuroscience biotech Cerevel Therapeutics, which is developing a similar schizophrenia drug, known as emracladine, as well as treatments for epilepsy and Parkinson’s – marking the two biggest psychiatric drug investments in at least a decade.

Venture capital investment in psychiatric drugs is also on course to record its second-highest year ever, with \$654mn deployed so far, according to biopharma data platform DealForma. Moreover, the first two fully approved Alzheimer’s drugs in the US were launched in the past year.

Roopal Thakkar, AbbVie’s chief scientific officer, says drugmakers were “getting better at cracking that code”.

Paul Matteis, an analyst at Stifel, says this uptick in investment is only likely to continue as “the mental health epidemic creates diseases of mass markets”. “You’re talking about tens of millions of people with anxiety and depression, and millions of people with schizophrenia,” he says.

KarXT is projected to generate \$8.2bn in revenues for BMS by the end of the decade, according to analysts’ consensus estimates.

But access to new schizophrenia drugs for those who most need them is likely to remain spotty, as they compete with cheap generic versions of atypicals, which are often prioritised by insurers’ drug formularies.

This is particularly the case in US correctional facilities, where budgets are stretched but up to 4 per cent of the population have schizophrenia, far higher than the rate in the population at large, studies suggest.

“The policies, laws and regulations in place to help ensure that folks get the insurance they need to cover those treatments don’t have the adequate muscle,” says Melissa Beck, executive director of the Sozosei Foundation, the charitable arm of drugmaker Otsuka, which focuses on what it calls “decriminalising mental health” in the US.

The fact that some people are diagnosed with mental illness only when they are imprisoned speaks to a broader problem in the US with the treatment of the mentally ill by police and the justice system.

Earlier this summer, when Robert stopped taking the drugs he was prescribed, he spiralled into a manic episode. He found himself in the emergency room flanked by six police officers surrounding his gurney, who eventually resorted to taser him to get him under control. “It was just incre-

ably poor care,” says his mother, Jill.

Mentally ill patients being met with the heavy hand of the law is an all too familiar tale for Steve Leifman, an associate administrative judge in Florida’s Miami-Dade County. “I see more people in a day with serious mental illnesses in my criminal division than most psychiatrists will see in a month,” he estimates.

A study carried out in Miami-Dade County found that between 1985 and 2023, the same 97 individuals with severe mental illnesses, including schizophrenia, had been arrested 4,210 times and spent nearly 100,000 days in prison between them, costing the taxpayer \$12.6mn in jail stays and hospital visits. “We are in a situation where we are endangering public safety, we are wasting critical tax dollars and we are hurting people,” says Leifman.

Despite the costs to society of leaving severe mental health problems untreated, the access to psychiatric care for those most in need is lacking, particularly for homeless people, about 10 per cent of whom suffer from schizophrenia, according to official estimates.

Even for patients with health insurance, getting access to a psychiatrist often proves more difficult than accessing other types of physician.

Reimbursement rates, a key lever that insurance plans use to encourage healthcare providers to join their network, were 22 per cent higher among medical and surgical physicians than psychiatrists in 2021.

As of last year, inpatient capacity in state psychiatric hospitals had fallen to a historic low, according to the Treatment Advocacy Center.

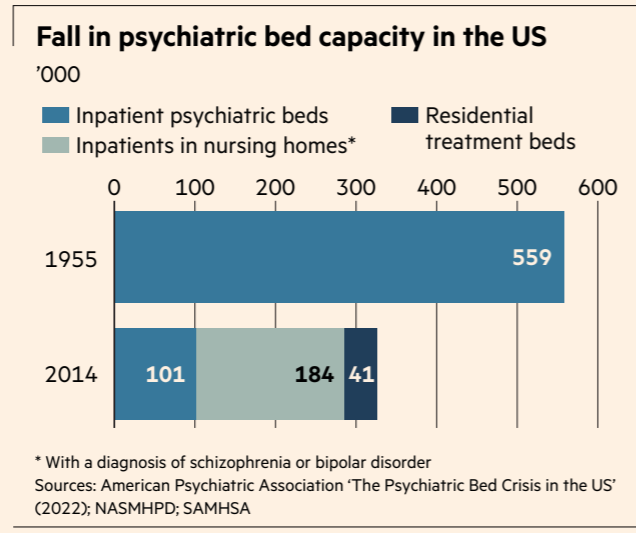
The problems with how psychiatric care is provided in the US have not entirely dulled enthusiasm for KarXT’s launch, however.

BMS’s chief medical officer, Samit Hirawat, estimates that 85 per cent of schizophrenia patients will be covered by Medicare and Medicaid, the state-backed healthcare programmes for the elderly and underprivileged, which he expects to cover KarXT.

“Because many of these patients are already on antipsychotics, there’s a huge bolus of patients who’ve already tested out the generics that are available out there,” says Hirawat.

After a year on KarXT, Greg Mattingly’s patient had to stop taking the treatment as the open-label trial, a study where participants are told they are on the drug, came to an end. He has been phoning Mattingly almost every week to ask when the drug will be approved.

“We used to talk about keeping people safe, now we’re talking about job training, cooking meals and exercise – that’s not stuff we talked about 20 years ago in schizophrenia,” says Mattingly.



The FT View



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Israel's reckless pager attack on Hizbollah

Netanyahu is raising the risks of an all-out war in the Middle East

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu appears to have made provocation his new strategy. As thousands of Hizbollah members went about their daily business on Tuesday, the pagers they were carrying exploded. Panic spread as at least 12 people, including two children, were killed, and almost 3,000 others were wounded. Hizbollah blamed Israel for Tuesday's assault and vowed to retaliate. More explosions rippled across Lebanon yesterday as a batch of Hizbollah's walkie-talkies was targeted. Israel has not commented on these attacks, but its defence minister said yesterday it was "at the start of a new phase in the war".

The attacks dealt a humiliating blow to the Iran-backed militia, targeting the heart of its communications network.

They underlined Israel's intelligence prowess and its ability to strike its enemy anywhere, seemingly at will. But they have once more put the Middle East on edge, increasing the risk of a full-blown regional war.

Netanyahu increasingly seems bent on either goading Hizbollah into an all-out war or prompting a reaction that Israel would use to justify a land offensive into Lebanon. If not, he is gambling dangerously with the notion that Israel can keep escalating and expect the Lebanese paramilitary force to show restraint or to back down. Whichever is the case, the attacks were reckless acts that stoke the flames of conflict.

Israel and Hizbollah have been locked in a deadly war of attrition since the Iranian-backed movement launched rockets at the Jewish state a day after Hamas's horrific October 7 attack. So far, it has largely been contained to the Israeli-Lebanese border region. Hizbollah has said it does not want a full-blown conflict, yet continues to fire on

Israel, ostensibly in support of Hamas.

Some 60,000 Israelis have been forced from their homes in the country's north because of constant Hizbollah fire. More than 40 have been killed. In Lebanon, Israeli strikes have killed almost 600 people, mostly Hizbollah fighters, and displaced about 100,000.

Hours before the pager attack, Israel expanded the objectives of its almost year-long campaign against Hamas in Gaza to include securing the northern front to enable displaced Israelis to return. That increased fears that it might escalate its conflict with Hizbollah, amid speculation Netanyahu may consider a ground offensive into Lebanon. That would be a grave mistake.

Hizbollah, one of the world's most heavily armed non-state actors, is a far more formidable foe than Hamas. Israel's past interventions in Lebanon have a chequered history, and an all-out war in the current climate would risk drawing in Iran and other militants it backs.

The assault dealt a humiliating blow to the Iran-backed militia

In the latter stages of his career, Netanyahu has displayed a propensity to gamble with Israel's security interests – from the years he spent dividing and ruling the Palestinians, while thwarting any progress towards a Palestinian state, to his fateful underestimation of the threat Hamas posed.

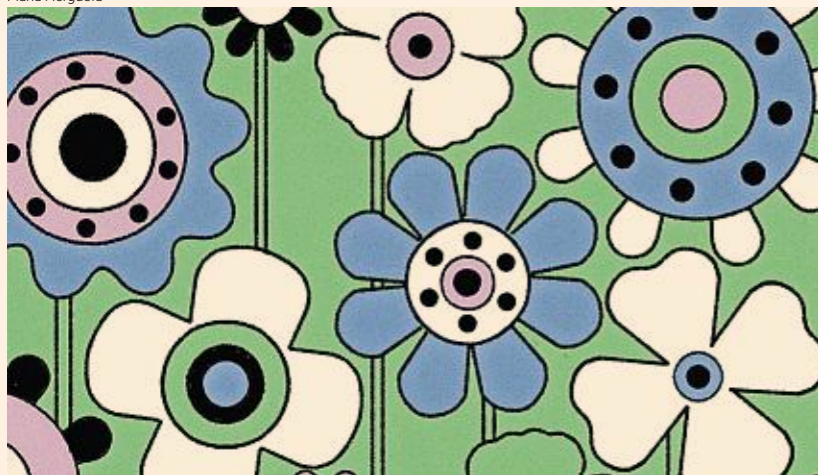
There is a diplomatic off-ramp to the Hizbollah conflict – a US-proposed deal that would lead to Hizbollah pulling back from the border, a resolution to territorial disputes and Israel halting overflights of Lebanon. But that is dependent on Israel and Hamas agreeing to a deal to secure the release of hostages and a ceasefire in Gaza. Yet Netanyahu is loath to accept it, wary of alienating far-right allies.

Reaching deals with arch enemies is always a bitter pill to swallow – even more so for Israelis after the horrors of October 7. But a permanent conflict would be ruinous for Israel and the region. The worry is that it looks like the path Netanyahu is choosing.

Opinion Sustainable capitalism

The ESG paradigm is over. Long live ESG

María Hergueta



Lindsay Hooper

The business case for sustainability is clear: companies cannot thrive on a planet suffering from cascading crises and unmanageable risks. Yet, despite decades of corporate commitments, businesses continue to damage the planet, carbon emissions to rise and fossil fuel companies to chase growth. The environmental, social and governance agenda has not delivered and in its current form it never will. We urgently need a change of mindset and a fundamental redesign of the markets that frame business decisions.

The sustainability actions of leading businesses demonstrate what is possible and generate momentum. They are setting ambitious net zero targets, reducing carbon emissions, collaborating to make supply chains more fair and sustainable and reporting trans-

critical mass of businesses to push for government action – and a corporate mindset shift to view sustainability as a matter of competitiveness, not responsibility. We need proactive business support for a redesign of markets. Businesses need to recognise that the imperative for action on environmental issues is one not of morality or consumer sentiment but the laws of nature. Climate change and biodiversity loss are not abstract threats but real and measurable factors that will undermine business as usual. Rather than asking "How much sustainability can we afford?" companies must ask "How do we accelerate, navigate and benefit from the transition?"

Some companies are getting it right – for example the Swedish steel, mining and utility businesses that formed the Hybrit initiative – working for a reinvention of their industry with solutions such as fossil-free steel. They are not just preparing for a fossil-free future, but shaping it – and positioning themselves to win. But others have clung to inadequate measures. For example, many in the plastics sector have defended claims of recyclability and focused on the use of recycled content. What they should be doing is building the critical mass needed to advocate for policies and action to drive waste collection, cut material use and increase reuse and recycling.

A change of mindset is not enough. The market must be redesigned to eliminate tension between profitability and sustainability. We need thriving markets for climate-neutral, nature-positive and circular products. Governments must create conditions that make it economically compelling to phase out damaging activities. Otherwise businesses that voluntarily transition will be undermined by those that don't. Business needs to hammer home the message that swift action on sustainability will benefit economies, jobs, security and health.

Leading businesses are already calling for these shifts, including members of our institute's corporate leaders groups. But a few progressive voices are insufficient. Legislation is systematically moderated by lobbying from incumbents – think of the German car industry's defence of the combustion engine or agriculture's resistance to curbs on chemical use or greenhouse gas reduction targets.

ESG as we know it is over. In the decade ahead, businesses must compete not just for market share but for the future itself. The rewards will be significant: long-term resilience, market leadership and the ability to succeed in a world that has the necessary environmental and social foundations.

The writer is interim CEO of the University of Cambridge Institute for Sustainability Leadership. Paul Gilding, CISL fellow, also contributed

Letters

Cuts in foreign aid leave world more vulnerable

Oliver Barnes ("Nations yet to learn lessons from Covid", Special Reports, September 12) is right that the world is failing to learn the lessons of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, while he notes several possible causes, he misses the biggest one – namely the substantial reduction in overseas aid funding.

It is easy to understand why development assistance is seen as the first place to cut when there are domestic fiscal pressures, but these cuts are nonetheless leaving the world

more vulnerable to emerging threats.

The Covid pandemic underscored that diseases know no borders, and that no one is safe until everyone is safe. Organisations like the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (Cepi), Gavi, the vaccine alliance, and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria – all funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation – require additional funding to stimulate innovation and build the health systems needed to prevent

future pandemics. As governments consider their commitments to international development, they should consider the fact that it is always more effective, efficient, and ultimately less expensive, to treat emerging threats at source before they reach our shores.

Joe Cerrell
Managing Director
Europe, Middle East & East Asia
Global Policy & Advocacy, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, London, SW1, UK

CGT rise hits the landlord, renter and first-time buyer

Regarding Emma Agyemang's piece on reports of a selling frenzy among wealth managers, an increase in capital gains tax would be an anti-landlord tax (Report, August 31).

While many will struggle to have much sympathy for this wealth manager cohort, they will discover there is a negative impact from a CGT rise on renters and first-time buyers, not to mention the far from negligible impact it will have on Treasury coffers.

It has never been more difficult as a prospective first-time buyer to rent while trying to get on the property ladder. An increase to CGT will only make things worse.

In the short term, we will see lots of landlords selling off their properties in anticipation of a rise, which means those landlords that don't sell are able to charge even more exorbitant rents. Then, if CGT is increased, there is less incentive for landlords to sell – and therefore a reduction in tax receipts. As British theorist Stafford Beer said: "The purpose of a system is what it does." If a tax doesn't generate revenue, what is its use? The government should instead



introduce a more progressive incentive such as a CGT break for landlords that sell to tenants or first-time buyers.

This would foster a more sustainable housing market and open the doors for home ownership across the UK.
Sam Mitchell
Chief Executive, Purplebricks, Lavenham, Suffolk, UK

Italy woos wealth creators, Britain drives them away

It is refreshing to read that Sir Keir Starmer's talks with Italy's Giorgia Meloni included discussion of her tough stance on irregular migration ("Border policy: Labour to study Meloni's asylum scheme", Report, September 17).

One can only hope that Starmer and his colleagues take note of other lessons from their Italian counterparts – namely, how Italy is attracting wealth creators from the UK with non-domicile incentives, while Britain seems to be doing its best to drive them away.

Perhaps a quick coffee break in Rome to discuss fiscal policy wouldn't go amiss? While Meloni's Italy rolls out the red carpet, the UK government seems more intent on pulling it out from under its own wealth creators.

There's surely a middle ground between tightening borders and opening doors to talent, capital and a future that doesn't involve seeing Britons jetting off to Milan.

Bikaram S Dosanjh
Managing Director, Ablepro, London NW8, UK

What higher public investment would entail

The economists urging the UK government to promote public investment (Letters, September 16) need to set out their argument on a broader canvas.

They don't consider how this could be done if the public finances as a whole are to be repaired. Chancellor Rachel Reeves's first fiscal rule already allows borrowing for investment.

So, is the second (debt) rule, already weak, also to be relaxed? It provides only for public debt to fall as a share of GDP between years four and five of the five-year forecast.

Or do they want current spending – much of it important for growth as well as public service provision – to be squeezed? Or, do they want taxes to be increased?

Perhaps, to help square the circle, the Treasury will see a combination of regulation and encouragement of private investment as the primary means of increasing UK growth.

Paul McIntyre
London N19

PM's wardrobe donation is shocking and cringeworthy

Am I the only person who finds it shocking and frankly cringeworthy that our leaders and their families require donations in order to be able to dress appropriately for their roles ("Labour defends late declaration of clothing gift for PM's wife", Report, September 16)?

Many professionals earning the same as, or less than, the prime minister manage to buy their own clothes for work.

Would it not be more appropriate for these donations to be given to more deserving causes?

Harjit Grewal
London NW6, UK

OUTLOOK

SOUTH ASIA

Where is Bangladesh's Sheikh Hasina?



by John Reed

Since a student-led uprising last month forced Bangladesh's authoritarian leader to flee, it has been a topic at New Delhi dinner parties: where is Sheikh Hasina?

As protesters were marching on her Dhaka residence on August 5, Hasina resigned and fled to an air force base near Ghaziabad, India, on a Bangladeshi military aircraft. Narendra Modi's government has since confirmed she is in India, but is declining to say more. That has not stopped tongues from wagging.

With various degrees of credibility, members of India's chattering classes have privately claimed that the deposed strongwoman is in an Indian government safe house; staying with her daughter Saima Wazed, who took a Delhi-based regional job with the World Health Organisation in February; or has even been glimpsed strolling with her entourage around one of the capital's poshest parks, Lodhi Garden.

The Modi government, Hasina's top foreign backer when her Awami League party ran Bangladesh, is maintaining a decorous silence on the topic. Delhi's local and foreign press have mostly stopped pretending they will get Hasina's first post-overthrow interview.

There are a few reasons for this. Muhammad Yunus's acting government, which took power after Hasina was toppled, has accused her of responsibility for hundreds of killings during the past summer's

unrest. India and Bangladesh have an extradition treaty – signed by Hasina's government in 2013 – which could be used against her should the new regime seek her arrest.

"According to the extradition agreement with India, we may demand her extradition to Bangladesh," Asif Nazrul, minister of law, justice and parliamentary affairs in Yunus's interim cabinet, tells the Financial Times. "For now, we expect India not to allow her to instigate instability in Bangladesh, which she is trying to do by spreading lies and misinformation."

Following recent press reports relaying controversial remarks attributed to Hasina, Yunus himself said (in words that in turn ruffled some in the Indian establishment): "If India wants to keep her until the time Bangladesh wants her back, the condition would be that she has to keep quiet."

India has a history of offering refuge to fleeing regional leaders. The Dalai Lama settled in India after fleeing the Chinese takeover of Tibet in 1959. Though he has handed over political affairs to a civilian exile administration (also based in India), the Tibetan spiritual leader recently received a US Congressional delegation, a move that riled Beijing and which analysts say would not have taken place without the Modi government's assent.

Hasina herself, along with her sister Sheikh Rehana, took refuge in India for several years after 1975, when their

father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and most of their family were murdered in Dhaka in a coup. "There has been a host of precedents of leaders coming to India from the neighbourhood," says Shivshankar Menon, a former foreign secretary and national security adviser under Manmohan Singh's government. "We have always allowed them to stay, and in most cases they respect our wishes that they stay clear of political activity."

Hasina is widely supported across the Indian political spectrum, where she is seen as a bulwark against Islamist extremism, and remembered with respect for her late father's pivotal role in Bangladesh's 1971 war of independence, in which Indira Gandhi's government supported the winning side, at huge human cost.

The theory that Hasina's ousting and Yunus's installation as acting prime minister was a "colour revolution" or a regime change backed by the US, which supported Pakistan in 1971, has broad currency in India, and not just in pro-Modi circles.

The sensitivities of Hasina's sojourn in India, say analysts, also mean a cloak of discretion is likely to surround her whereabouts for now – and by New Delhi's design.

"These are the problems of intimacy, and things are delicate when it comes to our neighbours," says Menon. "It's not like we're dealing with countries on the other side of the world."

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Opinion

Why Europe will not catch up with the US

WORLD AFFAIRS

Janan Ganesh



The US, at the turn of the millennium, did not “plan” to outgrow Europe. It did not have a version of Mario Draghi’s new competitiveness report. It did not produce an equivalent of the Lisbon agenda, which in 2000 committed the EU to building the most “dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world”. The US has been deplorably negligent on the report front. Yet here we are. The transatlantic divergence in material outcomes has been going on for two decades. And Europe was poorer to begin with.

The closest thing that Washington has had to a schematic economic vision over the period is Joe Biden’s recent protectionism. Draghi is under well-founded criticism for wanting to adopt it. But

even if he proposed to emulate America’s free-market looseness instead, how could he? Whatever you think hamstringing Europe against the US, there are cultural reasons to doubt it can be fixed. The continent is, in the end, a different place.

If Europe’s problem is that it can’t do Bidenomics, that problem is here to stay. Some 67 years after the Treaty of Rome, the EU has a budget that amounts to 1 per cent of the union’s output. Even if it grows somewhat, which is far from certain as anti-Brussels parties flourish across the continent, who expects it to ever approximate the US federal purse? Who expects, even if national vetoes are trimmed here and there, as Draghi wishes, European decision-making to resemble Washington’s? Let alone Beijing’s? This isn’t a failure of leadership. Europe just isn’t a nation state.

If, however, Europe’s problem is burdensome government, there is little technocratic answer for that either. Europeans have higher expectations of the welfare state than Americans. Whatever the root of this – Catholic

social teaching, the residue of interclass obligation from feudal times, “decadence” – it is a cultural feature. Leaders who buck it risk civil disorder (Margaret Thatcher, Emmanuel Macron) or electoral defeat (Gerhard Schröder). Brexiters who fancy Britain is “Anglo-Saxon” about these things should propose US levels of statutory paid leave – that is, zero – and await the reaction.

Perhaps the aberration isn’t the continent’s showing since the millennium, but the decades before

Yet a third reason for Europe’s relative torpor is its far-from-complete single market. Here, more can be done. Draghi is at his best on capital markets integration. In the end, though, there is no getting around the fact that America has a single or at least overwhelmingly dominant language. Not all nations do (see India). A 27-member multinational entity certainly doesn’t. The cultural

barriers to scaling up a business across Europe can’t be as low as in the US, which has been unified for longer than Germany or Italy, let alone the EU.

These are timeless differences between the two sides of the north Atlantic. But there are newer ones, too. In the 1990s, the US median age was not much lower than in Europe. The gap has widened since. (A reflection, in part, of Europeans’ longevity.) If all other things are equal, we might expect this alone to result in a progressively less dynamic Europe. But other things aren’t equal. The US has become the biggest producer of oil and natural gas on Earth. Europe hadn’t the same geologic luck, even before the American shale bonanza.

In fact, if we take together all America’s advantages – mineral, demographic, linguistic – the wonder is that its economic lead over Europe isn’t even wider. And this is without getting into the intangible resource of entrepreneurial enthusiasm. A UK-based American investor told me what struck him about his adopted home: there is little cachet in telling your graduating class that

you are going to start a business. How amenable is that cultural problem to a technical fix?

Perhaps the aberration isn’t Europe’s performance since the millennium, but the decades before. What Draghi calls its “social model” was screened from some intense competition. China was feeling its way into the world. India liberalised as late as 1991. The harder-to-undercut US model might be even better fitted for this century than for the last one.

Don’t mistake this fatalism for distress. I’d rather, and do, live in Europe. It is telling that American elites frequent the continent to a degree their European peers don’t reciprocate. In fact, Europe’s reluctance to reform is inseparable from the sweetness of life here for enough people. It is just that Draghi’s report won’t be the last. Whenever one is published, the done thing is to praise the contents but question their chances of being enacted. This is fog-headed politeness. To the extent that a plan is politically and culturally improbable, it isn’t a good plan.

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Think twice before replacing sanctions with tariffs

Henry Farrell

Donald Trump likes to say that he alone can protect America from being “ripped off” by greedy allies. So why does he want to replace the one cornerstone of national security that foreigners subsidise, with a system that would make American consumers pay the costs?

In recent weeks, Trump has talked about moving away from US financial sanctions against Russia and China, which he claims are undermining the dollar and making China’s currency more attractive. Instead Trump wants to turn tariffs into America’s go-to tool for coercion. The threat of 100 per cent tariffs might force reluctant governments to stick with the dollar, or coerce skinflint Nato members into spending more on their military.

America does have an unhealthy relationship with financial sanctions. But it got hooked on them because it doesn’t have to pay most of their costs. It makes foreigners pay instead. Trump wants to give this up, replacing US sanctions power with a costly knock-off of Chinese economic coercion.

It is unlikely that the former president is interested in the long-term risks of sanctions overuse. He probably wants to relieve pressure on Russia and cryptocurrency (which is increasingly clashing with the US security state). But even if he’s insincere, he’s not completely wrong.

Dollar power allows the US to press foreign banks and financial actors into service, forcing them to cut off adversaries’ access to the global financial system.

Dollar power, if used carefully, allows Washington to conduct coercion on the cheap

That is why America’s financial sanctions are so powerful. But as officials like former Treasury secretary Jacob Lew have argued, the more that the US exploits the dollar, the more that other countries will look for ways around it.

Still, the dollar, if used carefully, allows America to conduct coercion on the cheap. China isn’t nearly so lucky. It has to pay to punish others. The Chinese government doesn’t control global finance, and has instead weaponised access to China’s markets to inflict economic pain on other countries.

Cutting off market access hurts China as well as its targets, undermining its trade and weakening its prosperity. Chinese businesses and consumers lose their access to foreign goods, or have to pay more for them. For example, when China wanted to punish Australia, it manipulated regulations to stop imports of Australian coal. That didn’t work very well. Limiting market access reportedly cost China \$2bn a week while encouraging Australia to find lucrative markets elsewhere.

That is the approach that Trump wants to copy, using huge tariffs to cut off market access, instead of regulations. To borrow the language of his opponent, Kamala Harris, Trump wants to replace America’s economic key security weapon with a vastly inefficient “sales tax” on American consumers and businesses. Instead of taking advantage of China’s vulnerabilities, he wants to emulate them.

This would happen at enormous scale: Trump promises “bigger tariffs than you’ve ever seen in this country before”. And as JD Vance suggests, it is likely to be used to punish allies as well as, or perhaps even instead of, adversaries.

Of course, the more that the US uses tariffs to punish allies, the more they will look for markets elsewhere. The German economy is already deeply entangled with China’s. It will become more so if Trump wins and gets his way. The careful efforts of the Biden administration to build long-term co-operative arrangements with allies over semiconductor export and manufacture will be ripped into shreds.

It’s true that the US has become addicted to financial sanctions. But punitive tariffs are a much harder drug, with harsher immediate side-effects and a worse long-term prognosis.

The writer is a professor at Johns Hopkins University and co-author of “Underground Empire” with Abraham Newman, who also contributed

The new race for political space

BRITAIN

Robert Shrimley



We’re losing to the Greens. We’re losing to the Greens,” wailed a Liberal Democrat parliamentary candidate – one who did not in fact lose to the Greens. But the UK’s third party is rarely so happy as when it is miserable. At the conference after its best election since 1923, rejoicing was laced with foreboding about what comes next.

As well as the Green-scare in some city seats, others worry that the party needs a distinct policy platform – possibly on Europe – since it cannot rely indefinitely on benefiting from an anti-Tory vote. This issue will need to be addressed but it is too early to second-guess voters’ imperatives at an election that is probably four years away. For now, the Lib Dem leader Ed Davey appears content to position his party as the conscience of Labour.

What both the cheers and the concerns illuminate, though, is an altered landscape with more players battling for political space. The Tories are terrified by Nigel Farage’s Reform UK on their right flank; Labour fears the Greens to its left and Reform’s working-class appeal; the centrist Lib Dems, whose

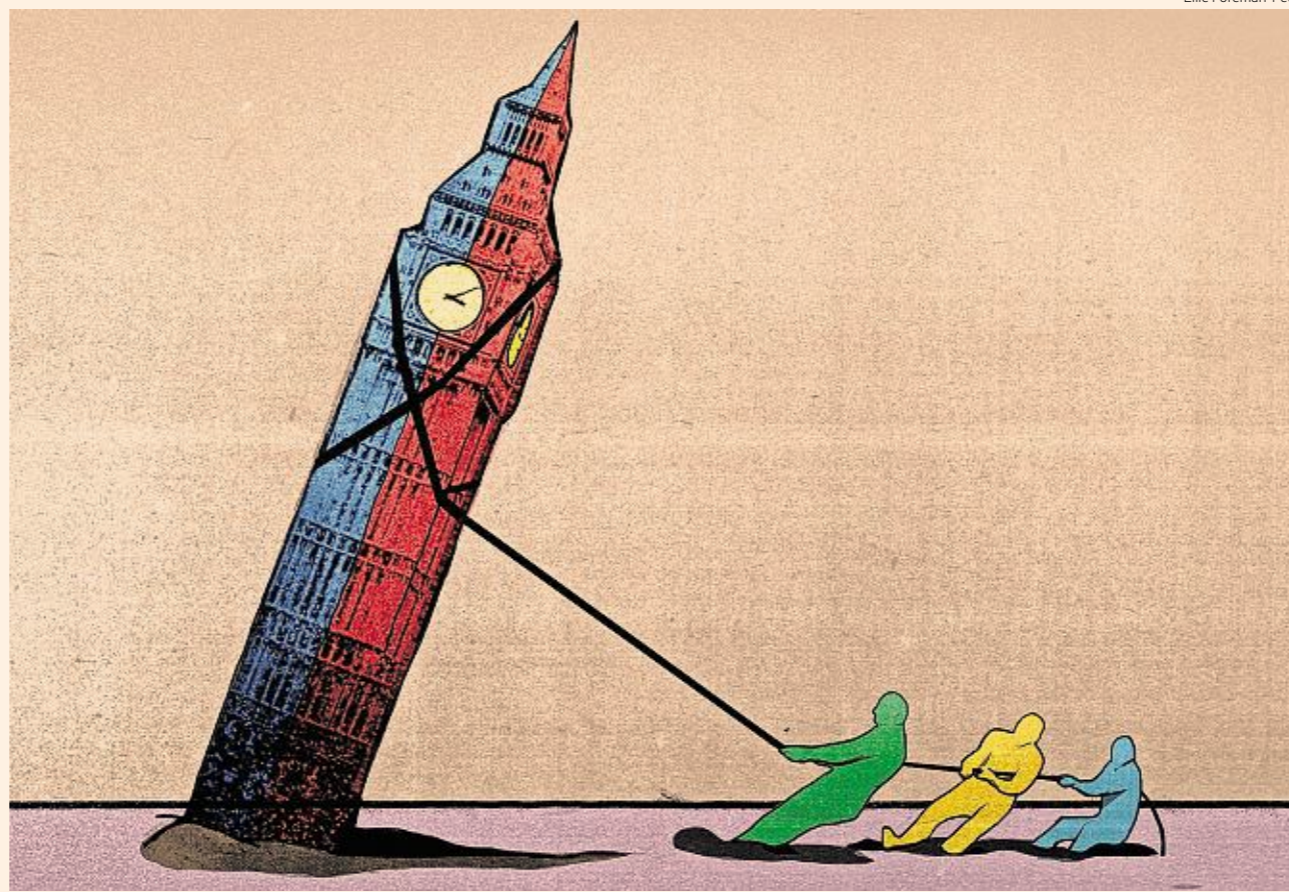
fate is linked to the electorate’s tolerance of Labour, worry about the two newer parties with a clearer demographic base eroding their position as the main vehicle of protest.

This new space race is ideological, demographic and geographic. The 2024 election saw the two main parties secure just 57 per cent of the vote – the ruling duopoly’s lowest share since Labour’s emergence more than 100 years ago. Meanwhile, the Lib Dems, Greens and Reform UK won the support of a third of the electorate. This primarily reflected disgust with the Conservatives but the fact remains that one in three of those who bothered to vote looked beyond the normal parties of power.

The election was also notable for another phenomenon: extreme electoral efficiency. Labour’s landslide was secured with just 33.7 per cent national share because it sacrificed votes in safe seats to focus on targets. Sir Keir Starmer may have secured fewer votes of any modern prime minister, but – unlike Eric Morecambe’s piano-playing – they were in all the right places.

Likewise the Lib Dems. In 2019, 3.7mn votes won 11 seats. This time, 3.5mn votes secured 72. The first reason was the revolt against the Tories but the second was that they gamed an electoral system that usually works against them, ruthlessly targeting limited resources on real prospects rather than winning a thin layer of votes everywhere.

This electoral efficiency relies on occupying second place in a constituency. And while the Lib Dems’ success



Ellie Foreman-Peck

means they now have only 27 such spots left, Reform, which won more votes than the Lib Dems but only five seats, now has 98 second places, all but nine of them to Labour. The Greens have 40, mostly in cities and urban areas.

Farage is professionalising his party, building an activist base and focusing on next year’s council elections. The second places clarify his best targets next time – he will mimic the Lib Dem strategy but use it against Labour.

It portends a far more patchwork electoral map where a significant proportion of the battles are not fought between the two main parties. There will be gerrymandered seats where Lib Dems battle Tories, urban seats where Labour tussles with Greens, and small town and satellite constituencies with a socially

It is not absurd to imagine a fifth of the parliament in the hands of groups opposed to the status quo

conservative working-class cohort where Labour is battling Reform.

This all has potentially dramatic consequences. If the minor parties can continue to gain ground through smart targeting, it is not absurd to imagine a fifth of the parliament (especially if the Scottish National party recovers) in the hands of groups unified by their opposition to the status quo and support for electoral reform. Barring another landslide, that will make it hard for one of the big two to govern alone.

It remains to be seen if 2024 marked a true departure from the duopoly – the previous two elections saw Labour and the Tories securing 82 and 75 per cent; and July’s Tory collapse was unparalleled. But there is clear voter readiness to look elsewhere amid deepening doubts over the status quo’s ability to overcome structural challenges.

Of course, there are a lot of “ifs” in all this. Even the most efficient target-seat strategy cannot overcome a strong national trend. Labour could govern well and gain ground, or so badly that the Conservatives recover and do so at

the expense of the Lib Dems. But it is at least as likely that voters face a Labour government which is disappointing and a Tory opposition they are unready to trust again.

Parties also need a *raison d’être*. They cannot rely solely on not being the incumbent. But the flipside to the sharper ideological definition of both the Greens and Reform is that they repel voters in a way the broad-based Lib Dems (aside from after their coalition with the Tories) do not. And with multiple parties in the fight, constituencies can be won with just 35 per cent.

The caveats are obvious. The safer bet is still that the UK reverts to its electoral mean. But the big two must contend with an electorate more willing to look to smaller parties who are getting better at gaming the system. If the next election offers a choice between an unloved government and an untrusted opposition they should know that the battlements of their 100-year duopoly have never looked more vulnerable.

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Trump, Vance and American blood and soil

POLITICS

Edward Luce



It has been raining cats and dogs in America. The myth that immigrants are eating pets in Springfield, Ohio has triggered an outpouring of memes. An early example showed Donald Trump hugging a kitten and a goose. These were soon swamped by plays on the absurdity of the claims. The silver lining to this postmodern version of blood libel is that humour remains an effective tool.

Beneath it, though, lies a momentous twist in American politics. Trump launched his 2016 campaign with an attack on illegal immigration. He has gradually expanded that to include legal migrants who come from the wrong culture. Refugees from Haiti, which Trump once called a “shit-hole”, are a soft target. Though most of the 20,000 or so Hai-

tians in Springfield are in the US legally, they have arrived in short order.

It is easy to suppose that Trump will lose votes for indulging this pet-eating chimera. But his dark rhetoric masks a calculated bet. Trump’s first campaign was based on federal incompetence: the US, he said, should uphold the rule of law by policing its southern border. His revised case is that US lore must be defended from outsiders. American culture needs protecting from unwanted strangers, even if they are legal.

This shift is exemplified by the political odyssey of JD Vance, Trump’s running mate. In his acceptance speech nine weeks ago, Vance said the true US nation could be found in the seven generations of family burials in Kentucky cemeteries. Their America was not so much an idea as a place for which his ancestors had fought and died. “People will not fight for abstractions, but they will fight for a home,” Vance said.

The striking fact of Vance’s speech was not his awkwardly-phrased passage about the immigrant background of his wife, Usha Vance (born Chilukuri). Two of Trump’s wives, after all, have been

immigrants. Nor was it his avoidance of American exceptionalism, which Trump has previously depicted as a lie. It was the degree to which Vance inverted what he said about his roots in his 2016 bestseller, *Hillbilly Elegy*.

Then, Vance thought that the people with whom he was raised were culpable for their own plight of relying on hand-outs and food stamps.

“We purchase homes we don’t need,

While this pet-eating myth could cost votes, the rhetoric masks a calculated bet

refinance them for more spending money, and declare bankruptcy, often leaving them full of garbage in our wake” he wrote. “Thrifty is inimical to our being.”

Eight years later, he now claims that the same people are victims of outside forces, as opposed to what he once called their own “learned helplessness”.

He has swapped a self-questioning brand of libertarianism for straight-up ethno-nationalism. Each is a coherent but opposite worldview. Vance’s switch is driven by the fact that Trump subscribes to the nativist one. There are plenty more votes in describing Americans as victims than as culprits. Vance’s road-to-Damascus personifies what has happened to the Republican Party in the last eight years.

But will it help them regain the White House? Trump and especially Vance have earned a lot of scorn in the last 10 days for spreading a tale that they know to be a lie. Vance has even defended the pet disinformation story as useful fiction because it reveals a deeper truth. Many of his Ohio constituents believe the story even if it is not technically accurate, he says. Trump once called this “truthful hyperbole”. If it sounds plausible you should go with it.

Democrats will find it hard to see past their outrage about the bomb threats that have closed schools in Springfield in the last week. Mike DeWine, Ohio’s governor, an old-style Republican, is even sending in the national guard to

keep its schools open. That should not blind Democrats to the fact that Trump and Vance are following a calculated line. The more America thinks about immigration, which serves Trump, the less it focuses on abortion, which serves Kamala Harris. Those who say that Trump has gone too far are often the people who made that same claim in 2016. It is not a given.

Polls say that most Americans remain open to immigration. But they want the inflows to be controlled and legal. This is roughly midway between where voters see the Democrats and Republicans. The issue remains a weak point for Harris. In that regard, she did almost too well against Trump in their debate last week. Harris distracted him with such skill that he failed to debate her role as “border tsar” under Joe Biden. She will need to tackle that head on.

Trump and Vance are playing roulette with real human beings. But elections are not morality contests. Their cynicism over the stolen pet myth may not be as self-harming as it looks.

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Lex.



John Gapper
Family's plumbing service poses challenge to private equity
COMMENT

Private equity is doing badly — however you measure it



Poor performance and a lack of returns hurt fundraising — Klaus Vedfeth/Getty Images

Evaluating performance is an imperfect science: every metric has its pros and cons. Moving the goalposts, however, is rarely a sign that the game is going well. Look no further than the private equity industry, where DPI is the new IRR.

On the face of it, shifting focus towards distributions to paid-in capital over internal rates of return is bewildering given how poorly the industry is doing on both.

Private equity's annualised IRR fell below 10 per cent in the year to March 2024, says PitchBook. That is far below the 25 per cent the industry used to aim for, and even below a rough benchmark for the cost of equity. Over the same — admittedly stonking — period, an unleveraged investment in the S&P 500 would have returned 30 per cent.

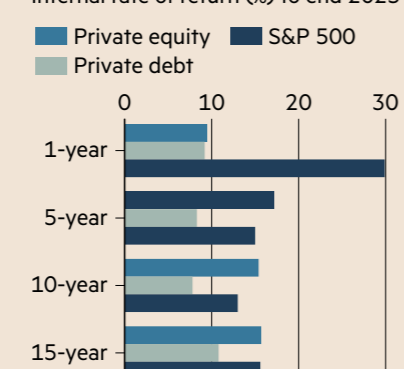
But DPIs, too, look terrible. Funds in the 2019-22 vintage have disbursed about 15 cents on the dollar so far, according to a Goldman Sachs analysis on Preqin numbers. By this stage in the game, previous vintages had returned well over half the money invested.

There is a difference between the two measures, however. For a well-bought and well-managed portfolio, DPIs will recover over time. The heady days of 20-plus per cent portfolio IRRs are gone for good.

Both measures of performance are dinged by the temporary freeze in private equity exits. IPO markets that slam shut at the merest ruffle and trigger-shy corporate buyers means it is difficult to sell portfolio companies. That leaves little money available for distributions. Stuck companies,

Private equity returns have declined

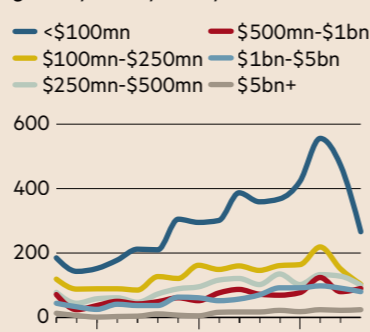
Internal rate of return (%) to end 2023



Source: PitchBook

Steep drop in number of small buyout funds

Number of individual funds raised globally each year, by size of fund



Source: PitchBook

which don't increase in value sharply, dilute IRRs. Poor performance and a lack of cash returned hurts fundraising, particularly for smaller, less diversified funds.

At some point, of course, there will be a thaw. When that happens, DPIs will improve. To the extent that private equity's troubles stem from timing (rather than the quality of assets or the price at which they were acquired) end-of-fund DPI may not be far off historical average levels of 1.5 times.

IRR — which are hugely time-dependent — do not offer the same leniency. Back-end loaded cash flows irrevocably damage end-of fund returns. On top of that, the industry

model has evolved from fix-and-flip strategies to longer-term roll-ups and industrial turnarounds. Vertiginous growth rates are hard to keep up over longer periods, which puts industry IRRs under inevitable pressure.

Investors — increasingly desperate to see some cash back — are themselves more focused on DPIs, correctly given that cash in hand is worth more than an unrealised IRR in the bush. To the extent that this increases the pressure on private equity funds to capitulate, cutting price-tags to get assets out the door, it will harm longer-term performance — whatever the measure used to evaluate it.

Bank merger crackdown risks missing bigger financial picture

In 2022 there were about 4,500 insured banks, according to the US Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In the mid-1990s there were roughly 10,000. And depending on your perspective, that consolidation is either a good start or a nightmare that needs to end.

The US Department of Justice on Tuesday withdrew its 1995 bank merger guidelines which largely focused on deposit or branch concentration as a reason to block mergers. New guidance will mean tougher scrutiny and is part of a general US regulatory effort to think more expansively about how M&A harms a wide variety of stakeholders.

Still, talk to Jamie Dimon and friends and they point out that banking is a classic scale game where stability, safety and, yes, returns on equity are helped by having fewer institutions.

Bank M&A has been pretty tough to get done since the financial crisis — and virtually impossible for the large banks with more than \$100bn of assets. (Ironically, standards for deal review tend to evaporate when banks are in the process of failing and need a buyer, any buyer. Think JPMorgan taking on the besieged First Republic in 2023.)

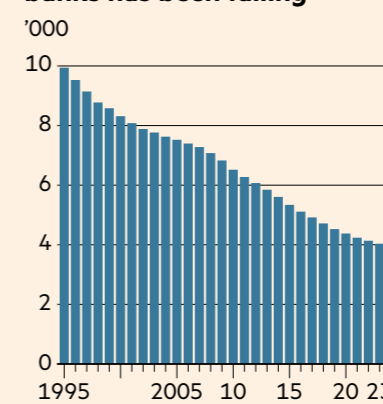
The DoJ says regulators must consider the competitive impact on banking product markets and customer segments as well as how communities would have to be better served after the merger.

Critics say an overly fragmented market means oversized lenders are often undermined by insufficient capital, leading to broader bank panics and crises. As such, a better way to ensure that credit remains broadly accessible might be to focus on the capital ratios of merged banks.

The typical bank has a return of assets of just 1 per cent, with institutions meeting their cost of equity almost solely through leverage. The costs of compliance, marketing and customer service, to say nothing of even minimal loan losses, are acute for smaller institutions. When banking executives argue for consolidation, it is less about monopoly rent-seeking and more about survival.

In the past 30 years, consumer

The number of US insured banks has been falling



Source: FDIC

finance has changed too. Many mortgage, credit card and personal loan companies are now "shadow banks" that do not take formal deposits. Similarly, fintech startups use technology rather than branches.

Add in the proliferation of asset managers offering corporate loans, and the traditional banking sector seems as cut-throat as ever. Regulators' harder task, and the more important one, is understanding how all these forms of financial intermediation can fit together for the benefit of customers.

Estée Lauder is in need of a makeover to help revitalise sales

Estée Lauder needs a new look. For decades, the maker of MAC cosmetics and La Mer skin care has been a dominant force in the \$500bn-a-year global beauty industry. Revenue more than tripled between 2000 and 2022 as shoppers loaded up on its pricey lipsticks, face creams and fragrances.

But the US beauty giant has lost its glow. Sales and profit have fallen in the last two fiscal years. Shares are down 76 per cent since the start of 2022. By contrast, French rival L'Oréal has lost only 14 per cent of its value and the S&P 500 has gained 18 per cent during the same period.

The retirement of chief executive Fabrizio Freda, announced last month, offers a chance for a reset. Whoever succeeds him will have to turn around

key Chinese and North American businesses, revitalise the company's namesake beauty brand and boost its appeal among younger shoppers — all while navigating the dynamics of the founding Lauder family, which has voting control and four board seats.

Like its middle-aged consumers, Estée Lauder's earnings need some anti-ageing protection. Sales fell 2 per cent in the year to June. Net income fell 61 per cent to \$390mn for the year.

Conditions remain tough. Estée Lauder expects sales growth for the year to June 2025 to be between a 1 per cent slide and a 2 per cent increase. As recently as May, the consensus forecast was for a 9 per cent rise, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence.

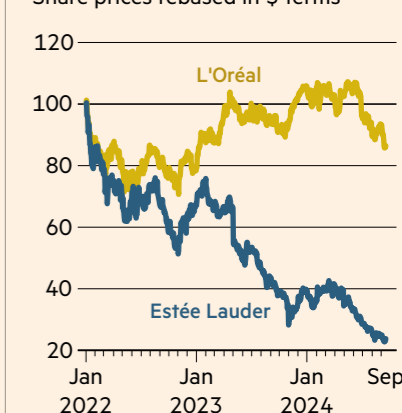
Estée Lauder is not the only US company struggling to manage the challenge of faltering Chinese consumer spending. But it stands out for its exposure to the country and its reliance on airport boutiques to sell its wares. About 20 per cent of its 2023 sales came from China and another 20 per cent was from travel retail, says Jefferies.

In North America, there is another problem: a good chunk of its sales (about 40 per cent in 2022) still come from department stores. Many of these are struggling with falling foot traffic or are closing down. Selling directly online and via retailers such as Ulta and Sephora. But the company also needs to be more savvy in marketing through social media and influencers.

Its operating margin of 6.2 per cent is less than a third of what L'Oréal made in 2023. Estée Lauder's new chief executive faces a challenge to pretty the company up.

Estée Lauder loses its glow

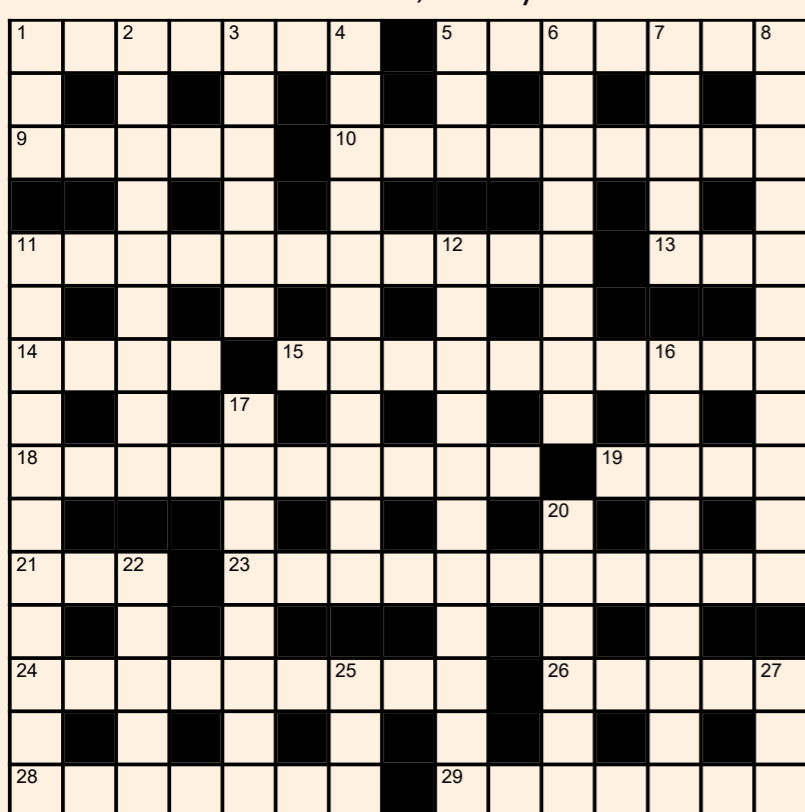
Share prices rebased in \$ terms



Source: LSEG

NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

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ACROSS

- Charlie, a quiet bully that makes a lot of money (4,3)
- Buried aluminium and half of gold in part of Mexico (7)
- Flirt with banker on the phone (5)
- Card-carrying official starts to outcast rebels and extremists thus (9)
- Drawn, sick American getting tarted up (11)
- My apple contains a bit of bark (3)
- Winton? (4)
- What can I say? Your unfinished baclava is abysmal (10)
- Building with high beams (10)
- Notes made by retired English head (4)
- Colour of dead-headed flower (3)
- Ambassador stopping pederasts getting thrown in cells (11)
- Old, exhausted pitbull with very large setter's dangerous (9)
- Animal with laugh full of hunger (5)
- 'Smart one overcome by anger' — Othello? (7)
- I perform Browning, and I generate cheers (7)

DOWN

- One getting in a flap about time (3)
- Rascal's stolen goods, including phone, close to telly (9)
- Retro show inspired by revolutionary appeal of *The Mousetrap* (6)
- Painting of owl curator and colleague finally revived (11)
- Some bloke adopting posh tone (3)
- Doctor that produces bill before treatment of flu? That's terrible (8)
- Papa John's introducing topping of yellow bananas (5)
- Act effecting change (11)
- Clever little engine almost crashes (11)
- Direct coach one's taken with mum and dad cycling behind (11)
- Fun arising when a docked mongrel is impregnated (9)
- German sacrificing time and opportunity to make instrument (8)
- Condition of mat has deteriorated (6)
- Part of Greek, apparently (5)
- She sounds like a drip (3)
- Belt out the opening of musical number (3)

JOTTER PAD

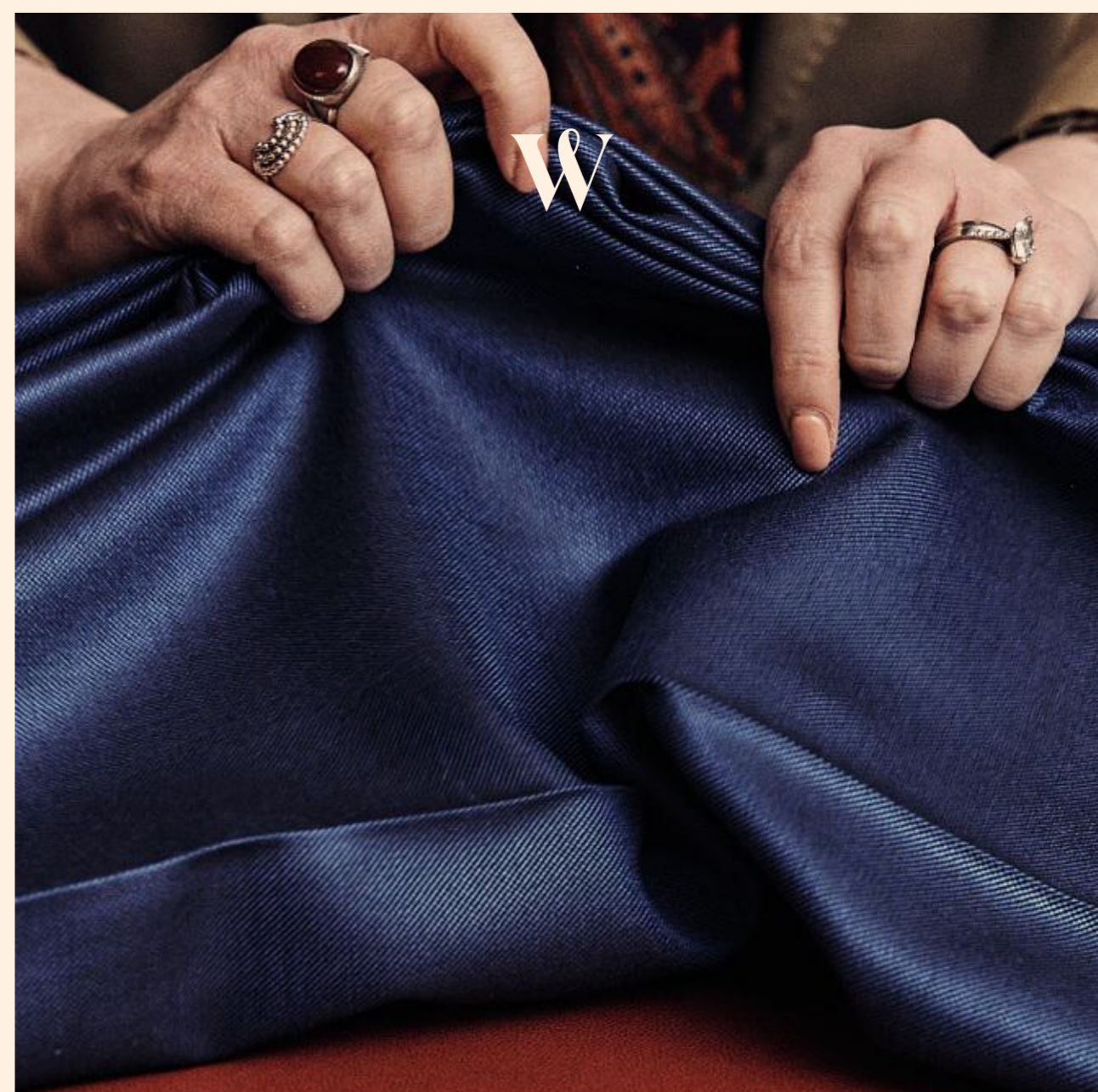
Solution 17,845

D I S M E M B E R H A S T E
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Kathryn Sargent, bespoke tailoring, London. Shot by Sam Walton