

# Critical Minerals, Geopolitics, and the Green Transition

Tomás Domínguez-lino  
UChicago

Jonathan Elliott  
Johns Hopkins

Allan Hsiao  
Stanford

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# Critical minerals will power the green transition

- Lithium, nickel, cobalt, and other minerals
  - Critical for producing advanced batteries
  - Concentrated geographically, but traded globally
- What are the global impacts of national mineral policy?

Markets | Hyperdrive

## Indonesia Weighs Deep Cuts to Nickel Mining to Boost Prices

- Energy ministry considering big reduction, people familiar say
- Prices of the battery metal have slumped on booming supply



By [Eddie Spence](#) and [Faris Mokhtar](#)



December 19, 2024 at 6:55 AM GMT-3



## Australian lithium supply cut by 15% due to low spodumene prices

14th November 2024

## Cobalt export quotas: DRC sets limits to rebalance global supply

The Democratic Republic of Congo has introduced cobalt export quotas following the suspension period, setting limits on shipments while outlining future allocations. The policy is designed to balance global supply and demand while supporting the country's ambition to develop domestic processing capacity.

September 22, 2025

## South America looks at creating "lithium OPEC"

[Cecilia Jarnasmie](#) | March 6, 2023 | 6:53 am [Intelligence](#) [News](#) [Suppliers & Equipment](#) [Latin America](#) [Lithium](#)

# This paper

- Concentrated endowments give countries market power
  - But exercising market power may induce switching
- Geopolitics
  - Mineral policy affects all mineral-endowed countries
- Green adoption
  - Mineral policy affects all battery technologies

# Contributions

- Concentration in global energy markets with **complementarity**

Farrokhi (2020), Bornstein et al. (2023), Abuin (2024), De Cannière (2024), Kellogg (2024)

- Geopolitics of market power with **policy spillovers**

Antràs & Chor (2013), Ossa (2014), Farrell & Newman (2019), Clayton et al. (2026)

- Dynamic estimation with **cost data**

Hall (1978), Scott (2013), Asker et al. (2024), Clausing et al. (2025), Hsiao (2026)

Data

## Critical minerals

- Energy technology inputs with supply disruption risk (Energy Act of 2020)
  - Separate: rare earths for national security purposes

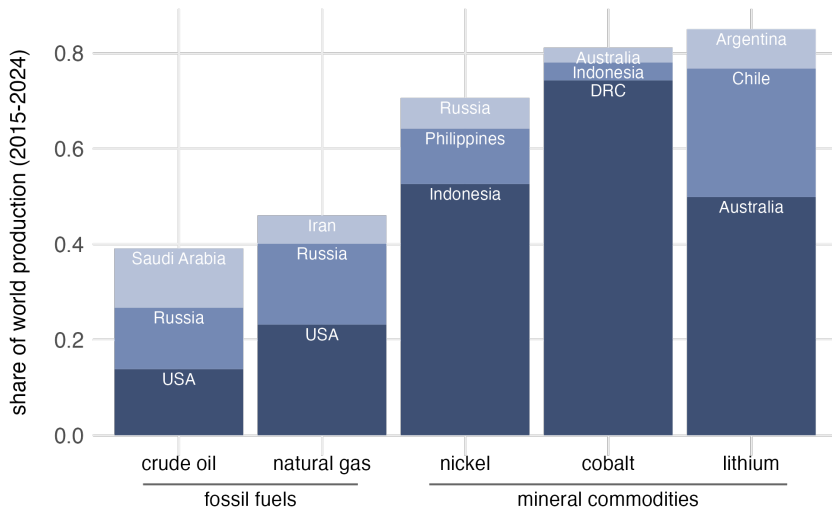
	EV battery market		
	Lithium	Cobalt	Nickel
%	65	45	11
\$1B	18	7	5



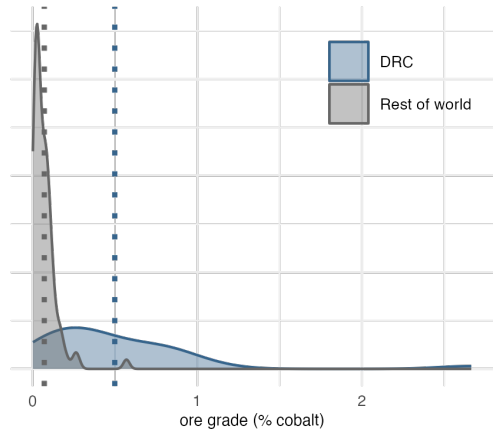
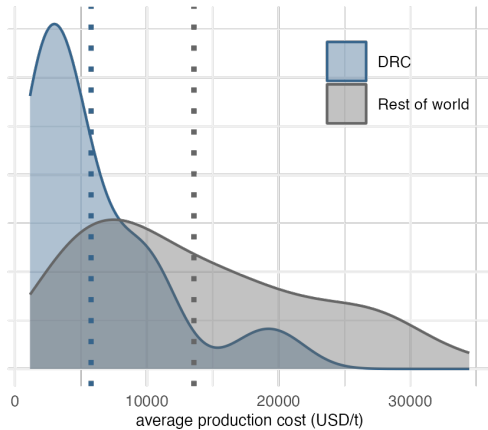
# Data

- Annual mineral production by mine (GlobalData, S&P, Benchmark Minerals)
  - Capacity, ore grade, ownership, mine type, mining method
- Quarterly battery demand by type-make-model-country (Rho Motion)
  - E.g., NCM batteries in Tesla Model S production in the US in Q1 2024
- Battery-mineral “recipes” (Argonne National Laboratory)

## Mineral supply is geographically concentrated

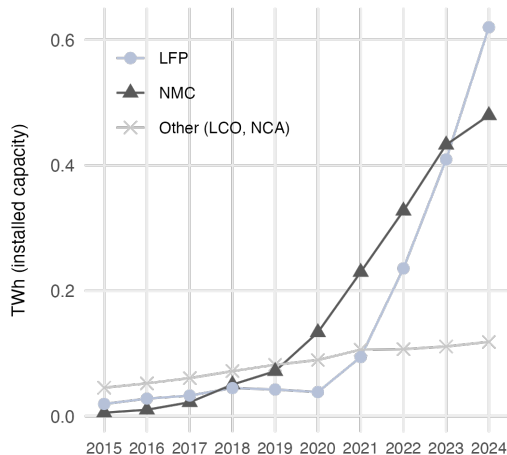


## With heterogeneous costs across mines



# Mineral recipes vary by battery technology

	nickel	lithium	cobalt
LFP	-	0.09	-
NCA	0.65	0.1	0.12
NMC	0.47	0.11	0.18



Theory

# Market power

- **Minerals**  $\mathcal{M}$  with supply  $s^m$ 
  - $\ell$ : lithium produced only by country  $\ell$
  - $n$ : nickel produced only by country  $n$
- **Technologies**  $\mathcal{J}$  with demand  $d_j$ 
  - $L$ : lithium-heavy
  - $N$ : nickel-heavy
- **Recipes**  $\mathcal{R}$ 
  - Yields derived demand  $d^m(d_L, d_N)$

# Complementarity

- Own-price demand elasticity:  $\frac{\partial d^n}{\partial p^n} < 0$
- Cross-price demand elasticity:  $\frac{\partial d^\ell}{\partial p^n} < > 0$ 
  - **Complementarity** ( $<$ ) from joint use in technologies  $L$  and  $N$
  - **Substitutability** ( $>$ ) from switching to technology  $L$ , which uses more  $\ell$
- On net, lithium and nickel can be gross complements or substitutes

# Geopolitics and green adoption

- Country  $n$  restricts  $s^n$ , so  $p^n \uparrow$
- Geopolitical spillovers
  - Complements: less  $d^\ell$ , so  $p^\ell \downarrow$  (hurts)
  - Substitutes: more  $d^\ell$ , so  $p^\ell \uparrow$  (helps)
- Green adoption in aggregate
  - Complements: higher  $p^n$  but lower  $p^\ell$
  - Substitutes: higher  $p^n$  and  $p^\ell$ , so  $d_L + d_N \downarrow$  (hurts)



# Empirical model

- ① **Technology demand**  $d_j$  with scientific recipes  $r_j^m$
- ② **Mineral supply**  $s^m$  with dynamics and heterogeneous endowments
- ③ **Equilibrium prices**  $(p^m, p_j)$  with heterogeneous policies

Demand

## Demand by technology $j$ , region $k$ , year $t$

$$w_{jkt} = \alpha_{jt} + \beta_j \log \frac{X_{kt}}{P_t} + \sum_{j'} \gamma_{jj'} \log p_{j't} + \varepsilon_{jkt}$$

$$\log P_t = \sum_j \alpha_{jt} \log p_{jt} + \frac{1}{2} \sum_{jj'} \gamma_{jj'} \log p_{jt} \log p_{j't}$$

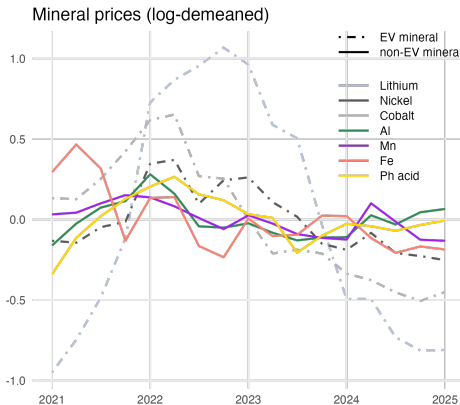
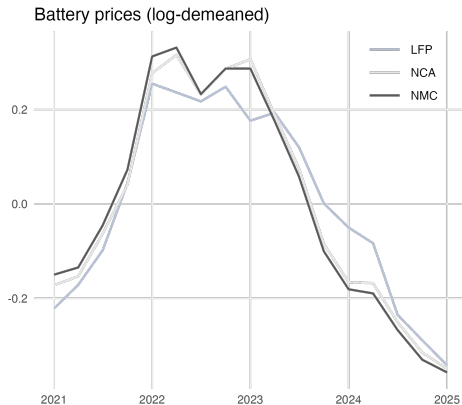
- Almost ideal demand system (Deaton & Muellbauer 1980)
  - Expenditure shares  $w_{jkt}$ , prices  $p_{jt}$ , translog price index  $P_t$
- Flexible substitution across differentiated technologies
- **Endogeneity** from demand shocks  $\varepsilon_{jkt}$

## Estimation with instruments

$$z_{jt} = \sum_{m \in \mathcal{M}'} r_j^m p^{mt}, \quad \mathcal{M}' = \{\text{Al, Mn, Fe, Ph}\}$$

- Secondary mineral prices as cost shifters for technology prices
  - Relevance: minerals affect technologies through recipes  $r_j^m$
  - Exclusion: EVs are less than 3% of demand for  $\mathcal{M}'$

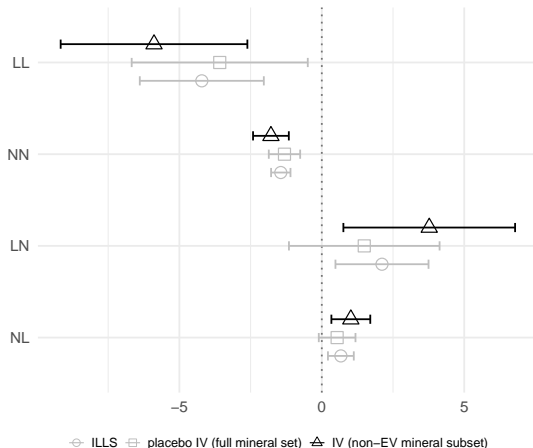
# Price variation



- Recipe variation disentangles technology prices, which move together
  - We exclude lithium, cobalt, and nickel, which move with technology

# Elasticities

D. Marshallian elasticities  $\partial \log d_j / \partial \log p_j$



- IV > OLS as expected
  - But only with  $\mathcal{M}' \subset \mathcal{M}$
- $LL > NN$  reflects quality of  $L$ 
  - Shorter driving range
  - More price-sensitive customers
- $LN$  and  $NL$  capture switching

Supply

## Supply by mine $i$ , year $t$

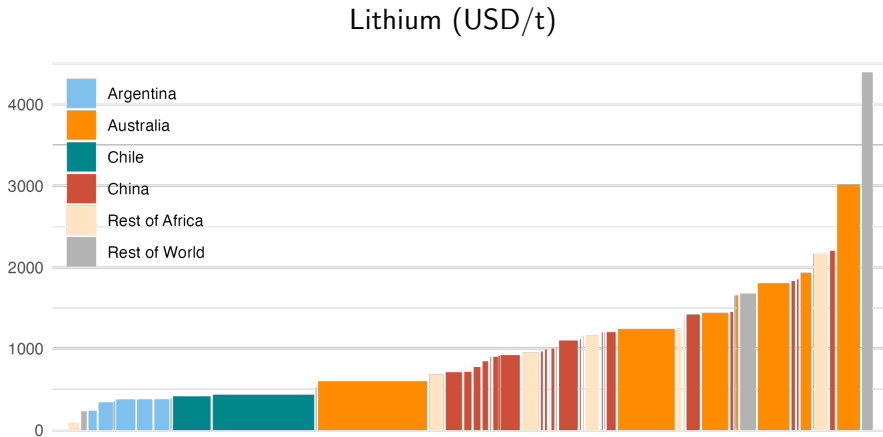
- We can construct supply curves directly from our cost data
  - Usually no cost data, so need to estimate full cost structure
- Simplest model assumes myopia,  $mc = ac$ , price-taking
  - Need marginal revenue  $mr^{it}$ , marginal cost  $mc^{it}$
  - Have capacity  $\bar{s}^i$ , prices  $p^t$ , average cost  $ac^{it}$  as data

$$s^{it} = \bar{s}^i \cdot \overbrace{\mathbb{1}(mr^{it} > mc^{it})}^{\text{myopia}}$$

$p^t$                        $ac^{it}$



# Average costs by mine



# Challenges

- With myopia, no **dynamics** from finite reserves
- With  $mc = ac$ , no **cost convexity**
  - Local approximation only for small changes
  - Predicts all-or-nothing production and discrete jumps
- We keep price-taking by mines (with market power by country)

# Dynamics with cost convexity

## Euler condition

$$p^t g^i - mc^{it} = \beta \mathbb{E}^{it}[p^{t+1} g^i - mc^{it+1}]$$

## Average cost

$$ac^{it} = \frac{\kappa}{2} u^{it} + \varepsilon^{it}$$

## Marginal cost

$$mc^{it} = \kappa u^{it} + \varepsilon^{it}$$

- Extraction  $x^{it}$  and ore grade  $g^i$  yield production  $s^{it} = x^{it} g^i$ 
  - Shadow cost of extraction for finite reserves (Hotelling)
  - Cost convexity  $\kappa$  in capacity utilization  $u^{it} = x^{it} / \bar{x}^i$
  - Unobserved costs  $\varepsilon^{it}$  enter linearly
- Estimate convexity  $\kappa$  with **endogeneity** from cost shocks  $\varepsilon^{it}$

# Differencing

- **Euler condition** in differences with expectational error

$$\underbrace{\Delta p^t g^i}_{\beta y^{it+1} - y^{it}} = \kappa \Delta u^{it} + \Delta \varepsilon^{it} + \underbrace{\eta^{it}}_{\beta y^{it+1} - \beta \mathbb{E}^{it}[y^{it+1}]}$$

- **Average costs** in differences

$$\Delta ac^{it} = \frac{\kappa}{2} \Delta u^{it} + \Delta \varepsilon^{it}$$

- We subtract to eliminate  $\Delta \varepsilon^{it}$

$$\Delta p^t g^i - \Delta ac^{it} = \frac{\kappa}{2} \Delta u^{it} + \eta^{it}$$

# Estimation with instruments

- 1 Estimate convexity  $\kappa$  with instrument  $u^{it} \in \mathcal{J}^{it}$  (Hall 1978)

$$\Delta p^t g^i - \Delta ac^{it} = \frac{\kappa}{2} \Delta u^{it} + \eta^{it}$$

- 2 Recover unobserved costs  $\varepsilon^{it}$

$$ac^{it} - \frac{\hat{\kappa}}{2} u^{it} = \hat{\varepsilon}^{it}$$

# Supply curves

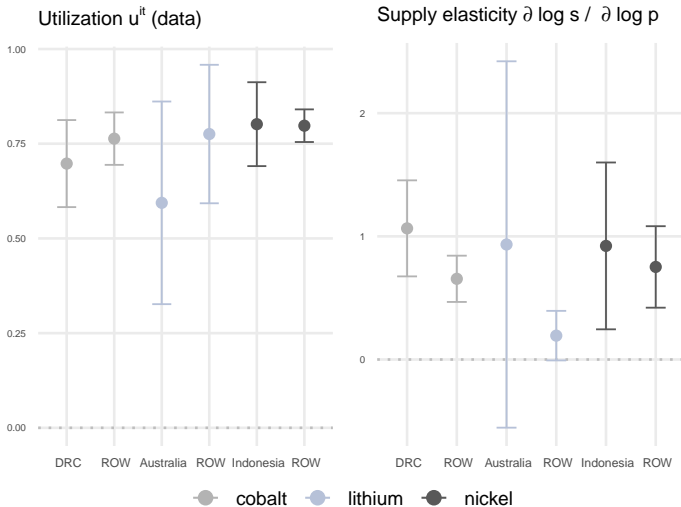
$$u^{it} = \frac{2}{\kappa}(p^t g^i - ac^{it} - \bar{\eta}^{it}), \quad \frac{\partial \log s^{it}}{\partial \log p^t} = \frac{p^t g^i}{p^t g^i - ac^{it} - \bar{\eta}^{it}}$$

- Still reflect cost data  $ac^{it}$ 
  - But with convexity through  $\kappa$
  - Dynamics through  $\bar{\eta}^{it} = \sum_{t'=t}^{\infty} \beta^{t'-t} \eta^{it'} (p^{t'+1})$

# Additional features

- Richer heterogeneity in costs
  - Beyond observed  $(g^i, \bar{x}^i)$  and common  $\kappa$
- Ore grade that evolves with extraction
  - Production today affects revenues tomorrow
- Measurement error in average costs
  - Enters on the LHS, avoiding bias

# Elasticities



- Top producers are largely more elastic
- Lower utilization rates, so have room to grow



# Counterfactuals

## Equilibrium prices

- Mineral prices clear markets (with non-battery demand  $\delta^{mt}$ )

$$\sum_{i \in \mathcal{I}^{mt}} s^{it} = \sum_j r_j^m d_{jt} + \delta^{mt}$$

- Technology prices from mineral prices (with refining/manufacturing markups  $\mu_{jt}$ )

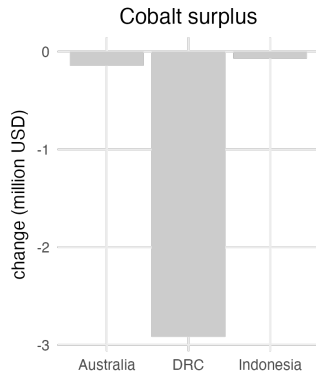
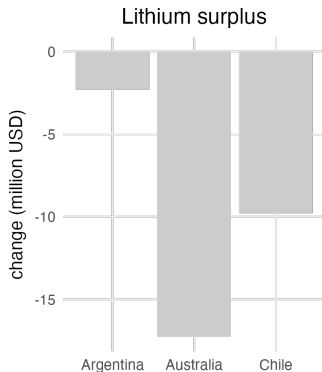
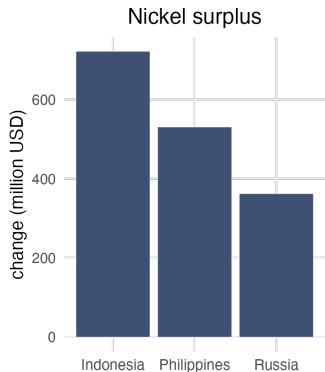
$$p_{jt} = \sum_m r_j^m p^{mt} + \mu_{jt}$$

## 1. Supply chain vulnerability

	Baseline share (%)	Price change (%Δ)
Indonesia (Ni)	35	67
Australia (Li)	45	241
DRC (Co)	71	774

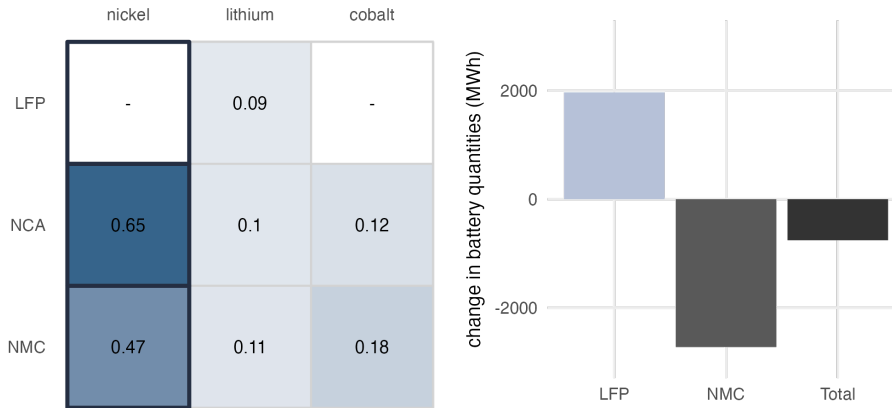
- Remove top producer, solve for equilibrium price changes
  - Bigger for lithium: inelastic supply from competitors
  - Biggest for cobalt: DRC has major ore grade advantage

## 2. Unilateral policy: Indonesian nickel and geopolitics



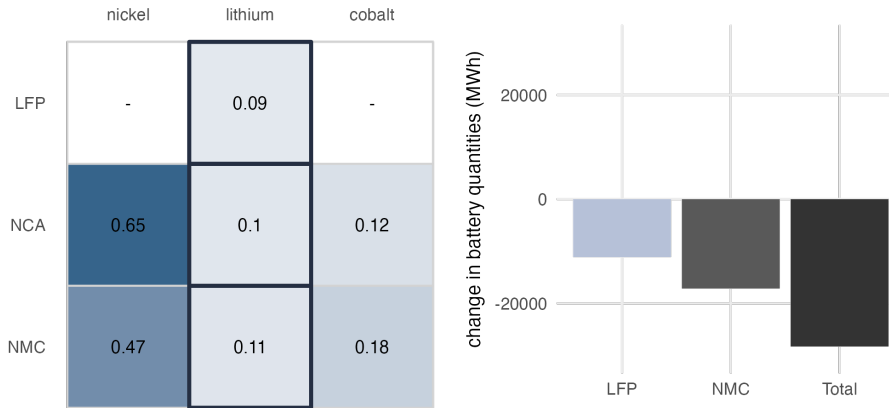
- Indonesia restricts nickel: substitutes win and free-ride, complements lose

## 2. Unilateral policy: Indonesian nickel and green adoption



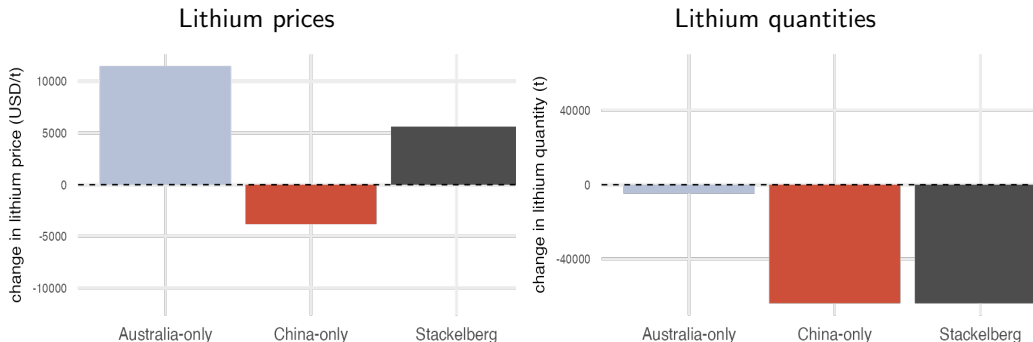
- Aggregate adoption falls, but with dampening from switching

### 3. Unilateral policy: Australian lithium and green adoption



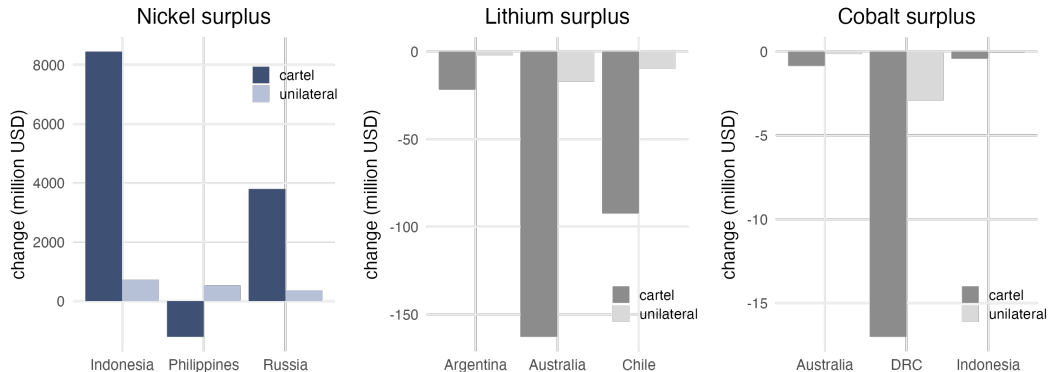
- Aggregate adoption falls greatly, as lithium is a universal input

## 4. Bilateral policy: Australian lithium and Chinese retaliation



- China restricts lithium demand: prices rise less, quantities fall much more

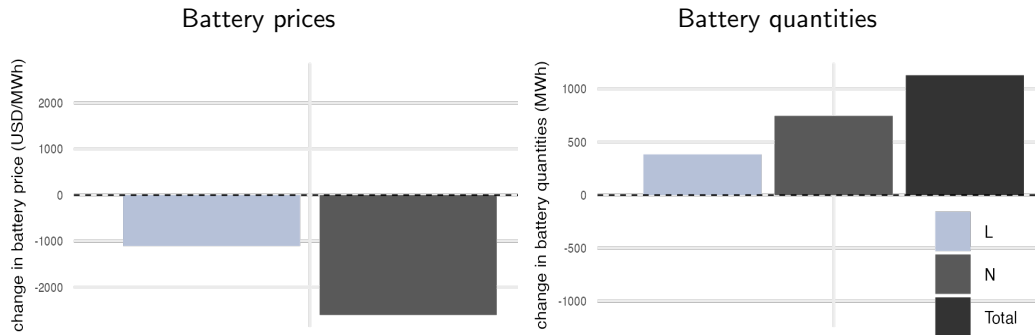
## 5. Cartel policy: OPEC for nickel (ONEC)



- Cartel restricts nickel: bigger cut, bigger effects, but Philippines loses



## 6. Cartel policy: OPEC for nickel and lithium



- Nickel and lithium cartels merge: prices fall, adoption rises
  - Complementarity leads to pro-competitive effects (Cournot 1838)
  - Potential gains from common ownership by Chinese firms

# Summary

- Critical minerals will power the green transition
- Mineral resources are **concentrated** and **interdependent**
  - With implications for geopolitics and green adoption