US Presidential Election

Three scenarios for markets

Global Research 15 August 2024



The 2024 US Presidential Election

Three scenarios for financial markets

		Policy driver		Market impact							
	Domestic policy	Foreign policy	Trade policy	Fed policy impact	EUR/USD	US 10Y	Credit spreads	Oil - Brent			
		Less support for Ukraine and Taiwan.	Tariffs, with China particularly exposed.	Loose fiscal policy likely to be accompanied by	4Q24 1.02	4Q24 3.90	4Q24 120bp	4Q24 87			
Trump clean sweep Trump Presidency	New immigration controls.	Trump focus on	Implementation may be delayed as initial	tighter monetary	2Q25 1.00	2Q25 4.20	2Q25 115bp	2Q25 81			
Republican House Republican Senate		focus on domestic policy	policy if Fed is serious about hitting 2% inflation	4Q25 0.95	4Q25 5.20	4Q25 120bp	4Q25 74				
(2)	Trump may be able to extend 2017 tax cuts, but further	Domestic agenda is constrained so a more likely	Trade protectionism is quicker and harder	Lingering inflation fears from tariffs & tax cut extensions	4Q24 1.06	4Q24 3.80	4Q24 130bp	4Q24 85			
Trump constrained Trump Presidency Republican House Democrat Senate	reductions and emphasis on		as Trump seeks to pull levers that he	may make the Fed	2Q25 0.98	2Q25 4.10	2Q25 125bp	2Q25 77			
	spending priorities may be blocked by Democrats	foreign policy as he seeks a deal with Russia over Ukraine	believes will boost the US economy	wary of cutting rates too much in 2025	4Q25 1.03	4Q25 4.90	4Q25 120bp	4Q25 70			
(3)	Tax increases for corporates & wealthy, but tax	Ongoing support for Ukraine, but funding restricted by Rep.	A more 'carrot' approach of	Fed feels more onus	4Q24 1.12	4Q24 3.60	4Q24 140bp	4Q24 <mark>83</mark>			
Harris Presidency	prris Presidency credits and opposition. Middle reshoring inc	reshoring incentives rather than the	on them to bolster US economy given	2Q25 1.15	2Q25 3.90	2Q25 145bp	2Q25 79				
Republican House Democrat Senate	spending elsewhere see modest fiscal consolidation	East tensions persist, Taiwan retains US backing	'stick' of Trump tariffs	less fiscal support	4Q25 1.18	4Q25 4.60	4Q25 150bp	4Q25 78			
							USD IG Corp Cash	*USD/bbl			
						Ind	dex (current and 3) target 135bp)	2			

Scenario 1: Trump clean sweep Donald Trump wins the Presidency and Republicans win control in Congress

Key policy drivers

Domestic: Extension and enlargement Foreign: Secondary to domestic issues. Trade: Not the immediate priority, but Timings: Tax cuts and securing a of tax cuts the early focus. Spending is Ukraine receives less support. Peace re-prioritised rather than restrained. Debt sustainability worries mount

deal takes longer. Global tensions linger, with occasional flare ups

tariffs will still be implemented, more likely in 2026 rather than 2025

strong growth story the priority, followed by migration controls with trade and foreign policy lagging behind

Macro impact

Growth: Confirmation of tax cuts may give growth an earlier lift while encouragement of reshoring keeps the momentum strong. Tariffs come in later, meaning less immediate pressure on Eurozone

Inflation: Tax cuts support domestic demand and immigration controls lift wages marginally, which keep inflation more elevated. Eventual tariffs further lift inflationary pressures

Central banks: Stronger growth and higher inflation likely mean Fed keeps interest highest in this scenario. Moreover, ongoing loose fiscal policy is likely to result in tighter monetary policy in general

Market impact

FX

A Republican clean sweep is the most bullish scenario for the dollar medium term. Loose fiscal, tight monetary policy plus tariffs are all positive. Dollar strong, then stronger is our call.

EUR/USD at **1.02** by end of 2024

Rates

A risk-on theme, whether justified or not, will reduce the bid for bonds, pushing yields up. A gung-ho attitude to the ballooning fiscal deficit adds to issuance, pressuring rates higher.

A 5% + handle for the US 10yr

Credit

Strong performance of USD credit back towards the bottom end of trading range, perhaps reaching tights in 2Q25 but ending next year at 120bp. USD outperforms EUR, but no major weakness in EUR.

Strong spread tightening

Commodities

Tax cuts support oil prices in short term. Focus on US energy independence and pressure on OPEC+ to increase supply sees weaker prices longer term. Key upside risk is stricter sanction enforcement against Iran. Oil at **\$87/bbl** by end of 2024

Scenario 1: Trump clean sweep Donald Trump wins the Presidency and Republicans win control in Congress

The winners and losers in financial markets

Relative impact on asset markets by the end of 2025

	FX				Bond prices				Comn	nodity	Credit spreads			
				ι	US Eurozone						US		Eurozone	
	EUR/\$	CEE	Asia	LatAm	2Y	10Y	2Y	10Y	Oil	Gold	IG	HY	IG	HY
Domestic policy														
Extended & enlarged tax cuts														
Highest terminal Fed rate scenario														
Trade policy														
Tariffs delayed but China trade tensions grow														
Deterioration in US/Europe trade relations														
Foreign policy														
Reduced military support for Ukraine														
No immediate Middle East resolution														
China-US-Taiwan tensions gradually build														
Overall impact														
Weaker FX Stronger Lower	Bond p	rices	Highe	r Lo	wer	Oil/g	old	Higher	-	Wider	Credi	t spreads	; Tigh	nter

Scenario 2: Trump constrained Donald Trump wins the Presidency, but Congress split (Democrats win Senate, Republicans win House)

Key policy drivers

Democrats delay wider changes for corporates and wealthier individuals. Deficits remain substantial

Domestic: 2017 tax cuts extended but Foreign: Deal with Russia over Ukraine Trade: 60% tariffs on China and 10% conflict sees large areas of Ukraine fall on all goods globally in 2025. Plans to under permanent Russian phase out Chinese imports of key control. Middle East tensions reduced. goods.

Timings: Democrat-held Senate forces Trump to make concessions on fiscal/immigration. Focus on trade policy comes early in the presidency.

Macro impact

Growth: Negligible impact on 2025 US growth given policy constraints but 2026/27 higher on tax cuts/reshoring. Eurozone growth impact slightly negative

Inflation: Tax cuts plus tariffs & tighter labour supply (lower immigration) offer modest boost in 2026

Central banks: Higher inflation limits Federal Reserve rate cuts. Weaker growth doesn't accelerate ECB rate cuts given slightly higher inflation.

Market impact

FX

Early Trump focus on foreign policy can see USD stronger mid-25 than under a clean sweep. Net-net, a Trump administration is USD +ve. But if US growth falters, weak USD policy is a risk

EUR/USD at **1.06** by end of 2024

Rates

The biggest hit to bonds here comes from the tariff war's effect on inflation. This is partially cushioned by the added tax revenue that can be deployed to help reduce the fiscal deficit.

Bonds get hit from inflation risk

Credit

Decent USD performance but less considerable, and more of a slower tightening over the year to also end at 120bp. Expect more outperformance over EUR as EUR credit could see some weakness.

USD outperformance over EUR

Commodities

Early focus on foreign policy sees easing tension in the Middle East weigh on oil prices. Pressure on Russia/Ukraine to come to a deal puts further downward pressure on prices through 2025.

Oil at **\$85/bbl** by end of 2024

Scenario 2: Trump constrained Donald Trump wins the Presidency, but Congress split (Democrats win Senate, Republicans win House)

The winners and losers in financial markets

Relative impact on asset markets by the end of 2025

	FX					Bond			Comr	nodity	Credit spre				
				US Eurozone 2Y 10Y 2Y 10Y			0:1	Cold	US IG HY			zone			
Domestic policy	EUR/\$	CEE	Asia	LatAm	2Y	10Y	Ζĭ	10Y	Oil	Gold	IG	Ηĭ	IG	ΗY	
Extended tax cuts heighten debt concerns															
Higher terminal Fed rate Trade policy															
60% China tariffs & reduced US/China trade															
10% universal tariffs and US/Europe trade tensions															
Foreign policy															
Deal with Russia over Ukraine conflict															
Improved situation in the Middle East															
China-US-Taiwan tensions build															
Overall impact															
Weaker FX Stronger Lower	Bond pr	rices	Highe	r Lo	wer	Oil/g	old	Higher	·	Wider	Credi	t spread	s Tigh	ter	

Scenario 3: President Harris

Kamala Harris wins the Presidency, but Congress split (Democrats win Senate, Republicans win House)

Key policy drivers

Domestic: Sunsetting of Trump tax cuts and more taxes for corporates and wealthy coupled with some extra allies. Middle East tensions persist, but than the "big stick" of tariffs under spending will see some fiscal restraint Taiwan retains US backing

Foreign: Ongoing support for Ukraine and close collaboration with global

Trade: Carrot of financial incentives to reshore production to the US rather Trump

Timings: Tax cuts to sunset end 2025 with tax rises from 2026. Better fiscal numbers materialise relatively swiftly, but fiscal sustainability worries persist

Macro impact

Growth: Somewhat tighter fiscal policy will be a headwind to growth, but a more certain trade and economic backdrop may mitigate this, particularly if the Fed feels content with a lower inflation profile

Inflation: Some fiscal restraint will help dampen price pressures relative to Trump. Limited migration & trade impact should also lesson inflation fears over the medium term

Central banks: A tighter fiscal environment, coupled with modestly weaker growth and reduced inflation threat may see the Fed be more willing to run looser monetary policy relative to the Trump scenarios

Market impact

FX.

Somewhat tighter fiscal and looser monetary mix - plus less aggressive trade policy - is a USD negative. Dollar can weaken into year-end and further into 2025 if Fed takes rates down to 3.50%

EUR/USD at 1.12 by end of 2024

Rates

Rates are lower because of tighter fiscal response, which facilitates lower rates along the yield curve. A moderately weaker activity backdrop pushes in the same direction.

Rise in yields more muted

Credit

Some weakness in USD spreads as taxation on corporates adds pressure. Spreads slowly leak wider through the year. EUR credit may see some outperformance over USD credit.

EUR outperformance over USD

Commodities

Lower growth prospects weigh on oil, short term. Middle East tension persists. No Russia/Ukraine deal means oil ends 2025 higher versus other scenarios. Looser monetary policy supports prices in 2025.

Oil at \$83/bbl by end of 2024

Scenario 3: President Harris

Kamala Harris wins the Presidency, but Congress split (Democrats win Senate, Republicans win House)

The winners and losers in financial markets

Relative impact on asset markets by the end of 2025

	FX					Bond	-		Comr	nodity		reads		
				US Eurozone					US		Eurozone			
	EUR/\$	CEE	Asia	LatAm	2Y	10Y	2Y	10Y	Oil	Gold	IG	ΗY	IG	HY
Domestic policy														
Mild fiscal consolidation														
Lower terminal Fed rate														
Trade policy														
Selective pressure on China trade relations														
Ongoing incentives for reshoring														
Foreign policy														
Support for Ukraine but Congress funding scarce														
Middle East tensions linger														
Continued US support for Taiwan														
Overall impact														
Weaker FX Stronger Lower	Bond p	rices	Highe	r Lo	wer	Oil/g	old	Highe	r	Wider	Credi	t spreads	Tigh	ter

Disclaimer

This publication has been prepared by the Economic and Financial Analysis Division of ING Bank N.V. ("**ING**") solely for information purposes without regard to any particular user's investment objectives, financial situation, or means. ING forms part of ING Group (being for this purpose ING Group N.V. and its subsidiary and affiliated companies). The information in the publication is not an investment recommendation and it is not investment, legal or tax advice or an offer or solicitation to purchase or sell any financial instrument. Reasonable care has been taken to ensure that this publication is not untrue or misleading when published, but ING does not represent that it is accurate or complete. ING does not accept any liability for any direct, indirect or consequential loss arising from any use of this publication. Unless otherwise stated, any views, forecasts, or estimates are solely those of the author(s), as of the date of the publication and are subject to change without notice.

The distribution of this publication may be restricted by law or regulation in different jurisdictions and persons into whose possession this publication comes should inform themselves about, and observe, such restrictions.

Copyright and database rights protection exists in this report and it may not be reproduced, distributed or published by any person for any purpose without the prior express consent of ING. All rights are reserved. ING Bank N.V. is authorised by the Dutch Central Bank and supervised by the European Central Bank (ECB), the Dutch Central Bank (DNB) and the Dutch Authority for the Financial Markets (AFM). ING Bank N.V. is incorporated in the Netherlands (Trade Register no. 33031431 Amsterdam). In the United Kingdom this information is approved and/or communicated by ING Bank N.V., London Branch. ING Bank N.V., London Branch is authorised by the Prudential Regulation Authority and is subject to regulation by the Financial Conduct Authority and limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority. ING Bank N.V., London EC2 6DA. For US Investors: Any person wishing to discuss this report or effect transactions in any security discussed herein should contact ING Financial Markets LLC, which is a member of the NYSE, FINRA and SIPC and part of ING, and which has accepted responsibility for the distribution of this report in the United States under applicable requirements.

Additional information is available on request. For more information about ING Group, please visit https://www.ing.com.