

CENTRAL AMERICA: FRAGILE TRANSITION

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Central America: Fragile Transition

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PREFACE

This book arose from a study group which took place throughout 1994 at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, which aimed to examine different aspects of the current transition in Central America, analysing the substantive shifts, reforms and realignments currently taking place throughout the region. For the purposes of this study group, Central America included Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Panama. The case of Costa Rica was omitted, given that the main focus was on aspects of post-conflict transition. Participants were from both the UK and Central America. All contributors to the volume were able to revise their chapters after group discussion of an initial draft during 1994.

The editor gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the European Commission for the study group. She also wishes to thank Victor Bulmer-Thomas, James Dunkerley and Tony Bell for their editorial input and Alison Loader de Rojo for preparing the script. A particular thank you to the Centro de Estudios para la Aplicación de Derecho (CESPAD) in San Salvador for the support they provided for the chapter on judicial reform.

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Patrick Costello is a freelance writer and researcher specialising in human rights and Latin America. He is currently contributing regular issue papers on Latin American countries (including Haiti, Guatemala and Cuba) to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and has been a member of

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

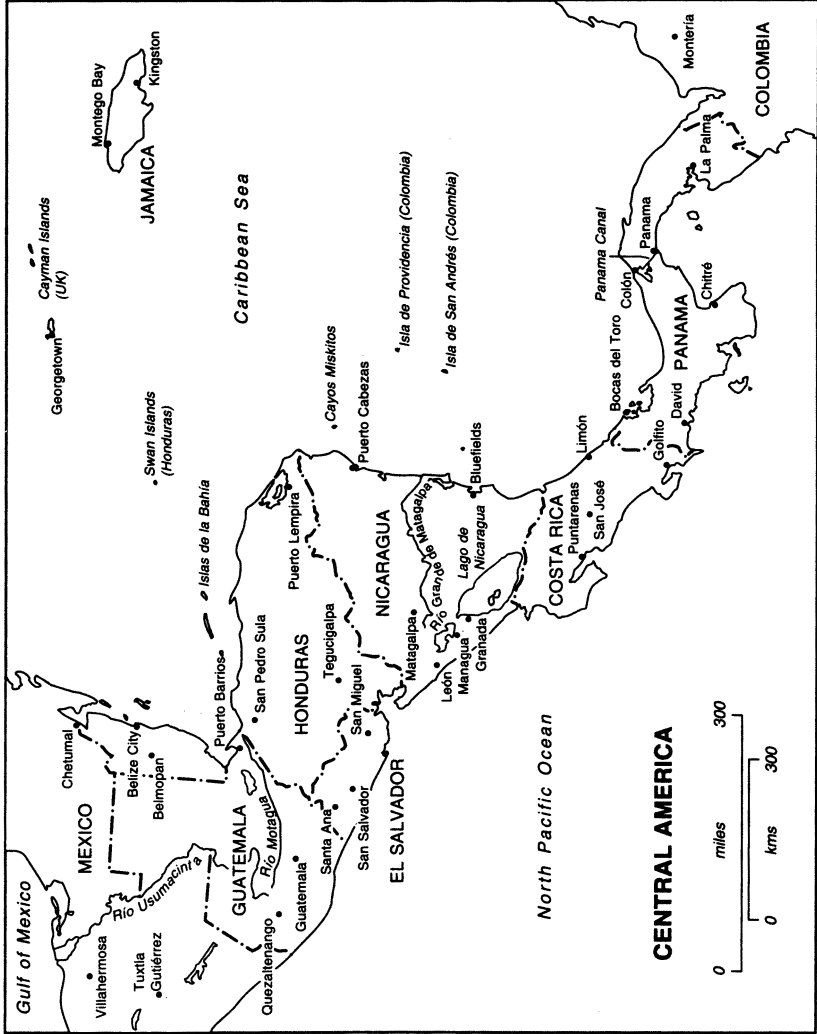
AID	United States Agency for International Development
AOJ	Administration of Justice
APO	Alianza Política de Oposición, Nicaragua
APROH	Asociación para el Progreso de Honduras
ARENA	Alianza Republicana Nacionalista, El Salvador
ASC	Asamblea de Sociedad Civil, Guatemala
ASIES	Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (Guatemala)
ATJ	Apoyo Técnico Judicial (El Salvador)
BIEN	Brigada de Investigaciones Especiales y Narcóticos, Guatemala
BIRI	Batallón de Infantería de Respuesta Inmediata, El Salvador
CACIF	Cámara de Agricultura, Comercio, Industria y Finanzas, Guatemala
CDHES	Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos de El Salvador
CEAR	Comisión Especial de Atención a los Repatriados, Guatemala
CEDEM	Centro para Estudios Democráticos
CEJIL	Center for Justice and International Law
CENIDH	Centro Nicaragüense de los Derechos Humanos
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina
CERJ	Consejo Etnico Runujel Junam
CES	Cuerpo Especial de Seguridad, Honduras
CESPAD	Centro de Estudios para la Aplicación de Derecho (El Salvador)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIAPA	Centro de Investigación y Adiestramiento Político-Administrativo (Costa Rica)
CIAV	Comisión Internacional de Verificación y Apoyo, UN/OAS
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations
CIREFCA	Conferencia Internacional sobre Refugiados Centroamericanos
CIVS	Comisión Internacional de Verificación y Seguimiento
CNJ	Consejo Nacional de la Judicatura, El Salvador

CNR	Comisión Nacional de Reconciliación, Guatemala
CNR	Coordinadora Nacional de Repoblación, El Salvador
CO	Commanding Officer
COHEP	Consejo Hondureño de la Empresa Privada
COPAZ	Comisión para la Consolidación de la Paz, El Salvador
CONDECA	Consejo de Defensa Centroamericana
COPMAGUA	Coordinadora de las Organizaciones de Pueblos Mayas de Guatemala
CORELESAL	Comisión Revisora de la Legislación Salvadoreña
COSEP	Consejo Superior de la Empresa Privada, Nicaragua
COSUFFAA	Consejo Superior de las Fuerzas Armadas, Honduras
CPRs	Comunidades de la Población en Resistencia, Guatemala
CREALC	Centre de Recherche sur L’Amerique Latine et les Caraïbes
CREM	Centro Regional de Entrenamiento Militar
CRIES	Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales
CSJ	Corte Suprema de Justicia
DEA	Drugs Enforcement Agency
DIC	División de Investigaciones Criminales, Honduras
DN	Dirección Nacional, Nicaragua
DNI	Departamento Nacional de Inteligencia, El Salvador
DNI	Departamento Nacional de Investigaciones, Honduras
DNU	Dirección Nacional Unitaria, Honduras
EC	European Community
EMP	Estado Mayor Presidencial (Presidential Guard), Guatemala
EPS	Ejército Popular Sandinista
ERP	Expresión Renovadora del Pueblo, El Salvador
EU	European Union
EZLN	Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDN	Frente Democrático Nacional, Nicaragua
FDP	Fuerzas de Defensa de Panamá
FMLH	Frente Morazanista de Liberación Nacional, Honduras
FMLN	Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, El Salvador
FN-380	Northern Front -380, Nicaragua
FNT	Frente Nacional de Trabajadores, Nicaragua

FONAPAZ	Fondo Nacional para la Paz, Guatemala
FP	Fuerza Pública, Panamá
FPL	Fuerzas Populares Revolucionarias 'Lorenzo Zelaya', Honduras
FPM	Frente Patriótico Morazanista
FRENO	Frente Nacional Pro-Constituyente, Panamá
FSLN	Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional
FSP	Fuerzas de Seguridad Pública (Honduras)
FUSADES	Fundación Salvadoreña para el Desarrollo Económico y Social
FUSEP	Fuerzas de Seguridad Pública, Honduras
GAO	United States General Accounting Office
GN	Guardia Nacional
GSP	General System of Preferences
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program
IEJES	Instituto de Estudios Jurídicos de El Salvador
IIDH	Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Instancia Nacional de Consenso, Guatemala
INCEP	Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Políticos
INTA	Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria, Guatemala
IPM	Instituto de Previsión Militar
IS	Internacional Socialista
MAS	Movimiento de Acción Social, Guatemala
MINUGUA	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala
MISURASATA	Miskito, Sumu and Rama Sandinistas <i>Asla Takanka</i>
MLN	Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, Guatemala
MPL	Movimiento Popular de Liberación ('Cinchoneros'), Honduras
MPS	Milicias Populares Sandinistas
MU	Movimiento Unificado (El Salvador)
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NCOORD	National Coordinating Office on Refugees and Displaced of Guatemala
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OIE	Oficina de Inteligencia del Estado, El Salvador
ONUCA	United Nations Observer Group for Central America
ONUSAL	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador
ONUEN	UN Observer Force for the Verification of the Nicaraguan Elections
ORP	Oficina de Responsabilidad Profesional, Honduras
PAC	Patrulla de Autodefensa Civil, Guatemala
PAN	Partido de Avanzada Nacional, Guatemala
PCH	Partido Comunista de Honduras
PCN	Partido de Conciliación Nacional, El Salvador
PDC	Partido Demócrata-Cristiano, El Salvador
PDCG	Partido Demócrata-Cristiano Guatemalteco
PDCH	Partido Demócrata-Cristiano de Honduras
PDD	Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America
PDH	Procuraduría para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, El Salvador
PDHG	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos de Guatemala
PH	Policía de Hacienda, El Salvador
PID	Partido Institucional Democrático, Guatemala
PINU	Partido de Innovación y Unidad, Honduras
PLC	Partido Liberal Constitucional, Nicaragua
PMLH	Partido Morazanista de Liberación de Honduras
PN	Policía Nacional
PNC	Policía Nacional Civil, El Salvador
PR	Partido Revolucionario, Guatemala
PRD	Partido Revolucionario Democrático, Panamá
PRH	Partido Revolucionario Hondureño
PRTC	Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, Honduras
PS	Policía Sandinista
PTH	Partido para la Transformación de Honduras
PTJ	Policía Técnica Judicial, Panamá
PUD	Partido de Unificación Democrática, Honduras
RAAN	Región Autónoma Atlántica del Norte, Nicaragua
RAAS	Región Autónoma Atlántica del Sur, Nicaragua
RN	Resistencia Nacional, Nicaragua
ROL	Rule of Law
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SIPROCI	Servicio de Protección Civil, Guatemala

SIU	Special Investigation Unit, El Salvador
SPI	Servicio de Protección Institucional, Panamá
TSE	Tribunal Supremo Electoral
UCA	Universidad Centroamericana
UCN	Unión del Centro Nacional, Guatemala
UEA	Unidad Ejecutiva Antinarco tráfico, El Salvador
UESAT	Unidad Especial Anti-Terrorista (Panama)
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNO	Unión Nacional Opositora, Nicaragua
UNTAC	United Nations Task Force for Cambodia
URNG	Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WOLA	Washington Office on Latin America
YATAMA	Yapti Tasba Masrika Aslika



Gulf of Mexico

MEXICO

Villahermosa

Tuxtla

Chetumal

Belize City

Belmopan

Rio Usumacinta

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Quezaltenango

Guatemala

Santa Ana

San Salvador

EL SALVADOR

HONDURAS

Puerto Barrios

San Pedro Sula

Puerto Lempira

Tegucigalpa

San Miguel

Matagalpa

León

Managua

Granada

NICARAGUA

Gran Lago de Matagalpa

Lago de Nicaragua

Bluefields

Limón

San José

Puntarenas

Gaitito

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Chitré

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Montería

North Pacific Ocean

Caribbean Sea

Swan Islands (Honduras)

Cayman Islands (UK)

Montego Bay

Kingston

JAMAICA

Isla de Providencia (Colombia)

Isla de San Andrés (Colombia)

Panama Canal

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CENTRAL AMERICA

