

Police for the maintenance of peace, tranquility, order and public safety in both urban and rural areas, under the control of civilian authorities.” It noted that “the National Civil Police and the armed forces shall be independent and shall be placed under the authority of different ministries.”²⁶ The constitutional agreement also provided for a truth commission under United Nations auspices to investigate past human-rights violations. Despite some opposition by hard-line members of the governing party (the National Republican Alliance Party, or Alianza Republicana Nacionalista [ARENA]), the agreements were subsequently ratified by the ARENA-controlled national assembly, an indication of Salvadoran president Alfredo Cristiani’s ability to deliver party compliance on at least some of the reforms, despite opposition from party hardliners. But there were numerous issues on which the two sides could not agree, such as land reform and the logistics of a cease-fire.

The fourth stage was the New York Agreement, which was signed on September 25, 1991. In September 1991, both the United States and the Soviet Union had expressed their support for the negotiations and contributed pressure to reach an agreement. The FMLN gave up its long-standing demand to merge with or disband the army and agreed that no new issues would be added to the cease-fire talks. The Salvadoran government agreed to protect the right of rebel families to hold onto land they had occupied during the war. Some FMLN members would join the new civilian police force, the National Civilian Police; the armed forces would be reduced in size and the treasury police and national guard eliminated; and the military officer corps would be purged by a newly created ad hoc commission.²⁷ It eventually issued a report on September 22, 1992, following a review of 232 of the

²⁶ Soto (1990).

²⁷ President Cristiani initially refused to remove all of the named officers. After pressure from the UN Secretary-General, the United States, and several neighboring countries, Cristiani ultimately acceded to the recommendation, although he transferred some officers to embassies abroad and allowed others to retire (Boutros Boutros-Ghali, “Letter Dated 93/01/07 from the Secretary-General Addressed to the President of the Security Council,” New York: United Nations, S/25078, January 9, 1993b; Ian Johnstone, “Rights and Reconciliation in El Salvador,” in Michael W. Doyle, Ian Johnstone, and Robert C. Orr, eds.,