

# Tariffs in 2025: Short-Run Impacts on the U.S. Economy

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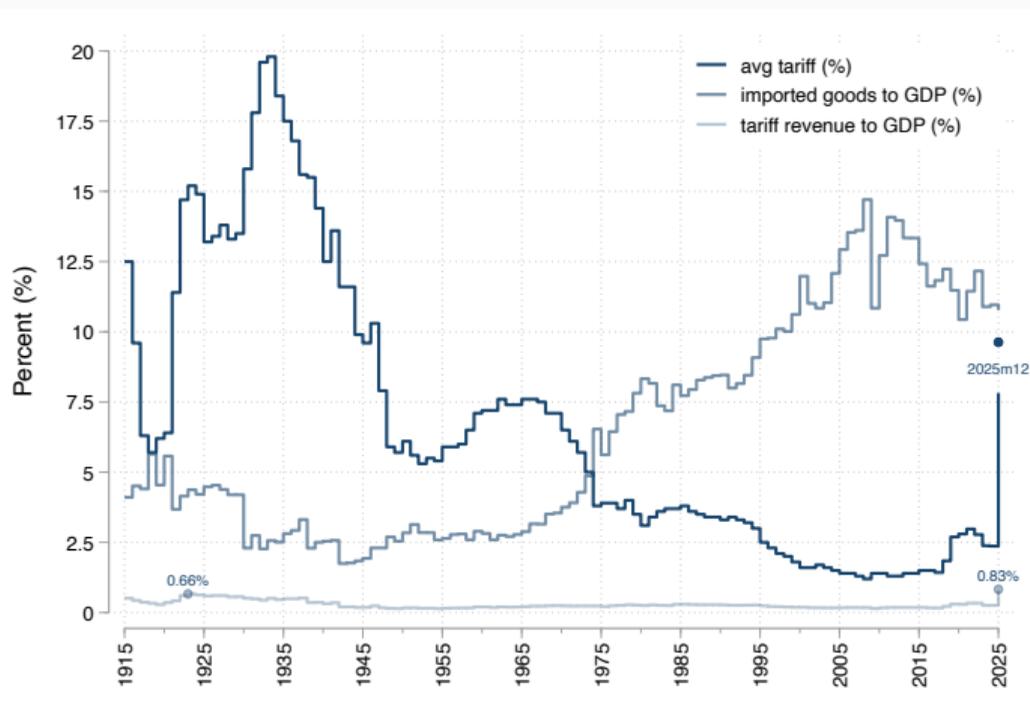
Pablo Fajgelbaum<sup>1</sup>   Amit Khandelwal<sup>2</sup>

March 2026

<sup>1</sup>UCLA & NBER

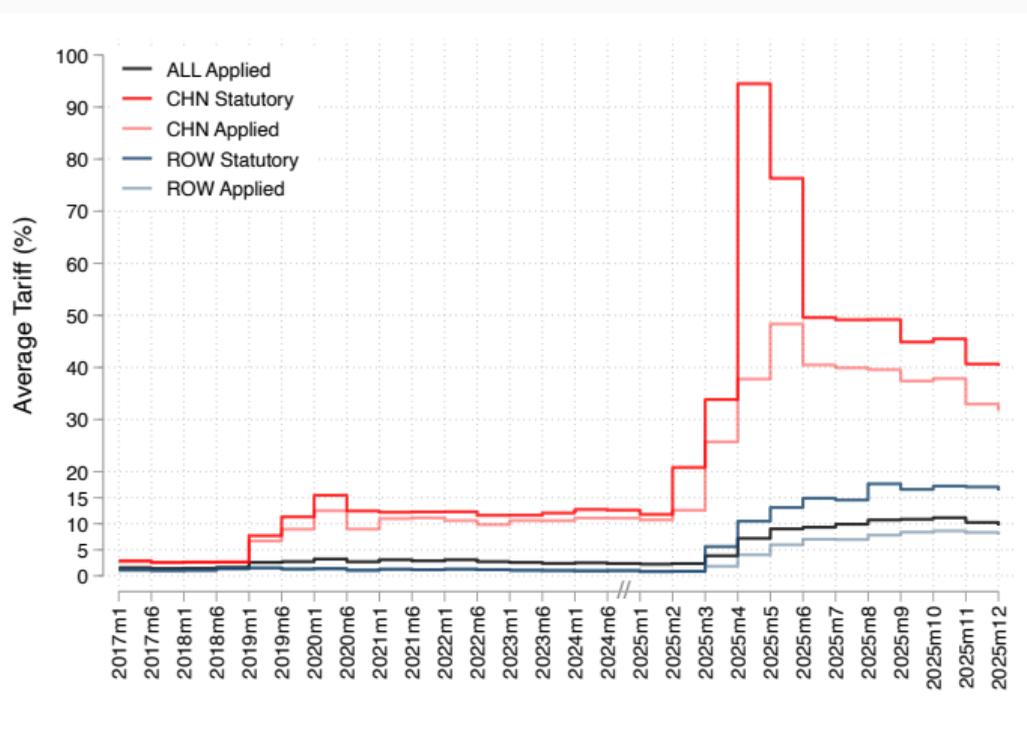
<sup>2</sup>Yale & NBER

# The 2025 Tariff Shock



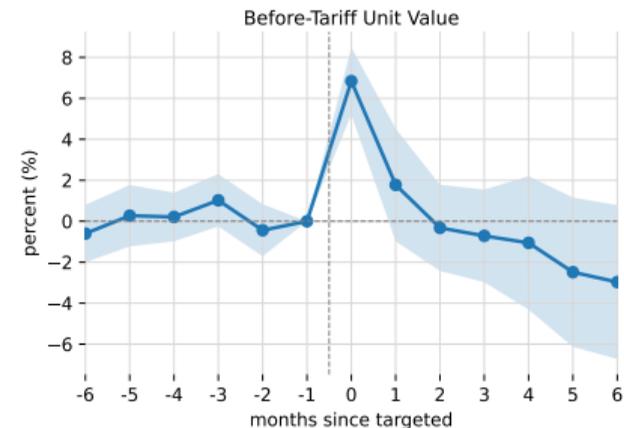
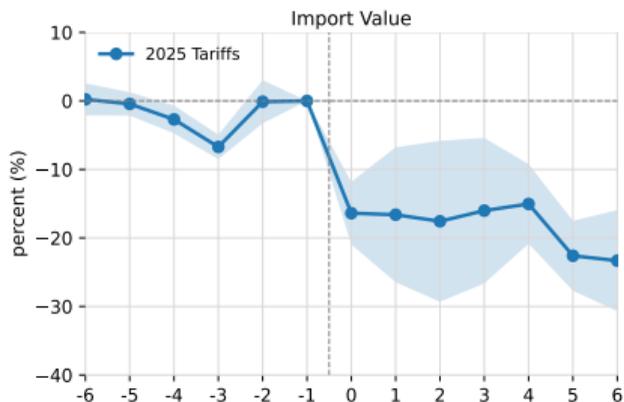
- 2025m12 applied tariff: 9.6% (12.5% at 2024 wghts)
- highest share of GDP tariffed in 100+ years
- this paper:
  1. structure of 2025 tariff changes
  2. impacts on trade and welfare
  3. assess rationales for the tariffs

# Unprecedented Tariff Hike, But Not as Large as Headlines Suggested



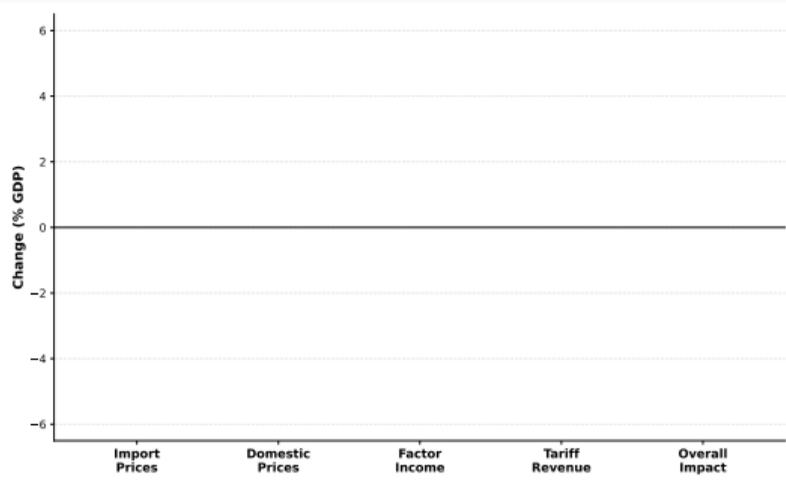
- applied rates < statutory rates
- 57% of imports duty-free in 2025m12
- muted retaliations (except China)
- $\Delta$ tariffs=7% on 11% imports/gdp

# Short-Run Impacts: Trade



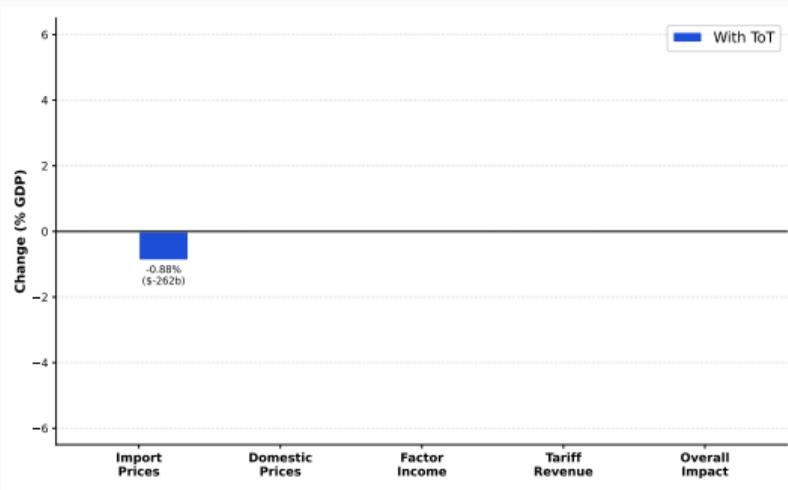
- targeted imports decline (within products)
- estimate high pass-through, but not complete: 10% tariff raises border prices by 9%
- use tariffs to estimate short-run demand/supply elasticities

# Short-Run Impacts: Welfare



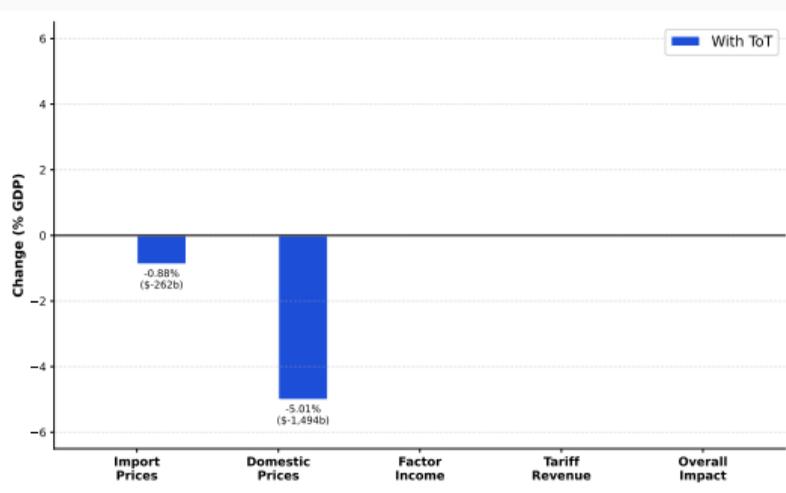
- static GE trade model with input-output linkages
  - simulate tariffs w & wout terms-of-trade (ToT)

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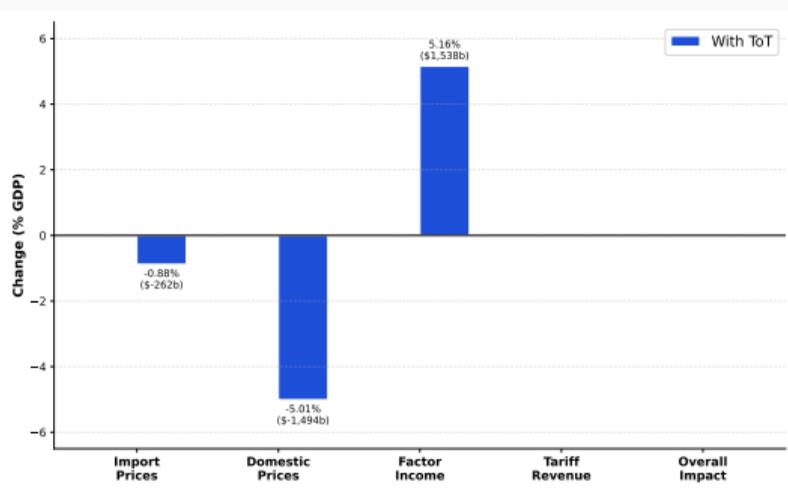
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- import prices rise (high pass-through)

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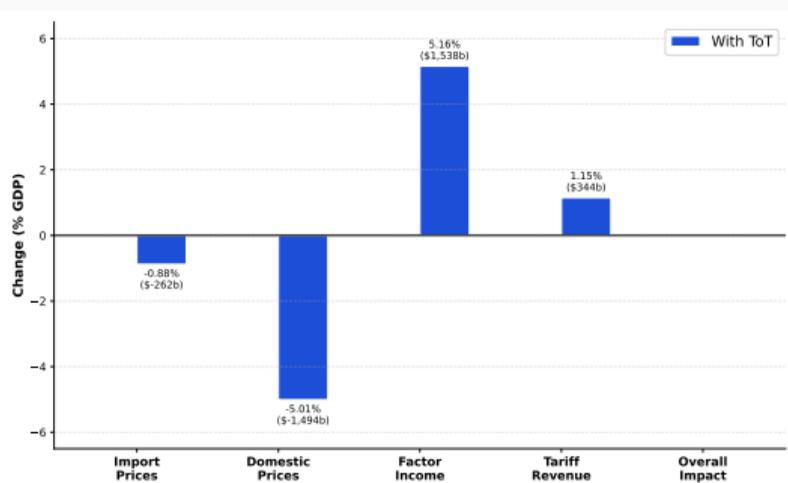
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  - simulate tariffs w & wout terms-of-trade (ToT)
- import prices rise (high pass-through)
- domestic prices rise
  - ▲ demand for Tr & NTr (reallocation, tf rev)
  - ▲ producer prices (wages, imported costs)

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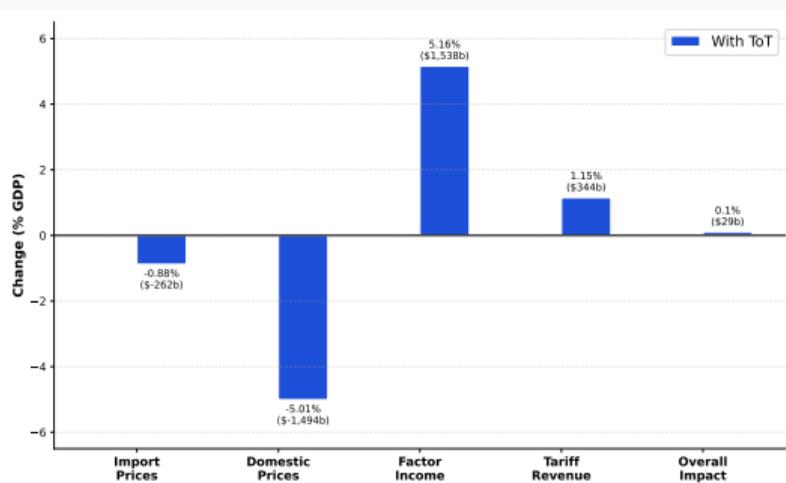
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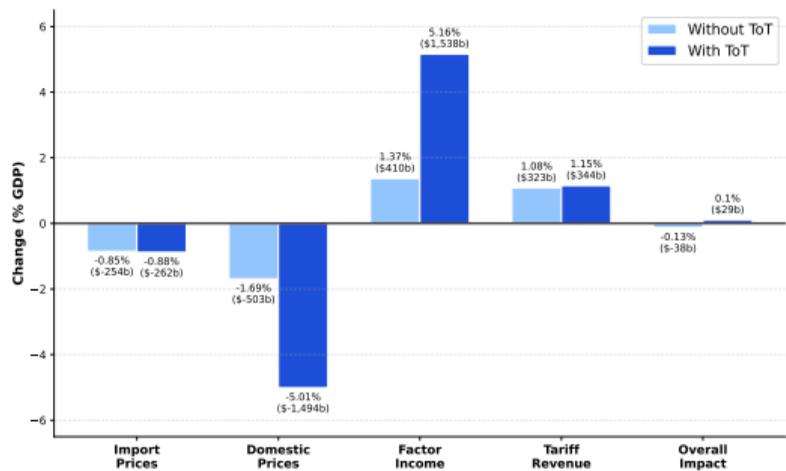
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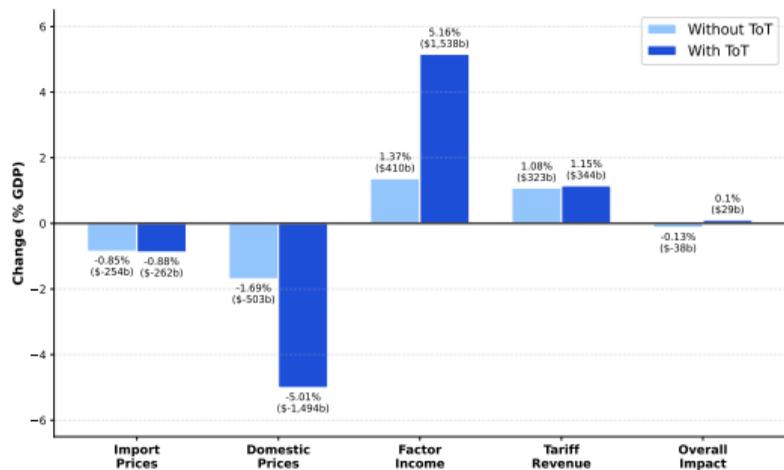
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- ⇒ overall net real income gain 0.10% GDP

# Short-Run Impacts: Welfare



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- ⇒ overall net real income gain 0.10% GDP
- ⇒ wout ToT adjustments, net loss of 0.13% GDP
- ⇒ MVPF = [-.12,.09]

# Short-Run Impacts: Welfare



model lacks many forces, e.g.:

- uncertainty
- capital adjustment
- increasing returns
- market power
- retail/distribution margins
- rent-seeking

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# Rationales

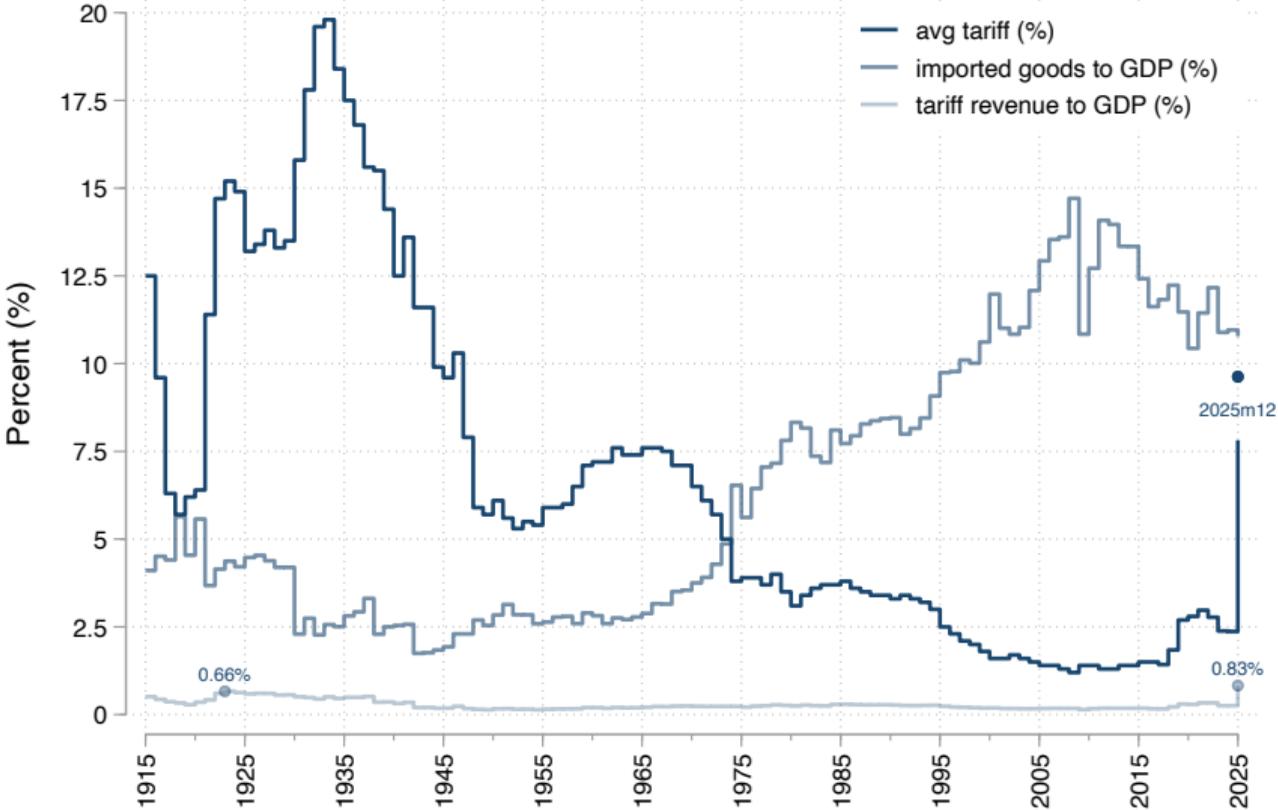
- are tariff structure and responses consistent with stated (often conflicting) rationales?

- ✓ {
  1. raise government revenue: \$264bn, up from \$79b in 2024
  2. decouple from China: 2017 to 2025 import share fell from 22% to 9%
- {
  3. lower before-tariff prices: estimate pass-through at different horizons/controls: 85%-100%
  4. lower goods trade deficit: overall goods deficit ▲ 2.2%, bil. deficits uncorrelated w/  $\Delta$ tariffs
  5. increase mfg employment: mfg emp ▼ 0.53%; 2018-19 tariffs did not raise mfg emp
  - X ? {
    6. friend-shoring, hurting rivals: no corr. bn geopolitical alignment and tariffs/import responses
    7. strategic sectors: low tariffs on advanced technologies; most protected sector is apparel/textiles
    8. improve market access for U.S. exports: TBD. 6 deals signed, 13 under negotiations

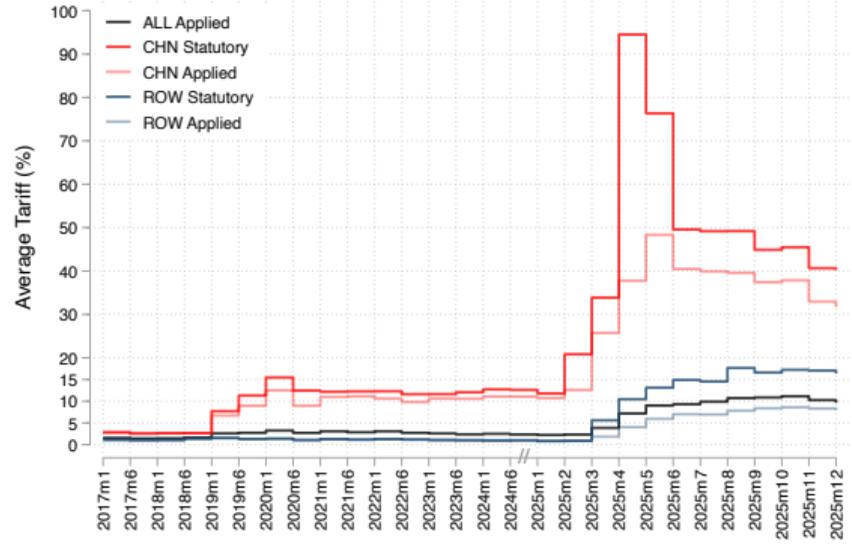
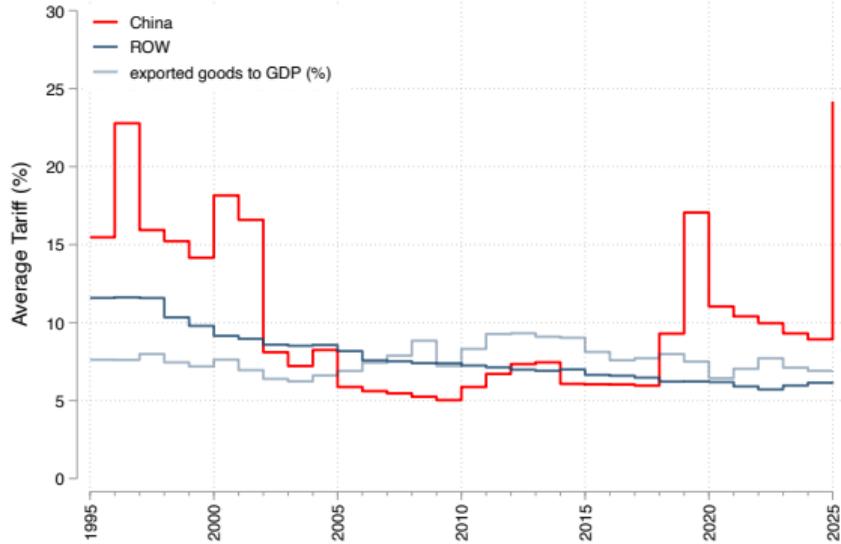
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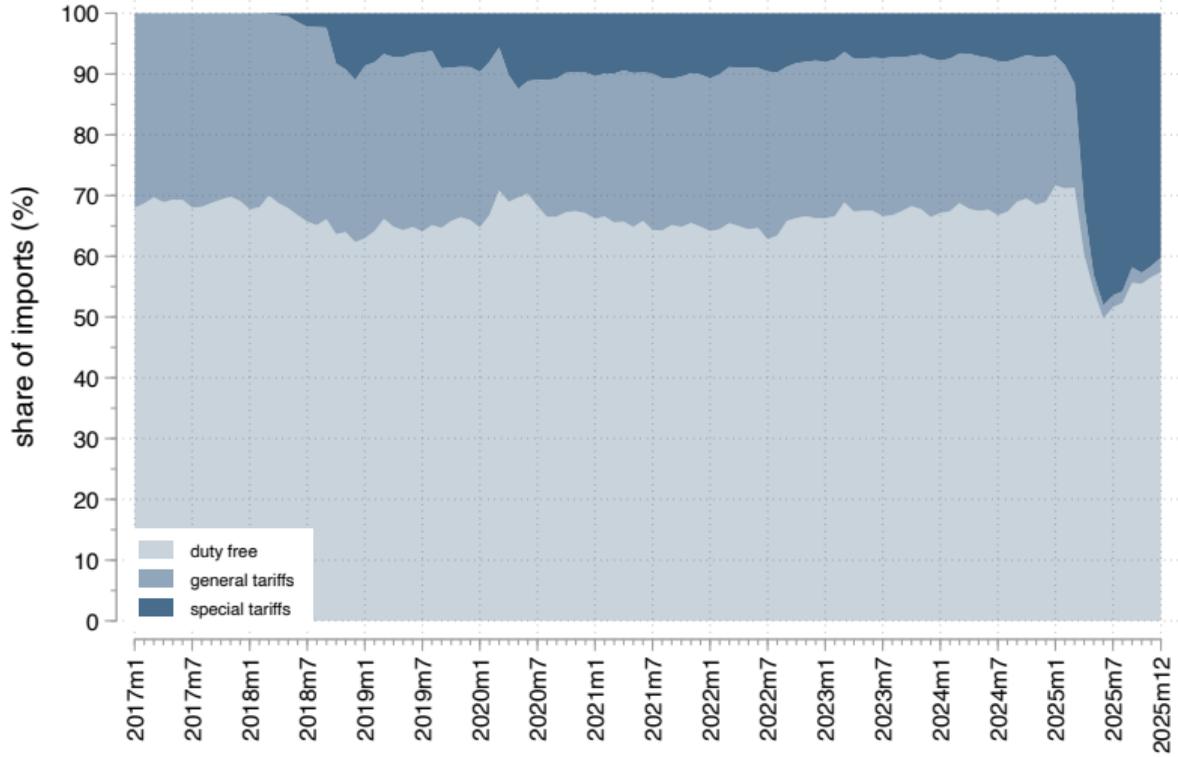
# Applied Tariff Rates (1915–2025)



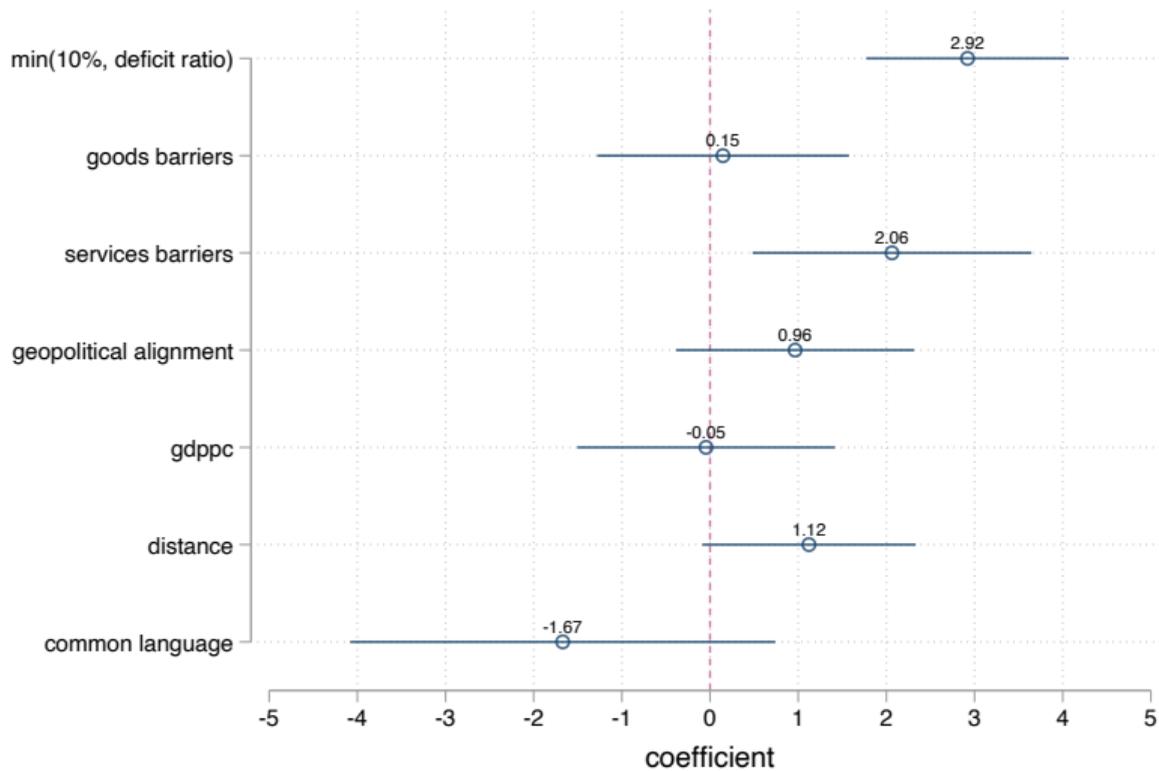
# Tariff Rates by Origin

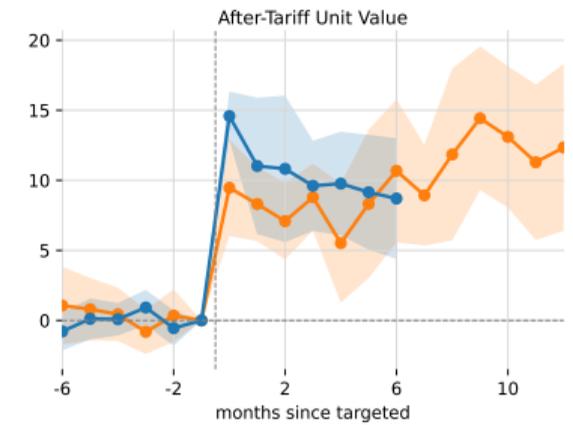
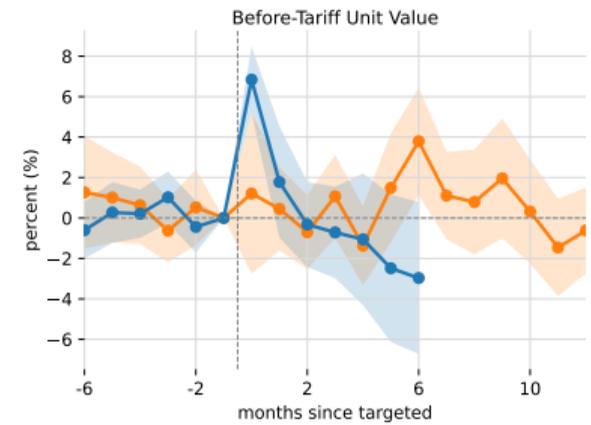
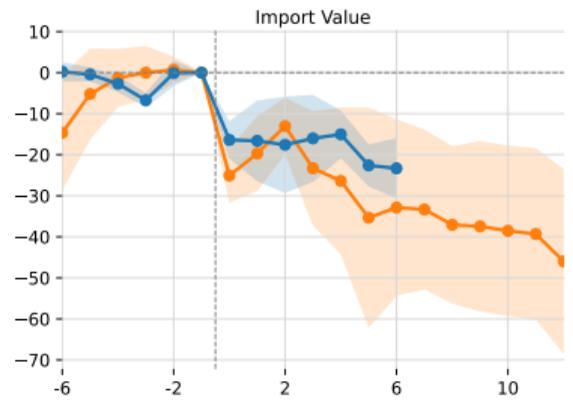
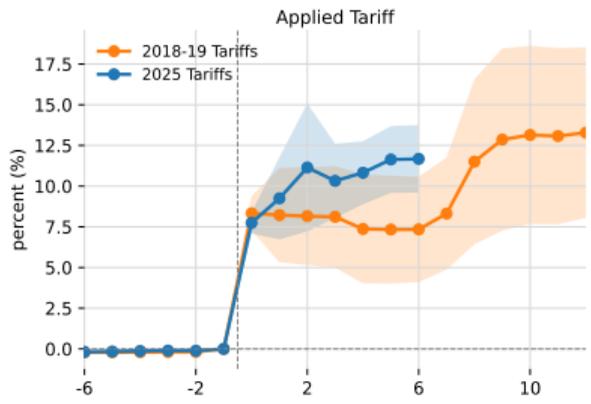


# Import Shares by Rate Provision

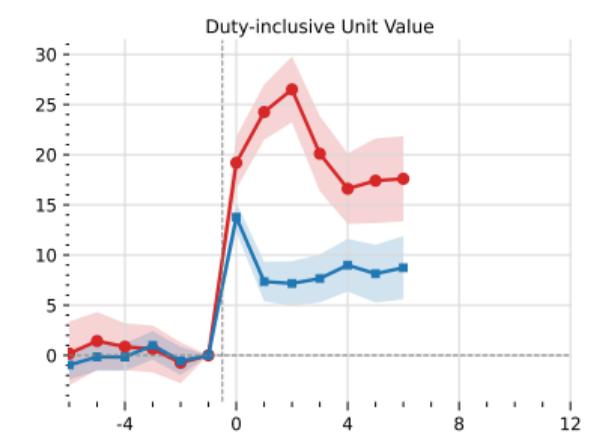
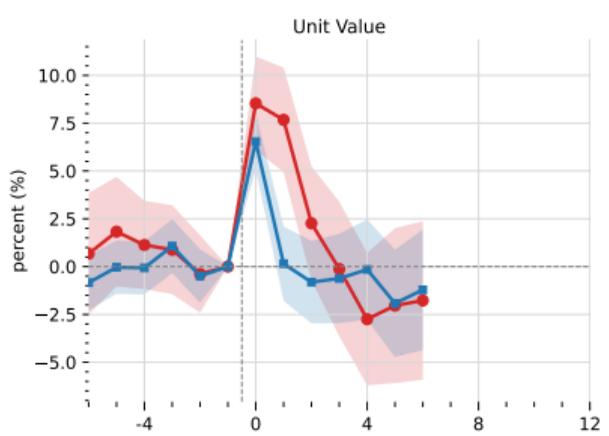
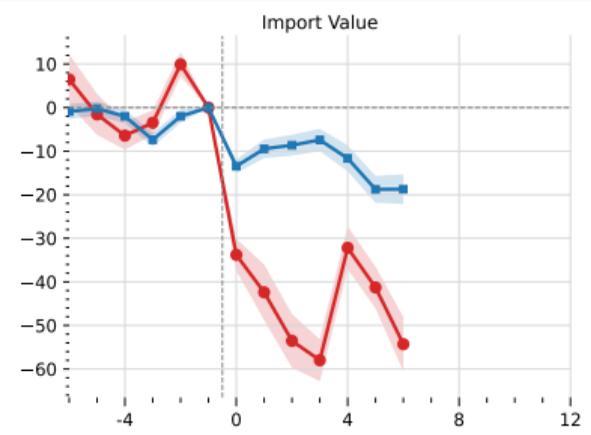
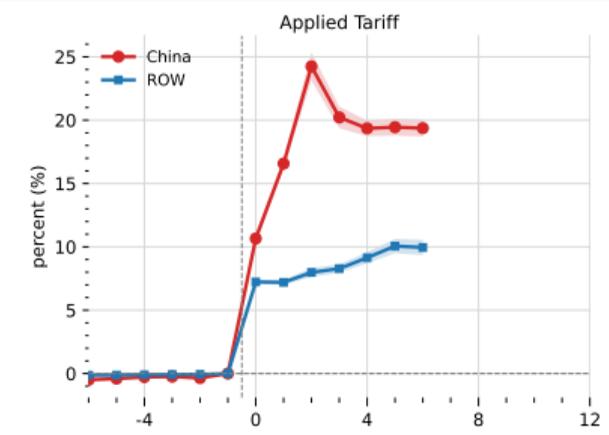


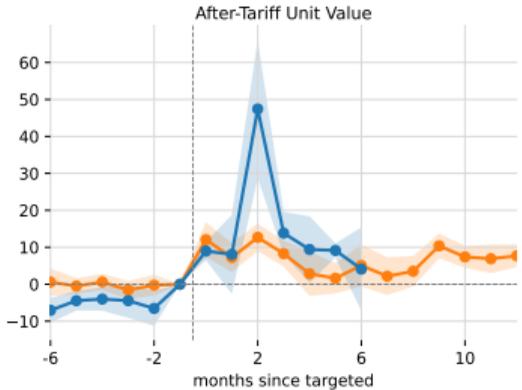
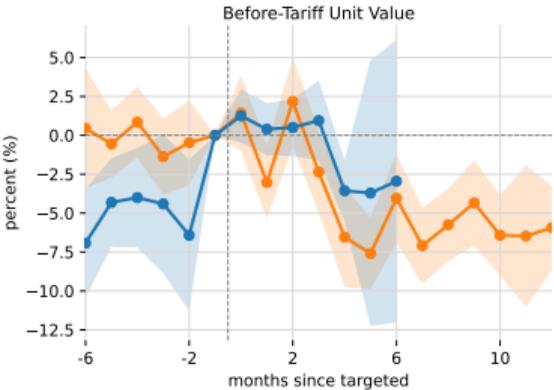
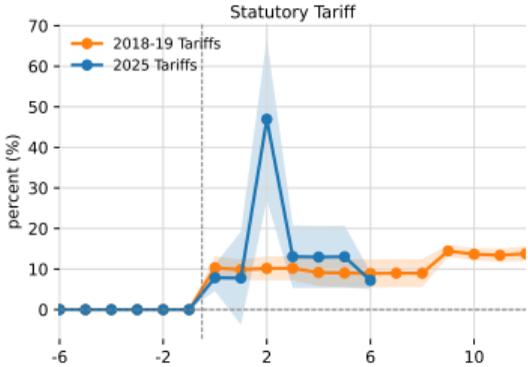
# Correlates of U.S. Import Tariffs

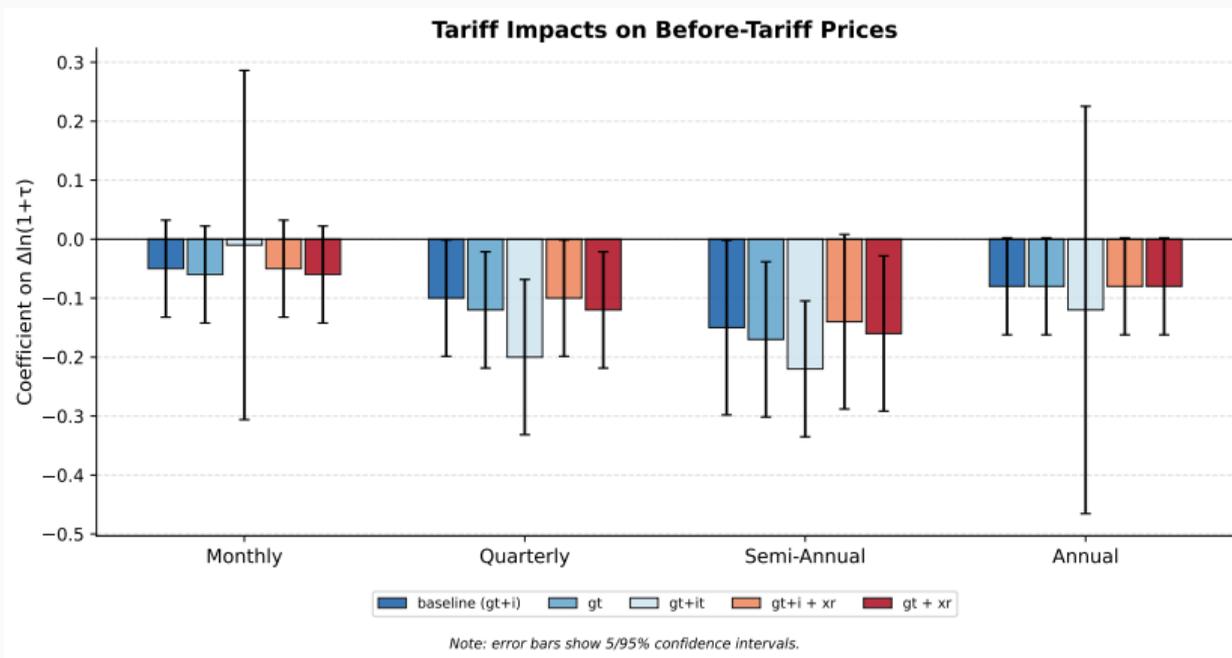




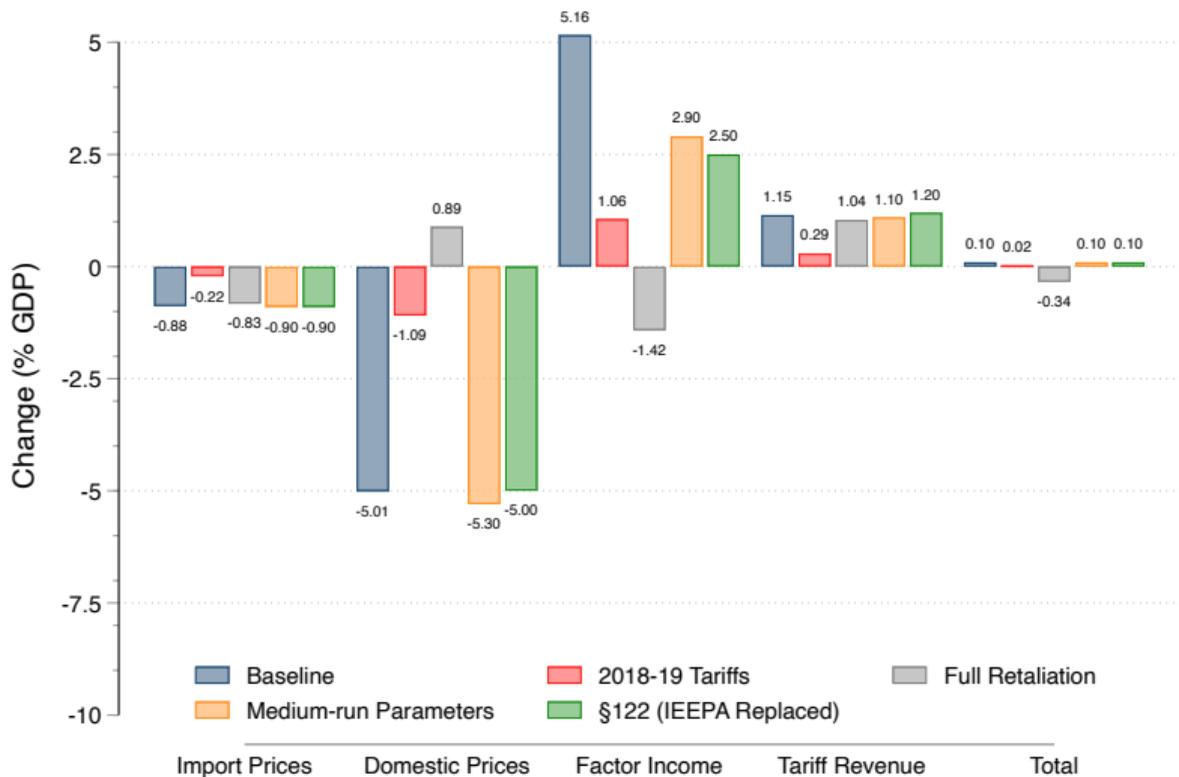
# Event Study – Imports (CHN vs ROW)







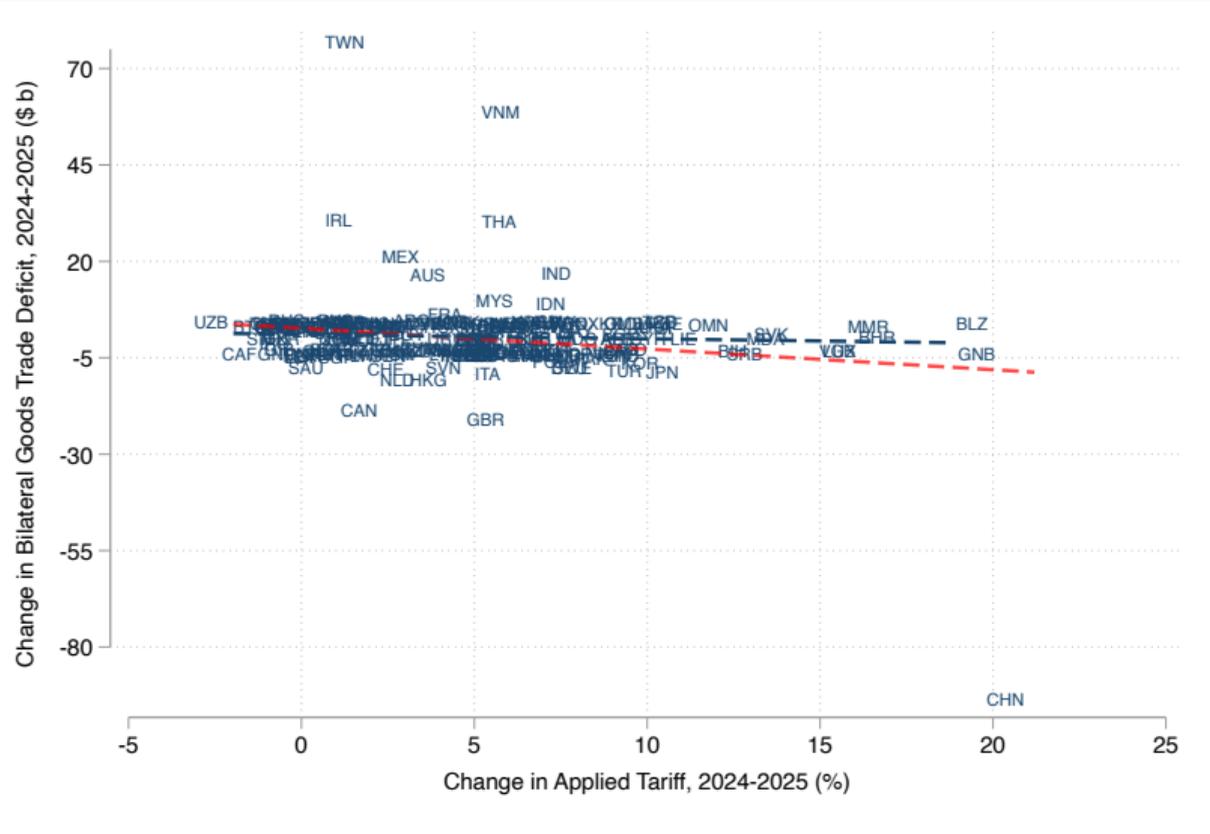
# Welfare Scenarios (with ToT)



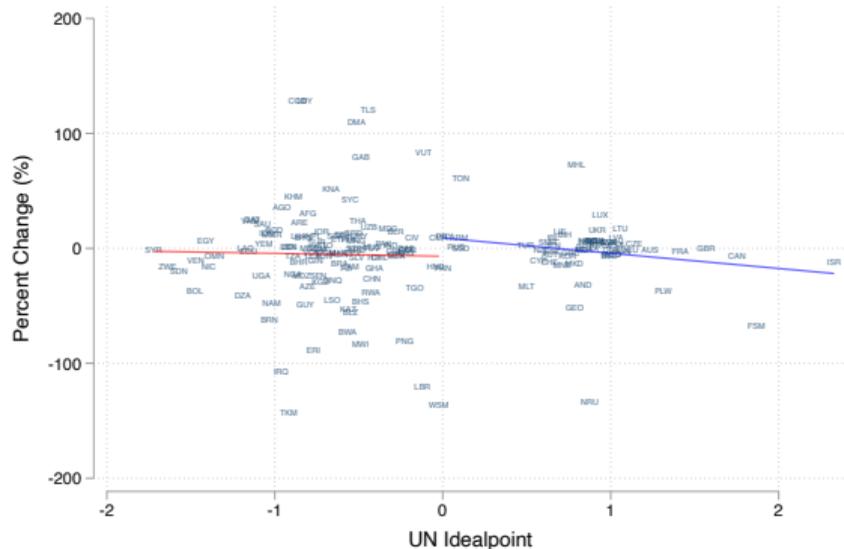
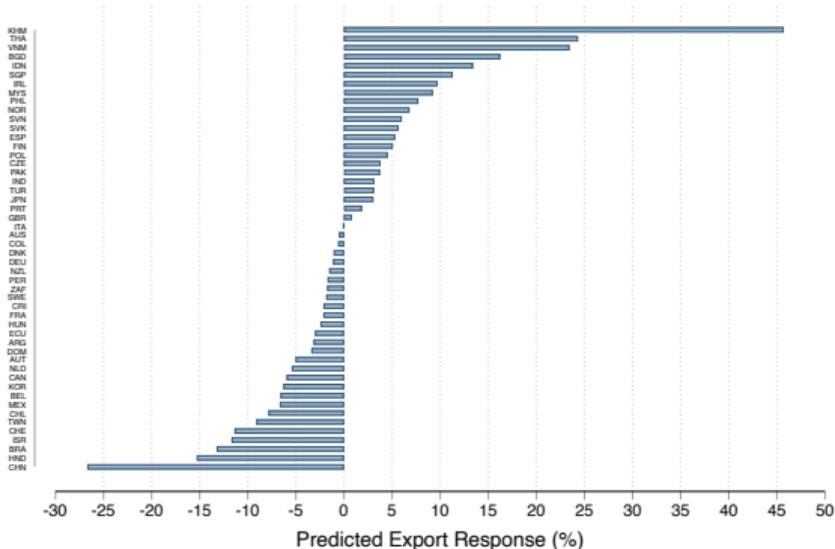
# Welfare Scenarios (no ToT)



# Bilateral Deficits vs Applied Tariff Changes



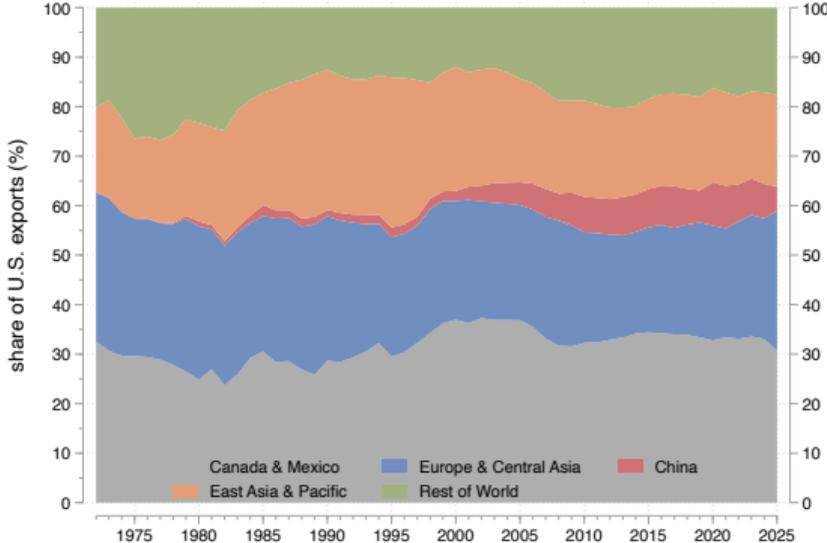
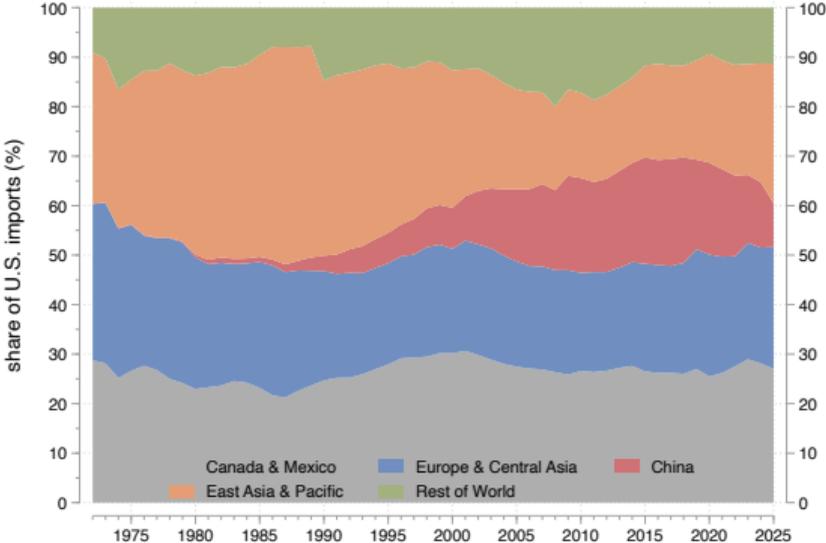
# Geopolitical Winners and Losers



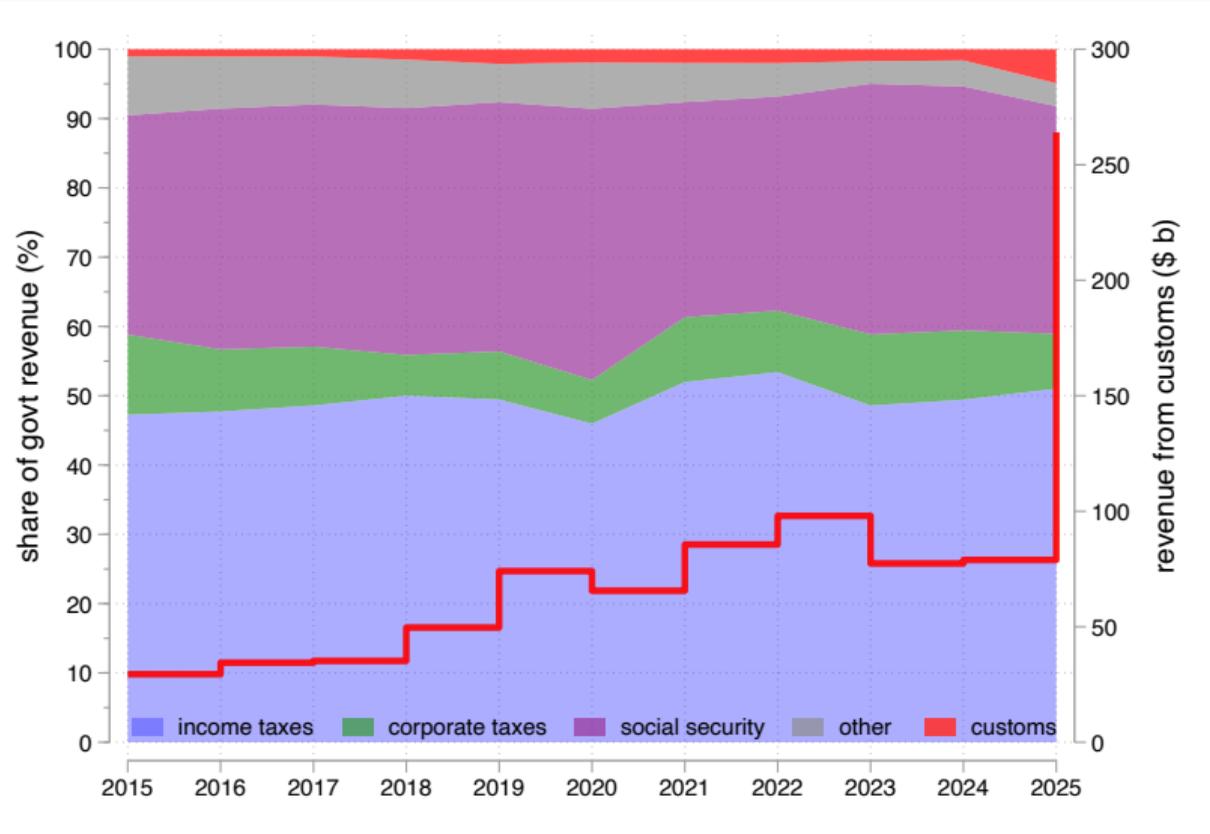
$$\Delta \ln y_{igt} = \alpha_{st} + \beta_i^1 \Delta \ln (1 + \tau_{igt}^{\text{stat}}) + \beta_i^2 \Delta \ln (1 + \tau_{CHN,gt}^{\text{stat}}) + \beta_i^3 \sum_{j \neq i, CHN} \Delta \ln (1 + \tau_{jgt}^{\text{stat}}) + \epsilon_{igt}$$

$$\Delta \hat{\ln} X_i = \sum_{ig} \lambda_{ig} \left\{ \hat{\beta}_i^1 \Delta \ln (1 + \tau_{igt}^{\text{stat}}) + \hat{\beta}_i^2 \Delta \ln (1 + \tau_{CHN,gt}^{\text{stat}}) + \hat{\beta}_i^3 \sum_{j \neq i, CHN} \Delta \ln (1 + \tau_{jgt}^{\text{stat}}) \right\}$$

# Import and Export Shares

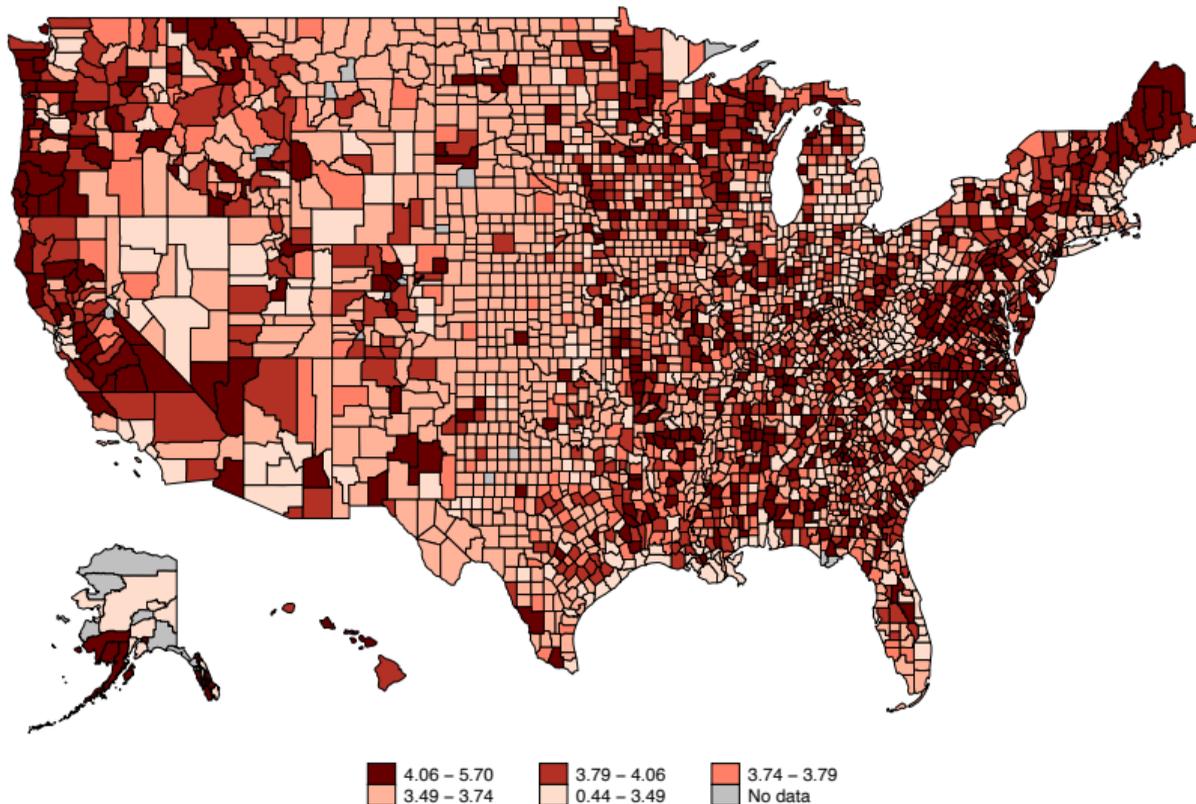


# Federal Revenue



# Nominal Wages by County

Tradeable Nominal Wage Gain



# Targeted U.S. Imports by Region

## Trump 1:

Region	U.S. Imports and Tariffs: Region						
	Imports \$bn	Fraction Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff on Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff (%)	
		2017	2017	2019m12	2017	2019m12	2017
China	518	41.5	60.2	6.3	18.8	2.6	11.3
Canada and Mexico	594	10.1	14.0	0.9	0.7	0.1	0.1
East Asia and Pacific	437	37.8	34.2	5.6	6.3	2.1	2.1
Europe and Central Asia	482	39.3	37.1	3.2	3.7	1.3	1.4
Latin America and Caribbean	113	26.2	20.7	2.2	2.9	0.6	0.6
South Asia	62	42.8	54.0	9.9	8.4	4.3	4.6
Middle East and North Africa	71	38.5	45.4	0.6	1.3	0.2	0.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	26	7.9	20.5	0.9	1.6	0.1	0.3
All Countries	2,302	31.1	34.0	4.6	8.7	1.4	3.0

## Trump 2:

Region	U.S. Imports and Tariffs: Region						
	Imports \$bn	Fraction Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff on Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff (%)	
		2024	2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12	2024
China	441	65.0	95.1	16.3	33.3	10.6	31.7
Canada and Mexico	897	15.6	15.5	1.2	25.3	0.2	3.9
East Asia and Pacific	780	27.9	45.2	6.0	20.4	1.7	9.2
Europe and Central Asia	729	34.3	55.0	3.6	16.5	1.2	9.1
Latin America and Caribbean	160	27.1	42.3	2.4	16.8	0.7	7.1
South Asia	108	48.1	52.0	8.1	42.4	3.9	22.0
Middle East and North Africa	69	45.4	35.3	1.5	18.1	0.7	6.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	31	21.0	19.8	1.4	23.5	0.3	4.7
All Countries	3,214	32.0	42.6	7.4	22.6	2.4	9.6

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt})$	$\Delta \ln \rho_{igt}^* m_{igt}$	$\Delta \ln m_{igt}$	$\Delta \ln \rho_{igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln \rho_{igt}$
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt}^{stat})$	0.64*** (0.08)				
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt})$		-1.39*** (0.19)	-1.26*** (0.20)	-0.13** (0.06)	0.87*** (0.06)
Fixed Effects	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i
1st-Stage F		69.9	69.9	69.9	69.9
R2	0.20	0.00	0.00	.	0.00
N	1,464,263	1,464,263	1,464,263	1,464,263	1,464,263

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt})$	$\Delta \ln \rho_{igt}^* m_{igt}$	$\Delta \ln m_{igt}$	$\Delta \ln \rho_{igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln \rho_{igt}$
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt}^{stat})$	0.42*** (0.06)				
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt})$		-1.81*** (0.50)	-1.71*** (0.54)	-0.10* (0.06)	0.90*** (0.06)
Fixed Effects	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i
1st-Stage F		52.4	52.4	52.4	52.4
R2	0.16	0.00	0.00	.	0.00
N	1,192,687	1,192,687	1,192,687	1,192,687	1,192,687

$$\Delta \ln y_{igt} = \alpha_{gt} + \alpha_i + \beta \Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt}) + \epsilon_{igt}$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	$\Delta \ln p_{US,igt}^* m_{igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln m_{igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln p_{US,igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln p_{US,igt}^* (1 + \tau_{igt}^*)$
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt}^*)$	-0.48** (0.19)	-0.62*** (0.18)	0.15** (0.07)	1.15*** (0.07)
Fixed Effects	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i
R2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1,631,678	1,631,678	1,631,678	1,631,678
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	$\Delta \ln p_{US,igt}^* m_{igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln m_{igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln p_{US,igt}^*$	$\Delta \ln p_{US,igt}^* (1 + \tau_{igt}^*)$
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt}^*)$	-0.31*** (0.04)	-0.30*** (0.04)	-0.00 (0.01)	1.00*** (0.01)
Fixed Effects	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i	gt+i
R2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1,225,287	1,225,287	1,225,287	1,225,287

	<b>2025 Tariffs (without ToT Effects)</b>				
	Import Prices	Domestic Prices	Factor Income	Tariff Revenue	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Change (\$ b)	-254	-503	410	323	-38
Change (% GDP)	-0.85	-1.69	1.37	1.08	-0.13

	<b>2025 Tariffs (with ToT Effects)</b>				
	Import Prices	Domestic Prices	Factor Income	Tariff Revenue	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Change (\$ b)	-262	-1494	1538	344	29
Change (% GDP)	-0.88	-5.01	5.16	1.15	0.10

2025 Tariffs (without ToT Effects)					
CPI	PPI	Real Wage (T)	Real Wage (NT)	Real GDP	$\frac{\text{Trade}}{\text{GDP}}$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
2.6%	0.0%	-4.3%	-0.1%	1.5%	-1.4 p.p.
2025 Tariffs (with ToT Effects)					
CPI	PPI	Real Wage (T)	Real Wage (NT)	Real GDP	$\frac{\text{Trade}}{\text{GDP}}$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
6.2%	4.3%	-2.5%	0.1%	1.3%	-1.2 p.p.
Observed Changes					
CPI	PPI	Real Wage (T)	Real Wage (NT)	Real GDP	$\frac{\text{Trade}}{\text{GDP}}$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
2.8%	3.0%	2.0%	0.9%	2.0%	-1.1 p.p.



U.S. Imports and Tariffs: Region							
Region	Imports \$bn	Fraction Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff on Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff (%)	
		2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12
China	441	65.0	95.1	16.3	33.3	10.6	31.7
NATO	954	33.5	40.2	2.7	17.6	0.9	7.1
Defense Treaty/Treaty-Like	349	15.9	31.6	4.6	18.9	0.7	6.0
Quad	255	45.5	62.5	3.8	24.2	1.7	15.1
Newly Desig. Major Non-Nato Ally	23	48.9	41.2	0.5	11.0	0.2	4.5
Rest Of World	1,193	20.0	35.5	5.8	22.7	1.2	8.1
All Countries	3,214	32.0	42.6	7.4	22.6	2.4	9.6

U.S. Imports and Tariffs: Technology Class							
Technology Class	Imports \$bn	Fraction Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff on Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff (%)	
	2024	2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12
Advanced Materials	4	11.0	49.0	16.4	16.2	1.8	7.9
Aerospace	55	6.2	15.2	6.3	14.9	0.4	2.3
Biotechnology	106	0.1	3.4	12.8	7.3	0.0	0.2
Electronics	124	24.6	38.7	5.2	19.5	1.3	7.6
Flexible Manufacturing	45	42.8	55.0	5.8	20.5	2.5	11.3
Information & Communications	297	4.6	5.2	11.3	19.4	0.5	1.0
Life Science	140	4.2	14.8	8.0	17.2	0.3	2.6
Nuclear Technology	5	9.6	6.9	6.2	12.6	0.6	0.9
Opto-Electronics	30	15.4	45.3	9.6	19.4	1.5	8.8
Weapons	3	31.5	55.2	8.5	22.3	2.7	12.3
ATP	809	9.8	13.6	7.0	18.7	0.7	2.5
Non-ATP	2,405	39.4	58.0	7.4	23.1	2.9	13.4
All Products	3,214	32.0	42.6	7.4	22.6	2.4	9.6

U.S. Imports and Tariffs: Sectors							
Sectors	Imports \$bn	Fraction Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff on Tariffed (%)		Avg Tariff (%)	
		2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12	2024	2025m12
Agriculture	241	22.5	47.2	6.5	16.4	1.5	7.7
Minerals & Energy	252	70.8	1.3	0.2	1.5	0.1	0.0
Chemicals & Plastics	495	20.9	33.3	7.7	19.1	1.6	6.4
Apparel, Textiles & Footwear	169	79.1	90.1	14.9	31.1	11.8	28.1
Metals	169	36.7	62.3	11.3	38.9	4.1	24.2
Machinery & Electronics	1,005	22.6	33.5	8.7	22.3	2.0	7.5
Transport Equipment	437	39.3	67.1	4.6	19.1	1.8	12.8
Furniture & Misc. Mfg	447	21.6	53.5	10.1	20.4	2.2	10.9
All Products	3,214	32.0	42.6	7.4	22.6	2.4	9.6

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	$\Delta \ln p_{igt}$				
$\Delta \ln(1 + \tau_{igt}^*)$	-0.00	0.00	-0.02	-0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)
$\Delta \ln(xr_{it})$				-0.00	-0.00
				(0.00)	(0.00)
Fixed Effects	gt+i	gt	gt+it	gt+i	gt
R2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1,225,287	1,225,289	1,225,241	1,225,287	1,225,289

Tariff Episode	$\sigma$	$\omega^*$	$\eta$	$\kappa$	$\sigma^*$
2018-19 Tariffs	1.45 (0.22)	0.11 (0.06)	1.38 (0.42)	1.21 (0.36)	2.54 (0.45)
2025 Tariffs	1.91 (0.51)	0.06 (0.05)	1.90 (0.18)	1.12 (0.21)	2.54 (0.45)

	Weighted		Unweighted	
	with ToT	without ToT	with ToT	without ToT
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Tariff Instrument	0.0013 (0.0041)	0.0024 (0.0045)	-0.0029 (0.0006)	-0.0030 (0.0006)
p-value	0.75	0.60	0.00	0.00
N	78999	78999	78999	78999

2025 Tariffs (without ToT Effects)						
	PPI (1)	PPI (2)	PPI (3)	XPI (4)	XPI (5)	XPI (6)
Tariff Instrument	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0004 (0.0007)	0.0004 (0.0003)	0.0001 (0.0003)	0.0005 (0.0016)	0.0008 (0.0007)
p-value	0.37	0.56	0.16	0.79	0.77	0.23
N	79	79	79	30	30	30
Instrument	Export Tariff	Import Tariff	Input Tariff	Export Tariff	Import Tariff	Input Tariff
2025 Tariffs (with ToT Effects)						
	PPI (1)	PPI (2)	PPI (3)	XPI (4)	XPI (5)	XPI (6)
Tariff Instrument	0.0002 (0.0001)	0.0003 (0.0006)	0.0004 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0003 (0.0013)	0.0008 (0.0006)
p-value	0.18	0.62	0.13	0.80	0.79	0.21
N	79	79	79	30	30	30
Instrument	Export Tariff	Import Tariff	Input Tariff	Export Tariff	Import Tariff	Input Tariff

	<b>2025 Tariffs (without ToT Effects)</b>				
	Import Prices	Domestic Prices	Factor Income	Tariff Revenue	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Change (\$ b)	-248	81	-288	306	-150
Change (% GDP)	-0.83	0.27	-0.97	1.02	-0.50

	<b>2025 Tariffs (with ToT Effects)</b>				
	Import Prices	Domestic Prices	Factor Income	Tariff Revenue	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Change (\$ b)	-261	-1281	1361	342	84
Change (% GDP)	-0.87	-4.30	4.56	1.15	0.28

	<b>2018-19 Tariffs (without ToT Effects)</b>				
	Import Prices	Domestic Prices	Factor Income	Tariff Revenue	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Change (\$ b)	-42	-94	78	57	-2
Change (% GDP)	-0.21	-0.47	0.39	0.28	-0.01
	<b>2018-19 Tariffs (with ToT Effects)</b>				
	Import Prices	Domestic Prices	Factor Income	Tariff Revenue	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Change (\$ b)	-44	-218	211	58	4
Change (% GDP)	-0.22	-1.09	1.06	0.29	0.02