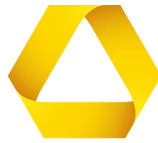


Economic Research

Economic Insight

France: Lasting turnaround in fiscal policy?

9 October 2024

Dr. Ralph Solveen

Table of contents

France's debt keeps rising 1
Barnier wants to push the deficit ratio down to 5% in 2025... 2
... and should get its budget through parliament 2
Further extensive measures necessary... 2
... but probably difficult to implement 3
No further consolidation pressure from excessive deficit procedure for now 3

The new French government wants to reduce the budget deficit in the coming year and thus curb the increase in the public debt ratio. However, further extensive measures are needed to halt this increase or even push the ratio back down. However, over the next few years their implementation is likely to meet with increasing resistance in parliament, where the government does not have a majority. Thus, it is questionable whether the deficit ratio will fall from just over 6% this year to below 3% by 2029, as announced. The excessive deficit procedure initiated by the EU against France is also unlikely to change this much.

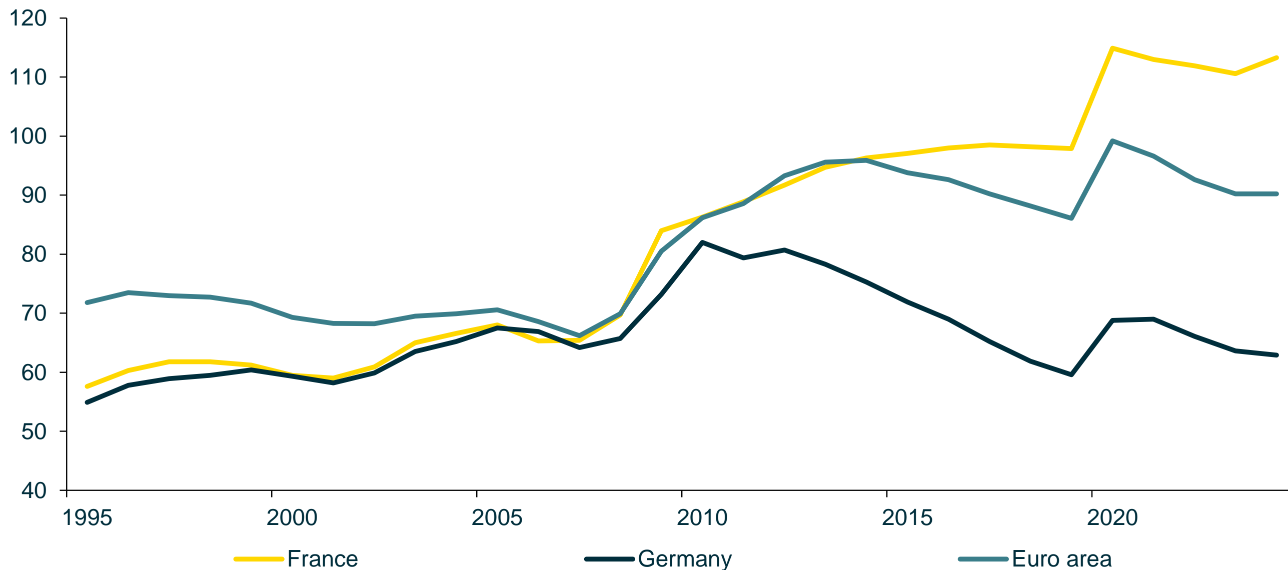
France's debt keeps rising

Investors in the bond markets are looking at France with increasing concern. This is because France's public debt ratio has risen sharply in recent years. While in the early years of monetary union it still largely corresponded to Germany's ratio and was thus below the euro area average, it is now almost twice as high as Germany's and thus also higher than the euro area average (Chart 1).

Unlike in almost all other euro area countries, the jump in the ratio in 2020, which was caused by the pandemic-related collapse in GDP and fiscal measures to stabilize the economy in the short term, was only partially corrected in the following years. Although nominal GDP also increased markedly in France due to the economic recovery and high inflation, this was just enough to prevent the public debt ratio from rising further despite the continued high deficits. In response, the risk premiums on French government bonds rose significantly compared to their German counterparts.

Important disclosure Information at the end of the document

Chart 1 - France's public debt ratio well above the eurozone average
Government debt as a percentage of gross domestic product, 2024 Commerzbank estimate



Source: Ameco, Commerzbank Research

Barnier wants to push the deficit ratio down to 5% in 2025...

The new government under Prime Minister Barnier is trying to stop this erosion of France's creditworthiness and to put France's public finances back on a sounder footing. On Thursday, Barnier will present the budget for the coming year. At 5%, the deficit ratio – the budget deficit as a percentage of GDP – is projected to be lower than this year, for which a ratio of over 6% is expected. According to press reports, this is to be achieved by savings of €40 billion – which corresponds to about 1.3% of GDP – and tax increases of €20 billion (about 0.6% of GDP). The latter are to affect large companies and the wealthy in particular, but the electricity tax is also to be raised.

... and should get its budget through parliament

Even though the government does not have a majority in parliament, the chances are quite good that this budget will be implemented. This is because Marine Le Pen's right-wing populist RN seems to have no interest in bringing down the government at the moment. In response to Barnier's government statement last week, Le Pen announced that the RN would wait and see what policy the new government would pursue, particularly on migration. At the time, she set a deadline of the first quarter of next year for the government to implement the measures she is considering necessary. As a result, the RN abstained in the vote of no confidence tabled by the left-wing parties yesterday, thus preventing the government from falling.

The RN would not even have to explicitly approve the budget in parliament. According to the French constitution, the budget can be adopted by the Council of Ministers without explicit parliamentary approval if there is no vote of no confidence in the government.

Further extensive measures necessary...

But even if the deficit ratio fell back to 5% in the coming year, which is doubtful given that the budget targets have been missed repeatedly in recent years, further consolidation steps would have to follow in the following years. Even with a deficit ratio of 5%, the

debt ratio will continue to rise given the nominal growth of the French economy of a good 3% that we expect for the coming year. To stabilize the debt ratio as early as next year, the budget deficit would have to be reduced to at least 3½% of GDP.

… but probably difficult to implement

However, it is questionable whether the French government will be able to maintain this consolidation course in the coming months and years without a majority in parliament. During the election campaign for the parliamentary elections in the summer, the consolidation of public finances was not on the agenda of any of the parties. Both the left-wing alliance and the RN have instead campaigned on expensive promises such as reversing the pension reform, and the centrist parties have also prioritized additional spending over savings.

In his government statement, Barnier also signaled a willingness to compromise here. He expressed a willingness to make changes to the pension reform, and he does not want to pursue the unemployment insurance reform planned by the previous government in this form, at least. Further concessions will probably be necessary, especially to the RN, in order to continue to be tolerated by it. Moreover, the next presidential elections are getting closer, and in the run-up to those no party will probably want to be associated with austerity measures, as the election results in the summer showed that a majority of voters is apparently not willing to make sacrifices for the sake of fiscal consolidation. Therefore, there is at least one big question mark over the goal of bringing the deficit ratio back below 3% by 2029.

No further consolidation pressure from excessive deficit procedure for now

Additional pressure could come from outside, however. In view of the excessive budget deficits over several years, the EU finally initiated an excessive deficit procedure against France – along with six other countries [1] – in the summer, which could, at least in theory, result in sanctions against the country.

So far, however, this procedure has not had any real consequences. In July, when it decided to initiate the procedure, the European Council should have also made recommendations to France and set a deadline of no more than six months for the country to take effective action. Neither has happened so far. Rather, the Commission wants to wait until France submits its "national medium-term fiscal-structural plans", which must be submitted by October 15 at the latest. However, France would have been obliged to do so anyway in view of its high debt and deficit ratios, even without the initiation of the excessive deficit procedure. As long as this medium term plan provides for a reduction in the deficit to below 3% by 2029, the Commission and thus the European Council are unlikely to demand any further measures for the time being. At the same time, with the development of the budget deficit in five years envisaged by Barnier, the debt ratio in five years would hardly be lower than it is now, although the new Stability and Growth Pact stipulates that countries with a debt ratio of more than 90%, which applies to France, reduce it by at least one percentage point per year.

The European Commission justifies this moderate approach with the reform of the Stability Pact and the associated changes in the procedure for monitoring national fiscal policies. The litmus test for the rules changed by this reform will come when further consolidation efforts threaten to topple the government. Then it will become clear whether the EU Commission will insist on

compliance with the consolidation path even if it means risking new elections and thus a further strengthening of the right- and left-wing opposition in France. Previous experience with such procedures at least calls this into question.

---

[1] As an excessive deficit procedure was already in place for Romania, a total of eight EU countries are now subject to such a procedure. (back to text)

Analysts

Dr. Ralph Solveen
Senior Economist
+49 69 9353 45622
ralph.solveen@commerzbank.com

This report was completed 9/10/2024 10:19 CEST and disseminated 9/10/2024 10:19 CEST.

This document has been created and published by the Group Research department (GM-R) within the Group Management division of Commerzbank AG, Frankfurt/Main or Commerzbank's non-US branch offices mentioned in the document.

Analyst Certification (AC): The author(s), denoted by AC at the beginning of this report, individually certifies that the views expressed in this report accurately reflect their personal views about the subject securities and issuers; and no part of their compensation was, is, or will be directly or indirectly related to the specific recommendation(s) or views expressed by them contained in this document.

It has not been determined in advance whether and in what intervals this document will be updated. Unless otherwise stated current prices refer to the most recent trading day's closing price or spread which may fluctuate.

Conflicts of interest

Disclosures of potential conflicts of interest relating to Commerzbank AG, its affiliates, subsidiaries (together "Commerzbank") and its relevant employees with respect to the issuers, financial instruments and/or securities forming the subject of this document valid as of the end of the month prior to publication of this document*:

Please refer to the following link for disclosures on companies included in compendium reports or disclosures on any company covered by Commerzbank analysts: **https://commerzbank.bluematrix.com/sellside/Disclosures.action***

*Updating this information may take up to ten days after month end.

Disclaimer

This document is for information purposes only and has been prepared for recipients who, like professional clients according to MiFID II, have the experience, knowledge and expertise to understand information related to the financial markets. The document does not take into account specific circumstances of any recipient and the information contained herein does not constitute the provision of investment advice. It is not intended to be and should not be construed as a recommendation, offer or solicitation to acquire, or dispose of, any of the financial instruments and/or securities mentioned in this document and will not form the basis or a part of any contract or commitment whatsoever. Investors should seek independent professional advice and draw their own conclusions regarding suitability of any transaction including the economic benefits, risks, legal, regulatory, credit, accounting and tax implications.

The information in this document is based on public data obtained from sources believed by Commerzbank to be reliable and in good faith, but no representations, guarantees or warranties are made by Commerzbank with regard to accuracy, completeness or suitability of the data. Commerzbank has not performed any independent review or due diligence of publicly available information regarding an unaffiliated reference asset or index. The opinions and estimates contained herein reflect the current judgement of the author(s) on the date of this document and are subject to change without notice. The opinions do not necessarily correspond to the opinions of Commerzbank. Commerzbank does not have an obligation to update, modify or amend this document or to otherwise notify a reader thereof in the event that any matter stated herein, or any opinion, projection, forecast or estimate set forth herein, changes or subsequently becomes inaccurate.

In order to address potential conflicts of interest Commerzbank's Research department operates independently of other business units of the bank. This is achieved by way of physical and administrative information barriers and separate reporting lines as well as by written internal policies and procedures.

This communication may contain trading ideas where Commerzbank may trade in such financial instruments with customers or other counterparties. Any prices provided herein (other than those that are identified as being historical) are indicative only, and do not represent firm quotes as to either size or price. The past performance of financial instruments is not indicative of future results. No assurance can be given that any financial instrument or issuer described herein would yield favourable investment results. Any forecasts or price targets shown for companies and/or securities discussed in this document may not be achieved due to multiple risk factors including without limitation market volatility, sector volatility, corporate actions, the unavailability of complete and accurate information and/or the subsequent transpiration that underlying assumptions made by Commerzbank or by other sources relied upon in the document were inapposite.

Commerzbank and or its affiliates may act as a market maker in the instrument(s) and or its derivative that has been mentioned in our research reports. Employees of Commerzbank and or its affiliates may provide written or oral commentary, including trading strategies, to our clients and business units that may be contrary to the opinions conveyed in this research report. Commerzbank may perform or seek to perform investment banking services for issuers mentioned in research reports.

Neither Commerzbank nor any of its respective directors, officers or employees accepts any responsibility or liability whatsoever for any expense, loss or damages arising out of or in any way connected with the use of all or any part of this document.

Commerzbank may provide hyperlinks to websites of entities mentioned in this document, however the inclusion of a link does not imply that Commerzbank endorses, recommends or approves any material on the linked page or accessible from it. Commerzbank does not accept responsibility whatsoever for any such material, nor for any consequences of its use.

This document is for the use of the addressees only and may not be reproduced, redistributed or passed on to any other person or published, in whole or in part, for any purpose, without the prior, written consent of Commerzbank. The manner of distributing this document may be restricted by law or regulation in certain countries, including the United States. Persons into whose possession this document may come are required to inform themselves about and to observe such restrictions. By accepting this document, a recipient hereof agrees to be bound by the foregoing limitations.

Additional notes to readers in the following countries:

Germany: Commerzbank AG is registered in the Commercial Register at Amtsgericht Frankfurt under the number HRB 32000. Commerzbank AG is supervised by both the German regulator, Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin), Graurheindorfer Strasse 108, 53117 Bonn, Marie-Curie-Strasse 24-28, 60439 Frankfurt am Main and the European Central Bank, Sonnemannstrasse 20, 60314 Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

United Kingdom: This document is not for distribution to retail customers and has been issued or approved for issue in the United Kingdom by Commerzbank AG, London Branch, which is authorised and regulated by Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and the European Central Bank. Authorised by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Subject to regulation by the Financial Conduct Authority and limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Details about the extent of our regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority are available from us on request.

United States: This research report was prepared by Commerzbank AG, a company authorized to engage in securities activities in Germany and the European Economic Area (EEA). Commerzbank AG is not a U.S. registered broker-dealer and is therefore not subject to U.S. rules regarding the preparation of research and associated rules pertaining to research analysts. This document is not for distribution to retail customers. Any distribution of this research report to U.S. investors is intended for “major U.S. institutional investors” in reliance on the exemption from registration provided by Rule 15a-6(a)(2) of the U.S. Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended (the “Exchange Act”). Any U.S. recipient of this research report seeking to effect transactions to buy or sell securities, or related financial instruments based upon the information provided in this research report, may only do so through a Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA) registered broker-dealer. Commerz Markets LLC (CMLLC) is a U.S. registered broker-dealer and wholly owned subsidiary of Commerzbank AG. Commerzbank AG is a registered derivatives swap dealer with the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC), in accordance with the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. U.S. Person(s) and related Dodd-Frank relevant investors seeking to effect transactions in non-security based swaps based upon the information provided in this research report, may only do so through a CFTC registered swap dealer.

Canada: The information contained herein is not, and under no circumstances is to be construed as, a prospectus, an advertisement, a public offering, an offer to sell securities described herein, solicitation of an offer to buy securities described herein, in Canada or any province or territory thereof. Any offer or sale of the securities described herein in Canada will be made only under an exemption from the requirements to file a prospectus with the relevant Canadian securities regulators and only by a dealer properly registered under applicable securities laws or, alternatively, pursuant to an exemption from the dealer registration requirement in the relevant province or territory of Canada in which such offer or sale is made. Under no circumstances is the information contained herein to be construed as investment advice in any province or territory of Canada and is not tailored to the needs of the recipient. In Canada, the information contained herein is intended solely for distribution to Permitted Clients (as such term is defined in National Instrument 31-103) with whom Commerzbank AG and/or Commerz Markets LLC deals pursuant to the international dealer exemption. The information contained herein is not permitted to reference securities of an issuer incorporated, formed or created under the laws of Canada or a province or territory of Canada, as Commerzbank AG and Commerz Markets LLC operates under the international dealer exemption pursuant to National Instrument 31-103. No securities commission or similar regulatory authority in Canada has reviewed or in any way passed upon these materials, the information contained herein or the merits of the securities described herein and any representation to the contrary is an offence.

European Economic Area: Where this document has been produced by a legal entity outside of the EEA, the document has been re-issued by Commerzbank AG, London Branch for distribution into the EEA. Commerzbank AG, London Branch is authorised and regulated by Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and the European Central Bank. Authorised by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Subject to regulation by the Financial Conduct Authority and limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Details about the extent of our regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority are available from us on request.

Switzerland: This document is generally not for distribution to retail clients. Neither this research report nor the information contained herein should be regarded as personal recommendations for transactions in financial instruments within the meaning of the Financial Services Act.

Singapore: This document is furnished in Singapore by Commerzbank AG, Singapore branch. It may only be received in Singapore by an institutional investor, an accredited investor or an expert investor as respectively defined in section 4A of the Securities and Futures Act, Chapter 289 of Singapore (“SFA”) pursuant to section 274 or section 275 (as applicable) of the SFA. Nothing in this document constitutes accounting, legal, regulatory, tax, financial or other advice and/or recommendations to the recipient of this communication. Further, the communication/information provided herein does not constitute a “financial advisory service” within the meaning of the Financial Advisers Act, Chapter 110 of Singapore (“FAA”) and therefore, the regulatory requirements and duties that may be owed to a client pursuant to or in connection with the FAA are not applicable to the recipient in connection with this communication. Recipients are advised to seek independent advice from their own professional advisers about the information contained discussed herein.

Japan: This information and its distribution do not constitute and should not be construed as a "solicitation" under the Financial Instrument Exchange Act (FIEA) of Japan. This information may be distributed from Commerzbank international branches outside Japan solely to "professional investors" as defined in Article 2(31) of the FIEA and Article 23 of the Cabinet Ordinance Regarding

Definition of Article 2 of the FIEA. Please note that Commerzbank AG, Tokyo Branch has not participated in its preparation. Any instruments referred in this report cannot be introduced by the Branch. You should contact the Corporate Clients division of Commerzbank AG for inquiries on availability of such instruments.

Australia: Commerzbank AG does not hold an Australian financial services licence. This document is being distributed in Australia to wholesale customers pursuant to an Australian financial services licence exemption for Commerzbank AG under Class Order 04/1313. Commerzbank AG is regulated by Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) under the laws of Germany which differ from Australian laws.

People's Republic of China (PRC): This document is furnished by Commerzbank AG and is only intended for eligible entities in the PRC. No-one else may rely on any information contained within this document. The products and services in this document only apply to entities in the PRC where such products and services are permitted to be provided by PRC laws and regulations. For any person who receives this document, the information in this document shall neither be regarded as promotion or solicitation of the business nor accounting, legal, regulatory, tax, financial or other advice and/or recommendations to the recipient of this communication, and the recipient is advised to seek independent advice from its own professional advisers about the information contained herein and shall understand and abide by PRC laws and regulations while conducting any related transactions.

© Commerzbank AG 2024. All rights reserved. Version 24.05

Commerzbank Offices

Frankfurt	**London**	**New York**	**Singapore**
Commerzbank AG	Commerzbank AG	Commerz Markets LLC	Commerzbank AG
DLZ - Gebäude 2, Händlerhaus	PO BOX 52715	225 Liberty Street, 32nd floor,	128 Beach Road
Mainzer Landstraße 153	30 Gresham Street	New York,	#17-01 Guoco Midtown
60327 Frankfurt	London, EC2P 2XY	NY 10281-1050	Singapore 189773
Tel: + 49 69 136 21200	Tel: + 44 207 623 8000	Tel: + 1 212 703 4000	Tel: +65 631 10000