UNPACKING THE UPCOMING EU LAW TO STOP CORPORATE ABUSE
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WHY THIS PRESS KIT?

Sustainable corporate governance can be a real game-changer in the way companies operate throughout their supply chains. We are now securing new business standards for future generations.

EU Commissioner for Justice, Didier Reynders

Too many companies across the globe have been profiting from exploiting people and the planet. Their activities have caused or contributed to climate breakdown, biodiversity collapse, the erosion of workers’ and trade union rights, forced and child labour, growing poverty, and the killings of environmental and human rights defenders. This requires immediate action. Many European countries are paving the way with laws to make business accountable for these types of corporate abuse, and the EU is stepping up with its own proposal.

European civil society has put together this press kit, gathering insight and evidence on the upcoming proposal from the European Commission to make companies accountable – the sustainable corporate governance directive.

This law is set to become a hot topic of discussion, as EU Member States’ national governments are showing different levels of ambition, despite overwhelming public support, whilst corporate lobbies have been mobilising to weaken the law at every turn, both publicly and behind the scenes.

THIS PRESS KIT WAS PREPARED BY:
• Anti-Slavery International
• Amnesty International
• CIDSE
• Clean Clothes Campaign International Office
• European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights – ECCHR
• European Coalition for Corporate Justice
• International Federation of Human Rights – FIDH
• Friends of the Earth Europe
• Global Witness
• Oxfam
WHAT HAS HAPPENED UNTIL NOW?

In April 2020, the EU Commissioner for Justice, Didier Reynders, committed to proposing new human rights and environmental rules for businesses. After many years of insisting on voluntary measures for companies, the Commission has finally understood the urgent need for better protection of human rights and the environment, and the important role that companies must be obliged – and no longer merely encouraged – to play.

In the autumn of 2020, the European Commission launched a public consultation to gather input from citizens and organisations on how to design these new rules. Over half a million people – and approximately 700 civil society groups, trade unions and academic institutions – participated in the consultation. Most respondents demanded a strong EU law requiring all companies to identify, prevent and address their human rights and environmental risks across their entire value chain. Respondents agreed that companies must be held liable for harmful practices in their home countries and abroad and face strong penalties if they break the rules.

In March of this year, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on corporate due diligence and accountability. It sent a powerful political signal to the Commission not to leave out key elements in its forthcoming proposal, including parent company liability for the harm caused by their subsidiaries, better access to justice for victims around the world, and strong sanctions and fines for companies that fail to address negative risks and impacts of their global operations.

By June, it was reported in the media that the sustainable corporate governance file will be co-led by the Commissioner for the Internal Market, Thierry Breton. The Commission is expected to announce the draft law on 8 December 2021.
European Commission closes the consultation. It receives nearly 500,000 responses. Respondents say they want rules aligned with international standards, easy access to justice for survivors and for companies to integrate how to protect people and the planet from exploitation into their planning.

European Commission opens a public consultation to ask people, businesses, NGOs and other stakeholders what they thought about the proposal.

European Parliament votes on a suggested proposal saying they want:
- All large companies and high-risk small companies in the EU to be responsible for human rights and environmental occurring in their entire supply chain;
- Due diligence standards aligned with international standards;
- European countries can actually hold companies responsible for any violation of human rights and environmental rights in their supply chain through their legal systems.
WHAT ARE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DOING?

Some European countries have already adopted national laws to make and keep companies accountable. France led the way among member states through the adoption of its law on the duty of vigilance (loi relative au devoir de vigilance) in 2017, introducing mandatory human rights and environmental due diligence obligations for French companies. Since then, other EU member states have followed. Germany adopted its supply chain law (Lieferkettenengesetz) in 2021. Further legislative proposals are being discussed in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Finland, and Luxembourg.

We are beginning to see the results of these laws. For example, this year, indigenous groups and NGOs sued French supermarket giant Casino Group for allegedly sourcing beef from suppliers involved in Amazon deforestation, land grabbing by its Brazilian subsidiary and forced labour.
WHY DO WE URGENTLY NEED A NEW EUROPEAN LAW?

COMPANIES HAVE A GROWING GLOBAL IMPACT

The globalisation of corporate value chains has made it clear: what businesses do has a global impact on people and the planet. With the increasing globalisation of value chains comes the need for clear rules to make companies accountable for preventing, mitigating and remedying any human rights or environmental rights abuses in their value chains.

COMPANIES CAN HIDE BEHIND GLOBAL VALUE CHAINS

Companies often outsource and subcontract parts of their production — such as making clothes, harvesting coffee beans or mining for minerals — to countries with laxer environmental and human rights standards. In those countries, they can act with impunity.

They dodge responsibility by hiding behind their long and complex value chains, which are complex by design. In such cases, untangling and pinpointing responsibility is difficult for victims of corporate abuse. When European companies are confronted with human rights or environmental abuses in their value chain, many companies abdicate responsibility to their suppliers. Companies argue that they have no influence over suppliers, despite having hired them.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR RULES TO KEEP BUSINESS ACCOUNTABLE

We have international voluntary guidelines on how businesses should act: the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs) and the OECD’s Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises.

The UNGPs, adopted in 2011, address corporate abuse in relation to human rights. The principles consist of three pillars: the state’s duty to protect rights; the companies’ responsibility to respect rights; and provisions facilitating access to remedy for victims of corporate abuse.

The revised OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises were set out in 2011. Originally adopted in 1976, they are the first set of international guidelines and consist of a list of recommendations from governments to corporations on how to conduct human rights due diligence. In 2018, an even more detailed OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Business Conduct was adopted by the OECD after tripartite negotiations involving states, business and civil society.
VOLUNTARY GUIDELINES FROM MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS DO NOT WORK

While the UNGPs and OECD’s Guidelines are supported by the international community, they remain largely voluntary. They fail to provide justice for victims, prevent corporate abuse and change business conduct. Study after study has shown that companies are by and large not held accountable for human rights and environmental rights violations.

“Access to European courts is often the only effective means of access to justice and remedies for third State claimants in business-related human rights abuses claims.”


See also similar reports from 2017 and 2020 by the EU Fundamental Rights Agency.

“Only a minority of companies demonstrate the willingness and commitment to take human rights seriously.”

According to the 2020 Corporate Human Rights Benchmark – an assessment of 229 companies.

“Only 16% of the companies surveyed carried out human rights due diligence throughout their whole value chain.”

According to the 2020 study for the European Commission.

The bottom line is this: we need binding, not voluntary rules.
A breakthrough in getting justice for Shell’s oil spills in Nigeria

In January 2021, three Nigerian farmers won a right to compensation from Shell in front of a Dutch court:

- The court ruled that Shell, the mother company, was liable for oil spills caused by its subsidiary in Nigeria.
- Shell is appealing the ruling.

The case revealed many ‘barriers to justice’ that exist for victims seeking justice in the EU:

- Being prevented by Shell from accessing company documents.
- Being forced to use Nigerian law instead of Dutch law.

This case shows why we need to we need to include civil liability in EU legislation:

- The case was a breakthrough, but an exception. In current law in most of the EU, parent companies are unlikely to be held liable for their subsidiaries.
French Retailers in court for deforestation and land grabbing

In March 2021, Indigenous peoples and NGOs filed a lawsuit under the French devoir de vigilance law against the retailer Casino Group:

- The lawsuit is over selling beef products linked to deforestation and land grabbing in Colombia.
- The alleged deforested area is five times the size of Paris.

The case is one of the first under the French law:

- The suit alleges Casino Group failed to take effective measures to prevent serious harms by their suppliers – as is required under the law.

The case shows why the EU law should include liability for harms in the entire supply chain:

- Casino Group has major leverage over its suppliers as the largest supermarket chain in Brazil and Colombia.
- But current laws are not equipped to hold big retailers like this accountable for failing to prevent harms.
Mining giants and Irish state-owned enterprise under investigation for human rights abuses

In 2021, National Contact Points (NCPs) of the OECD began an investigation into international mining giants and an Irish state-owned enterprise over serious human rights abuses and environmental pollution in Colombia:

- The targets are three of the richest companies in the world: BHP (Australia), Anglo-American (Britain) and Glencore (Switzerland).
- Ireland’s state-owned energy provider (the ESB) is also being investigated as a major purchaser of the mine’s coal.
- The alleged harms include poisonous dust and contaminated water and violent evictions as well as intimidation of the local community.

Parallel complaints were filed simultaneously in Australia, Ireland, Switzerland and the UK:

- The complaints allege that the parent companies of the Cerrejón mine, as its joint owners, are responsible under the OECD Guidelines for the harms caused.
- If successful, the companies could have to take steps to comply with the OECD Guidelines, including closing down the mine and environmental restoration.

The case underscores the inadequacy of voluntary guidelines for multinational companies

- And the need for mandatory due diligence and liability of companies all along global value chains including parent companies and end purchasers of products.

**READ MORE HERE**
Other Cases

A report looking at 22 major recent civil cases against EU companies identifies serious and systemic barriers to justice preventing victims of business-related abuses from accessing judicial remedy.

A summary table of the most salient barriers to justice in 8 civil proceedings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOME COMPANY COUNTRY</th>
<th>Shell case</th>
<th>Boliden case</th>
<th>KiK case</th>
<th>RWE case</th>
<th>ENI case</th>
<th>Perenco case</th>
<th>Hydro case*</th>
<th>Casino case*</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOST COMPANY COUNTRY</td>
<td>NL</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>DE</td>
<td>DE</td>
<td>IT</td>
<td>FR</td>
<td>NL</td>
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<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Brazil, Colombia</td>
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<tr>
<th>RELATIONSHIP HOME/HOST COUNTRY</th>
<th>Parent / Subsidiary</th>
<th>Buyer / Supplier</th>
<th>Contractee / Contractor</th>
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<th>IMPACTS</th>
<th>Human rights</th>
<th>Labour rights</th>
<th>Environment</th>
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<tr>
<th>BARRIERS TO JUSTICE</th>
<th>Applicable law</th>
<th>Competent jurisdiction</th>
<th>Scope of application</th>
<th>Normative standards</th>
<th>Liability regime</th>
<th>Time limit</th>
<th>Burden of proof</th>
<th>Legal standing</th>
<th>Costs</th>
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Other findings:
- Of all civil proceedings analysed, only two have so far resulted in judgments favourable to the claimants, both against Royal Dutch Shell.
- No final judgment has so far ordered an EU company to pay compensation for damages.

The lack of consequences for the negligent management of human rights and environmental impacts in global value chains means there is little incentive for companies to address those impacts.
WHAT DO EUROPEAN CITIZENS DEMAND?

According to a recent YouGov poll, over 80 percent of citizens from across multiple EU countries want strong laws to hold companies liable for overseas human rights and environmental violations. People affected by corporate abuses must be allowed to take the companies responsible for those abuses to court in Europe. There was consistently high support from across the nine EU countries polled. The survey was carried out in Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain.

The survey found that:

- 87% of citizens agreed that companies should be legally obliged to prevent human rights violations – such as forced labour or land grabbing.
- 86% agreed that companies should be legally obliged not to contribute to environmental harms – such as air pollution or destruction of biodiversity – outside the EU.
- 86% agreed that when companies do cause or contribute to human rights violations and environmental crimes around the world, they should be legally liable.
- When told examples of environmental and human rights abuses outside the EU, 84% agreed that victims should be allowed to take the companies responsible to court in the country in which the company is headquartered.

SHOULD VICTIMS FROM OUTSIDE THE EU BE ABLE TO TAKE COMPANIES TO COURT HERE?

Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement “Here are scenarios that have been reported extensively in the press in recent times: • A fire of a factory in Pakistan supplying European clothing companies resulted in hundreds of workers dead or injured. It was proven afterwards that the condition of the factory and the building was not legal and the workers were subject to conditions which violated their human rights. • An oil company, working to produce oil for European consumption in the Niger Delta, has continued to pollute and destroy the lives of the local communities for more than 60 years. • In Colombia, local communities around a mine that ships coal to the EU have suffered land grabs and forced evictions as well as health problems from the poisonous dust produced by the mine and the toxic dump into their rivers that has contaminated their water supply. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the victims of these scenarios should have the possibility to take the companies involved to court and claim compensation in the [relevant EU country] where these companies are based?”
Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement “Companies should have a legal responsibility to ensure they are not involved in any human rights violations (e.g. forced labour or illegal land grabbing) in countries that they operate in outside of the EU.”

Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement “Companies should have the legal responsibility to ensure they are not contributing to environmental harms (e.g. air pollution or destruction of biodiversity) in countries that they operate in outside of the EU.”
Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement: “There have previously been reports of some companies selling goods and products (i.e. clothes or electronic equipment) that have been produced through human rights violations and environmental crimes. With this in mind, to what extent would you agree or disagree that companies should be legally liable for any human rights violations or environmental crimes that they cause or contribute to around the world?”

SHOULD COMPANIES BE LEGALLY LIABLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL HARMS THEY CONTRIBUTE TO OUTSIDE THE EU?

All figures unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 16906 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 14th – 29th September 2021. The survey was carried out online in Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain adults (aged 18+).

Source: YouGov
WHAT IS BUSINESS SAYING?

The business lobby, and in particular business associations, have mobilised to weaken or stop any law that would make them responsible for human rights violations and environmental abuses in their value chain.

The French business lobbies AFEP and MEDEF are heavily lobbying to water down the ambition of the EU directive and limit its effects. Some of their members like Total Energies and Casino Group are currently being tried for alleged corporate abuse in their supply chains under the French law. The German business lobby is also mobilising, having already substantially weakened the initial proposal for a German value chain law. In the Netherlands, BusinessEurope members are publicly favouring legislation at EU level, not at the national level, while simultaneously lobbying in Brussels for weaker regulations.

The business lobby’s main argument? Companies would lack the power to examine human rights and environmental standards of their suppliers. This argument seems at odds with companies’ evident ability to check the quality of all raw materials and products they source from all over the globe and with the existing practices of more progressive companies such as the ones demanding such a law.

The additional argument that the implementation of human rights and environmental standards would be cost-intensive and consequently harm consumers also lacks proof. A study for Germany’s Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development from May 2021 showed: It would cost companies only 0.6 percent of their turnover to keep value chains free from human rights violations. Other studies, including those from the OECD, have shown the actual and varied economic benefits accrued by companies that practice responsible business conduct, specifically conducting robust human rights and environmental due diligence.

Businesses also claim that a strong EU law would lead them to disengage from poorer countries or areas. First, this is simply not possible for certain sectors as raw or source materials cannot be moved to other jurisdictions, as is also somewhat the case with cheap or specialised labour.

Second, an EU law that reflects international guidelines will clarify that disengagement is only an avenue of last resort when the company has no more leverage to improve a situation and where abuses continue to occur. The duty to use their leverage to improve conditions will follow EU companies wherever they go. Instead, it would incentivise countries to attract EU companies with an abuse-free environment, turning a race to the bottom to a race to the top.

Business lobbies also use pragmatic and reasonable-sounding terminology that makes them appear vaguely supportive of corporate accountability laws, whereas they are actually trying to weaken effective and sorely needed legislation.

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<th>WHEN CORPORATE LOBBIES SAY:</th>
<th>THEY ACTUALLY MEAN:</th>
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<tr>
<td>‘We want to avoid the administrative burden and red tape.’</td>
<td>‘Avoiding bureaucracy is more important than preventing and rectifying abuses.’</td>
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<td>‘The law would open the door to frivolous claims and abusive litigation.’</td>
<td>‘Victims should not have the tools needed to take companies that violate human rights to court.’</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘We want a pragmatic and feasible framework with the right incentives.’</td>
<td>‘Limit our due diligence obligations to direct suppliers only and treat us favourably for not abusing human rights or the environment.’</td>
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Read more in the report “Off the hook? How business lobbies against liability for human rights and environmental abuses”.
Pakistani organiser Saeeda Khatoon, Bangladeshi human rights defender Kalpona Akter, and the widow of a Nigerian activist Esther Kiobel wrote open letters to European Commissioners Didier Reynders and Thierry Breton.

“It took more than 20 years of struggle to be provided the opportunity of a fair judicial proceeding; more than 20 years until I was allowed to request scrutiny over Shell and its part in the unfair trial and execution of peaceful men. This is not acceptable. Victims of human rights abuses are entitled to access justice and governments have an obligation to ensure this access. Victims of corporate human rights abuses face too many legal and practical hurdles in bringing cases against rich and powerful corporations."

Esther Kiobel has been fighting for a long time to hold accountable those who are responsible for the unlawful killing of her husband Dr Barinem Kiobel and eight other men in 1995 in Nigeria.

"New rules will not make a difference for those who died in unsafe factories. But if you make sure that every company has to identify, prevent and mitigate human right risks in its whole value chain, including the company’s own purchasing practices, you can help save and improve many millions of lives in the future."

As a former child worker and a blacklisted union organizer, Kalpona Akter now leads the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity.
We have been told that you have the power to fix this situation. If not now, then when?

In your countries, the right to justice for victims is taken for granted. Please deliver us this courtesy as [European] companies extract profits from the factories where our families work under very cheap – that means unhealthy and dangerous – conditions.

Saeeda Khatoon has been fighting for a long time to hold those who are responsible for a fatal fire at the Ali Enterprises garment factory in Karachi, Pakistan to account.

It is deeply encouraging to our communities to hear that the European Commission is planning to propose legislation that will establish legally binding duties for businesses to respect human rights and the environment. This is a great opportunity for the EU to show leadership in ensuring that companies act responsibly. However, to be meaningful and effective, the legislation needs to be broad in scope. It needs to include responsibility for a company’s entire value chain, and include all business relationships, including investment relationships.

Bertha Zúñiga Càceres has been fighting to defend the territories of indigenous Honduran Lenca people from corporate abuse. Her mother, Bertha Càceres, was murdered in 2016 because of her involvement in the Lenca’s people struggle.
HOW TO ENSURE THE LAW PROTECTS PEOPLE AND THE PLANET?

COVER THE WHOLE VALUE CHAIN

The Commission’s proposal must cover all economic sectors and apply through the entire value chain, from the very first stage to the final stage. The most serious human rights and environmental abuses often occur during the first stages – on the lowest tiers of the value chain – in countries with less stringent rules, little state support and high levels of poverty. These conditions can foster an environment fit for human rights abuses like forced, and child labour. Due to current business models and globalised value chains, the buyers of products generally have little visibility or accountability over these conditions, despite being the ones to reap the profit.

COVER ALL COMPANIES

Yes, bigger and globalised companies tend to cause more damage. But that is not always the case. Think of the garment sector, where many European small and medium-sized companies are still connected to global value chains. We need a European law that applies to all companies. Small businesses with short value chains can be afforded flexibility as per international guidelines (OECD Guidelines and the UNGPs).

ALIGN WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

The new proposal should build on existing international standards, the UNGPs and the OECD Guidelines and Guidance. These are good on paper, but in practice, due to their voluntary nature, fail to address corporate abuse.

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

People must be able to pursue justice if a corporation’s activity violates their human rights or local environment. Access to justice can happen in the courts or through non-judicial grievance mechanisms, however, the latter will never work properly without the former. When victims choose to pursue non-judicial grievance mechanisms, this must not infringe on their right to file claims in court.

For those affected to be able to pursue judicial avenues, it is essential for the EU to remove barriers to justice. This includes, but is not limited to, making sure businesses do not hide evidence; ensuring reasonable time limits to bring cases; allowing for a large number of claimants to seek compensation collectively; and extending civil liability down the value chain to reflect the power, influence and responsibility large companies have in the global economy.
BUSINESSES MUST BE HELD LIABLE

For reasons laid out earlier in this toolkit, companies based or operating in the EU that cause, contribute, or are linked to human rights or environmental abuses must be held legally responsible both by way of civil liability (to grant compensation to victims when harm occurs) and administrative liability (for a failure to undertake due diligence to prevent harm from occurring; even if it hasn’t occurred yet).

THE LAW MUST HAVE TEETH

Companies that break the law, must face the consequences, or else breaking the law will be seen as the more profitable option. Voluntary measures do not work, we need an effective law that enforces companies’ obligations and sanctions non-compliance. This must be a truly European law, applied evenly in the same way across Europe.

INCLUSION OF AFFECTED WORKERS, COMMUNITIES AND OTHERS

How can businesses identify all risks, if they do not properly consult and include stakeholders in their due diligence process? They cannot, as simple as that. Trade unions and the like, affected communities, women’s groups, indigenous communities and other relevant parties must be able to provide input and shape the process.

MORE TRANSPARENCY MEANS MORE ACCOUNTABILITY

Often information on companies’ subsidiaries, suppliers and business partners in a value chain is difficult to find. Due to the current corporate veil of secrecy, it can take months or years of research by investigators to uncover the links between EU companies and their suppliers. For companies to be held accountable, companies must regularly disclose information on their value chains and be available to the public.
WHAT ARE WE DOING?

- CIDSE’s campaign: Access to Justice
- **Our Food. Our Future.** Campaign by Oxfam and 15 other civil society organisations in 13 countries building a strong coalition of young people across Europe and work together for a socially just and sustainable food system which is human rights-based and agroecological.
- Petition to European Commissioners Věra Jourová, Didier Reynders and Thierry Breton calling for a strong EU supply chain law led by the Our Food. Our Future. campaign.

WHAT ARE WE READING?

- **Off the hook?** How business lobbies against liability for human rights and environmental abuses. A joint investigation that reveals the tactics used by businesses to appear cooperative but undermine regulations.
- **Suing Goliath:** The report looks at 22 major recent civil cases against EU companies, and identifies serious and systemic barriers to justice preventing victims of business-related abuses from accessing judicial remedy.
- **Debating corporate due diligence:** A reality check: This document aims to counter inaccurate claims and misleading arguments to prevent them from dominating the public and political debate around this topic.
- **Putting the Environment in Human Rights and Environmental Due Diligence:** Civil society organisations published a briefing that outlines why and how environmental protection must be integrated into companies’ due diligence requirements alongside respect for human rights.
- **Global Solution to Global Problems: Why EU legislation and a UN instrument on corporate accountability must be complementary.** A joint brief by CIDSE, Friends of the Earth European, ECCJ and ECCHR on why an EU Directive and a UN Binding Treaty on corporate activities and human rights must be complementary.
- **Vigilance switched off: Human Rights in Mexico, what are the responsibilities of EDF and the APE?** In this report, CCFD-Terre Solidaire, ECCHR and ProDESC highlight the breaches of the duty of vigilance and international human rights law resulting from EDF’s Gunaá Sicarú project, as well as the role of EDF and its majority shareholder, Agence des participations de l’État (APE).
- “**We are going to kill you.**” A case study in corporate power left unchecked, Global Witness.
- **Behind the Barcodes:** Oxfam campaign, research and recommendations to end violations of human, labour and women’s rights in the food supply chain of supermarkets.
- **Living Income: From Right to Reality:** Oxfam briefing including recommendations on how human rights due diligence must cover companies’ pricing practices to ensure a living wage for workers and a living income for small-scale producers in the supply chain.
- **CAC40: des profits sans lendemain?** Oxfam France report.
- **Profits at the Expense of People and Planet:** How corporations serve shareholder interests instead of protecting the climate and human rights, Oxfam Germany report.
- **How to make corporations respect the environment and climate:** This Friends of the Earth Europe briefing sets out recommendations on climate obligations and civil and criminal liability for environmental harms.
- **Do No Harm:** The case for an EU law to hold business liable for human rights violations and environmental harm: this Friends of the Earth report details five case studies of European companies’ abuses around the world.
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