

FARN REPORT

BENETTON - MAPUCHE CASE

*Compañía de Tierras del Sud Argentino
v. the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir Family*

ARGENTINE PATAGONIA

2006



Cover photos:

- *Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir available www.nodo50.org*
- *View Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino available www.comapaniadetierras.com.ar.*
- *Map of Argentina with the geographical distribution of the Indigenous communities available www.tierradegauchos.com*

ABOUT OECDWATCH

OECD WATCH, which was established in March 2003 at a meeting in Amersfoort, Netherlands, groups together NGOs from Europe, the Americas, Australia, Africa and Asia who share a common vision about the need for corporate accountability and sustainable investment. The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, which can neither impose sanctions nor offer compensation, are at present one of the few mechanisms available for holding companies to account. OECD WATCH is committed to testing the Guidelines as part of the wider NGO campaign towards binding regulation of multinationals. Members of OECD WATCH are committed to the following goals:

- Monitoring and contributing to the work of the OECD's Investment Committee;
- Testing the effectiveness of the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises as a corporate accountability tool;
- Disseminating information to civil society groups, particularly in developing countries, about the work of the Investment Committee on international investment, corporate governance and the OECD Guidelines;
- Advising NGOs about filing complaints against companies alleged to have breached the OECD Guidelines.

ABOUT IRENE

IRENE has been stimulating and facilitating the exchange of information on labour issues since 1981 and has contacts, resources and a European programme of work which covers current international labour issues.

IRENE is an international network on development education. IRENEs aim is to stimulate that international labour issues are taken up by NGOs and trade unions in their mainstream education and campaign programmes.

IRENE is set up to strengthen international workers solidarity. By organising international seminars and workshops it gives attention to new areas of work and provides new inputs in existing work. IRENEs activities stimulate the exchange between organisations in the South and the North and within Europe (also Eastern Europe).

The core question of IRENEs work is: How are workers (women and men), in different regions in the world, affected by international restructuring in the industrial and services sector. The outcome of IRENEs work is published in the bulletin "NEWS from IRENE".

ABOUT FARN

Created in 1985, the Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (FARN) is a non-governmental organisation whose principal objective is to *promote sustainable development through policy, law and the institutional organisation of society*. The principal target groups of the work of FARN are the public and private decision makers. In order to achieve its objectives, FARN works in the following areas:

- **Research and Training**, *promoting the study of the legal and institutional aspects of sustainable development, governance and environmental policy, conservation and the problem of environmental pollution.*
- **Public Participation**, *disseminating and promoting new legal tools so that citizens may participate actively in the defence of their environmental rights.*
- **Trade and Sustainable Development**, *promoting initiatives to address the links between trade, investment and environment in the interests of sustainable development.*
- **Information and Publications**, *through its Environmental Law Information Centre and the publication of the various projects carried out by the institution.*

The different activities of FARN are financed thanks to the contribution of private donors (individuals, companies, national and foreign foundations), and national and international public organisations.

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FARN'S work team would like to acknowledge the valuable cooperation of all those who with their testimonies and contributions made it possible to attain the objectives posed in the framework of this investigation. In particular, we would like to express our special thanks to Mr. Atilio Curiñanco, Dr. Gustavo Macayo (lawyer for the Mapuche family), Mr. Mauro Millán (Organización de las Comunidades Mapuche-Tehuelche 11 de Octubre), Director Silvia Huenchupan (Instituto Autárquico de Colonización, Esquel), Graciela Matio General Director of the Secretary General of Government, Ms. Angélica Mendoza (SERPAJ).

FOREWORD

Four years have elapsed since the accusation of usurpation made by the Benetton multinational company against a family from the Mapuche community who had occupied land presumed to be public on the Santa Rosa property in the province of Chubut, Argentine Patagonia. The eviction of the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family occurred one month later, and towards the end of May 2004 the ruling in the criminal and civil actions was made public.

The national and international outcomes led to the close involvement of a variety of actors, such as Adolfo Pérez Esquivel (Argentine Nobel Peace Laureate) who promoted dialogue between the Mapuche couple and the Italian business group primarily designed to reflect on securing a fair and decent solution. A new instance for solving interests in conflict appeared to emerge, but two years after the meeting in Italy, no clear answers have been provided by Benetton to the proposals made by Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir.

So the case between Benetton and this Indigenous family clearly continues to be subject of debate, continues to serve as an example and basically continues to reveal the complex and difficult situation faced daily not only by members of the Mapuche community but also by other communities of native peoples in our country. This scenario aroused the attention of OECDWatch that, through one of its member organisations IRENE, decided to contact FARN so that in a first phase it could survey the background to the case, and with this information explores the viability of the OECD's Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises.

Such is the context of this report. For its preparation FARN offered the experience acquired in a significant number of projects and activities in which we have promoted the dissemination, construction and consolidation of the concept of corporate social responsibility, in pursuit of a sustainable development. It is therefore a document which begins by outlining certain introductory comments which the work team envisaged to be a necessary departure point. It contains an overview of the Indigenous communities and then a brief review of the history of the *Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino*, which is owned by Benetton. There follows a simple description of the background to the case, addressing its chronological aspects, the criminal and civil case, the intervention by Pérez Esquivel, and the current context. We shall then discuss the relationship between this case and the viability of the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises. Finally, from this brief analysis a checklist of findings will be drawn and recommendations made before the report ends with a final conclusion.

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INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

(i) General overview of the Indigenous communities in Argentina

It is by no means a simple task to speak of the total Indigenous population of our country. The official data provided by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC), for example reveal that based on the preliminary results of the Complementary Survey of Indigenous Peoples (ECPI -data surveyed during 2004/2005 and processed in June 2005-)¹, the Indigenous population included in the study to date is 402,921 inhabitants. In contrast, a study carried out by the Digital Genetic Footprints Services, of the University of Buenos Aires, made public the findings of a genetic analysis: 56% of the Argentine people have an Indigenous ancestor, of this percentage, 10% are pure indigenous².

Such is the context and the varied figures that some of the sources of information consulted offer. Regarding this situation, during interviews, indigenous representatives characterized this scenario as “statistical genocide”.

The following chart gives the geographical distribution of the different communities.

NORTH-EAST REGION Chaco, Formosa, Misiones and Santa Fe		NORTH-WEST REGION Catamarca, Jujuy, La Rioja, Salta, San Juan, Santiago del Estero and Tucumán	
Mbya-Guarany People Vilela People Wichí People	Pilagá People Mocoví People Toba People	Atacama People Chané People Chulupí People Toba People Tapiete People Wichí People	Avá-Guarany People Chorote People Diaguíta- Calchaquí People Kolla People Omaguaca People Tupí-Guarany People

¹ After the harsh criticisms made of the 2001 Census, this survey is the first systematic study of the characteristics and living conditions of individuals who are recognised as belonging or having descended from the Indigenous population of the country. INDEC emphasises that in this survey (unlike others by the organisation) a structure of human resources made up of persons belonging to the Indigenous peoples participated in the sensitisation, recruitment and training of researchers. For further information, please visit: www.indec.gov.ar.

² www.clarin.com/diario/2005/01/16/sociedad/s-03415.htm

SOUTH REGION Chubut, Neuquén, Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego		CENTRAL REGION Buenos Aires, La Pampa y Mendoza	
Mapuche People Tehuelche People	Mapuche People Tehuelche People	Atacama People Huarpe People Mapuche People Toba People	Avá Guarany, People Diaguíta-Calchaquí People Kolla People Rankulche People Tupí Guarany People

Source: FARN, on the basis of available information Aboriginal Communities of the Argentine Republic³

■ **The Mapuche Nation**

The Mapuche (people of the land) are native people of South America and since their origins have lived in the area that is today occupied by the central part of Chile and the Argentine provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, La Pampa and part of Buenos Aires. By virtue of the provisional data processed in June 2005, the INDEC's Complementary Survey of Indigenous Peoples reveals that the Mapuche population in our country totals 104,988 inhabitants, living basically in the Patagonian region (76,606 inhabitants) and a lesser proportion in the provinces of La Pampa and Buenos Aires (28,382 mapuches). From the Mapuche community perspective this total population given by INDEC is far from the accurate Mapuche population. Their estimation is approximately 500.000 mapuches in Argentina

The Mapuches are known for their profound religious sentiments with their *mapu* (earth) vision that embraces all the nature to which they pay homage. The earth is considered sacred since it was given by *Nguenchen* (God) to all men for them to extract from it what they need to live. As a consequence of this conception of nature they have no inclination to accumulate property as an end in itself. Their vital relationship with the earth does not only include the sphere of material subsistence, but also their spiritual expression, their Cosmvision, the form in which they represent the world and their relationship with the supernatural forces.

Their history shows that from the period of expansion of the Inca Empire until the arrival of the Spanish in America, both sides struggled to extend their respective influences and domination over Mapuche territory. The resistance of this nation ensured that their territories were not invaded, although the colonisers experimented with other strategies to gain entry to the Mapuche communities. An example is by means of missions -with few

³ See www.endepa.madryn.com/mapa.htm.

positive results-, and later through parliament⁴. The history of the Mapuche people changes during the period of construction of the republics of Argentina and Chile. Towards the end of the 19th century in our country Gnl. Julio A. Roca and Gnl. Conrado Villegas led four campaigns in the process of "pacification." known also as the "Conquest of the Desert," which put an end to Indigenous power in the Pampa and Patagonia.

■ **The Legal and Institutional Framework**

A significant milestone in the legal framework in our country is without doubt the incorporation of article 75 of the National Constitution, on occasion of its reform in 1994, of the following: *"The Congress shall have power: 17. "To recognize the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of Indigenous Argentine peoples. To guarantee respect for their identity and their right to bilingual and intercultural education; to recognize the legal standing of their communities, and the possession and community property over lands they have traditionally occupied, and to regulate the transfer of other lands fit and sufficient for human development—none of which may be alienable, conveyable or susceptible to encumbrances or attachments. To assure their participation in the related administration of their natural resources and of other interests affecting them. The Provinces may exercise these powers concurrently"*. A constitutional mandate that is also found in many of the provincial constitutions with varying formulas and scopes⁵.

Preceding this drive for constitutional recognition of the rights of the indigenous peoples, from the middle of the eighties our country made progress in sanctioning multiple regulations affecting the Indigenous communities. National Law No. 23,302 –adopted in 1985 and enacted in 1989- created the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs (Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas, INAI), a decentralised body that acts as an enforcement body for State policies on Indigenous affairs⁶. Similarly, a series of national regulations led to the incorporation of international instruments, such as, Convention No. 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO)⁷, the Creation of the Fund for the Development

⁴ Parliament was the space where sworn agreements were made. With the approval of the King of Spain, Parliaments were held in which the recognition of the independence of the Mapuches from the Crown of Spain was reiterated, and the parties undertook to leave aside their bellicose actions. Further information available at <http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mapuche#Historia>

⁵ This is the case of the constitutions of the provinces of Buenos Aires (1994), Chaco (1994), Chubut (1994), Formosa (1991), Jujuy (1986), La Pampa (1994), Neuquén (1994), Río Negro (1988), Salta (1998).

⁶ In accordance with the regulations governing the functioning of the INAI its principal powers are the following: to act as a law enforcement body; compile the National Register of Indigenous Communities, and organise the enrolment of the communities that request them in such a way as to acquire legal standing; prepare and implement plans of adjudication and exploitation of the land, of education and of health; carry out studies and censuses that allow a diagnosis of the problems that affect the communities; promote awareness of Indigenous cultural heritage; favour the realisation of elective procedures according to the tradition and cultural models of each community, for the appointment of its representatives; among other functions.

⁷ Our country adopted the ILO Convention No. 169 by Law No. 24,071 in 1992; it was ratified in 2000 and entered into force in mid-2001.

of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean (UN)⁸, and the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples of the United Nations⁹. In the provincial order, meanwhile, the legislation has also created various institutions and has made progress in regulating the matter¹⁰.

The above would seem to reveal the existence of a legal–institutional structure that incorporates the preservation, improvement, promotion, respect, development and participation of Indigenous citizens. However, declarations such as that made by defence lawyer G. Macayo (...) “*the total absence of the State as regards public policies and compliance with the legislation and entry into force of the fundamental rights of the Original Peoples,*”¹¹ in relation to the lack of interest shown by the State, and the opinions expressed in interviews with Mapuche representatives in Esquel revealed another scenario. On the one hand, the comments highlighted the poor enforcement of regulations, and on the other, the fact that national and provincial institutions suffer clear limitations in guaranteeing an effective and efficient perform of their functions. The same interviewees revealed that among the multiplicity of factors that can lead to a scenario such as this, the authorities’ lack of economic, human and technical resources is uppermost, alongside weak political desire¹².

(ii) Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino: general aspects

The *Compañía de Tierras del Sud Argentino* S.A. (CTSA) dates back to the end of the 19th century. In 1889 The Argentinian Southern Land Company Ltd., with headquarters in London and administration offices in Buenos Aires, was the beneficiary of the

⁸ Passed by Law No. 24,544 (1995)

⁹ Passed by Law No. 24,874 (1997)

¹⁰ By way of example below are certain provincial regulations. CHUBUT: Law N°3657/91 on the Creation of the Institute of Indigenous Communities, Law No. 4013 on the Creation of the Register of Indigenous Communities, Law No. 4384 Integral sub-programme on the improvement in the quality of life of the aboriginal communities. FORMOSA: Law No. 426/84 Integral Law on Aboriginal People. SALTA: Law N° 6,373/86 on the promotion and development of the Aboriginal People. MISIONES: Law No. 2727/89 provincial directorate of Guaraní affairs. And various regulations adhering to the law creating the INAI, Law No. 2553 (Río Negro), Law No. 235 (Tierra del Fuego), Law No. 5754 (Mendoza). For further information please consult FARN’s Information Centre <http://www.farn.org.ar/informacion/ci/index.html>

¹¹ “*Comentario sobre el fallo: le dan las tierras a Benetton*”, Gustavo Macayo. Available at <http://argentina.indymedia.org/news/2006/07/421980.php>.

¹² An important example of this was the much-criticised census of 2001, qualified by some Mapuche representatives as “statistical genocide,” and the difficulties and limitations in processing the one implemented in the period 2004/ 2005, from which provisional figures continue to be drawn.

donation of ten ranches by President J. Uriburu, as settlement of debts incurred for the costs of the Desert Campaign.¹³

The following chart shows how this early company "*The Argentinian Southern Land Company Ltd*" became the CTSA and later property of the Benetton Group.

May 1889	→	In London The Argentinian Southern Land Company Ltd is founded and operates as a foreign company.
July 1975	→	Argentine investors purchase shares of The Argentinian Southern Land Company Ltd.
May 1982	→	The company is nationalised, and its name becomes <i>Compañía de Tierras del Sud Argentino S. A.</i>
August 1991	→	The shares of <i>Compañía de Tierras del Sud Argentino S. A.</i> are purchased by <i>Edizione Holding International N.V.</i> Benetton's property.

Source: FARN, based on available information in the Benetton Group web site.

Thus the Italian group Benetton, which operates in 120 countries and generates revenue of 2 billion euros per year, began operations in Argentina in the middle of 1991 through the *Compañía de Tierras del Sud Argentino S.A.* On the 900,000 hectares it owns in our country,¹⁴ its activities are not restricted exclusively to the production of wool from over 250,000 sheep (representing 10% of the wool needed by the textile multinational, the principal consumer of virgin wool in the world). Its diverse range of activities also covers agricultural production, oil exploration and mining, and forestry.

¹³ As regards this donation, the lawyer of the Mapuche family in the case with CTSA, Dr. G. Macayo, has suggested that these title deeds contain irregularities by virtue of the regulations in force at the time of the donation.

¹⁴ In accordance with the information provided in the website of the Benetton group, the 900,000 hectares owned by the company are distributed in the provinces of Santa Cruz, Río Negro, Buenos Aires and Chubut. In the latter province, with which we are concerned, the company owns two ranches, Leleque and Maitén, of 183,100 ha. and 123,000 ha., respectively.

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BACKGROUND TO THE BENETTON - MAPUCHE CASE

(i) A chronology of events January 2002 – July 2006

On the basis of data surveyed in the different sources of information consulted the following chronology of events was drawn up.

YEAR 2002

February	→	The Curiñanco–Rúa Nahuelquir couple made enquiries as to whether the “Santa Rosa” property was public land in the Independent Institute of Colonisation (Instituto Autárquico de Colonización, IAC).
August	→	According to declarations made by the couple, the IAC replied that the “Santa Rosa” property was public land. Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir accordingly decided to settle with their family on the Santa Rosa property, and declared in the police station at El Maitén that they intended to occupy the land.
September	→	The Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino, owned by Benetton, accused the couple for illegally occupying of the Santa Rosa property.
October	→	As a consequence of the accusation, the justice (Judge Colabelli) instructed the eviction of the family from the land.

YEAR 2004

May	→	The judge decides against Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir in the oral and public trial. In the criminal action the couple is acquitted of the offence of usurpation. In the civil action the “Santa Rosa” property is definitively returned to CTSA.
July	→	Pérez Esquivel sends a letter to Luciano Benetton demanding the return to the Mapuche family of the Santa Rosa property in the Patagonia, which had recently been won in court by the company’s local branch, CTSA.
July	→	In an open letter published in the <i>La Repubblica</i> newspaper, Luciano Benetton claims that his investments seek “to produce development and work for the territory and its inhabitants” and said that he was open to dialogue and willing to meet Pérez Esquivel to discuss the issue and attempt to seek consensus.

July	→	Representatives of the Mapuche people demand that the National Congress set up a legislative commission to investigate the title deeds held by the largest landowners in the south of Argentina.
July	→	Some Italians also begin to demand that the Benetton Group return the land to the Indigenous people of Patagonia, on learning of the conflict from the open letter by Nobel Peace Laureate Adolfo Pérez Esquivel.
November	→	Benetton announces in a letter addressed to Adolfo Pérez Esquivel that it will donate 2500 hectares near Esquel. This is the second offer of land received by the Indigenous communities in Chubut this year. The first was in August when the governor of Chubut assured that he would give that community a property of fertile land in the surrounding area of Paso del Sapo.
November	→	From Rome the Curiñanco-Nahuelquir couple and Mr. Mauro Millán (representative of the Mapuche-Tehuelche 11 de Octubre organisation) reject the donation of 2500 hectares of land announced by Benetton, arguing that it would not accept a donation but only the restitution of the land.
November	→	The Mapuches challenge Benetton on two fronts: the Italian Parliament and the Capitol in Rome, demanding that the Benetton Group -principal landowner in Argentina (900,000 hectares)- return at least part of their ancestral lands, accusing it of numerous injustices.
November	→	The Curiñanco-Nahuelquir family and the Benetton family meet. Also present at the meeting are the lawyer for the Mapuche family, G. Macayo, spokesman for the 11 de Octubre organisation, M. Millan, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, representatives of the Gorbachev Foundation and RADICI, the Argentine ambassador in Rome, and the Mayor of the city.

YEAR 2005

November	→	The Benetton Group announces that in January 2006 it will make a donation of 7500 hectares of land to the government of Chubut, for distribution among the indigenous communities.
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YEAR 2006

July	→	The government of Chubut rejects the donation of lands by Benetton for the Mapuches, since, according to reports made by different technical bodies (e.g. INTA), they are not particularly productive
July	→	The Curiñanco–Rúa Nahuelquir family addresses a letter to public opinion

(ii) The criminal and civil case

The occupation of the Santa Rosa property by the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family in August 2002 caused *Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino* to file two lawsuits, a criminal suit for usurpation and another civil action for the restitution of the property¹⁵. Below is a simplified account of the results of both lawsuits.

■ **The criminal action**

In the criminal action two key moments should be emphasised, October 2002 and May 2004. In October 2002, the Mapuche family was evicted when the preliminary injunction requested by CTSA in the criminal action filed for usurpation was accepted. Meanwhile, at the end of 2004, on occasion of the oral trial the criminal court conclusively acquitted Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir, alleging an absence of certainty in charging the defendants with the use of violence, as required by the criminal act of usurpation, and the Prosecutor abstained from accusing and requested the acquittal of the accused. In the ruling the judge made it clear that without an accusation one of the essential elements in the trial was missing. This would also violate the right of self-defence implicit in an accusation. Consequently, being unable to complete the lawsuit due to the absence of accusation, the acquittal of the accused was pronounced, understanding that acquittal and not absolution corresponded as the latter could only be awarded if the trial had gone ahead with all the necessary elements prior to sentencing.

■ **The civil action**

On the basis of statements and the evidential elements presented, both by the plaintiff when bringing the action and by the defence in its reply, as well as the arguments and justification presented in the oral trial, at the end of May 2004, Correctional Judge Dr. Jorge Eyo resolved that the 535-hectare Santa Rosa land formed part of the LEPÁ Ranch and ordered its definitive restitution to the *Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino*.

In his ruling the judge accepted the demand by virtue of the title deeds provided by the plaintiff, endorsed by expert witnesses and testimonies, and other documentary proof, and based his rejection of the proposals made by the defence on the fact that, on one hand, the land is public and therefore susceptible to occupation and exploitation by the Mapuche

¹⁵ Case No. 159-159-03 entitled “NAHUELQUIR, Rosa Sara - CURIÑANCO, Atilio on Usurpation Cía. Tierras del Sur Argentina on injured party EL MAITEN” of the Secretariat of the Correctional Court of the Judicial District of the North-West of Chubut, based in the city of Esquel. (File No. 4592 of the State Attorney’s Office in 2002, and File No. 2740-166-2000 of the Examining Magistrate’s Court).

family and, on the other, regarding the responsibility of the province and the IAC in not having approved at the time the demand for land by the Mapuche family.

(iii) *The involvement of Adolfo Pérez Esquivel : a new scenario for dialogue between the Mapuche family and Benetton 2004 -2006*

In mid-June 2004, Argentine writer and Nobel peace prizewinner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel¹⁶, wrote to Luciano Benetton demanding the restitution to the Mapuche family of the property in Patagonia that had recently been won in court by its local office, *Compañía de Tierras del Sud Argentino*. Pérez Esquivel wrote...*"I wish to say that the persons from whom you have usurped 385 hectares of land, with the complicity of an unfair judge and by using the weapon of money, comprise a humble Mapuche family, with identity, with heart, with life, who are fighting for their rights; they are Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Nahuelquir, legitimate owners for all time, by birth and by the right of their elders (...) The decision is in your hands. If you should decide to return the lands to the Mapuche brothers, I undertake to accompany you..."*. In response, in an open letter published in July in the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*, Luciano Benetton revealed that he was willing to meet and engage in a debate on the subject of the lands in Patagonia which should include other landowners and representatives of the Argentine government¹⁷. Thus a new instance emerged.

In Treviso, Pérez Esquivel met with Luciano Benetton and progress was made in arranging a meeting between the Mapuche family and the Italian multinational (on occasion of the summit of Nobel Peace Laureates in November in Italy) in order to reflect on a fair and decent solution; as well as in the promotion of dialogue with the Argentine government with a view to defining a policy in matters of Indigenous lands.

A few days prior to the meeting, in another letter to Benetton (4 November 2004), Adolfo Pérez Esquivel disclosed the steps taken in promoting dialogue with the Argentine government on one hand, and on the other, the fact that the Mapuche brothers would be ready to speak if it is guarantee a context of historical reparation, land restitution, and reparations for moral and material damages caused by the eviction. Meanwhile, Benetton announced a donation of 2500 hectares of good quality land near Esquel as its contribution to coexistence between the diversity of peoples of Patagonia, as a gesture

¹⁶ With the involvement of Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, SERPAJ Argentina (Servicio de Paz y Justicia), an organisation he chairs, also became involved. Further information: www.serpaj-ar.com.ar.

¹⁷ The correspondence exchanged between Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and Luciano Benetton may be consulted on the website www.benettontalks.com.

that fully expresses the group's company philosophy with a view to encouraging realistic dialogue and mediation on the land's issue in Patagonia¹⁸.

Against this background, on 11 November 2004 there was a meeting between Luciano Benetton, the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family and Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, with the participation of the lawyer for the Mapuche couple (Gustavo Macayo), the spokesman for the Mapuche-Tehuelche 11 de Octubre organisation (Mauro Millán), the Argentine Ambassador in Italy, the Mayor of Rome, and representatives of the Gorbachev and RADICI organisations.

The meeting on the positions sustained of "donation *versus* restitution" lasted for over four hours, but progress was finally made on formulating a specific proposal. Through its lawyer the Mapuche family proposed that Benetton should hand over the Santa Rosa property to the Argentine State, which would then return it to Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir. Although the idea was not rejected, Benetton requested time to respond after consulting with its lawyers in Treviso and in Patagonia.

The meeting came to an end¹⁹ and became a landmark within an instance of dialogue that is still open. However, practically two years have now passed and the Mapuche family has still received no credible response to the proposal made at the meeting in Italy.

(iv) Current context: July 2006

As seen in the chronology of events, once concluded the judicial stage and after the Benetton-Mapuche meeting in Italy -as the last stage in the dialogue-, only two events contributed to outlining the current panorama.

Firstly, at the end of 2005, Benetton announced a donation of 7500 hectares²⁰ to the government of Chubut so it could implement a plan of sustainable development for the Mapuche-Tehuelche communities in the province. And more recently, in July 2006, the Government of Chubut announced its rejection of the donation of land due to the low productive capacity of the property and the disproportionate investment that would be needed to restore productivity²¹.

¹⁸ See Communication at www.companiadetierras.com.ar

¹⁹ Unfortunately, there are no written records or undertakings, despite requests made by Gustavo Macayo in accordance with comments made in our interview with him in July in Esquel.

²⁰ Located beside the River Chubut, it is suitable for cultivation and potential tourist activities.

²¹ Information published in different local and national press media. Páginas del Sur, 04/07/06. La Nación , 03/07/06. Clarín, 03/07/06.

In declarations to the press, Governor Mario Das Neves said “(...) *it is more a marketing proposal than a serious proposal. Piedra Parada is a beautiful place but of the 7500 hectares only 300 are of any use (...)*”²². According to the provincial authority, these arguments are based on the results emerging from the reports requested from the Independent Institute of Colonisation (Instituto Autárquico de Colonización, IAC) and the National Institute of Farming Technology (Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria, INTA) in Esquel. Nevertheless, the authorities of the latter institution revealed that the study carried out was very basic and that the land had not been reported as unproductive. Therefore, the Director of INTA Esquel, declared that the conclusions of the report “(...) *do not establish a value judgement on the productive capacity of the land and make no reference to the investment needed to irrigate the hectares which could feasibly be brought into production. For these reasons the decision to reject the donation is not based on technical issues, but rather appears to be a political decision*”²³.

The 2006 scenario is therefore a complex one with little prospect of a prompt solution, not only in the conflict between the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family and the Benetton company in particular, but also in a broad sense on the form in which public and private institutions address the question of compliance with the rights of Indigenous People as recognised both internationally and in our National Constitution. Particularly true if are considered the daily complaints of closure or diversion of rivers and community roads, the fencing of presumably public land, threats of eviction, and others²⁴.

Mention should be made of the following aspects regarding the current context of the case, namely:

- The Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family is still awaiting a response from the Italian group on their proposal concerning the restitution of the Santa Rosa property with the transfer of the land to the Argentine State, which would then return it. Since that meeting in Italy in November 2004 no credible response to the proposal has been received from Benetton²⁵.

²² Revista Noticias, 08/ 07/06. Nota “Rechazo del Paraíso” by Gonzalez Sanchez, pages 80-83.

²³ Statements from the same article “Rechazo del Paraíso” by Gonzalez Sanchez, from Revista Noticias, as above.

²⁴ The Leleque case is an example. Since local voices denounce that Leleque is like an island in the midst of a sea of fencing and in which the native families of Mapuche people who inhabit have been harassed and threatened with eviction for the sake of the planned future Patagonian train from El Maitén to Leleque. Although this particular plan did not prosper by virtue of an appeal for protection, which declared the station to be provincial heritage, the threat of eviction did alter the lives of the inhabitants. For further information visit www.mapuche-nation.org.

²⁵ Letter addresses to public opinion by Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir, July 2006. See Appendix.

- The couple is also awaiting a response from government authorities. At a national level, the concern of the Argentine State over the conflict was shown not only in the initial actions undertaken by the Nobel Prizewinner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel²⁶, but also in the participation at the meeting in Rome of the Argentine Ambassador in Italy, along with Foreign Ministry representatives. However, no further actions appear to have been taken to secure a solution to the conflict, and since the meeting, in which the authorities undertook to seek a solution, provincial government authorities have not resumed contact with representatives of the various Mapuche communities.

- Meanwhile, the family does not rule out exploring other strategies that would allow them to return to Santa Rosa with the aim, as they themselves say, of ...“*working with dignity in accordance with our culture, without depending on unemployment benefit.*”²⁷

- Another aspect that causes uncertainty is related to the donation of lands made by Benetton and rejected by the authorities of the province of Chubut. However, the arguments on which the provincial decision was based are disconcerting if the declarations made by authorities such as the Director of INTA Esquel are heeded. These divergences accentuate a generalised perception of distrust among the members of the local aboriginal communities²⁸.

²⁶ In his letter of 4 November 2004 to Luciano Benetton, Pérez Esquivel comments on the steps taken in opening a dialogue with the Argentine government. In the letter mention is made of a meeting at the beginning of November attended by the Secretary of the Presidency, the Director General of Government Programmes and Action, a representative of the National Coordination Council for Social Policies and the President of the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs. Among other subjects the following were addressed “(...) *the national situation of the Indigenous populations, the difficulties they are experiencing and the repression they suffer at the hands of the police, indiscriminate exploitation by the oil, mining and forestry companies (...) the issue of the Benetton-Mapuche lands and the Mapuche Parliament... the situation they are living in and the visit to Rome (...) there is no clear resolution on the land since it involves different territorial jurisdictions (...) request for the presence of the Argentine ambassador in Italy at the meeting (...)*”.

²⁷ Letter of 6 July 2006 to public opinion from Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir, see Appendix.

²⁸ In the interviews held during the stay in Esquel, comments from different members of the Mapuche–Tehuelche 11 de Octubre organisation were collected and revealed a marked distrust not only towards the provincial decision to reject the donation of lands made by the Benetton Group, but also as regard the purchase of lands at Punta Parada for their later donation.

3

OECD GUIDELINES FOR MNEs: Basic Information

The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises are not an isolated body of recommendations to companies by governments in the interests of promoting responsible corporative conduct. These Guidelines are in addition to other instruments agreed in the OECD with the aim of creating a favourable scenario for foreign investment as a catalyst for sustainable growth and development, as well as the reduction of poverty.

In an attempt to understand these Guidelines, we highlight below four elements that offer a very basic notion, in terms of their formulation and implementation:

1. They are recommendations made to multinational companies by the governments of OECD member countries and other associate members.
2. They offer principles and voluntary regulations on good corporate practices, comprising a broad range of themes, such as access to information, employment, environment, human rights, consumer interests, science and technology, taxation, the fight against corruption.
3. They basically aim to: (i) ensure that company activities are carried out in harmony with public policies; (ii) strengthen the bases of mutual trust between companies and societies; (iii) contribute to improve the climate for foreign investment; (iv) strengthen the contribution made by MNEs to sustainable development.
4. It extends not only to the MNEs but also to related bodies wherever they operate (including in countries that have not signed up to the Guidelines), promoting their enforcement throughout the supply chain.

Therefore, the elements that outline this basic conceptualization²⁹ are clear and will serve as a pivot for a detailed analysis that will allow an assessment in this first phase on whether application of this tool is viable in relation to the specific case between the Italian multinational Benetton and the Mapuche family in Argentine Patagonia.

²⁹ For more detailed information on the OECD Guidelines for MNEs, see “*Líneas Directrices OECD para Empresas Multinacionales: Información Básica*”, Oliver, María Fabiana. FARN - SES, November 2004. Available at <http://www.farn.org.ar/docs/p40/index.html>. Oliver, María Fabiana “*Líneas Directrices OECD para Empresas Multinacionales: una instancia poco explorada*”. Revista Jurídica, Derecho Ambiental Facultad de Derecho Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2005. Lexis Nexis Abeledo Perrot.

4

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

(i) Checklist of findings emerging from the investigation.

In light of the information surveyed and exposed in brief in this report, it is possible to formulate the following conclusions:

■ *In relation to the judicial instance*

With the recognition of *Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino*'s ownership of the Santa Rosa property, the adverse results for Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir could awaken in the family a desire to undertake new legal action. The family and its defence have not ruled out evaluating a request to reverse the decision, or other actions, such as claims for land or measurement of the property in question.

Therefore, the possibility of taking up once more some of the questions expounded in the reply to the demand and in the assertions of Dr. Macayo (the family's defence lawyer) is currently being assessed. One of them, for instance, could be the question of the title deeds held by CTSA not being in order, since as the certificate issued by the Real Estate Registry of Chubut confirms, ownership is subject to the obligation of measurement. Although as the Judge explained in his decision this obligation is required when transferring ownership or applying official taxes, this circumstance does not dispel doubts on certainties upheld. Another argument is that used by the defence in relation to the legality of the title deeds given the clear irregularity in the donation of the land, a question that was not discussed since it was not presented at the opportune procedural stage.

Now, the decision to undertake one or more of these actions would require availability of economic resources that Atilio and Rosa today, in particular, and the Mapuche community in general, do not have. Therefore, this situation requires the prior exploration of mechanisms to overcome the restrictions in resources.

■ *In relation to the instance of dialogue*

The dialogue scenario promoted by Adolfo Pérez Esquivel between the Mapuche couple and the Benetton Group has as yet produced no specific favourable results. The Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family continues to hope that Luciano Benetton will honour the commitment made, and that the Italian business group will give a response to the

proposal made by the couple for the return of the Santa Rosa property with the transfer of lands first to the Argentine State which would return them. Since that meeting in Italy in November 2004 they have received no credible response from Benetton to the proposal.

Expectations in this sphere involve obtaining a reply, whether yes or no, to the proposal formulated at the Rome meeting. This response would allow this slow-moving instance of dialogue and negotiation to be closed. The reflection made by the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family, their defence lawyer and other Mapuche brothers is that if new instances or channels for dialogue are opened without closing this one, it would mean on the one hand a “starting over” with a floor of negotiation that would not be the same; on the other hand, the attempts at pressure in the campaigns would be diluted because work would be taking place on multiple arenas.

■ *In relation to the case*

The background presented in this report reveals that to date the case naturally presents positive and negative aspects. As negative aspects undoubtedly stand out the adverse results for the Mapuche family of the judicial process in which CTSA was recognised as having ownership of the Santa Rosa property; also the long-awaited reply from Benetton to the proposal made at the meeting in Italy. However, a positive aspect is that the conflict has extended beyond the parties involved, entering first of all the local agenda and then moving onto both national and international agendas. It has thus awareness a broad spectrum of public opinion on a subject as complex as the historical and daily struggle of the original peoples in claiming their rights over the land.

Another conclusion that emerges from the information surveyed is the dimension or scope the conflict has taken. As Atilio Curiñanco stated, before the arguments underlying the sentence were read out in May 2004, “(…) *the accusation has caused us moral and material damage but we have not lost our strength to continue the fight. May this be an example for our people for our brothers. The struggle is not going to end here, because this fight is today not only ours, it is everyone’s.*”³⁰ Once again it is necessary to emphasise that this case is not an isolated one. Many of the elements presented in the lawsuit could be used as arguments in other cases, such as the one mentioned above on Leleque. The case has extended beyond Atilio and Rosa, and is now the cause of the entire Mapuche people who see in this case a vital precedent in their struggle for historical reparation and restitution of their lands. This scenario has revealed the lack of involvement by the State, as stated by defence lawyer, Dr. Macayo “*the total absence of the State regarding public policies and compliance with the legislation (...)*”³¹. The authorities must thus urgently guarantee through the legal–institutional structure effective

³⁰ Article “*La dignidad frente a Benetton*” by Sebastián Hacher . Periódico AZKINTUWE N 7. Available at www.nodo50.org/azkintuwe/reportaje_10.htm

³¹ “*Comentario sobre el fallo: le dan las tierras a Benetton*”, Gustavo Macayo. Available at <http://argentina.indymedia.org/news/2006/07/421980.php>.

and efficient preservation, improvement, promotion, respect, development, and participation of the Indigenous citizens, thus assuring respect for the fundamental rights of the Original Peoples.

Lastly, the successive declarations of the Mapuche family reveal that they do not rule out exploring other strategies that may allow them to return to Santa Rosa with the aim, as they themselves say, of ...“*working honourably in accordance with our culture without depending on unemployment benefit*”³².

(ii) Final Conclusion

Each one of the steps taken since the start of the conflict between *Compañía Tierras del Sud Argentino* and the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir Mapuche family for the Santa Rosa property in Chubut province, allowed to introduce on the local and national agendas a complex subject such as the historical and daily fight of the original peoples who are demanding their rights on the land, the *Pachamama*. Moreover, the dispute has extended beyond the frontier and found its way onto the international agenda of non-governmental organisations and international bodies; it has stirred the interest of the press –a phenomenal agent of dissemination- and has awareness the population in general.

Unfortunately, the paths taken so far in solving this conflict have not produced a satisfactory reply for the parties involved. The challenge today then is to explore which tools and mechanisms are conducive to solving these complex conflicts fairly and with dignity. This case is not an isolated one. Many of the elements present in the lawsuit could be used as arguments in other cases, such as the one mentioned above on Leleque.

It is vital that a response be received on this challenge presented today. In the search for a solution, the involvement of each of the actors, i.e. indigenous communities, government authorities, private sector and society as a whole, must be an unavoidable requirement.

³² Letter addressed to public opinion by Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir dated 6 July 2006, see Appendix.

■ **Letter sent by Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir (May 2006)**

Esquel, Chubut, Patagonia, 21 May 2006.

Open letter to Luciano Benetton and Adolfo Pérez Esquivel

To all public opinion

In October 2002 we were violently evicted from the Santa Rosa Property, in the area of Leleque, Prov. of Chubut, as a result of a criminal denunciation filed by the Benetton Group of Italy, the owners of a property of 900,000 ha. in Patagonia, "donated" to them by an Argentine president. The eviction was ordered by the then Examining Magistrate José COLABELLI, today removed from office for misconduct and inexcusable lack of knowledge of the law in 2004.

We had carried out numerous improvements and considerable work on that property, such as an orchard, strawberry fields, small-scale farming, irrigation channel, and we raised farm animals, such as oxen, horses, hens, ducks, turkeys. We had also constructed a dwelling. All this was demolished, and Benetton's Cia. de Tierras destroyed all the work we had done.

In May 2004, the Judiciary of Chubut TOTALLY acquitted us of the criminal accusation, but awarded the definitive return of the property to the Compañía de Tierras (Benetton)

In September 2004, Mr. Adolfo Pérez Esquivel informed us that Benetton had offered reparations for our family. We replied to Benetton through the Serpaj and Pérez Esquivel that the reparation we would accept was the return of the Santa Rosa Property, and the reparation of all the moral and material damages caused by the eviction. We also requested that objects belonging to the MAPUCHE Culture be removed from the Museo Lelequ, (administered by the Cía. de Tierras).

We stated that we would not accept a donation, but a RETURN, since until the time of our occupation, the property had never been worked by Benetton, and our family was the only one to give the place a social utility.

On the request of Pérez Esquivel and of Luciano Benetton, we travelled to Italy with our lawyer, Dr. Gustavo Macayo and Mr. Mauro Millán, and on 11 November 2004 we held a meeting of almost four hours with Benetton, his wife and son, Pérez Esquivel, the Argentine ambassador in Rome, Mr. Gianni Miná, the mayor of Rome, two lawyers from the Gorbachev Foundation, and a member of the Italian RADICI Organization.

During the meeting we proposed that Benetton should hand over the Santa Rosa Property to the Argentine State, so that the State should then return it to our family, since Benetton did not wish to return it but make a donation, an option we had rejected before travelling.

Benetton requested reasonable time to respond to our proposal, since it had to consult its lawyers from Treviso and Patagonia.

Almost two years have passed from that moment, and no answer has so far been received. Benetton did not want to put the result of the meeting in writing, alleging that there was no need for its words to be put in writing.

However, it would appear that so far we are the only ones who have a voice.

At this moment we have no fixed employment, no land to work to avoid having to request a bag of food from the Government, and a numerous family group in our charge. The Province has failed to give a solution to our request for land to work, as it has with many Mapuche families who are in a similar situation.

We wish to say that the CURIÑANCO-RÚA NAHUELQUIR family are the injured party, to avoid someone confusing matters.

Yours sincerely,

*ROSA RÚA NAHUELQUIR
DNI 13.814.666*

*ATILIO CURIÑANCO
DNI 10.170.258*

■ **Letter sent by Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Rúa Nahuelquir (July 2006)**

Esquel, Chubut, Puelmapu, 6 July 2006.-

To public opinion:

On Saturday, 1st July, we learnt in the media that the Government of the Prov. of Chubut had rejected the donation of lands in the area of Piedra Paradaon, on the meseta in Chubut by the Benetton Group of Italy, considering them to be unproductive, "due to the low productive potential of the estate and the disproportionate investment that would be needed to make the land of use." (Páginas del Sur, 4 July 2006).

This land had been offered by the company to be destined to Mapuche-Tehuelche families in our Province.

Two months ago, in the newspapers of 25 May 2006, the Italian Benetton group issued a press release assuring "that the land in question covers 7500 ha. located beside the River Chubut;...that they are fertile, and that by using an irrigation system fed by the river, a variety of crops can be cultivated (from alfalfa to fine fruits, vegetables or vineyards), and sheep or goats can be raised ...There are also rock paintings on the land, which could be exploited touristically." (Páginas del Sur, 25 May 2006).

Moreover, according to declarations by Ministro Máximo Pérez Catán, "the goveror of the Province has no knowledge of the conflict between the Curiñanco-Rúa Nahuelquir family and the Compañía de Tierras". But we would remind him that shortly after the inauguration of Governor Das Neves we met with him, together with the IAC Inspector Víctor Delgado, and other members of his retinue, in the City Council of Esquel, where he undertook to return in a month with a solution to our problem. Present at this meeting were the CURIÑANCO-RÚA NAHUELQUIR Family, members of the VUELTA DEL RÍO, PRANE, LAGO ROSARIO Community, and the 11 de Octubre Organisation. We are still waiting.

No word has been said by the Government on the form in which it plans to return the land usurped for so long to Families and Communities. Nor did they speak of the form in which they plan to transfer suitable land which is sufficient for development to the families and settlers who have been waiting for so many years.

It seems that in Chubut compliance with the Rights of the Original Peoples to return to their land depends solely on the whim or will of some Multinational Company that makes a donation or does an act of charity.

It was originally claimed said that the land was productive, now it appears it is not. We wonder: What shady business deal exists behind all this? Does Benetton perhaps want to take all Patagonia?

Although our family has rejected Benetton's donation, why is this land not handed over to other Mapuche brothers, who need it so much, just like us? Why is there no solution to the problems of so many families in the Province who have no access to land?

We also continue to await an answer both from the Benetton Company and from the Government to our request for the return of the Santa Rosa Property in Leleque and reparation of the damage caused to our family. When we occupied the place in 2002, carrying out numerous work and improvements, it had never been used by the Company. However, as a result of the criminal accusation made against us, we were violently evicted and lost all our work and belongings.

We would also remind you that owing to our conflict with the Italian group, the problem of the land belonging to the original peoples is now present in many spheres. We trust that this is not merely a case of empty promises and that we are not forgotten once more.

We want to return to the Santa Rosa property since that is where our hopes for a better future lie, along with our spiritual strength and our commitment to the MAPU to work honourably, in accordance with our culture, without depending on unemployment benefit.

Mr. Governor: the future of our Communities cannot be left to the whim of one company.

We thank you in advance for giving this letter widespread dissemination.

Sincerely,

Rosa RÚA NAHUELQUIR
DNI 13.814.666

Atilio CURIÑANCO
DNI 10.170.258

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

▪ **List of interviews**

Below is a list of persons we contacted, either in person or by telephone, in the interests of accomplishing the objectives proposed in the framework of this research project.

Mr. Atilio Curiñanco

Mapuche involve in the case

Mr. Gustavo Macayo

Mapuche family's lawyer

Mr. Mauro Millán and 6 members of the organization (from different areas near Esque)l.

Organización de las Comunidades Mapuche-Tehuelche 11 de Octubre

Ms. Silvia Huenchupan

Director IAC Esquel (Instituto Autárquico de Colonización, Esquel),

Ms. Graciela Matio

General Director of the Secretary General of Government

Ms. Angélica Mendoza

SERPAJ

▪ **List of internet sites consulted**

www.aborigenargentino.com.ar

www.argentina.indymedia.org.

www.benetton.linefeed.org

www.benettontalk.com

www.clarin.com.ar

www.chubut.gov.ar

www.companiadetierras.com.ar/ctsa/

www.diariocronica.com.ar

www.endepa.org.ar/derechos.htm

www.indec.gov.ar.

www.indigenas.bioetica.org.

www.infobae.com

www.lanacion.com.ar

www.mapuche.info/indgen/

www.mapuche-nation.org

www.nodo50.org

www.oecdwatch.org

www.pagina12.com.ar

www.patagoniaargentina.8m.com

www.prodiversitas.bioetica.org

www.sanmartinandes.com/mapuche.htm

www.serpaj.org.ar

www.tribus.com.ar

- **Survey in national and local journalistic articles.**

NEWSPAPER	DATE	TITLE
Clarín	9-mar-04	Benetton apuesta a los frigoríficos y a la madera
Página 12	26-may-04	Goliat enjuicia a David
La Nación	27-may-04	El juicio por la restitución de tierras en Chubut
Página 12	27-may-04	Mapuches denunciados por Benetton fueron absueltos por la Justicia
Página 12	27-may-04	Desalojo y destitución
Clarín	27-may-04	Benetton le hace un juicio de desalojo a una familia mapuche
Clarín	28-may-04	Absuelven a una familia mapuche
La Nación	31-may-04	Esquel: ordenan restituir tierras ocupadas a empresa textil
La Nación	31-may-04	Sobrescen a mapuches denunciados por el grupo Benetton
Clarín	1-jun-04	Dan la razón a Benetton en un juicio de desalojo a una familia mapuche
La Nación	1-jun-04	Los mapuches deben restituir tierras a la firma Benetton
Página 12	1-jun-04	La tierra fue para Benetton
Página 12	5-jun-04	Curiñanco y Nahuelquir
Página 12	7-jun-04	Mapuches en la sala D
Infobae	12-jun-04	Benetton planea invertir u\$s10 millones en un frigorífico en el sur
Página 12	18-jun-04	La nueva y vieja historia de los mapuches en riesgo de desalojo
Infobae	13-jul-04	Pérez Esquivel le pide a Benetton que devuelva las tierras a los mapuches
Página 12	14-jul-04	Duelo por la tierra mapuche
Página 12	14-jul-04	El alegato del Premio Nobel
Infobae	14-jul-04	Tierras en Patagonia: Benetton responde a Pérez Esquivel
Clarín	14-jul-04	Polémica entre Pérez Esquivel y Benetton
Página 12	16-jul-04	Mapuches
Infobae	20-jul-04	Italia pide a Benetton que devuelva las tierras a los mapuches
La Nación	25-jul-04	La iniciativa encuentra muchos reparos en el sector agropecuario
La Nación	27-jul-04	Campos rechazó limitar la venta de tierras
La Nación	27-jul-04	Nueva inversión de Benetton en el Sur
Infobae	27-jul-04	Benetton exportará cueros y carne ovina a Europa
Clarín	27-jul-04	Nueva apuesta de Benetton
Infobae	28-jul-04	Benetton invertirá u\$s 15 millones en la Argentina

NEWSPAPER	DATE	TITLE
La Nación	30-jul-04	La propiedad de la tierra
Infobae	18-ago-04	Juez falló en favor de los mapuches
Infobae	19-ago-04	Bariloche: rechazan pedido de desalojo de una comunidad mapuche
Clarín	19-ago-04	Una comunidad históricamente castigada
Clarín	19-ago-04	Reconocen a los mapuches la posesión de tierras en Río Negro
Clarín	29-ago-04	Indígenas pelean por sus tierras
Infobae	9-sep-04	Benetton suma la minería al resto de sus negocios en el país
Infobae	27-oct-04	Chile califica a sus mapuches como terroristas
Infobae	3-nov-04	Un grupo de mapuches se reunirá con Benetton
Infobae	3-nov-04	Inquieta a los mapuches la visita del presidente chino
La Nación	9-nov-04	Benetton ofrece 2500 hectáreas a indígenas
Clarín	9-nov-04	Los Benetton donan tierras a los mapuches
Página 12	9-nov-04	Benetton devuelve tierras
Infobae	9-nov-04	Benetton entregará 2.500 hectáreas a los indígenas
Infobae	9-nov-04	Mapuches rechazaron la donación de tierras de Benetton
La Nación	10-nov-04	Rechazan tierras los mapuches
Clarín	10-nov-04	Los aborígenes rechazaron una donación de tierras de Benetton
Infobae	10-nov-04	Mapuches rechazan la visita del presidente chino
Clarín	11-nov-04	La batalla mapuche contra Benetton continúa en Roma
La Nación	12-nov-04	Mapuches y Benetton, reunidos sin acuerdo
Clarín	12-nov-04	Reunión de los mapuche con el grupo Benetton
Página 12	12-nov-04	El magnate ante el reclamo mapuche
Infobae	12-nov-04	En Roma, mapuches rechazan oferta de tierras de Benetton
Infobae	13-nov-04	Benetton solo otorgará a mapuches tierras que no incluyan estancias
Clarín	14-nov-04	Los indios vs. la imagen de una empresa
Clarín	6-dic-04	Piden que no vendan tierras a extranjeros
Página 12	26-mar-05	Vecinos contra un magnate que acumula tierras y agua potable
Página 12	12-oct-05	“Lo de Benetton resultó una trampa”
Página 12	3-nov-05	Cuando la limosna es grande
Crónica (Chubut)	19-ene-05	Benetton sigue pensando en instalar su planta en esta ciudad
Crónica (Chubut)	20-ene-05	Caleta Córdova y Astra sugeridos para la instalación de Benetton
Clarín	16-ene-05	“El 56 % de los argentinos tiene antepasados indígenas”

NEWSPAPER	DATE	TITLE
Clarín	03-jul-06	“Rechazan por inservibles una donación de tierras hechas por Benetton”
La Nación	03-jul-06	“Chubut rechazó una donación de Benetton para los mapuches”