

## Budget to highlight Fiscal challenge

The Australian Treasurer will release the Federal Budget next week on October 25.

We forecast that the deficit will increase to \$45 billion in 2022/23, from \$31.9bn for 2021/22, but will still be \$32.9 billion less than in the April Pre-Election and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO).

This will be an update on the PEFO which was prepared by the Secretary to the Treasury and the Secretary to the Department of Finance ahead of the May Federal election.

Coming so quickly after the March 29 Budget of the previous government it is essentially a restatement of the March Budget.

In the October Budget, the newly elected government is set to deliver on their election promises, with a focus on child care; education and training; aged care; health care; and climate change. These policies were largely fully funded – as costed by the Parliamentary Budget Office. We expect little to no impact on the underlying budget deficit from new policy.

Earlier this week we released a very detailed analysis of the numbers we expect to be included in the October Budget ([See Evans and Hanlan, 18 October](#)).

In that analysis we used the economic forecasts that we expect the government to adopt in the Budget. This is largely taken from the Treasurer's Ministerial Statement to Parliament on July 28. We anticipate that the July forecasts will be revised for the 2023/24 year, with growth marked down even further and inflation and the unemployment rate marked higher.

We anticipate that the government will downgrade GDP growth in 2023/24 from 2.0% to 1.5%; lift inflation by 0.75% to 3.5%; and raise the unemployment rate from 4.0% to 4.25%.

In our Budget Preview we have drawn out an important message which we expect will be the key theme of the Treasurer's commentary on Budget Night.

That theme will be that the profile for the budget deficit differs greatly from that in PEFO.

PEFO anticipated that the deficit would decline each year, with a path back towards balance and that gross debt to GDP would gradually stabilise around 45% of GDP.

By contrast, the October Budget, which will incorporate a much smaller deficit outcome for 2021/22, by some \$47.9bn, will likely project that the deficit will increase each year.

The deficit will become elevated, potentially at around 2.7% of GDP in 2025/26, and the gross debt to GDP ratio will exhibit an upward trend – albeit still at around that 45% mark by the end of the forecast period.

An ongoing structural budget deficit and rising public debt highlights the need for fiscal reform.

We do not believe the Treasurer will introduce new policies in the October Budget to deal with that but expect he will open the debate on the need for reform as an urgent economic priority.

Past performance is not a reliable indicator of future performance. The forecasts given above are predictive in character. Whilst every effort has been taken to ensure that the assumptions on which the forecasts are based are reasonable, the forecasts may be affected by incorrect assumptions or by known or unknown risks and uncertainties. The results ultimately achieved may differ substantially from these forecasts.

**Table 1: key budget numbers**

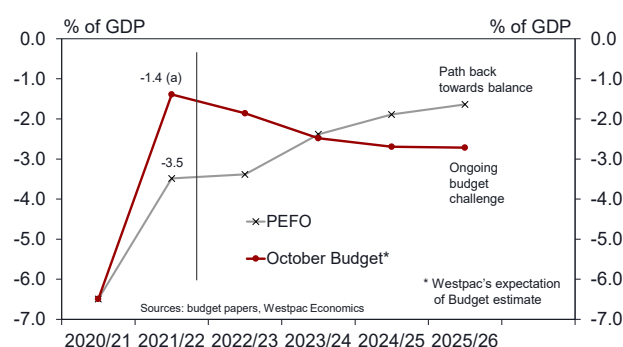
	'21/22	'22/23	'23/24	'24/25	'25/26
\$bn					
<b>Budget deficit, PEFO</b>	<b>-79.8</b>	<b>-77.9</b>	<b>-56.5</b>	<b>-47.1</b>	<b>-42.9</b>
% of GDP	-3.5	-3.4	-2.4	-1.9	-1.6
Revenue surprise	27.6	59.5	14.5	1.1	3.0
Payment surprise	-20.3	26.4	18.0	22.0	32.2
Net improvement	47.9	32.9	-3.5	-20.9	-29.1
<b>Budget deficit, October</b>	<b>-31.9</b>	<b>-45.0</b>	<b>-60.0</b>	<b>-68.0</b>	<b>-72.0</b>
% of GDP	-1.4	-1.9	-2.5	-2.7	-2.7
Gross debt, PEFO	906	977	1,056	1,117	1,169
% of GDP	39.5	42.5	44.6	44.9	44.7
Gross debt, October	895	902	994	1,086	1,176
% of GDP	39.0	37.3	41.1	43.0	44.3

\* Westpac's expectations of Government forecasts to appear in the October Budget.

\*\* Budget deficit refers to the underlying cash deficit.

Sources: budget papers, ABS, Westpac Economics

### Budget deficit profile



In our analysis we estimate that the Treasurer's forecasts for the underlying deficits will be as in Table 1.

Note that PEFO forecast that the underlying deficit would fall from 3.5% of GDP in 2021/22 to 1.6% of GDP in 2025/26.

By sharp contrast, we anticipate that the October Budget will forecast that the underlying deficit will rise from the lower than expected 1.4% of GDP outcome for 2021/22 to 2.7% for 2024/25 and 2025/26.

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As noted above, the deficit for 2021/22 came in \$47.9 billion lower than expected in PEFO.

We expect the deficit to widen to \$45bn in 2022/23, but that is still \$32.7 billion lower than in PEFO.

So, over the first two years, the budget deficit will be \$81bn lower than expected.

From 2023/24 the story changes. The budget deficit is expected to deteriorate by \$54bn over the final three years of the forward estimates – reducing the net improvement over the five years to a modest \$27bn.

There are two key dynamics driving this turnaround.

First, currently the economy is performing stronger than expected but from here, the economic outlook deteriorates due to high inflation and rising interest rates.

Whereas the size of the economy in 2022/23 is now forecast to be 5% larger than anticipated in PEFO, by 2025/26 that narrows to only 1.3%. Moreover, while the revenue share of the economy surprised to the high side in 2021/22 and will likely do so in 2022/23, by 2025/26 that share is likely to underperform relative to PEFO, in part reflecting a higher unemployment rate.

Revenue across the five years is expected to be \$106bn higher than in PEFO – but this is front loaded, with an \$87bn upside in the initial two years and only a \$4bn upside in the final two years.

Second, is the profile for expenses.

For 2021/22, expenses came in \$20bn lower than expected and while that is likely to be reversed in 2022/23, on our figuring expenses over the initial two years are only \$6bn higher than expected in PEFO.

However, there is considerable upward pressure on expenses, which will become more apparent over the final years of the forward estimates. In PEFO, the reverse was expected, with expenses as a share of the economy projected to fall over the final two years of the forward estimates.

Wage and price pressures, along with higher interest costs, are adding to expenditures.

The other and most notable source of change is the costing of existing programs, with NDIS; aged care; health care and defence key sources of pressure.

We have incorporated these effects by lifting the expenses profile across the five years by \$78bn relative to PEFO.

With this budget deficit rising and becoming elevated as a share of GDP the Treasurer is very likely to initiate a debate on the best way to approach structural budget repair.

### Stage Three Tax Cuts in the Firing Line

Having made a convincing case that Budget repair is urgent the Treasurer is likely to open the debate around repair initiatives for the May Budget when the government will need to provide a much more comforting outlook for the fiscal position.

This debate will be around very significant savings rather than marginal initiatives.

In that regard the Stage 3 Tax Cuts are likely to be scrutinised closely.

The Parliamentary Budget Office recently costed the cuts at \$17.7 bn in 2024/25, lifting to \$20.4 bn in 2025/26 – around 0.8% of GDP. The dollar cost rises by around a couple of billion a year, to be at an estimated \$36.9bn in 2032/33 – with the cumulative cost over the nine year period at \$243.5bn.

Based on our numbers, cancelling the cuts would reduce the deficit in 2025/26 from 2.7% of GDP to 1.9% of GDP – allowing significant stability in the projected debt to GDP ratios going forward.

While that may make eminent sense from a fiscal perspective dropping those cuts is not good economics:

- We expect the economy to be operating well below capacity in 2023/24 with the RBA moving to cut rates during 2024 so a fiscal tightening would be inconsistent with the goals of monetary policy.
- Around 70% of the benefits go to the “higher income” earners but they already pay 65% of total tax; and the Stages 1 and 2 were specifically targeted at low income earners.
- One aspect of the Stage 3 is to increase the threshold at which the maximum tax rate begins from \$180,000 to \$200,000. If indexed since the last time that ceiling was lifted (2008) the threshold would now be \$250,000 – comparable with UK and Canada and well short of US.
- Lowering the marginal rate from 37% to 30% for income earners above \$120,000 would provide real incentive for middle income earners – potentially boosting participation and productivity.
- The reduction in the marginal tax rate for income earners between \$45,000 and \$120,000 from 32.5% to 30% is an expensive aspect of the Stage 3 cuts that may also come under scrutiny separately from the benefits outlined above. Such a move does represent a significant 7.7% reduction in the marginal tax rate for lower/middle income earners and is consistent with the major objectives of lifting incentives and lowering the overall share of direct tax and should also be retained.
- Australia needs to change its tax mix to lessen reliance on direct taxes – cancelling direct tax cuts only exacerbates that problem.

### Conclusion

Next week’s Budget is unlikely to include any major new fiscal initiatives.

But the changes in the underlying forecasts and reassessments of the costs of existing social programs will show that Australia’s debt to GDP ratio is unlikely to stabilise over the forecast period.

That highlights the risk that overall debt to GDP ratio does not stabilise in the long term.

Such results will be interpreted by the Treasurer as highlighting a major fiscal challenge.

While we agree with the analysis we do not believe that the solution is to cancel the Stage 3 tax cuts.

**Bill Evans, Chief Economist**

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