

## Subvert - A podcast by Corporate Accountability

**Title** Episode 3: Seeding a new promise, the hopes of a treaty for global accountability

### Description

In this episode, Lena and Michél chat with three organizers about a treaty known as the UN Treaty on Business and Human Rights. Despite the dry-sounding name, this treaty has the potential to close an enormous loophole—which allows corporations to violate human rights in pursuit of profits—and protect people from corporate abuse all over the world.

### Show notes

In this episode, our guests mentioned a new comic that explains corporate capture at the UN and a [civil society sign-on letter](#) publicly denouncing corporate interference in global governance, both of which you can find at [CorporateAccountability.org/Subvert](https://CorporateAccountability.org/Subvert).

Our guests on this episode are Keamogetswe Seipato from the [Alternative Information and Development Centre](#), Gonzalo Berrón from the [Transnational Institute](#), and Mona Sabella from the International Network for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, or [ESCR-net](#).

### Transcript

**Lena:** Hey, you're listening to Subvert.

**Michel:** A podcast from Corporate Accountability.

**Lena:** We're a 40-plus year old organization powered by people.

**Michel:** We wage strategic campaigns to stop corporate abuse against human rights and democracy.

**Lena:** I'm Lena Greenberg. I use they/them pronouns and I am our Press Officer.

**Michel:** I'm Michél Legendre and I use he/him pronouns. I'm our Associate Campaign Director. And today we're going to be talking to people organizing to secure what could be a huge game-changer for holding transnational corporations and other kinds of businesses accountable. It's a treaty known as the U.N. Treaty on Business and Human Rights.

For far too long, people who have wanted to hold corporations accountable for causing harm have had to rely on a perfect storm: good faith of the industry; countries that are perfectly set up to have political will to take corporations to task; and affected communities who have the resources to take up these cases and survive the formidable opposition of abusive corporations.

So, we could keep hoping for that perfect storm. But people's movements have said enough is enough, and are now participating in the work of drafting a whole new treaty that could hold

transnational corporations to account, no matter where they are based, and no matter who has been harmed.

**Lena:** In our first episode, we looked at how Big Tobacco and Big Food manipulate policymaking, fund junk science, and treat human rights as collateral. In our second episode, we heard about the growing movement to hold Big Oil and Gas accountable for damage caused to people and planet as a result of these corporations knowingly fueling the climate crisis. In all of these, cases corporations utilized laws and policies, or lack thereof, to put profit over people.

In all of these cases, corporate abuse can only be prosecuted on a case-by-case basis, which is often very challenging. But the U.N. Treaty on Business and Human Rights seeks to acknowledge and stop corporate abuse globally across industries and borders.

**Mona:** If you are wondering, you know, why are multinational corporations essentially not, following due diligence, human rights due diligence, and making sure that wherever they're operating, they are conforming to obligations and responsibilities under human rights law, the reason is because at the moment, there isn't an international mechanism to hold these corporations accountable to the activities that they perform.

**Lena:** That was Mona Sabella.

**Mona:** I'm Mona, I'm from Palestine, but I'm currently based in Dublin. Growing up in Palestine, seeing how, you know, the occupation and the history of colonization has been driven so evidently by corporate interests, and corporate power, I've always had an interest in trying to learn more about, how we can suppress corporate power, and how we can place people before profits, and how that can be the thing that informs the agenda—the human rights agenda—but also people's agenda, within the public sphere, and in terms of public interest and how we live our lives, and what rights, you know, we are, able to enjoy and so on.

**Lena:** Mona works at the [Economic Socio-Cultural Rights Network](#), or ESCR-net, for short. She coordinates the Corporate Accountability Working Group, which is a worldwide network with nearly 90 members. ESCR-net is one of two main coalitions that Corporate Accountability works with to advance this treaty.

Corporate Accountability's organizing around this treaty, just like our organizing on our other campaigns, is focused on preventing corporate interference in the treaty development process.

Today, we're also going to speak with Gonzalo, who works at the [Transnational Institute](#), or TNI. TNI is a part of the [Global Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity](#), which is the other coalition we work with on the treaty.

**Gonzalo:** My name is Gonzalo Berron. I'm an Argentinian living in Brazil. I'm the associate fellow of their corporate power team in TNI and TNI members of the global campaign to stop corporate impunity.

Transnational Institute is a think tank for progressive or leftist background. We push for mobilizing together with social movements and grassroots organizations from the South, but also from the North, and in moving actions for a just world.

**Lena:** We spoke with Kea as well.

**Kea:** My name is Keamogetswe Seipato, AKA Kea. I'm based in our work in Cape town, South Africa, at an NGO called the Alternative Information and Development Center. I coordinate a program called alternatives to extractivism and climate change. And within that program lies the Southern African Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power.

We're regional, and we include many countries in the Southern African region. So Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Madagascar, and then we were doing and hoping to unfold some work actually in the DRC.

And, we work with some folks also in Namibia. How the campaign is set up is that there's, different organizations and movements. And these different organizations or movements are actually based on work in the different countries.

**Lena:** Throughout the episode we'll be hearing from these three organizers about their work, why it brings them to the U.N. to work on this treaty and their visions of what this treaty can do to stop corporate abuse.

So Kea can you tell us a bit about why going up against corporate power is so important to you and how you do that in your work?

**Kea:** This was like literally my interest and focus. I think it's crucial. I think challenging corporate power is really at the nap of trying to deal with the current development paradigm that we live under. Because when you kind of look at who's doing what against who, ever so often it is transnational corporations who are involved.

I mean, you will find sort of state actors, but they do act and move through, I guess, the packaging of a business or through the model of trying to make profits. So I think trying to change the world and trying to change how our society fundamentally is set up, is actually through trying to tackle corporate power.

So our vision is wanting to develop those that are affected's understanding and knowledge around actually who's causing the turmoil that they're going through.

So we did that by having a three year permanent people's tribunal to get communities to come together and present cases against different transnational corporations. It was interesting

because we brought different communities from different parts of the region and some of them shared stories and tactics on how they're challenging sometimes the same company.

And through that, we're then able to build, sort of people to orbit around and push this demand to dismantle corporate power. So in essence is about knowledge sharing, developing knowledge, capacity building for those who are most affected to be the ones that reclaim the power and also for unity.

**Lena:** Wow. It is. It's so cool to hear about this, seems like a very place-based kind of constellation of organizations that are deeply connected to talking about and understanding the specific struggles of each group of people on how they're connected. Given that y'all are so organized already, why does it feel worth it to be involved in this process? That's happening at the U.N. outside of this region?

**Kea:** The short answer to your question is globalization, but the long answer to your question is globalization. So for example, we can't have, we can't have like a few, you know, communities affected by extractivistic activities, making noise in the Southernmost tip of the world, you know?

So it's important for us to build and organize in the region on the continent and in the world. And one of the processes to build and organize is obviously demanding a U.N. binding treaty. I mean, the UN is supposed to be a supra international organization and it's supposed to be protecting human rights as a whole.

So, um, if we struggle at local and regional levels or even continental levels, having something at an international level can sort of set precedent and push, regional, continental, and even local bodies to follow suit. So it's kind of like a parallel kind of process where we went in to develop things on our side, but also making sure that they exist at an international level.

**Michel:** Kea, can you, can you talk more about, uh, your involvement with the U.N. Treaty on Business and Human Rights and what that's been like?

**Kea:** It's been, to be very honest with you, it's just been particularly complicated because, um, it's easy to sort of sometimes see the linkages of stuff, but those that we are building with and wanting to, um, to strengthen sometimes are, um, it's difficult for them to connect the dots.

It's been difficult to sort of like take part in the processes at a Geneva level and try to make sure that we articulate and unpack it to communities on the ground.

And also for them to be more to understand that actually, demanding and doing things at the U.N. level is important for, um, local struggles themselves. However, it's been extremely inspiring to see a network of different organizations working in pushing for this. I think ever so often we hear of processes at the UN. we think it's a bunch of like, you know, cats in suits and whatnot.

So it's cool to see there's some real activists who are interested in, um, sort of unfolding and pushing this demand.

**Lena:** So given this kind of disconnect between what it's like to actually be in a place that's impacted by corporate abuse and the kind of cats and suits vibe at the U.N. Why is the treaty important beyond just connecting the dots? What's at stake?

**Kea:** Oh, everything is at stake, actually. I think, um, we've seen corporate abuse manifest and grow particularly like let's say from the 80's.

Right. And, um, corporates and basically corporate impunity keeps on metamorphosing and changing. I mean, particularly in the African continent, we find many of our states or particularly governments were being held, sort of, you know, by the corporates saying you need to implement policies and do things that are going to help us to be able to make money.

So, I mean, I don't want to be all doom and gloom, but holding corporations accountable and pushing for a particular treaty like this is actually the most important thing to do.

So, um, if we don't have something like this to hold corporations accountable, every kind of facet of life is in danger. Um, so, you know, it's either now or never basically.

**Michél:** One of the really, important pieces of language and I think something new in the treaty space is the idea of the primacy of human rights. Gonzalo, can you just share a little bit about that?

**Gonzalo:** Yeah, sure.

In theory, human rights are above all other rights -- in theory. In practice: No. In practice, human rights become a positive loss. So then you have a gap between Universal human rights and the real operation. And in the middle, you have many investment treaties, free trade agreement, eh, the World Trade Organization and that generate no binding obligation for States and many of them allows the violation of human rights. So what we are saying is that we need something that puts really human rights above all those investment and free trade agreements or rules--Um, the supremacy of human rights. Meaning that if, an agreement, promote or allow the violation of human rights, eh, that should be canceled and it's not valid since there is the supremacy of that international level.

**Lena:** Okay. Back to Kea.

**Kea:** In my mind is about going back to the basics. Life was supposed to be putting humans, you know, and people at the forefront of everything. And at the moment how we live, what's being put forth is as important is profit. So when we're saying, and when we developing a language around the treatment, we're saying that it's about the primacy of human rights for me it's about making sure that humans' well-being on the earth are put first and profit, or even business, comes last.

**Lena:** You were just talking about human rights and how mechanisms like this have a potential to protect human life. Can you talk a little bit about how this treaty would be able to protect non-human life as well?

**Gonzalo:** Well, that's a very good question. The human rights center in the human being. But if human rights is inserted in the nature and environment and so on, so forth. One of the rights is the right to livelihood and environment and so forth. So in that sense, many of the cases we are looking for are environmental problems,-- mining or, intensive agriculture or damages to the forest and that has an impact on people and the conditions where these people live. So in that sense, our, uh, rights also the nature s we call them.

**Michél:** Gonzalo, can you share a little bit about how the demand for a whole new treaty on human rights in business kind of arose?

**Gonzalo:** Well, in 2013, we have two big spaces from civil society. And then we'll have some states that push that we have the Global Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Corporate Impunity.

And we had the ECSR-Net, an important network of human rights organizations and defenders all over the world. So you have our campaign that was mostly a social movement, and then you have the other one that is what you're focusing on on human rights.

And you have then the Ecuadorian, plus South Africa and some other 85 countries that say, well, eh, the U.N. guiding principles are not enough. We need a binding treaty. So they, released a statement in 2013 and then we did these two big spaces we gather and we joined efforts in the so-called treaty alliance and we mobilize a lot in, the second half 13 and 14.

And they approved in June, 2014, a resolution, the famous resolution, that opens a process.

So that's kind of the starting point, let's say this. And utilization disposals of the treaty. And that was the day that I cried there in Geneva, that is where all the negotiations happened. So that was kind of amazing.

**Lena:** What a victory it's so obviously so much work to kind of fight your way through the halls of power.

**Michél:** So Mona, what happens next with the treaty?

**Mona:** The treaty has been going on for quite some time now, for over five years. And essentially what's happening now is we're negotiating a text. So there's States and there is civil society organizations, social movements, and, unfortunately as well, businesses who, you know, one can argue should not have a space at the table to discuss something that is such a conflict of interest, you know, to regulate themselves basically. But what happens next is these groups come to the table, and they try to argue for a really strong text of the treaty. For that means something else. For civil society, it means another.

So for ESCR-net members, for example, making sure that Indigenous people's rights are protected is a huge issue. You know, talking about the right to self-determination within the treaty, ensuring that corporate capture, and you know, it's kind of, you know, corporate capture

is not, an issue that we have to worry about, within at least the context of the treaty, you know, provisions, and, and different kinds of issues, that we've been focusing on.

**Lena:** One of the ways corporate capture happens is when corporations interfere in the integrity of a treaty or policy process.

Corporations do this to advance their own agendas often at the expense of human rights. Corporate capture will be a big focus in the next negotiation session, which will happen in October of 2021. This is where governments, social movements, civil society, and unfortunately businesses will gather to advance the treaty. Mona told us a bit more about what we can expect at that session.

**Mona:** So what happens now is we'll try to get as strong a text as possible.

And so for someone like ESCR-net network, we would try to push, you know, for rights that are, you know, being raised by some of our members, social movements on the ground, that are really essential. So, you know, trying to have a focus on conflict affected areas, within, within the treaty again on Indigenous people's rights, the right to self-determination, and making sure you know that the treaty covers all these really fundamental rights that we have to kind of try to uphold.

**Michel:** I think when we hear about what's at stake, it's many times talking about the problem, right? And then we need to bring people along in the arc of organizing and like what we're visioning.

So when, when you think about the treaty, can you think about, or talk about a specific case or situation that could be impacted in the future or where having a strong treaty could be a benefit?

**Kea:** So, um, I'll use, I think one particular major case is around, uh, Vale. You know, which is, um, technically a transnational corporation, but is a state owned enterprise. Never no financial thing based in Brazil, and has done weird things in Brazil, has done even more worse things in Mozambique. And I mean, last year they were implicated in the oil spill in Mauritius.

So having a treaty, around holding corporations accountable in establishing actually an international court, because you know, the ICJ exists and the ICC exists, but we don't have a body where would try these corporations.

**Lena:** The ICJ and the ICC or the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. If you're not familiar the corporation Keais talking about is valet, the second largest mining company in the world

**Kea:** So having a treaty would then help us to sort of bring cases, um, that won't have necessarily proper jurisdiction because Brazilians can try Vale in Brazil, you know, and, but in, Mozambique what happens? In Mauritius, what happens? So, now we cut all that nonsense and we're able to hold Vale accountable through the treaty in establishing a court like that.

**Lena:** Gonzalo also brought up Chevron in Ecuador. Chevron was taken to court for environmental destruction because of massive impacts on thousands of Indigenous and peasant peoples in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The Union of Affected Peoples by Chevron Texaco also known as UDAPT has been fighting for justice for the last 27 years.

**Gonzalo:** We have the famous case of Chevron in Ecuador that even if these people that was affected by Chevron no, in the Ecuadorian Amazon region -- even if they got the legal decision in their country that favored them, and in many different levels of the, eh, of the colonial and juridical system, Chevron never paid anything -- never paid anything. The case is dramatic because what they did was to empty the accounts and left some hundred dollars to pay the affected communities yet. And so what, can we answer to the people say well, we need something over and on top of the state to help these people access justice.

Then you have a different range of mechanisms to produce that. For instance, there is this mechanism, extraterritorial obligations, meaning what? That even if you are, your rights are violated, let's say in one country, and you can go to another country where this company has assets or have headquarters and so on and so forth.

**Lena:** Both Gonzalo and Kea are talking about extraterritorial obligation for transnational corporations. Also known as TNCs. Extraterritorial obligation can make something called extra territorial litigation possible.

**Michel:** Basically, this allows people impacted by foreign TNCs abuses to hold that TNC liable in the jurisdiction of a court where it's based. Or another country it operates in. So people in Ecuador could take a French corporation to court in France. That's incredible and could have the added benefit of forcing countries that are home to TNCs to better regulate those corporations activities abroad. Imagine: Dutch courts met with a wave of dozens of cases, just from Shell's abuses across Africa. Do you think the Dutch would want to maybe reign in Shell's activities at that point? Would democratic institutions with the authority to hold TNCs accountable finally do so, they wouldn't have to deal with the liabilities being brought to their doorstep? In short, this could be the game-changer impacted communities around the world have been waiting for.

**Lena:** If there were to be a court where these cases could be tried, then all of a sudden, there's, there's a path forward to solutions.

**Michel:** What could be the possibilities of holding corporations accountable how has, how has the treaty a source of hope?

**Kea:** Well, I think for me, the, the treaty is, uh, I guess it's a cog in the whole machinery, or it's one little link within the chain. What actually gives me hope is the possibilities of organizing and



bringing people together to be able to reclaim their power, and one of the ways to assist that is through the treaty.

So, and that's what gives me hope and inspires me. So demanding for the treaty and pushing for the treaty is a movement building opportunity, , So, the possibilities of building movement, strengthening people, and for us to be too say that you -- listen to us, we are, actually, the people that matter is what excites me and inspires me.

Okay. And the treaty process is one of the things for me, um, in relation to building people's power, that, you know, that, that plays a role for me.

**Lena:** Wow. You got me so excited over here. I'm so excited. Can you, can we, can we go a step further and will you talk about what it looks like to reclaim power as people and dismantling corporate power and how do we work towards that vision? It seems like the treaty is a little part of that grand idea.

**Kea:** Well, for me at the very least it is.

Uh, but it's also, uh, your question is huge and complex because it's something that I grappled with community and friends. And I always say that I think sometimes we spend a lot of time really working around what we're trying to break, but we don't spend time around what we're trying to build.

And I mean to expand that we haven't been spending a lot of time around what kind of new world and society we envision. So, um, for me, I think, I think in an essence for me, the kind of society and world that I like to see out of those persons of our people reclaiming the power is where, um, I guess democracy is in motion and people's needs are put forth.

I think right now we're driven by things that don't really make sense, that alienate us from who we are as human beings and our nature. And, um, I guess for me, the vision and what I'm trying to see at the end is that once hopefully we've reached that utopia of reclaiming our power, we're able then to, build a society in a world where our needs are put forth first.

And what I mean by our needs is the needs of human beings. And there's different examples of different communities actually around the world who are starting to do that and implementing some of these things. And I think, I guess probably maybe our responsibility is as much as we're naming and shaming, we should also name and, and amplify those struggles and those examples of a different world.

Yeah.

**Michel:** I think that it's really important for everyday people that are listening right now to understand their role in all of this.

**Lena:** are there any specific actions we should ask people to take?, how, how can our listeners support this work?

**Gonzalo:** There is one specific action we are, we are now doing ANopen letter. This open letter is to denounce let's say the corporate capture, the U.N. level, and how through the multi-stakeholderism, companies are gaining ownership on the decision making process.

**Lena:** Multi-stakeholderism is the idea that policies should be made with the involvement of all potentially impacted entities. This might sound nice, but actually it's really dangerous because it allows corporations to insert themselves into decision-making processes, treaty negotiations, And gives more power to corporations while de-centering the demands of people and social movements. So the sign on letter:

**Gonzalo:** It's a sign-on it's a letter open to, to sign on, organizations or individuals. You have to ask your own authorities, your own government, to move with this in the case of the U.S. is a very key country, because of obvious reasons now that the Biden administration is in the presidency, maybe you have a real chance due to this. And ask the officers in the government, eh, to move on and that could be a major help and would make a real difference in this process. It's not simple!

**Mona:** we've worked on a comic series. The first episode will focus on corporate capture of the United Nations. So, if you wanted to know what corporate capture of the United Nations means, and how to try and prevent that from happening within the treaty process, then this would be a great thing to read up on and check out the comic itself because a very clear, consistent message from ESCR-NET members about the concept of corporate capture, because that's also something that has to be covered by the treaty itself in terms of protections.

It would also be great too to share it widely on social media, to ask questions, to reach out to us, to call us out on things that you'd want to know more about, or you have questions about and so on.

**Lena:** Can you talk about why tools like the comic are important to the movement behind the UN treaty for business and human rights?

**Mona:** What's important is to try and access as many people as possible our current reality there's a lot of zoom meetings and a lot of reports to read, especially in ou, kind of work. We were trying to get people to kind of think about this and see this from a different perspective. There's definitely a place for art and human rights as well.

So, you know, we wanted to reach a wider audience and to kind of say that the treaty process is not a process for just human rights professionals or lawyers or advocates who are, you know, working within the U.N. or with the U.N/. No-- the treaty process is for everybody..

**Michel:** We're talking about a U.N. treaty, and the power of organizing too. When I think about, you know, how people see the world, they see a world that's like cracking apart.

That's like bursting at the seams, right? And there's been this movement of positive organizers that are trying to see those cracks as an opening, as a place to start seeding something new and different. And I think that you were talking about that, but when you think about what that

new world looks like, what does it feel like to live in that new world? As someone that's based in South Africa? That's, you know, fighting with people that are impacted on the front lines.

**Kea:** Yo, my goodness. I think, how it feels like it's twofold for me. Um, first thing is that Personally, I would like to be laying at the beach right now and not involved in anything. So that's what it would feel like for me. I think the second part is that I think the dysfunctional relationship that we have with nature and the dysfunctional relationship that we have with each other, um, stops. And we change that. I think the way it's been embedded in our psyche as human beings that we have to work. We have to make money. We have to technically abuse each other, and we have to exploit everything from nature -- needs to change. And for me, a different society means working towards and changing this thing that we think is who we are as people. And, um, ultimately me being able to lay on the beach.

There's different ways for us to cut this pie and I can go on forever. But I think once, once we started really, um, unpacking some of these entrenched notions of what we are as people is where then we're going to start developing a whole different society and world.

I think for me is I like to say that now is the time -- we're not going to get this chance. Um, so we need to figure it out quickly and, um, come together. And I think also --and this is broadly for organizing and trying to dismantle all of the stupid things that we're fighting against == we were going to have to let go of a lot of things so we can be able to hold hands and figure a lot of this out. And above. And beyond that, I think this is the time to kind of see how we weave in history, experience theory, and proper action. Thanks.

**Michél:** Wow, Lena, it was so fun and exhilarating to hear from Mona Gonzalo and Kea. There's so much incredible insight we gained. Um, you know, and for, for you Lena what were some important takeaways that we can summarize for listeners?

**Lena:** Well, there's so much here. Running through every conversation we had is that this landmark treaty that the U.N. Treaty on business and human rights, it's still in development, but if and when it's signed and ratified and implemented, which could happen in the next handful of years, this treaty could mean a lot for the future of all of the movements that each of the people we spoke with are involved in. And even though this treaty is a big monolithic international thing, it's clear that it would have impacts on each of the kinds of local and regional campaigns that we heard about, and that are going on all over the world.

**Michél:** Yeah, it's clear that this treaty means a lot to people and I was really moved by Kea's presence. I feel like Kea is that tried and true, uh, movement organizer, that person that's from the community and thinks about all the ways that we can leverage people power to get the justice that we need in the world.

And, and I was just really hearing about, you know, the regional Southern African campaign and the power that's there and using that power and also raising up and giving platform to people on the ground in some of the most impacted countries from corporate abuse and, and going to Geneva every year to negotiate this treaty and hearing from her, the hope that she sees in that,

and the interconnectedness of the struggle on the ground. There's a really powerful vision behind what this treaty could look like.

**Lena:** I think for me, I've encountered this treaty in a couple of settings before, you know, I helped out with some of Corporate Accountability's media work during the last treaty negotiations in October. And so I knew about the treaty and I knew what it was, . but talking to all of these people actually made it real to me.

And I kept having these moments of like, "Oh, this is what these mechanisms are for, and this is what this big, long fight is about." It's not, you know, just trying to push a document so that there's a document it's actually, this treaty can create mechanisms to pursue justice that don't exist anywhere otherwise.

**Michél:** Yeah. And I think that's a really important point too, is that there is nothing like this. You know, I work on the tobacco campaign and our treaty is a single issue in its scope, which is about the tobacco epidemic. It touches a bunch of different systems and, you know, a bunch of different ways that the industry is, inserting itself, is unlike anything we've ever seen before. And, um, I was thinking also about the extra territorial litigation, which is this wild concept of, of what accountability could look like if countries all around the world showed up in good faith in this globalized system and the way that we were promised, right?

Like if we're going to globalize and allow the globalization of a free market, if we're going to globalize corporate activities, we must globalize justice. It's the first step.

**Lena:** I was just thinking that, yes! Absolutely. If we're going to live in a world where transnational corporations can be transnationally abusive with impunity, we have to meet that global problem with a global solution. And obviously this treaty is one tool in a big toolbox of ways to stop corporate abuse and hold corporations accountable for those abuses.

But it's clear that this kind of scale of a solution is really necessary considering the kind of problem we're talking about.

**Michél:** This episode was co-hosted by me and Lena Greenberg. Lena also wrote the show.

**Lena:** Eric Johnson and I co-produced and edited the show. Eric mixed the show and also wrote our music.

**Michél:** We heard from Mona Sabella, Keamogetswe Seipato and Gonzalo Berrón. Thanks to everyone who joined in and supported this episode. And Thanks to everyone who joined us and supported this episode.

**Lena:** An extra special thanks to Shayda Naficy for her consultation.

Thanks for listening to Subvert. If you enjoy this episode and would like to support our work as a sustaining member, you can join our movement@corporateaccountability.org slash donate. For

more information on the Alternative Information Development Center, ESCR-net, or the Transnational Institute, visit [CorporateAccountability.org/Subvert](http://CorporateAccountability.org/Subvert).