

# The JOURNAL

Special Marxmas

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## Editorial: Back to normal

"There's a V.I.G. flight due in from Canada — Very Important Garbage."



Typical of the understanding shown by the Halifax dailies during the whole FLQ crisis, this very bitter cartoon appeared in the Mail Star on Friday December 4. Not a very good attempt at propaganda.

The government has solved the problem of separatism.

With the FLQ being hunted, silenced, or exported, we can go back to normal, and with James Cross back in Merrie Olde England, it seems we're supposed to believe the Quebec crisis is over.

But it isn't, and won't be when you think about what "normal" means and how hard it is to fight it, and why people do.

Normal means the misery in the Gaspé peninsula will continue and there will not be enough jobs to go around.

Normal also means that the Quebecois have to learn our language to qualify for the good, well-paying jobs that the system comes up with now and then. It means that instead of eliminating poverty in large areas of Montreal, the fences that hide it will be given fresh coats of pretty-colored paint, especially along Dorchester Boulevard so the tourists won't notice. In Halifax just walk along Gottingen or Agricola and you get the idea.

Normal also means more instead of less unemployment. Haven't heard that the workers at the Vickers and Davie shipyards have been rehired (or that those that work in the one in Halifax will keep their jobs for the winter now that they're not needed to build more oil drilling rigs).

The illusion of back to normal also means people working in the various industrial establishments will continue to strike for better wages and working conditions, much like the people in Nova Scotia who are looking for the same thing, except that they don't have to ask that their

contracts be in their own language.

Normal means that the bitter Quebec labor problems will continue, because no one is talking about solving them, just about hunting down the FLQ. Seems that instead of trying to find a cure for the illness, the guardians and "friends" of the patient are turning on the doctor who pointed out the illness in the first place. The patient, of course, is left to suffer.

Normal means that attitudes in English Canada won't change if the level of understanding displayed by the Halifax dailies during and before the crisis continues. This level is typical of the rest of Canada with the exception of the cleverer papers who can manage to get their message across more subtly.

Normal means that this understanding will consist of trite editorials and news copy emphasizing how Quebec is disruptive to Canada (the only ones who don't welcome the Queen, who disagree with the other provinces, and who speak French); the phrase "except Quebec" has long been used in its pages.

Normal is nice if you're white, Anglo-Saxon, non-Québécois.

Which is why we have made this a special issue on Quebec with a supplement from the Last Post magazine. We know that the 4th Estate and the Dalhousie Gazette have already run it, but because of the vital interest of the topic, we think everyone on this campus should also be aware.

After all, even if the local media insist on mystifying the issue, why should the rest of us be taken in by it?

## FLQers leave 90-minute tape

MONTREAL (CUPI) — Shortly after the seven Quebecois left for exile in Cuba, it was revealed by the separatist French-language monthly newspaper Choc that four members of the Liberation cell recorded a 90-minute conversation trying to describe their own development into political revolutionaries.

There is not too much detail available on the tape-recorded conversation yet, just one story in the Toronto Globe and Mail.

According to the Globe:

"Much of the tape deals with the kidnapper's bitter descriptions of what drove them to their radical positions — their disillusionment with what they call the injustices of Québec society, the financial inequalities and the exploitation of French Canadians by large English Canadian companies and U.S.-owned companies."

The four voices on the tape, believed to be Jacques Lanctot, Marc Carboneau, Pierre Seguin and Louise Lanctot, say conditions facing the Quebecois are "a question of humiliation, but it has economic and social roots."

At a teach-in in Toronto over the weekend dealing with Quebec, Gaston Therrien, a Montreal taxi driver and friend of Lanctot and Carboneau, said the men were working for a better society, for better standing as workers and for a more equitable place in the world.

On the tape recording the Front de Liberation du Quebec members said they made only one mistake during the kidnapping of Cross, but they said it was a big mistake.

Apparently, in their nervousness to do the kidnapping, they forgot to place the hoods they had in their pockets over their heads when they went to the Cross home.

According to the Globe, one of the three men on the tape "implies that he was nervous, partly because he was overawed by the luxury of the Cross home."

"... the big carpet, two inches thick, the pictures, it was very luxurious. I had never seen anything like it in all my life."

They say on the tape that Cross was chosen to kidnap because they thought the abduction of a British official would have greater impact on Quebec's English-speaking community.

At another point in the tape a man says the refusal to negotiate on the part of Trudeau was partly due to Trudeau's stubborn character and partly due to orders from Washington, because negotiating would set a bad precedent for U.S. dealings with groups like the Black Panthers and Weathermen, if those groups were to use the same tactics.

"When we did the kidnapping, we thought that in four or five days, a week at the most, the government would agree to negotiate," the tape says.

## COMING EVENTS

Student Council Meeting every Tuesday night at 8:30 in the Boardroom.

Liberal Club meets every Tuesday night.

Bridge Club meets every Monday night.

December 21, 22, and 23 — Tournament at Nasson College.

December 25 — Christian Holiday.

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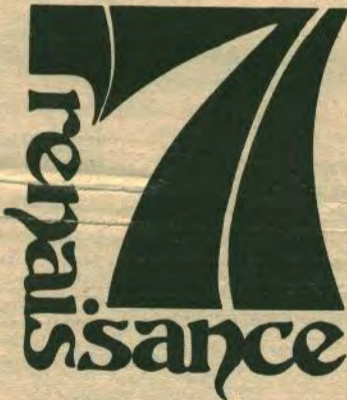
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Photo: Dave Clark

*These pages are written in Montreal in the midst of a whirlpool of events whose final solution one can only begin to glimpse. This is not an explanation of the grievances of Quebec—that must come later, and some even think it's already too late for that, years too late.*

*This special preliminary report has been prepared by the staff of Last Post magazine, working with journalists in Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec City, whose examination of events, and their treatment in the English press outside Quebec, has given them the profound conviction that too much has not been told, and too many questions have failed to be raised in the explosion of events.*

*It is our aim—those at the Last Post and those of us in the papers and broadcast media who have joined the Last Post in this effort—to raise questions about the motives of men in power in the cataclysmic days of October, perhaps not to answer many of them, but to begin the urgently needed examination of what some have already begun to call:*

## The Santo Domingo of Pierre Elliott Trudeau

In the peak of the hysteria about "apprehended insurrections", "coups", and "armed uprisings" that was being cried from Ottawa, one reporter remarked, in the wry wit that sometimes comes out of frightening events, that "This is the first time in this country we've had a counter-revolution before having had a revolution."

The remark won't stand in stead of cold analysis, but it has a grain of truth in it, and at least it underscores some of the unreality of the events that exploded on the cool morning of Monday, October 5.

It had been a singularly quiet year in Montreal, which has been accustomed over the last few years to rushing mass demonstrations in the streets, gunfights at the Murray Hill garages, police strikes, student strikes and occupations.

The most significant political event was the April 29 election, in which the liberal-separatist Parti Québécois of René Lévesque won one quarter of the popular vote and a tenth of the National Assembly's seats. But that had been an electoral battle, fought in the ballot box. The streets have been quiet, relatively. The largest demonstration this spring in eastern Canada had been in Toronto at the American consulate after the invasion of Cambodia, and nothing approaching it occurred in Montreal.

Much of the organized left was in disarray, the rest of it was either working in the Parti Québécois or working with citizens' committees. The rise of the citizens' committees, which reflected the left's shedding its student image and working in clinics and with labor unions reflected a very peaceful form of political activity.

Quebec's novice Liberal premier, Robert Bourassa, hopped down to the U.S. to make his first major plea for American investment and for loans—a reflection of his assessment that things were cool and that investors would be more prepared to shell out in the apparent climate of stability in the province.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Trudeau delivered a glowing Throne speech at the opening of parliament, expressing his confidence in the state of Canadian confederation.

Parliament was gearing for its first major debate on the most immediate critical issue—pollution.

Then, the whole balloon began to burst.

In the early morning of Monday, October 5, James Cross was kidnapped, whisked away from his home on wealthy Redpath Crescent by four men in a cab. Hours later, the police announced that it had received, via a popular French radio station, a communique from a group that claimed to be a cell of the FLQ, and that James Cross would only be released if the government released 23 men jailed for terrorist and other activities, read the FLQ's manifesto on the crown's tele-

vision network, delivered \$500,000 in gold bars, released the identification of an informer who had turned some previous FLQ men in, and rehired the Lapalme postal delivery men whom the government fired for striking.

The government, in a series of statements that culminated the following Saturday with the televised speech of Quebec's Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette, said "no".

Within half an hour of Choquette's speech (too soon for it to be a response to his speech), Pierre Laporte, the Labor Minister of the Quebec Government, and Bourassa's number two man, if not the strongman of the Liberal government, was kidnapped by four other men outside his home in suburban Montreal.

The confusion in government circles in Ottawa and Quebec City following this resulted on Thursday, Oct. 15, in the entry into Montreal of 7,500 federal troops armed to the teeth, reportedly to "aid the police" by guarding principal buildings and people. The troops were later called into Ottawa's exclusive Rockcliffe Park section to guard members of parliament and cabinet ministers.

On Oct. 16, at 4 o'clock in the morning the Trudeau government invoked the War Measures Act, the most powerful document at its disposal, giving it next to dictatorial powers.

On Saturday night, following a curious set of events no one has yet been able to explain, the body of Pierre Laporte was found by the police in the trunk of a car near the St. Hubert air force base in suburban Montreal.

A nation's hysteria is unleashed.

Suddenly we are back where we were five years ago. A cold civil war is being fought along national and linguistic grounds. The country is polarized, but not on social issues, on issues of language and race.

The political life of this country is never going to be the same. Quebec is never going to be the same.

What happened to so disturb the calm of a listless October and so hurl a nation into a tortured vortex of political explosions, so violent a shift of the forces in this country, so sudden an alteration of the stakes of the political game? Who wins, who loses?

What happened between October 5, and today?

Who was making what decisions?

What were their strategies?

What may be the fruits of their strategies?

Was it a hunt for kidnapers and terrorists, a hunt that went wild, or were there more basic, long-term motives that directed the men in power over the first four weeks?

With an urgency that cannot be underestimated, we must begin to piece together the beginnings of answers to these questions.



Photo: Dave Clark

## The plot

Of all the strange answers that have blown in the October wind, none has been stranger than the coup d'état that never took place. This supposed plot—or these plots, for the exact details depend on which government spokesman you happen to be listening to—has been referred to again and again since October 16, and it is worth examining closely.

The most recent version of the conspiracy theory is that of Defence Minister Donald MacDonald.

According to MacDonald, we are on a "revolutionary timetable", and the kidnappings are part of a "well-known revolutionary formula." In a CTV interview, October 25 he said that "on the whole, you had a pattern of incidents here which, given the revolutionary ideology we're talking about, in other situations and in other countries has escalated itself up into a state of disorder in which it will be virtually impossible to carry on the normal processes of government and which would provide, if you like, a situation ripe for revolutionary action."

Another important characteristic of the FLQ is "the fact that they're not organized. If in fact there had been a highly structured organization it would have been even easier for the police to break."

On October 15, however, Montreal police chief Marcel St-Aubin, said he was having difficulty investigating the FLQ because of "the internal organization of the movement, as it is divided into numerous small cells." It was St-Aubin's statement, along with covering letters from Mayor Drapeau and Premier Bourassa, that was used in the House of Commons the next day to justify the invocation of the War Measures Act.

According to Nick Auf der Maur, a CBC Montreal broadcaster and member of the Last Post editorial co-operative who was arrested under the Act and spent three days inside Quebec Provincial Police cells, the police in their questioning appeared to believe that every demonstration, bombing, and strike that had happened in Quebec in the last two years was part of the conspiracy. He says they see the FLQ as being organized along the lines of the Mafia, and they believe that if they could only find Comrade Big the game would be up.

St-Aubin said the kidnappings are "only the beginning" of "seditious and insurrectional activities." But Bourassa the next day said the FLQ had reached the "final stage" of its plan. The first three stages of the plan had already been carried out: violent demonstrations, bombings, and spectacular kidnappings, in that order. "The fourth step—the most important—is selective assassinations." The government had "every reason to believe" the FLQ was now prepared to carry these out. He added that "already" political leaders had received assassination threats.

There were hints at more than this. Federal Justice Minister John Turner said October 21 that "it might not ever be possible to disclose to the public the information on which the government made its decision."

Prime Minister Trudeau, however, said in the House October 26 that "the facts on which we did act are known to the people of Canada and indeed to this House." When Opposition Leader Stanfield immediately pointed out the apparent discrepancy between Trudeau's statement and Turner's, the Prime Minister said there was in fact no discrepancy. There may be information, he said, that the public doesn't know. But that is irrelevant, since the known information was what the government had acted upon.

Perhaps the fullest exposition of the conspiracy theory came from Jean Marchand, once a prominent Quebec labor leader, and today not only the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion in the Trudeau Cabinet, but also the man charged with keeping an eye on his five million restless countrymen who live in Canada's second-largest province.

"Those who are well-protected behind the Rockies or even in the centre of Toronto don't know what is happening in Quebec right now," declared the Quebec expert in the House of Commons a few hours after the War Measures Act had been signed. There were conspirators who had "infiltrated all the vital places of the province of Quebec, in all the key posts

where important decisions are taken." There were at least two tons of dynamite, detonators and electric circuits for setting off bombs, thousands of rifles and machine guns, bombs. "For whoever knows the FLQ right now," said the shuddering expert, "whoever knows this organization well cannot do otherwise than recognize that the provincial state of Quebec and the federal state are really in danger in Canada."

As the startled members of the House of Commons soaked this up Marchand perorated: "If we had not acted today, and if, in a month or a year separation had come about, I know very well what would have been said in this House: 'What sort of government is this? You had all that information in your hands and you could have used emergency powers and you did not do it. It's a government of incompetent people.'"

Just to make sure that the people who lived behind the Rockies, well-protected from the fanatics of French Canada knew what was going on, Marchand re-stated and even elaborated his claims on a British Columbia hot-line show a week after the government had struck. He had a new sensation to offer: the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), the main opposition party in Montreal's civic election, only days away, was a front for the FLQ, (whose membership had now shrunk to "between 1,000 and 3,000"). There were to be explosions, more kidnappings, perhaps assassinations on election day. Anarchy was then to spread through the province, and after the province the nation. Thrones were to topple as the conspiracy leap-frogged across the continent.

In the end, of course, none of this happened. And perhaps more surprisingly, remarkably few conspirators were turned up by police. Even with the awesome powers of the War Measures Act, with its license to search, seize and arrest on no stronger grounds than mere suspicion, and with so many raids that, after 2,000, even the most conscientious reporters lost count, the police could come up with fewer than 400 captives. And of those, they could hold onto only 150 as October closed.

Is it these 150 people then who have placed the established order in Canada in grave danger? If so, they must indeed be supermen. And the police do not appear to be trying very hard to find out. According to Auf der Maur, Robert Lemieux, the lawyer who had acted as negotiator for the FLQ, was questioned for a total of two minutes during the first eight days of his imprisonment. Pierre Vallières, a leader of the 1966 FLQ, was also questioned for two minutes in these eight days. Charles Gagnon, another leader of the 1966 FLQ, was not questioned at all.

On one occasion, Prime Minister Trudeau observed to a bemused House that Kerensky too had been "pooh-poohing the possibility of an insurrection."

Mr. Trudeau is wrong; Kerensky knew very well that there was going to be an insurrection, and with good reason. For to state the parallel is to see its absurdity. Was Montreal on October 16 Petrograd, where in the Putilov plant 40,000 workers were prepared to go out into the streets, and the Grenade works had its entire work force mobilized in the Red Guards? Or was it Moscow, brought to its knees during the final weeks of the old order by widespread strikes?

Still the government now chose to spread scare stories about a sudden revolutionary upheaval, a notion it had repeatedly dismissed in the past. A year ago, Montreal's Drapeau administration journeyed to Ottawa for the government's investigation into the activities of the Company of Young Canadians. Piles of captured documents were produced to demonstrate that a far-ranging conspiracy was on the move. It was repeatedly noted at the time that, while the documents showed lots of smoke, it was difficult to find any fire. Beyond the well-known fact that FLQ cells existed, and might carry out isolated, anarchistic acts, the rest was vapor. The Drapeau administration's evidence was laughed out of town.

Two previous, abortive attempts (according to the police) at kidnapping people in high places, including the American consul-general in Montreal, had been taken with equanimity. And so, indeed, had the kidnapping of James Cross: there had been no indication in the first week of the crisis that upholders of the status quo had better nerve themselves for the crunch.

Nor did even the second kidnapping, that of Pierre Laporte, bring about sudden fears of insurrection. Why then did the government choose to unleash the vast conspiracy theory on

October 16? Why did it give credence to a picture of the FLQ that could not be believed by anyone who had any knowledge of the situation in Quebec, that it could not have believed itself, but that might conceivably be widely believed in English Canada since the government and the police are the only sources of information?

One clue comes from Jean Marchand's Vancouver interview, for it contains more than the accusations that made the headlines (reaction to his statement about FRAP was so adverse that Prime Minister Trudeau had to dissociate himself from it the next day, and Marchand himself had to back off). Marchand made some other statements in that interview that, in the long term, may be a lot more significant. Having averred that there are between 1,000 and 3,000 members of the FLQ, Marchand says:

"Now all members of the FLQ are not terrorists. But there are enough to create a lot of trouble and a lot of killing and this is what we are trying to prevent."

Not all FLQ members are terrorists!

Then what are they?

Who is the FLQ?

Or more to the point: Who isn't?

If not all members of the FLQ are carrying arms, planning assassinations and stashing bombs, what are they doing? Organizing in the labor unions, perhaps. Organizing demonstrations, or working with FRAP and the Parti Québécois.

Maybe if you're a leftist or a Péquiste, you're in effect FLQ? The net is suddenly a little wider, and out for more fish, than we have been led to believe from the impression that the government was just hunting two or three kidnapping cells.

Is Marchand saying that the FLQ is everyone who is working for a socialist or independent Quebec?

Let's follow more of Marchand's interesting analysis.

He says: "How in a society like ours can such a movement like the FLQ flourish. You knew a year ago, two years ago or even five years ago that there were FLQ members. But as long as they do not recourse to violence, under which law can you do anything?"

None, Mr. Marchand. If they do not resort to violence they are not violating the Criminal Code. But perhaps exactly what Marchand is saying is that we need laws by which the government can arrest and prosecute those that follow their political aims even by peaceful means. This seems incredible, so let's follow what he said further:

He makes the point that "it is not the individual action we are worried about now. It's this vast organization supported by other bona fide organizations who are supporting, indirectly at least, the FLQ."

Mr. Marchand is not worried about the kidnappers, he seems to be saying, but about the people who "do not recourse to violence." People—it's now a "vast organization"—who are supported by bona fide groups.

What are these people doing? Where are they?

Marchand refers to "many important institutions in Quebec" that have been "infiltrated" by this strange breed of non-violent FLQers.

If there are so many people, in so many areas and institutions, it's going to be pretty hard to ferret them out. Especially if they lack the decency to commit a criminal act and facilitate the government's job of destroying them.

And so we come to the most distressing statement of all, and Marchand states the aims of the government bluntly.

"Well, if it had been an isolated case of kidnapping I don't think we would have been justified in invoking the War Measures Act because there the Criminal Code would have been enough to try and get those men and punish them. But there is a whole organization and we have no instrument, no instrument to get those people and question them."

Let's summarize the implications of Marchand's logic.

There is a vast conspiracy of people numbering from 1,000 to 3,000.

They are not all terrorists, in fact some hold highly respectable and critical positions, and some have the protection of other bona fide groups.

They must be rooted out.

The Criminal Code permits us to root out kidnappers and killers, but not people who commit no crimes.

Therefore we need an "instrument" by which we can go after these people who commit no crimes, and it's not simply a question of kidnappers.

Is the Trudeau government seeking a circumvention of the laws of this country in order to launch a hunt that extends into the highest reaches of Quebec, into the most respected, bona fide groups, in order to ferret out these dangerous people?

Whom is the Trudeau government after?

## The politics

The apprehended insurrection-coup-plot-uprising-revolt grows more ridiculous every day, and it is evident that it does so from statements made even by federal ministers. Certainly, as far as armed uprisings of one to three thousand people are concerned, the government never believed its own case. It allowed and encouraged the story to spread in order to use it as currency to buy time and public support to keep the War Measures Act in

force.

It is possible to piece together with some certainty that Trudeau, on the eve of implementing the emergency powers, feared he was losing control of the situation in Quebec, of French public opinion, to the nationalists and moderate separatists.

The Prime Minister had grounds for such fears. Contrary to the early statements by both federal and provincial spokesmen, a significant portion of the Quebec population had not recoiled in revulsion at the FLQ's action. Predictably radical youth, certain labor organizations, and a startling percentage of average citizens were reacting favorably to the content of the FLQ's political analysis, if not to their *modus operandi*. But even while most of the sympathetic repudiated the acts themselves, the FLQ's highwayman élan and the governments' inept responses left many Québécois inwardly pleased.

That much can be established. Whether Trudeau thought the strange events in Quebec were bringing the province as close as it had ever come to separating, however, can only be speculated right now.

What is very probable is that, as hints in the Marchand interview might suggest, Trudeau at least saw the opportunity to move decisively against the separatist-nationalist tide in Quebec and set it back for years, if not stem it forever.

One of the most significant statements of the motives of the Trudeau government, and the steps by which it arrived at making the drastic move on October 16, is to be found in a column by Toronto Star Ottawa editor Anthony Westell appearing the day after the Act was invoked. Westell, a long-time Ottawa columnist formerly with the Globe and Mail, has extremely good sources inside the Liberal cabinet, and, along with Toronto Star editor Peter Newman, is one of the three or four most important Liberal Party intimates in the national press gallery.

Writing under the heading "The Agony Behind Trudeau's Decision", Westell examined the basic premises on which Trudeau approaches the current situation in Quebec:

"The answer begins with Trudeau's analysis of the rise of separatism in the past five years. The decline and fall of the Lesage Liberal government, he believes, left a power vacuum which Union Nationale premier Daniel Johnson did not fill because he never took a firm position for federalism. René Lévesque left the Liberals to lead the Parti Québécois into the void, and win almost a quarter of the votes in the election this year."

The Trudeau administration's entire strategy toward Quebec is to make sure that the vacuum of social contradictions and frustrations is never left as open territory to the separatists, and particularly to René Lévesque. The Trudeau government fell over backwards pumping money and organizational talent into the election campaign of new Liberal leader Robert Bourassa, scarcely concealing the influx of everything from top advisers to Trudeau's personal hairdresser to Bourassa's side. The province was saturated with a well-oiled campaign that reeked of money, and no one had any

doubts that much, if not most of it, came from the federal Liberals.

When the FLQ struck, Westell reports, "Trudeau's instinct was to refuse negotiations or concessions to the terrorists. Nor were there any doves in the federal cabinet."

But he stresses that "... Trudeau grew increasingly concerned at the threat to Bourassa's fledgling and inexperienced government posed by the new terrorism."

Initially, the threat came from one specific source—the vacillation of the Quebec cabinet in the face of Laporte's kidnapping five days after Cross's abduction.

Trudeau's strategy of strength depended on Bourassa emerging as the strongman, the pillar of fortitude around which Quebec could rally, the dam that could keep the flood-tides of nationalist and separatist feeling from moving into that dangerous political vacuum of which Westell spoke.

"But with the kidnapping of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte, the crisis changed and deepened. It became at once a terrible question striking deep into the hearts and consciences of Bourassa's own ministers. Many Quebec Liberals owe more friendship to Laporte than to Bourassa, a relative newcomer. In the cabinet pressing around the young minister at the moment of crisis, there were agonized men who wanted nothing more than to save their colleague.

"The pressure on Bourassa was enormous. The danger last weekend that he would cave in, opening a disastrous new power vacuum, seemed terribly real."

It has been reliably reported by several journalists, and Westell carries the information, that Trudeau spent hours on the phone at his Harrington Lake summer home encouraging the premier to hold fast.

Marc Lalonde, one of Trudeau's top advisors, is believed to have rushed to Quebec City to buttress the premier at this juncture, when, according to several reports, Bourassa's cabinet was on the verge of crumbling.

The leadership of the crisis, which had appeared to come largely from Quebec with Trudeau in the background making sure things went as he wanted them to, suddenly began to revert to Ottawa.

Here the crux of the entire crisis developed.

It centres around the way public opinion in Quebec was reacting to the kidnapping. Trudeau made at least one tactical error, and one massive political blunder. Those mistakes proved to be the factors destroying his strategy.

Pierre Desrosiers suggests in the weekly Montreal paper Québec-Pressé an interpretation that has also been voiced by Parti Québécois economic expert Jacques Parizeau, and backed up by some reporters in Ottawa. It is this:

Trudeau's initial tactic had been to remain firm, in an effort to force the FLQ's hand. They might have killed Cross: Desrosiers and Parizeau suggest Trudeau was prepared to let that happen, betting public opinion would swing to him out of revulsion. But instead, the FLQ upped the ante. It kidnapped Pierre Laporte. Trudeau's tactic to back the FLQ into a corner had failed.

This unexpected response to Trudeau's immediate strategy, however, would only have been a temporary tactical setback, if Trudeau had not made one critical political error of judgement. He totally misread the climate of public opinion in Quebec.

Westell himself makes this point:

"Another minister feared that after the first shock and outrage at the kidnappings, Quebec opinion was being won around to the rationalization that while violence may be wrong, the terrorists were somehow glamorous patriots fighting a noble cause—the same sort of shift of opinion that happened after Charles de Gaulle's 'Vive le Québec Libre' speech in 1967.

"A backbencher close to Trudeau expressed much the same fear more precisely," Westell states, "when he said that the Quebec media—television, radio, newspapers—were heavily infiltrated by FLQ propagandists and suggested drastic action would be necessary to eventually deal with the problem." By "FLQ propagandists", of course, the backbencher meant journalists who were expressing the sympathy felt by many in Quebec for the goals and principles expressed in the FLQ manifesto.

"A Montreal MP, on the other hand," Westell continues, "told the Liberal caucus Wednesday that the FLQ was appealing dangerously well to real grievances among French Canadians, and that it would not stand for repression."

We have confirmed that this "Montreal MP" was Marcel Prud'homme, who was taken aback when he took a poll in his constituency and found that the vast majority of the young supported what the FLQ did, and that the older constituents violently condemned the tactic but frequently expressed some sympathy for the content of the manifesto. Prud'homme communicated these facts to an emergency caucus meeting.

Trudeau himself let slip in the Commons a thought that had been more and more in his mind by now: the media were playing into the hands of the FLQ by giving them too much publicity.

The government was so frazzled by this PR problem that, while the cabinet was planning the emergency regulations, it actually considered press censorship, of which Trudeau was the leading advocate.

Trudeau's aides had initially tried to suppress the publica-

tion of the FLQ manifesto in the Quebec papers, one of them arguing for an hour with the editor of the National Union paper Montréal Matin, in vain, against running the text.

"As the week wore on," Westell reported in the Toronto Star, "the question as to how to quiet the Quebec media came more frequently into conversations around the government.

"This was because the critical battle was seen as the struggle for public opinion. Would Quebecers rally to law, order and a strong Bourassa government, or drift towards a new 'moderate' position?"

Others arguing in support of this thesis report that Trudeau, when he was unable to prevent the spread of the manifesto in the Quebec press, himself ordered the CBC's French network to broadcast the manifesto, as the FLQ had demanded. They argue that this was a sign of Trudeau's overconfidence that the broadcasting of the manifesto would actually cause Québécois to react against its 'extreme' language.

In any event, on October 8, the manifesto was broadcast over the CBC's French network in Quebec, as demanded by the FLQ, and subsequently published in most of the province's major commercial newspapers. The document, broadly expressing many of Quebec's long-standing grievances, states that the FLQ is a "response to aggression", emphasizes the foreign exploitation of labor and resources, and voices the need for a mass-based revolutionary upheaval. Its spirit was one with which many Québécois found they could identify, and their clearly established failure to retreat in horror provided the federal government with its greatest shock.

FRAP, Montreal's union-and-citizen-based civic opposition movement, publicly endorsed the objectives of the manifesto, while rejecting the FLQ's tactics. It added that it could not condemn the violence of the FLQ without condemning the violence of the system, and its statement enumerated a long list of labor and political conflicts. It also noted that the FLQ's terrorism is directed not against wage workers but against the violence of the establishment. However, FRAP said it opted to fight with democratic means.

The executive committee of the Laurentian and Montreal Councils of the Confederation of National Trade Unions expressed their unequivocal support of the manifesto.

Montreal Council president Michel Chartrand (now in jail) said the authorities were getting extremely agitated by the possible death of two men but did not seem to be able to summon the same anxiety for thousands of people whose lives were potentially threatened by a walkout of medical specialists.

Later he said "who's scared of the FLQ? Are the workers terrorized by the FLQ? Are the students terrorized by the FLQ? The only people who are afraid of the FLQ are those who should be scared—the power elite. So who says the FLQ is terrorizing the population?"

The union-financed weekly Québec-Pressé editorialized that the FLQ's analysis was "exact", and that the horror of an armed, clandestine movement should be counterpointed to the horror of the better-armed, equally clandestine established authority.

A survey of opinions on "hot-line" programs on popular French stations in Montreal showed that the vast majority of callers condemned the actual acts of the FLQ, but over 50 per cent supported the spirit of the manifesto.

A CBC interviewer took a survey in front of a French Catholic church after 11 o'clock mass on Sunday, and found that condemnation of the acts was almost universal, but that half the people he talked to expressed sympathy for the things said in the FLQ manifesto.

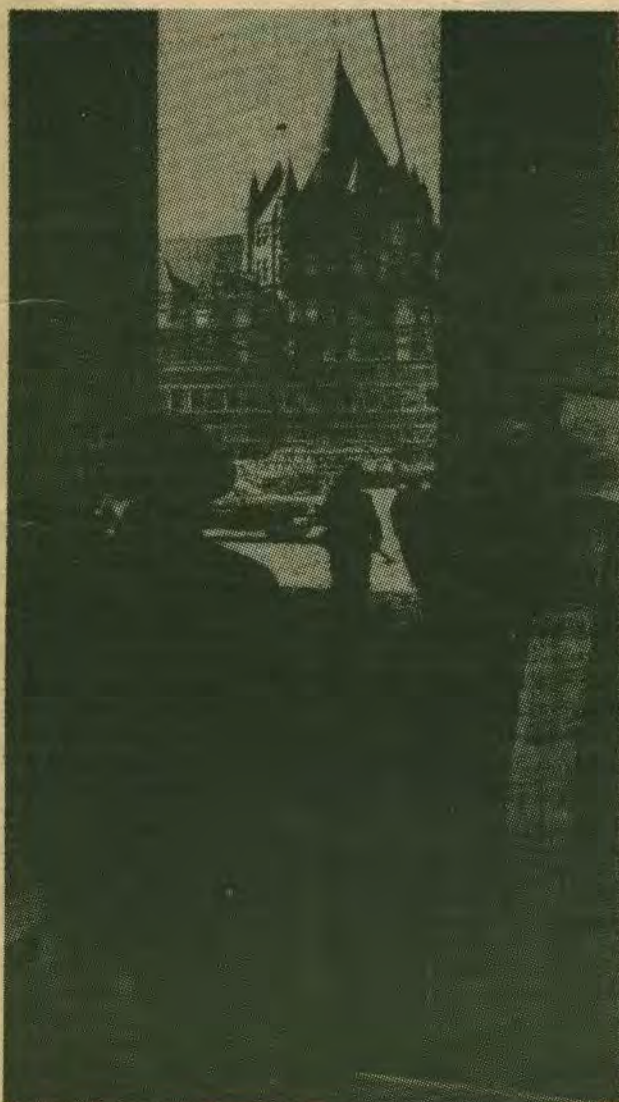
Student newspapers came out in favor of the FLQ, some with grave reservations about the tactics, others not. At l'Université du Québec, virtually the entire student body went on strike in support of the FLQ's aims. About 30 per cent of the faculty walked out too. At l'Université de Montréal, 1,500 students struck and said they would go into the community to muster backing for the FLQ's goals. Several junior colleges and even some high schools closed down.

Only hours before the War Measures Act was brought in, with federal troops already patrolling Montreal's streets, about 3,000 students rallied at the Paul Sauvé Arena to hear Michel Chartrand, Pierre Vallières, Charles Gagnon, and the undisputed hero of the day, Robert Lemieux. Fists raised, they chanted "FLQ... FLQ!", just as Ottawa was preparing to make their cry illegal.

Opposition was also coming from other, more unexpected sources. On Wednesday, October 14, a group of French-Canadian moderates, led by René Lévesque and Claude Ryan (whom no one had ever imagined as political allies) issued an attack on Trudeau's statements, lambasted the premier of Ontario, John Robarts, for shooting his mouth off, and urged the government to release the 23 prisoners the FLQ wanted transported to Cuba or Algeria. The group criticized "certain outside attitudes... which add to an atmosphere that has already taken on military overtones—(a situation) which can be blamed on Ottawa."

It is a matter of general agreement among the Ottawa press corps that it was this statement that tipped the balance. Trudeau realized he was losing ground in Quebec, that a flood-tide of opposition to Ottawa was rising. With the Bourassa government shaking in the corner, a new alliance of nationalists and liberals and separatists threatened to fill the vacuum.

Photocell



In a Calgary speech on October 20, Liberal MP Patrick Mahoney said that the statement by ten Quebec leaders (the Ryan-Lévesque statement) urging the exchange of 23 prisoners for the kidnap victims prompted the government to invoke the War Measures Act because these statements tended "to give leadership in the direction of eroding the will to resist FLQ demands."

Anthony Westell confirmed the motivation:

"Only a few weeks before, Lévesque's separatists had been extremists on the Quebec spectrum. With the emergence of terrorism as the new extreme, the perspective changed. Suddenly Lévesque was appearing with Montreal editor Claude Ryan, a nationalist, on a platform urging peace with the FLQ—a new, moderate centre, as it appeared to some.

"For Trudeau, the moment for decisive action to stop the drift in opinion was rapidly approaching."

In a democratic society, drifts of opinions are supposed to be countered by other opinions. Opinions are legal. But the opinions of Québécois who did not support the FLQ but shared some of the views the FLQ and the left have been voicing for years were apparently not to be tolerated.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau had to suspend democracy. He could not triumph in Quebec by moral leadership or by the reason of his position. He had to suspend the laws of the country and the constitutional rights of citizens to combat a drift in opinion.

On Thursday, October 15, 7,500 federal troops moved into Montreal.

At four in the morning of the next day, the War Measures Act was invoked.

## The purpose

In the last week, the Trudeau government has written a new and still more implausible chapter into this already strange history. This is the affair of the provisional government.

Rumors that some prominent French Canadians had planned to set up such a government just before the passage of the War Measures Act had been circulating in Montreal police circles for a week, but there was no public mention of it until Sunday, October 25. Mayor Jean Drapeau, who has just swept into a fifth term as Mayor with control of all 52 City Council seats, referred vaguely to the danger from a "provisional committee" that had planned to seize state power in Quebec.

The next day, the Toronto Star published a story saying the Trudeau government had implemented the War Measures Act because it was convinced "a plan existed to replace the Quebec government of Premier Robert Bourassa."

The story quoted "top level sources" saying "... a group of influential Quebecers had set out to see whether they might supplant the legitimately elected provincial government with what they conceived as an interim administration having enough moral authority to restore public order."

The Star credited the story only "from our Ottawa bureau"; there was no byline. However, the next day Toronto Telegram columnist Douglas Fisher wrote that "both the run of rumour among reporters and the internal evidence of the style and material in the story suggest that it was really the work of Peter Newman, now editor-in-chief of the Toronto Daily Star." Other sources confirm that Newman, a major Liberal Party confidant, was in fact the author of the story.

Drapeau's story now had to be taken more seriously. In an interview with an American reporter the same day, the mayor said "conversations had been held" by influential Quebecers of "good faith" to set up a regime. Although these men of good faith did not intend to open the door to the FLQ, Drapeau said, they would be used by the FLQ.

Predictably, Robert Stanfield was on his feet in the Commons the next afternoon asking the Prime Minister to account for the reports. Was this part of the unrevealed information that had led the government to invoke the War Measures Act? The Prime Minister said no. But he also refused to repudiate the rumors unequivocally, saying it was not the government's "habit to deny or confirm such reports."

Other journalists report that Newman not only went to "top-level sources", he went to the top source of them all, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and that the basic outline of the story, at least, came from him. Other cabinet ministers and high civil servants were only too happy to confirm the story to their favorite reporters. There appears to be little doubt that the story got out not only with the Liberal government's knowledge, but with its active encouragement.

Newman's story did not name names of people involved in the supposed provisional government plot, but it was clear he was implicating the "influential Quebecers" who had signed the statement of October 14 calling for an exchange with the FLQ. Claude Ryan and René Lévesque both denied the report Wednesday morning. Ryan in an editorial in *Le Devoir*. Lévesque in his column in *Le Journal de Montréal*.

Ryan strongly denounced the government for playing the game of the deliberate leak. "This is so gross," he said, "that the more one tries to untangle it, the more it appears ridiculous and stupid. I was going to write: malicious. I am not sure of that. Mr. Trudeau and his friends are out to get certain dissidents: I nevertheless don't believe them capable of such

baseness. I would rather believe that they were carried away by panic."

The next day, a far more plausible version of what had happened appeared in several newspapers, and has been confirmed by the Last Post's own sources. The alleged plot to overthrow the Bourassa government was in fact, a plot to save that government.

Just before the passage of the War Measures Act, there was widespread concern in Quebec about the position of the Quebec government. All the direction in dealing with the Cross-Laporte kidnappings was coming from Ottawa, which was imposing a hard line in refusing to negotiate with the FLQ.

In addition, Bourassa was facing extreme pressure from the Drapeau-Saulnier administration in Montreal. Most of the intelligence upon which government decisions were based was provided by the Montreal police force and their go-between, Michel Côté, the city's chief legal counsel. Earlier in the week, the Montreal police had arrested lawyer Robert Lemieux and seized all his confidential legal documents, in defiance of the provincial government. Montreal police were operating independently of the provincial government, while the Drapeau équipe consulted directly with Ottawa.

Bourassa was left with the feeling that he had virtually no control over Quebec's most powerful police force, while being faced with a Trudeau-Drapeau axis that was calling all the shots.

Within Bourassa's own cabinet, there was considerable support for the idea of making a deal to save Laporte, but, reports Dominique Clift in *The Montreal Star*, most of the political heavyweights—Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette, Education Minister Guy Saint-Pierre, Finance Minister Raymond Garneau, and Health Minister Claude Castonguay—supported the hard line. Choquette even placed his resignation on the table as a gesture of determination, Clift says.

Bourassa, who privately shared the doubts about the hard line and the concern about the position of his government, was caught in the middle. This was the reason for his ambiguous public statements during the crisis, carefully designed to pacify both the hard-liners and those who wanted to negotiate.

It was in this context that proposals were made that Bourassa open his cabinet to include a broad spectrum of Quebec leaders, to enable it to deal more credibly and effectively both with the FLQ and with Ottawa. Claude Ryan broached the idea to many people who, along with him, might be included in such a cabinet.

Clift concludes that treating the suggestion as a plot to overthrow the government "was in fact a smearing and dishonest representation of Ryan's proposal which had nothing subversive in it but had been naively inspired by vanity and misplaced sense of his own political importance."

The idea of opening his cabinet came up in one conversation between Bourassa and a friend after troops had already entered Montreal and just hours before the passage of the War Measures Act. "I thought of that," Bourassa said, "but it was too late."

What concerned Ottawa when it heard about the proposal, however, was that it might indeed have worked, that such a Quebec government might have been able to deal firmly with Ottawa and take its own course in dealing with the FLQ. There was nothing unconstitutional about the proposal, but it was one more indication of the degree to which Ottawa was losing control over opinion in Quebec. Like Lyndon Johnson, faced with the prospect of a democratic, left-liberal government in Santo Domingo, Pierre Elliott Trudeau moved in.

LBJ had his lists of "known Communists" to justify the invasion. But the *New York Times* found that several of the "known Communists" were in fact dead, others were out of the country, still others were in jail.

Trudeau's revelations of conspiracies are of the same order. He will no doubt come up with documents to "prove" his charges: such documents have been popping up for years. On October 29, the Toronto Telegram came up with an Alice-in-Wonderland report of terrorist plots to assassinate five hundred prominent Quebecers; these reports will recur.

But the real coup d'état this October was carried out by Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who with one stroke effected a vast shift of political power. Trudeau "seized the opportunity of the Cross-Laporte kidnappings," says Parti Québécois economist Jacques Parizeau, to carry out "the inevitable confrontation which had to come sooner or later between Ottawa and Quebec." He set back political dialogue in this country ten years, even beyond the stage of "what does Quebec want?" to "what kind of people are we dealing with?"

Initially, Trudeau attempted a policy which depended on broad support in Quebec. The policy failed because that support did not exist. The result was a new policy—a policy of making a virtual desert of all opposition in Quebec, radical, liberal, nationalist, even, in some cases, conservative. The instrument of that policy was the War Measures Act.

This policy too depends on public support, this time the blind, uninformed support of English Canadians. It cannot succeed without their support. They are being used as pawns in a cynical and destructive game.

English Canadians must decide whether they are willing to be used in that way.

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with Claude Isaacs

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# Sorbonne Summer Session

## for American Students

### Extension universitaire de l'Universitaire de Paris

#### COURSES OFFERED

Professorial Staff from l'Université de Paris: M. Georges MATORÉ, M. Antoine ADAM, M. Maurice DUVERGER, Mme Cécile GOLDSCHIEDER, M. Jacques Van den HEUVEL

**I. Lower Division Courses**

- 102 **Elementary French** - emphasis on grammar, phonetics and conversation. 60 hours  
(prerequisite: 2 years high school French or 1 semester college French.)
- 201 **Intermediate French** - grammar review with emphasis on conversation. 60 hours  
(prerequisite: 1 year college French.)
- 202 **Intermediate French** - composition and syntax study. 30 hours  
(prerequisite: 201 or equivalent.)
- 212 **Intermediate Phonetics** - emphasis on pronunciation, reading and speaking. 30 hours  
(prerequisite: 102 or equivalent.)

**II. Upper Division Courses**

- 331 **French Civilization** - political, social and intellectual development up to the French Revolution, with emphasis on literature and art. 30 hours  
(prerequisite: 202 or equivalent.)
- 332 **French Civilization** - political, social and intellectual development from the French Revolution to the present, with special attention given to literature and art. (to be offered summer 1971.) 30 hours
- 412 **Advanced Phonetics** - intensive practice in pronunciation, reading and speaking, to achieve a true command of the spoken language. 30 hours  
(prerequisite: 202 or equivalent.)
- 421 **Survey of French Literature** - advanced study of French literature from the Middle Ages to the French Revolution. 30 hours  
(prerequisite: 202 or equivalent.)
- 422 **Survey of French Literature** - advanced study of French literature from the French Revolution to the present. (to be offered summer 1971.) 30 hours
- 433 **Principles and Methods of "Explication de Textes"** - advanced study of techniques and elements of literary expression in poetry, drama, and prose. 30 hours

**III. Graduate Courses** (open to last semester seniors)

- 515 **17th Century Literature** - study of Baroque and Classical trends of 17th century. 30 hours
- 525 **18th Century Literature** - study of the whirlpool of new ideas during the first half of the 18th century. 30 hours
- 535 **19th Century Literature** - study of French Idealism from Lamartine to Hugo. 30 hours
- 555 **French Drama** - indepth study of 2 or 3 contemporary plays including ALL aspects of its presentation and literary merit (décor, mise-en-scène, audience participation, etc.). 30 hours
- 565 **French Art** - study of the evolution and revolution in art from the Middle Ages to the 17th century. 30 hours
- 566 **French Art** - study of the movements and schools of art from the 17th century to the present. (to be offered summer 1971.) 30 hours
- 585 **French Stylistics and Creative Writing** - study of structural and semantic elements and their application in literary expression. 30 hours

**IV. Graduate Seminars**

- 605 **Baudelaire** - les origines de la poésie contemporaine. 30 hours
- 615 **Flaubert devant la Critique** - ses contemporains, la critique traditionnelle, la nouvelle critique. 30 hours
- 655 **La Notion d'Engagement** - de 1918 à 1938, de 1939 à 1958, de 1958 à 1970. 30 hours

NOTE: Special "Conférences" will be given, if the demand for them is sufficient. (Gallo-Roman Art, The Recent Discoveries in Archaeology, The New Wave in French Cinema, French Politics since De Gaulle; France and the Common Market, The French Press, Education since May '68, France and the Problems of Big Business, etc.). Therefore, students are asked to indicate their choice on the application form. 10 hours

**KEY TO COURSE NUMERATION**

Undergraduate Courses: The first number represents the academic year (100 = Freshman, 200 = Sophomore, etc.). The second number indicates the general subject-area treated (0 = Grammar & Composition, 1 = Phonetics, 2 & 3 = Literature, Civilization, and related subjects). The third number represents the semester level.

Graduate Courses: The 500 and 600 series courses represent graduate level. The last two numbers designate the course title.

**CREDIT**

REGULAR ATTENDANCE is a requisite for obtaining credit. Although the purpose of this summer session is to fulfill the requirements of American college and university credits, it also conforms to French university regulations. Each 30 hours course is usually equal to 2 American credits. If students successfully complete the average summer session load of 90 hours, they normally receive 6 American college credits. However, students are advised to consult with their professors, their Department Chairman, their own school's Registrar's Office, BEFORE MAKING FINAL ARRANGEMENTS, to ascertain the EXACT number of credits their school grants for the Sorbonne Summer Session.

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University or college last attended .....

University or college address .....

If different than the above, address of university or college to which Sorbonne

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Major ..... Minor .....

Teaching experience (indicate level, subjects taught, number of years):

.....

.....

Name and address of persons to be contacted in case of emergency: .....

.....

Courses selected: (please check)			
102 <input type="checkbox"/>	301 <input type="checkbox"/>	515 <input type="checkbox"/>	605 <input type="checkbox"/>
201 <input type="checkbox"/>	302 <input type="checkbox"/>	525 <input type="checkbox"/>	615 <input type="checkbox"/>
202 <input type="checkbox"/>	331 <input type="checkbox"/>	535 <input type="checkbox"/>	655 <input type="checkbox"/>
212 <input type="checkbox"/>	412 <input type="checkbox"/>	555 <input type="checkbox"/>	
	421 <input type="checkbox"/>	565 <input type="checkbox"/>	
	433 <input type="checkbox"/>	585 <input type="checkbox"/>	
Choice (or choices) of special "Conférences" .....			
Will you be taking the final examinations for credit? .....			