Impacts of the U.S.-China Trade War

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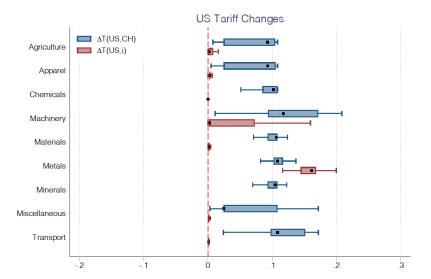
Introduction

- The US championed global economic integration in the post-war era
- This approach dramatically changed in 2018
 - First, the U.S. raised tariffs on washing machines, solar panels, steel
 - ▶ Then, it increase tariffs on China across almost all sectors
- The main trade partners retaliated against these tariffs
 - Russia, Canada, Mexico, the EU,...
 - But mostly China
- Tariffs continued to raise until late 2019 and currently remain high
 - ▶ 60% of China-US trade is subject to tariffs of 20%
 - ▶ In contrast, US and China tariffs on rest of the world are 3% and 6%
- This was the largest and most sustained return to protectionism since '30 Smoot-Hawley

U.S. Tariffs

Panel A: Tariffs on U.S. Imports Enacted by U.S.										
Tariff Wave	Date Enacted	Products	2017 Imports		Tariff (%)					
		(# HS-10)	(mil USD)	(%)*	2017	Post-War				
Solar Panels	Feb 7, 2018	8	5,782	0.2	0.0	30.0				
Washing Machines	Feb 7, 2018	8	2,105	0.1	1.3	32.2				
Aluminum	Mar-Jun, 2018	93	17,685	0.7	2.0	12.0				
Iron and Steel	Mar-Jun, 2018	757	$30,\!655$	1.3	0.0	25.0				
European Union	Oct 18, 2019	226	11,819	0.5	4.8	28.7				
China	Jul '18 - Sep '19	16,403	$352,\!563$	14.7	4.1	26.4				
Total		$17,\!495$	420,608	17.6	3.7	25.8				

U.S. Tariffs across Sectors



Retaliatory Tariffs

Panel B: Retaliatory Tariffs on U.S. Exports Enacted by Trading Partners										
Retaliating Country	Date Enacted	Products	2017 Exports		Tariff (%)					
		(# HS-10)	(mil USD)	(%)*	2017	Post-war				
Mexico	Jun 5, 2018	232	6,746	0.4	9.4	27.9				
Turkey	Jun 21, 2018	248	1,554	0.1	8.8	31.6				
European Union	Jun 22, 2018	303	8,244	0.5	4.4	28.9				
Canada	Jul 1, 2018	325	17,818	1.2	2.1	20.2				
Russia	Aug $6, 2018$	165	268	0.0	5.2	37.2				
India	Jun 16, 2019	65	1,280	0.1	13.2	27.5				
China	Apr '18 - Sep '19	7,757	98,016	6.3	8.7	19.5				
Total		8,400	133,926	8.7	7.7	20.8				

This Talk

"The Return to Protectionism" (Quarterly Journal of Economics, 2020)

- Aggregate effects U.S. real income
- Regional effects across counties and political leaning

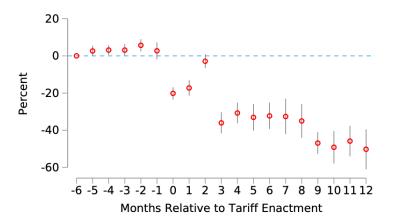
Tariffs: Brief Conceptual Review

- Tariffs = tax on imports
- Consumers: should be worse off...
 - by the value of imports times increase in import prices
 - depends on whether import price (before tariff) falls
- Producers: should be better off...
 - by the value of exports times increase in producer prices
 - depends on retaliations
- + Government revenue

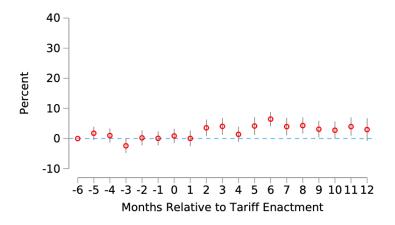
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- U.S. gains if import prices (before-tariffs) fall relative to export prices
 - Analogy: optimal behavior of a monopsonist/monopolist

Consumers: Total Imports Fell...

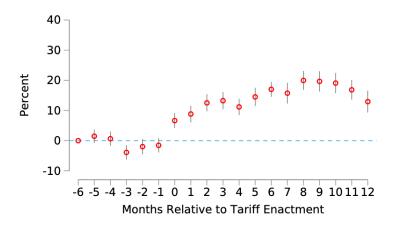


...but Import Prices (Before Tariffs) Did Not Fall!



→ China did not lower export prices to US

So, Tariff-Inclusive Import Prices Increased 1-1 with Tariffs



→ US imports buyers worse off

Cost to Consumers

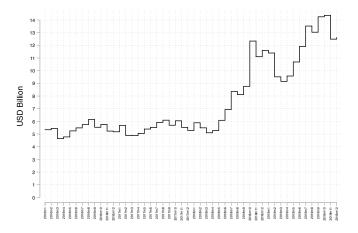
Import GDP share (15%) X Targeted imports (17%) X Tariff increase (25%) = 0.61% GDP

Benefit to Producers

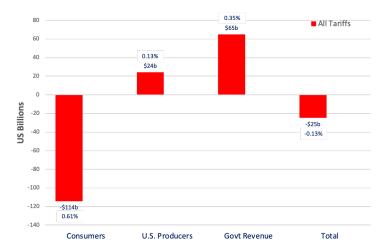
- Use a model of the full economy to estimate producer effects
 - Multiple sectors and regions
 - Input-output linkages
- Benefit to producers:

Export GDP share (13%) * Increase in Producer Prices (1%) = 0.13% GDP

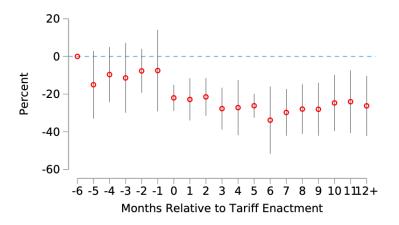
+ Tariff Revenue



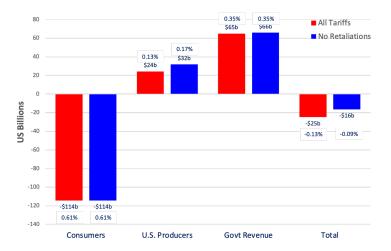
Total Effect



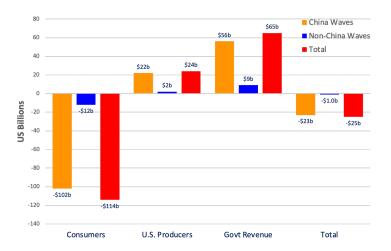
Producers: Exports fell due to Retaliation



Total Effect - With and Without Retaliations



Total Effect - China vs. Non-China Waves



Regional Impacts in the News: Imports



Chicago Tribune

As tariffs begin, Northwest Indiana auto workers and farmers share concerns



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

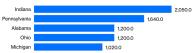
In a Pennsylvania Steel Town, Donald Trump's Tariff Is a Winner

U.S. Steel to Expand Under Tariffs

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Swing State Steel

States with the biggest number of metal-refining furnace operators and tenders





Bloomberg Businessweek

You can't find a clearer example of the steel industry's disagreement over the Trump tariffs than in Canton, Ohio, where the tariffs are pitting Timken against Timken. TimkenSteel Corp., which makes steel

Regional Impacts in the News: Exports



Trump's Trade War Leaves American Whiskey on the Rocks



The Washington Post

North Dakota soybean farmers, caught in the trade war, watch the season run out on their crop

Des Moines Register

lowa farming's \$2.2 billion trade loss could ripple through state's economy

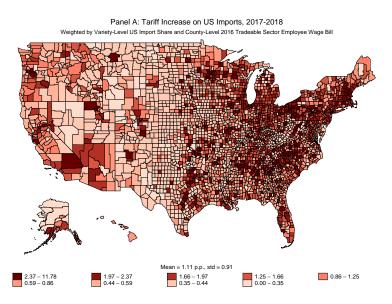
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Take Our Cheese, Please: American Cheese Makers Suffer Under New Tariffs

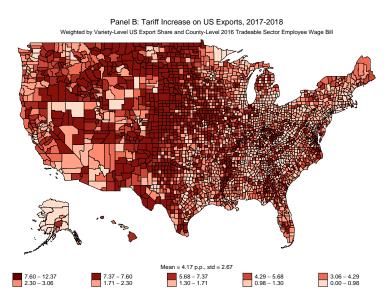
Chinese, Mexican tariffs on U.S. cheese and whey are hurting farmers and driving up stockpiles



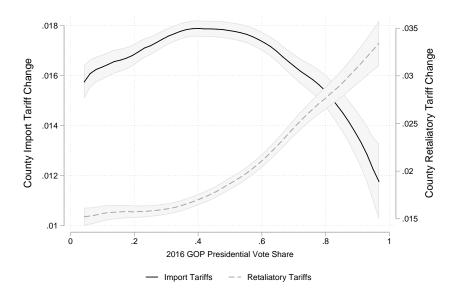
County-Level Import Tariff Changes



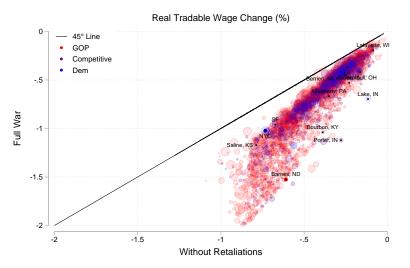
County-Level Retaliatory Tariff Changes



U.S. Tariffs, Retaliation, and 2016 GOP Presidential Vote Share

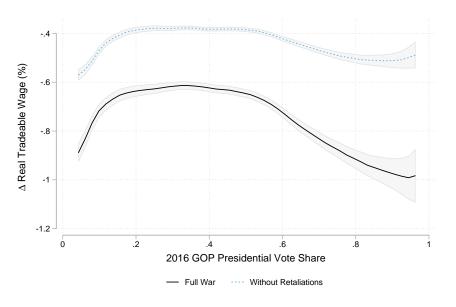


Real Wage Change (Full War vs No Retaliation)



• Real wage decline across counties: avg. 1.0% (s.d. 0.5%).

Tradeable Wages and 2016 GOP Vote Share



Conclusion

- Large and sustained declines in imports and exports
- No before-tariff import price decline
 - Complete pass-through of tariff to tariff-inclusive prices
- Small negative aggregate effect
 - But larger consumer loss
- Higher import protection provided to electorally competitive counties
 - but...Republican counties most negatively affected due to retaliation
 - Caveats
 - dynamic effects, uncertainty and investment