

registration.<sup>32</sup> Observer teams attended more than 800 political events and monitored political advertising through the mass media. On election day, ONUSAL deployed almost 900 international observers to observe conduct at the polls and the counting of the ballots; each of the 355 policing centers in El Salvador was monitored. Following the UN recommendation, polling stations marked voters with indelible ink to prevent multiple voting by the same individual.<sup>33</sup> A team of 40 specialized observers was also deployed to the Tribunal Supremo Electoral to monitor the official count.<sup>34</sup> There were some voting irregularities and organizational problems on election day. But the elections were ultimately successful. There were no serious security problems and no ballot rigging. ARENA received 49 percent of the vote and 39 seats in the legislative assembly, the FMLN coalition received 25 percent and 22 seats, and the Christian Democratic Party 5 percent and 18 seats. No candidate in the presidential election obtained an absolute majority. A second round of voting was held on April 24, 1994, between the two candidates with the highest number of votes. Armando Calderón Sol, the ARENA candidate, won with 68 percent.

Over the ensuing decade, El Salvador regularly held free and fair democratic elections. Newspapers, books, magazines, films, and plays were not censored. Academic freedom was respected. The FMLN reinvented itself as a political party and became an increasingly powerful political force. It increased its seats in the national assembly in 1997; became the largest party in the assembly in 2000; and retained that position in 2003, with 35 percent of the popular vote.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador," New York: United Nations, S/1994/304, March 16, 1994b, p. 2; UN/DPI (1995a, p. 438).

<sup>33</sup> Boutros-Ghali (1994a, p. 6; 1994b, p. 4).

<sup>34</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador," New York: United Nations, S/1994/375, March 31, 1994c, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Jenny Pearce, "From Civil War to 'Civil Society': Has the End of the Cold War Brought Peace to Central America?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 3, July 1998, pp. 587–615, p. 605.