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With the police on strike, the taxi drivers decided to act. In late afternoon they paraded in front of City Hall in support of the cops; to them, Drapeau was a common enemy, and they wanted to impress this upon the policemen. They remembered that Charles Hershorn, President of the formidable Murray Hill Limousine service had, earlier that year when Drapeau threatened to resign, written to The Montreal Star:

"...Please call on me for any assistance I can render. Mayor Drapeau has given Montreal unexampled leadership and I join gladly in any movement to keep him at the helm, confident that he will steer through the present choppy waters to calm and sunnier seas with all flags flying — including that of Expo's offspring."

Now the ship was becoming battered and the cabbies were determined to strengthen the storm. They went from City Hall to the Murray Hill garage. First there was a minor skirmish with Murray Hill employees, and a couple of buses were rammed into the side of the garage. Then a sniper began firing from the roof of the garage into the cabbies. The fight escalated; in the ensuing barrage of molotov cocktails and gunfire several demonstrators were injured, two buses set aflame and plainclothes Quebec Provincial Police-man Cpl. Robert Dumas killed.

The struggle lasted three hours, then the taxi drivers and their student supporters left for the Murray Hill hotel pick-up points. The windows of the Queen Elizabeth were smashed; the students saw the significance and spread... to IBM, Drapeau's restaurant, the Sheraton Mount Royal, Eaton's McGill University — symbolic violence which picked out only the English rulers and their native supporters.

At that point onlookers got another idea. If Eaton's windows were broken, there was no reason not to sample their "consumer goods". Some took what they wanted, others merely vented their long-repressed frustrations.

But it was not only Montreal that was hitting choppy waters, the Union Nationale government, elected in 1966, was having difficulty combining its nationalistic Quebec D'Abord (Quebec First) election slogan with attraction of more outside investment. And the movement against it was growing across Quebec.

Under the leadership of Daniel Johnson, author of Equality or Independence, it maintained a tough nationalist image, highlighted by the visit of President de Gaulle and the General's Quebec Libre speech in Montreal in 1967. But Johnson who could draw some fire away from the independence groups and pacify everyone (for a time, at least) died in office in September, 1968. The less skilled, more "moderate" Jean-Jacques Bertrand took over as interim leader and promised a leadership convention for June 1969.

Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal, who had been appointed to the cabinet by Johnson as almost his designated successor, ran against Bertrand for the leadership on a platform that emphasized a stronger nationalist stance. But the real opposition lay outside: discontented civil servants and teachers (who had gone two years without a contract) planned to march on the convention in Quebec City. The Front de Liberation Populaire quickly organized its Montreal allies to join in.

Also, the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire (LIS) saw a good opportunity to demonstrate against the party's equivocal language policies, and the CEGEP students for jobs and more university space. They all allied, and the result was Operation Congres — a challenge to the overall role of the Union Nationale in Quebec. But probably the most significant element of the growing common front was the participation of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), through the angry civil servants' union and through the Montreal Council.

The CNTU, made up of Quebec-based unions, is not the largest labor body in Quebec, nor has it been involved in the most militant strikes; the rival Quebec Federation of Labor, which encompasses the American-based international unions, has been at centre stage with its large mining and textile locals. But in the last few years it has been CNTU unions (hospital workers, bus drivers, teachers, civil servants) that have had to bargain directly with the government. Shoddy offers, dishonest government negotiating tactics, and Union Nationale back-to-work legislation have led to increasing militancy.

At the heart of the CNTU stands the Montreal Council, whose president Michel Chartrand, fought the UN in the bloody Asbestos strike of 1949 alongside Pierre Trudeau (then an intellectual working actively against Duplessis), Jean Marchand (then a militant union leader), and Jean Drapeau (then a radical labor lawyer). But Chartrand is still on the workers' side and he drew cheers with an address to the crowd in Quebec City as it was about to march on the Colisee de Quebec, where the UN congress was being held. Workers saw the links Chartrand was drawing between their interests and those of groups fighting on national and language issues.



Increasingly, the Union Nationale was unable to overcome the contradictions of its traditional policy and the growth of the resistance to it. In October, although the Gendron Commission it had set up had only begun its hearings, it introduced another version of its language of education bill: Bill 63.

Bill 63 spelled out what Bill 85 had only hinted at: English-language education would be provided wherever there was demand for it. Partly for that reason, and partly because of the changed climate, the English were now solidly behind the bill — and that meant that it would go through. The French community, on the other hand, was even more solidly opposed. The Front de Quebec Francais (FQF) was formed, uniting over 100 groups including the LIS, the FLP, the MSP, the Chartrand wing of the CNTU (which succeeded in getting the entire Union to reverse an earlier stand in support of the bill), newly formed LIS action committees in universities (Comite d'Action de l'LLIS — CALIS, a play on a French swear-word), almost the entire faculty and students, English-speaking radicals in the Committee for a Socialist Independent Quebec, and the St. Jean Baptiste Society. The FQF mobilized 30,000 people in the streets of Montreal on October 29 and even more outside the National Assembly in Quebec City; but their opinions did not count.

For at the same time, the Bank of Montreal was presenting a brief to the Gendron commission saying that since English is the common denominator of high finance in North America and Europe, it is no surprise that most of the communications from the Bank's head office are in English. It would be a difficult, costly, and an impractical undertaking, the brief went on, to make French the language of the banking business.

In the 1940s and '50s, the primary threat to the power of the Duplessis regime had come from militant labor unions. The premier's response had become a Union Nationale trademark — arrests, clubs, rampaging provincial police. Now, the main threat came from the streets. The response of Duplessis' successors was the same, even down to details.

The crackdown was at first aimed at individual groups — CEGEP students, citizens' committees — and, more recently, has expanded into a general attack on the whole movement.

It started with repression in the CEPEPs after the occupations of October, 1968. Then, during the planning of Operation McGill, the police began harassing organizers, detaining them for questioning, and searching their homes. Later, the offices of Comites des Citoyens and Comites des Ouvriers were raided, their files confiscated, their leaders detained for questioning. During the Union Nationale congress in Quebec City, sixteen people were arrested for distributing the FLP newspaper La Masse, and after the Operation Congres march a temporary LIS headquarters was raided and twenty more arrests were made. In September, Michel Chartrand of the CNTU was detained on a year-old ticket and charged that Quebec was becoming a "police state" (a few weeks earlier his statement had been given substance by new Quebec Justice Minister Remi Paul, who announced "anti-terrorist" measures that involved giving the police wide discretionary powers and granting legal sanction to the tactics that had been used since March).

The terrorism which Paul was attacking was the increasing bomb explosions directed by the third Front de Liberation Quebecois. The first, in 1963, hit mailboxes and arm-

MANIFEST

The Front du Lib... Quebec is not the Messiah, nor a modern Hood. It is a group of working people who are committed to do... they can for the people of Quebec to... destiny in their hands.

The Front de Lib... Quebec wants the total independence of Quebecois, brought together in a free... forever of its band of voracious sharks, the patronage-dispensing... and their servants who have... into their private preserve of... 'hour' and of exploitation without...

The Front de Lib... Quebec is a movement not of... of response to aggression — the... organized by high finance throughout... of the federal and provincial govern... Brinks 'show', Bill 63, the electoral... so-called "social progress" (sic) tax, P... ration, Doctor's insurance, the men of...).

The Front de Lib... Quebec finances itself by voluntary... taken from the corporations which... working people (banks, finance comp...).

"The moneyed pow... status quo, the majority of the tr... guardians of our people, have gotten... on they hoped for: the step backw... than the change we have worked for... before, for which we are going to con... ng."

— Rene April 29, 1970

We believed, once... was worth the effort to channel our... our impatience which Rene Levesque... so well, within the Parti Quebecois... Liberal victory shows clearly that... a democracy in Quebec is, and always... nothing but the 'democracy' of the r... icals' victory in this way is nothing... victory of the Simard-Cotroni election... As a result, British parliamentarism... and the Front de Liberation de Queb... ver let itself be diverted by the elec... bs which the Anglo-Saxon capitalists... the Quebecois lower courtyard every... s. Numbers of Quebecois have under... they are going to act: Bourassa, in the... come, will see an idea ripen: 100,000... nary working people, organized and...

Yes — there are rea... the Liberal win. Yes, there are reasons... employment, for poverty, for slums, for... that you Mr. Bergeron of Visitation... and also you Mr. Legendre of Laval who... 10,000 a year. you do not feel free in... y, Quebec.

Yes, there are reasons... the men of Lord and Cie know them... men of the Gaspesie, the workers... North Shore, the miners of Iron Ore, of... tier Mining, or Noranda Mines, they... those reasons. And the decent, hon... ng people of Cabano whom they tried... one more time know lots of those reasons.

Yes, there are reasons... Mr. Tremblay of Panet Street, and you... outier, working in construction in Ste... why you can't afford "golden vessels"... beautiful string music and trappings... Drapeau the aristocrat — the one who... concerned about slums that he puffs color... ards and fences in front of them so the... sts will not see our misery.

Yes, there are reasons... Mrs. Lemay of St-Hyacinthe, you can't... little trips to Florida, as the crooked... and MPs can with our money.

The good, honest... of Vickers and Davie Ship, the men who... given no reason for being kicked out of... os, know those reasons. And the men... hville, smashed for the sole reason that... ed to unionize, the men who were made... ver two million dollars because they... to exercise this elementary right. The me... dochville know about justice and they kn... of reasons.

Yes, there are reasons... Mr. Lachance of Ste-Marguerite Street... ment to drown your despair, your bitter... ur rage in that dog's beer, Molson's. An... achance junior, with your marijuana cig... gars.

Yes, there are reasons... you, welfare people, you are kept on... from generation to generation. There are... of reasons, the

Domtar workers in Win... and East Angus know about them. And... kers at Squibb and Avers, and the men... quor Board and