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ART IN EUROPE

Fast and furious

Sales were swift in the opening hours of Art Basel's first preview day for invited collectors. Jan Dalley reports

The number of living artists who have seen their work fetch \$20m is very, very small. A highly significant addition to that super-select band is the Chicago-based African-American Kerry James Marshall, whose 1997 work "Past Times" smashed a whole set of records when it was sold a month ago to rap mogul P Diddy for \$21.1m (with fees). Word has it that Diddy even outbid Marshall's own dealer, David Zwirner, who was buying for a US museum.

So the appearance of two works by Marshall, one brand new, at Art Basel this week was bound to be of intense interest — and it's hardly surprising that both found buyers in an early-hours slam dunk. While Zwirner sold "Vignette #12" (2008) to one private collector in the US, Jack Shainman gallery placed this year's "Vignette (The Kiss)" with another. Neither gallery wishes to release information on the prices.

Art Basel is known as a "front-loaded" event, with a furious pace of selling in the first few hours of the VIP opening. If some very rapid star purchases seem almost too good to be true — for instance, Hauser & Wirth's sale on Tuesday of "Composition" (1969), by the wonderful and much sought-after Joan Mitchell, for \$14m — it is because the actual deal at the fair is likely to be the culmination of a much longer process. For such an important event as this, galleries put in many weeks of careful planning, in selecting work, nurturing contacts with clients, collectors and museum groups, sending out images to chosen possible buyers and organising press campaigns.

The rewards, if they get it all right, can be impressive. And not only for the mega-galleries and their blue-chip names: the French



'Réuni' (2018) by Bernard Frize, at Galerie Perrotin

abstractionist painter Bernard Frize, for instance, was a full sell-out at Galerie Perrotin, with 18 works changing hands on the fair's first day, at prices between €30,000 and €150,000. Meanwhile at Bologna's P420 gallery three works by the veteran Italian sculptor and installation artist Paolo Icaro found buyers, at prices from €35,000 to €80,000.

It is always hard to identify trends at fairs with such an immense range of works on offer, but the Icaro sales are among those that show clients unafraid of adventurous 3D work. Others include Haegue Yang's "Sol LeWitt Upside Down" at Kukje gallery (in the range of €45,000-50,000), a 2012 iteration of Ai Weiwei's "Coca-Cola Vase" (€280,000 at Lisson gallery) and, at Mitchell-Innes & Nash, "Alcohol Shelf (Archive Version)" (2001-09) by the artist known as Pope.L went for approximately \$100,000.

Art Basel continues until Sunday: there is still time to investigate for yourself.

June 14-17, artbasel.com

Modernist giants go head to head

By juxtaposing two of the biggest names in postwar art, the Fondation Beyeler risks covering familiar ground — but succeeds instead in casting new light on their oeuvres. By Jackie Wullschlager

How to astonish the world's most sophisticated art audience? Bacon-Giacometti, the Fondation Beyeler's show during this year's Art Basel fair, risks the familiar and transforms it into the sublime. Europe's greatest postwar painter and greatest postwar sculptor have each been massively exposed lately; their dialogue with each other, and with this iconic gallery's towering day-lit spaces, jolts us into a fresh experience of all three.

Bacon's brutal swagger portrait "Isabel Rawsthorne Standing in a Street in Soho", a ferocious black-robed harridan before flashy motorists and spinning tyres, glares at Giacometti's "Femme au Chariot", a sculpture on wheels also based on a view of Isabel from afar: a moment of perfect visual affinity backed by biographical context — Isabel was both men's lover (and Bacon's only female partner). A series of portraits in paint, pencil, bronze and terracotta spanning 1936-67 unravels how her strong features, prominent chin and high cheekbones offered the resistance which allowed each artist to savage her into an image at once monstrous and full of pathos.

Pity, horror, awe and supreme formal virtuosity: Bacon and Giacometti both had false-start careers before the second world war and emerged after it with a conviction, against the tide of abstraction, that only an art of Old Master gravitas, obsessively concerned with distortions and fragments of the human form, could uphold figuration after the Holocaust. Bacon's sinister "Marching Figures", an army of white silhouettes within a ghostly outline of a cage topped by a ghastly dictator's bust, shimmer here against Giacometti's huddle of



Francis Bacon's 'Study for the Nurse in the Film Battleship Potemkin' (1957) and Alberto Giacometti's 'La Cage' (1950)



massed figures, "La Forêt". The desperate woman on a swing in Bacon's "Study for the Nurse in the Film Battleship Potemkin" veers towards Giacometti's filigree suspended figure, stretched out to suggest a crucifixion, in the delicate plaster frame "La Cage".

The similarities, and the shared existentialist milieu, of these two deeply pessimistic artists are pronounced, but so are compelling contrasts, the drama of what makes each unique. In a gallery entitled "La Vérité Crainte", two Bacon screaming popes imprisoned on their thrones, the privately owned "Study after Velázquez" and MoMA's theatrical gold-encased "Study for Portrait VII", face Giacometti's hieratic, still, seated figures: the fragile, plaster "Homme à mi-corps" and the bronze "Eli Lotar III (assis)", both with arms and huge hands so elongated that they seem to imprison their owners' bodies. Hysterical versus mute anguish; voluptuous, violent colour versus bleached out, deathly pallor: difference within likeness of such high-wire expressiveness makes each more affecting.

For from the initial salvo, Bacon's early yelling "Head VI" and Giacometti's "Le Nez" — a skull hung from a crossbar like a gallows, with extravagantly protruding nose suggesting a gun — both 1949, it is clear that Bacon brings out the subliminal menace in Giacometti, while Giacometti makes us aware of the mon-

umental, sculptural ambition of Bacon's painting from the start. "This is the man who has influenced me more than anyone," Bacon said of the sculptor.

Although Giacometti drew then sculpted from life whereas Bacon, fearing preliminary drawing would detract from the spontaneity of the first fluid, loaded brush marks, fused mostly photographic sources, films here show close

'This is the man who has influenced me more than anyone,' Bacon said

parallels in their ways of working: obsessive stalking of the motif, and filthy chaotic hovels as studios, places which shape a sense projected by each of dark, claustrophobic interiors.

This aspect is flamboyantly offset by the lavish, light-filled Beyeler, its glassy façades giving on to broad vistas of cornfields, vineyards, ancient trees. The incongruity is sharp: the apogee of art world wealth and grace — Beyeler, a successful, influential, sympathetic dealer, was founder of Art Basel — versus the tough grit of the lone artist in his atelier confronting his demons. But then,

Renzo Piano's Fondation is among the brightest, most optimistic 20th-century galleries anywhere — "I have always perceived works of art as parables of creation, as an expression of *joie de vivre*," Beyeler declared at the opening — and the demons, if aestheticised, roam thrillingly here as things of unlikely beauty and eloquence.

Go for the central gallery alone, amply accommodating three triptychs, five further huge Bacon canvases, and arenas of nearly a dozen large Giacometti figures. Crowds circle among the stately, enigmatic, upthrusting "Femmes de Venise", take selfies, imitating the poses of various versions of "L'Homme qui marche", and stand dwarfed by the 10-foot "Grande Femme IV".

The performative element in turn energises Bacon's key paintings of movement gathered here, from the Beyeler's own unruly, white on maroon, almost affectionate "Portrait of George Dyer Riding a Bicycle" — Bacon's clumsy, vulnerable lover peering out suspiciously beneath a helmet — to the staging of birth, copulation and death as butchery and voyeurism in the Hirshhorn's lime/midnight blue "Triptych", inspired by TS Eliot's "Sweeney Agonistes". Not since Tate and MoMA's *Matisse Picasso* in 2002 has a pairing of modernist giants felt so apt and pleasurable.

To September 2, fondationbeyeler.ch

Werner Büttner



Ending as a Trophy, 2017, oil on canvas, 150 x 120 cm

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Werner Büttner and his Precursors

Art Basel
Basel

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Hall 2.0 Stand H3

Fully illustrated catalogues for both exhibitions are available

A stroll through the contemporary scene

New locations and normally off-limits spaces have been added to Art Basel's free public art trail. By Gareth Harris

Parcours, Art Basel's free public art trail that runs through the city's historic centre, guides visitors off the beaten track to site-specific works in the courtyards and buildings around Münsterplatz. This year's edition, again curated by Samuel Leuenberger, director of the Salts exhibition space in Birsfelden, features 23 installations, some in new locations and spaces normally off-limits to the public.

There are 18 indoor and five outdoor works. "We're working against the stereotype of the usual sort of public art exhibition," Leuenberger says. "Working indoors enables artists to respond to a building's history." The biggest revelation is Thomas Struth's *Animals* (2018), a series of 10 photographs capturing

animals that have died of natural causes, taken at Berlin's Leibniz Institute for Zoological and Wildlife Research. The doleful memento mori images are suspended from the ceiling of the modernist 1930s Erste Kirche Christi, floating above the pews of the former church. It's an arrestingly odd display, both surreal and poignant, and on its own warrants a Parcours excursion.

Dutch artist Mark Manders' installation "House with Notional Newspapers" (2018) is another standout work in a new venue. Manders' cracked, crude sculptures are dotted around the top floors of the Offene Kirche Elisabethen, a former pastor's office. With windows covered in nonsensical Dadaist newspaper reports, it resembles the secret warren of an artist forced to abandon half-finished work.

The installation, playing on the idea of fake news, reflects Leuenberger's overall theme of "Telling Stories for the Future". He believes the "projects can guide [visitors] in understanding

certain political and social dilemmas. Think politics with a small p."

Berlin-based artist Simon Denny's work, in another new venue, the attic of the Historisches Museum Basel, is perhaps the most complex piece on show ("Haunted Crypto Games", 2018). Denny brings together colonially themed antique board games and versions of The Game of Life that have been overprinted with fragments of online cryptocurrency rhetoric; the aim, he says, is to "highlight the ideological back-story of bitcoin and blockchain".

Most of the time, though, pure spectacle wins out. Elmgreen & Dragset's mighty "Hanging Rock" (2017), a huge aluminium boulder, confronts visitors wandering through the Antikenmuseum Basel. The accompanying guide claims that the piece defies "preconceived expectations of natural beauty". More simply put, this ugly/beautiful beast of a work elicits an immediate love-or-hate response.

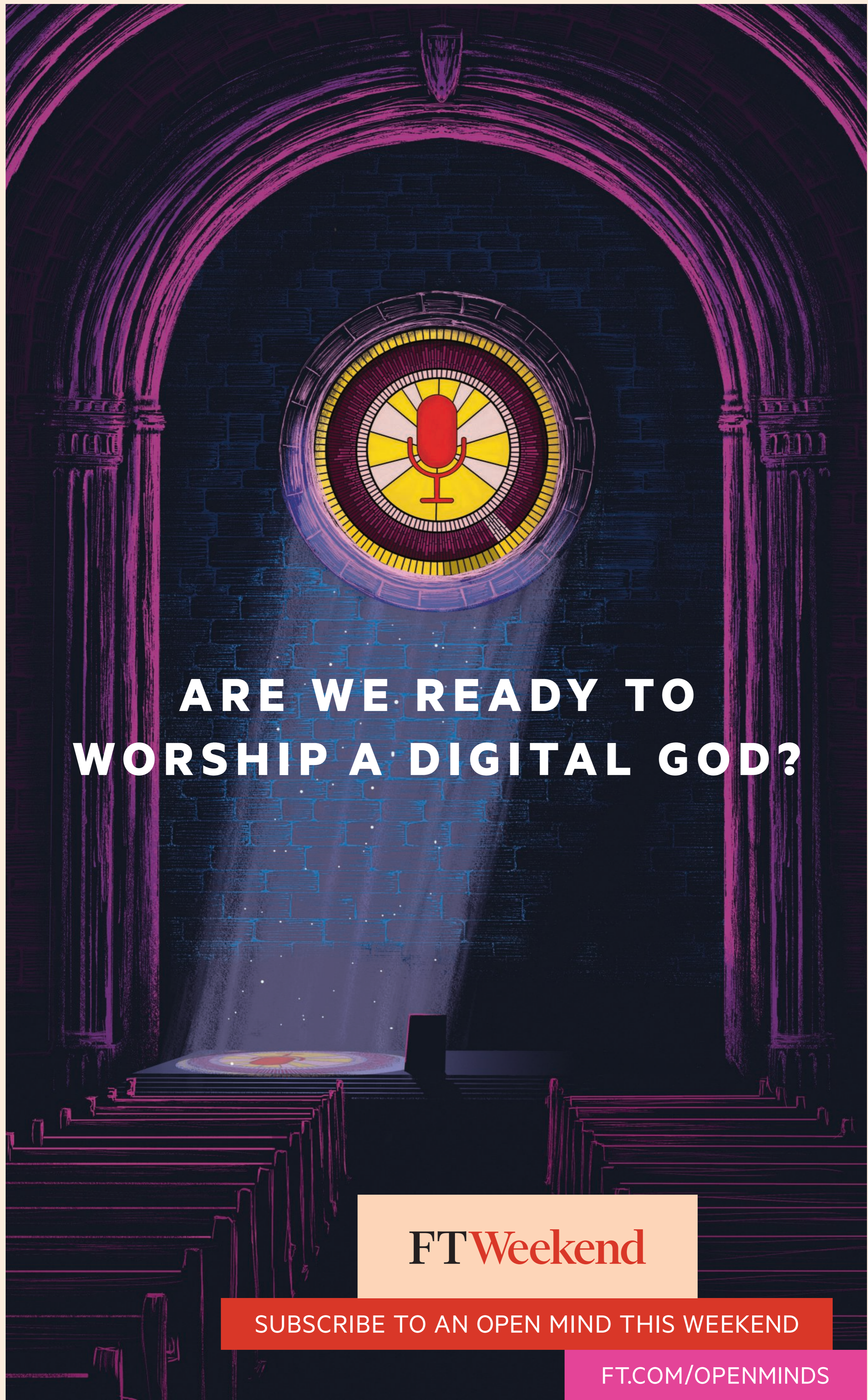
Jessica Stockholder's colourful sculptures entitled "Three squared on the river bank" (2018) "throw a different perspective on Basel," Leuenberger says. "The works are not necessarily beautiful — they're disruptive." They lean against or are wrapped around city landmarks, such as a gargoyle sculpture on a bridge, impinging on the landscape in a playful, gently provocative way.

Pierre Huyghe's "Exomind (Deep Water)" (2017) calls like a siren from deep within the Allgemeine Lesegesellschaft garden. Bees buzz around a hive that sprouts from the neck of a crouched female figure. The insects, the sculpture and the visitors come together to create a transitory ecosystem — one that will cease to exist when Art Basel ends and the sculpture is removed from this overgrown corner of the garden.

To June 17, artbasel.com



Thomas Struth's 'Animals' series at Erste Kirche Christi, Basel — Marian Goodman Gallery



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ARTS

Creepy, clever – but horribly familiar

FILM

Nigel Andrews



For those tourists we call filmgoers, hell is on every map. There are nightmare and damnation in each new travel week: that's entertainment. We love our horror. We love our infernos. All we ask is that each Grand Guignol City, or Apocalypse Parish, be different.

Hereditary has been hailed as Different of the Year, even of the Decade. I hate to party-poop – with the critical and blogosphere paens being hurled at this first feature from writer-director Ari Aster – but what I watched was a pushy, empurpled, same-with-a-twist screamer from the school of *Rosemary's Baby*.

Even the twist is reductive: the doll's-house overview of a demon-haunted American family. It coaxes us to perceive a kinship between its members, and their dark satanic legacy, and the tiny play-people in tiny homes formed by mum Toni Collette, an artist-miniaturist. The device works as an introductory novelty, but it doesn't work as a through-narrative unless you're a sucker for the simplistic. We are coned into a victim-culture fatalism, amplified by invocations of Greek tragedy. For the slow of uptake there is a classroom scene about Sophocles. (The very title *Hereditary* peddles its own brand of dynastic determinism.)

Yet nearly every critic has gone gaga for this film. Why? Because every scene pops out hot, like toast from a toaster. Because Aster does creepy, clever, "gotcha" cutting. Because the gothic shtick keeps hitting the fan. Because the house is a giant, picturesque, crackpot log cabin, as if Abe Lincoln had set-designed a big-stage Ibsen production.

And also because every critic's intelligence, and every audience's, is haemorrhaging under the influence of the



Gothic shtick: Milly Shapiro in 'Hereditary'. Below left: Colin Morgan, left, and Rupert Everett in 'The Happy Prince'



gorblimey terminations. A head is severed (improbably) in a car accident; there are a self-decapitation and a spontaneous combustion. The film ends as it begins, with the moving-about of the heavy furniture of ancestral predestination. This is made not to seem cumbersome because our director, the dance master, is choreographing his "Dollhouse Take-Your-Partners". We are miniatures to the gods. We are flies to the immortals. Picayune takes the edge off pretentious.

When Ann Dowd pops up from the film's plot toaster as an apparently caring friend from the mum-bereaved Collette's encounter group, she joins Collette's son (Alex Wolff) as the only humdrum-believable, human-ish character in the cast. (It's hard to count Gabriel

Byrne's psychotherapist dad as a character at all. He is there as a sacrificial stooge to the paranormal. He is rationalism's ridiculous figure-turned-chump for the chop.)

But Dowd goes thataway. And Wolff goes another way. And the arbitrary horror tropes resume sway. Since Pandemonium was the destination on the front of this bus from the beginning, dissenters like me just shrug and try to join the screamers.

Before the Oscars there was Oscar. That too, while it lasted, was a show of shows. But Britain outlawed its figure of gold, literary gold, when Victorian society realised it couldn't pretend – as does the Academy's genitals-free statuette – that Oscar Wilde had no sexuality. Let alone, in the 1890s, the wrong sexuality. Released from Reading Gaol, Wilde fled to France, a gay demigod banished from his native demimonde . . .

Rupert Everett's **The Happy Prince** is a virtual one-man show, just like Wilde. Everett wrote the script, directed, and plays Oscar. He is wonderful in his forlorn, fat-suited gravity: a graceful, waddling soul, almost sweet in his suffering, fallen from so many heights he lives in a state of terrestrial vertigo.

The script flashbacks elegantly when needed. Wife Constance (Emily Watson) and the children are ever-present absences. There is a poignant return to halcyon romance when "Bosie", Lord Alfred Douglas (Colin Morgan, with the right angel-tressed narcissism), joins him for a Naples trip. But that happiness too is a death-fall delusion. Left alone again, seeing out despair with rented love in rented rooms, this Oscar is as bare and forked as the rest of us. He just made better jokes; he gilded grief with wit, philosophy and ornamental stoicism.

The film drags a little near the end.

Actors love a death scene, especially when they're also the writer-director. There is also too much Christliness: a surfeit of churches plus – help! – the *Parsifal* prelude. "Less is more," someone should have shouted at Everett. But Oscar would never have agreed. Nor would the other Oscar, La La Land's devotee of show-it-all showmanship.

The Ciambra was Italy's entry for the Best Foreign Language Film Oscar. This neorealist drama about a gypsy crime family in Calabria's peasant badlands is so peppy and vivid – so dynamic-and-demotic – that it could have been directed by a young Martin Scorsese. Scorsese, it turns out, executive-produced. The writer-director is Jonas Carpignano, who found his subject by literally falling among thieves. His car was stolen. He visited the Romani robbers. Script and story formed themselves.

The teenage Pio, nursing his dreams of vehicle theft, is played by Pio Amato, his large, shack-settlement-dwelling family by all the other Amatos. I told you: neorealism. It's a scary fable of tribalism, with three different "races" vying for turf and turnover – the gypsies, the

Hereditary

Ari Aster
★★★★☆

The Happy Prince

Rupert Everett
★★★★☆

The Ciambra

Jonas Carpignano
★★★★☆

Studio 54

Matt Tyrnauer
★★★★☆

"Italians" (small-time local Mafia) and African migrants – aided by the director's adamant, nay adamantine, refusal to moralise.

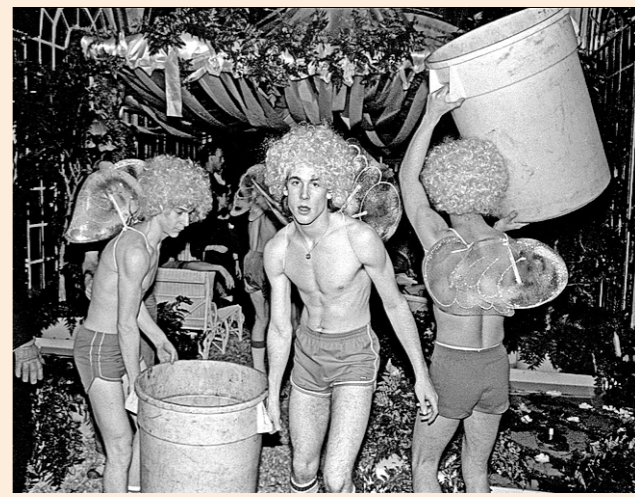
Nothing is good here; nothing evil. It just "is". If by the end we're wriggling on emotional hooks, as innocence blindly feels its way to disaster, as family-tradition crime leads to social-or-gang-tradition comeuppance, that's why. Carpignano is as much an angler as an artist. Or his artistry lies as much in waiting for truth as in forcing a captive truth into form or meaning.

Are American documentaries in a time loop? Are they in a holding pattern over the 1970s, gazing down at the East Coast party beasts? Two weeks ago we were in Montauk, Long Island, with Warhol, Capote and the Jagers. That was *That Summer*. Now in **Studio 54** we follow them to Studio 54.

The New York disco club to end them all – which it effectively did, its scandal-tainted quietus closing an epoch's curtains in early 1980 – was the gathering place for the VIPs of the Jimmy Carter generation. Liberty! Democracy! Dance! (Sex! Drugs!) Matt Tyrnauer's film eerily evokes it all.

Since the club's gay co-founder Steve Rubell died of Aids in 1988, his partner Ian Schrager is left holding the interview mike. Tyrnauer doesn't let him dodge the "naming names" issue. To reduce a tax-evasion jail sentence, he and Rubell shopped rival nightclub owners. All's fair in love, war and disco. Today Schrager looks like a handsome Jewish poppa and sounds like Brando in *The Godfather*.

There is terrific footage of Studio 54 itself in its heyday. It looks like Heaven with a rain of coloured lights; sounds like Heaven with a drum beat of ambrosial abandon. Way to go. At least in an America recovering from Nixon and Vietnam and not yet hardened up for Reagan and the boiler room.



Abandon: Studio 54 in its heyday

From shy to sultry, serious to sexy

POP

Camila Cabello

Brixton Academy, London
★★★★☆

Ludovic Hunter-Tilney

Camila Cabello's "Havana" is the most popular song by a woman in Spotify's history, with 906m streams notched up so far. The music video shows the Miami-raised singer (via Cuba and Mexico) in the role of Karla, a shy, bespectacled dreamer. She also plays a sultry film star called Camila. As tales of split personality go, it is more *Cinderella* than *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*.

Cabello's headline show at Brixton Academy, her first in the UK, was a diversion from her current role as main support act on Taylor Swift's "Reputation" tour. It was staged like a pocket arena show. There was a six-strong troupe of backing dancers. A background screen showed close-ups of Cabello performing and moody videos during the interludes between tracks. At these moments, when she darted into the wings, her pre-recorded voice uttered dramatic arena-pop guff about fear and love and running after new dreams. But the costume changes that one expected to take place during these interludes did not materialise.

The staging had the feeling of a dress rehearsal for the larger spaces that

Cabello hopes await her, as the main attraction rather than mere support act, the one who gets to stay at the ball after midnight. But her performance was committed and convincing: it did not seem like a dress rehearsal.

Like the split personality in the "Havana" video, the songs fell into two camps. There were brash, sexualised numbers with Latin and Caribbean flavourings during which Cabello danced in formation with her dancers in a slightly effortful fashion. These tracks put an individual spin on the music she made as a member of the girl group Fifth Harmony, which she left in 2016 amid some disharmony. (To hardcore Fifth Harmony fans, Cabello is more Jekyll and Hyde than Cinders.)

Then there were songs that represented the other, more serious side of her musical character. Footage of victims of US gun crime and marches against it was shown during the powerfully sung ballad "Something's Got to Give". The backing hoofers performed stylish contemporary dance moves during another well-executed slow number, "Consequences". Cabello's singing was impressive, moving from breathy high notes to more assertive passages in a fluent rather than splashy fashion. "Havana" was the inevitable finale, an irresistible rapprochement between Cuban music and US R&B. It did not overshadow what came before.

camilacabello.com



Convincing: Camila Cabello at Brixton Academy

Matthew Baker/Getty Images

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FT BIG READ. MEXICO

Polls suggest Andrés Manuel López Obrador will comfortably win next month's presidential election. Supporters see a champion of the poor who will tackle graft but critics fear a bout of leftist populism.

By Jude Webber

Vladimir Ramos, a Harvard-educated political consultant, is advising on gubernatorial and congressional campaigns for candidates from all three of Mexico's main political parties in the July 1 elections. But, a native of Chiapas, the country's poorest state, his own vote for president is going to Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

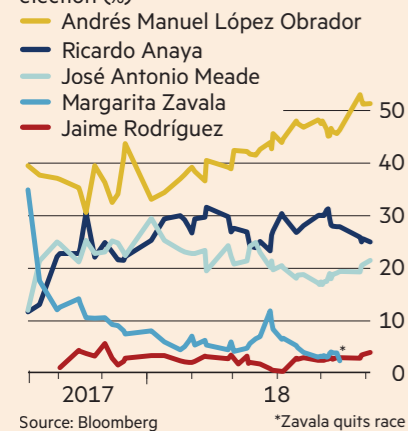
"It's time," he says, simply. "People are fed up." With three weeks to go, an air of inevitability has overtaken Mexico. Opinion polls give Mr López Obrador, a self-styled stubborn radical who is feared by some in the private sector as a dangerous leftist, more support than his rivals put together. He looks unstoppable. Or as he puts it in his trademark, folksy way: "This rice is cooked."

Why it should prove third time lucky for Amló, as the silver-haired, perennial candidate is widely known, owes as much to Mexicans' terror at escalating violence, disgust at endless corruption scandals and rage at a discredited political class as it does to his stump message that he alone can transform an underperforming country in which over half the population lives in poverty.

"What he is saying hasn't changed that much, but people are hearing it differently," says Marcelo Ebrard, an erstwhile political protégé who, like Mr López Obrador, served as mayor of Mexico City and is now organising his campaign in the country's northern states.

An unassailable lead for Amló?

Voting intentions, Mexico presidential election (%)



Source: Bloomberg

The likely election of Mr López Obrador raises an important question in a world that has witnessed one startling political upset after another over the past two years: is it a sign that Latin America's second-biggest economy simply wants to turn more to the left with greater emphasis on social issues? Or will Amló be the latest charismatic leader to pursue a populist agenda that descends into unsustainable spending and weakens democratic institutions?

In a country where the median age is 27, young people especially are lapping up Mr López Obrador's holy trinity of promises: honesty, security and prosperity. "It's incredible to see his vision and such hope," says Iván Rudar, a 23-year-old artist, after a rally in the central Mexican town of Jiutepec. "Something different could really bring big change."

Biting his tongue

"Amlovers", as they style themselves, see in Mr López Obrador a champion of Mexico's poor and middle class, a man of integrity and honour with a mission to eradicate corruption and rewrite an otherwise stagnant future.

Yet not everyone is gushing about the potential new president. Mr Ebrard concedes that, in talks with thousands of business leaders, "many thought Andrés was a communist". Indeed, rattled at the prospect of him plunging Mexico into populism, the country's business elite has lectured staff in letters, videos and compulsory meetings about the hyperinflation and debt crises of the 1970s and 1980s.

Many of his opponents will never be persuaded that he is not the same firebrand who cried "to hell with their institutions" and had himself invested as "legitimate president" in Mexico City's main square after claiming the 2006 election had been stolen from him. Their vision of Mexico under Amló is a Venezuela-style socialist wreck run by a nationalist implementing obsolete policies that will hit growth, stability and investment.

Mr López Obrador, 64, who cut his teeth in politics in the ruling Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI) in the 1970s in the southeastern state of Tabasco, shrugs it all off as the desperation of a "mafia of power" whose wings are about to be clipped.

Keenly aware that victory is now within reach, he appears to have learnt to bite his tongue. "Love and peace", he intones, beatifically at rallies and to opponents, instead of shooting from the lip with self-sabotaging outbursts. It is part of a mellower, less dogmatic image of a leader willing to welcome former foes, forget past transgressions, extend a hand to the private sector and drop the reform-bashing rhetoric.



Andrés Manuel López Obrador with a traditional jaguar dance mask at a campaign rally in Chilpancingo, Guerrero state, last week. Below, from left: rival candidates Jaime Rodríguez, Ricardo Anaya and José Antonio Meade prepare for a televised debate with López Obrador, right, last month — Yael Martínez/Bloomberg; INE via AP

Yael Martínez/Bloomberg; INE via AP

His poll numbers have been swelled by voters disgruntled at both his rivals — Ricardo Anaya, who is leading a right-left coalition, and José Antonio Meade, the ruling PRI candidate. The latest poll of polls by Oraculus.mx, a specialist electoral website, gives him 49 per cent.

Both Mr Anaya and Mr Meade champion the technocratic, market-friendly approach that has dominated Mexico since the mid-1980s, but has failed to deliver the promised growth while violence has skyrocketed. Their poll numbers have fallen in recent weeks, as Mr López Obrador has extended his lead, even though many question how much he has changed as a politician.

"Deep inside, he's the same López Obrador," says Alejandro Schtulmann at Empra, a consultancy. "He might not be as bad as some people think, but we're not sure."

Passion and reason

Three things are central to Mr López Obrador's political style: his tropical roots, his combative spirit and his almost divine sense of calling.

In a new biography, José Agustín Ortiz Pinchetti, who served in the candidate's cabinet for part of his 2000-05 tenure as

Mexico City mayor, paints a picture of a political animal who grew up in Tabasco just as the state was enjoying an oil boom and the national economy was expanding by 6 per cent a year. The period came to be dubbed the "Mexican miracle" of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation that would last until the 1970s.

He likens Amló to a fighting cockerel and quotes him as admitting he has always struggled to reconcile passion with reason. "First off, I'm a Tabasco native, and that's my weak spot," Amló said. "I'm a high-risk politician."

Mr López Obrador exploits his provincial roots with a homely, slow speaking style peppered with regional colloquialisms that paints Mexico's problems in black-and-white terms.

"No one should be worried if I use the word 'radical'," he told the crowd in Jiutepec, talking about his policy platform. "I use radical in the sense of coming from root. Because I want to uproot corruption and injustice."

"In their desperation, the mafia say that what I am proposing is populism," he went on. "If cutting top [officials'] salaries and increasing wages at the bottom is populism, sign me up!"

He makes no secret of his admiration for the late Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro. He named the youngest of his four sons Jesús Ernesto as a tribute to Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a friend of UK Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn and regularly promises a peaceful revolution to transform Mexico.

Mr López Obrador, a baseball fanatic and history buff, grew up the eldest of seven in Tepetitán, a small town where his parents ran a shop. After studying political science in Mexico City, he returned to Tabasco, the site of Mexico's most brutal anticlerical purges.

At a time when Mexico was sliding towards economic crisis and the US was

'Amló thinks he's here on a mission, to transform Mexico. He has always had a theological logic... Good versus evil, it's very binary.' **Raymundo Riva Palacio, journalist**

'What [Amló] is saying hasn't changed that much, but people are hearing it differently.' **Marcelo Ebrard, politician**

introducing free-market policies — the "neoliberalism" against which he now loves to rail — Mr López Obrador spent five years living in a mud-floored hut in a steamy backwater in Tabasco running the Chontal Indian community co-ordination centre. He introduced a swamp drainage system to foster agriculture, built hospitals and schools and granted credits, or as he puts it in a brief autobiography released for the elections: "There, I trained as a social fighter."

He threw himself into the fight with a "missionary zeal", writes Mr Ortiz Pinchetti. Enrique Krauze, one of Mexico's most prominent historians and a fierce critic of Mr López Obrador, famously branded him a "tropical messiah".

"Amló thinks he's here on a mission, to transform Mexico," says Raymundo Riva Palacio, a journalist and commentator who knows the candidate. "He has always had a theological logic, ever since he was in Tabasco. Good versus evil, it's very binary."

Sweeping away corruption

So what, exactly, does Mr López Obrador want to do? His chief pledge is to eradicate corruption, though he is vague on how to do that beyond a combination of zero tolerance and personal honesty to sweep it out "from top to bottom like cleaning the stairs".

Using the money rescued from backhanders and a tight grip on government purse-strings, he plans a host of infrastructure projects in partnership with the private sector, especially a rail link across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, to spark economic growth in Mexico's depressed south.

To prevent young people falling into the clutches of organised crime, he pledges bursaries and apprenticeships. To the elderly he promises pensions while scrapping millionaire stipends for past presidents. In keeping with his own humble standard of living, he envisages a shoestring administration, slashing top bureaucrats' salaries and no fancy presidential plane.

Similar recipes worked when he was mayor: he built a second tier to Mexico City's urban highways, worked in partnership with telecoms tycoon Carlos Slim to pull off a successful facelift of the city's historic centre, instituted an old-age pension and is credited with doing a competent and fiscally responsible job.

But he has also spooked many voters by talking vaguely about an amnesty for drug lords. He has also threatened to suspend a landmark energy reform, which scrapped an eight-decades-old national oil monopoly and allowed private investment in the sector, while contracts already awarded are inspected. He pledges to build at least one oil refinery — a proposal many in the industry

Speed read

Age of 'Amló' This election is leftist candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador's third shot at the presidency

Policy plan Investors fear his populist agenda would be marked by loose fiscal discipline and authoritarianism

Slow expansion A technocratic, market-friendly approach has not delivered Mexico the expected growth rates

consider is nationalist madness — and to make Mexico self-sufficient in food.

His talk of the government driving economic policy alarms many investors who fear a lurch towards inefficient central planning. However, he has quietly courted investors including Larry Fink, head of the world's biggest asset manager, BlackRock.

"I am worried by what I see as superficiality in his ideas," says one executive in the business capital, Monterrey. Or as one chief executive puts it more bluntly: "He is pragmatic, but ignorant."

Alberto Gavazzi, a Brazilian who runs Latin American operations for drinks group Diageo, says he would be more worried about Mexico lurching left had he not lived through Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's first term in Brazil, when the real tanked initially but the leftist president surprised many by pursuing a tight fiscal policy. "I don't believe there will be radical changes regarding the way Mexico is run," he says.

"He has moved from being against-the-system more to the centre," says Antonio Solá, a Spanish publicist who worked on a 2006 campaign that branded Mr López Obrador "a danger for Mexico". Gustavo de Hoyos, head of the Coparmex business confederation, says he is "worried about the contradictions, but we have gradually seen some, still timid, steps in the right direction".

Critics fear that an autocratic leader, imbued with a divine sense of power, as Amló is perceived by many, might be tempted to undermine Mexican institutions. But Mr López Obrador insists: "I have my feet on the ground."

Winning could be the easy part: delivering on voters' high hopes will be more challenging. Mexico feels on the cusp of something very different — potentially the biggest shift in its economic model since the early 1980s.

As Carlos Urzúa, his pick for finance minister, puts it: "Expectations are just so, so big at the moment, we're going to have to get a lot done as fast as possible."



Northern neighbour Frontrunner aims for reset of relations with 'Troomp'

Until the US slapped tariffs on Mexican steel and aluminium earlier this month, Andrés Manuel López Obrador seemed happy to keep his distance from Donald Trump — or as the presidential candidate, a non-English speaker, often pronounces it, "Troomp".

But the trade war triggered by the US president changed his mind. "If I win, in the first few days I'm going to ask for a meeting," he vowed, saying it was best to "find a way to get along" with the leader of Mexico's top trade

ally and partner in the North American Free Trade Agreement.

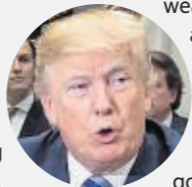
Mr López Obrador has already said he will demand respect from Mr Trump, who has insulted Mexico by saying it is doing nothing to halt the flow of illegal immigrants and drugs, and will make him "see reason" on his proposed border wall.

However, with tariffs now flying and Mr Trump, right, flirting with the idea of blowing up NAFTA, Mr López Obrador will need every ounce of diplomacy he can muster — not a skill a man who in 2006 told former Mexican president Vicente Fox to "shut up, you squawking bird" has always displayed in the past.

"All his life, Andrés has been a very

tough negotiator, like Trump," says Marcelo Ebrard, a senior official on the López Obrador campaign. "They're alike in that way. I think Trump will respect him because Andrés is not weak, he's no Chamberlain," he adds, referring to the UK prime minister who tried to appease Adolf Hitler.

Mr Ebrard insists that the policies of a López Obrador government might actually suit Mr Trump. He wants to kick-start development of Mexico's depressed south so that people would not have to leave in search of better opportunities. "We don't want people to emigrate. They're saying very similar things in a different language."



Opinion

Democracy must come first when taking on Trump

AMERICA

Janan Ganesh



A bartender's demand for photo ID can do it. Or television footage of a Hollywood perp walk. Either way, a stranger is not long in America before something underscores the near-scriptural sacredness of laws here. That no person can buck them outweighs democratic participation as the central principle of the republic.

If that ideal seems unattainable, remember that a middle-aged American has already seen formal investigations bring down one president (Richard Nixon), tie up another (Bill Clinton) and begin to menace a third. If Donald Trump were to obstruct Robert Mueller's investigation of Russian involvement in the 2016 election, or the special

counsel found evidence against him, the president would face a fight for his job. He can enlist the Republican base in a tenacious defence.

And that, as unprincipled as it sounds, is where American legal rigour must pay some mind to American social peace. Most senior Democrats believe that Mr Trump has to be defeated in open electoral combat. They are right. A more legalistic removal of him, either through impeachment or forced resignation, risks fouling the atmosphere of public life for decades. (It is the smallest of consolations that it is foul already.) Almost regardless of what Mr Mueller finds, or how Mr Trump treats the probe, a large minority of the electorate would interpret his demise as an establishment stitch-up. Their suspicion is no less potent for being misplaced.

Washington's obsessives have scrutinised the midterm election polls all year, but the more telling opinion data concerns Mr Mueller's work. A Quinnipiac survey last week found that 44 per cent of Americans now see it as a "political witch hunt". Last month, 61 per cent of Republicans told YouGov that Mr

Trump was being framed. Most Americans say they want the investigation to take its course but the president's talents as a smearer are working against the necessarily silent Mr Mueller. Conservative America is clearing its throat for a mighty howl in defence of its man. What the legal pursuit of him has in due process it could come to lack in perceived legitimacy.

America survived the Nixon and Clinton investigations, but neither case parallels this one

There is no solace to be found in precedent. America survived the Nixon and Clinton investigations but neither case truly parallels the one before us. The fall of Mr Nixon was a bipartisan affair. Congressional Republicans voted for articles of impeachment in committee. Tribal fealties are stronger now than in 1974. It is hard to imagine what Jerry Nadler, the ranking Democrat on the

House judiciary committee, calls an "appreciable fraction" of Republicans turning on the president. As for Mr Clinton, he survived the 1990s investigation and saw out his two terms with some ease. The removal of a president releases more poison into the body politic than a near-miss.

A veteran Democratic cabinet member privately theorises that the investigation of Mr Clinton was "revenge" for Watergate and that proceedings against Mr Trump, even if warranted, would beget another round. If he spoke for all Democrats, the subject would be moot. But there is the resistance. Tom Steyer, a businessman, campaigns nationwide for impeachment. Some Congressional Democrats would move against Mr Trump if they win the House of Representatives in November, and others could be persuaded to if he fired Rod Rosenstein, the deputy attorney-general who supervises Mr Muller.

There are liberal voters to woo in the Democratic presidential primaries. And apolitical Americans who do not think their president can expect Marquess of Queensberry

rules when he flouts them himself.

There is no way to urge restraint here without cringing. To not apply the constitution for the sake of a quiet life is unbecoming of a great republic, especially one founded to fight the caprice of a king. Although it is hard to divine Mr Mueller's likely findings from his inscrutable Easter Island face, or from his airtight team, clear presidential wrongdoing would be unignorable.

But if it comes down to a finer judgment, Democrats should heed their leaders' instinct to wait for 2020 and the electoral showdown with Mr Trump. Victory then would come at less civic cost. There is such a thing as statecraft.

This is un-American advice. "Rules-based order" has become the somewhat generous description of the world before 2016, but the phrase fits the US like a glove. It is a system of laws before it is a democracy. The cleanest way out of its populist fever just happens to be the other way around. Mr Trump was an electoral proposition and must be confronted as such.

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Britain has an obligation to challenge its colonial laws

Paddy Ashdown

Increasingly, one of the most effective tools in the armoury of authoritarian regimes and the enemies of democracy are colonial-era laws.

You only need to look at Singapore's efforts to clamp down on gay rights, or Pakistan's blasphemy laws that now carry the death penalty. Both are little more than cut and paste jobs from British and Dutch colonial rule.

Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in Hong Kong, where democrats and activists are facing a crackdown based on an assortment of outdated colonial legislation.

This week Edward Leung, one of Hong Kong's most talented young activists, was sentenced to six years in jail for "rioting" for his involvement in the Mong Kok protests of February 2016. This was more than a Hong Kong police officer received for raping a woman in a hotel room. Aged 27, Mr Leung neither has a prior criminal record, nor did he in any way join those who threw stones. Yet the British-designed Public Order Ordinance allowed the Hong Kong government to lock-up and shut-up one of their most powerful opponents for six of the most formative years of his life.

His case is not isolated. Since the Occupy Central movement of 2014, which was one of the biggest peaceful mass movements for democracy this century, more than 100 protesters have faced prosecution based on the same old British law. One of the most controversial cases saw two former lawmakers sentenced to jail for supposedly committing "illegal assembly" inside the Legislative Council. Imagine the outcry

The Public Order Ordinance is one of the UK's worst legacies in Hong Kong

if an MP in the UK was jailed for staging a protest inside parliament.

The Public Order Ordinance is one of Britain's worst legacies in Hong Kong and has repeatedly been criticised by the UN for excessively curtailing freedom of expression. But it is not the only colonial era law that China is using to intimidate and silence the democracy movement. Benny Tai, the mild-mannered law professor who masterminded protests in 2014, is being charged with "public nuisance".

In a bid to maximise his sentence, they have stacked absurd charges on him: not only accusing him of public nuisance, but also "incitement to public nuisance" and "incitement to incite public nuisance". The punitive use of this outdated common law charge from the British colonial era does not reflect well on the Hong Kong government, which claims to be signed up to UN human rights standards. And it does not reflect well on the British government, which is largely silent about this.

I am not claiming that all of the figures who have been prosecuted are innocent, but the sentencing is disproportionate. It is possible that Mr Leung may have been guilty of a lesser crime. But he did not deserve such punitive sentencing. Sir Geoffrey Nice, who led the prosecution of Slobodan Milosevic at the international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague, has commented that "sentencing politically troublesome young men to achieve collateral objective rarely works and often backfires — in the end".

When I talk with young activists from Hong Kong, they are increasingly demoralised. They have taken to the streets to call for their democratic rights but have been met with repression; repression facilitated by colonial laws and by the near silence of Britain. We must recognise our responsibility. The last British governor of Hong Kong, Lord Patten, attempted to reform the Public Order Ordinance in the 1990s because "the vague definitions in the legislation are open to abuse and do not conform with United Nations human rights standards".

The UK is obliged to promote human rights in Hong Kong. Given that laws written by the UK are facilitating the repression of young democrats, we should be advocating change. Instead we are quiescent. With the spread of tyranny and our history, it is unwise and shameful.

The writer is Twitter UK's former lead counsel and works for law firm Bredin Prat

The writer is a former British diplomat and former leader of the Liberal Democrats

Fake meat's brand identity is too squishy

BUSINESS

John Gapper



Meat Is Murder was the second album by The Smiths in 1985, when menus were simpler. These days, meat is muddled — the hamburger in a supermarket aisle or the chicken nugget in a fast-food restaurant may have come from an animal, be made of fungal protein, or soon be grown in a laboratory.

All beef was once, as the cowboys of the US Cattleman's Association euphemistically argue, "the flesh of a bovine animal" that was "born, raised and harvested in the traditional manner". Most still is, but alternatives are multiplying, from plant-based burgers sold next to traditional ones in supermarkets, to KFC's plan to develop vegetarian deep-fried "chicken" in the UK.

Innovation is welcome. Vegetarian alternatives such as soy protein and Quorn have been around for a long time without seriously threatening the love consumers feel for the taste and texture of meat. Despite health concerns, global consumption of animal flesh has grown fourfold in the past 50 years, and Americans eat 50bn burgers a year, with developing countries catching up.

Constant meat eating is not only unhealthy but terrible for the environment. Food production is responsible for more than a quarter of greenhouse gas emissions and growing feed for livestock accounts for a quarter of water use. Ruminant animals such as cows and sheep occupy swaths of farmland and emit vast amounts of methane before being turned into meat.

But when something is popular, there is usually a reason. Meat-eating is an efficient habit — the amino acids in meat proteins are highly nutritious — and good meat is delicious. That is why companies such as Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat in the US aim to match it with what David Lee, Impossible's chief operating officer, calls "plant based, crave-able meat".

As research for writing this column, I went to have a lunch of "meatless meatballs" at Leon, the UK healthy fast-food chain, which is following the trend for meat alternatives. Leon describes its "meatballs", made with aubergine, black olive and rosemary, in tomato sauce with vegan garlic aioli, as "the future of fast food". If so, the future tastes good but is squishy.

This is the difficulty with meat substitutes — they struggle to be as good as the original and its sensory pleasures. New products such as the Impossible burger, which is sold in US chains such as Umami Burger, are better at matching the "mouthfeel" of meat and even "bleed" juices when rare, but it is simpler and cheaper to have the real thing.



A second, connected, problem is authenticity. It is no wonder that US cowboys and German schnitzel makers are becoming upset at the invasion of supermarket meat aisles by analogues. The more similar these become to the thing itself, the more confused shoppers will be; despite the flurry of branding from "clean meat" to "cultured meat", they are fake meat.

There is a paradox. Many young adult consumers are drawn to authenticity and are suspicious of processed foods. Among more affluent and health-conscious meat and dairy eaters, there is a craze for traceability — knowing from exactly which farm your cheese or sausages came. Yet the same consumers are more likely to be vegetarian or at least

Attaching labels to beef substitutes will be tricky, and they struggle to match the sensory pleasure

flexitarian, wanting to limit their attachment to meat eating.

Plant-based burgers are healthier than the originals — they contain no cholesterol, hormones or antibiotics. But the place to which one traces an Impossible burger is a factory in Oakland, California where yeast protein is fermented and enriched with other ingredients such as iron-rich leghemoglobin to provide taste. That sounds like processed food to me.

These burgers at least derive from plants. The next substitutes will be even more ambiguous, being grown in laboratories from animal cells by companies such as Just and Memphis Meats. US meat-packing companies including Tyson Foods are investing in this technology, along with the entrepreneurs Richard Branson and Bill Gates, in an effort to make cows redundant.

Attaching labels to such substances will be tricky for the authorities. The European Court of Justice had a big enough challenge last year when it ruled that terms such as milk and cream could

only be used for dairy products, allowing exceptions for coconut milk and *lait d'amande* in French but not almond milk. What is beef that does not come from a cow?

One can nudge meat-eating consumers temporarily but the products will not endure with their own identities, not by trying to be something else. Mr Lee says bullishly that impossible's next burger will taste better than beef, and healthier variations of old products can work. Coca-Cola Original is Coke's best-seller but lower sugar colas contribute 43 per cent of its UK sales.

There is a prize on offer. Charles Godfray, director of the food programme at Oxford university's Martin School, notes that if beef herds and sheep stopped releasing methane into the atmosphere, it would be gone in a couple of decades. The sooner that consumers no longer require vegetables to fake a resemblance to meat, the more benefits we will enjoy.

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We survived GDPR, but now another EU privacy law looms

Julia Apostle

The wounds inflicted by the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) are still so fresh for many marketing and in-house compliance departments that the thought of going another round with a new European privacy law is almost too much to bear. And yet, more is coming.

The next step will be adoption of the EU's ePrivacy Regulation, due towards the end of 2018 or early 2019. Implementation will have impacts on current business operations and future innovation. European tech is already lagging behind Chinese and North American competitors and this will just create one more obstacle.

The substance of the regulation has avoided extensive public scrutiny, overshadowed by the coming into force of GDPR. This is unfortunate, because the law addresses essential issues of data

privacy and introduces important paradigm shifts. And like GDPR, the law will apply to companies outside Europe, with heavy fines for infringers. But the proposed text contains serious ambiguities that, unless they are resolved, will only make it harder for Europe to get back in the race.

Once adopted, the ePrivacy Regulation will replace an outdated ePrivacy Directive from 2002. That directive regulates the treatment of traffic and location data by telecommunications companies and internet service providers, restricts direct marketing by email and other channels, and limits the use of online tracking devices, such as cookies. The new regulation will cover much of the same ground, but with expanded scope and stricter application. At its core is an outright prohibition on the processing of "electronic communications data" by providers of electronic communications services, subject to very narrow exceptions.

Electronic communications data includes the content of the messages we send each other using communications services, and also the metadata generated by a message. Industry stakehold-

ers all agree that this data contains very sensitive information about users and that its processing should be controlled. Many players also welcome proposals in the regulation that will simplify the rules governing the use of online tracking devices.

But matters get more complicated when it comes to the question of who will be subject to the new law and who it protects. Indeed, this is where the com-

Industry stakeholders agree that the processing of communications data should be controlled

pliance nightmare begins, along with the uncertainty that can put a chill on new product development.

The ePrivacy Regulation extends the scope of the directive to cover so-called "over the top" (OTT) service providers, which offer communications services via the internet that are "functionally equivalent" to those that traditional voice telephony and text messages pro-

vided. Intuitively this makes sense: WhatsApp and Skype provide services that are the same, from a user perspective, as those offered by Vodafone, and they process the same communications data, so they should be subject to the same rules regarding that data.

Except that the regulation will also cover OTT services where the person-to-person communication element is only an "ancillary" feature linked to another service. At this point, what "ancillary" means in practice is still anyone's guess. But in theory any website or app that offers a communication component is covered. Unsurprisingly, the issue is being heavily lobbied.

Added to the question mark over the law's scope is ambiguity regarding implementation in relation to different users. In a marked change from the existing directive, legal entities are now squarely covered by the definition of "end-user", in addition to individuals, and both benefit from the prohibition against the processing of their communications data.

Legal entities, the regulation provides, have a fundamental right to the protection of their privacy, guaranteed

COMPANIES

Time Warner-AT&T ruling to buoy dealmaking

Sweeping consolidation in the US media industry is likely to accelerate after judge clears merger with no divestments

KADHIM SHUBBER — WASHINGTON
ERIC PLATT — NEW YORK

Almost 140 people crammed into Richard Leon's courtroom on Tuesday to hear his verdict on AT&T's \$80bn takeover of Time Warner. Wearing black robes and a red-and-white striped bowtie, the judge gave the deal his blessing and excoriated the government's evidence. As his audience of mostly lawyers and journalists rushed out with the news, media stocks shot up.

Judge Leon's decision capped a nearly two-year journey for the two companies, as well as six weeks in a Washington courthouse as the Department of Justice tried to show that the deal would harm competition. The government's loss will buoy the ambitions of dealmakers seeking to stitch large media businesses together.

Attention has already turned to Comcast, which was expected to unveil a formal bid for most of the entertainment assets of 21st Century Fox as early as yesterday. A bidding war between Comcast and its rival Walt Disney is likely to ensue for Fox.

"This decision will have wide-reaching ramifications across the telecommunications, media and tech industry for decades to come," said Daniel Ives, an analyst at GBH Insights.

The reshaping of the entertainment industry is likely to accelerate in the wake of Tuesday's ruling, which did not require any divestments from AT&T or Time Warner. The media sector is in the midst of sweeping consolidation, with the old guard — cable channel operators and TV distributors — racing to combine as new entrants such as Netflix and Amazon take market share.

"The Doj will have a harder time making a credible threat that it can take a vertical merger to trial"

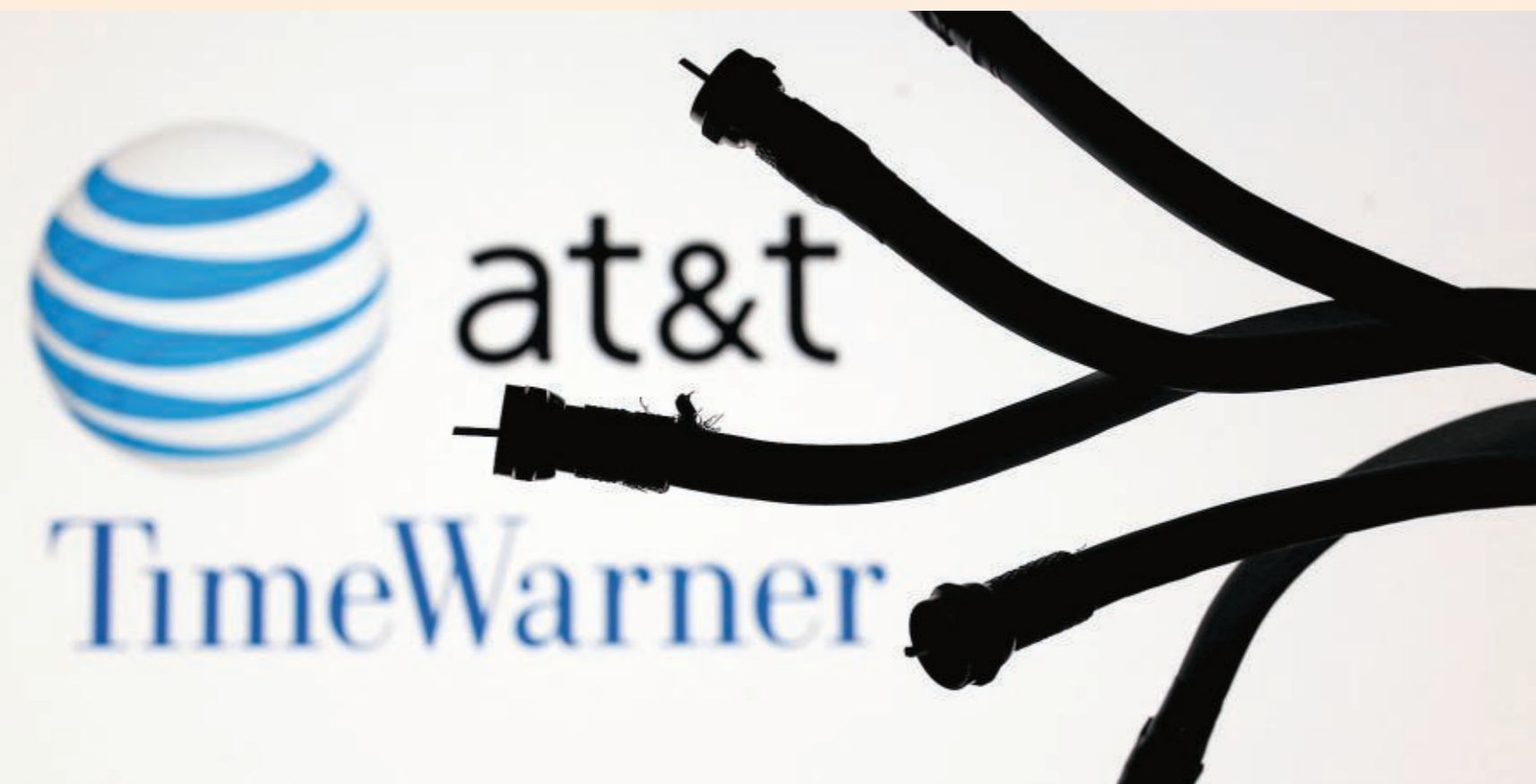
The decision might affect strategy at media groups and former stablemates CBS and Viacom, which this year held talks on remerging. Separately, it could coax a telecoms company such as Verizon or a cable distributor like Charter to bid for media assets. The entertainment industry has long been rife with dealmaking, with buyers trading Hollywood studios and other content producers seeking scale through acquisitions.

Judge Leon's 172-page opinion on the first big vertical merger litigation in decades detailed the government's failure to build a convincing case. He said the justice department had not provided adequate evidence that mergers between content providers and distributors harmed competition, a finding that will reassure the likes of Comcast.

"It's a blow to the government in pursuing any other media mergers of this kind," said George Hay, an antitrust professor at Cornell Law School, who said it would make the justice department less likely to challenge a Comcast takeover of Fox. "If they did, Comcast would know exactly what to do to win the case at trial."

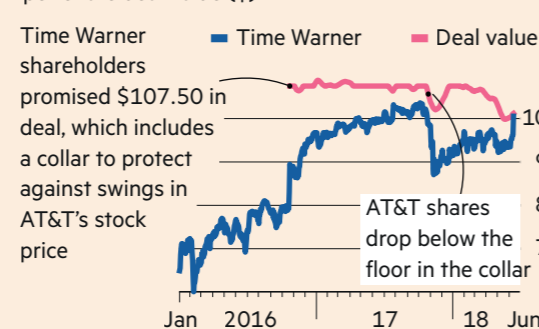
The decision is a setback for Makan Delrahim, the justice department's anti-

Race to combine



Time Warner shares climb but remain below AT&T's original \$107.50 offer

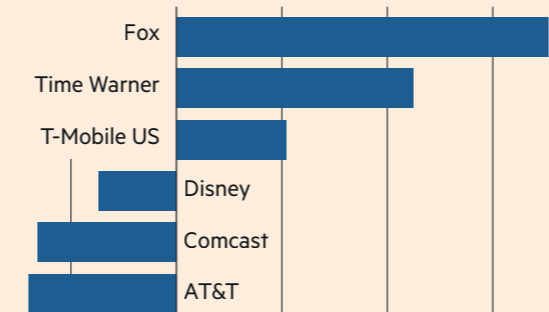
Time Warner stock compared with the per-share deal value (\$)



Time Warner agreed to a cash-and-stock deal, which fluctuated in value depending on AT&T's share price
Sources: FT research; Bloomberg; Yahoo Finance; Leichtman

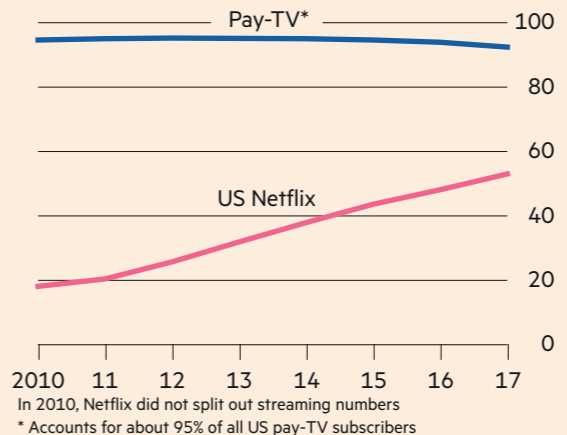
AT&T ruling's impact on companies in the midst of M&A

After-hours share price change on June 12, 2018 (%)



Cord-cutting accelerates in the US

Subscribers (m)



In 2010, Netflix did not split out streaming numbers
* Accounts for about 95% of all US pay-TV subscribers

trust chief, who has argued vociferously that the government should seek structural solutions to competition concerns, for example divestments or outright blocking of deals. He has dismissed behavioural solutions, such as the arbitration mechanism AT&T pledged to handle pricing disputes, as ineffective.

The higher-risk approach failed to pay off in the case of AT&T, said Amy Ray, an antitrust partner at Cadwalader. "The Doj may have to rethink whether its stance to pursue structural remedies first or only is the appropriate strategy in future merger reviews," she said.

The government faced an uphill battle in the case as vertical mergers, which combine companies with distinct roles in the supply chain for the same product, have long been viewed as pro-competitive when compared with horizontal mergers, in which companies eliminate direct competitors. Judge Leon's ruling will serve as yet more evidence of the difficulty the government faces in challenging vertical deals.

"The Doj will have a harder time making a credible threat that it can take a vertical merger to trial and block it," said Eric Mahr, a partner at Freshfields

who previously served as the director of litigation for the Doj's antitrust division. "It will affect the negotiating dynamics."

Politics has swirled around the case since its announcement in 2016. On the campaign trail, Donald Trump pledged to stop the deal going ahead, and after the justice department sued to block it in November, AT&T attempted to argue that the decision was politically motivated. After the trial ended, it emerged that AT&T had paid Michael Cohen, Mr Trump's personal lawyer, for advice on the deal in 2017.

Judge Leon avoided politics, instead deciding to rule on the merits of the justice department's evidence, which he found severely lacking. He said the government's economic modelling was "founded on improper assumptions". He also dismissed as "of little to no value" the evidence it provided to show prices would increase because of the combined company's enhanced leverage over rivals.

He rejected the government's argument that AT&T and Comcast's dominance of the telecommunications and entertainment market would lead them to squeeze out new, online-only net-

Travel & leisure

PSG forced to sell players worth €60m

MURAD AHMED
LEISURE CORRESPONDENT

Big spending Paris Saint-Germain must sell €60m worth of players by the end of this month to satisfy so-called financial fair play rules, with failure to do so leading to potential sanctions including being kicked out of European competition.

Uefa, European football's governing body, last year launched a formal probe into PSG after it paid a record €222m to acquire Brazilian forward Neymar from Spain's FC Barcelona. French striker Kylian Mbappé was also signed on loan from domestic rivals AS Monaco — with a potential transfer fee of €200m.

Yesterday, Uefa announced it had "closed" its investigation into the club's finances, but added it had yet to make conclusions about the results from the 2018 financial year, a period that includes the Neymar and Mbappé transfers.

A person close to the organisation said that the club had been informed that it must make €60m of player sales by the end of June to satisfy FFP requirements, designed to force clubs to breakeven.

Uefa said: "The financial impact of transfer activities as from the 2017 summer — up to and including the forth-

coming transfer window — and compliance with the break-even requirement for the 2018 financial year will remain under close scrutiny and will be thoroughly looked at in the coming weeks."

PSG did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Uefa also investigated sponsorship contracts struck by PSG, which was bought in 2012 by Qatar Sports Investments, a state-funded group founded by Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, the emir of Qatar.

There had been concern the sponsorship money had come from "related parties" — entities with financial or other close links to the club's owners.

Two independent groups, Nielsen and Octagon, were hired to determine the

"fair value" of sponsorships, and whether they were in line with normal market prices.

The Financial Times reported in April that Octagon's assessment had suggested that the sponsorship contracts had been "overstated."

Even so, Uefa's investigators have found PSG still satisfied FFP regulations between 2015 and 2017, as the club had not more than €30m in losses a year.

It said that even after "significant fair value adjustments of several club sponsorship contracts — on the basis of evaluations performed by independent third party assessors — the break-even result of [PSG] remains within acceptable deviation for the financial years ending in 2015, 2016 and 2017".



A probe was launched into PSG after it paid a record €222m to buy Brazilian forward Neymar
Nick Potts/PA Wire

Submissions open until 30 September 2018






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MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Day, Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap. Lists top 50 FTSE 500 companies including ANZ, BP, HSBC, etc.

Table with columns: FT 500: TOP 20, Close, Prev, Day, Week, Month. Lists top 20 FTSE 500 companies.

Table with columns: INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL, Rate, Current, Since, Last, Mnth Ago, Year Ago. Lists official interest rates for various countries.

Table with columns: INTEREST RATES: MARKET, Over, Change, One, Three, Six. Lists market interest rates for various currencies.

Table with columns: COMMODITIES, Energy, Price, Change, Agricultural & Cattle Futures, Price, Change. Lists commodity prices.

Table with columns: COMMODITIES, Precious Metals (PM London Fix), Price, Change. Lists precious metal prices.

Table with columns: COMMODITIES, Base Metals (LME 3 Months), Price, Change. Lists base metal prices.

Table with columns: COMMODITIES, Precious Metals (PM London Fix), Price, Change. Lists precious metal prices.

Table with columns: COMMODITIES, Precious Metals (PM London Fix), Price, Change. Lists precious metal prices.

FINANCIAL TIMES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Day, Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap. Lists various international stocks.

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Table with columns: FT 500: BOTTOM 20, Close, Prev, Day, Week, Month. Lists bottom 20 FTSE 500 companies.

Table with columns: BOND INDICES, Index, Price, Change, Month's change, Year, Return, Return 1 year. Lists bond indices.

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Table with columns: BONDS: INDEX-LINKED, Index, Price, Yield, Month's return, Value, Market, No of. Lists index-linked bonds.

Table with columns: BONDS: TEN YEAR GOVT SPREADS, Spread, Bid vs, Yield, Bid vs, Spread, Bid vs. Lists ten-year government spreads.

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Table with columns: BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE, Index, Price, Change, Month's change, Year, Return, Return 1 year. Lists global investment grade bonds.

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MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

Table listing various investment funds such as Algebris Investments, DSM Capital Partners Funds, Hermes Investment Managers, Mirabaud Asset Management, Morgan Stanley Investment Funds, Natixis Investment Managers, Kames Capital, New Capital Fund Management, North West Investment Management, Oasis Crescent, Odey Asset Management, Polar Capital, Slater Investments Ltd, Stenham Asset Management, and others, including their names, currencies, and performance metrics.

Data Provided by



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The sale of interests in the funds listed on these pages may, in certain jurisdictions, be restricted by law and the funds will not necessarily be available to persons in all jurisdictions in which the publication circulates.

The fund prices quoted in this edition along with additional information are also available on the Financial Times website: www.ft.com/funds

Prices are in pence unless otherwise indicated. The change, if shown, is the change on the previously quoted figure (not all funds update prices daily).

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Global Appointments

European Institute of Innovation & Technology (EIT), Budapest COM/2018/20026

The EIT is an EU body which aims to be a flagship for excellence in European innovation. The EIT seeks to stand out as a world-class innovation Institute, inspiring and driving change in existing European universities, research institutions and businesses.

The EIT is seeking to appoint a Director, whose particular responsibilities will reside in the development, organisation and management of the EIT activities, as well as in the legal representation of the Institute. The Director is accountable to the Governing Board on all strategic, financial and operational matters.

Your responsibilities:
- To take ownership of all matters concerning the organisation, administration and implementation of EIT activities and processes;
- To ensure the implementation of effective performance monitoring and evaluation procedures and to safeguard the interests, goals and operational coherence of the EIT;

- To prepare and draft strategic documents, work programmes, annual reports and budgets for submission to the Governing Board.

Please consult the Official Journal of the European Union C 187 A of 01/06/2018 for the detailed vacancy notice and the eligibility and selection criteria.

Registration for applicants: https://eit.europa.eu/collaborate/careers/vacancies

The closing date for registration is 29 June 2018, 12 noon Brussels time.

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