

*UCD CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH*  
*WORKING PAPER SERIES*  
*2025*

*SRAITH PÁIPÉAR OIBRE AN IONAI*  
*UM THAIGHDE EACNAMAÍOCHTA COBÁC*  
*2025*

## **Deriving the Trump Tariffs**

Ronald B. Davies  
University College Dublin School of Economics

WP25/09

April 2025

**UCD SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS**  
**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN**

**SCOIL NA HEACNAMAÍOCHTA COBÁC**  
**COLÁISTE NA HOLLSCOILE**  
**BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH**

**BELFIELD**  
**DUBLIN 4**

# Deriving the Trump Tariffs\*

Ronald B. Davies<sup>†</sup>

April 6, 2025

## Abstract

On April 2, 2025, President Donald Trump announced a wide-ranging set of “reciprocal tariffs” against many of its trading partners. The calculation of these tariffs have elicited a largely negative reaction in part due to the simple formula used to calculate them. In this note, I provide a model which, under the proper assumptions, does indeed result in the administration’s formula. I, however, leave it to the reader to judge whether these assumptions are reasonable.

**JEL classification:** F13

**Keywords:** Tariffs; Global Supply Chains; Passthrough.

---

\*This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon Europe research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 101061123. Financial support from The Research Council of Norway (Grants 326720 and 341289) is gratefully acknowledged. All errors are my own.

<sup>†</sup>University College Dublin, School of Economics; Skatteforsk. Email: ronald.davies@ucd.ie

# 1 Introduction

On April 2, 2025, President Donald Trump announced a sweeping set of tariffs against nearly all of the US's trading partners.<sup>1</sup> These tariffs have attracted numerous comments from academics, policy makers, and the wider public. Many of these comments have been negative and have focused on the simple formula used in their calculation. In this note, I present a model under which the administration's formula is indeed appropriate. This set-up, however, requires a number of assumptions which many may feel are inappropriate. My goal, however, is not to comment on their appropriateness nor the potential political or economic ramifications of the Trump trade policy, rather, it is to lay out a set of assumptions under which one can derive the optimal tariffs laid out in the announcement. I leave it to the reader to decide whether or not they agree with those assumptions.

## 2 Model

The stated goal of Trump's trade policy is to implement "the tariff rates that would drive bilateral trade deficits to zero".<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, based on the tariff rates set forth in the announcement, it is clear that the goal is in fact to drive the bilateral trade deficit in goods to zero, i.e. services trade does not factor into the government's objective function. We begin with three assumptions. For the rest of our discussion, we follow the administration's lead and refer to the trade deficit in goods as simply the "trade deficit".

**Assumption 1.** *For each country  $i$ , the objective function is decreasing in trade deficit and invariant to trade surpluses.*

**Assumption 2.** *The national objective function is additively separable in bilateral trade balances.*

---

<sup>1</sup>The announcement can be found at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/04/regulating-imports-with-a-reciprocal-tariff-to-rectify-trade-practices-that-contribute-to-large-and-pe>

<sup>2</sup>See <https://ustr.gov/issue-areas/reciprocal-tariff-calculations>.

**Assumption 3.** *The trade balance of country  $k$  is independent of the tariffs for country  $i$ .*

The first of these matches the aim to drive deficits to zero with no mention of nations where surpluses are positive. The latter two rationalize the focus on bilateral deficits with no need to consider how they interact with one another. Although this matches the administration's announcement, it omits empirically-relevant features such as global supply chains. Given the independence across countries, for the rest of the discussion we focus on a single country  $i$ .

Define the trade deficit between the US and country  $i$  as  $x_i - m_i \leq 0$ . In this, exports are  $x_i = \sum_j p_{ij}^x q_{ij}^x$  where  $p_{ij}$  is the price of good  $j$  in country  $i$  received by US exporters and  $q_{ij}$  is the quantity exported from the US to  $i$ . Likewise, imports are  $m_i = \sum_j p_{ij}^m q_{ij}^m$  where the price  $p_{ij}^m$  is the price paid by US consumers.

Combining the above three assumptions, let the objective function be  $W = -\sum_i I_i f(x_i - m_i)$  where  $I_i$  is an indicator function that equals 1 if  $x_i < m_i$  and zero otherwise and  $f(\cdot)$  is an increasing function of the trade deficit. Note that, consistent with the announcement, this allows us to focus solely on trade deficits and ignore any cross-country general equilibrium effects. This objective function is maximized by choosing a vector of tariffs  $\tau_i$  where a generic element is a country-product level tariff  $\tau_{ij}$ .

Based on this objective function, it is clear that the optimal tariffs for country  $i$  will be those that set  $x_i = m_i$ . In order to arrive at the administration's formula for those tariffs, two further assumptions are needed.

**Assumption 4.** *Exports are independent of tariffs.*

**Assumption 5.** *The elasticities of import values and tariff passthrough are equal for all products and all countries.*

The first of these means that it is sufficient to simply focus on changes in imports. It is worth noting that this therefore rules out general equilibrium effects – as might occur when imported intermediates are used in the production of exports – or changes in export

demand due to exchange rates, both of which are explicitly stated in the announcement. The second of these means that we can safely ignore the need for differential tariffs across the products imported from country  $i$ . Note that this does not match the empirical findings of e.g. Grübler et al. (2021) and Feng et al. (2023).

As we are beginning from non-zero deficits, a discrete change in imports is required as indicated by the announcement's use of  $\Delta$  rather than marginal changes. Thus, taken as a whole, what is required is a change in imports of  $\Delta m_i = -(x_i - m_i)$ . The change in imports from a given change in tariffs has two aspects. Let  $\epsilon < 0$  be the elasticity of import demand with respect to the US price of imported products and  $\psi$  be the elasticity of US prices to the tariff (passthrough). We require one final assumption before we can arrive at the government's solution for the optimal tariff.

**Assumption 6.** *Assume that the elasticity of import demand and the passthrough elasticity are constant.*

This assumption allows us to use a marginal concept like elasticity when considering discrete changes.

This then allows us to write  $\Delta m_i = \epsilon\psi m_i \Delta\tau_i$ . Recalling that this should equal the opposite of the trade deficit, we arrive at

$$\Delta\tau_i = \frac{x_i - m_i}{\epsilon\psi m_i}. \tag{1}$$

This matches what is found in the announcement.

### 3 Conclusion

The goal of this note has been to lay out a set of assumptions under which the Trump administration's tariff plan is indeed the solution to an optimization problem. In particular, this requires an objective function that is independent across countries and ignores trade

surpluses, a setting where exports are independent of imports (unlike what occurs in supply chains), and where the elasticity of import demand and passthrough are identical across products and countries. As with any economic model, it is up to the reader to decide whether they feel the assumptions are reasonable ones. Furthermore, one can take issue with the elasticity values used by the administration in its final calculations. Nevertheless, I do hope that this discussion proves useful in that deliberation.

## References

- Feng, C., Han, L. & Li, L. (2023), Who pays for the tariffs and why? a tale of two countries, Cesifo working paper no. 10497.
- Grübler, J., Ghodsi, M. & Stehrer, R. (2021), 'Import demand elasticities revisited', *Journal of International Trade & Economic Development* **31**(1), 46–74.

- [WP24/04](#) Matthew Amalitinga Abagna, Cecília Hornok, Alina Mulyukova: 'Place-based Policies and Household Wealth in Africa' February 2024
- [WP24/05](#) David Madden: 'The Trajectory of Obesity in a Cohort of Irish Children and their Mothers: An Application of Sequence Analysis' March 2024
- [WP24/06](#) Aline Bütikofer, Deidre Coy, Orla Doyle, Rita Ginja: 'The Consequences of Miscarriage on Parental Investments' March 2024
- [WP24/07](#) Håkan J. Holm, Margaret Samahita, Roel van Veldhuizen, Erik Wengström: 'Anchoring and Subjective Belief Distributions' April 2024
- [WP24/08](#) Judith M. Delaney, Paul J. Devereux: 'Gender Differences in Graduate Degree Choices' April 2024
- [WP24/09](#) Ciarán Mac Domhnaill: 'All hail? The impact of ride hailing platforms on the use of other transport modes' April 2024
- [WP24/10](#) Margaret Samahita: '"Luxury beliefs": Signaling through ideology?' June 2024
- [WP24/11](#) Alan de Bromhead, Seán Kenny: 'Irish Regional GDP since Independence' June 2024
- [WP24/12](#) Ronald B. Davies, James R. Markusen: 'Capital Ideas: Modelling and Measuring Factors in the Knowledge Capital Model' July 2024
- [WP24/13](#) Karl Whelan: 'Samuelson's Fallacy of Large Numbers With Decreasing Absolute Risk Aversion' July 2024
- [WP24/14](#) Cormac Ó Gráda: 'H1N1 and WW1: The Spanish Flu and the Great War' July 2024
- [WP24/15](#) Benjamin Elsner, Eoin T. Flaherty, Stefanie Haller: 'Brexit Had no Measurable Effect on Irish Exporters' August 2024
- [WP24/16](#) Eoin T. Flaherty: 'Are workers with multinational experience a determinant in startup success?' August 2024
- [WP24/17](#) Timothy G. Conley, Morgan Kelly: 'The Standard Errors of Persistence' October 2024
- [WP24/18](#) Zilong Li, Xi Chen, Zuzanna Studnicka: 'Have you eaten? The long-run impact of the Great Leap Famine on recent trade' November 2024
- [WP24/19](#) Karl Whelan: 'On Estimates of Insider Trading in Sports Betting' December 2024
- [WP25/20](#) Ciarán Mac Domhnaill: 'Driving over the hill: Car intensity during structural transformation' December 2024
- [WP25/01](#) Judith M. Delaney, Paul J. Devereux: 'Levelling the Playing Field? SES Differences in Graduate Degree Choices' February 2025
- [WP25/02](#) Zilong Li: 'International and Domestic Border Effects in China: Multilateral Resistances, Trade Substitution Patterns and Linguistic Differences' March 2025
- [WP25/03](#) Karl Whelan: 'The Gambler's Ruin with Asymmetric Payoffs' March 2025
- [WP25/04](#) David Madden: 'What Factors Are Associated with the Decline in Young People's Mental Health During the Early Stages of the Covid Pandemic?' March 2025
- [WP25/05](#) Zilong Li: 'Home Bias in Trade within China: The Role of Trust' March 2025
- [WP25/06](#) Bing Guo, Sarah Parlane, Lisa Ryan: 'Regulatory Compliance in the Automobile Industry' March 2025
- [WP25/07](#) Zhiyong Huang, Fabrice Kämpfen: 'Do Health Check-Ups for Seniors Improve Diagnosis and Management of Hypertension and Diabetes in China?' April 2025
- [WP25/08](#) Bernardo S. Buarque, Ronald B. Davies, Ryan M. Hynes, Gianluca Tarasconi, Dieter F. Kogler: 'The Uneven Regional Geography of Telecommunication Standard Essential Patents' April 2025