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**UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
**AGENCIA PARA EL DESARROLLO INTERNACIONAL (E.U.A.)**



**USAID/NICARAGUA**

Agriculture & Rural Development Office  
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Nicaraguan Agrarian Issues -  
A Preliminary Review

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 SUBJECT: NICARAGUAN AGRARIAN ISSUES - A  
 PRELIMINARY REVIEW

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: A MAJOR CONSTRAINT TO NICARAGUAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY IS INSECURE PROPERTY RIGHTS. SANDINISTA LAND REFORM WAS COMPRISED MAINLY OF CONVERTING SOMOZA AGRICULTURAL LAND INTO STATE FARMS AND ARBITRARY LAND CONFISCATION FROM POLITICAL OPPOSITION INTO THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OR UNSUSTAINABLE COLLECTIVE PEASANT ORGANIZATIONS. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS ATTEMPTING TO RETURN LAND TO RIGGTFUL OWNERS BUT IS THWARTED BY AN INABILITY TO ENFORCE LEGAL ORDERS BECAUSE OF A POLITICIZED POLICE FORCE AND A SPATE OF LAND INVASIONS CAUSED IN PART BY REPATRIATED RESISTANCE FIGHTERS THAT WERE PROMISED ACCESS TO LAND. THE END RESULT IS RESTRICTED PRIVATE INVESTMENT FLOWS AND A CONFUSED AND CONSTANTLY CHANGING RURAL SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. A CURSORY EXAMINATION OF NICARAGUAN SANDINISTA AGRARIAN REFORM FINDS MANY MISPERCEPTIONS EXIST BOTH IN REGARDS TO HOW THE PROCESS OCCURED AND HOW SUCCESSFUL IT HAS. MOST CASUAL OBSERVERS CONSIDER IT TO BE A MAJOR AND PERHAPS POSITIVE CHANGE THAT HAS DISRUPTIVE BUT COULD BE ADVANTAGOUS FOR GREATER GROWTH WITH EQUITY. HARD DATA IS LACKING AND WHAT IS AVAILABLE WAS PRODUCED BY SANDINISTA SOURCES WITH SELF-INTEREST IN PROJECTING A POSITIVE IMAGE.

SANDINISTA LAND REFORM

3. A MAJOR TRANSFORMATION OF THE NICARAGUAN LAND TENURE STRUCSURE HAS OCCURRED AS RESULT OF SANDINISTA RULE. FOUR MAJOR LEGAL ACTIONS

PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR MAJOR SHIFTS IN LAND OWNERSHIP THROUGH CONFISCATION OF PRIVATE LAND BY THE STATE. ALL FOUR ACTIONS ALLOWED TREMENDOUS DISCRETIONARY POWER FOR THE SANDINISTAS TO TAKE AWAY LAND FROM ANYONE THEY WANTED BY SIMPLY CLAIMING THAT THE LAND BELONGED TO SOMOZA OR ONE OF HIS SUPPORTERS, THE OWNER WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY FOR MORE THAN SIX MONTHS, WAS UNDERUTILIZED, OR THE STATE SIMPLY NEEDED IT FOR WHATEVER PURPOSE IT WANTED.

4. THE FIRST LEGAL ACTION WAS THE DECREES 3, 38, AND 329 OF 1979 WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE CONFISCATION OF LANDS HELD BY SOMOZA, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS CLOSE SUPPORTERS. UNDER THESE DECREES OVER 1,600,000 MANZANAS (1 MANZANA IS EQUAL TO 3.7 HECTARES) WERE CONFISCATED

REPRESENTING ALMOST 20 PERCENT OF THE FARMS AT THAT TIME. THE SECOND WAS DECREE 760 OF 1980 THAT PROVIDED FOR THE CONFISCATION OF LAND FROM OWNERS THAT WERE ABSENT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS FROM THE COUNTRY. BOTH THESE SETS OF DECREES WERE DIRECTED AT OPPONENTS OF THE SANDINISTAS WHO FLED THE COUNTRY. NEXT CAME THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW (DECREE 782) OF JULY 19, 1981 WHICH PROVIDED FOR A NEW PHASE OF LAND CONFISCATIONS AGAINST THOSE WHO REMAINED. THIS LAW ALLOWED THE STATE TO CONFISCATE FARMS THAT WERE DECLARED UNDERUTILIZED. SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED FARMS WERE EXEMPT FROM THIS LAW. SINCE MOST OF THE LANDS CONFISCATED UNDER DECREES 3, 38, 329 AND 760 WERE TRANSFORMED INTO STATE FARMS, THE MAIN PURPOSE OF DECREE 782 WAS TO FURTHER DIMINISH THE LARGE FARM SECTOR AND CREATE A LAND BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE SANDINISTA COOPERATIVE SECTOR. BY 1988 OVER 894 FARMS WERE THUS CONFISCATED AND 750,522 MANZANAS OF LAND WERE CONVERTED INTO COOPERATIVES. DECREE 782 DID PROVIDE FOR A CERTAIN DEGREE OF DUE PROCESS AND

APPEAL PROCEDURES. THE FINAL MODIFICATION TO THE AGRARIAN PROCESS WAS LAW NUMBER 14 OF 1986 THAT DID AWAY WITH EXEMPTIONS FOR SMALL AND MEDIUM FARMERS AND IN EFFECT ALLOWED THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE OVER ANY LAND IT SO PLEASED. LAND CONFISCATION BECAME EVEN MORE A MEANS TO SILENCE OPPOSITION AND PRIVATE LAND OWNERS WERE COMPLETELY AT THE WHIM OF THE SANDINISTAS AS TO WHETHER THEY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN OPERATORS OF THEIR PROPERTY.

5. PARALLEL TO THE LAND CONFISCATION PROCESS THE SANDINISTA ALSO CARRIED OUT A SMALL FARMER LAND TITLING PROGRAM CONCENTRATED ON MARGINAL STATE OWNED LAND AND COMMUNAL INDIGENOUS PROPERTIES ON THE ATLANTIC COAST. THE PROCESS WAS REALLY MORE ONE OF LEGALIZING ACTUAL TENURE RELATIONSHIPS OF SMALL FARMERS ON MARGINAL STATE OWNED LANDS, PRIMARILY IN WHAT WAS THE AGRICULTURAL FRONTIER. MOST TITLES (SPECIAL TITLES) WERE COLLECTIVE FOR THE FORMATION OF PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES AND NOT INDIVIDUAL IN NATURE. THESE AGRARIAN REFORM TITLES WERE ALSO HIGHLY RESTRICTIVE AND INTRANSFERABLE. LEGALIZATION OF THE ATLANTIC COAST INDIGENOUS COMMUNAL LANDS WAS SIMPLY AN OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF CENTURIES OLD COMMUNAL LAND OWNERSHIP PATTERNS.

6. THE FOLLOWING INDICATES THE PREVIOUS AND CURRENT LAND TENURE STRUCTURE IN NICARAGUA ACCORDING TO OFFICAL SANDINISTA FIGURES:

SECTOR	1979		1989	
	AREA	%	AREA	%
PRIVATE SECTOR	7,068,304	100	3,708,496	46
MORE THAN 500 MZ	2,920,309	36	514,633	6
200-499 MZ.	983,970	16	725,507	9
-50-199 MZ.	2,086,397	30	1,401,591	17
-10-49 MZ.	909,930	15	929,361	11
LESS THAN 10 MZ	167,698	2	137,404	2
REFORM SECTOR	0	0	3,904,794	48
-STATE FARMS (APP'S)			948,230	12
-CCOP'S			1,115,680	14
-INDIVIDUAL TITLE			209,974	3
-SPECIAL COLLECTIVE TITLES			1,459,996	13
-INDIGENOUS LAND			170,914	2
ABANDONED LAND			459,710	6
TOTAL	7,068,304	100	8,073,000	100

7. RATHER THAN REPRESENTING AN ACTUAL TRANSFER OF LAND TO LANDLESS FARMERS, THE SANDINISTA LAND REFORM RESULTED IN THE CREATION OF STATE FARMS AND COLLECTIVES. ONLY 209,974 ACTUAL MANZANAS WERE DISTRIBUTED TO INDIVIDUALS. THE COOP CATEGORY ALSO REFERS TO CREDIT AND SERVICE COCPS

OF SMALL FARMERS THAT WORKED THEIR EXISTING FAMILY LANDS AND WERE ORGANIZED BY THE SANDINISTAS FOR POLITICAL CONTROL IN DISTRIBUTING CREDIT, INPUTS, AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

8. THE STATE FARM SECTOR (OR AREAS DE PROPIEDAD DEL PUEBLO) IS ORGANIZED INTO TEN DIFFERENT CORPORATIONS: MATCNIC (CATTLE), CONILAC (MILK), BANANIC (BANANAS), TABANIC (TOBACCO), CONAZUCAR (SUGAR), AGROEXACO (COTTON, SESAME, AND PEANUTS), CAFENIC (COFFEE), CORPOP (WOOD), NICARROZ (RICE), AND CAN (EGGS AND POULTRY). THE SANDINISTAS HOPED TO RETAIN ECONOMIES OF SCALE BY MAINTAINING THE LARGE FARMS INTACT. THE GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT PRODUCTIVITY LEVELS HAVE DROPPED ON THE FARMS UNDER STATE MANAGEMENT. THE UNO GOVERNMENT WANTS TO COMPLETELY ELIMINATE THE STATE FARMS BY EITHER RETURNING THE FARMS TO PREVIOUS OWNERS OR TRANSFERRING THEM TO COOPERATIVES. THE RETURN OF THESE PROPERTIES IS IMPEDED BY NEGOTIATIONS

WITH THE PEASANT LABOR UNIONS THAT HAVE WORKED THE FARMS. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE APP'S WILL DEPEND TO A LARGE DEGREE ON THE FORM IN WHICH THEY WERE CONFISCATED. IN THE CASE OF CAENIC WHICH HOLDS 58,200 MZ. OF LAND, 50 PERCENT WAS CONFISCATED UNDER DECREES 3 AND 38 AND WILL NOT REVERT BACK TO ANY PREVIOUS PRIVATE OWNERS AND THE REMAINDER WAS OBTAINED UNDER LAWS 780 AND 14 AND COULD REVERT TO PRIVATE PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP.

9. THE SANDINISTAS ORGANIZED FOUR DIFFERENT TYPES OF COOPERATIVES. THE VAST MAJORITY OF LAND WAS DEDICATED TOWARD THE FORMATION OF COLLECTIVES OR PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES CALLED SANDINISTA AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES (CAS). THE CAS ARE PRIMARILY EXPORT FARMS LOCATED ON 921,491 MZ. ON THE PACIFIC COAST. WITH THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT THE CAS ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES ARE BREAKING DOWN AND EVOLVING INTO SEVERAL DIFFERENT PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY PATTERNS. THE UNO GOVERNMENT PROPOSES TO ASSIST THE CAS TAKE ON MORE OF ITS OWN MANAGEMENT AND DECISION AUTHORITY AND EVENTUAL FORMATION OF THE "EMPRESAS CAMPESINAS ASOCIATIVAS" MODELS PROMOTED BY IICA AND BASED ON THE PERUVIAN EXPERIENCE. THE CAS WERE THE "FAVORITE CHILD" OF THE SANDINISTAS AND ARE ACCUSTOMED TO CHEAP AND PLENTIFUL CREDIT, TA, AND INPUTS. THEY FACE A TOUGH TRANSITION PERIOD WITH RESTRICTED CREDIT EVEN THOUGH SWEDEN HAS DOLLARS 10 MILLION IN THEIR PIPELINE SPECIFICALLY FOR THEM. REVERTING BACK CAS LAND TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IS A VERY DIM PROSPECT.

#### PRESENT SITUATION

10. LAND SECURITY IS A CRITICAL ISSUE IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR AT THIS TIME. NICARAGUAN AGRICULTURE IS DECAPITALIZED AFTER TEN YEARS OF SANDINISTA POLICIES WHICH CREATED A DISINCENTIVE TO INVEST. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND IN EXPORT CROPS SUCH AS COFFEE, LIVESTOCK, AND COTTON. THE REACTIVATION OF AGRICULTURE AND ESPECIALLY THESE SECTORS WILL DEPEND ON LARGE AMOUNTS OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND THIS IS UNLIKELY TO BE FORTHCOMING UNTIL LAND OWNERSHIP IS FULLY PROTECTED AND A LEGAL CLIMATE OF FULL PROPERTY RIGHTS EXISTS.

11. THE UNO GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SPECIFIC MEASURES RELATED TO THE RETURN OF CONFISCATED PROPERTY, RESOLUTION OF LAND INVASIONS AND TAKEOVERS, AND THE CONTINUANCE OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROCESS. THE UNO GOVERNMENT STABILIZATION AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PLAN FOR 1990-1993 ALSO ANTICIPATES INTERVENTIONS IN STRENGTHENING PROPERTY RIGHTS AS ONE OF THIRTEEN ECONOMIC POLICY MEASURES DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT

A REESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, INCREASED INVESTMENT AND REESTABLISHMENT OF SOLID AND LASTING EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY BASES. SPECIFICALLY THE CONWANTS TO UNDERTAKE FIVE ACTIONS IN THIS AREA:

- A) CLEARLY ESTABLISH PROPERTY RIGHTS,
- B) MODIFY THE COOPERATIVE LAW TO ALLOW COOPERATIVE MEMBERS TO HOLD FREELY NEGOTIABLE SHARES IN THE BUSINESS THEY ARE PART OF,
- C) ACCELERATE THE PROCESS OF RETURN OF CONFISCATED PROPERTIES UNDER DECREE 11-90 WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF THE STATE RETAINING PARTIAL OWNERSHIP OR SHARES IN THE BUSINESS OR FARM,
- D) ISSUE A NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW THAT WOULD PROVIDE A LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN NICARAGUA,

E) AND, STRENGTHEN THE GENERAL JUDICIAL FRAMEWORK TO PROVIDE FOR AN INCREASED ATMOSPHERE OF JUDICIAL FAIRNESS AND SECURITY.

12. THE PRIMARY INTERVENTION OF THE UNO GOVERNMENT IN THE RETURN OF CONFISCATED PROPERTIES HAS BEEN THE ISSUANCE OF DECREES 10 AND 11-92 OF MAY 11, 1990. BOTH DECREES RECOGNIZED THE LARGE SCALE ABUSES OF PROPERTY RIGHTS OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT AND DECLARED THEM TO BE IN VIOLATION OF ARTICLE 46 OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION WHICH GUARANTEES HUMAN RIGHTS. SPECIFICALLY THE DECREES MENTION THE USE OF CONFISCATION, EXPROPRIATION, OCCUPATION OF SUPPOSEDLY ABANDONED PROPERTIES, AND INVASIONS OR INTERVENTIONS BASED ON ARBITRARY LAWS OR DECREES. THE 10-90 DECREE PROVIDED FOR THE IMMEDIATE INCORPORATION OF PREVIOUS OWNERS INTO THE MANAGEMENT OF THEIR OLD FARMS AS RENTERS PENDING THE RESOLUTION OF ACTIONS THAT WILL RESULT IN THEIR EVENTUAL COMPLETE RETURN. THE 11-90 DECREE CREATED THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR REVIEW OF THE RETURN OF PROPERTY. THE COMMISSION IS EMPOWERED TO REVIEW ALL PROPERTY TAKEOVERS AT THE SAME TIME RECOGNIZING THE RIGHTS OF COOPERATIVES AND PEASANTS THAT PRESENTLY OCCUPY SUCH PROPERTIES AND ARE SERVING SOME SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC PURPOSE. INDIVIDUALS CAN APPLY TO THE COMMISSION BY ESTABLISHING THEIR RIGHT TO A PROPERTY AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN AWAY. THE COMMISSION THEN ORDERS A STUDY DONE OF THE CURRENT STATE AND VALUE OF THE PROPERTY IN MIND. IF THE LAND IN QUESTION IS IN THE HANDS OF A CAS, THREE POSSIBILITIES FOR COMPENSATION EXIST: DELIVERY OF A SIMILAR VALUE FARM ELSEWHERE, DELIVERY OF AN EQUAL VALUE BUSINESS OR HOUSE, OR ACTUAL CASH. ACTIONS UNDER 11-92 ARE PERCEIVED AS MOVING SLOW YET ALMOST 100 FARMS HAVE BEEN RETURNED SO FAR TO PREVIOUS OWNERS. ACTIONS UNDER DECREE 11-90 WERE TO EXPIRE NOVEMBER 1990 BUT HAVE BEEN EXTENDED TO 12/31/90 AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR .

13. IN RESPONSE TO THE GROWING LAND INVASIONS AND AGRARIAN CONFLICTS, THE UNO GOVERNMENT RECENTLY ESTABLISHED THE NATIONAL AGRARIAN COMMISSION COMPOSED OF THE MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE, GOVERNMENT, THE DEFENSE MINISTER, REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE ATC, UNAG, UPANIC, THE FORMER RESISTANCE, UNO AND HEADED BY THE MINISTRY OF THE PRESIDENCY. THE COMMISSION IS EMPOWERED TO DEAL WITH INDIVIDUAL LAND INVASIONS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS BASED UPON CONSENSUS TO THE PRESIDENCY FOR ACTION. ONE OF THE FIRST ACTIONS OF THE COMMISSION WAS TO SETUP THREE REGIONAL SUBCOMMISSIONS TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS IN THE MOST

TROUBLESOME REGIONS WHERE THE RESISTANCE ARE RESETTLING. IT IS STILL TOO SOON TO JUDGE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE COMMISSIONS BUT THE GON HAS HIGH CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WILL PROVIDE NONVIOLENT NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO LAND INVASIONS. THE PRIVATE SECTOR VIEWS THE COMMISSIONS AS BACKTRACKING ON THE WILLINGNESS TO ENFORCE ACTIONS MANDATED UNDER DECREE 11-92.

## FUTURE OUTLOOK

14. THE PROBLEM OF INSECURITY IN LAND TENURE AT PRESENT IS COMPLEX. THE GOVERNMENT IS RETURNING SOME CONFISCATED LAND TO PREVIOUS PRIVATE OWNERS. RETURNING RESISTANCE FIGHTERS, WHO WERE

PROMISED LAND BY THE UNO GOVERNMENT, ARE OCCASIONALLY INVADING SANDANISTA COOPERATIVE LAND. THE SANDANISTA PEASANT WORKERS UNION (ATC) IS RESISTING THE RETURN OF CONFISCATED FARMS AND IS ORGANIZING ARMED TAKEOVERS OF LARGE PRIVATE FARMS. THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF RESTORATION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS, BUT AS LONG AS THE MILITARY AND POLICE ARE CONTROLLED BY THE SANDINISTAS, THERE IS A FEELING OF DOUBT AMONG PRIVATE FARMERS AS TO WHETHER THEY HAVE SECURE TENURE OVER EVEN THE LAND THEY ARE FARMING NOW.

15. UNO SPLIT UP THE SANDINISTA MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM. THE NEW MINISTRY OF AGRARIAN REFORM IS EMBARKING ON A COURSE OF MODIFYING THE COLLECTIVE STATURE OF THE CAS COOPERATIVES BY ISSUING INDIVIDUAL TITLES. A NEW AGRARIAN REFORM LAW HAS BEEN DRAFTED THAT GOVERNS THE MINISTRY OF AGRARIAN REFORM AND PROVIDES FOR THE ISSUANCE OF A NEW AGRARIAN REFORM LAND TITLE WITH STRONGER INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS. THE BASIC THRUST OF THE UNO AGRARIAN REFORM WILL BE TO WORK WITH A NEW LAND POOL COMPRISED OF STATE OWNED PROPERTIES CONFISCATED UNDER DECREES 3 AND 38 OF 1979 (SOCMOZA LANDS) AND TURN THEM OVER TO THE LANDLESS, RELEASED STATE EMPLOYEES, AND THE RETURNING RESISTANCE.

16. THE SANDINISTAS STILL OBVIOUSLY PLAY A LARGE ROLE IN ANY SOLUTION TO THE LAND SECURITY. THEY PROUDLY CLAIM THAT THEIR AGRARIAN REFORM BENEFITTED OVER 112,715 FAMILIES. THEY ALSO CLAIM THERE OVER 40,000 FAMILIES THAT ARE STILL LANDLESS AND AN ADDITIONAL 40,000 FAMILIES OF THE RETURNING RESISTANCE AND REFUGEES THAT ARE ALSO SEEKING LAND. IN THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED NATIONAL DIALOGUE (CONCERTACION), THE UNO GOVERNMENT AGREED WITH THE SANDINISTAS TO RESPECT ALL PROPERTY TRANSFERS MADE TO AGRARIAN REFORM GROUPS (CAS) AND TO DEVELOP A NEW RESTRUCTURING OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM INSTITUTE ALONG WITH THE FORMULATION OF AN AGRARIAN REFORM PLAN (PARA 14).

17. THE AGRARIAN ISSUE WILL REMAIN EXPLOSIVE AS ACTIONS UNDER DECREE 11-90 ARE UNDERTAKEN AND THE FULL EFFECTS OF THE GON READJUSTMENT AND STABILIZATION PLAN ARE FELT. LIFTING OF STATE MONOPOLY ON EXPORT OF COFFEE, ETC. CRUCIAL TO REACTIVATING SECTOR. BANKING SECTOR REFORM APPEARS TO BE COVERED UNDER MACRO-ADJUSTMENT. BUT LACK OF SECURE TITLE WILL CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE INVESTMENT.

18. WE FEEL THAT SUPPORT FOR THE GON MACROECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT AND REACTIVATION

PROGRAM WILL SET THE LONG TERM BASE FOR LAND SECURITY STABILITY. WITH PRICES RIGHT, CREDIT FLOWING TO THE MOST ECONOMIC FARM ENTERPRISES, AND UNECONOMIC FORMS OF LAND OWNERSHIP NOT BEING UNFAIRLY SUBSIDIZED, PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP WILL BE REWARDED AND STRENGTHENED.

19. USAID/NICARAGUA'S PRIMARY DIRECT INTERVENTION IN THE LAND AREA WILL BE TO PROMOTE STABILITY IN RURAL AREAS THROUGH SUPPORT FOR A PRIVATE SECTOR THAT IS BETTER ORGANIZED AND ABLE TO REPRESENT THE INTEREST OF A BROAD SPECTRUM OF PRIVATE FARMERS IN THE ONGOING TRANSITION PERIOD. SUPPORT WILL BE PROVIDED THROUGH UPANIC TO MEMBER ASSOCIATIONS TO ATTRACT MORE MEMBERS AND PROVIDE BETTER SERVICES. THESE PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS BORE THE FULL BRUNT OF SANDINISTA

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EFFORTS TO DESTROY THEM OVER TEN YEARS AND YET  
THEY WERE ABLE TO ENDURE. THERE IS EVIDENCE  
THAT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF DISILLUSIONED  
SANDINISTAS MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW  
MEMBERSHIP OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS.  
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