

livelihoods in the long run. But combatants returned to civilian life, and political violence declined.<sup>29</sup>

## Implementing the Agreement

Over the subsequent several years, the FMLN demobilized its forces and transitioned from a terrorist and insurgent organization to a viable political party. It remained committed to nonviolence because its key goals were met over the long run: democratic transition, end of government repression, and some land reform. This was not inevitable. As Barbara Walter has pointed out, peace settlements have often broken down between warring parties—including between terrorist organizations and the government.<sup>30</sup> A failure to implement the Chapultepec agreement would likely have triggered a return to terrorism.

### Democratic Transition

The United Nations monitored and supported the conduct of four simultaneous elections in March 1994: for president, parliament, municipal councils, and the Parlamento Centroamericano. El Salvador's Tribunal Supremo Electoral managed all the elections.

ONUSAL's electoral division assisted in voter registration, monitored the election campaign, and provided assistance in drawing up the voter rolls. During the voter-registration period, ONUSAL offered technical and logistical support to the Tribunal Supremo Electoral, which possessed outdated computer equipment and faced transportation and communication problems.<sup>31</sup> Monitoring teams made more than 2,350 visits to towns throughout the country to assist in voter

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<sup>29</sup> Graciana Del Castillo, "The Arms-for-Land Deal in El Salvador," in Michael W. Doyle, Ian Johnstone, and Robert C. Orr, eds., *Keeping the Peace: Multidimensional UN Operations in Cambodia and El Salvador*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 342–366, pp. 362–363; Wood (2000, p. 107).

<sup>30</sup> Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.

<sup>31</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador," New York: United Nations, S/1994/179, February 6, 1994a, p. 3.