Trade Effects of US Tariffs under Trump 2.0 *Until September* 2025

Kazunobu HAYAKAWA

Bangkok Research Center, Institute of Developing Economies, Thailand

Introduction

□The inauguration of Donald Trump's second administration on January 20, 2025

- ➤ Rising tariffs and economic uncertainty
- ➤ Different tariff policy from Trump 1.0
 - ✓ US tariffs have been increased against all countries worldwide, not only for China or Russia.
 - ✓ Virtually all products are subject to tariff rises.

□Gradual increases in terms of magnitude and product scope

- ➤On April 5, the 10% additional tariffs against nearly all countries
- ➤ High country-specific tariffs (i.e., so-called reciprocal tariffs) on April 9, which were paused for 90 days
- ➤On August 7, revised "reciprocal tariffs" started

□What We Do: The First Ex-post Study

Empirically investigating how the US additional tariffs changed exports from 31 countries to the US from January 2023 to September 2025

Contributions

□The literature on Trump tariffs

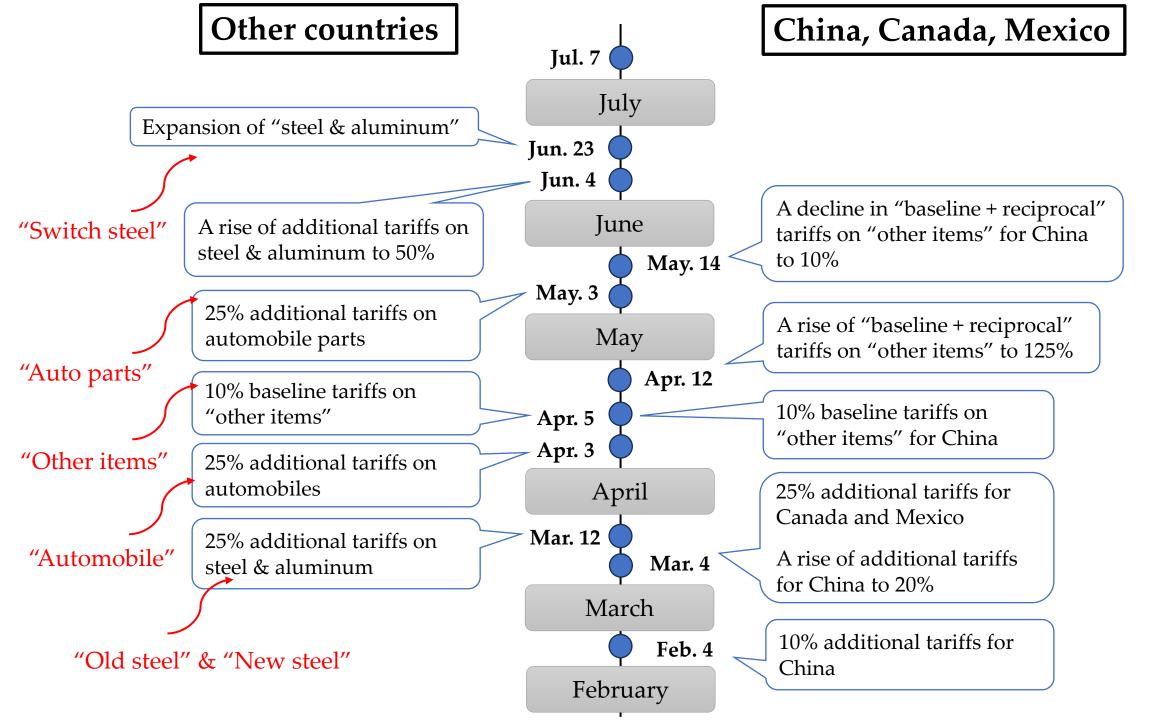
- The trade effect of tariffs in Trump 1.0
 - ✓ On US imports (e.g., Amiti et al., 2019; Amiti et al., 2020; Fajgelbaum et al., 2020; Cavallo et al., 2021; Handley et al., 2025; Jiang et al., 2023), on China's imports (e.g., Ma et al., 2021), and on third economies (e.g., Fajgelbaum et al., 2024; Hayakawa et al., 2024; Utar et al., 2023; Yang and Hayakawa, 2023).
- Ex-ante simulation analyses or theoretical analyses on Trump 2.0
 - ✓ Antonova et al., 2025; Ignatenko et al., 2025; Rodríguez-Clare et al., 2025; Itskhoki and Mukhin, 2025
- The effects of Trump's 2024 election or Trump's tariff announcement on stock markets
 - ✓ Ahmed et al., 2025; Cosma et al., 2025; Ferriani et al., 2025; Piserà et al., 2025.

□The literature on the anticipation effects of trade policy on trade

- ➤ Metiu (2021): US announcements of trade remedy measures
- ➤ Khan and Khederlarian (2021): Staging structure of tariff cuts in NAFTA

□The literature on the trade effects of geopolitical risks

▶Blanga-Gubbay and Rubínová, 2023; Jakubik and Ruta, 2023; Gopinath et al., 2025



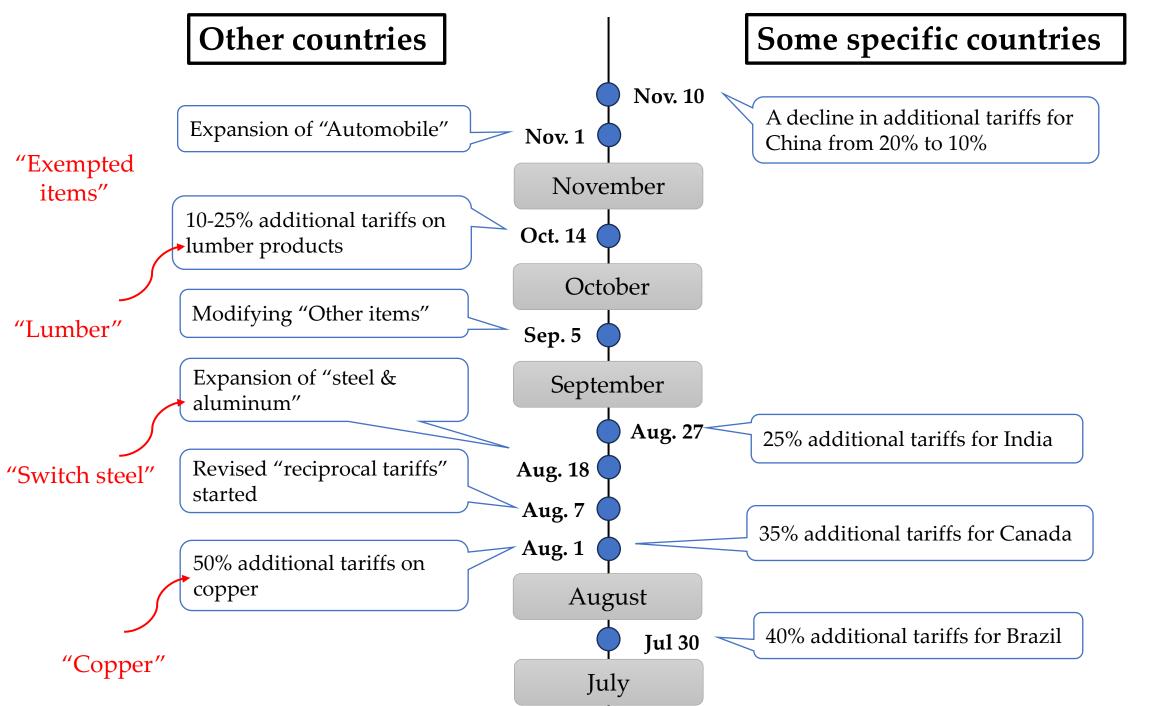
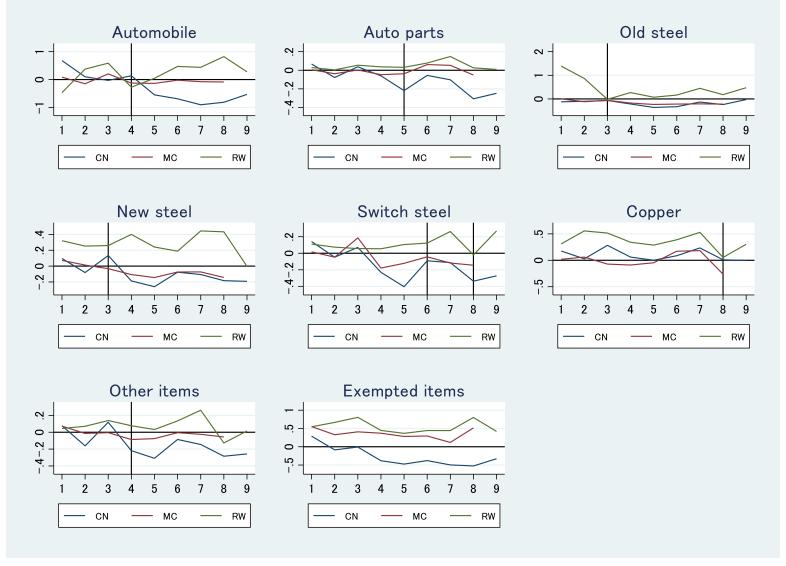


Figure 2. Year-on-Year Changes in Monthly Exports to the US in 2025



Source: Author's compilation using the Global Trade Atlas.

Note: "CN" indicates exports from China, "MC" represents the average exports of Mexico and Canada, and "RW" shows the average exports of other countries.

Conceptual Framework

■Examining the effect of US additional tariffs on exports from third countries (excl. CHN, HKG, CAN, MEX) to the US

Baseline Tariffs for "Other items" or Product-specific Tariffs

Reciprocal Tariffs for "Other items"



- A standard **negative** effect of tariffs (price elasticity)
- A **positive** trade diversion effect from China (20 ppt higher)
- A **positive** anticipation effect, especially for "Other items"

- A standard **negative** effect of tariffs (price elasticity)
- A **positive** trade diversion effect from China (20 ppt higher)
- A **positive** trade diversion effect from countries with higher reciprocal tariffs, *vice versa*

Empirical Framework (Cont.)

□The major challenges in the empirical identification

- ➤ A product dimension
 - ✓ Comparing exports of steel products with those of automobiles
 - ✓ Additional tariffs on steel products in March and on automobiles in April, just one month difference, which is not enough
 - ✓ May observe last-minute exports of automobiles in March
 - ✓ Comparison with exports of "Exempted items"
 - ✓ Expecting the future tariff rise, creating last-minute exports
- ➤ An exporter dimension
 - ✓ Comparing exports of "Other items" from ASEAN with those from CAN/MEX
 - ✓ CAN/MEX attempts to benefit from trade diversion in the US market
- ➤ An importer dimension
 - ✓ Comparing exports to the US with those to other countries
 - ✓The diversification of export destination is becoming a major and urgent strategy.

 8

Empirical Framework (Cont.)

□ Exploiting an importer dimension while controlling for the mechanism of export diversification using observables

➤ Monthly exports of each product group from 31 countries to 174 countries from January 2023 to September 2025

■Specification for each product group

```
Y_{ijt}
= \exp\left\{\sum_{k} \beta_{k} \cdot US_{j} \cdot D2025(m = k)_{t} + \sum_{k} \delta_{k} \cdot (1 - US_{j}) \cdot US \ Treat(t \ge 0) \cdot X_{ij} + \gamma_{1} \ln GDP_{j,y-1} + \gamma_{2} Monthly \ RTA_{ijt} + \gamma_{3} \ln Exchange \ rate_{ijt} + FE_{it} + FE_{jm} \right\} \epsilon_{ijt}
```

- >Impacts on exports to the US
 - \checkmark *US*_{*i*}: 1 if importer *j* is the US
 - $\checkmark D2025(m=k)_t$: 1 if month m is $k \in \{Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep\}$
- >Impacts on exports to other countries
 - \checkmark *US Treat*_p($t \ge 0$): 1 if time t is treated; Always 1 for "Old steel" and 0 for "Exempted items"
 - ✓ X: In *Dist*, *UNGA* (voting dissimilarity in 2023), *RTA* (RTA dummy as of January 2023), In *GDP* (in 2023), In *Capita* (GDP per capita in 2023)

Empirical Framework (Cont.)

□Estimate for each product group by the PPML method

$$\begin{split} Y_{ijt} &= \exp\left\{\sum_{k} \beta_{k} \cdot US_{j} \cdot D2025(m=k)_{t} + \sum_{k} \delta_{k} \cdot (1-US_{j}) \cdot US \ Treat(t \geq 0) \cdot X_{ij} + \gamma_{1} \ln GDP_{j,y-1} \right. \\ &+ \gamma_{2} Monthly \ RTA_{ijt} + \gamma_{3} \ln Exchange \ rate_{ijt} + FE_{it} + FE_{ij} + FE_{jm} \right\} \epsilon_{ijt} \end{split}$$

- > Standard control: Importers' one-year lagged GDP, monthly RTA dummy, and monthly bilateral exchange rates
- ➤ A set of fixed effects: Exporter-time FE, Country-pair FE, and Importer-month FE

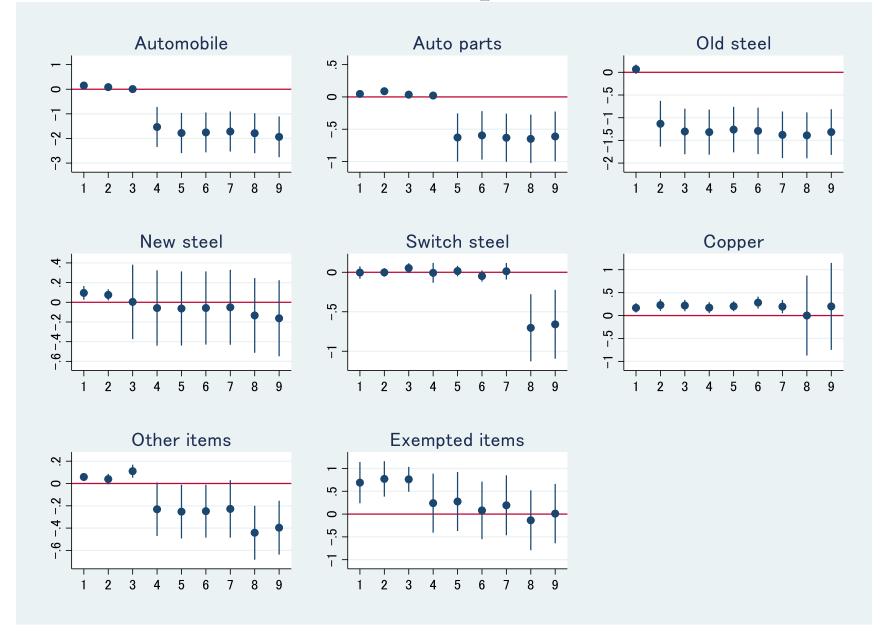
□Weakness

 \triangleright Cannot control for importer-year FE (FE_{jy}), which absorbs all the special aspects of US imports in 2025

□Data sources

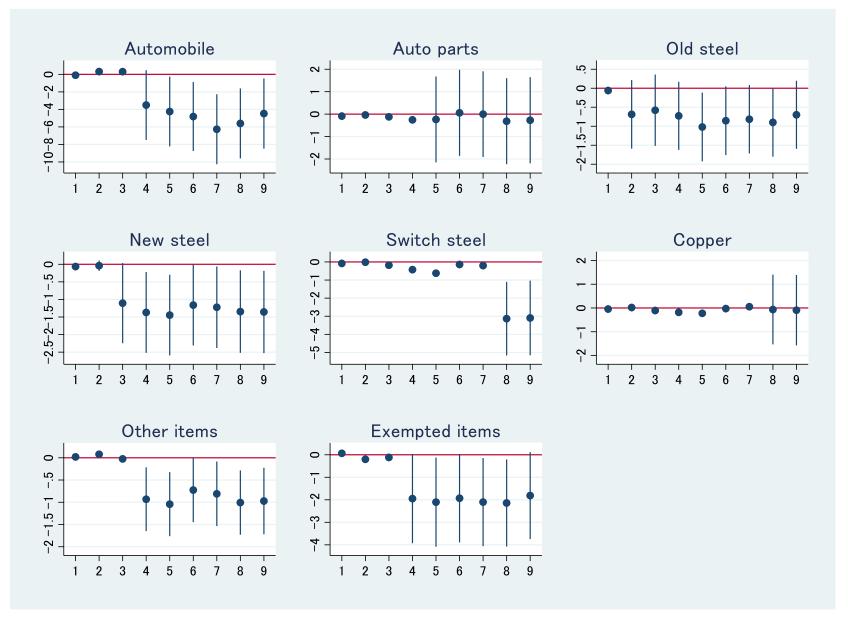
- ➤ *Y*: Global Trade Atlas (Exporter-side data)
- *➤ UNGA*: Bailey et al. (2017)
- > RTA and Monthly RTA: Egger and Larch (2008) and the WTO
- ➤ Dist: CEPII database
- > GDP and GDP per capita: WDI by the World Bank and the World Economic Outlook by the IMF
- ➤ Exchange rates: International Financial Statistics by the IMF

Figure 5. The PPML Estimation Results: Exports from Third Countries to the US



11

Figure 5. The PPML Estimation Results: Exports from China to the US

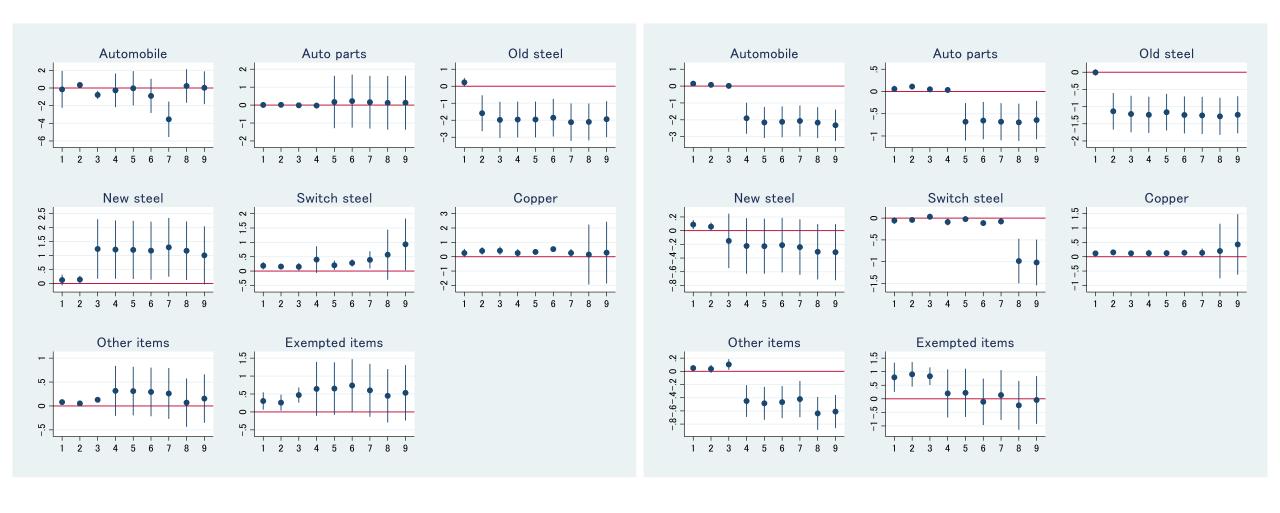


Source: Author's estimation.

Figure 6. The PPML Estimation Results: Exports from Third Countries to the US

(i) Exports from Low-income Countries

(ii) Exports from High-income Countries



Source: Author's estimation.

Note: Average price elasticity of demand: 13.7 in Exempt, 10.9 in Auto, 10.9 in Copper, 9.6 in Old steel, 7.4 in Switch steel, 7.2 in Others, 5.2 in Parts, and 5.1 in New steel.

Table 2. The PPML Estimation Results: Adding Interaction Terms with Specific Countries and Reciprocal Tariffs

	Auto	Parts	Old steel	New steel	Switch steel	Copper	Others	Exempt
US * D(Jan)	0.150**	0.046*	0.068	0.095***	-0.004	0.168***	0.059***	0.690***
US * D(Feb)	0.084*	0.088***	-1.131***	0.075***	-0.001	0.229***	0.039*	0.772***
US * D(Mar)	0.006	0.035	-1.301***	0.004	0.053*	0.218***	0.111***	0.762***
US * D(Apr)	-1.535***	0.021	-1.315***	-0.058	-0.007	0.172***	-0.229*	0.245
US * D(May)	-1.793***	-0.626***	-1.261***	-0.064	0.026	0.200***	-0.248**	0.287
US * D(Jun)	-1.767***	-0.594***	-1.290***	-0.059	-0.037	0.280***	-0.244**	0.092
US * D(Jul)	-1.735***	-0.630***	-1.376***	-0.052	0.024	0.193**	-0.224*	0.204
US * D(Aug)	-1.739***	-0.693***	-1.375***	-0.185	-0.692***	0.369	-0.209	-0.109
US * D(Sep)	-1.898***	-0.644***	-1.296***	-0.199	-0.635**	0.503	-0.162	0.04
US * GBR(>=May)	0.188***	-0.003	0.046	0.016	-0.225***	0.092	-0.031	-0.197**
US * BRA(>=Aug)	-0.022	-0.058	-0.219	-0.44	-0.032	-0.775***	-0.347***	-0.155
US * IND(>=Sep)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
US * EU/JP(>=Aug)	-0.089	0.077**	0.032	0.09	0.033	-0.528***	-0.229	-0.025
US * Non-EU/JP * ln (1 + Reciprocal)							-1.139*	
Number of observations	101,449	151,620	133,550	154,247	263,730	137,701	163,888	155,895
Pseudo R-squared	0.986	0.993	0.977	0.988	0.782	0.984	0.992	0.978

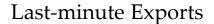
Notes: Estimation results were obtained using the PPML method. ***, **, and * denote statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels, respectively. Robust standard errors clustered by country pair are shown in brackets. In all specifications, we control for exporter-product-time FE, exporter-importer-product FE, exporter-importer-month FE, and importer-product-month FE. ¹⁴

Conclusion

□Examining exports from third countries to the US until September

Baseline Tariffs for "Other items" or Product-specific Tariffs

Reciprocal Tariffs for "Other items"



- A standard **negative** effect of tariffs (price elasticity)
- A **positive** trade diversion effect from China (20 ppt higher)
- A **positive** anticipation effect, especially for "Other items"
- A standard negative effect of tariffs (price elasticity)
- A positive trade diversion effect from China (20 ppt higher)
- A **positive** trade diversion effect from countries with higher reciprocal tariffs, *vice versa*

□Key issues in the next revision

- ➤ Additional tariffs for "Lumber products" from October 14
- Expansion of "Automobile" from November 1
- ➤ A decline in additional tariffs for China from 20% to 10% on November 10

□Next directions

➤ Decomposing into quantity and unit prices