

# Critical Minerals, Geopolitics, and the Green Transition

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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?
  - Policy spillovers, supply disruptions, and mineral cartels
  - With implications for geopolitics and green adoption

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

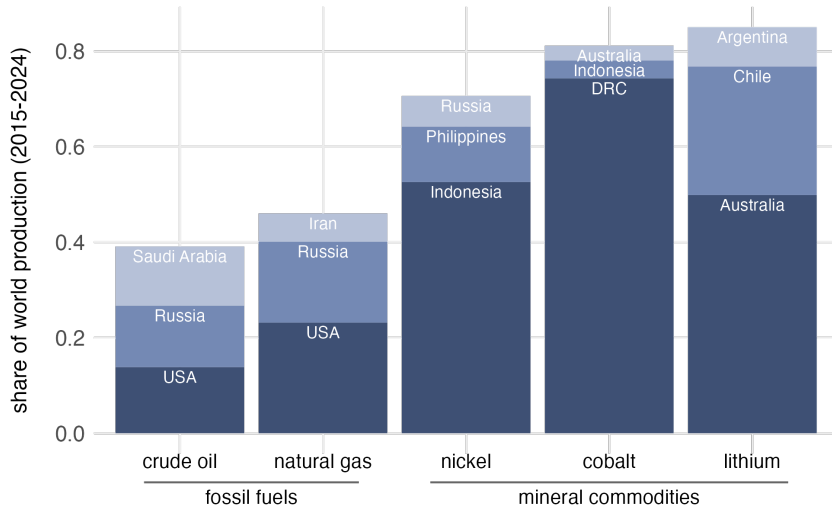
| EV battery % of world demand |        |        |          |        |           |
|------------------------------|--------|--------|----------|--------|-----------|
| Lithium                      | Cobalt | Nickel | Graphite | Copper | Manganese |
| 65                           | 45     | 11     | 10       | 4      | 1         |



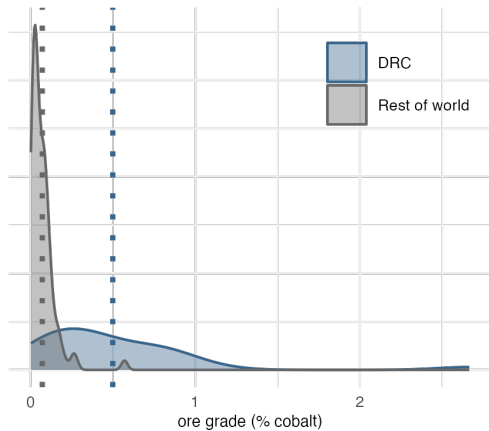
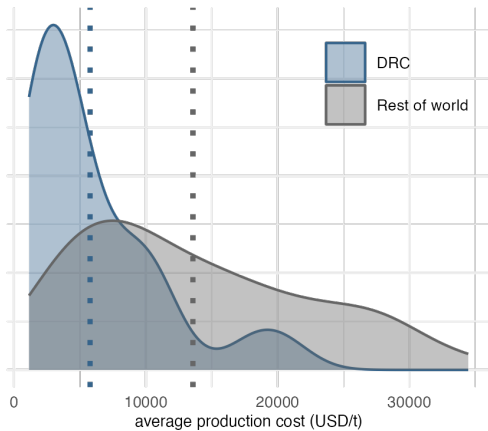
# Data

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

# Mineral supply is geographically concentrated

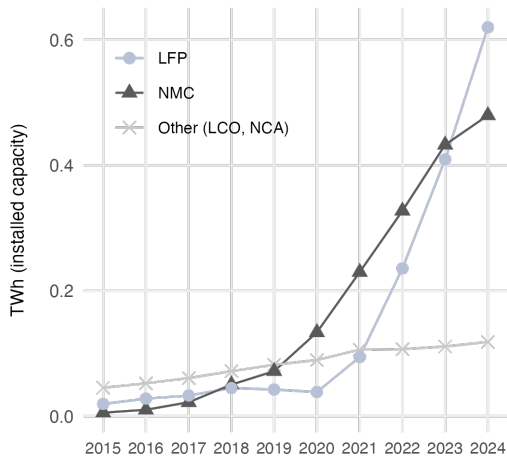


## With heterogeneous costs across mines



## Mineral recipes vary by battery type

|     | 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

## Same

- Demand  $d_j$  for technologies
- Supply  $s^m$  of minerals
- Recipes  $R_j^m$  from electrochemistry
- Prices  $(p^m, p_j)$  in equilibrium

## Additional

- Many countries, technologies, minerals
- Heterogeneous endowments across countries
- Heterogeneous policy across countries
- Dynamic supply of minerals

Demand

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

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

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

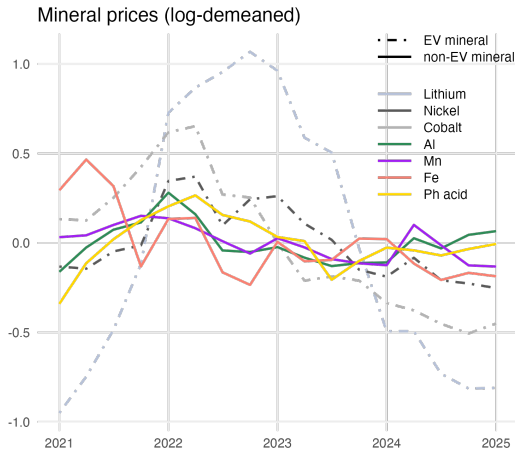
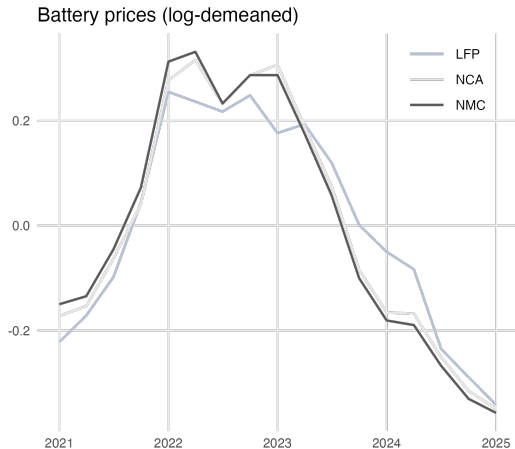
- Almost ideal demand system with expenditure shares  $w_{jkt}$  and prices  $p_{jt}$ 
  - Non-linearity from translog price index  $P_t$
  - **Endogeneity** from unobserved demand shocks  $\varepsilon_{jkt}$

# Estimation

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

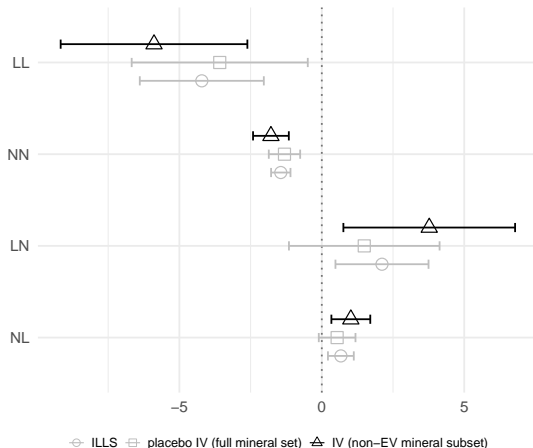
- Instrument for technology prices with non-EV mineral prices as cost shifters
  - Relevance: mineral  $p^{mt}$  affect technology  $p_{jt}$  through recipes  $R_j^m$
  - Exclusion: EVs are less than 3% of non-EV mineral demand

# Price variation



# 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 $s^{it}$ by mineral $m(i)$ , mine $i$ , year $t$

- Simplest model: marginal revenues and costs  $(r^{it}, c^{it})$ 
  - Under myopia, just compare  $r^{it}$  and  $c^{it}$
  - Under  $MC = AC$ , our cost data are  $c^{it}$
  - Under price-taking, our price data are  $r^{it}$
- Cost data  $\rightarrow$  empirical supply curves
  - If  $p^t > c^{it}$ , produce at capacity
  - If  $p^t < c^{it}$ , produce zero



# Problems

- Myopia shuts down **dynamics**
  - Despite finite reserves and ore grade that falls with extraction
- $MC = AC$  shuts down **cost convexity**
  - Predicts all-or-nothing production and discrete jumps
- We make progress on both
  - But keep price-taking by mines (with market power by country)

# Dynamics with cost convexity

## Euler condition

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

## Marginal cost

$$\bar{c}^{it} = a + bu^{it} + e^{it}$$

## Average cost

$$c^{it} = a + \frac{b}{2}u^{it} + e^{it}$$

- Production  $s^{it}$  depletes reserves  $S^{it+1} = S^{it} - s^{it}$ 
  - Shadow cost of production today (Hotelling)
  - Convex in utilization  $u^{it} = s^{it}/\bar{s}^i$  of capacity  $\bar{s}^i$
- We observe average costs as **data**
  - Estimate remaining cost structure  $(a, b)$
  - **Endogeneity** from unobserved cost shocks  $e^{it}$

# Differencing

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

$$\underbrace{\Delta p^t}_{p^t - \beta p^{t+1}} = \Delta a + b \Delta u^{it} + \Delta e^{it} + \underbrace{\eta^{it}}_{\mathbb{E}^{it}[x^{it+1}] - x^{it+1}}$$

- **Average costs** in differences

$$\Delta \bar{c}^{it} = \Delta a + \frac{b}{2} \Delta u^{it} + \Delta e^{it}$$

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

$$\Delta p^t - \Delta \bar{c}^{it} = \frac{b}{2} \Delta u^{it} + \eta^{it}$$

# Estimation

- 1 Estimate  $b$  with lagged instruments  $u^{it} \in \mathcal{J}^{it}$

$$\Delta p^t - \Delta \bar{c}^{it} = \frac{b}{2} \Delta u^{it} + \eta^{it}$$

- 2 Recover  $a$  and unobserved costs  $e^{it}$

$$\bar{c}^{it} - \frac{\hat{b}}{2} u^{it} = a + e^{it}$$

# Intuition

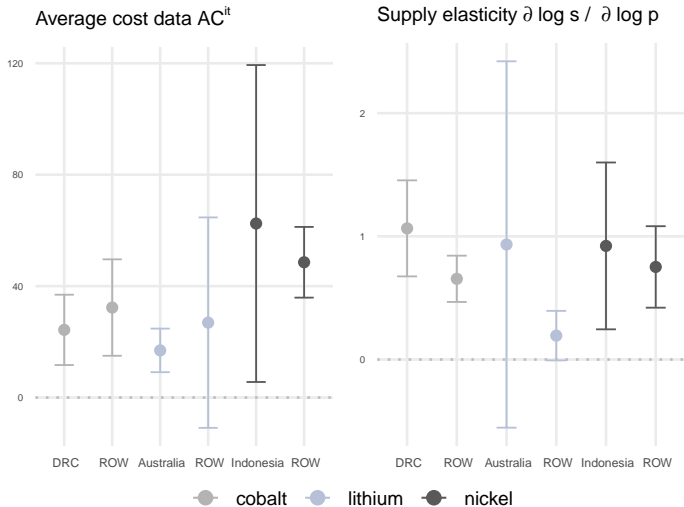
$$u^{it} = \frac{2}{b}(p^t - \bar{c}^{it} - \bar{\eta}^{it}), \quad \frac{\partial \log s^{it}}{\partial \log p^t} = \frac{p^t}{p^t - \bar{c}^{it} - \bar{\eta}^{it}}$$

- Supply curve still reflects cost data  $\bar{c}^{it}$ 
  - But have smooth responses to prices  $p^t$
  - Dynamics through  $\bar{\eta}^{it} = \sum_{t'=0}^{\infty} \beta^{t'} \eta^{it+t'}$  for  $\eta^{it}(p^{t+1})$

## Additional features

- Ore quality that degrades with extraction
  - Richer dynamics as production today raises costs tomorrow
- Heterogeneity in cost parameters
  - Richer cost structure than common  $(a, b)$
- 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
- Consistent with higher cost convexity, despite lower average costs

# 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  $\mu_{jt}$ )

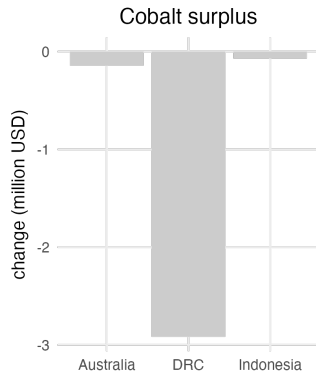
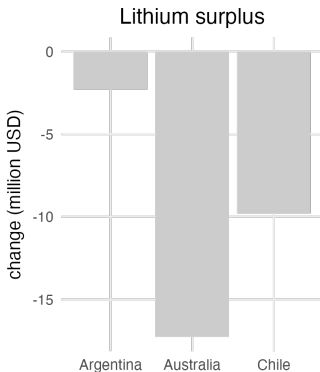
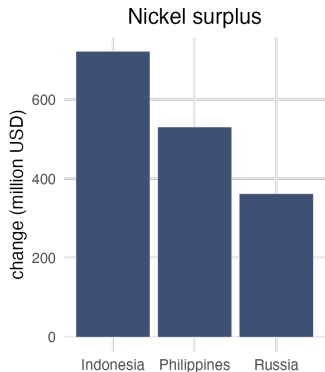
$$p_{jt} = \sum_m R_j^m p^{mt} + \mu_{jt}$$

## 1. Supply chain vulnerability

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

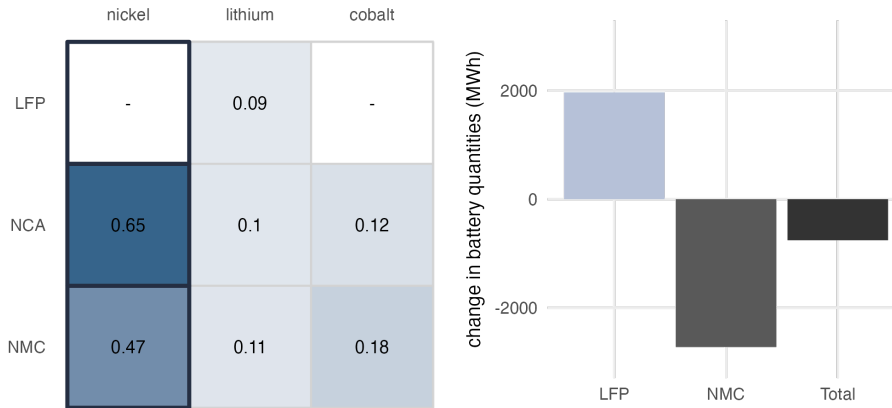
- Remove the largest producer, solve for equilibrium price changes
  - Bigger for lithium: inelastic demand due to universal use
  - Biggest for cobalt: DRC has major ore grade advantage

## 2. Unilateral policy: Indonesian nickel and geopolitics



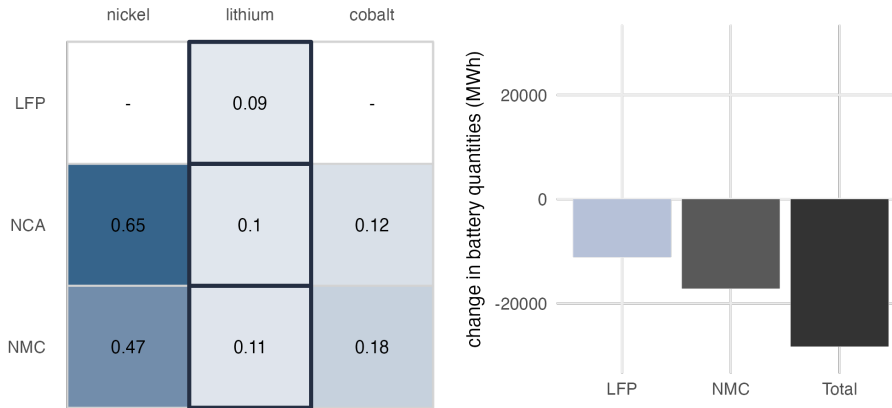
- Indonesia restricts nickel: substitutes win and free-ride, complements lose

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



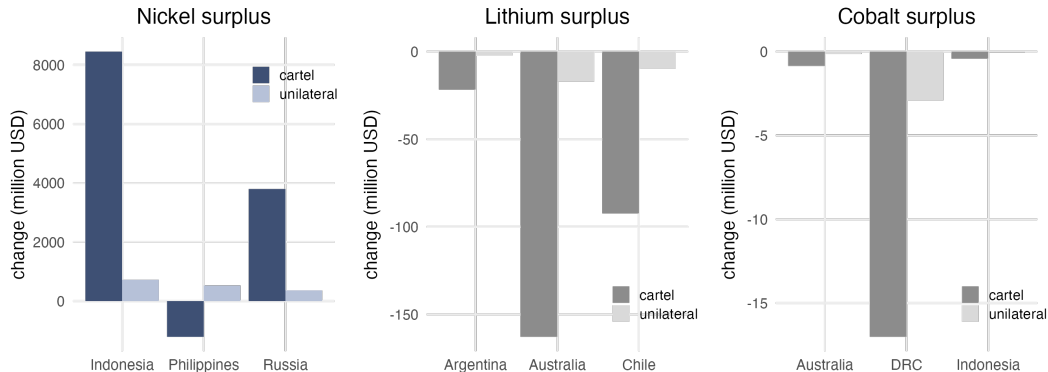
- Aggregate adoption falls, but with dampening from switching

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



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

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



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

# Summary

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