

European Daily: France—Budget Recap (Stott)

- Recent economic policy announcements by PM Barnier's new government—including yesterday (October 10)'s presentation of the 2025 budget bill—have deviated from our expectations in two regards. First, the government conceded that the deficit in 2024 would likely reach 6.1% of GDP, from 5.5% last year. Second, the policy mix underpinning the 2025 budget bill is less skewed towards spending cuts and more geared towards tax increases than we anticipated.
- The magnitude of the proposed consolidation and the corresponding reliance on tax increases leave us less confident in the ability of the government to meet its 2025 deficit target of 5.0%. Our previous research has found that abrupt adjustments and tax-based consolidations tend to have a lower chance of succeeding in improving the fiscal position sustainably. We are therefore pencilling in some fiscal slippage and raise our 2025 deficit forecast to 5.2%. The High Council of Public Finances similarly described the government's deficit target for 2025 as "fragile."
- We estimate that the fiscal impulse to growth will turn from a 0.3pp boost in 2024 to a -0.5pp drag in 2025 and 2026. But the uncertainty around those estimates is large and we see two-sided risks stemming, for instance, from second-round effects on consumers' and firms' confidence and the reaction of monetary policy. Our forecast for growth in France is therefore below the government's and consensus in 2025 and 2026.
- While the fiscal and economic outlook is becoming more challenging, we see scope for some political stability in the near term. The government survived a first vote of no-confidence on October 8 and the far-right RN has so far expressed limited opposition to the budget bill. Our base case therefore remains for PM Barnier's government to pass the budget bill before year-end. We continue to see significant uncertainty thereafter, however, with new legislative elections becoming possible after July 2025.

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France—Budget Recap

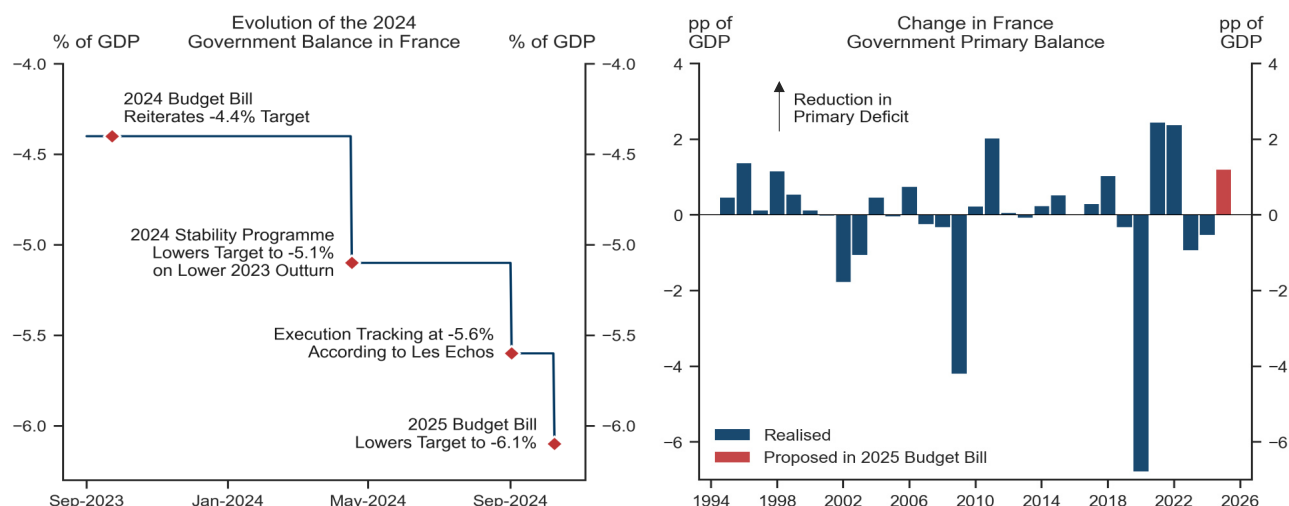
Recent economic policy announcements by PM Barnier's new government—including yesterday (October 10)'s presentation of the 2025 budget bill—have deviated from our expectations in two regards.

First, the government conceded that the deficit in 2024 would likely reach 6.1% of

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GDP, from 5.5% last year. Slippage relative to the initial 4.4% target would therefore amount to 1.7pp (Exhibit 1, left). One of the reasons we had looked for the government to announce some corrective measures was to allow for a more gradual consolidation into next year. The government instead set the deficit target for 2025 at 5.0%, consistent with a 1.3pp improvement in the primary balance. For context, an adjustment of this magnitude in France remains unseen outside of post-GFC austerity in 2011 and the post-Covid normalisation in 2021-22 (Exhibit 1, right).

Exhibit 1: The 2025 Budget Bill Implies a Large Consolidation Step

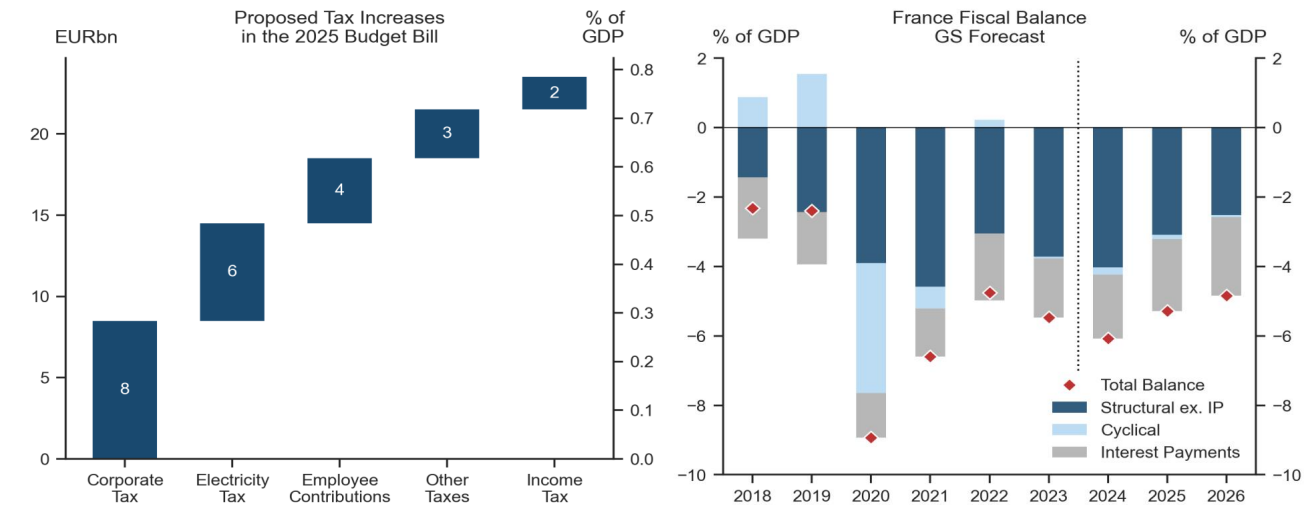


Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Haver Analytics, French Government

Second, the policy mix underpinning the 2025 budget bill is less skewed towards spending cuts and more geared towards tax increases than in our expectations. We estimate that the proposed 1.3pp improvement in the primary balance reflects a 1:2 mix of spending cuts to tax increases, compared with the 2:1 mix initially described by PM Barnier. Moreover, the government has so far been more specific about revenue-raising measures—on large corporates, electricity consumption, and employee contributions—than regarding spending cuts—broadly targeted at the public administration and local government (Exhibit 2, left).

The magnitude of the proposed consolidation and the corresponding reliance on tax increases leave us less confident in the ability of the government to meet its 2025 deficit target. Our previous research and the academic literature have found that abrupt adjustments and tax-based consolidations tend to have a lower chance of succeeding in improving the fiscal position sustainably. One of the reasons is that tax-based efforts are usually less persistent than spending cuts, which tend to be accompanied by structural reforms. For instance, the government's proposal to raise the corporate tax rate is temporary and due to be unwound in 2027. We are therefore pencilling in some fiscal slippage and raise our 2025 deficit forecast to 5.2% (Exhibit 2, right). The High Council of Public Finances similarly described the government's deficit target for 2025 as "fragile."

Exhibit 2: The Reliance on Revenue-Raising Measures Increases the Risk of Slippage

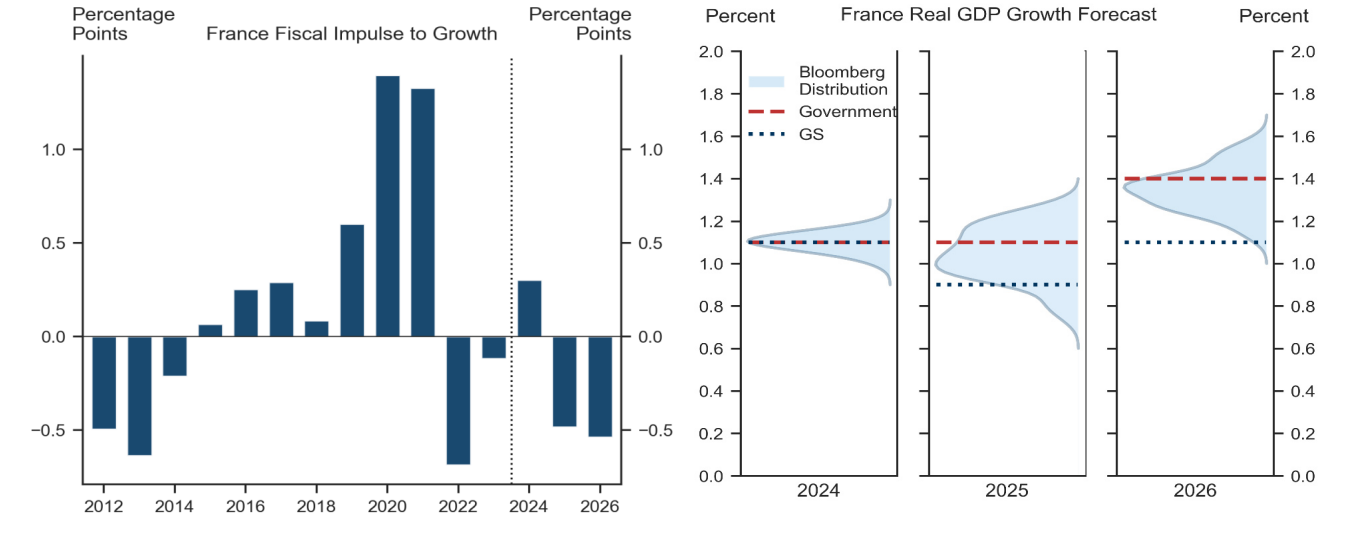


Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Haver Analytics, French Government

The 2025 budget bill and the medium-term fiscal plan will likely meet the new European fiscal rules. We expect the European Commission to be critical of recent fiscal slippage but eventually to endorse the government’s intended speed of adjustment. The European Commission might adopt a more critical stance regarding the structural reforms required to extend the adjustment period from 4 to 7 years and the moral hazard related to the 2027 presidential election.

Turning to the implications for growth, we estimate that fiscal slippage led to a 0.3pp boost in 2024, consistent with the acceleration in public consumption so far this year (Exhibit 3, left). Looking ahead, we look for the fiscal impulse to growth to turn negative at -0.5pp in 2025 and 2026. But the uncertainty around those estimates is large and we see two-sided risks stemming, for instance, from second-round effects on consumers’ and firms’ confidence and the reaction of monetary policy. Our forecast for growth in France is therefore below the government’s and consensus in 2025 and 2026 (Exhibit 3, right).

Exhibit 3: A Larger Fiscal Drag Poses Downside Risk to Growth



Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Bloomberg, French Government

While the fiscal and economic outlook is becoming more challenging, we see scope for some political stability in the near term. The government survived a first vote of no-confidence on October 8 and the far-right RN has so far expressed limited opposition to the budget bill. Our base case therefore remains for PM Barnier’s government to pass the budget bill before year-end, most likely by making use of Article 49.3 in the Constitution. We continue to see significant uncertainty thereafter, however, with new legislative elections becoming possible again after July 2025 and the presidential elections scheduled for 2027.

Alexandre Stott

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