

CORONAVIRUS

US grocery workers fear growing risks of exposure

Staff complain of lack of proper protection and poor social distancing in busy stores

COURTNEY WEAVER AND ALISTAIR GRAY

Pam Hill took leave from her job as a cashier for the Albertsons grocery store chain in Los Angeles after two of her co-workers tested positive for coronavirus.

Now, after experiencing her own symptoms of the virus, she is awaiting results that will determine whether she can return to work. "I have to go back," she said. "There's no safety net here."

Grocery stores and essential retailers are among the few businesses to escape the downturn. US grocery store sales surged more than 25 per cent between February and March, according to the US commerce department, while food retailers such as Kroger and Ahold Delhaize each reported a 30 per cent or higher year-on-year rise last month.

But while the stores are thriving, the same cannot be said for many of their workers. At least 15 grocery workers represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, which covers about 900,000 grocery workers and 250,000 meatpacking and food-processing employees, have died from Covid-19. More than 2,200 have missed work because they have tested positive, been in self-quarantine, or been taken to hospital.

"The fact is there is only one way you can reduce the risks for customers and workers: wear masks," said Marc Perrone, president of the union. Yet no big retailer had mandated their usage across all stores, he added.

The UFCW has been campaigning to

classify food retail employees as essential workers, giving them access to extra masks and rapid testing for the virus. Some companies have joined the campaign. Albertsons took out a full-page ad in the New York Times in conjunction with the union.

"Albertsons Companies is doing everything we can to prioritise the health and safety of our associates, customers, and communities, and to ensure our customers have access to the food, medications, and other essential goods they need at this critical time," the company said.

"Did [workers] sign up for this kind of thing? No," said Mr Perrone. "We just shouldn't treat them as if they're disposable, that they don't deserve the testing and equipment that's necessary to protect them. That's just wrong."

Most retailers have passed some of their increased revenue to workers, raising hourly wages by \$2-\$3 during the crisis. They have also offered one-off crisis bonuses to compensate employees for their extra hours and tried to get pay cheques out faster.

They have taken steps to improve employee and customer safety too. Managers have been installing protective shields at checkouts, fitting stores with hand sanitisers and disinfectant wipes and introducing temperature checks for workers. Target cleans its customer touchscreens at least every 30 minutes.

Stores across the country are restricting customer numbers: Aldi is limiting



Protected: a shop worker in Dallas, Texas, wears anti-virus gear while stocking shelves
LM Otero/AP

stores to about five shoppers per 1,000 square feet while Kroger is monitoring the traffic using infrared technology.

But some workers and the unions who represent them say the measures have been insufficient and came too late. Critics complain that no big retail chain has mandated that all customers and workers wear masks inside their stores, instead adhering to individual city and state guidelines. Many retailers did not temporarily close locations for sanitisation after confirmed coronavirus cases.

Mr Perrone said stores had experienced a surge in sales due to panic buying. But this has been accompanied by soaring anxiety levels among employees. In a recent survey of union members, 97 per cent said they were concerned about catching the virus, he said.

John Grant, president of UFCW Local 770, said that too many store managers were preoccupied with sales and there were still too many customers in stores,

'We just shouldn't treat workers as if they're disposable'

especially in poorer communities.

In the Bronx, Jessica, a former employee of Target who asked to be referred to by a pseudonym, said she had struggled for weeks about whether to continue going to work as conditions at the store steadily worsened over the winter and spring. One Tuesday, her manager called to say a vendor she had been interacting with had fallen ill. Jessica told her boss she was not coming back. Multiple employees at the store later tested positive.

In a statement, Target said it had been following guidance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention as the outbreak developed.

Jessica said Target had been doing the kind of business it would typically do around Christmas or Black Friday, and had been compensating employees. But she said: "I feel like the money doesn't even matter. I feel like I'm more upset about them not closing the store and completely sanitising it."

Labour markets

Warning of threat to 59m European jobs

BEN HALL — EUROPE EDITOR

Up to 59m jobs in Europe are at risk because of the economic shutdown from coronavirus, according to a report that lays bare the potential threat of lasting damage to European labour markets and economic growth.

Analysts at McKinsey, the consultancy, estimate that more than a quarter of all private sector employment in the EU and UK could be affected. They define workers at risk as those who suffer cuts in hours or pay, temporary furloughs or permanent lay-offs.

In McKinsey's pessimistic scenario — in which social-distancing restrictions are maintained through the summer to contain the spread of the virus — EU unemployment could double to 11.2 per cent by next year and would be unlikely to return to pre-crisis levels until 2024.

European governments are hoping short-term subsidised work schemes modelled on Germany's *Kurzarbeit* system will help shield them from the mass lay-offs under way in the US. But the conditions and take-up rates vary widely between countries, and the longer the shutdown lasts the greater the risk of redundancies.

The IMF forecast a contraction of 7.5 per cent in the eurozone this year with unemployment hitting 10.4 per cent, up from 7.6 per cent. Some economists fear a double-digit slump in the bloc's southern economies.

While Europe may not be shedding jobs on the scale of the US, it is likely to take longer to rehire workers. It took Europe's labour market as a whole 10 years to recover from the financial crisis of 2008-09, although Germany and some other northern economies bounced back far sooner.

"The challenge is that politicians don't have the data or experience of dealing with a crisis like this," said Sebastian Stern, a senior partner at McKinsey. "If we open up retail, what's the impact on the [viral] transmission rate? Nobody knows."



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For further information on the Award, the judges, previous winners and how to enter, visit:

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MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE FT.COM/MARKETSDATA

Table of market indices including S&P 500, Nasdaq Composite, Dow Jones, FTSE 100, FTSE Eurofirst 300, Nikkei, Hang Seng, FTSE All World \$, \$ per €, \$ per ¥, £ per €, Oil Brent \$ per \$, and Gold \$.

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

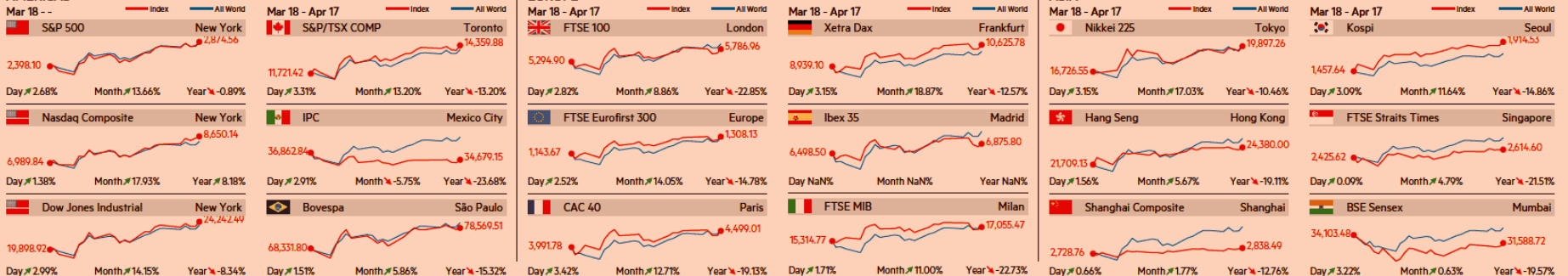


Table of Country Indices with columns for Country, Index, Latest, and Previous values for various global markets.

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UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

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UK RECENT EQUITY ISSUES

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MARKET DATA

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PRECIOUS METALS (PM) LONDON FIX

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BONDS: TEN YEAR GOVT SPREADS

Table showing ten-year government bond spreads with columns for Bid, Spread, and Bid vs.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT

Table showing benchmark government bond performance with columns for Index, Day's change, Month's change, Year, Return, and 1 year.

GLTs: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES

Table showing UK FTSE actuaries indices performance with columns for Price Index, Red, Day's change, Month's change, Year, Return, and 1 year.

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WORK & CAREERS

Pandemic puts mental health on everyone's agenda

Staff and employers offer their strategies to stay well – and working – while confined to their homes. By Emma Jacobs

The coronavirus pandemic has sparked a mass retreat of white-collar workers from the office to home.

While some have found it a relief to give up the daily commute, others find it stressful, feeling remote from the office at a time when companies are making cuts and furloughing workers.

Sleep problems, difficulty controlling moods, and dysphoria are common problems, says Richard Chaifetz, chief executive of ComPsych which provides employee assistance programmes to companies around the world. "Even someone who is relatively healthy mental health wise is going to feel the effects of an abrupt change of their lifestyle: not being able to go out [and the fear of] the unknown, fear of losing their job or having lost their job."

In the UK, Bupa, the private health-care provider, reports that its workplace psychologists are fully booked for virtual consultations and its health and wellbeing advice line has received 300 per cent more calls since the coronavirus crisis unfolded.

ComPsych says calls spiked in Asia when the pandemic took hold, while in the US there was a 20 per cent increase in requests to discuss mental health issues. Mr Chaifetz says: "Obviously people are feeling the effects economically, people are losing their jobs, spouses are losing their jobs and [they are] concerned about the future."

Employers have instigated virtual meetings, such as online happy hours, talent competitions and quizzes to combat the isolation of white-collar workers under lockdown. Goldman Sachs offers cooking classes via Zoom, virtual prayer sessions and virtual story time for children. Linklaters, the law firm, launched virtual choir workshops.

The firm has also virtualised some of its existing mental health resources



Rachel Suff, public policy adviser at the CIPD, says the anxiety people are suffering under coronavirus is 'complex and nuanced'

such as on-site psychologists in Hong Kong, Singapore and the UK. It also has a site with resources, including webinars on the impact of working in isolation, plus one with a psychiatrist and doctor looking at the physical and psychological impact of Covid-19.

Jonathan Moul, a lawyer turned counselling psychologist whose private clients are predominantly City workers, says that for many employers the "inescapable reality [is] that sometimes the demands of jobs are so considerable that they don't match wellbeing [goals]".

"Prior to coronavirus, mental health was seen as someone else's responsibility, part of diversity and inclusion", he adds. "But now it applies across the board. Maybe [a small percentage of us] will get coronavirus but 100 per cent of us are psychologically affected by it."

Dealing with remote workers' concerns is hard. Line managers are having

to adapt at speed, says Poppy Jaman, chief executive of City Mental Health Alliance. They are struggling "to recognise stress when not seeing people face to face". Key, she says, is being attuned to behaviour changing and asking people how they are, including through one-to-one chats.

Rachel Suff, public policy adviser at the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, says "anxiety can be quite complex and nuanced". With so much uncertainty, the fear of losing their job, says Ms Suff, can "alter people's behaviour". Moreover, if they feel their job might be cut or pay reduced they will feel unable "to raise their hand and admit to struggling".

Employees' home lives vary considerably. "The issues differ significantly," says Trent Henry, EY's global vice-chair for talent. Even if employees are able to work safely from home, their spouse

might be facing unemployment or be a key worker; they might have to care for vulnerable relatives. "The mental health challenge is very hard," Mr Henry says. "Some of our employees live by themselves. That is different to someone with three generations under the same roof. Some people are putting in too many hours and over the long-term that's not sustainable." Others are "not feeling busy enough" and are worried about the future of their job.

Isolation has prompted a rise in domestic violence cases. For this reason, Anna Purchas, head of people at KPMG UK, has distributed guidance on domestic abuse to managers. "The main advice is to ask open questions. Open the conversation and signpost help."

For furloughed staff, Richard Chaifetz says, the situation creates a lot of anxiety. "They don't know what they're coming back to – there's a lot of 'what-

ifs' [with regard to] the status of the business."

Research has found that working just eight hours a week can preserve people's mental health as much as full-time work. "There's a massive difference in terms of mental health between not working and working," says Brendan Burchell, reader at the department of sociology at the University of Cambridge and one of the authors of the report. He is concerned that furloughed workers will suffer mental health problems and proposes government furlough schemes could allow people to do some work, perhaps for the public sector or redistribute tasks within companies. "Work imposes a structure to people's life, so you have something to do so not ruminating all the time."

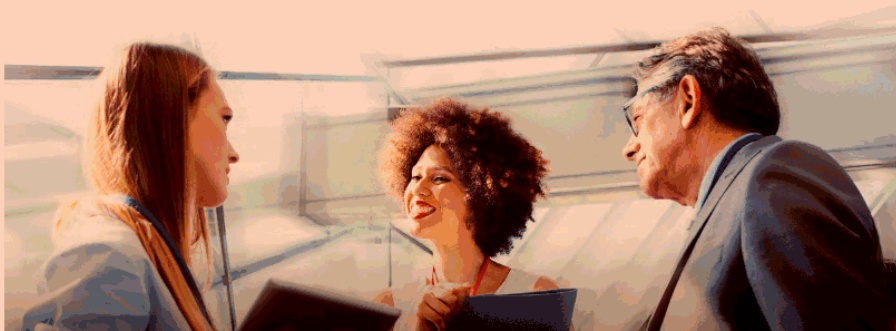
Anthony Wheeler, professor of management at West Chester University, says that "typically, with a furlough, employees will experience morale problems that will fuse with stress and burn-out". It can also be divisive. "If some employees are called to work while others get furloughed, companies should have articulated policies around why they make the decisions they make relative to who works and who does not."

Generally, if people believe that the processes are applied fairly, they might not like the outcome but will feel that the outcome was fair, Prof Wheeler adds. "People can handle that. What they can't handle is when the processes lack fairness and transparency. In those circumstances, companies will experience a host of negative outcomes related to its employees – poor performance, more turnover, counterproductive work behaviours."

For some, however, working from home is a chance to spend time with family or pause to reflect. "Often in the chaos of daily life we don't have an opportunity to think about our purpose," Mr Moul says. "The pandemic has exposed the fact that the best-paid are not essential, triggering some soul-searching among financiers and lawyers. "There's a recalibration," he adds. "We have had a society that has privileged moneymaking, agency and self-determination." Now public service and social connections are prioritised.

In the chaos of daily life we don't have an opportunity to think about our purpose

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FT BIG READ. EMERGING MARKETS

The coronavirus pandemic is causing pain in many developing economies as commodity prices plunge. In Brazil's case, the situation is complicated by the president disagreeing with his government's advice.

By Jonathan Wheatley and Andres Schipani

On the Thursday before Easter, Jair Bolsonaro stopped off at a bakery near the presidential palace in Brasília. Sipping a Coca-Cola and eating a *pão de queijo*, Brazil's president posed for photos with his arm around employees and supporters.

The following day the former army captain visited a pharmacy in the city. "No one can hinder my right to come and go," he told a tightly-packed throng of journalists.

Mr Bolsonaro, a far-right populist who surged from semi-obscurity to power in 2018, was making a show of defying the social distancing rules recommended by his own health officials to stop the spread of coronavirus.

On Easter Sunday, his popular health minister, Luiz Henrique Mandetta, a doctor who had spearheaded the measures to tackle Covid-19, pushed back on what many see as the anti-science approach of the president.

"When you see people going into bakeries, to supermarkets, this is clearly something that is wrong," said Mr Mandetta, whose air of competence has drawn comparisons with Anthony Fauci, the scientist advising US president Donald Trump. Speaking to TV Globo, he added that Brazilians "don't know whether to listen to the health minister or to the president".

On Thursday, Mr Mandetta was fired. Across the developing world, the pandemic is causing a devastating economic crisis – even in countries where the disease has barely arrived yet. Economies are being battered by collapsing revenues from oil and tourism and sudden capital outflows.

The IMF, which has warned about the steepest recession since the 1930s,

"The lack of leadership, the lack of co-ordination, the lack of public policy have turned this into chaos"

has already received requests for emergency support from more than 100 countries. While developed nations are throwing money at their slumping economies and struggling health systems, even many of the richest emerging markets lack the resources to act in the same manner.

For Brazil, the pandemic is a double blow. The economy was already in a parlous state, having yet to recover from a sharp recession in 2015-16. Its public finances were under heavy pressure even before the pandemic, mounting a fiscal response to the decline in the demand will create even greater strain.

On top of that, it has a dysfunctional federal government, with an ideologically-charged president openly opposing the strategy for fighting the disease proposed by many in his cabinet, senior lawmakers and the bulk of state governors, even some who were until recently his close allies.

Marcos Lisboa, an economist and head of the Insper business school in São Paulo, warns that the pandemic has hit the Brazilian economy when it was least prepared.

"This crisis arrived when Brazil was very fragile after several years of low growth, and with a government incapable of taking co-ordinated action in the face of the outbreak," he says. "The lack of leadership, the lack of co-ordination, the lack of public policy have turned this into chaos."

Asset flight

Brazil now has more than 36,000 cases of Covid-19, registering 188 deaths on Thursday alone. But the country felt the financial impact of coronavirus long before its first registered death on March 17. While the global financial crisis was a slow-burning event that took months to spill over into many asset classes, in countries such as Brazil Covid-19 took a matter of weeks.

The Brazilian real was already under pressure at the start of the year as a result of the weak pace of recovery and a steady drop in Brazilian interest rates. As global markets woke up to the threat of coronavirus in late January, a moderate sell-off in the real turned into a rout. The currency has lost more than a quarter of its dollar value this year.

Foreign investors began selling Brazilian stocks, then bonds, at an accelerating pace. Stocks on the São Paulo exchange lost almost half of their value between late February and late March, recently recovering some ground. Even large, well capitalised companies with cash buffers such as oil group Petrobras and mining company Vale saw their long-dated foreign currency bonds lose 30 to 40 cents on the dollar – at any other time, a signal of impending debt restructuring or default.



Political isolation

Jair Bolsonaro leaves his presidential residence on April 13. As investors continue to withdraw funds from emerging markets, he has opposed the strategy backed by Brazilian ministers and governors for tackling coronavirus

Adriano Machado/Reuters

"It happened so quickly," says Roger Horn, emerging markets bond analyst at SMBC Nikko, a New York broker. "People weren't thinking about recovery value; this was priced to panic."

Across emerging markets, foreign investors dumped assets on a scale never seen before. According to the Institute of International Finance, equity and bond markets in 21 large emerging economies suffered cross-border outflows of \$95bn in two and a half months from January 21, more than four times the amount that left in the same period after the start of the global financial crisis in September 2008.

This adds up to a sudden break in the supply of credit and a sharp tightening of financial conditions. Across corporate sectors, any certainty about the future dissolved. Capital expenditure slowed almost to a standstill.

In Brazil, the economy ministry last month cut its forecast of growth in gross

worse than the 2008-09 crisis.

For emerging markets, the outlook is especially bleak. Latin America and the Caribbean, along with emerging Europe, will suffer the steepest contraction, according to the IMF, with output falling 5.2 per cent this year. Only emerging Asia will grow, by 1 per cent according to the fund, thanks to China and India.

EM meltdown

Even before the coronavirus crisis, the large emerging economies had been struggling to reproduce the levels of growth seen in the 2000s, when they outpaced advanced economies by a wide margin. The end of the commodities supercycle, declining returns on international trade and disruption of supply chains caused by the US-China trade war had already raised big questions about what, if anything, would drive their economies in the future.

"There are no longer those big turbo engines to boost EM growth, and this is really a challenging question," says Phoenix Kalen, emerging markets strategist at Société Générale in London.

Before coronavirus, she says, the expectation was that developed markets would stagnate over the medium to long term and emerging markets would eventually slow to a similar pace. Now "we can write this year off," she adds. "As we come out of the crisis we will still have to answer questions – will there be a new wave of infections, will consumer demand normalise to previous levels, how much will capacity use rebound?"

Emerging economies are also entering this new crisis against the backdrop of sharply higher levels of debt. Over the decade to the end of 2019, according to data collated by the IIF, the total debts of the 30 largest emerging markets rose from \$28tn to \$71tn, or from 168 per cent of GDP to 220 per cent.

Government debt also rose strongly in some economies, up from 65 per cent of GDP in Brazil to 89 per cent in the last decade, and doubling in South Africa from 32 per cent of GDP to 64 per cent.

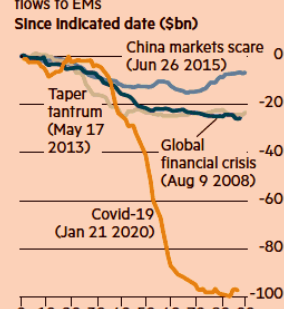
As GDP contracts and the amount of debt rises in response to the coronavirus crisis, those ratios are likely to increase. The IIF says South Africa's government debt could soon rise to an unsustainable 95 per cent of GDP.

"What we've been saying consistently is that, yes, the debt is manageable now, with these interest rates at this level of risk appetite," says Sonja Gibbs, head of sustainable finance at the IIF. "But under other circumstances it won't be. We are now in other circumstances."

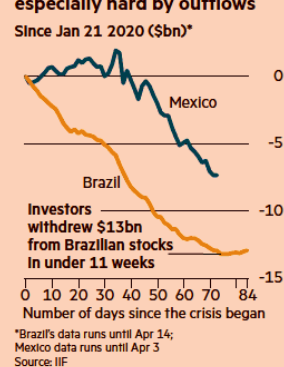
In Brazil, she notes, while the biggest companies may have cash buffers, the corporate sector as a whole does not. Overall, the ratio of short-term debt to cash among Brazilian companies is 66

Investors have fled emerging markets at an alarming pace ...

Accumulated non-resident portfolio flows to EMs



... with Brazil and Mexico hit especially hard by outflows



per cent, according to the IIF's analysis, one of the highest levels among large emerging economies.

Brazil, along with South Korea and Mexico, is among a handful of countries to have been offered swap lines of \$60bn each from the US Federal Reserve – a repeat of its action in the crisis of 2008-09. This gives those countries a lifeline of dollar liquidity to meet financing needs. But other emerging economies have been left out.

Late on Friday, Brazil's economy ministry laid out an emergency support package of R\$1.2tn (\$223bn) – equal to the entire projected savings over the coming decade from last year's landmark pension reform. It includes support for the poor, for workers, local governments and businesses as well as the health sector. But it is not clear how far it will reach into the real economy. Only about a quarter is new money.

Erratic decisions

Into this rapidly deteriorating economic outlook, the erratic outbursts of Mr Bolsonaro have only added to the sense of drift. The public dispute between the

president and Mr Mandetta had been escalating for weeks. While the former health minister warned that the health system was likely to come under intense pressure in May and June because of the pandemic, Mr Bolsonaro insisted recently that the virus "looks like it is starting to go away".

Adopting many of the positions articulated by Mr Trump in recent weeks, Mr Bolsonaro has pushed for a prompt reopening of the economy and promoted the use of malaria drugs chloroquine and hydroxychloroquine to treat people with the virus – advice that Mr Mandetta said was not yet backed by sufficient scientific evidence. The president has referred to Covid-19 as little more than a "sniffle".

He has clashed with several governors who have largely supported the advice to impose lockdowns. In late March, Ronaldo Caiado, the conservative governor of the central state of Goiás and a one-time ally, said the president's approach was "totally irresponsible".

On Thursday, Mr Bolsonaro slammed Rodrigo Maia, the powerful speaker of the lower house of Congress, after he had hailed Mr Mandetta as a "a true warrior" of public health following his sacking.

However, the new health minister, Nelson Teich, has supported social distancing, suggesting the president might not completely reverse policy for dealing with the pandemic.

While his counterparts including Alberto Fernández in Argentina and Martín Vizcarra in Peru have imposed strict lockdowns in their countries and saw their approval ratings rocket, Mr Bolsonaro's popularity has fallen. A poll released by Atlas on Thursday showed that 76 per cent of Brazilians opposed sacking Mr Mandetta, while 58 per cent disapproved of Mr Bolsonaro's handling of the country.

In recent weeks large numbers of Brazilians have taken part in a nightly *panelaço* – a time-honoured South American tradition of banging pots and pans – while chanting "Bolsonaro out!" outside their windows or on their balconies.

Some opposition politicians have even started to talk about an attempt to impeach the president – although most political analysts believe this would be unlikely in the midst of a crisis. Unlike Dilma Rousseff, his leftist predecessor whose ratings sunk before her impeachment, he still holds a power base of support, but critics warn about the impact of his performance during the crisis.

"In addition to the risks he poses to democracy and public health, Bolsonaro also brings the country to a standstill while we all wait for his erratic decisions," says Daniela Campello, a professor of politics at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation. "Will we survive?"



Pot and pan protests: many Brazilians have joined in the nightly *panelaço* against Bolsonaro's handling of the crisis

Opinion

Why China is losing the coronavirus narrative

ASIA

Jamil Anderlini



When Roger Roth received an email from the Chinese government asking him to sponsor a bill in the Wisconsin state legislature praising China's response to coronavirus, he thought it must be a hoax. The sender had even appended a pre-written resolution full of Communist party talking points and dubious claims for the Wisconsin senate president to put to a vote. "I've never heard of a foreign government approaching a state legislature and asking them to pass a piece of legislation," Sen Roth said told me last week. "I thought this couldn't be real." Then he discovered it was indeed sent by China's consul-general in Chicago. "I was astonished... [and] wrote a letter back: 'dear consul general, NUTS.'" It is impossible to see this episode as

anything but another disastrous own goal in Beijing's attempts to boost its global standing in the time of coronavirus.

From the deplorable treatment of African citizens in southern China to the export of faulty medical equipment, or the official endorsement of conspiracy theories blaming the US military for the outbreak, most of the Communist party's efforts to control the international narrative have backfired.

Some assume the west's chaotic and early response allows China to step into the global governance vacuum. Even allowing for questionable data, China has so far reported under 5,000 deaths, versus almost 30,000 in the US and nearly 20,000 each in Italy and Spain. But Beijing's attempts to take advantage of the situation are more likely to leave it isolated and distrusted on the world stage when the crisis recedes.

Wang Jisi, a legendary scholar at Peking University, says the virus fallout has pushed Sino-US relations to their worst level since formal ties were established in the 1970s. He describes bilateral economic and technological decoupling as "already irreversible".

The shift has been striking in the UK too, where influential Conservatives

have called on the prime minister to be tougher on China, the British press has become more critical, and intelligence agencies have promised to focus on the threat from Beijing. In Europe and Australia, governments have rushed to block Chinese companies from buying assets cheaply amid economic carnage. And Tokyo has set aside \$2.2bn explicitly to help Japanese companies move

Beijing's apparently self-defeating behaviour abroad makes sense in the domestic political context

their supply chains out of China.

But it is not just the US and its allies that have soured on Beijing. North Korea, China's only treaty ally, was the first country to close its northern border at the start of the outbreak, despite Beijing's objections to international travel bans. Russia quickly followed. Even Iranian officials have criticised China for hiding the extent of the outbreak.

Some of the criticism is clearly unfair. Populist western politicians such as US

president Donald Trump have attacked Beijing to deflect from their own failings. There is also a hint of racism in the calls to shut down "disgusting wet markets". But Beijing could have gained far more sympathy if it had switched quickly to a strategy of transparency and co-operation. Instead, it arrested people who criticised its cover-up, and launched a global propaganda campaign to raise doubts about the Chinese origin of the virus and assert the superiority of its authoritarian system.

Many multinational companies have been badly burnt since Beijing effectively sealed its borders and cancelled visas last month. The expulsion of much of the US press corps from Beijing will also harden international attitudes. China's main government mouthpiece has even threatened to withhold medical supplies and block medical exports to the US so it can "cast America into a novel coronavirus hell".

All this will accelerate calls in Washington and elsewhere for rapid decoupling from Chinese supply chains. This apparently self-defeating behaviour makes more sense when you consider the domestic political context.

This is the biggest crisis that President

Xi Jinping has faced since he took power in 2012. The Communist party's legitimacy has been damaged by early mistakes and the crackdown that followed. Mr Xi knows the coming economic crisis will erode support further. In the 2008 financial crisis, Beijing identified 8 per cent annual growth as the minimum to stave off social unrest. China's economy shrank 6.8 per cent in the first quarter.

Doubling down on vituperative nationalism can distract the populace, even if it damages China's global reputation in the medium term. That explains why diplomats risked turning someone such as Senator Roth, a hitherto neutral bystander or even potential ally of Chinese trade diplomacy, into an enemy.

China's goal was to publicise the resolution in state propaganda to validate party rule back home. But now the Wisconsin senator plans a very different bill. While praising the Chinese people, it will "strip the brutal Chinese Communist party naked for the world to see... as well as the damage it has done to the whole world through covering up this coronavirus," Sen Roth said. It is likely to pass with a hefty majority.

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A bailout of the oil industry is a fate worse than death

MARKETS

Megan Greene



Whenever things went wrong growing up, my dad would tell me, "What doesn't kill you only makes you stronger." Dying was supposed to be the worst-case scenario. He never mentioned zombies. But that's what a bailout for the oil industry would create: zombie companies that can't earn the cost of staying in business, kept afloat with taxpayer dollars.

The oil patch in the US has been hit by a double whammy. The Saudi-Russian fight for market share helped drop the price of West Texas Intermediate, the American benchmark, to just above \$20 a barrel. Then came coronavirus lockdowns, and an unprecedented collapse in demand for oil. While Easter Sunday's Opec+ deal should reduce the supply glut, it is dwarfed by demand problems: WTI fell to below \$19 a barrel soon after.

With storage facilities near full, there will soon be no place to put the oil. Drillers, producers and oilfield servicers will be forced to halt production and lay off workers. Washington is now in bailout mode. The Trump administration offered storage space in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The Energy department is developing a plan to pay producers to leave crude in the ground.

There are valid economic arguments for a bailout. Energy is an important driver of investment. The last time WTI dropped significantly, in 2015-16, capital expenditures contracted and the US fell into an industrial and manufacturing recession. Employment in the oil and gas sector fell by about one-third.

The business model for many exploration and production firms was broken before prices fell

Some say it contributed to the discontent that pushed Donald Trump to the presidency in 2016.

But the business model for many exploration and production companies was broken before oil prices fell. Fuelled by cheap credit, US shale producers borrowed heavily to invest in drilling, causing the US energy bond market to triple in size over the past decade. The focus has been on producing quantity to conquer market share and the flood of oil has yielded low returns for equity investors, as frackers reinvested windfalls and raised top executive pay. US fracking pioneer Chesapeake Energy, for example, hasn't generated a single year of positive free cash flow in the past decade. As debts rose along with oil supplies, a shakeout was inevitable.

A bailout would throw good money after bad, propping up an industry desperately in need of productivity gains and consolidation. Instead, the industry should be left to adapt. According to analysts at Rystad Energy, shale producers should be able to cut costs by 16 per cent this year, productivity gains that would not happen with government funding. High-cost or highly indebted small producers – and their infrastructure – should be taken over by larger, solvent companies. While that would result in bankruptcies and debt write-offs, it would reduce financing costs for those left standing. The industry would come out stronger and more profitable.

A backhanded industry argument for a bailout is that bankruptcies threaten investors and banks with big losses. That's the nature of capitalism. Investors take risks and are often rewarded with high returns. Sometimes investments go south and they have to absorb losses, but it's not a systemic risk. A compilation of annual disclosures by Bloomberg News shows Citigroup, Bank of America, Wells Fargo and JPMorgan are the largest US bank energy lenders. Only about 1 to 3 per cent of their portfolios are exposed to the industry. A series of defaults would hurt, but it would not alone bring down the big banks.

Of course the government should offer support for energy workers facing lay-offs, along with all those losing their jobs in the crisis. But while many companies closed by coronavirus were healthy beforehand, many in the oil industry were already on a path to failure. This is no time to create zombies.

The writer is a senior fellow at Harvard Kennedy School

The new age of American austerity

BUSINESS

Rana Foroohar



Americans are traditionally the world's consumers of last resort. But that's about to change. Even when the IMF is calling the Great Lockdown ends and we emerge from the immediate coronavirus crisis, the economic ramifications of this moment will produce a new age of US austerity.

The idea of Americans penny pinching for any prolonged period may seem unlikely, despite currently living through the sharpest downturn since the Depression. Today's economy, after all, is built on consumption.

Since the 1980s, the US has incentivised debt over savings for both consumers and corporations, and encouraged the growth of a financial sector that has repeatedly brewed up asset bubbles to support the spending that real economic growth could not.

In fact, the decade between the 2008 financial crisis and this one saw the creation of a vast asset price bubble in just about everything. That bubble is now bursting, exacerbating the economic changes that the pandemic has brought, be that a massive increase in public debt, the reshoring of international sup-

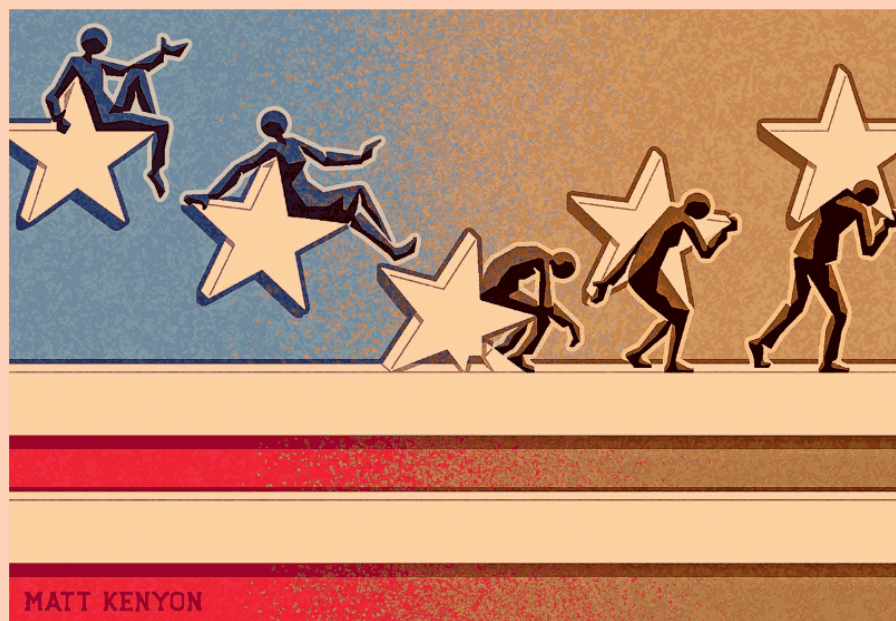
ply chains or technology-forced shifts in labour markets.

In many ways, the US has been here before. The period leading up to the 1929 market crash and its aftermath closely mirrors our recent past. It also suggests where we may go next: a new era in which Americans must save and produce more – and consume less.

Like the decade leading up to the financial crisis, the Roaring Twenties were marked by technological wonders, easy money (including a 1921 rate cut by the US Federal Reserve that set the stage for a stock market bubble) and massive income inequality.

Working-class wages stagnated, while the wealth of the upper class rose, buoyed by rising asset prices. Then, as now, when people couldn't afford to buy, they borrowed: in the 1920s, Americans bought more than three-quarters of major household items on credit. They also began investing in securities en masse for the first time. As Harvard economic historian Edwin Gay put it in a 1932 article in *Foreign Affairs*: "They were not... educated in the use of credit; they simply received a new vision of its possibilities."

All that ended in tears in 1929. But the changes in behaviour that grew out of the crash created a generation of people like my grandmother, who would use a tea bag several times before throwing it away. The personal savings rate of Americans soared from around zero in the early 1930s to as high as 28 per cent during the second world war.



MATT KENYON

This is crucial. Like today, government spending rose sharply in the 1930s to stave off an even bigger downturn. Federal spending was just above 3 per cent before the Depression. It rose to 10 per cent afterwards, and kept rising to over 40 per cent by the end of the 1940s. Then, as now, the budget deficit soared. Unlike today, however, private savings rates were far higher. Indeed they were positively Chinese, in part because forced rationing limited consumption, while incomes rose amid strong exports and war-related economic expansion.

It will be harder to achieve similar gains today. Reshoring supply chains could benefit parts of the US industrial sector and boost wages, in a win-win for businesses and workers; Germany's

Debt is a national burden shared by all taxpayers. We need to think about how to incentivise savings

Mittelstand firms may be a model. But in the short term, deglobalisation will raise prices for everyone.

Companies that survive the lockdown will meanwhile replace as many workers as they can with software, so unemployment will remain high. Public sector spending will also skyrocket, with US federal debt growing from nearly 80 per cent of gross domestic product before the crisis to over 100 per cent by October, and then probably higher still. This will further hurt economic performance: academic opinions about worrisome debt thresholds vary, but it's clear that high and rising debt levels do dampen economic growth.

What the US government is doing now isn't some sort of productive Keynesian spending programme, but a full-scale bailout of everything. Perhaps some wise fiscal stimulus in areas like infrastructure will make some of that additional debt load more productive. But it's hard to see how that will offset the huge economic headwinds that we face. This isn't the 1990s and the US economy

will struggle to grow out of the situation.

The solution, based on history, is clear. Americans are going to have to save a lot more. In 2010 a prescient McKinsey Global Institute study, of 45 episodes of deleveraging in mature economies since 1930, showed that half involved sustained periods of austerity, slow credit growth and higher savings.

This doesn't mean we don't need the vast government spending being implemented now. But it does mean the US needs an honest conversation about where to go from here.

Ultimately, debt is a national burden shared by all taxpayers. Policymakers therefore need to think about how to incentivise savings: trimming every unproductive debt and leverage loophole from the tax code is a good place to start. In time, the Fed will also have to explain how it will shrink all that debt off its balance sheet. And everyone will have to think about thrift. Enter the new age of American austerity.

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Italy is in more danger than the eurozone knows

EUROPE

Wolfgang Münchau



The spread between Italian and German bonds rose last week to around 2 percentage points. Why should that be so? Unlike in 2012, there is no looming threat of a liquidity crisis. The European Central Bank's Pandemic Emergency Purchase Programme will probably ensure that the Italian government is safe to issue whatever debt it needs this year. Rather, Italy's problems are of a different nature.

As of the end of last year, Italy's public sector debt was 136 per cent of gross domestic product. Over the previous decade, it had increased by 30 percentage points. If you assume that the coronavirus lockdowns leave Italian GDP 10

per cent lower than in 2019, and if outstanding debt increases by 20 per cent, then its debt-to-GDP ratio balloons to 180 per cent. When debt rises and output falls at the same time, these ratios shoot up fast.

So what should Italy do? I see three courses of action. My expectation for this week's virtual meeting of EU leaders is a compromise on a restructuring fund. Once the applause fades and people look at the details, they will realise it will have no macroeconomic relevance. This will leave the ECB, once again, as the only EU institution that matters. Its pandemic programme will do the necessary this year.

But what about afterwards? The only available instrument left for the ECB to deploy is former president Mario Draghi's "outright monetary transactions" – the never-launched programme that will forever be associated with his 2012 promise to "do whatever it takes" to save the eurozone. This would allow the ECB to undertake unlimited purchases of Italian debt, but only if

Italy applies to the European Stability Mechanism for an enhanced conditions credit line. This is like an overdraft facility with some mild conditionalities. It is not the facility itself that matters, but its link to an ECB programme.

Yet there does not appear to be a majority in the Italian parliament for ESM support. Nor is it clear that the ECB would agree to trigger OMT. The argument is that it is not intended to address

It is hard to overstate the turn to Euroscepticism. That will not go away when lockdown ends

looming insolvency.

Another course is for Italy to default, or seek a debt restructuring. This may be compatible with eurozone membership, but would need ECB involvement as otherwise Italian debt would lose its status. Domestic banks are another pri-

ority. As they hold much of Italy's sovereign debt, default could lead to bank failures. Still, as Irish economist Karl Whelan points out, Italy could "haircut" its bonds and win enough savings to nationalise and save them. Investors would be wiped out but deposits saved.

Finally, there is always the spectre of a eurozone exit. It is not a probable event. But then again, nor was Brexit. As happened in the UK, Italians are beginning to blame the EU for everything that is going wrong. I heard a story of someone blaming the Dutch for the delay in their unemployment payments. This is an absurd accusation, of course. But the Five Star Movement, the senior partner in the ruling coalition, may see an opportunity to revive its flagging political support and play to rising anti-EU sentiment. It is hard to overstate Italy's dramatic turn to Euroscepticism. It will not go away when lockdown ends.

Emmanuel Macron is right to warn about the unravelling of the EU. I fear, however, that the French president will avoid a long-overdue confrontation

with Germany, which remains sceptical about the idea of eurozone bonds. Unless he is willing to get such a bond under way with a smaller group of member states, his threat is cheap talk. If Giuseppe Conte, Italian prime minister, acts in the spirit of his predecessors, he will agree to a foul compromise and discover later that the costs outweigh the benefits. Once that realisation sets in, there will not be many good options left.

When northern Europeans discuss eurobonds or similar instruments, they frame the debate in terms of solidarity and charity or, in the Dutch case, as a gift. They do not see it as risk insurance. There is zero appreciation in Germany, and, I suppose, the Netherlands too, of a potentially catastrophic downside to their financial sectors and their economies were Italy to default.

Yet, default becomes increasingly probable if politics rules out alternatives. If or when that happens, the eurozone will not be ready.

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Hit for six
India's lucrative cricket league gets battered by coronavirus
COMPANIES & MARKETS

All rise for Saint Jacinda, a leader for our troubled times



Pilita Clark
Business Life

Thursday did not start well for Matt Hancock. Britain's 41-year-old health secretary began a morning television interview looking like a glummer version of the chipper, Cheshire-born economist he was before he became an MP 10 years ago. It got worse as he was pounded for a string of government blunders over coronavirus testing and equipment failures. Then came a question that went something like this: In New Zealand, where they have had just two Covid-19 deaths per million people (in the UK it's more than 200), prime minister Jacinda Ardern has just said she and her ministers would take a 20 per cent pay cut to show solidarity with those struggling financially because of the outbreak. Will you?

"Well I'm not proposing to do that," said Mr Hancock. "What I am proposing to do is work every hour that there is." Asked the same question, Australia's prime minister, Scott Morrison, said firmly: "It's not something that's being considered."

The first thing I thought about this was that it was unsurprising. Ms Ardern has been a model of compassionate leadership in this crisis. The second thing I thought was the leaders she is showing up must be



Details: Jacinda Ardern's mastery of minutiae has served her well — Bloomberg

starting to loathe her. It's not that she is perfect. Before the outbreak she was in trouble for failing to deliver on a slew of housing, poverty and tax plans, having once declared 2019 would be her government's year of "delivery". She is also in charge of a relatively remote and uncrowded country that the virus took longer to reach. And it is too early to be certain of her ultimate success. But astute Londoners stranded in New Zealand during the crisis, and others who have recently moved there, confirm there are at least four important Ardern leadership lessons that deserve attention, starting with her under-appreciated command of detail.

One day during the 2017 general election campaign that eventually resulted in her prime ministership, she toured a factory that made fibreglass insulation known as pink batts.

As a New Zealand Herald journalist

●● The leaders the New Zealand prime minister is showing up during this global crisis must be starting to loathe her ●●

wrote at the time, when she was asked a few days later if she could remember what a batt was made of, she said it included recycled glass. What kind of glass? "Off-cuts of window glass." What temperature is the molten glass when heated? "1,200 degrees." And so on.

A mastery of minutiae may have helped Ms Ardern deliver a second lesson in the importance of co-ordination, which is said to be very evident within her government.

Contrast that with what happened to me last week as I tried to pin down why the UK's Covid-19 travel restrictions were so much looser than those in other countries. Public Health England suggested I try the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office said I should contact the Health department or the Home Office. The Health department said I should contact the Foreign Office and the Home Office. The Home Office said I should contact the Cabinet Office. The Cabinet Office said I should contact the Foreign Office and the Health department.

Care for detail and co-ordination leads to a third factor: smart policies, like New Zealand's plan to fund wider pavements and cycle paths to help people stay further apart. Or the two

dedicated education TV channels it has launched to help home schooling. Or the effort to send thousands of laptops and learn-from-home materials to students, while trying to boost their internet connections. It is even better if, while doing all this, you are honest enough to say there will be problems.

"This is a big complex project that is being undertaken at pace so we know it will take time to get it right," the NZ education ministry says on its website. Compare this with other leaders' repeated insistence that no mistakes have been made, a dangerous ploy at a time when public trust is vital.

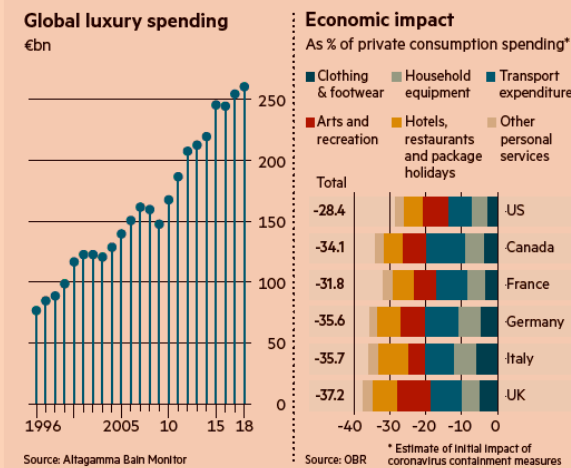
Ms Ardern's communication skills have already been praised in this column. Since then she has doubled down, confirming the Easter bunny was considered an essential worker. And when asked if she had contacted the New Zealand nurse Boris Johnson said had helped him survive Covid-19, Ms Ardern said she had tracked her down on Facebook and sent a message.

Yet the main point is not just that she is caring and outwardly normal. She is also clearly competent at a time when so many others are not.

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Lex

Consumer spending: urge to splurge, on hold



Hard times play out differently for the rich. "Remember, when our customer tightens their belt, it's generally ostrich or alligator," said the boss of upmarket department group Neiman Marcus, as he eyed the advancing 2008 recession.

Now as then, many businesses are counting on the better-off. Some may have more to spend as a result of the lockdown. The richest fifth of British households normally blow a fifth of their spending on eating out and holidays, compared with just 12 per cent of the poorest fifth, said the Institute for Fiscal Studies think-tank.

After the pandemic, some might be keen to spend quickly the money they were forced to save. In China such buying binges have been dubbed "revenge spending".

Splashing cash may not fit the mood of the times. It could be seen as divisive, especially given the important role played by poorly paid key workers during the pandemic.

Moreover, higher unemployment and taxes will depress consumer confidence. Ipsos Mori surveys found the economic anxieties of the affluent post-2008 took years to lift.

Airlines such as Lufthansa forecast it will be years until the demand for air travel returns to pre-crisis levels. Eating

out might take eight years to recover, if it followed the pattern of the recessions of 1990 and 2008, said analysts at Barclays. The impact could be more severe if social isolation becomes "normal", they said.

But predicting consumer behaviour is tricky. To take one example, few economists foresaw the surge in UK consumer spending immediately after the Brexit vote. It is possible the desire to spend will be sharpened by the current misery of lockdowns.

There are precedents. In 14th-century Europe, sumptuary laws were passed to limit the rise in conspicuous consumption following the Black Death. Something similar happened in the hedonism of the "roaring twenties" and the extravagance of Christian Dior's postwar 1947 "New Look" fashion.

Periods of great crisis always lead to an increase in the propensity to buy, Jean-Christophe Babin, boss of LVMH's jeweller Bulgari, told Vogue magazine last week. That might sound like wishful thinking from an industry peering over the abyss. Luxury sales are forecast to fall more than a third this year.

The sector must hold out hopes that a pent-up desire to live life to the full will be unleashed once the pandemic ends.

WEATHER Asia. Insight Out.

Today's temperatures Maximum for day °C & °F

Amsterdam	Sun	17	63	Madrid	Fair	19	66
Athens	Fair	23	73	Mumbai	Sun	36	97
Atlanta	Fair	23	73	Melbourne	Cloudy	20	68
Beijing	Sun	16	61	Mexico City	Sun	30	86
Berlin	Fair	19	66	Miami	Cloudy	34	93
Bogota	Rain	20	68	Moscow	Shower	7	45
Brussels	Sun	19	66	Nassau	Fair	33	91
Buenos Aires	Sun	28	82	New York	Fair	13	55
Caracas	Shower	31	88	Nice	Shower	17	63
Chicago	Fair	14	57	Oslo	Sun	19	66
Copenhagen	Sun	13	55	Paris	Sun	21	70
Dallas	Fair	24	75	Prague	Sun	13	55
Delhi	Fair	35	95	Reykjavik	Rain	10	50
Doha	Fair	30	86	Rio	Sun	27	81
Dubai	Fair	36	97	Rome	Shower	19	66
Dublin	Sun	13	55	San Francisco	Cloudy	17	63
Edinburgh	Sun	13	55	Seoul	Fair	13	55
Frankfurt	Sun	20	68	Shanghai	Fair	23	73
Geneva	Cloudy	19	66	Singapore	Fair	34	93
Hamburg	Sun	16	61	Stockholm	Fair	13	55
Helsinki	Cloudy	12	54	Sydney	Fair	22	72
Hong Kong	Sun	29	84	Taipei	Cloudy	27	81
Honolulu	Drizzle	28	82	Tel Aviv	Sun	27	81
Jakarta	Shower	33	91	Tokyo	Rain	13	55
Karachi	Sun	34	93	Toronto	Fair	7	45
Lima	Fair	25	77	Vancouver	Fair	16	61
Lisbon	Shower	16	61	Vienna	Sun	15	59
London	Sun	17	63	Warsaw	Fair	12	54
Los Angeles	Cloudy	19	66	Washington	Rain	15	59
Luxembourg	Sun	19	66	Zurich	Fair	17	63

Get the business insights you need to succeed in Asia

NIKKEI ASIAN REVIEW

CROSSWORD
No. 16,455 Set by VELIA

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