

CASE

Engeli – Measures Relating to Critical Minerals

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I. Background

1. **The Republic of Engeli (Engeli)** is a developed country, recognised as a high-income nation by the World Bank in 2024. **The Kingdom of Astha (Astha)** is a developing country, projected to attain upper-middle-income status by 2030. Both Engeli and Astha are founding Members of the World Trade Organization (WTO) since 1 January 1995 and were contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) 1947. Both are also parties to the Investment Facilitation for Development Agreement (IFDA). Neither Engeli nor Astha is a party to the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA).
2. Rubina was a constituent territory of Engeli until it became fully independent as the **Democratic Republic of Rubina (Rubina)** in 2001. Rubina is a least developed country as designated by the United Nations. The country was granted observer status at the WTO on 10 January 2008 and began its WTO accession process on 24 November 2016. After eight and a half years of negotiations, Rubina became a WTO Member on 1 April 2025.
3. Astha, Engeli, and Rubina are members of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and have ratified the ILO fundamental conventions, including Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), and Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182). Additionally, Engeli is a member country of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). All three countries have tropical climates and are located in a region called the **Tropics** (see the map in Annex 3).
4. In June 2011, the Tropics' largest reserve of barite, which is a mineral composed of barium sulphate (BaSO₄), was discovered in Rubina. Following the assessment of its strategic value and supply risks, Astha, Engeli, and Rubina designated barite as a '*critical mineral*' under their respective domestic laws in early 2012. Critical minerals are defined as raw materials that are considered of high economic importance due to their essential role in the functioning of a wide range of industrial ecosystems, including for the development of clean technologies, but are vulnerable to supply disruptions.
5. While barite is designated as a critical mineral in the Tropics due to its industrial importance, several non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have raised concerns about its environmental impact. They claim that in parts of the region, barite mining and processing have led to water pollution through the release of heavy metals and toxic chemicals.

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II. Barium Sulphate-Based Cooling Paint and Established Paint Suppliers in the Tropics

6. In February 2019, a group of scientists at the University of Engeli announced that they developed a cooling paint³ containing barium sulphate that reflects 98% of sunlight. Tests showed that surfaces coated with this paint stayed about 2.5°C cooler at noon and 6°C cooler in the evening compared to their ambient surroundings. This effect is particularly significant in tropical environments. The scientists found that this paint, while having similar physical properties (such as impact resistance and adhesion) to conventional paints, is more effective than a traditional paint at reflecting solar radiation. The key to this effectiveness lies in barium sulphate nanoparticles, which release heat in the form of invisible infrared radiation, particularly within a range that allows the heat to escape into the atmosphere efficiently.
7. The scientists claimed that applying this new type of paint on a building's surface can help to reduce carbon emissions and fight climate change, as it can cool buildings and reduce reliance on air conditioners, especially in a region with warm climate like the Tropics.
8. The paint market in the Tropics region is dominated by two major players: *Luminex* and *Parisa*. *Luminex* is an Engeli-based private chemical company with a dedicated paint business segment, while *Parisa* is a privately owned paint manufacturer based in Astha. The two companies often compete in launching innovative paint products, including *Parisa*'s launch of an antimicrobial paint in 2020 during the *COVID-19* pandemic.
9. To build a stronghold in the paint industry, *Luminex* enhanced its production capacity by investing and building a facility in Rubina in April 2015. Despite its limited domestic manufacturing capabilities, Rubina offers relatively low labour costs and attractive government investment incentives. In December 2020, the facility recruited the head of the team of scientists from the University of Engeli to develop cooling paint using barium sulphate extracted in Rubina.

III. Engeli's Procurement for New Capital City Development

10. In January 2023, Engeli's re-elected President *Dorothy Sommers* signed **Decree 1 of 2023** to relocate the national capital by 2028 from Spring Coast to Sunshine City, an area located 150 km away. The relocation, previously proposed by earlier administrations, aims to distribute economic activities and ease Spring Coast's urban pressure, such as overpopulation, traffic congestion, and pollution. As the seat of government, including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, the administrative apparatus will move to Sunshine City. Spring Coast will remain Engeli's most important commercial city.

³ For the purpose of this case, the term '*paint*' is used to cover both paints and coatings. While '*coatings*' may technically refer to a broader category of paints designed for protective or functional purposes, in this problem both are treated as a single category, namely decorative and functional surface applications.

11. *Decree 1 of 2023* emphasises that the new capital will be a ‘*sustainable smart city*’ that puts innovation and the environment at the heart of its development. More specifically, Sunshine City will be aligned with supporting Engeli’s efforts to reduce carbon emissions, mitigate climate change, and support green economic growth. The *Decree* also instructs the relevant ministries of Engeli to prioritise the use of domestic goods and services for government procurement contracts when building the new capital.
12. The construction of Sunshine City began immediately after the issuance of *Decree 1 of 2023*. In March 2023, Engeli’s Ministry of Public Works and Housing issued ***Directive 2 of 2023***, requiring the construction of public buildings and utilities to prioritise the use of “*domestic and green construction goods and materials*”.
13. *Raya Developer* is an Engelian privately owned enterprise that won a contract from Engeli’s Ministry of Public Works and Housing (Contract No. 5/2024-PWH, dated on 15 January 2024) to build half of the key buildings in Sunshine City, including government office buildings as well as public housing complexes (see an excerpt from the contract in Annex 2). In March 2024, *Raya Developer* published the list of selected products to procure, including paints, and invited companies to participate in a range of tenders. Prior to 2023, *Parisa* had been selected by *Raya Developer* for supplying the paints when it built schools and hospitals in Engeli.
14. *Raya Developer* published the procurement specifications on their official website:

Raya Developer — Procurement Criteria for Paints
(For Sunshine City — Green & Smart City Development)

Product: Interior and exterior paints for government offices and public housing.

Procurement Criteria:

1. Environmental and Safety Standards

- Paints must be non-toxic and emit no harmful chemicals.
- Paints must contribute to compliance with green building standards, specifically:
 - Promoting energy efficiency; and
 - Reducing environmental impact.

2. Performance Requirements

- Durable in tropical climates.
- Resistant to sunlight (UV-resistant).
- Easy to maintain.

3. Use of Local Inputs

- Suppliers using 30% or more domestic materials or domestic manufacturing will have their bids treated as if priced 25% lower than their actual offer (25% price preference).

4. Price Range

- Offered paints must fall within the price range of USD 10–15 per gallon.
- Prices exceeding this range will only be considered if they offer exceptional innovative or environmental benefits.

5. Supplier Experience

- Suppliers must demonstrate a proven track record in supplying paints for large-scale public or commercial projects.

15. In May 2024, *Raya Developer* selected *Luminex* as its paint supplier for the construction of buildings in Sunshine City. *Parisa* found the outcome disappointing, particularly given that it had submitted a more competitive bid, offering paint at USD 12 per gallon compared to *Luminex*'s cooling paint, which was priced at USD 18 per gallon. *Parisa* also emphasised that its products incorporated eco-friendly practices, including minimising water use and responsibly sourcing the raw materials. Despite the price difference, *Raya Developer* selected *Luminex* again in subsequent procurement rounds in September 2024 and March 2025.
16. Of the cooling paint supplied to *Raya Developer* by *Luminex*, 40% is manufactured in Engeli, while the remaining 60% is produced at its facility in Rubina. Both facilities of *Luminex* source 75% of the paint's barium sulphate content from the Engeli-Rubina Joint Facility under the terms of the Critical Minerals Partnership Agreement (see Section IV).
17. *Parisa* raised its concern with Astha's Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) regarding *Directive 2 of 2023* and *Raya Developer*'s repeated selection of *Luminex* as the paint supplier. *Parisa* argued that *Luminex*'s prices exceeded the stated procurement range and that it benefited from a 25% price preference due to its domestic content, a criterion *Parisa* claimed unfairly disadvantaged its products and may be inconsistent with WTO obligations. In May 2025, MITI initiated discussions with Engeli's Ministry of Commerce (MOC). In response, Engeli's MOC acknowledged Astha's concerns but maintained that *Raya Developer*'s paint procurement constituted public procurement, conducted transparently and in accordance with the relevant contract (see Annex 2), *Directive 2 of 2023*, and the overarching objective of *Presidential Decree 1 of 2023* to build a 'sustainable smart city'.

IV. Engeli-Rubina Joint Partnership and the Critical Minerals Partnership

18. Rubina is a relatively small state in the Tropics region sharing a land border with Engeli to the West. The two countries share historic ties. Part of Rubina's population, in particular ethnic Engeli-Rubinian, also speak the Engelian language. Bilateral relations have generally been positive and cordial, especially after Rubina's independence in 2001. As of 2024, Engeli is the largest trading partner and investor of Rubina with 60% of Rubina's imports and investments coming from Engeli. Bilateral trade between Engeli and Rubina consists mainly of critical minerals, accounting for 80% of their total trade.

19. In May 2017, the Governments of Engeli and Rubina agreed to jointly develop a mineral extraction and processing facility in Rubina (the Engeli-Rubina Joint Facility). The initiative was designed to secure Engeli's long-term access to critical minerals while enabling Rubina to move up the value chain and create employment opportunities.
20. Under this arrangement, Engeli committed to provide investment, technology transfer, and workforce training to support the extraction and processing of critical minerals in Rubina. In turn, Rubina undertook to contribute natural resources, land, labour, and a transparent legal environment. The Parties also established a mineral allocation scheme, whereby 65% of the joint facility's annual output would be allocated to Rubina and 35% to Engeli. This allocation is implemented by dividing the total volume of extracted and processed minerals each year between Engeli and Rubina according to the agreed percentage.
21. Building on the cooperation established through the Engeli-Rubina Joint Facility, the two Governments sought to broaden and institutionalise their collaboration in the critical minerals sector by concluding a Critical Minerals Partnership (CMP) Agreement in July 2022. The CMP Agreement was consistent with an Action Plan published a year earlier by Engeli's Ministry of Commerce (MOC), which emphasised the importance of '*engaging in partnerships with resource-rich third countries*'.
22. The CMP Agreement eliminates import duties on all raw and processed critical minerals traded between Engeli and Rubina. With respect to critical minerals, Engeli maintains an applied tariff of 5% *ad valorem*. Moreover, the parties agreed that Rubinian raw and processed critical minerals are deemed to '*originate in Engeli*' under Engelian law if they meet the following conditions: (1) extracted in Rubina; and/or (2) processed in their joint facility, both under Engeli's allocated share.
23. In addition to these provisions, the CMP Agreement introduces measures to simplify Customs procedures by implementing electronic Customs clearance. The Parties further agreed to eliminate restrictive measures affecting the trade of critical minerals. They also committed to cooperate on high standards of environmental, social, and governance (ESG) practices to ensure worker safety and conditions, and promote the sustainable and secure production of critical minerals.
24. In August 2022, the Government of Engeli codified the CMP Agreement into its domestic law through ***Executive Order 1 of 2022***. The *Executive Order* affirms that products produced in Rubina under the joint-partnership can qualify as '*domestic*' products under Engelian laws and regulations, including for the purposes of government procurement.
25. In December 2022, the Government of Engeli issued a statement emphasising the importance of having a secure regional network of critical minerals supply chains, increasing critical minerals output, and promoting economic development through mineral extraction and processing. In April 2023, the Government of Engeli officially announced that the country is expanding its network of CMP Agreements through negotiations with other countries.

26. In January 2024, Engeli and Astha held initial discussions regarding the launch of negotiations for a CMP Agreement. However, formal negotiations have yet to commence.
27. Due to increased demand for barite in Engeli, Rubina's exports of barite to other countries, including Astha, declined significantly. Shipments to Astha fell by 25% between January to August 2025, resulting in supply chain disruptions for manufacturing companies in Astha that rely on barite as a production input. However, exports to Engeli remained unaffected, owing to the provisions of the CMP Agreement.

V. Measures Relating to Responsible Business Conduct and Customs Risk Management

28. In September 2024, a research team at the University of Astha, under the sponsorship of *Parisa's* research and development division, developed a '*thinner and lighter*' cooling paint, which is ideal for use on moving vehicles such as cars, buses, trains, and airplanes. The main component of this paint is barium sulphate, derived from the mineral barite. *Parisa's* '*thinner and lighter*' cooling paint quickly gained popularity and started receiving many orders, including from the biggest electric vehicle manufacturers in Engeli.
29. Astha holds a number of barite mining reserves, though their total size is smaller than the reserves in Rubina. Astha's largest reserve is located in Saparua, where *Parisa's* facility operates. Barite is also extracted from other parts of Astha and supplemented through imports from other countries, including Rubina.
30. In Saparua, around 700 families (approximately 2,100 people) of the local community make their living from artisanal barite mining. Notably, 45% of this community are children and adolescents. It is an accepted local custom that once an individual reaches the age of 15, they will join their parents in the mine, either before or after the school, to assist and learn the local mining techniques and traditions.
31. Following the introduction of the '*thinner and lighter*' cooling paint, external audits of *Parisa's* business operations have raised concerns regarding the sourcing of barite from the local community in Saparua, indicating potential risk associated with child labour.
32. Aware of the child labour issue in *Parisa's* cooling paint supply chain, a civil society organisation based in Engeli named the *Environmental, Labor, and Sustainability Alliance* (ELSA) initiated a campaign against *Parisa's* '*thinner and lighter*' cooling paint in the Tropics region. In November 2024, the ELSA reported their grievances to the *National Contact Point for Responsible Business Conduct* (NCP for RBC) under Engeli's Ministry of Commerce (MOC), alleging corporate misconduct by *Parisa*. The ELSA argued that the soaring demand of *Parisa's* '*thinner and lighter*' cooling paint will '*exacerbate the risk of child labour*' and violate Engeli's commitments under the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour.
33. In January 2025, Engeli's MOC referred the matter to the Government of Astha by sending an official letter to Astha's MITI. The letter underscored the importance of promoting sustainable investment and

responsible business conduct, recalling Astha's role in encouraging the enterprises under its jurisdiction to conduct their operations in line with internationally recognised principles and standards.

34. In its response, Astha's MITI explained that the involvement of youth in artisanal barite mining is a longstanding local practice aimed at preserving traditional knowledge and skills within the community and does not prevent children from attending school. MITI also highlighted that *Parisa* has run a robust community development programme in Saparua since 2021. Under the first phase (2021-2026), the programme has included donating teaching materials to local schools and providing financial support for the construction of school rooms. MITI further argued that terminating sourcing from the local artisanal miners would severely impact community livelihoods and risk fueling illicit trade in barite and barium sulphate.
35. In February 2025, a documentary by the ELSA showing the local artisanal mining practices involving children in Saparua triggered a public outcry in Engeli. In March 2025, the Engelian Government adopted ***Directive 3 of 2025***, mandating that products containing barium sulphate derived from barite imported to Engeli must be accompanied by a responsible supply chain certification. This certification, issued by private sector entities recognised by the Engelian Government, must confirm that no child labour was involved in the supply chain. Importers must present the certification to Engelian Customs upon entry.
36. As a part of its risk management system, Engelian Customs classifies consignments as either '*low risk*' or '*high risk*', with additional scrutiny applied to those originating from areas with known child labour concerns. Where a consignment is categorised as '*high risk*', Engelian Customs forwards the certification to Engeli's Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Labour for verification, which may take up to one month. If the consignment fails verification or lacks valid certification, it is denied entry into Engeli. The exporter must re-export the goods at their own expense within three months, failing which the consignment will be destroyed. Under this system, '*low risk*' consignments are processed and released through expedited procedures, which can be less than a week.
37. Astha has raised concerns that its shipments of '*thinner and lighter*' cooling paint are consistently classified as '*high risk*', resulting in prolonged verification processes that require Engelian authorities an additional month to issue a decision. According to a report from *Parisa*, the delays impose significant costs and operational burdens, undermining its competitiveness. Astha criticised and labelled Engeli's Customs risk management system as unreasonable, trade-restrictive, and protectionist. Astha also pointed out that several companies importing products containing barium sulphate into Engeli, despite having records of violating the labour right to freedom of association, continue to be designated as '*low risk*'.

VI. The Request for the Establishment of a WTO Panel

38. On 10 July 2025, the Government of Astha requested consultations with the Engelian Government under Article 4 of the Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes (DSU) and Article XXIII:1 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 (GATT 1994).
39. After 60 days of unsuccessful consultations, Astha submitted a request for the establishment of a panel to the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) on 15 September 2025, containing the following claims:
- 1) Engeli's *Decree 1 of 2023*, *Directive 2 of 2023* and the relevant procurement measures are inconsistent with Article III:4 of the GATT 1994, and cannot be exempted under Article III:8(a) of the GATT 1994.
 - 2) Engeli's preferential treatment of critical minerals extracted and processed in Rubina granted under the CMP Agreement and *Executive Order 1 of 2022* is inconsistent with Article I:1 of the GATT 1994 and cannot be justified under Article XXIV of the GATT 1994.
 - 3) Engeli's Customs risk management under *Directive 3 of 2025* designating Astha's 'thinner and lighter' cooling paint as 'high risk' consignments and subject them to additional administrative procedure beyond standard Customs processes constitute a quantitative restriction inconsistent with Article XI:1 of the GATT 1994 and cannot be justified under Article XX(a) or XX(d) of the GATT 1994.
40. In response to the panel request, Engeli stated before DSB that *Decree 1 of 2023* and *Directive 2 of 2023* contain local content provisions that apply within the context of government procurement contracts, and are therefore exempt under Article III:8(a) of the GATT 1994. Engeli further contended that the preferential treatment granted under the CMP Agreement and *Executive Order No. 1 of 2022* is permissible under Article XXIV of the GATT 1994, as it constitutes a trade deal promoting deeper economic cooperation in the critical minerals sector. Finally, Engeli maintained that its due diligence certification and additional verification mechanism are applied in a non-discriminatory manner, assist companies in identifying and addressing the risks of child labour in their mineral supply chains, and thereby contribute to the pursuit of Engeli's legitimate policy objectives. These measures are also consistent with Engeli's commitment to responsible business conduct as reflected in Engeli's participation in the OECD Due Diligence Guidance, the IFDA and the ILO Conventions on Child Labour.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Timeline of the main events

Date	Event
June 2011	The Tropics' largest reserve of barite was discovered in Rubina.
April 2015	<i>Luminex</i> invested and built a facility in Rubina.
May 2017	The Engeli-Rubina Joint Facility was established.
February 2019	Scientists at the University of Engeli developed a cooling paint. Since then, ELSA has closely monitored the barite mining boom in the Tropics, raising concerns over its environmental impact.
December 2020	<i>Luminex's</i> facility in Rubina enlisted University of Engeli scientists to develop cooling paint using locally extracted barium.
July 2022	Engeli and Rubina signed the CMP Agreement.
August 2022	The Government of Engeli codified the CMP Agreement into its domestic law through <i>Executive Order 1 of 2022</i> .
January 2023	Engeli's re-elected President Dorothy Sommers signed <i>Decree 1 of 2023</i> to relocate the capital from Spring Coast to Sunshine City by 2028.
March 2023	Engeli's Ministry of Public Works issued <i>Directive 2 of 2023</i> , mandating priority use of "domestic and green construction materials".
April 2023	Engeli is pursuing CMP Agreements with other countries.
January 2024	Engeli and Astha held preliminary discussions regarding the launch of negotiations for a CMP Agreement.
May 2024	<i>Luminex</i> was selected by <i>Raya Developer</i> as its new paint supplier in the development of buildings in Sunshine City.
September 2024	A research team at the University of Astha developed a 'thinner and lighter' cooling paint, which received many orders from major EV manufacturers in Engeli.
November 2024	The ELSA reported their grievances to NCP for RBC under Engeli's MOC, alleging corporate misconduct by <i>Parisa</i> .
January 2025	Engeli's MOC sent a letter to Astha's MITI urging the promotion of sustainable investment and responsible business conduct.
February 2025	An Engelian TV outlet aired an ELSA documentary depicting child involvement in artisanal mining in Saparua.
March 2025	Engelian Government adopted <i>Directive 3 of 2025</i> , mandating responsible supply chain certification and Customs risk management

	for products containing barium sulphate derived from barite imported to Engeli.
May 2025	Astha's MITI initiated discussions with Engeli's Ministry of Commerce regarding <i>Directive 2 of 2023</i> .

Annex 2: Excerpt from the Contract between Engeli's Ministry of Public Works and Housing with Raya Developer (Contract No. 05/2024-PWH)

Dated: 15 January 2024

Clause 1.2 – Objective

The objective of this procurement is to support the development and construction of Sunshine City as a sustainable smart capital city, in alignment with *Presidential Decree No. 1 of 2023*.

Clause 4.2 – Alignment with National Priorities

The Contractor [Raya Developer] shall ensure that the procurement under this Project aligns with national priorities as outlined in *Presidential Decree No. 1 of 2023* and *Directive No. 2 of 2023* issued by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing.

Clause 4.3 – Selection of Materials and Suppliers

The Contractor shall prioritise the use of goods and materials originating in Engeli in the execution of this Project. Alternative sources may only be considered where domestic options are demonstrably unavailable, insufficient in quantity, or not cost-effective, as assessed by the Contractor. The Contractor may apply a standard preference margin in evaluating domestic options. All such decisions shall be reported to the Ministry but do not require prior approval.

Clause 4.4 – Monitoring and Coordination

The Contractor shall submit a written report every month to the Ministry of Public Works and Housing detailing the procurement activities, sourcing decisions, and overall work progress. The Contractor shall ensure that all subcontractors act in a manner consistent with the objective of this procurement and in alignment with relevant national priorities, and do not undermine its purpose.

Annex 3: Images





Map of the Tropics Region

SUGGESTED READINGS

a. Illustrative List of GATT/WTO Cases

- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Argentina — Measures Affecting the Importation of Goods*, WT/DS438, adopted on 26 January 2015.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Canada — Certain Measures Affecting the Automotive Industry*, WT/DS139, adopted on 19 June 2000.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Canada — Certain Measures Affecting the Renewable Energy Generation Sector*, WT/412, adopted on 24 May 2013.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Canada — Measures Relating to the Feed-in Tariff Program*, WT/DS426, adopted on 24 May 2013.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *China — Measures Affecting Trading Rights and Distribution Services for Certain Publications and Audiovisual Entertainment Products*, WT/DS363, adopted on 19 January 2010.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Colombia — Measures Relating to the Importation of Textiles, Apparel and Footwear*, WT/DS461, adopted on 22 June 2016.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *European Communities — Measures Prohibiting the Importation and Marketing of Seal Products*, WT/DS400, 401, adopted on 18 June 2014.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *India — Certain Measures Relating to Solar Cells and Solar Modules*, WT/DS456, adopted on 14 October 2016.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Korea — Measures Affecting Imports of Fresh, Chilled and Frozen Beef*, WT/DS161, 169, adopted on 10 January 2001.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Peru — Additional Duty on Imports of Certain Agricultural Products*, WT/DS457, adopted on 31 July 2015.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *Turkey — Restrictions on Imports of Textile and Clothing Products*, WT/DS34, adopted on 19 November 1999.
- Panel and Appellate Body Reports, *United States — Measures Affecting the Cross-Border Supply of Gambling and Betting Services*, WT/DS285, adopted on 20 April 2005.
- Panel Report, *European Union and certain Member states — Certain Measures Concerning Palm Oil and Oil Palm Crop-Based Biofuels*, WT/DS600, adopted on 26 April 2024.
- Panel Report, *Indonesia — Certain Measures Affecting the Automobile Industry*, WT/DS54, adopted on 23 July 1998.

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b. Illustrative Bibliography

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- OECD, *Practical Actions for Companies to Identify and Address the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Mineral Supply Chains*, 4 May 2017.
- Peter Van den Bossche and Werner Zdouc, *The Law and Policy of the World Trade Organization: Text, Cases, and Materials* (Cambridge University Press, 5th ed., 2021).
- Victor Crochet and Weihuan Zhou, 'Critical insecurities? The European Union's Strategy for a Stable Supply of Minerals' (2024) 27(1) *Journal of International Economic Law*, 147-165.

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