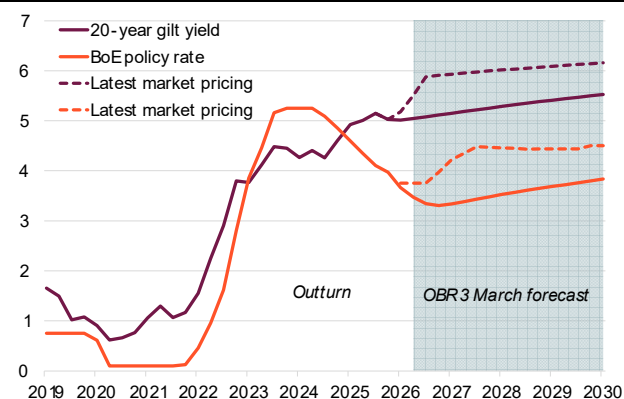


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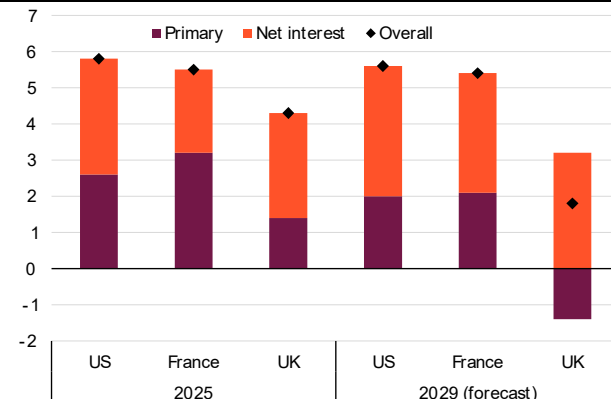
UK: best of a bad fiscal bunch

Chart 1: Higher interest rates = higher debt servicing costs



%. Sources: OBR, Bloomberg

Chart 2: Spot the worst offenders



In % of GDP. Sources: The UK Office for Budget Responsibility (UK), Congressional Budget Office (US) and the European Commission (France)

- Hands tied:** Newish UK Chancellor John Healey's pledge to meet the fiscal rule set by his predecessor, Rachel Reeves, will limit his room for manoeuvre in his first budget on 28 October. Whereas the US and France have no plan to reduce their fiscal deficits, left on autopilot UK policy would result in a drop in government borrowing from 4.2% of GDP in fiscal year 2025-26 to 2% of GDP in 2029-30. This fiscal consolidation is not only necessary to avoid a nasty reckoning with the bond market, but also the path to faster growth. The Bank of England has ample scope to offset the hit to aggregate demand by lowering interest rates to stimulate private sector growth.
- A recap of the UK fiscal ecosystem:** Chancellor Healey has kept his predecessor's self-imposed rules: to meet all day-to-day expenditure with tax revenue by 2029-30 and reduce one measure of public sector debt as a share of GDP at the same point. Chancellors set their own rules, but an independent quango – the Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR) – judges whether they will meet them. The OBR publishes economic and public finances forecasts alongside each budget that show whether policy is on track. Political pressure to raise spending and cut tax incentivises the chancellor to meet their target by the finest of margins. After several experiences of small changes in the economic outlook blowing wafer-thin margins for error out of the water, Rachel Reeves left a slightly wider £22bn (0.6% of GDP) margin for error in the spring.
- Mind your head:** The sharp increase in market interest rate expectations and bond yields since the OBR produced its last set of projections will raise debt interest expenditure by about £12bn in 2029-30 under the new forecast – see Chart 1. This increase will eat up just over half of the government's "headroom". Less predictable are downgrades to the immigration projection (which would lower tax receipts) and upgrades to the inflation forecast (which would raise the inflation-linked interest and welfare bill). There will be little scope to pay for higher spending or tax cuts with more borrowing. Higher taxes would be necessary to achieve that.
- Tax risk:** The government's existing plan narrows the budget deficit by raising taxes from 35% of GDP to 38%, a post-WWII high. The risk is that the government implements new tax hikes that hurt the supply capacity of the economy by damaging the incentives to employ, work and invest. Past chancellors have calculated how much revenue to raise based on seemingly immovable spending commitments. Encouragingly, Prime Minister Andy Burnham appears to have accepted that expensive renationalisation of water companies and a big additional step-up in spending will have to wait. Small tax hikes are likely, but we do not anticipate another major increase in the size of the state in this budget.
- Consolidation on course:** It is fashionable to claim that the US, France and the UK are the three economies with the most alarming public finances. However, the US and France are far worse offenders, in our view – see Chart 2. Whereas neither has any plan to cut the deficit, the 2025 payroll tax hikes and frozen personal tax thresholds are working in the UK. The deficit narrowed from 5.2% of GDP in 2024-25 to 4.2% in 2025-26 and is on track to hit 3.5% of GDP this year. Even if the government uses up all the "headroom" on 28 October, unless it also raises its plan for public investment, the OBR will forecast that the deficit will fall to 2.6% of GDP in 2029-30.
- Fiscal consolidation is a growth policy:** International investors are nervous about lending to the UK because of its recent struggles with inflation and, since Liz Truss's "mini" budget, fears that policymakers are not serious. The bond market would eventually reward the UK for fiscal consolidation. Deleveraging since the financial crisis has cut private sector debt to a 27-year low as a share of GDP. Tighter fiscal policy and disinflation in the labour market can clear the way for a reduction in interest rates that stimulates private sector activity. Burnham should turn to former US President Bill Clinton for inspiration. By prioritising deficit reduction over campaign promises to cut taxes for the middle classes and raise public investment, Clinton ushered in a decline in Treasury yields and faster growth that got him re-elected.

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Contacts



BERENBERG

JOH. BERENBERG, GOSSLER & CO. KG

Internet: www.berenberg.com

E-mail: firstname.lastname@berenberg.com

EQUITY RESEARCH

MID CAP - EUROPE

Estelle Bétrisey	+41 44 283 2023
Mads Brinkmann	+44 20 3753 3050
Fraser Donlon	+44 20 3465 2674
Loco Douza	+44 20 3465 2736
Amelie Dueckelmann-Dublaney	+44 20 3753 3172
Dr Christian Ehmann	49 69 9130 901226
Gustav Froberg	+44 20 3465 2655
Anna Frontani	+44 20 3465 2697
Marius Fuhrberg	49 40 3506 03264
Chiara Di Giammaria	+41 44 283 2032
Lucas Glemser	+44 20 3753 3091
Christoph Greulich	+44 20 3753 3119
Michael Heider	49 40 3506 03160
Robert-Jan van der Horst	49 40 3506 03267
Simon Jonsson	+44 20 3207 7878
Patrick Laager	+41 44 283 2020
Gerhard Orgonas	+44 20 3465 2635
Trion Reid	+44 20 3753 3113
Marie de Royere	+44 20 3207 7808
Giovanni Selvetti	+44 20 3753 2660
Wolfgang Specht	49 69 9130 90476
Yasmin Steilen	49 69 9130 90739
Lasse Stueben	+44 20 3753 3208
Andreas Wolf	49 40 35060 3255

MID CAP - UK

James Allen	+44 20 3207 7824
James Bayliss	+44 20 3753 3274
Karl Burns	+44 20 3465 2637
Jon Byrne	+44 20 3465 2720
Tom Castle	+44 20 3207 7860
Robert Chantry	+44 20 3207 7861
Anne Critchlow	+44 20 3753 3295
Stuart Duncan	+44 20 3753 3093
James Fletcher	+44 20 3207 7857
Dylan Jones	+44 20 3207 7924
William Larwood	+44 20 3465 2695
Harry Macmillan	+44 20 3465 2646
Tom Musson	+44 20 3753 3103
Tom Rands	+44 20 3207 7886
Arthur Peel	+44 20 3753 3053
Edward Prest	+44 20 3753 3356
Alex Short	+44 20 3753 3068
Andrew Simms	+44 20 3753 3080
Alex Smith	+44 20 3753 3036
Adam Tomlinson	+44 20 3753 3104

LEISURE

Jack Cummings	+44 20 3753 3161
Luka Trnovsek	+44 20 3753 3032

CONSUMER

BEVERAGES

Javier Gonzalez Lastra	+44 20 3207 7932
Lavinia Norton	+44 20 3753 3094
George Ainsworth	+44 20 3753 3462
Bethan Davies	+44 20 3753 3280
Ana Nogueira	+44 20 3207 7913

GEN. RETAIL, LUXURY & SPORT. GOODS

Nick Anderson	+44 20 3465 2640
Vani Mohindra	+44 20 3465 2627
Harrison Woodin-Lygo	+44 20 3753 3181

ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT

James Carmichael	+44 20 3465 2749
Richard Dawson	+44 20 3207 7835
Andrew Fisher	+44 20 3207 7937
Louis Hudson	+44 20 3753 3105
Henry Tarr	+44 20 3207 7827
Seb D'Arcy Rice	+44 20 3753 3054

FINANCIALS

INSURANCE

Michael Christodoulou	+44 20 3207 7920
Michael Huttner	+44 20 3207 7892
Carl Lofthagen	+44 20 3753 3099

REAL ESTATE

Kai Klose	+44 20 3207 7888
Yudith Karunaratna	+44 20 3753 3259

HEALTHCARE

MED. TECH/LIFE SCIENCES

Douglas Ancell	+44 20 3207 7851
Sam England	+44 20 3465 2687
Beatrice Fairbairn	+44 20 3753 3283
Harry Gillis	+44 20 3753 3249

PHARMACEUTICALS

Claudia Garcia Diaz	+44 20 3753 3149
Luisa Hector	+44 20 3753 3266
Kerry Holford	+44 20 3207 7934
Caspar Kengeter	+44 20 3753 3162

INDUSTRIALS

AEROSPACE & DEFENCE

George McWhirter	+44 20 3753 3163
Michael Smith	+44 20 3465 2620

AUTOMOTIVES

Michael Filatov	+44 20 3753 3153
Romain Gourvil	+44 20 3465 2722
Tommy Whitfield	+44 20 3753 3056

CAPITAL GOODS

Lloyd Clarke	+44 20 3207 7804
Scott Humphreys	+44 20 3753 3057

MATERIALS

CHEMICALS

Sebastian Bray	+44 20 3753 3011
----------------	------------------

CONSTRUCTION

Harry Goad	+44 20 3753 3061
------------	------------------

METALS & MINING

Tilemachos Efthyvoulou	+44 20 3207 7811
Richard Hatch	+44 20 3753 3070
Jasper Mainwaring	+44 20 3465 2626
Anton Viljoen	+44 20 3753 3076

TMT

TECHNOLOGY

Nay Soe Naing	+44 20 3753 3131
Meha Pau	+44 20 3753 3292
Tammy Qiu	+44 20 3465 2673

TELECOMMUNICATIONS & MEDIA

Shekhan Ali	+44 20 3753 3021
Davide Amorim	+44 20 3465 2672
Nick Lyall	+44 20 3465 2724
Anna Patrice	+44 20 3753 3296
Paul Sidney	+44 20 3753 7842

THEMES & STOCK STRATEGY

Chris Armstrong	+44 20 3207 7809
Lauma Kalns-Timans	+44 20 3753 3127
Ashley O'Malley	+44 20 3753 3176

DATA

Toni Gurhy	+44 20 3753 3185
------------	------------------

ECONOMICS

Dr Felix Schmidt	49 69 9130 901167
Holger Schmieding	+44 20 3207 7889
Andrew Wishart	+44 20 3753 3017