

most senior military officers. The report recommended the discharge of the entire senior military establishment, including officers who had played an integral role in the peace process. The New York Agreement also included the first outline of land redistribution and economic and social reforms. State or private land holdings that exceeded 245 hectares, as well as land that was not distributed for ecological preservation, would be subject to redistribution.<sup>28</sup>

The fifth and final stage culminated in the January 1992 Chapultepec Peace Accords. It was a political compromise in which the FMLN agreed to a democratic political regime and a capitalist economy with limited socioeconomic reform, and the Salvadoran government agreed to the FMLN's political participation along with some socioeconomic reform. The agreement enshrined a democratic bargain: The two sides agreed to resolve their future differences through democratic political processes. Consequently, the agreement's principal achievement was an agenda of reforms that would institutionalize the new—and democratic—rules of the political game. The main provisions, many of which were carried over from the New York agreement, called for reform of the armed forces, accountability for past human-rights violations, the founding of a civilian police force, and restriction on the arbitrary exercise of state power. The FMLN participated in the general elections of March 1994, making a respectable showing at the presidential and legislative levels. The military was restructured, with more than 100 officers forced into retirement by the work of the ad hoc commission and reduced in size. The long-standing, close relationship between landlords and local military and police authorities was ended, and a new civilian police force was deployed throughout the country. The programs for former combatants proved more effective as economic assistance in the short run than as foundations for adequate

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*Keeping the Peace: Multidimensional UN Operations in Cambodia and El Salvador*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 312–341, pp. 316–318).

<sup>28</sup> Ricardo G. Castaneda, ambassador and permanent representative, "Letter Dated 91/09/26 from the Permanent Representative of El Salvador to the United Nations Addressed to the Secretary-General," New York: United Nations, A/46/502-S/23082, September 26, 1991a.