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# 2026 TRADE FORUM

Trade Policy in a Fragmented World:  
Accessions, Industrial Policy, and  
the New Multilateralism

Anabel Marin  
Institute of Development Studies,  
UK – Conicet, Argentina

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# Critical minerals: a development opportunity that can go wrong

4-6x

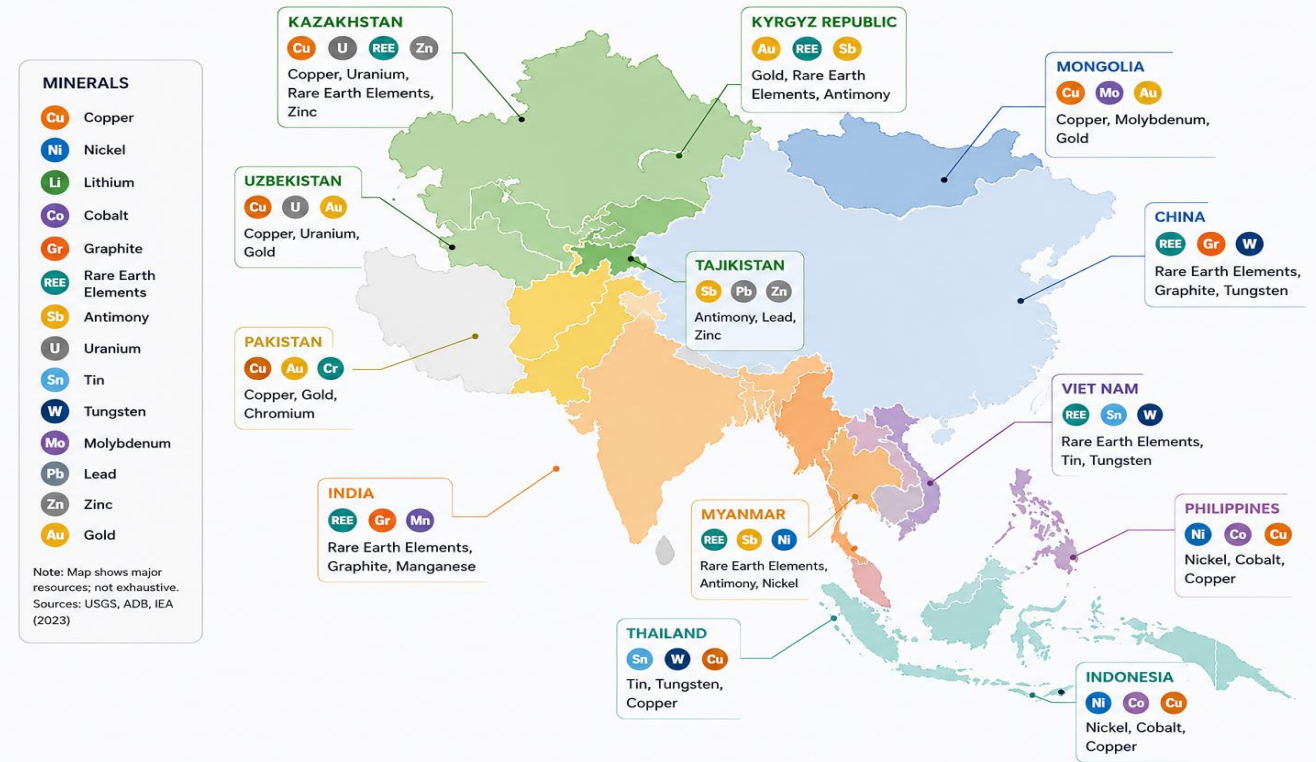
Demand growth by 2040

Strategic: Clean energy - Digital -  
Defence

Supply concentration creates  
tensions

Central Asia Alone

38% Mn, 30% Cr, 20% Pb, 13% Zn, 5% Cu Co



**Indonesia**

60% world nickel production world #1

**Philippines**

9% world nickel production

**Tajikistan**

25% world antimony (world #2)

**Vietnam**

World #2 rare earth reserves

**Uzbekistan**

World's 11th largest copper reserves

The question is how critical minerals become development

# Indonesia's nickel transformation: striking, specific, and not a recipe

2015 → 2024

2020 → 2023

**6%→60%**

World nickel production

**2→ over 40**

Smelters

**\$11,9→\$38-40bn**

Export revenues

**0%→30%**

Battery-grade supply

**POLICIES USED:** Export ban on unprocessed ore Conditioned FDI Integrated industrial parks State-sanctioned captive coal plants Nationalistic narrative

The policies did not create the conditions. The conditions made the policies work

## GLOBAL CONDITIONS

### Global market

Exploding demand and China need offshore

### Global geopolitics

China–Indonesia strategic alignment

### Global technology

A new technology (HPAL): available, dromant

## DOMESTIC CONDITIONS

### Political, institutions

Centralised authority sustained export ban, coordination capacity

### Domestic resources

Large nickel reserves + captive cheap coal , industrial capabilities, cheap labour

### Domestic market

Fragmented, state-linked miners + no strong processors

**All six conditions co-evolved simultaneously, remove any one - the outcome changes entirely.**

*This is not a recipe. It is a specific historical configuration.*

# Indonesia: three sustainability questions

## Economic & technological

0.3 patents  
per \$bn exports

- China controls ~75% refining
- 80–90% of machinery from China
- 82% of exports return to China
- Knowledge and market dependency
- **Repositioning ≠ upgrading**

## Environmental

170 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>/year  
\$2.6bn health costs

- EU buyers challenging Indonesian nickel
- Ecosystem destruction · water and energy competition · toxic releases · long-term liabilities
- **ESG is necessary - but not sufficient.**

+ local monitoring with teeth

## Socio-political

Conflicts ·  
resistance growing

- Labour disputes, land conflicts, socio-environmental conflicts
- **Social licence crucial**

# Every country can find a position - which pathway fits yours?

## ↓ DOWNSTREAM

*Processing · refining · manufacturing*

- Highest value · hardest configuration
- Intensive use of the resources

## ↑ UPSTREAM CAPABILITIES

*Knowledge-intensive extraction*

- Automation · Direct Lithium extraction, low-water,
- Low-carbon · geological knowledge

### Tajikistan

Antimony · China tech over-specified for richer deposits? → adapted tech = more learning

## 🎯 SUPPLIER ECOSYSTEMS

*Local firms servicing mining*

- Engineering · environmental services
- Software · water · logistics
- **More possibilities, most accessible entry point**

### PH Philippines

Semiconductor · EMS Engineering labour force  
→ pivot to mining services

## Policy options

Objective	Restrictive instruments	Enabling instruments
Downstream	Export bans · export taxes · beneficiation	SEZs · SOEs · tax incentives · joint ventures, preferential
Supplier	Local content · licensing conditionalities	Supplier matching · R&D · training · innovation finance
Complementary	Infrastructure obligations	Geological surveys · energy investment · regulatory clarity

**Cross-cutting - required: Public-private partnerships · Social licence & community agreements · International cooperation**

# Chile's minerals strategy: striking results, enabling policies

**World #1  
copper**

30+ years · 24% world production ·

**World #2  
Zero → 26%**

252,000t LCE · Atacama alone

**World #1**

Clean energy in mining  
4,500 MW · 3× Australia

**3,000+ suppliers**

Knowledge-intensive  
\$13bn combined sales

**Policy mix - almost entirely enabling, not restrictive · Chile built leverage through institutional credibility**

Objective	Restrictive instruments	Enabling instruments
<b>Value addition &amp; processing</b>	Lithium non-concesible (1979 - inherited, repurposed)	Novandino Litio (state 50%+1) -Incentives, preferencial access for local processing
<b>Technology development</b>	—	Contractual R&D obligations · Public R&S investments - Public Technology Institute for Lithium
<b>Supplier development</b>	—	World Class Supplier programme · Corfo supplier matching ProChile mining services export promotion
<b>Env: Water &amp; desalination</b>	Freshwater use prohibited in water-scarce regions	Regulatory frameworks for private desalination · water technology innovation funds
<b>Clean energy</b>	—	Renewable energy auctions (ERNC) · green hydrogen national strategy · transmission infrastructure
<b>Communities &amp; PPPs</b>	SEIA/EIA (1994) · ILO 169 (2008) · Decree 66 (2013) Escazú (2022) · SEIA 2.0	Community benefit agreements · indigenous water rights · participatory monitoring
<b>International partnerships</b>	—	EU–Chile lithium partnership · US critical minerals dialogue · Japan JOGMEC · bilateral investment treaties · OECD membership

**🔗 Cross-cutting -State-owned enterprises (Codelco · Novandino · ENAMI) · Consensual institutional innovation · Long-term regulatory consistency · Negotiated legitimacy with communities and investors**

*Chile's most important 'restrictive' instrument was a 1979 Pinochet law it inherited and repurposed. Its real innovation was entirely on the enabling side.*

# Making the framework actionable - illustrated with Chile

Same six conditions -but which can you shape now, and which take time? Chile shows both.

● Shape now ● Takes time ● Largely given

DOMESTIC CONDITIONS

## Global market

▶ NOW: Green copper differentiation · use market share as leverage

▶ TIME: New buyer relationships · pricing power ·

## Global geopolitics

▶ NOW: Deliberate non-alignment · diversify investors · multiple deals

▶ TIME: Regional cooperation · collective negotiating · South-South alliances

## Global technology

▶ NOW: R&D obligations · state companies guide tech direction

▶ TIME: Local innovation capacity ·

## Domestic political capabilities

▶ NOW: Consistent regulatory frameworks negotiate with incumbents

▶ TIME: build legitimacy · community trust compounds over time

## Domestic market structure

▶ NOW: State ownership instruments , contract revisions · ENAMI for SMEs

▶ TIME: Low entry barriers, extraction, processing and suppliers

## Domestic capabilities

▶ NOW: ANID + Corfo investment · contractual R&D · Startup Chile · digital adoption in mining

▶ TIME: Supplier ecosystem, e.g. Enix · Neptuno · Aguamarina

Every condition can be affected - but at different speeds.

# Don't copy - diagnose, design the policy mix and position yourself

## DIAGNOSE

- Which domains align, and what can actually shift?
- Conditions co-evolve - they interact
- Political will → attracts capital →
- Market structure → enables policy →
- Cooperation → shapes what looks fixed

## DESIGN your policy mix

- What works for your mineral, your economy, your institutions, your political economy?
- Restrictive or enabling - or both?
- State capacity, power distribution and partners shape what is feasible - and can be changed.

Decide the partnerships from the start.

## POSITION Yourself

Geopolitics is reshaping demand, supply chains and alliances.

- Where do you sit in global value chains?
- Who needs what you have - and on what terms?

***Small countries cannot negotiate alone but regionally they can.***

***Regional development bank can enable this.***

**The goal is not to become other country. Build something economically, environmentally and socially sustainable - rooted in domestic resources, capabilities, institutional fabric, and political support (local and international).**