

Abstract: We develop a theory of bargaining in firm-to-firm trade with two-sided market power. The framework accommodates flexible upstream and downstream market structures and yields analytical expressions for pair-specific markups and pass-through elasticities as functions of market shares and bargaining strength. We validate key model's predictions using U.S. import data and estimate high oligopsony power: importers exert substantial bargaining leverage, and export supply is upward-sloping. The model predicts incomplete pass-through of the 2018 tariffs, mainly due to cost adjustments triggered by falling demand from dominant buyers. Ignoring this mechanism can overstate tariff incidence by up to 30%, distorting trade policy conclusions.