# Corporate Governance in an Era of Geoeconomics

By Curtis J. Milhaupt



2025 Global Corporate Governance Colloquium Imperial Business School, London June 14, 2025 Comments by Jill Fisch Penn Carey Law School



### Overview

- We are entering an era of geoeconomics "The pursuit of power politics using economic means"
- This era raises the potential use of private profit-oriented enterprises for political power
- Corporations may not be prepared
- How should this new risk impact corporate governance?

# Key Contributions of the Article

- Documenting the potential impact of geopolitical rivalry on private enterprise
- Suggesting conceptual shifts as the world moves away from
  - Globalization
  - Shareholder primacy
- Identifying ways that US corporations should respond

# **Tangible Response Recommendations**

- The government as a stakeholder in ESG
- The need for geopolitical expertise through senior executive and director skillsets and external sources
- Liability exposure under Caremark
- Securities reporting requirements a "new" material risk
- Shareholder proposals and general objections
- Supply chain management

# A few questions

- How much of this is new?
- How much of this (for US corporations) is China-specific?
- Some questions about scope and terminology
- Corporate national identity

#### Is All This New?

- Multinational operations create distinctive risks
  - In the Matter of Caterpillar, Inc. (SEC Release No. 34-30532) SEC enforcement action for disclosure failures related to Brazilian operations
  - SEC 2010 guidance re disclosure of climate-related supply chain risks
- Countries frequently interfere in cross-border transactions to protect national interests
  - French involvement in battle between GE and Siemens for Alstom (2014)
  - Kraft's takeover of Cadbury led to a revamp of UK takeover rules (2011)
  - Flowserve's attempt to acquire Velan (2023) and Teledyne's attempt to acquire Photonis (2020)
- State ownership of corporations facilitates promotion of government interests

# Is All This New?

- But increasing fusion of government and corporate policy (jobs, products, technology, innovation)
- Expansion of the nature of national security interests – TikTok
- Expansion (possible) of US government control of private business operations - US Steel/Nippon Steel merger



NIPPON STEEL

- Policy goal maintaining US control over steel supply
- 50% steel tariffs
- \$14.9 billion merger (\$55/share all cash merger for US stockholders)
- US CEO and majority of board of directors
- US Govt to hold golden share with unspecified powers

### How much of this is China-specific?







# Terminology

- Is there is difference between geoeconomics and geopolitics?
- Useful to distinguish the scope of concern from traditional issues of national security
- How is geoeconomic political risk different from domestic political risk?
- Political engagement as risk management
- Globalization vs. Isolationism impact on employees, customers

# **Corporate National Identity**

- What determines a corporation's identity?
  - Incorporation
  - Stock exchange listing
  - Headquarters
  - Principal place of business
  - Nationality of major investors
  - Employees/customers
- Implications of identity for
  - Capital formation
  - Branding

Geoeconomic regulatory authority

National security interests

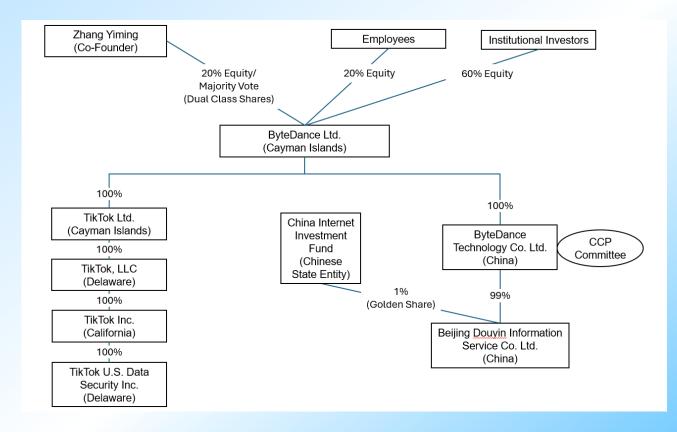
# **Corporate National Identity**

- Complicating factors
  - Choice of state of incorporation
  - Exchange competition "Singapore washing"
  - Promotion/restrictions on foreign investment
  - Structural complexity
  - Merger policy
  - Tax considerations

# The TikTok example (see Milhaupt & Puchniak)

#### TikTok's Ownership Structure

(based on publicly available information)



# Conclusion

- Thought-provoking and innovative project
- Implications of geoeconomic risk for US business go well beyond corporate governance
- US CEOs and directors are facing challenging times