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to be a
spect is
be killed,
to be dead."

Guillermo Manuel Ungo.

Bill Tieleman and
Tom Hawthorne speak
with the leader of
El Salvador's
Democratic Front (FDR)

democratize El Salvador.

"I don't look to the past", he began hesitantly, "just to learn, or not to. Not to have emotionalism ... That happens in history. Mr. Reagan was a Democrat many years ago wasn't he? General Petain was a hero of the First World War and was judged by the French people to have been a

military dooms the Duarte regime, creating a slow tide of victory even American aid cannot reverse, according to Ungo. The junta's ability to rule was even eroded by the so-called defeat of the "final offensive" launched in January by the rebel militia, the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, Undo said.

"It was a failure since it did not become a final offensive, the final steps towards a political-military solution, but the junta and the United States government say it was a victory for them. Well, they took a hell of a beating. If you receive a hundred blows you cannot say, 'Well, I won because you didn't knock me down', when you are bleeding all over the face. That was a propaganda deal.

"We don't believe we are going to reach just a military solution or just a political solution in pure terms. The main aspects are that we want to work out a democratic political solution, to put all factors to work in favor of a political solution, even the army factor ... because you have to have power in order to have a solution that's going to be guaranteed.

"You need a political will to put all your political tools to work on that. That means the United States' will too. They are giving a lot of arms, a lot of military equipment, economic aid to keep

on strengthening the rightist sector of the army. Well, if you want to weaken that you have to do just the opposite. But we don't believe it is just in the hands of the United States. They by themselves don't want to do it — they cannot do it — so we have to work out also, among other factors, the balance of forces, to have a much better balance of forces — it's improving — international solidarity, international isolation of the junta, the fascist people, so we can search for a political solution that was not there at the beginning of the war, that is there at the end of the war".

Today, there are virtually two El Salvadors. The vast majority of the country, including the capital city, is still under the junta's military command by day. The rest is without constant borders, as the rebels consolidate their control over mostly mountainous lands on the border with Honduras. It is in these areas, Ungo said, that the Front has established its own local government, while an immense network of supporters in the junta-controlled areas aid the armed rebels.

"If you have several thousand people armed and fighting on a full-time basis you need a big infrastructure and big aid from the civilian population. People feed them, clothe them, keep them, guard them, watch the enemy, so that means tens of thousands of people. The civilian population, that's the 'water' the 'fish' need and that's why the government is fighting to dry off the water in order to kill off the fish. That's why you have almost 10 per cent of the population displaced or refugees through compulsory measures, by force, because they

want to dry off the water.

"They are having more than refugee camps. They are becoming concentration camps because that's the population helping with political activity, economic activity and military activity (for the regular popular forces (guerrillas)".

Several of Ungo's colleagues have been assassinated since he left his home for Mexico City where he now heads the FDR. We asked Ungo if he fears for his family's lives, and whether he worried that the junta would send someone to Mexico City to kill him.

Ungo grinned shyly. "Well, there are always risks. For example, the Pope was shot and Reagan, so it's not a luxury just for us. We cannot work just thinking of it all the time. And I believe that the agencies are not fools. I don't believe they want (eliminated) alternatives that would help for a democratic solution".

We asked if Ungo felt, given U.S. efforts to influence the media against the opposition, an accurate story of the struggle in El Salvador will eventually come out.

"Well, I hope so", he answered, "I hope so. But I guess there is a trauma after Watergate. They don't want to discover more Watergates", he says, with a wry smile. "One is enough. But perhaps as time goes on and as this warmonger policy fails the truth will start to come out".

Bill Tieleman is a graduate student in political science at the University of B.C. Tom Hawthorne is a Vancouver journalist. Both are former CUP bureau chiefs and both have worked as Vancouver Sun reporters.

traitor in the Second World War, no matter how much good will he had or not. It's not a matter of good will in politics, it's not a matter of if you're a good guy or a bad guy. It's just what you do, what role you play in politics, what interests you serve.

The constant toll the rebel forces extract from the Salvadoran

given to the campesinos, or farm workers: currently two per cent of the people own about 60 per cent of the land.

Attempts at reform through the electoral process have been consistently thwarted by the military/oligarchy rulers. In 1972 Napoleon Duarte, a Christian Democrat, and Guillermo Ungo, a Social Democrat, ran in the presidential elections as a united opposition to the military candidate. After losing in a close vote subverted by electoral fraud, Duarte and Ungo were stopped

from challenging the election by a military coup. Duarte is now president, but only through appointment by the military junta. Ungo is now leader of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), the political wing of the opposition forces fighting in El Salvador.

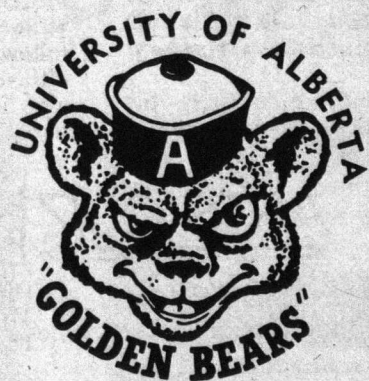
The United States has been militarily supporting the governments of El Salvador ever since World War II. Between 1950 and 1979 the U.S. spent \$17 million on Salvadoran equipment and training. In 1980 El Salvador

received \$10 million in military aid from the U.S. and in 1981 it will get \$35.4 million for military equipment and \$126.5 million for economic aid. More than 10 American military advisors are currently stationed in El Salvador, with another 20 in neighbouring Honduras.

Since the outbreak of full-scale civil war in late 1979, more than 20,000 people have been killed in El Salvador, and more than a quarter-million Salvadorans have become refugees.

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