

## Stasi in your pocket

Smartphone apps take surveillance to a new level — NOTEBOOK, PAGE 8

## Martin Wolf

Johnson and his rogue Tories are to blame for this Brexit disaster — PAGE 9



## Mixed Morales

After 14 years, is Bolivia falling out of love with its leader? — BIG READ, PAGE 7

## IMF debut

### Chief sounds low rates alert

Kristalina Georgieva makes her first speech as IMF managing director as the fund's headquarters in Washington yesterday. The Bulgarian economist said one of her first jobs was to focus on the impact that negative interest rates were having on the slowing global economy.

Ms Georgieva told the Financial Times her team was looking carefully at the consequences and exit strategy of the "prolonged period" of low to negative rates. She also warned that the IMF would make "downward revisions" to world growth rates — currently 3.2 per cent this year and 3.5 per cent in 2020 — when it releases forecasts next week.

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Manufacturing malaise page 11  
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Mark Wainwright/Reuters

### Briefing

- **China operations chief takes Nissan helm** Makoto Uchida has been elevated to chief executive while Hani Noda, the white-haired behind Carlos Ghosn's downfall, has been sidelined in a bid to end the rifts at the carmaker. — PAGE 11
- **Impacts probe subpoenas envoy** The House committees leading the Ukraine-related inquiry into Donald Trump have subpoenaed Gordon Sondland, ambassador to the EU, after the state department ordered him not to testify. — PAGE 2
- **US basketball storm in China intensifies** State broadcaster CCTV and Tencent have halted plans to air the US sport's pre-season games after comments from a second National Basketball Association official. — PAGE 4, LEX, PAGE 10
- **Australia launches defence review** Defence minister Linda Reynolds has warned that the country's forces have to adapt to fundamental shifts in the region spurred by the falling US-China relationship. — PAGE 4



# Blockbuster listing in doubt after US extends ban on China tech

► Megvii AI group stunned ► Foreign investors in crossfire ► Possible aid for Huawei rivals

YUAN YANG — BEIJING  
MEREDITH BUELL — HONG KONG  
KIRIAN STACEY — WASHINGTON

A US move to blacklist four of China's top artificial intelligence start-ups has thrown a blockbuster Hong Kong listing in doubt and caught billions of dollars of foreign investment in the cross fire.

The decision by the commerce department adds 28 more groups to its so-called entity list, which already includes Chinese telecoms supplier Huawei, means US suppliers will no longer be able to sell them products without a special licence.

The US is stepping up its assault on the Chinese entities listed days before the next round of trade talks. It is also looking at ways to funnel money to Huawei's European rivals to dilute the group's

dominance of global communications. Officials in the US government have suggested issuing credit to European telecoms equipment makers, such as Nokia and Ericsson, to enable them to match the generous financing terms Huawei offers its customers, according to two people close to the situation.

The US accuses four of the 28 additions to its blacklist — leading facial recognition companies SenseTime, Megvii, and Yitu as well as voice recognition group iFlytek — of aiding the "repression, mass arbitrary detention and high-technology surveillance" in the western Chinese region of Xinjiang.

The move shocked Megvii, which has already filed its initial public offering prospectus, and SenseTime, which is considering a listing. They are among

the world's most valuable AI start-ups. "We are all taken aback," said one of Megvii's bankers. "No change to plans now but we will have to see what happens over coming days."

One person close to SenseTime said the company had been surprised at the blacklisting after a "positive" meeting with two US senators in Beijing last month. SenseTime said it was "deeply disappointed" and "actively developing AI code of ethics". The company had recently sold its majority stake in a police surveillance company in Xinjiang following international outcry.

Both companies have foreign investors, with Macquarie and the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority taking part in Megvii, Qualcomm, Silver Lake and

Temasek all backing SenseTime. All investors declined to comment.

iFlytek said it had "planned for this situation" and the move would have little impact on its business. Yitu declined to comment. Security camera groups Hikvision and Dahua, who were also put on the list, suspended trading on the Shenzhen exchange yesterday.

The Chinese foreign ministry criticised the US decision, saying it was using alleged human rights violations in Xinjiang as "an excuse for interference in China's internal affairs".

However, it added that trade talks which have been scheduled in Washington tomorrow would go ahead: "It is important we find a solution [to the trade dispute]."

Huawei rivals page 14



Facial recognition company SenseTime is said to be 'surprised' at the blacklisting

### Datwatch

#### Home truths

Price change, Q2 Q3



German economic news have yet to spill over into the housing market, with price growth in the second quarter at 5.2 per cent compared with a year earlier, a full point above the EU average. That is the only EU country where prices are falling

Source: Eurostat



## Threat of Isis resurgence behind Turkey's Syria push

Analysis ► PAGE 2

# Johnson urges Varadkar to stick with talks as prospects for Brexit deal fade

GEORGE PARKER — LONDON  
SAM FLEMING — BRUSSELS  
ARTHUR BEESELY — DUBLIN

Boris Johnson has urged Leo Varadkar to keep faith with talks on a possible Brexit deal, despite Downing Street fears that the prospects for an accord before October 31 are all but dead.

Mr Johnson's allies said yesterday that the British prime minister would meet the Taoiseach this week to try to resuscitate the talks, after a day of acrimony in which Number 10 aides accused Mr Varadkar and Angela Merkel, German chancellor, of blocking Brexit talks.

Donald Tusk, European Council president, retaliated by accusing Mr Johnson of engaging in a "stupid blame game", but both sides seemed determined last night to cool tempers and avoid a complete breakdown.

Mr Johnson's team described a 40-minute telephone call with Mr Varadkar as "constructive" and said the prime minister was expected to meet his Irish counterpart tomorrow or on Friday for more talks. "Both sides strongly reiterated their desire to reach a Brexit deal," a Downing Street spokesman said.

But the sides remained far apart on the key issue of how to handle the Irish border, with tensions fuelled by what Downing Street called a "frank" 30-minute phone call between Mr Johnson and Ms Merkel.

Mr Johnson's aides claimed Ms Merkel argued that Northern Ireland would have to remain in the EU customs union under any Brexit deal in order to avoid a hard border. Mr Johnson has insisted that the region must stay in the UK customs territory.

"Merkel said that if Germany wanted

to leave the EU, they could do it, no problem, but the UK cannot leave without leaving Northern Ireland behind in a customs union and in full alignment for ever," said a Downing Street insider.

"The call with Merkel... made clear a deal is overwhelmingly unlikely and she thinks the EU has a veto on us leaving the customs union."

Sterling slipped to its lowest level against the euro for a month.

Downing Street's account of the call caused outrage among Ms Merkel's supporters. "Johnson is missing the phone conversation to start a blame game," said Herbert Wittgen, a senior MP in the chancellor's CDU/CSU group.

Additional reporting by Guy Chazan in Berlin and Laura Hughes in London

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Country	Oct 8	Nov	Nov	Nov
Austria	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30
Belgium	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Denmark	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
France	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Germany	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Greece	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Ireland	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Italy	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Japan	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
UK	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
US	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10

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STOCK MARKETS		CURRENCIES		INTEREST RATES		
	Oct 8	Oct 8	Oct 8	Oct 8	Oct 8	
S&P 500	2903.10	2900.79	-1.22	\$ per £	1.096	1.100
Nikkei Composite	2661.52	2656.28	-1.58	€ per £	1.222	1.222
Dow Jones Ind	30193.47	30182.02	-1.07	¥ per £	160.1	160.1
FTSE 100	1480.11	1478.95	-1.06	HK\$ per £	107.055	106.945
Euro Stoxx 50	3438.36	3437.24	-0.35	₹ per £	130.819	130.767
FTSE 250	2143.15	2139.88	-2.91	₹ per £	1.181	1.182
FTSE All-Share	3918.17	3902.22	-1.81	₹ per £	0.913	0.910
CAC 40	3656.82	3651.81	-1.38			
Hong Kong	11939.35	11928.43	-1.08			
Nikkei	21927.78	21925.25	-0.91			
Hong Sang	2589.40	2587.03	-0.29			
MSCI World	2715.82	2715.03	-0.28	Oct 8 <td>Nov <td>Oct 8 </td></td>	Nov <td>Oct 8 </td>	Oct 8
MSCI EM	896.16	896.50	0.24	3m US	0.271	0.275
MSCI ACWI	514.28	514.85	0.11	6m US	0.270	0.275
Gold	1901.25	1409.15	0.14			

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## INTERNATIONAL

# UK prime minister unleashes Brexit blame game

Johnson's allies warn principle of good co-operation will be 'in the toilet' if Britain is forced to stay in European bloc

GEORGE PARKER and LAURA HUGHES  
LONDON

Boris Johnson, who vowed to deliver Brexit on October 31 "do or die", was always going to need somebody to blame. If Halloween passed and Britain remained a member of the EU.

Yesterday he found a new scapegoat: Angela Merkel.

At Sam the UK prime minister held a "clarifying" phone call with the German chancellor, at which it supposedly became obvious the EU would not strike a Brexit deal on terms acceptable to Mr Johnson – not at a key European leaders' summit next week, perhaps never.

Ms Merkel apparently objected to Mr Johnson's new proposal to overhaul the UK's withdrawal agreement with the EU by no longer including Northern Ireland in a customs union with the bloc.

By midday Mr Johnson's allies had unleashed a blame game, claiming the EU and a Remainer parliament were forcing Britain to stay in the bloc against its will beyond October 31.

While the blame was being spread widely, Mr Johnson's unnamed allies – widely assumed at Westminster to be his chief adviser Dominic Cummings – dispensed dark warnings of retaliation against the EU over its intransigence.

Although David Frost, Mr Johnson's chief Brexit negotiator, was in Brussels for talks about the prime minister's plan for a revised withdrawal agreement, Downing Street officials were busy framing what will be a brutal and acrimonious "people versus the establishment" Conservative general election campaign.

Amber Rudd, the former Conservative cabinet minister, said the message

"It will probably help us win an election by uniting the Leave vote"

Unnamed Johnson ally

coming out of Number 10 was "angry and desperate", reflecting the fact that Mr Cummings' "shock and awe" Brexit strategy was falling apart.

Mr Cummings argued from the start that unless the EU believed that October 31 was a "real" deadline for Brexit – with the UK leaving on Halloween, with or without an agreement – then Ms Merkel and other European leaders would simply reject Mr Johnson's departure terms and instead offer a delay that would enable an election.

A "rebel alliance" of MPs at Westminster derailed that strategy by last month, passing a law that seeks to prevent a no-deal Brexit on October 31.

In Brussels there is a clear conviction that the so-called Benn act is water-tight, and the prime minister will be obliged to seek an extension to the Article 50

## Brussels talks

### EU starts to weigh terms for agreeing UK extension

SAM FLEMING — BRUSSELS  
GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

With Brexit talks on life support in Brussels, EU leaders and officials are turning their attention to the potential for yet another extension to Britain's membership of the EU after October 31.

EU officials said they were not giving up talks with the British government, even after Boris Johnson's allies accused Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, of vetoing his exit plan.

Diplomats and officials said the gulf between the two sides remained enormous, but that this did not mean it made sense to formally pull the plug on the talks. This is partly because the EU has no appetite for being blamed for a breakdown that propels the UK towards a hard exit, but also because some officials see continuing value in keeping the door open to talks after a UK election. "No one has given up," said one.

However, EU diplomats are now beginning to consider the choreography of a Brexit extension at or after the European Council summit next week.

In the past 24 hours Mr Johnson's allies have adopted a markedly more aggressive posture. Downing Street briefed that, during a call with Mr Johnson, the German chancellor insisted a deal was "overwhelmingly unlikely" unless Northern Ireland was kept in a EU customs territory.

Mr Johnson is refusing to budge on keeping Northern Ireland within the UK customs area – a move that would necessitate a border on the island of Ireland – and ensuring that the Northern Ireland Assembly gives its consent to the region remaining part of the EU single market regulatory area. The EU sees these UK proposals as a breach from prior pledges during the talks.



Scapegoat: Angela Merkel, with Boris Johnson in Berlin two months ago, apparently objected to the UK premier's new proposal to overhaul the withdrawal agreement with the EU  
Chris Messenger/Getty

Brexit. History is full of such ironies and tragedies.

The same Number 10 insider warned that Britain would be a toxic partner if the EU insisted on keeping it in the 28-member bloc against its will and that the principle of good co-operation between the two sides would be "in the toilet".

The aggressive briefing is partly intended to precipitate a crisis in Brussels to persuade the EU that if it does not engage with Mr Johnson's proposal, the result will be dire for both sides.

Mr Johnson genuinely wants a Brexit deal before October 31. If he is forced to fight an election on the back of a fresh Brexit delay, the Conservatives will face a serious threat from Nigel Farage's Brexit party and the pro-Remain Liberal Democrats.

But there is little sign of the EU wanting to help him out to finalise a Brexit deal. The EU, as Mr Cummings foresaw, is expected to insist in any negotiations that Northern Ireland must remain part of the bloc's customs union to avoid the creation of a hard Irish border.

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divorce process if no Brexit deal is in place by October 19.

Although Mr Johnson's allies have suggested increasingly fanciful devices by which the government might "cheat" the Benn act, there is growing acceptance that the prime minister will ultimately have to obey the law and that an election will follow.

Mr Cummings feared that the EU would conclude – incorrectly in his opinion – that the worst that could happen in an election would be that Mr Johnson would win and he would come back with the same Brexit proposal.

In the best outcome for the EU, especially from Ireland's point of view, Mr Johnson would be ousted by a coalition of Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Scottish National party, which would hold a second referendum, possibly reversing Brexit.

The outpouring of threats from Number 10 in recent days is all part of a last-ditch attempt by Mr Cummings and his team to persuade the EU not to make this "historic mistake".

Mr Cummings believes that while Mr Johnson is making a constructive offer to the EU now, if he is forced into an election before the UK has left the bloc, he will fight on a no-deal Brexit platform.

"Those who pushed the Benn act intended to sabotage a deal and they've probably succeeded," said one unnamed Downing Street insider to the Spectator magazine, widely assumed at Westminster to be Mr Cummings.

"So the main effect of it will probably be to help us win an election by uniting the Leave vote and then a no-deal

## AN ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE HYDRIA, IN THE MANNER OF THE LYSIPPIDES PAINTER

CIRCA 530-510 BC

Height: 41.8 cm



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## INTERNATIONAL

## Hong Kong controversy

## China's state broadcaster CCTV, the main television distributor of North American basketball in the country, and internet group Tencent have halted plans to air the National Basketball Association's pre-season games in Hong Kong

Friday, The phrase echoed a slogan from demonstrations that have plagued the Asian financial and political crisis.

Comments by NBA commissioner Adam Silver in an interview with Japan's Kyodo news reignited the controversy and prompted CCTV's decision.

Mr Silver, who is due in China today for the pre-season games, sought to clarify his remarks. "It is inevitable that people around the world — including from America and China — will have different viewpoints over different issues. It is not the role of the NBA to adjudicate those differences," he said in a statement yesterday. "However, the NBA will not put itself in a position of regarding what players, employees and team owners say or will not say on these issues. We

simply could not operate that way."

The NBA's response drew bipartisan criticism from US politicians, who said the league had abandoned its values to maintain Chinese business deals.

CCTV said it strongly opposed Mr

Rockets games and Alibaba's Taobao, China's largest e-commerce platform, halts sales of the team's merchandise.

Before Mr Silver's intervention, the NBA had attempted to distance itself from the incident, releasing a statement on Monday calling Mr Moore's tweet "regrettable". Fueling accusations that the league was trying to help it both sides, however, a Chinese-language version of the statement used a harsher phrasing closer in tone to that used by Chinese officials. The league said yesterday there should have been "no discrepancy" in the two statements.

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CCTV said it strongly opposed Mr

silver's support for Mr Moore's comments. "Any remarks that touch upon a nation's sovereignty and social stability are outside the scope of free speech," the broadcaster wrote. It added it would "immediately take stock of all co-operation and exchange with the NBA."

Last season almost 500m Chinese watched NBA games on streaming platform Tencent. The deal for the league extended its online rights deal with the company for five years worth \$1.5bn, double the previous contract.

China's foreign ministry said yesterday: "The prerequisite for [the NBA's] co-operation and communication with China is to know the opinion of the Chinese public. ... The NBA knows clearly what to do and what to say next."

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Plug pulled on basketball league's pre-season games after protests backed

CHRISTIAN SHEPHERD, SHERRY PEI JU AND TOM TITCHENER — BEIJING

China's state broadcaster CCTV, the main television distributor of North American basketball in the country, and internet group Tencent have halted plans to air the National Basketball Association's pre-season games in Hong Kong

The move is a sharp escalation of a row sparked by a team official's support for the Hong Kong protests.

Dary Moore, general manager of the Houston Rockets, posted "stand with Hong Kong" on his Twitter account on

Friday, The phrase echoed a slogan from demonstrations that have plagued the Asian financial and political crisis.

Comments by NBA commissioner Adam Silver in an interview with Japan's Kyodo news reignited the controversy and prompted CCTV's decision.

Mr Silver, who is due in China today for the pre-season games, sought to clarify his remarks. "It is inevitable that people around the world — including from America and China — will have different viewpoints over different issues. It is not the role of the NBA to adjudicate those differences," he said in a statement yesterday. "However, the NBA will not put itself in a position of regarding what players, employees and team owners say or will not say on these issues. We

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Mr Mario Draghi  
President  
European Central Bank  
Sonnenmannstraße 20  
60314 Frankfurt

Paris, 4 October 2019

Dear Sir,

Twice before have I allowed myself to congratulate you for the exemplary role you displayed during both of your terms in office. With the approach of your departure, I would like to stress once again how truly indebted we are to you. Your unambiguous declaration at the height of the July 2012 crisis – “The ECB is ready to do whatever it takes” – anchored the ECB as the key institution in the construction of Europe, by preventing the implosion of the eurozone and enabling its most fragile members to regain access to markets.

Results are plain to see. 10-year rates for Italy and Spain currently stand at 0.83% and 0.13% respectively, compared to 7% and 5% in January 2012. Even better, as your support for these states was contingent on their compliance with fiscal compacts of good conduct, it took only moderate ECB action to achieve these results. Renewed investor confidence allowed markets to play their part.

And what about the future? Eight years of accommodative monetary policy have left the ECB with only symbolic room for manoeuvre, and with 70% of European sovereigns trading at negative yields, the traction of monetary policy on the real economy has become questionable. As you acknowledged yourself at the latest ECB meeting, **the next stage in the construction of Europe can no longer be monetary, but fiscal.**

With that in mind, I like to picture the creation of a European Finance Ministry that would use our tremendous ability to raise capital at favourable rates – not to finance yet another stimulus plan with no lasting impact, but to tackle our continent's severe underinvestment in sectors with the brightest future. Our telecom networks are outdated (even in Germany!) and we need to move fast to provide 5G coverage across Europe. Our lag behind the United States and China in artificial intelligence and biotechnology is increasing, and we must catch up at least in part. Finally, the transformation of our economies towards sustainable development must become a top priority, as well as a major growth driver.

I would also like to picture you as Europe's first Finance Minister. Your intellectual authority and your skill as a negotiator are widely recognised. They will be vital to successfully carrying out such an ambitious recasting project that will require reconciling the often bygone divergences between our nation states.

Hoping my expectations will not prove to be inordinate, I remain, yours truly,

Edouard Carmignac

[www.carmignac.com](http://www.carmignac.com)



## ARTS



## Revelry that bred revolutionary art

The flourishing of artistic talent in nightclubs and subterranean spaces is celebrated in a new London exhibition. By Peter Aspden

It may make extravagant claim to be able to illuminate the human condition; but it frequently does so in the darkest of spaces. Artists of the modern era in particular, challenging social mores with unprecedented ferocity, moved ahead of public opinion with such alacrity that they needed to find safe, covert spaces in which to express themselves. They found solace in the bars and nightclubs of their neighbourhoods, to mingle with like-minded spirits, and to test the limits of their own imaginations. The results were joyous, frequently illicit, and they helped shape the course of modern art.

The nocturnal frissons of the artistic avant-garde over the past century-and-

a half are the theme of a new exhibition at London's Barbican Art Gallery. It makes a compelling case for the links between exciting late-night revelry and the unleashing of innovative artistic talent. The art produced in the cafés and cabarets of – mostly – Europe over this time period is vibrant, revolutionary, subversive. It shifted the prevailing perception of the (stuffed male) artist, from the lone and desolate figure struggling with his muse, to the worldly, extrovert socialite who wanted nothing more than to buy her a drink and take her home.

More than the famous of these spaces, which flourished in Weimar Berlin, chronicled the breakdown of Germany's social order, and famously anticipated its further descent into fury and violence. "Berlin, stop and think!" ran a government advertising campaign aimed at curbing the untrammelled sense of hedonism which had afflicted the city. "You are dancing with Death," it under: "Little did they know!"

The show is divided into 12 separate sections, chronicling the artistic "scenes" in important European capitals – Paris, Vienna, Zurich – as well as



Clockwise, from top left: poster by Kamran Diba, co-founder of Rasht 29 club in Tehran (1966); Bertold Löffler poster for Cabaret Fledermaus, Vienna (1907); Giacomo Balla's design for a sign and flashing light for Bal Tàc, Rome (1921); Erna Schmidt-Caroli's "Chansonette" (c.1928)

Collection: Galerie Oda, Alberto Tomba, Vienna; Fondazione Torino Musei; © Erna Schmidt-Caroli



museum, where a lot of contemporary art was hung on the walls, but there was also medieval art, renaissance inspired furniture and paraphernalia around."

Ecclecticism and open-mindedness became the norm. "Places like the Chat Noir, yes, they were spaces of subversion, and safe spaces, but they were also very democratic: anyone could express himself or herself. So you had this subversive, radical side, but also some very conservative voices being heard."

The golden age of artistic cabaret came as Europe began to fall apart in the opening years of the 20th century. The opening of Zurich's Cabaret Voltaire in February 1916 prompted an understandably extreme reaction to the war raging all around neutral Switzerland. Founder Hugo Ball's opening-night poem "Totentanz" ("Dance of Death") started with the words: "So we die," and became the clarion call of what would become known as the Dada movement.

"While the thunder of the batteries rumbled in the distance we waited, we recited, we versified, we sang with all our souls," recalled Jean (Tant) Arp. "We searched for an elementary art that would, we thought, save mankind from the furious folly of these times." The café lasted just five months, running contemporaneously with the battle of Verdun, but it was a seedbed of futurist, cubist and surrealist art.

In the months between the February 1918 October Revolution in Russia, the Café Pittoresque sought to bring together avant-garde artists such as Vladimir Tatlin and Aleksandr Rodchenko in Moscow to capture the fast-changing times, but it was already behind them: by the time it opened in January 1918, Bolsheviks forced the club to change its name to the Red Cockerel, and ordered it to adopt a more "revolutionary" programme.

The legacy of Weimar Germany's clubs is well known, and there are stuning works by Otto Dix, George Grosz and Max Beckmann, as well as a more recognised Jeanne Mammen. Her frank depictions of life inside Berlin's cabaret scene are a reminder that women, far from being passive muse-like figures, were themselves dynamic and boundary-pushing participants.

Kammen made drawings of performers such as Valeska Gert, whose own descriptions of her violently erotic dances recall feminist performance art rather than Tiller girl titillation. "For me the only important things were attack, tragic or comic climax, subside-ence, nothing more. Because I didn't like solid citizens, I danced those whom

they despised – whores, processions, down-and-outers, and degenerates."

Here, too, the finer, worldly, imaginative stage designs of Hannah Höch. "They are very little known," says Ostende. "She called them 'anti-reviews', reacting against the popular stagings of variety theatre, showing stages full of weird plants, and mocking the synchronised dance styles of the time."

It was a sign of the era's intellectual suppleness that its artists scarcely knew whether they were satirical, or actually complicit with, its decadence. "I made careful drawings of all these gongs on... detailing myself that was not so much a caricature as an objective student of nature," wrote Grosz. "In fact, I was each one of the very characters I drew, the champagne-swilling glutton favoured by fate no less than the poor beggar standing with outstretched

"You had this subversive, radical side, but also some very conservative voices being heard"

hands in the rain." I was split in two, just like society at large."

As for the history of cabaret art outside Europe, to the postcolonial legacies of Nigeria's Mabou Mines and Tehran's Rasht 29, devoted to mixing western pop culture with traditional aesthetics. Ostende says it was important to go beyond the first half of the 20th century to look at the notion of the avant-garde in a global context.

I ask her if it is possible even to imagine such epochal artistic movements percolating in underground spaces in today's cultural climate. "Well this was partially why this show came to life," she replies. "Because people were asking me if there were any examples of this kind of club today, and I couldn't think of any."

"Of course there are underground spaces, there is interdisciplinary practice today, on a larger scale than there used to be. But I think there is a distinction between very dynamic places, where there is a lot going on, and spaces where there is tangible evidence that art has been produced. We were always guided by the artists, how they interacted with the spaces. And what they produced was incredible! "

"Into the Night: Cabarets & Clubs in Modern Art" to January 19, barbican.com.uk

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less familiar venues, in Nigeria, Mexico and Tehran.

In the downtown galleries, there are recreations of four of these, with accompanying soundtracks. Pop into Le Chat Noir in Montmartre in the 1880s, and you might have found Claude Debussy or Erik Satie sitting at the piano. A few years later, the American dancer Lole Paller's experimental outfit with silk fabrics would capture the attention of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, whose cinematic lithographs of the dance are shown here.

The founder of Le Chat Noir in 1881, Rodolphe Salis, embodied the new spirit of the age, which saw a meeting between "high" culture and popular entertainment, says the exhibition's curator, Florence Ostende. "He was a poet, a writer, also an artist. And in a way he treated the Chat Noir as a kind of anti-

## Grime triumphs amid the grandeur

**POP**

**Kano**  
Royal Albert Hall, London  
\*\*\*\*\*

**Lukoke Hunter-Tilly**

"You can take the kid out the ends, but you can't take the ends out of the kid." Kano rapped during his show. The "ends" in his case refer to East Ham, the London neighbourhood where he grew up. It is geographically and socially on the opposite side of the city from the venue where Kano was playing. The grand auditorium was hosting a rare grime music show – its second ever, after a grime-based BBC From in 2015 with a symphonic orchestra.

Kano is a veteran MC whose career has followed the ups and downs of grime during its long march to mainstream triumph. He was part of the first wave of acts in the early 2000s, tried to cash out on 2007's glossy *London Town*, then trod a delicate line between crossover collaborations and reputation-restoring grime purism. The tension between appealing to the wider world and representing a tiny corner of it has given his past discography a rather spotty record. But it has also prompted some of his finest work on his latest album, *Freedom All Summer*.

He began with its opening song, "Free Years Later". The musical backing was subdued, with a 12-string string section sawing away amid a plangent synth drone. Kano's rapping was through this minor-key landscape like a speeding car – a high-performance one,

capable of smooth acceleration and exhilarating peaks of intensity. "I'm royal," he cried at the summit of a particularly ferocious passage of words. It prompted a huge cheer from his followers in a packed Royal Albert Hall.

A large cast of musicians joined him. As well as the string section and Kano's backing band, there were horn players, singers, a steel pan troupe and guest MCs. With the exception of the latter, all were white. The angelic look was in keeping with the gospel aspects of *Freedom All Summer*. "I don't know if I believe that or believe in the forces," Kano rapped at one point. Church piano and singing summed the mood. The songs about racism and youth in exile, conveyed by the rapper in a mingled tone of anger and hopefulness.

Social comment was accompanied by high-octane escapism. Grime tracks

blared out, to massive reactions from the audience, only to be stopped and begun again. Fellow veterans D Double E and Ghetts joined him for throwback anthem "Class of '45", all sharing a single microphone like ruckees on the way up. Ghetts turned in for another unfinished grime number, "5 Wheelz up".

In the final song "My Sound", Kano gave another shout-out to his home neighbourhood, while the steel pan troupe and horn players added a carnival emphasis to his words. The advantage of grime's powerful sense of place is the equally powerful sense of occasion it can bring to bear when taking over new spaces. Kano at the Royal Albert Hall was not on the scale or significance of Stormzy at Glastonbury, but it made for a similarly rousing encounter.

hammus.com



Angelic: Kano at the Royal Albert Hall — Joseph Quinlan/Getty Images



FT BIG READ. LATIN AMERICA

During his almost 14 years as president, the Bolivian economy has quadrupled in size and poverty has nearly halved. But ahead of a general election, critics say Evo Morales is becoming increasingly autocratic.

By Andres Schipani

# The limits of Economics



Bolivia's largest museum, perched on a hill in an isolated Andean village, one item stands out. It is a replica of a makeshift football court in white cloth that Bolivia's president Evo Morales used to play with as a small child, in between school lessons and herding lambs on the chilly plateau.

The \$72m museum is dedicated to explaining the extraordinary rise of Mr Morales – Latin America's longest-ruling sitting president – from a childhood being raised in a hut on the breezy shores of Lake Poopó to spending nearly 14 years as president. He now runs the country from a 25-storey presidential palace he built in the capital La Paz.

Mr Morales was one of a generation of leftwing leaders who came to power in the first decade of the century and surfed the wave of the China-led commodities boom to push more redistributive policies.

The bright hopes that many of his peers raised have since been dashed. In Brazil, former president Luís Inácio Lula da Silva is in jail after being convicted of corruption and the economy has suffered a traumatic fall. The unravelling of Hugo Chávez's revolution in Venezuela has led to one of the biggest peacetime economic collapses.

Bolivia, however, has continued to prosper, even as commodity prices fell. During Mr Morales's time in office, the country's gross domestic product has quadrupled.

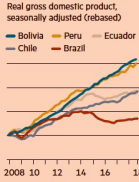
"I would never vote for anyone else," says Walter Vilca, a quinoa and potato farmer from Orinoca, standing outside the water-and-daub hut where his "brother-and-prince" grew up. He adds that Mr Morales has brought stability to a once-divided country – Bolivia's presidency had five office-holders in the five years before he took office. And produced tangible improvements in the day-to-day lives of poor Bolivians like himself, fueling a new sense of dignity.

"I played with a cloth ball like him. Now, we have a football pitch with synthetic grass, and I feel every day," says Mr Vilca. "We have all we need."

But as he prepares to run on October 20 for an unprecedented fourth term as president – after what critics believe was a bungled attempt to get around constitutional term limits – Mr Morales faces a series of profound questions. There are warning signs that the strong economic run could be running out of steam – last year's 4.2 per cent rise in GDP, according to government statistics, was partly the result of an unsustainably high budget deficit. And in a country where many citizens could only remember him as president, the 59-year-old leader is facing growing criticism over what critics see as a series of increasingly autocratic opponents say he is holding sway over the courts and accuse members of his

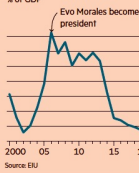
**Bolivia outpaces its neighbours for growth...**

Real gross domestic product, seasonally adjusted (percentage)



**...but its budget deficit has widened in recent years**

% of GDP



government of corruption. With no heir-apparent, some allies worry about a cult of personality around Mr Morales – the sort of uncritical admiration that finds expression in expensive museums and shiny presidential palaces.

"Politics is not a profession. It is a lasting passion for the people," Mr Morales tells the Financial Times, adding that "it is a request from the Bolivian people" that he runs again. "People tell me, 'Evo, if you do well, we'll do well'."

Comments like these have alienated a section of the president's support. While political opponents warn about the risks to Bolivia's democracy, "If we continue with Señor Morales as president, we will go from authoritarianism to dictatorship," says Carlos Mesa, a former president and his main election challenger.

"Bolivia is not on the path to becoming Venezuela," says a foreign diplomat in La Paz. "But its democratic credentials are definitely being tested."

**Growth story**

Mr Morales is ethnically an Aymara – one of Bolivia's main groups, which make up roughly two-thirds of its 11m population. He was the first indigenous president of a country traditionally ruled by members of the small group of white citizens or the larger minority of mestizo Bolivians, whose ancestry includes Europeans and indigenous people. Until Mr Morales took office, the indigenous majority were often treated as second-class citizens.

It was his connection to the rural poor, those such as Mr Vilca, that secured his first presidential term with 54 per cent of the vote. He built on that to win again in 2009 with 64 per cent of the vote after the constitution was changed to allow immediate re-election. In 2014, he had the support of 61 per cent of voters.

Those victories were built on a strong economy. The commodity price boom that began in 2005 lifted Bolivia's prices and much of the rest of the region.

Yet while neighbours Argentina and Brazil struggled after commodity prices started to fall in 2014, Bolivia has grown at an average of 4.9 per cent a year since 2008 and 2018.

The IMF forecasts the Andean nation's GDP will grow 4.9 per cent this year, which would once again be the fastest rate in South America. Unlike other members of Latin America's "pink tide" of leftwing governments, where earlier gains were undermined by economic mismanagement, Bolivia has run prudent macroeconomic policies for much of Mr Morales's presidency. His government has been more adept than most at managing the commodities windfall.

For Jim Shultz, of the Democracy Center, a US think-tank focused on Bolivia, Mr Morales has figured out a formula to promote "populist and redistribution policies." "Yank wealth out of the ground and invest in things Bolivian governments have not invested in before that benefit regular people."

Bolivia's deputy president, Alvaro García Linera, calls this a "flexible blend of a market and a planned economy" that has fuelled a consumer boom. The elements include higher minimum wages, cash transfer schemes and a string of public works such as a \$674m transit cable car in La Paz.

The strong record of economic growth has seen extreme poverty rates fall from 58 per cent in Mr Morales first took office in 2006, to 15 per cent in 2018, while poverty has almost halved from 60 per cent in 2004 to 32 per cent, according to official data compiled by the Inter-American Development Bank.

In the same period, GDP per capita grew from \$1,000 a year to over \$5,600, boosting supermarket and restaurant sales by over 500 per cent, accounted for by the finance ministry.

Redistributionist policies have raised living standards in one of the region's poorest nations and have helped to dissolve enmity between opposing political camps. Seasonal cash in pockets of the eastern lowlands have mollified growers and businessmen have joined his socialist chorus.

**Regional challenge**

The limits of "Economico", however, are starting to be tested. With a budget deficit close to 8 per cent of GDP – Latin America's widest after Venezuela and Suriname – and rising external debt levels as a result of lower commodity prices, there are growing concerns about the Morales model.

"This is not sustainable. It could blow up," says Gonzalo Chávez, an economist at Bolivia's Catholic University.

"The government is trying to modernise the economy, investing in

petrochemical and hydroelectric plants and trying to produce batteries out of rich lithium deposits. But it remains dependent on resource nationalism as it tries to continue to satisfy the demands of its key voter bases. Its two main markets for gas exports, Argentina and Brazil, are trying to boost their own output.

"The model of past success was based on factors that are not sustainable," the IMF said in December. As Mr Morales campaigns for a fourth term, the political cycle in the region has shifted again with a new group of leftwing leaders taking power – in Mexico last year and soon in Argentina. If the polls are correct and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner

"It was not our intention to create a cult. A person turned into an idol drifts from the people and Evo cannot live without them

is elected vice-president later this month.

Mr García Linera acknowledges that they will all face more difficulties compared with the previous decade, simply because "there is less money now."

"This return of the left will be more painful than there will be worse problems, but I am not pessimistic," he says. "If we don't do a good job on the economy, we can't do a good job in politics."

However, Amaru Villanueva, a sociologist with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung foundation in Bolivia, warns that "Evo could become a victim of his own success in social inclusion, as he has created more ambition and more expectations in the population. There is a pragmatic disenchantment, as economic wellbeing has won over identity politics."

"I have always voted for him, not this time, he's been in power for too long," she says. "I want new opportunities for me and my family."

**Opposition concerns**

The potential problems for the economy are not the looming danger for Mr Morales. The president also faces criticism that he has become autocratic in his behaviour.

Critics accuse him of using plant height to pressure the courts. They say he has used his office to create a state-run media empire more than ever in his career, radio and print, and that he has persecuted members of previous right-wing governments. Corruption scandals have also supported support for his Movement for Socialism (MAS) party.

Some of these resentments came to the fore at the weekend when several hundred thousand people protested in Santa Cruz de la Sierra over the government's response to wildfires in the Amazon – the same issue that has prompted so much criticism of Jair Bolsonaro's far-right government in Brazil.

"Evo Morales arrived in office generating hope that almost two-thirds of the population. All of that is gone now," says Oscar Ortiz Antez, a senator and presidential candidate from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, which is an opposition stronghold in the wealthier eastern lowlands.

His aura of invincibility started to fade in 2016 after he was defeated in a referendum called to allow him to stand for a fourth term. Underfunded, the MAS argued that term limits violated Mr Morales's human rights, and the constitutional court overturned the decision, allowing him to stand on October 20.

Despite having won the 2016 referendum, the opposition is divided, unable to unite behind a single candidate. This is hampering its chances of beating Mr Morales's human rights, and the constitutional court overturned the decision, allowing him to stand on October 20.

Despite having won the 2016 referendum, the opposition is divided, unable to unite behind a single candidate. This is hampering its chances of beating Mr Morales's human rights, and the constitutional court overturned the decision, allowing him to stand on October 20.

The latest polls suggest that Mr Morales is ahead of Mr Mesa. But it is unclear whether this difference is large enough to prevent a run-off in December. Mr Morales needs at least 40 per cent of the vote, and a margin of over 10 points more than his closest contender, to win in the first round.

Analysis warn the president's strong rural support tends to be underestimated by surveys. Still, there is a possibility of a defeat in a presidential election, even the prospect of going to a second round, which is unprecedented.

Amid uncharismatic opposition leaders and an absence of other strong figures on the government side, the driving force in the election remains the towering personality of Mr Morales. His campaign slogan reads: "The best president in the history of Bolivia."

"It was not our intention to create such a cult," says Mr García Linera. "A person turned into an idol drifts away from the people, and Evo cannot live without them."

Yet even in Orinoca, there is a sense that an era might be ending. On the walls of the museum, he appears as the epic culmination of a process that started centuries ago with indigenous uprisings against Spanish conquistadors, and an absence of other strong figures on the government side, the driving force in the election remains the towering personality of Mr Morales. His campaign slogan reads: "The best president in the history of Bolivia."







## Opinion

## A burst of privatisation looks imminent in India

Swaminathan Aiyar

moved factories to Vietnam and Bangladesh but can now consider India.

Next, some of India's biggest and best public sector companies are about to be privatised. In his first term, Mr Modi privatised nothing. He sold minority stakes in many public companies to raise revenue, but kept management control. A halfhearted attempt to privatise India's last year attracted no bids because of onerous sale conditions. That fiasco put privatisation on the back burner.

Today, a burst of privatisation looks imminent. Last week, a committee cleared the sale of government stakes in five companies. The matter will now go to a cabinet committee that is expected to clear it quickly, so that sales can be completed by the end of this fiscal year in March 2020. The star on the auction block, Bharat Petroleum, is a major sixth largest company by sales. The Container Corporation of India is India's logistics

company specialising in moving railway containers. The Shipping Corporation of India is the country's biggest. The other two candidates are smaller and will probably be bought by larger public companies and don't constitute genuine privatisation. But the first three com-

**Modi's election victory in May has given him the political capital to take risks**

panies are highly profitable and respected. Meanwhile, Airtel India is to be put up for sale again, this time without the restrictions. The government may also take over part of the airline's huge debt to make the sale attractive. Why has Mr Modi's approach changed? His sweeping election victory

in May has given him the political capital to take risks and the opposition is demoralised and divided. His victory has also helped to silence opponents of privatisation within his own party, notably the Bharatiya Janata-Sangh trade union, and the Swadeshi Jagran Manch, an industrial policy affiliate that hates Indian companies being sold to foreigners.

In his first term, Mr Modi could easily have been outvoted in the upper house, which is indirectly elected by state legislatures. But having won many state elections in the past five years, his Bharatiya Janata party is now far from a majority there. He has won additional political capital through his takeover of Kashmir, supported by regional parties who gave him a two-thirds majority even in the upper house.

Mr Modi is reducing the government's domination of the economy in other ways. He has acted on the operation of

six major airports and, despite trade union protests, auctions are planned for 20 to 25 more. Rail passenger services have long been a government monopoly, but tenders are being prepared for 150 routes to be auctioned to private parties. The hope is to attract big operators from across the world.

This will implement the government's "asset recycling". Since last year, it has been auctioning rights to operate, maintain and share toll revenue from existing infrastructure – roads, ports, power stations and transmission lines. Cash from old infrastructure is recycled into new. Last March, a sale of 608km of roads fetched ₹87bn.

Another reason for Mr Modi's new radicalism is fiscal stress. To win elections he was forced to match the freebies promised by opposition parties. India has at least one state election every few months so the pressure to offer giveaways never diminishes. Mr Modi

promised a grant of ₹86,000 per small farmer before May's election and has now extended it to all farmers. He also has abandoned but costly plans to provide healthcare for all.

Only creative accounting can hide the fact that the current year's fiscal deficit will probably be more than 4 per cent of gross domestic product against the budgeted 3.3 per cent. The slowdown has badly dented tax revenue. Mr Modi is keen on fiscal prudence and his various forms of privatisation can help, apart from improving long-term efficiency.

India still needs reforms to bring down the cost of land, labour, capital, electricity and freight rates to the levels of its Asian rivals. The old Mr Modi was incapable of such radicalism. Might the new version have a stab at it?

The writer is a research fellow at the Cato Institute

# Brexit is a journey without end

Martin Wolf Economics

No majority exists for any deal option with the EU, with Leavers as much to blame as Remainers

In 1953, Joseph Goebbels stated that, "The modern structure of the German State is a higher form of democracy in which, by virtue of the people's mandate, the government exercises authoritative while there is no possibility for parliamentary interference, to obliterate and render ineffective the execution of the nation's will." It is a measure of how far the UK has fallen that Boris Johnson, the prime minister, often sounds rather like this. Mr Johnson sought to prevent "parliamentary interference" in Brexit negotiations, by proroguing (or suspending) it for five crucial weeks. He dissented from the Supreme Court's unanimous decision that this was unlawful. He has suggested he could ignore the Benn Act requiring him to seek an extension to Article 50 deadlines, should he not achieve a deal. He threatened to ignore legislation as the "surrender act". Worst of all, he plans to frame the next election as a referendum on whether to remain.

How did the UK reach a position in which its prime minister regards parliament as an obstacle to be ignored? The simple answer is that it decided to insert a particularly ill-considered referendum on an exceptionally contentious subject into its path towards Brexit. This created conflicting sources of legitimacy. Worse, the meaning of the option that was a small majority in 2016 was ill-defined. "Brexit means Brexit" is perhaps the silliest sentence ever uttered by a British prime minister. But it was also that that could be said.

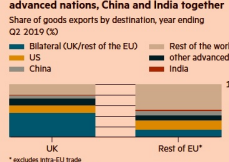
Contrary to what Brexiters insist, parliamentary involvement is not an unwarranted intrusion. Any referendum requires legislation. This one also required negotiation and agreement. Alas, no majority exists for any option for a deal with the EU. Brexiters are as much to blame for this as Remainers.

Consequently, "no deal" has emerged as the fallback position. But the Leave campaign said essentially nothing about a no-deal exit. There is no mandate for what every informed observer, including the civil service, knows would be a dire and costly result. It would also be just the beginning of negotiations, not their end. But those talks would occur in worse circumstances. There would be pervasive economic uncertainty. This would be a mad choice. Governments exist to help their citizens through difficult times.

Among the most important reasons for this outcome is the refusal, especially at the Brexit site, to try to understand the EU. They needed to comprehend that the EU is an existential project for its members, not just a trade deal. Application of European law, under the European Court of Justice, is a central part of that project. The UK, with 27 other member states, is not aware to be an inflexible counterparty.

What next? The government's Health Secretary has said that the UK is to remain inside the EU's regulatory system for goods but not its customs, will be rejected as legally unenforceable and incompatible

**For the UK, the EU market exceeds US, other advanced nations, China and India together**

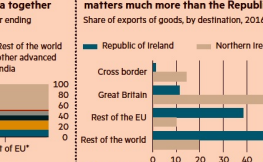


Source: IMF, DOT, FT research

with border-free trade in Ireland. It also represents a rejection of the UK's 2017 commitments on the Irish border. This is sure to have further weakened trust in Britain's reliability. Remember, too, that the EU has long hand ledgers: it will not allow a precedent of intentionally porous borders.

Some believe this plan ought to fly with the EU. It will not. If Northern Ireland were inside the EU's customs area, it could work. But, if the rest of the UK is to have its own trade and regula-

**For Northern Ireland, the UK market matters much more than the Republic's**



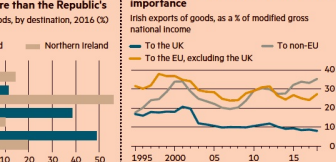
Source: NISRA, COA

tory policies, this would make the Irish Sea the UK's customs and regulatory border with the EU. That would be unacceptable to the Democratic Unionist party and the Conservatives. It might restrict violence in Northern Ireland.

One question is whether the EU agrees to another extension when the British government clearly does not want one. Assume that it does, but only with conditions. What might those be?

One possibility would be to ratify Theresa May's withdrawal agreement. That would allow the UK and the EU to move on to negotiating a new relationship. This would also mean a compromise between Brexiters and Remainers, if they highly desire. But it seems impossible. For Remainers, it is

**To Ireland, the UK market is of declining importance**



Source: BRF/FTI FT research

too little. For Brexiters, it is too much. Remainers want to stay in the EU. Brexiters reject the Irish backstop that would keep the UK in the EU's customs area and restrict its trade policy indefinitely.

A second possibility is another referendum, probably a choice between no deal and Remain. Such a vote should be legitimate since no deal played so little part in the referendum. But it would require creation of a caretaker government. That would be hard enough to do.

It might also be impossible to agree a deal that is a choice between no deal and Remain. Such a vote should be legitimate since no deal played so little part in the referendum. But it would require creation of a caretaker government. That would be hard enough to do.

Finally, there could be an early general election. A drawback is that this would involve many issues apart from Brexit and might lead to another hung

parliament. With Mr Johnson campaigning against parliament, it could have dire consequences in both the short and long run. But it might resolve the Brexit issue, temporarily.

If the issue now is just Brexit, it is far deeper. The Conservative party has become an English nationalist party, busily stoking popular resentment. Meanwhile, the hard left has seized the Labour party. The cause of extremist politics has only just begun.

One people see opponents as "traitors" to an imaginary "people", demon of hatred are unleashed. Brexit awake those demons. Mr Johnson, aided by Nigel Farage and his Brexit party, will seek to fly by freeing them. They are sure to wreak havoc for a very long time.

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## Pinching pennies is all too often pound-foolish

BUSINESS Brooke Masters

PMG has breathed new life into the phrase "penny-pinching" with a recent decision to cancel work mobile phones for hundreds of junior and back-office employees. The move by the British arm of the Big Four accountancy firm is part of a larger cost-cutting drive that includes letting go about 200 secretaries and personal assistants and telling partners to file their own expenses claims.

Few people would take issue with the need to keep down costs right now.

Economic gloom is spreading worldwide with Europe and the UK looking particularly vulnerable. It emerged on Tuesday that global leader HSBC plans to axe 10,000 jobs and fund manager Invesco has lost £1.3bn.

There are also firm specific reasons to trim spending. KPMG, under pressure after a series of scandals, has told employees that the costs of the UK tax system are too high. It is cutting staff to separate working hours from those of its UK employees who travel a lot or need to be contacted outside of hours will not be affected.

Supporters of this kind of cost-cutting argue that such steps make a strong statement that the company really is serious about boosting margins.

When Charlie Ergen was chief executive of Dish, the US television provider

took pride in being known as "reduced to America" in America." It meant to reimburse tips to more than 77 per cent on restaurant meals and required employees to share hotel rooms on business trips. Mr Ergen followed the latter

**Lock up stationary for the Christmas holidays and company managers risk real fury**

rule himself, much to the dismay of underlings who lived in fear of being his roommate.

Portsmouth football club players have fond memories of its efforts to emerge from administration in 1998. Players were happy to give up their bonuses for wins and washed their own jackets.

But André Spicer, a professor of organisational behaviour at Cass Business School, warns that such symbolic cost-cutting can easily do more harm than good. "A lot of the time, they undermine the purposes of what they are trying to achieve. People are much more attached to small things than large things," he says.

Employees can understand why a swath of near-empty retail outlets, Prof Spicer says. But take away the afternoon cake trolley or lock up the stationery and the Christmas and New Year managers risk real fury.

Ever recently discovered this when it stopped sending congratulatory helium balloons to employees on the anniversary of their joining. Chief financial officer Nelson Chai emailed staff to say switching to "obversary" stickers would save at least \$200,000.

"It's not only a great way to find dollars we can invest back into the business, it's also more environmentally friendly," Chat's message said, according to Crunchbase news. The savings are roughly equal to the salary of one senior software engineer or 0.04 per cent of the company's \$5.4bn operating loss in the second quarter alone.

Penny-pinching also backfires when it involves erecting new hurdles, such as a postage, local travel, etc.—that used to be routinely approved. Bedding down new expenses procedures eats money and time, and disrupts employee team activities. This might be worth it if companies stack up their guns, but often they drop the strict scrutiny once immediate savings goals are met.

The big expense has created a particularly nasty variation on bean-counting. Companies that employ contractors often refuse to provide them with the

same safety equipment or even hot drinks. This not only deprives freelancers of basic benefits, it also bolsters the company's case that the benefits contractors and not entitled to the same benefits and tax status.

The underlying problem for managers may be that the burdens of cost-cutting are rarely shared evenly, as a 2012 study published in the American Sociological Review also revealed. It found that efforts to automate, reduce bureaucracy and eliminate waste have historically been associated with rising numbers of managers and increased manager pay.

Rather than fostering solidarity, symbolic cost-cutting all too often translates into something far more divisive: employees feel the pain while executives and managers reap the profits.

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## COMPANIES

## Financials

## Norway fund to publish all voting plans

Sovereign vehicle hopes openness before investor meetings can ease reforms

RICHARD HALLIC  
NORWIC AND BELMONT CORRESPONDENT

The largest sovereign wealth fund is aiming to release all its voting intentions ahead of the annual meetings of the 9,000 companies it owns in a move that will shake up how investors approach corporate governance.

Norway's \$1.1tn oil fund currently reveals how it has voted within 24 hours of annual meetings but since 2015 has disclosed a handful of times a year before the shareholder votes.

In its strategy document for 2020-22 unveiled yesterday, Norges Bank Investment Management, which manages the

oil fund, said that by the end of that year "we aim to publish all our voting instructions ahead of shareholder meetings where this is practicable".

The Norwegian fund is one of the world's biggest investors, owning the equivalent of 1 per cent of every listed company and having stakes in more than 9,000 groups in total.

It has sought to become a more active investor, becoming involved in issues such as executive pay, climate change disclosure and board composition, not least trying to keep the roles of chief executive and chair separate.

The oil fund has voted against some of the biggest companies in the world this year, including Apple, Alphabet, Goldman Sachs and JP Morgan.

Inge Sivringstad, the fund's chief executive, told the Financial Times in 2017 that pre-disclosings its voting inten-

tions a couple of times a year had been "more effective than we thought" in changing corporate behaviour. He added that it was a "sharp tool, not a blunt tool" and needed to be used carefully as companies often were overwhelmed by the more threat that it might disclose its voting intention early.

The oil fund's investment mandate, decided by the Norwegian parliament, it aims to hold 70 per cent in equities, 5 per cent in property and the rest in bonds.

The new strategy fleshes out the fund's impending move into renewable energy infrastructure, saying that it expects such assets – primarily wind and solar farms – to account for about 1 per cent, or \$11bn currently.

For the first time since its inception in 1996, the fund is expected to reduce its number of employees. By 2022, it

1.4%  
Share of all global stocks held by the Norwegian oil fund

500  
Staff the fund expects to have by 2022, 100 fewer than today

should have 500 workers, 100 fewer than today, as a result of natural attrition in some posts and the moving of some functions such as communications and human resources to Norges Bank, Norway's central bank.

The oil fund said it would consider investing more in unlisted companies looking to float on the market despite concern in Norway over the one such investment so far before the aborted initial public offering of the company behind Formula One motor racing.

The oil fund said it would increase active positioning around corporate actions and capital market events such as initial public offerings and secondary offerings. The fund also repeated its warning that the Norwegian public should be prepared for "significant fluctuations" in its value due to increasing exposure to equities.

## INSIDE BUSINESS

ASIA  
Kana Inagaki

## Unio battle puts Japan's stakeholder model in spotlight

When Toyota became the first Japanese group to reach the \$200bn milestone in annual revenue in May, Akio Toyoda, chief executive, thanked employees for their efforts and customers, dealers and suppliers for their support. In Japanese fashion, investors were mentioned towards the end of his long list of stakeholders.

Corporate Japan has historically embraced this more stakeholder-focused model of capitalism, with value placed on longer-term interests of employees and society. While Shingo Abe's governance push has elevated the status of shareholders and the urgency to increase return on equity, the idea of shareholder supremacy is far from established in the minds of Japanese chief executives.

So when Unio Holdings, a little-known Tokyo-based property group, last month invoked employee protection in withdrawing its recommendation for Fortress Investment's \$1.3bn white knight bid, its underlying logic was not to protect investors in Japanese equity. Far from unique, Unio argued, is its concept of corporate value – which includes shareholder interests and the wellbeing of employees – should meet global acceptance.

Take the US. In August, 181 US chiefs abandoned their long adherence to shareholder primacy, highlighting the need to consider the environment and workers' wellbeing alongside short-term pursuit of profits.

The messy takeover battle at this obscure Japanese company has global relevance, says one big activist fund, for all the wrong reasons.

The Unio saga, which began in July when travel agency IHS made an unsolicited bid, has drawn in Blackstone and some of the biggest hedge funds including Elliott Management. In August, Unio turned to Blackstone-backed Fortress to defend itself against IHS, sparking a rise in its stock from below ¥1,800 (\$17) to above ¥2,000. The climb forced IHS to change its strategy for Unio, which opened discussions with Blackstone over a bid 25 per cent higher than the Fortress offer of ¥1,400 per share.

Instead of seeking a higher offer, Unio turned against Fortress, and potentially against its shareholders, when it outlined a list of unorthodox conditions that any existing and future bidder must accept.

This is how Unio's scheme to protect staff interests would work. An entity controlled by employees was formed to acquire a stake in the group – since Fortress or Blackstone had completed its takeover. According to Fortress, the employee group would be funded by selling a number of its properties. The "employee stock ownership management group" would be given veto power over nomination of directors, management strategy, employment conditions, and the sale of properties. This group would dictate the timing of the eventual exit of its acquirer.

Investors in the group have described the conditions as akin to a "sell-off" management would attempt to defend itself. Unio has said it has done little to allay these concerns by refusing to deny the possibility of management joining the employee scheme.

Employee protection is a legitimate concern for any boss, and Japanese companies have often asked a buyer to promise not to lay off staff. But in Unio's case, are these conditions for the benefit of employees?

The private equity groups that are looking into Unio are interested in the properties it owns, not its employees. But both Fortress and Blackstone have promised to maintain working conditions for staff, and whether these conditions would stay intact in the scenario they turn hostile is unclear. There is also a question over whether employee protection in an ultra-light bubble market where companies are struggling like here the people they need.

If Unio ends up blocking the highest bid, its executives face a challenge in showing how they can raise the corporate value in a way where shares are trading above ¥5,000 – the price offered by Blackstone – and not well below the current price. The "employee stock ownership management group" are under pressure to align management goals with making profits and meeting responsibilities towards its shareholders. They have to show how they can do this effort when the broader stakeholder view is used as a bargaining position to push their interests.

If Japan's pledges on governance and stewardship are real, it may be time for the "management of shareholders" in Unio – the 30 per cent Japanese base of those with cross-shareholdings and other business ties – to break from the status quo in making their own clear on what kind of management behaviour they are acceptable.

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## Banks

## German state-backed lenders agree merger talks

OLAF STORBECK – FRANKFURT

Germany's state-backed banking system is pushing ahead with merger talks that could create a financial powerhouse with €260bn in assets and 11,000 staff.

The decision to start formal discussions between Frankfurt-based lender Helaba and asset manager Deka was taken yesterday by the regional banking executives that control them.

Landesbanken are regional, wholesale-focused institutions that serve the local Sparkassen, or savings banks, and are controlled by the Sparkassen and regional government.

The enlarged lender could become a driving force in consolidating within Germany's fragmented public banking system, which is reeling from low interest rates, high costs and a series of expensive bailouts for state-owned regional lenders.

In the long run, local Sparkassen will save one efficient wholesale institution that can support local financial needs in a more powerful way," one person briefed on the plans told the Financial Times. At a later stage, a merged Helaba-Deka could eventually be the vehicle for future mergers, involving other Landesbanken such as Stuttgart-based LBFW and Munich-based Bayern II, this person said.

But the merger talks have not consolidated fallen when Helaba walked away from merger talks with struggling HSH Nordbank. Landbanker NordLB was later saved by a €3.5bn bailout from the state of Lower Saxony and regional savings banks.

But the merger talks have not consolidated fallen when Helaba walked away from merger talks with struggling HSH Nordbank. Landbanker NordLB was later saved by a €3.5bn bailout from the state of Lower Saxony and regional savings banks.

The repeated need for costly bailouts from taxpayers also undermined the confidence in the Landesbanken's business model and governance.

Jan Pieter Krahn, a professor of finance at Frankfurt University, said: "The sector is in need of radical reforms and a merger between Helaba and Deka is the starting point."

"The whole banking sector in Germany is suffering from weak earnings, and consolidation needs to be part of the response," said Jörg Rocholl, president of Berlin-based business school ESMT.

## Technology

## Samsung eyes profit fall and turn in chip cycle

SONG JUNGA – SEOUL

Samsung Electronics expects third-quarter falling earnings for a fourth straight quarter, weighed down by lower memory chip prices but beating profits amid signs of a chip cycle recovery.

Operating profit of the maker of microchips and smartphones fell 56 per cent to ¥70.7bn (\$64bn) in the July-September period, down from ¥126.7bn a year ago, Samsung said yesterday. That was better than the ₩96.9n estimate covered by investors in the quarter. Sales fell 5.5 per cent to ₩20.2tn, Samsung said.

## Fender accused of fine-tuning guitar prices

KATE RILEY – LONDON

The European arm of Fender, creator of the famous Stratocaster guitar, has been accused of pressuring companies to sell its instruments at high minimum prices in a potential breach of UK competition law.

The Competition and Markets Authority said it suspected Fender Musical Instruments Europe of operating a policy between 2015 and 2018 of pressuring regional retailers to sell its guitars at or above a specific price.

"Shopping online can make it much easier to compare prices and hunt down bargains – this can be especially important for potentially big purchases like a guitar," said Ann Povey, senior director of antitrust at the CMA.

"We take allegations of RPM very seriously because it removes one of the benefits of the internet of making it easier to quickly find a better price by shopping around. It stops online retailers from selling at the prices they want to, and this then leads to higher prices for customers."

The competition watchdog, which opened its investigation last year, said in a statement yesterday that its findings were provisional and that no final decision had been made about whether there had been a breach of competition rules. It will "carefully consider any representations from the company before reaching a final decision", it added. The CMA could fine Fender up to 10 per cent of global turnover if it concludes there was wrongdoing.

Fender's Stratocaster is a widely copied guitar that was created in the 1950s and made famous by musicians including Eric Clapton, George Harrison and Jimi Hendrix.

The guitar manufacturer, which had global sales of more than \$500m last year, has already been fined £25,000 by the CMA in March for hiding documents

during an inspection in mid-2018 in the company's East Grinstead office hid 10 notebooks which were handed over to the CMA by Fender Europe three weeks later.

A Fender EMEA spokesperson said: "Fender is cooperating fully with the CMA's investigation and we are reviewing the provisional findings. Due to the ongoing legal process, we will not comment further at this time."

In August the CMA fined Casio for illegally pressuring shops to sell its digital pianos and keyboards at high minimum prices between 2015 and 2018 and using software that monitored online prices to learn on those who did not comply.

The company said it had changed its practices since the investigation and now fully complied with the law.

Including Casio, the CMA has issued four fines for such behaviour. The musical instrument sector turns over an estimated £4.640n annually, with the UK, according to the CMA, and online sales of instruments have grown to about 40 per cent of the market.

## Media

## Sorrell snaps up Valley marketing agency

ALEX BARBER

Martin Sorrell's S4 Capital has unveiled the latest step in its expansion, acquiring Firewood in a deal that values the Silicon Valley-based digital marketing agency at \$150m.

"We move into the US market as part of Sir Martin's effort to rapidly build the digital-only business he launched in May 2018, a month after being forced out of WPP, the advertising group he built up.

The cash-and-shares transaction will see Firewood, which is expected to generate \$75m in turnover this year, merge with Amsterdam-based MediaMonks, a

digital production company that is \$45m biggest offshoot.

Sir Martin said Firewood had "an enviable client list comprising many of the world's leading brands, and one with Google that will make it \$45m most significant relationship." We will now have over 1,800 professional in 25 offices across the US and in 10 of two nodes, one in Silicon Valley and one in Amsterdam.

The 76-year-old launched S4 a digital marketing venture to tap a fast-growing market in advertising that he has already served by the biggest participants.

Sir Martin aims to double \$45m \$105m

gross profits in 2018 within three years. S4's steady expansion through acquisitions has come at the same time as Sir Martin has pointed to trouble ahead for WPP, with the supplier losing 700 staff and its client list includes Facebook, Google, LinkedIn, and Salesforce.



## COMPANIES

# Questions swirl over Hong Kong's failed LSE bid

Market participants speculate that involvement by Beijing could help explain a move that looked doomed from the start

PHILIP STAFFORD AND HENRY SENDER

As Charles Li abandoned his £32bn pursuit of the London Stock Exchange, he admitted to not having a crystal ball. Few believed he needed one to know that Hong Kong Exchanges and Clearing's bid for the LSE had looked ill-fated from the start.

A successful takeover typically needs several stars to align, but when HEXEX, which Mr Li has run for almost a decade, launched its bid for the LSE nearly a month ago, the theoretical odds could hardly have been more fraught.

LSE shareholders were still applauding David Schwimmer, the group's chief executive, who just weeks earlier had sealed a \$27bn deal for Refinitiv, the data company best known for the Eikon terminals. At the same time, fears that Beijing was threatening Hong Kong's independence had triggered mass street protests and clouded the future of the former British colony.

HEXEX's decision to walk away draws a line under a month-long drama that has seen some of the world's best-known banks and M&A boutiques lock horns over the potential deal. It also leaves HEXEX facing the challenge of cutting its dependence on a domestic IPO market that is struggling, while also adding to the pressure on Mr Schwimmer to make his signature deal finally work.

"The proposal had not been thought through carefully," said Christopher Swaine, a legislative counsellor for the financial services sector in Hong Kong and a HEXEX shareholder. "Therefore this was an acquisition with a lot of uncertainties. Withdrawing now, of course, is the best option. The shareholders of HEXEX weren't consulted, and a lot of them actually objected." Shares in HEXEX closed more than 2 per cent higher yesterday, as the Asian market's investors welcomed the abandonment of an ambition that Mr Li and the HEXEX's chairwoman, Laura Cha, had nurtured for 12 months.

The decision was taken at a board meeting on Monday at HEXEX's Exchange Square headquarters. In the end it was difficult to put shareholders' money on the line when we were flying blind," one person familiar with the matter said. Another person familiar with the board meeting said that "London clearly did not wish to engage," referring to the LSE's management. "We would have had to go hostile and we didn't want that."

Mr Schwimmer first learned of HEXEX's interest when Mr Li and his advisers, led by the US boutique adviser Moelis, asked for a meeting in early September at the LSE's headquarters in the shadow of St Paul's cathedral. After receiving a cool reception from the LSE's management, HEXEX stunned the City by going public with its proposal to buy the LSE on September 11. Within 48 hours, the LSE had issued a forthright rejection.

The writing, dismissed by the LSE, embarrassed Mr Li, one person with knowledge of the matter said, but HEXEX quickly embarked on a three-week tour of US shareholders to outline the merits of its vision – and also raise questions over the Refinitiv deal.

For HEXEX, Beijing had offered the chance to link the west to Chinese capital markets that Beijing is determined to open up. As the clock ticked towards the October 9 deadline for a formal bid, HEXEX also added HSBC, Credit Suisse and UBS – banks that could help it tap the debt markets if it was to go ahead in its bid – to its group of advisers.



## HEXEX withdraws pursuit of the LSE



Sources: Refinitiv; Bloomberg; Burton-Taylor International Consulting

**Lofty ambitions:** HEXEX's decision to walk away from the deal for the LSE draws a line under a month-long drama that has seen some of the best-known banks and M&A boutiques lock horns over the potential deal

The team at Moelis was led by Caroline Silver, who had advised Intercontinental Exchange, the owner of the New York Stock Exchange, on its attempt to gategate a planned merger between the LSE and its German rival Deutsche Börse in 2016. Advising HEXEX also pitted Ms Silver against her former colleagues from Morgan Stanley, who were working on the deal for LSE. By then the LSE had also enlisted JP Morgan, Mr Li's former employer and a specialist in deals market infrastructure. The LSE's shareholders – in contrast to the exchange's management – had engaged with it, but few were tempted by a bid that was also beset by political hurdles.

Some believed that HEXEX's bid had little chance of regulatory approval, especially from a US committee that monitors foreign investments that affect strategic interests. One of the LSE's covered assets is CH2, the clearing house that is the world's largest handler of US-dollar denominated swaps.

"Adding more cash to the offer is like putting on a nicer colour shirt – it's not going to do enough to change shareholder views," one top 20 LSE shareholder told the FT. "The Refinitiv deal offers something very different to what LSE already has, while the HEXEX deal would make it more volatile and cyclically sensitive."

According to three people familiar with the offer, it was determined to open up. As the clock ticked towards the October 9 deadline for a formal bid, HEXEX also added HSBC, Credit Suisse and UBS – banks that could help it tap the debt markets if it was to go ahead in its bid – to its group of advisers.

**'Adding more cash to the offer is like putting on a nicer colour shirt – it's not going to do enough to change shareholder views'**

## GIS Planning

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## Aerospace & defence

### Boeing backs Virgin Galactic's space venture

BETHAN STATION

Aerospace group Boeing will invest \$20m in Richard Branson's Virgin Galactic when the company goes public this year, beginning what the two sides said would be a new collaboration in the scramble for space tourism.

The partnership announced yesterday came three months after Boeing had agreed to merge into a US-listed cash shell launched by former Facebook executive Chamath Palihapitiya, as it set up its effort to send customers on 90-minute rides to the edge of space.

Boeing's investment, which is contingent on the merger closing, will be set out of its HorizonX Ventures start-up investment arm and comes with a promise to work together.

Boeing is already heavily into space exploration, serving as a main contractor for NASA's Space Launch System for future manned flights into deep space and working on a reusable space capsule to the International Space Station.

The partnership gives Boeing a stake in a potentially lucrative race targeting the wealthiest tourists. Virgin Galactic is

the only private company to send people to the edge of space in commercial vehicles, making it a leader in a field in competition with Elon Musk's SpaceX and Jeff Bezos's Blue Origin.

The merger with Mr Palihapitiya's cash shell, Social Capital Hedosophia, provides Virgin Galactic with publicly traded shares without having to go through the traditional initial public offering process and returns some cash to Social Capital's investors.

Social Capital will emerge with 49 per cent of the group, which is estimated

would have an enterprise value of \$1.5bn.

Laura Seward Forczyk, founder of space sector consulting firm Astralytical, said Boeing's investment was significant as a partnership, despite being relatively modest financially. "Boeing brings over 100 years of flying experience and a significant investment of space travel. As Virgin gets closer to sending passengers into space we will see more Boeing involvement."

She added that Boeing would see the venture as an investment in high-speed global travel as well as in space.

The company is years behind its original schedule, in part because of a crash in 2014 when two test pilots were killed.

In 2018, a test flight by the company reached the edge of space for the first time and it hopes to send customers, who it expects to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars, into space next year. Sir Richard said the Boeing partnership was "the beginning of an important collaboration for the future of air and space travel" calling these "the natural next steps for our human space flight programme".



Virgin Galactic hopes to send customers into space next year



## COMPANIES

## Technology

## US eyes credit boost for Huawei rivals

Funding plan explored for European sector leaders such as Nokia and Ericsson

KIRAN STACEY — WASHINGTON

The US is looking at ways to funnel money to European rivals, as officials warn that the Chinese company is becoming dangerously dominant in the race for the next generation of mobile communications.

US officials have suggested issuing credit to companies such as Nokia and Ericsson to enable them to match financing terms Huawei offers customers, according to two people with knowledge of the matter. The move is part of a wider push to fund a rival to the Chinese company, which is the largest telecoms equipment maker and which the US believes poses a security risk.

## Financials

## Bessemer raises fund for later-stage tech groups

MILES KRUPPA — SAN FRANCISCO

One of Silicon Valley's oldest venture capital firms is raising a fund to invest in later-stage start-ups that want to remain private for longer, after a series of flops by technology companies on the public markets this year.

Bessemer Venture Partners, which originally grew out of the personal wealth office of Carnegie Steel co-founder Henry Phipps, has traditionally run a single flagship fund with more of a focus on early-stage companies, including seed funding of around \$10m.

It will announce that it has raised \$25m to invest in existing portfolio companies and for new holdings in "growth" stage companies, with single investments of up to \$250m.

Byron Deeter, a Bessemer partner, said the fund brought total assets above \$6bn, giving it the ability to fund "every round of a cloud company's existence" in case "late-stage investors pull out of the market or IPO windows shut".

Many tech IPOs have disappointed in public markets this year, beginning with the offerings of Lyft and Uber. Last month the property company WeWork and entertainment group Endeavor pulled their listings after facing concern from potential investors, sending a chill through IPO markets.

Silicon Valley's venture capital funds have increasingly looked to raise money for later-stage investments as SoftBank's \$100bn Vision Fund, along with hedge funds and mutual funds, have bid to invest in the start-ups and allowed them to delay public listings.

"We know we have to pay market prices, and that's not going to be pretty high right now," Mr Deeter said. "But I would also say that the opportunities are also pretty fantastic." He called it "the best time" in history of cloud computing companies.

Bessemer is known for backing online data storage start-ups, leading to investments in a Nasdaq index of cloud software groups. It was one of the earliest investors in Pinterest, which raised \$1.1bn in its public offering in April, and continues to hold an investment in the communications software company Twilio.

## Businesses For Sale

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One official said: "We gave up our superiority in making telecoms equipment decades ago. Now we are realising that this might not have been the best choice for national security reasons."

"Almost every department and agency is desperately looking right now for ways to get back into this game. If we don't, Huawei could soon be the only option for anyone wanting to roll out 5G networks."

Another said: "This is one of the big concerns of the government right now. Everyone from the defence department to the commerce department to the department of homeland security is looking at this."

The White House declined to comment.

Huawei sells 28 per cent of telecoms equipment, according to Dell'Oro, the market research company. Ericsson and Nokia are its closest rivals, they declined to comment.

To the consternation of the Trump administration, no US group can build the radio equipment to transfer signals between mobile phones and the towers or sites that make up the 5G network.

Some officials believe that the best

'Almost every department and agency is desperately looking right now for ways to get back into this game'

way to counteract Huawei is to make sure its rivals can match its multi-billion-dollar credit lines from China's state banks that allow it to offer much longer payment terms than most of its rivals.

Others in Washington are pushing instead to foster a homegrown rival to Huawei, and have asked large US tele-

coms equipment companies such as Oracle and Cisco where they would consider entering the radio transmission market.

Both companies have rebuffed such suggestions, according to two people familiar with the discussions, warning that they would be too expensive and time-consuming.

The Trump administration is looking closely at incentives to encourage US companies to invest in new 5G technology, including software which enables pieces of equipment from different companies to communicate with each other.

This would allow telecoms providers to buy equipment of the shelf from multiple vendors, rather than relying on one company to build an entire network, the kind of work in which Huawei specialises.

For example, officials have in talks with Altosair, a Massachu-

setts-based company that produces such software, to fund out how to support it.

Possibilities include funding rural internet providers with hundreds of millions of dollars to rip out Huawei equipment and replace it with US or other western technology — a plan which is making its way through Congress.

Altosair is urging the administration to force hardware companies to make their products accessible to its software, while some of its backers want additional tax breaks to encourage US participation on international telecoms standards bodies.

Thierry Manuplé, executive vice-president at Altosair, said: "We do not need to create another Huawei. There is an alternative. Our product is very attractive to the administration, but we need them to help support the US supply chain."



## Youth goals Juventus boss warns of need to win fans

Juventus chairman Andrea Agnelli has warned that radical changes are needed to Europe's lucrative football club competition to sustain interest among a new generation of fans.

The head of Italy's wealthiest team is also chair of the powerful European Club Association, which represents the interests of more than 200 leading sides.

Yesterday, Mr Agnelli called on major domestic competitions such as the English Premier League, Spain's La Liga and Germany's Bundesliga to drop opposition to controversial plans to transform the Champions League, Europe's most prestigious club competition, from 204 onwards.

Speaking at the Leaders in Sport conference at Twickenham Stadium, London, he said Juventus must evolve to ensure "more European matches with higher sporting quality," or risk losing the attention of young fans that are being targeted by other European football.

Juventus in action against Inter Milan last weekend. Juventus chairman Andrea Agnelli is pushing for change in European football. — Andrea Sacchi/Getty Images/Getty

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such as Netflix to video games titles such as Fortnite.

"If we are not progressive, we are simply protecting a system that is no longer there, a system that is made of domestic games that will have little interest for our kids," he said.

It is his latest effort to persuade the sport's power brokers to accept radical reforms to the Champions League. Mr Agnelli backs proposals such as creation of a promotion and relegation system, so up to 24 teams in the Champions League gain automatic qualification for the next year's competition, rather than solely gaining entrance to it on the basis of performance in national leagues.

Such a change would ensure league teams play each other more regularly in the Champions League, which has been shared among participating clubs last season. A further €400m was shared among teams in the lesser Europa League.

Mr Agnelli was also a leading

advocate of the move to create a third competition, the Europa Conference League, which from 2021 will allow many more smaller teams to play in European competition.

"It's not, no, no," he was heard from the big leagues, "I don't think that's healthy," he said.

However, his appeal appears to have had little effect on bridging the rift between Europe's richest clubs and major domestic leagues.

Lars Christer Olson, president of Europa Leagues, a trade body that represents domestic football competitions, responded by saying his members would not accept any more towards promotion and relegation between European competitions, or any extra continental games being added to fixture schedules.

"It's not been a 'no no no'," said Mr Olson. "But we don't want a closed league." *Mural Ahmed*

## Barclays chiefs lied on Qatar payments, court told

CAROLINE BINHAM — LONDON

A "small cadre of very senior executives" at Barclays lied about the bank's arrangements with Qatar investors as they desperately tried to avoid a government bailout, a jury has heard.

On the opening day of the retrial of Roger Jenkins, Tom Kalars and Richard Booth at the Old Bailey yesterday, the jury heard that the defendants devised a "dishonest mechanism" to pay the Qataris £222m for their participation in two £522m equity cash calls.

The fundraising rounds in 2008, at the height of the financial crisis, attracted the support of Qatar Holding, an Abu Dhabi-based investment fund, and British Finance in Justice (BFI), an Amani, the Gulf state's prime minister at the time.

The trio agreed to criminally tell lies "to preserve the future of the bank and to preserve their own positions", the prosecution alleged.

The three men, who have long since left Barclays, are charged with conspiracy to defraud and substantive fraud offences. They were charged, which carry a maximum 10-year sentence.

The trial lifts the lid on the atmosphere inside JPMorgan Chase in 2008, at the time of the financial crisis, which attracted the support of Qatar Holding, an Abu Dhabi-based investment fund, and British Finance in Justice (BFI), an Amani, the Gulf state's prime minister at the time.

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## Automobiles

## Lay-offs at GM edge close to 60,000 after talks with car workers break down

PETER WELLS — NEW YORK  
JUDIE WEBBER — MEXICO CITY

The number of workers laid off during the strike at General Motors, the first industry walkout in more than a decade, has risen to almost 60,000.

The dispute entered its fourth week on Monday after contract talks between the United Auto Workers union and GM broke down over the weekend. Wall Street analysts have estimated that GM's losses from the strike exceed \$1bn.

GM laid off 41,500 workers on Monday at one of its plants in Mexico, following the 6,000 it later cut down at a separate pick-up truck plant there last week. That adds to the 49,000 hourly UAW workers in the US and about 4,500 in Canada it laid since the strike began on September 16.

Terry Dittes, a UAW vice-president, said in a statement on Sunday that the "negotiations have taken a turn for the

worse". GM had provided an inadequate response to an "extensive package proposal" put forward by the union that addressed issues such as wages, job security, pensions and profit sharing.

"They reverted back to their last rejected proposal and made little change," said Mr Dittes. "The company's response did nothing to advance a whole host of issues that are important to you and your families." The union "could not accept GM's proposal."

GM said parts shortages prompted the lay-offs at its Ramos Arizpe plant in Mexico and at Silao the previous week. A spokesman for GM in Mexico said workers were being paid the days as vacation or, if they had no leave available, were being paid a percentage of their salary.

The carmaker said the assembly line in Mexico producing the Chevrolet Blazer and Equinox was working normally, as was the engine factory that was

producing the USS engine. "We have registered a small impact in production at the engine and transmission plant due to the lack of components coming from the plant in the US that has been halted by the strike," it said in a statement.

Colin Langan, auto industry analyst at UBS, said his base case forecast was for a

five-week strike that would result in lost production of about 100,000 units in the 2019 financial year, \$7,000m of them in the third quarter.

Crucially, after the last production "will be at high profit pick-up and SUV plants with [greater than] 100 per cent utilisation," he wrote in a note earlier this month. GM made about 950n vehicles in the US last year.

Last week, sales data for Detroit's big three carmakers showed that GM sold nearly 739,000 vehicles in the three months ended September 30, which was 6.5 per cent higher than a year ago but less than GM's 750,000 forecast by the Edmunds car website.

Fiat Chrysler had a flat annual performance, and sales at Ford, which in the middle of a corporate turnaround programme, declined 4.9 per cent over the past 12 months.

UBS cut its earnings per share forecast for GM in 2019 to \$6 from \$6.30, with

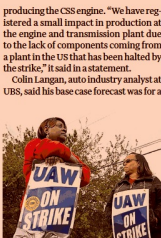
70 cents of that attributed to the lost production of about 100,000 units in the 2019 financial year, \$7,000m of them in the third quarter.

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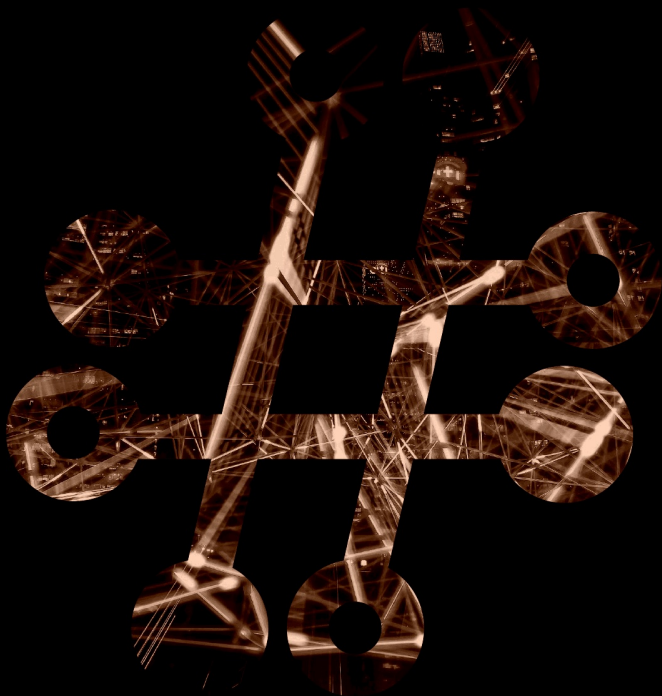
GM has been laying off workers in the US, Canada and Mexico











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Table with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield. Includes Aberdeen Standard Capital, Algebris Investments, Alpha Investments, and Dodge & Cox Worldwide Funds.



Table listing Alpha Investments funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

Table listing Dodge & Cox Worldwide Funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

Table listing Hermes Investment Management funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

Table listing Driegen Capital Group funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

Table listing The Astoria Investment Fund Limited with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

Table listing Activis Partners funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

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Table listing CCL Investment Management Ltd funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

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Table listing Muryou Asset Management Limited funds with columns: Fund Name, Bid, Offer, Div, Yield.

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## MARKETS &amp; INVESTING

Fixed income. Debt sell-off

# BlackRock auction shakes Japan bond trading from slumber



Demand is the lowest in three years as investors position for policy shift from central bank

LEO LEWIS AND ROBIN HARRING — TOKYO

For years, Japan's government bond market has slumbered on the edges of global finance. Dominated by the country's central bank, prices rarely budge, leaving traders with little to do. But at the start of this month, a sale of 10-year debt failed to stir the usual interest from investors in the ¥1.1 quadrillion (\$10.2trn) market.

Unravelled by new plans at the central bank to shift to buying more shorter-term debt, some private buyers started away, making it the worst auction since its terms of demand since 2016.

Japanese government bonds stumbled, sending ripples through other markets including US Treasuries and even, briefly, UK gilts.

Behind the drop in demand was a rethinking by economists and investors about the next steps for the Bank of Japan ahead of its meeting on October 31 as policymakers fret about the health of the global and domestic economy.

One option for the BoJ is simply to cut interest rates and accept the dent to profitability at the nation's commercial banks, which have chafed against further easing measures.

Alternatively, the BoJ could go further with its rejob of bond purchases.

Analysts are increasingly shifting toward the second view and bracing themselves for what could be one of the central bank's most market-moving meetings in recent years.

"Jobs remain in the eye of the storm

Japanese government bonds stumble as investors await central bank's next steps



and will continue to influence the direction of global rates," said Priya Misra, head of global rates strategy at TD Securities.

Poor economic data and a rise in the consumption tax were likely to keep propping up debt prices, she said. Still, the headline auction on October 1 reflected expectations that the BoJ could pull back more forcefully on its massive purchases of long-term JGBs, which have underpinned the past six years of market action.

Its aim is to push long-term debt yields further above short-term interest rates — an effect known as steepening the yield curve that is crucial to the health of the country's banking system and the returns of its massive public-sector pension fund.

The ensuing sell-off demonstrated markets' acute sensitivity to central banks' support. But, its fleeting nature highlights the challenge the BoJ faces in pushing up longer-term yields in a world where investors are anticipating rock-bottom interest rates — in Japan and beyond — as far as the eye can see.

The BoJ took care on the same day

as a rise in the country's consumption tax that many economists expect will knock the fragile growth of the Japanese economy.

Last week, fresh data showed a sharp jump in department store sales in September. But traders and analysts were not encouraged, instead taking the data as evidence that consumers rushed to the shops to bring forward their purchases of big-ticket items ahead of the long-delayed rise in VAT from 8 per cent to 10 per cent on most goods.

Data on supermarket turnover from the first week of October was none too encouraging, either.

Some economists fear that the tax rise could be burdensome enough to push the third-biggest economy into a technical recession.

Chitrop's Japan economist, Kiyoshi Murashima, said the spike in consumption

that "we can no longer deny the possibility that the tax hike's impact may prove larger" than previous expectations.

Against this backdrop, he added, the BoJ's October decision becomes an even closer call and a greater headache for

the markets over the next few weeks. Speculation that the central bank would restart stimulus intensified last week when the BoJ raised its purchase target for short-term JGBs while cutting its scheduled purchases for longer dated notes, a move clearly aimed at steepening the yield curve.

In theory, said Capital Economics economist Tom Learmonth, the best way to achieve this goal would be to cut the short-term policy rate but the BoJ may be reluctant to loosen policy given the impact on Japan's already struggling banking sector.

The BoJ has played for time, promising a review of the economic situation when it next meets. But the risk is that it raises expectations for more stimulus that it is unable or unwilling to fulfil.

In particular, the BoJ is reluctant to go deeper into negative interest rates from the current minus 0.1 per cent unless the economic situation is dire.

Tweaks to its asset purchase programme or promises of a longer period of ultra-low rates are more likely options in the short term.

Those approaches face drawbacks of their own, given the legions of yield-hungry bond investors around the globe treating every rise in yields as a buying opportunity.

Dieklo Hedges, a London-based private fund manager at Nomura Asset Management, said he had bought Japanese government bonds in the immediate aftermath of the sell-off, betting that a boom about global growth would force the central bank to target even lower yields.

"Nothing has changed," he said. "As we go deeper into an economic slowdown everyone is going to have to double down — and that includes the bank of Japan."

## JGBs remain in the eye of the storm and will continue to influence global rates

## Asset management

# BlackRock launches fund for recycling investment

HENRY SANDERSON

BlackRock, the world's largest asset manager, has teamed with the Ellen MacArthur Foundation to help fund a shift towards a "circular economy", saying the rise of recycling represents a big opportunity for investors.

The \$6.8tn-in-assets fund manager said yesterday that growing consumer awareness of waste — from plastic to electronic products — could boost the fortunes of companies such as aluminium can makers and plastics recyclers.

As a result, BlackRock has launched a fund, seeded with \$20m of its own money, to buy stocks that stand to benefit.

"Consumers are changing the way they think about how to spend, and circular economy factors will become very important in their decision-making process," said Sumanta Mandal, a London-based co-manager of the fund at BlackRock. "That means opportunities for companies who are frontrunners."

The fund is the latest effort by BlackRock to capitalise on the rise of sustainable investing, which is gaining popularity among institutional investors concerned about the threat of global climate change.

Half of all assets managed in the investment industry will be run with

'Circular economy factors will become very important in consumers' decision-making process'

some kind of environmental, social and corporate governance consideration by next year, according to estimates from Deutsche Bank.

New York-based BlackRock has been criticised for the scale of its exposures to oil, gas and coal companies and for not doing more to require such companies to fully disclose their lobbying activities.

The Ellen MacArthur Foundation, a charity set up in 2010 by Ms MacArthur, a former long distance yachtswoman, said it would help advise the new Circular Economy fund and would benefit from some of the fees charged to investors.

Andrew Morlet, chief executive of the foundation, said cutting usage of materials was critical in addressing the 41 per cent of global carbon dioxide emissions related to the production of goods.

"We can see that companies are waking up to the opportunities this represents," Mr Morlet said. "We've seen hundreds of companies moving into this space."

Companies such as Ball Corp, a Colorado-based aluminium can producer, and global supplier Crown Holdings are already benefiting from a public backlash against materials such as plastic, milk, and paper.

Shares in Ball have risen 56 per cent this year on the New York Stock Exchange while shares in Crown are up 52 per cent.

## Asset management

# Odey hit in volatile September as bond funds

LAURENCE FLETCHER — LONDON

ORICA ALKALI — NEW YORK

Hedge fund manager Crispin Odey is among managers nursing losses after a choppy few weeks that saw large moves in bond and stock markets.

Mr Odey, founder of London-based Odey Asset Management, lost 12.7 per cent in September as his European hedge fund, according to numbers sent to investors and reviewed by the Financial Times, had his fund down 18.1 per cent for the year.

September proved a major challenge for hedge funds, many of which have been riding riskier stock and bond markets this year.

A violent rotation out of shares that has been performing well and into cheap value stocks — which had previously largely been neglected in favour of faster-growing companies, for instance in the technology sector — hit some equity hedge fund managers. There was also a spike in crude prices mid-month following a rise in Saudi oil processing facilities, that was quickly reversed.

Mr Odey's fund has been running bets against financial stocks, including insurer Lancashire Holdings, the fund's biggest equity market position, accord-

ing to a letter to investors sent by the FT. Financials rose strongly in September, pushing up longer-term yields in a market nearly 9 per cent.

Meanwhile, the British pound, against which Mr Odey has also been betting, climbed against the dollar.

Offsetting some of the losses was Mr Odey's large bet against Metro Bank, whose shares plunged after the lender pulled a £200m bond offering. An Odey spokesman declined to comment on the bet.

Mr Odey's fund endured three calendar years of losses, including a drop of nearly 50 per cent in 2016, before rebounding 33 per cent last year, when it was one of the world's top-performing hedge funds.

This month, it had regained 4.5 per cent of its mid-July losses, reducing year-to-date losses to 14.4 per cent. It also saw large moves in government bond markets, US 10-year Treasury yields soared from 1.51 per cent to 1.91 per cent by the middle of the month after a bout of improved economic data, before falling back as concerns about the growth strategy outlook weighed on Treasury prices.

Among hedge fund managers it were computer-driven trend-following

funds, which have been running large bets on falling bond yields, according to numbers sent to investors.

Man Group's AHL Diversified lost 7 per cent during the month, reducing gains this year to 14.6 per cent, while its Evolution Fund fell 4.5 per cent, leaving it up 8.9 per cent. New York-based Gresham Investment Management's Alternative Commodity Absolute Return fund fell 7.9 per cent, leaving it down 7.7 per cent.

Among macro managers, Brevan Howard, run by billionaire trader Alan Howard, was hit after a strong run of performance.

Greenlight Capital, the value-focused hedge fund founded by David Einhorn, also did well, posting an 8.4 per cent return in September.

The fund is up 24 per cent this year after a brutal end to 2018 that saw it post its worst ever performance.

Some funds were also able to profit from bargains they picked up during the market fallout from Argentina's president Mauricio Macri's surprise defeat in primary polls in August.

London-based Promerium Investment Management, for instance, made gains on Egyptian and Chinese bonds. It was up 1.2 per cent last month and is up 8 per cent this year.

The fund, which had been betting on falling bond yields, lost about 2 per cent, according to investors.

Some funds were able to profit from the sharp market moves. Renaissance Technologies, the \$60bn hedge fund business founded by Jim Simons, was up 2.5 per cent in September in its Institutional Equities fund, bringing its year-to-date performance to 10.5 per cent.

One investor in the quantum hedge fund said it had benefited from being overweight utilities and financial managers, Brevan Howard, run by billionaire trader Alan Howard, was hit after a strong run of performance.

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## Commodities

# Trump ethanol plan triggers steep fall in Rins credit prices

GREGORY MEYER — NEW YORK

The US ethanol industry sounded dented last week when the Trump administration unveiled long-sought reforms to shore up biofuel demand but the reaction in the markets has been less enthusiastic.

The price of compliance credits used in ethanol markets has fallen since Friday's announcement by the Environmental Protection Agency, reflecting questions about the details and doubts it could draw greater sales, analysts said.

Most petrol sold in the US contains about 10 per cent ethanol. The commodity is of huge economic importance in the US states where more than a third of the corn crop is sold to ethanol plants. These states, in turn, are crucial to Donald Trump's re-election prospects in 2020.

The EPA on Friday announced a plan to phase ethanol demand to 15bn gallons in 2020, the level required by a congressional mandate — in 2020 after punching holes in the mandate by giving exemptions to dozens of oil refiners.

If successful, the plan would soften the impact of the exemptions on ethanol

demand, pushing up the price of credits that oil refiners purchase to meet blending requirements. The credits are formally known as Renewable Identification Numbers, or RINs.

But after Friday's announcement, the Rins credit price has been falling off a cliff since the US states where more than a third of the corn crop is sold to ethanol plants. These states, in turn, are crucial to Donald Trump's re-election prospects in 2020.

The price of ethanol swaps was \$1.885 a gallon in Chicago on Monday, down 2.1 per cent from \$1.87, Corn futures also set at \$3.87 a bushel, slightly lower than Thursday.

The EPA has said it plans formally to propose the expanded biofuel requirements, according to an agency official, in its announcement next week.

The EPA said it would "seek comment on actions to ensure that more than 15 billion gallons of ethanol are blended into the nation's fuel supply beginning in 2020".



Crispin Odey's fund has endured three calendar years of losses



