

# Dalhousie Gazette

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Le Chateau

Scotia Square  
2179 Gottingen St.  
5520 Spring Garden Rd.  
Halifax, N.S.

## In the words of P. E. Trudeau



"Eighty-three years ago in the Mounted Police barracks in Regina, Louis Riel awaited execution as a convicted traitor. This afternoon we are assembled to unveil a monument in his honor.

"No man in Canadian history suffered as many reversals of fortune during his life. He was, in turn, unofficial leader of a provisional government, founder of the province of Manitoba, fugitive in exile, member of Parliament, outlaw, leader of another provisional government and prisoner.

"Yet it may be that none of the twists and turns in his tragic biography will be as important to the history of this country as the reversal of official and public opinion which this monument symbolizes.

"How many other Riels exist in Canada, beyond the fringe of accepted conduct, driven to believe that this country offers no answer to their needs and no solutions to their problems? How many of us understand the loneliness, the sense of futility of such a man? How many of us are willing to concede that

future historians, in chronicling the events of our lives, may choose to emphasize and applaud the activities, not of the privileged majority but of some little-known leader of an unpopular minority?

"A democratic society and system of government, while among the grandest of human concepts, are among the most difficult to implement. In a democracy it is all too easy for the majority to forget the rights of the minority, and for a remote and powerful government to ignore its protests.

"It is all too easy, should disturbances erupt, to crush them in the name of law and order. We must never forget that, in the long run, a democracy is judged by the way the majority treats the minority. Louis Riel's battle is not yet won."

— Quotes from Pierre Trudeau's speech as he unveiled a monument to Louis Riel, on October 2, 1968. (Taken from "The Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter", which reprinted them from the "Ukrainian Canadian".)

## Teach In

Support for the Quebec people and resistance against the repression currently taking place in that province is the objective of a nationwide day of solidarity scheduled for

today, Friday, November 13.

Organized by student and citizen groups across the country, the movement stresses that no constructive social analysis or criticism can take place under the War Measures Act or under the Proposed Temporary Legislation introduced to replace it.

To provide the necessary information about the Quebec situation to Halifax students, the Dalhousie Students' Union will sponsor a teach-in on Friday at 12:30 in the McInnis Room. A member of the Quebec Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights will speak.

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# CUSO takes over where imperialism leaves off

**SAND PEBBLES**

Cameron House Film Society will present the film "The Sand-pebbles" starring Steve McQueen and Candice Bergman on Wednesday, November 18 at 8 p.m. The film will be shown in the Men's Residence Dining Hall. Admission is 50¢.

by Beth Neily  
 The changing role of CUSO was the theme of the CUSO public meeting held at the Weldon Law Building October 28. Lynn Taylor, Director of Anglophone Local Committees, gave a brief history of CUSO and answered questions from the audience.

"The organization, established a decade ago, is designed to fill employment gaps in developing countries," said Miss Taylor. She went on to say that "CUSO volunteers are highly skilled in their fields, and are paid by the country in which they are employed a salary equivalent to those paid to nationally trained employees.

Controversy on CUSO's role in Canadian society evolved out of the showing of a World Health Organization film. Several members of the audience stressed the need for CUSO to take a more active part in educating the public on world problems, perhaps by putting pressure on the education authorities to introduce international problems into high school curriculums. It was generally felt that if world problems were brought down to a more individual level, a deeper insight into our internal problems would result.

The film dealt with the disease, bilharziasis, which affects ap-

proximately 200,000,000 people in various parts of the world. The disease causes severe lethargy and certain early death. In order to stop the rapid spread of this illness, it is necessary to break the vicious cycle of the parasite that causes it. This can be done effectively by mass education, treatment and spraying of the water resources in which the parasite breeds. This, unfortunately, involves the co-operation of the lethargic populace and a large amount of money and manpower. One can hardly underestimate the problems that a developing country faces with so many of its inhabitants infected by lethargy.

**NOTICES**

Clubs and Societies which would like the Gazette to print information on coming activities should submit notice of these events two weeks prior to their taking place, in order to insure sufficient notice.

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## Concerned People Required to help with Dal Students' Council's community activities:

- Reach-Out Tutoring — a Big Brother, Big Sister program tutoring one child only
- Tutoring Children with Learning Disabilities and Emotional Disorders
- Visiting Senior Citizens — in homes for the elderly
- Childrens' Hospital Visitation — act as a parent substitute for an out of town child - must be dedicated and willing to spend fair amount of time with child
- Digger House (Headquarters) — volunteers to help "speed freaks"
- George Dixon Drop-In Centre — tutoring teenagers in a TYP type set-up, where the students have not met TYP standards

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# BLIND RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEMANDS GOVERNMENT ACTION

by Martin Dalley

"When the Blind Rights Action Movement began meeting, our aim was to bring the inadequate facilities and environment and the lack of special educational and vocational opportunities at the Halifax School for the Blind to the attention of the Nova Scotia Department of Education. We have decided it will serve no purpose to just improve the education or the School for the Blind if the overall education plan is inadequate and if employment and vocational opportunities remain as limited as they now are."

President of BRAM, Edward Russell, said, "We want the best system there is. We are not prepared to compromise our hopes and ideas with regard to the new deal for the blind people. We are aiming for the best deal possible."

Now that the brief has been submitted to both the administration and teaching staff of the School for the Blind, BRAM's next move is to find out where they stand with the school and then approach the new government and see what their attitude is toward the brief concerning the problems of the blind.

A meeting will be held in the near future with both the teaching staff and administration of the School for the Blind. BRAM expects both factions to support and sign the brief. If they can't support the brief, it will be taken to the public for its support.

"The problem of the blind is a moral issue," said Russell. "If the people in charge of the education of the blind don't show concern then the public should be given a chance to judge our case. Justice is

on our side."

Letters have been sent to other Blind Schools around the world to find out what can be done for the blind.

Recently, members of BRAM took a trip to the Deaf and Mute School in Amherst to see how a special education system is run by the government. No decisions, however, have been made with regard to this educational system that would benefit the blind.

Discussions concerning the Amherst situation is now underway with the administration at the School for the Blind.

Discussions between BRAM and various federal government representatives in Ottawa indicate that in Nova Scotia the government may not be taking full advantage of new and improved financial resources that could be tapped to help the blind in their education.

As an example, BRAM has learned that several years ago revisions made in federal legislation relating to the payment of funds to blind students for the purpose of obtaining university education had never been taken advantage of in Nova Scotia. However, such benefits have been available to all blind students in Ontario since 1967. In Ontario, blind students going to university receive \$168.00 per month (\$147.00 if they live at home), free tuition and \$50.00 for books.

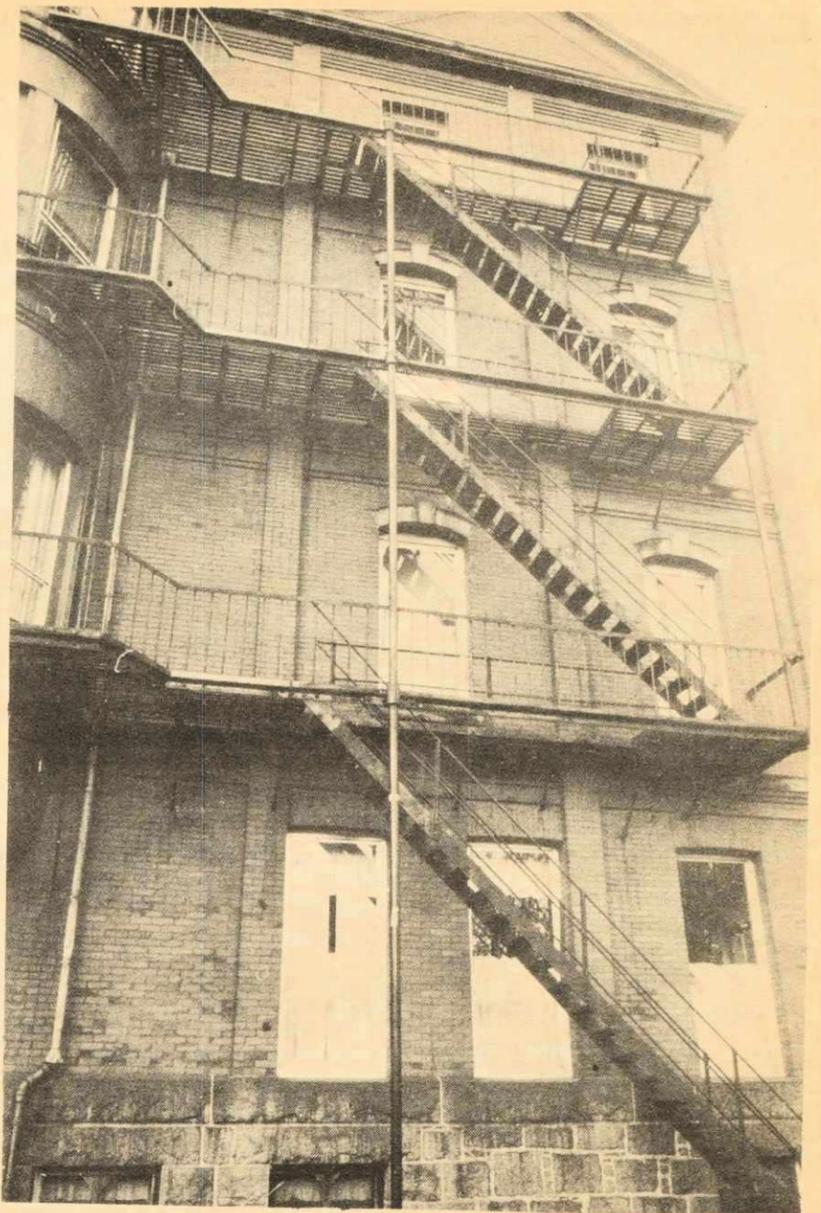
At this time in Nova Scotia, blind persons going to university have only been able to get government funds if they were taking courses to get a trade or profession, excluding Arts. Commerce has been the only practical course available to the blind

students under these restrictions in the Maritimes. It was only when one blind student, investigating federal-provincial agreements on grants to the blind, discovered the difference between Nova Scotia and Ontario, that he was able to point out the failure of the Nova Scotia Government. At that point, they agreed to grant him funds for a university course that permits him to take the course of his choice.

"We think it deplorable that no agency

entrusted with the care of the blind saw fit to inform the student of such programmes. University education must be available as a choice open to the blind student and so must the necessary funds to allow him to exercise his choice," said members of BRAM.

The movement's lack of finances seems to be the biggest stumbling block at the present time. "We cannot get things moving properly without finances," said Russell.



This is the fire escape at the back of the Halifax School for the Blind at University Avenue and South Park. Presumably, in the event of fire, blind schoolkids are supposed to find their way to safety down these stairs. BRAM maintains that facilities at the school are inadequate.

## Red Chinese lackey Trudeau hides truth about FLQ, reveals U.S. politician

NEW YORK (CUPI) — The Front De Liberation Du Quebec is a Red Chinese revolutionary group "Determined to overthrow the Canadian government and establish a People's Republic of Canada," says John R. Rarick, Louisiana Democrat.

A member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Rarick says that "Despite the recognition of the communist threat (FLQ), Mr. Trudeau and his government . . .

extended diplomatic recognition to the government of Red China and has given indication of supporting the Red Chinese admission to the United Nations."

Apparently this act of recognizing China is part of an attempt by the "left wing extremist" Trudeau to play games "with the Canadian people, and their attention is being diverted by a skillful maneuver in sensitivity training."

Mr. Rarick also criticized the news commentators for "No longer" describing the FLQ as a "Communist Chinese movement." The media, Rarick says, may be fearful of embarrassing "Canada's new ally, Red China."

"Mr. Trudeau has exploited the realities of the situation magnificently," Rarick said in all seriousness. "The shock troops of the FLQ are safely in jail protected from the Canadian

people and Trudeau's ideological friends of Red China have been extended diplomatic recognition without any backlash . . ."

Rarick is worried about what these latest diplomatic moves by Canada will mean to the safety of U.S. democracy.

"And we of the United States now have Castro and the Soviet fleet on the South — Trudeau on the North — our fighting men in South Vietnam — and our attention directed to Middle East. "Where next? Bonn? London? Or here in the United States?"

### 'Not worth talking about'

## Don't sweat it, says Dal

No. It doesn't matter. It's not important.

That's what the Dalhousie University Senate says about the War Measures Act and the recent activities of the federal government.

The Senate voted at its last regular meeting last month not to discuss the matter at all.

Two professors, F. W. Lawvere

and A. C. Thompson, had suggested the Senate discuss whether the Senate should condemn the government "for its imposition of the rule of Fascism on the Canadian people."

The number of those voting for and against this motion was not revealed in the official minutes of the meeting. None of the discussion was recorded either.

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# The Economic Roots of the Quebec Revolution

Quebec is part of the political and economic system of Canada, and so Quebecois are grappling with many of the same problems as Canadians in other regions — economic stagnation, inflation and a large scale lack of jobs.

At the same time, the large majority of the people in Quebec are French speaking and part of a distinctive culture and historical experience as a people, since their ancestors first settled the St. Lawrence Valley in the 1600's and 1700's.

As part of the present political and economic system of Canada, Quebec's economic and social development runs head on into many of the same problems that are hitting working people and students all over Canada.

With the second largest population in the second most industrialized economy among the regions of Canada, Quebec has been faced for a long time with the same economic and social conflicts that other regions in Canada are just beginning to experience acutely.

Quebecois refer bitterly to the fact Quebec has held the championship in unemployment in Canada for too long. From 1958 to 1968, average unemployment in Quebec was 7.3 per cent compared with 3.9 per cent in Ontario.

In the last 15 years, the number of unemployed workers in Quebec has ranged from 20 to 40 per cent more than Canada as a whole, and from 50 to 100 per cent more than Ontario.

Today, with unemployment rising rapidly everywhere in Canada, Quebec still leads with an 8.9 per cent unemployed as compared to 4.4 per cent in Ontario.

One in 11 people in the Quebec work force are out of a job. Although Quebec has just a little more than one-quarter of the total work force in Canada, it has 41 per cent of the unemployed.

Young people are especially hard hit — 42 per cent of Quebec's unemployed are under 25.

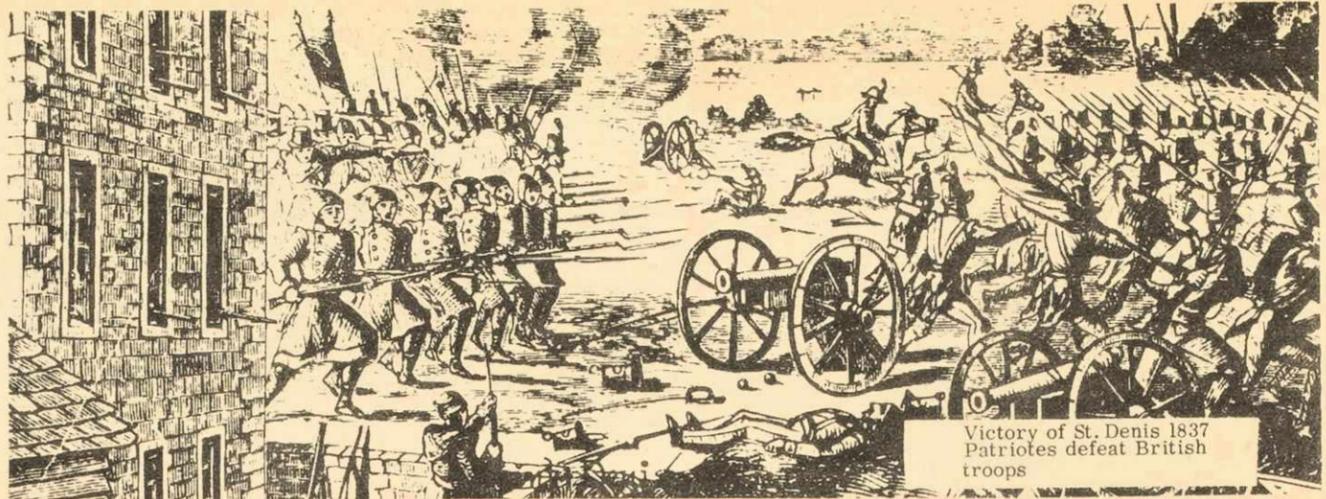
Thus, although Quebec is rich in human and natural resources as compared to other regions in Canada, the majority of people in Quebec are relatively poor in relation to people in other parts of Canada.

If we take the base figure of 100 as Quebec's per capita income, then Ontario's is 127, BC's is 118, the average for all Canada, 111, with the Maritimes and Newfoundland poorer than Quebec at 81 and 62 respectively.

As a people with a distinctive culture, language and historical experience, the situation of Quebecois within their own territory is characterized by the fact that although Anglophones make up only about 13 per cent of the population, they hold most of the decision-making positions in the economy, and consequently most of the high income and status positions.

This dominance of Anglophones in the economy is the result of the fact that English Canadian and American interests control all the important sectors of the economy: banking and finance, manufacturing, and the resource industries.

It is estimated that 50 large industrial corporations control 75 per cent of industrial (including mining) production in Quebec; only three of these are controlled by local Quebecois capital.



Victory of St. Denis 1837  
Patriotes defeat British troops

Thus although 62 per cent of the work force in Montreal is Francophone, only 37 per cent of the salaried personnel in large manufacturing corporations earning more than \$5,000 is Francophone. And most of those were not far above the \$5,000 level — just 17 per cent of jobs paying more than 15,000 was held by francophones.

Thus, the average income of male Anglophone wage and salary earners in Quebec is 41 per cent higher than that of Francophones. And since Francophones are much more concentrated in jobs hit by unemployment and in seasonal casual employment, this income disparity between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec is even more gaping if the **total income per capita** of each group is compared.

The social and economic conflict generated by the present political and economic system in Canada are beginning to shake loose all kinds of movements and groups among the people in all parts of Canada.

The effects of that same system on Quebec, with growing intensity over a long period of time, has given birth to a whole range of political and social resonances.

These movements have developed especially among the Francophone people both because they are most directly affected by economic problems producing inflation and unemployment and because of the special situation they have as a majority people dominated within their own territory by a minority group.

These movements in Quebec have developed over the last ten years in almost every sector of Quebec society: in the slums of Montreal and Quebec City, among trade unionists, students, teachers, and most recently among the people in the outlying regions such as the Gaspé, the Abitibi, where annual incomes average less than \$1,000.

Part of this development of political and social movements of people grappling with day to day problems, of work, language, welfare, schooling, has been a tremendous cultural flowering — in literature, the arts, theatre film etc.

Such poet-singers as Vignon, Vigneault, Pauline Julien, and Charlebois express the thrust towards self-affirmation of the Quebec people in the last ten years.

These various movements have grown out of the concrete social and economic problems caused by the economic system of Canada. The program and activities of these movements have changed over time as they have increased their understanding of what needs to be changed through experience with the present system.

Thus the trade union movement, traditionally exclusively concerned with wages, has increasingly carried the struggle for social change to the roots of the present political and economic system by challenging the power of corporations and businessmen to make the important political and economic decisions that affect economic development, wages, schooling, hospital and health care, etc.

Similarly, community organization that originally sprung up in working class districts in Quebec City, despite urban redevelopment schemes that deprived them of housing, have formed an alliance with the trade union movement to win political power at City Hall, so that they can make their own decisions about their own community instead of fighting city hall decisions.

People in outlying regions such as Cabano in the Gaspé who started by participating in government redevelopment programs and still found it impossible to stop the government's giveaway program of natural resources to corporations found that the only way to make the government move was by physically stopping companies from cutting wood or building plants, until the problems of jobs and wages had been settled.

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People such as students and intellectuals who started by demanding bilingualism to ensure that French would be spoken discovered that bilingualism in Quebec meant that Francophones learned to speak English.

Mass mobilization in the last two years have demanded french unilingualism (French as the only language of schooling and work) as the only solution to the rapid decline in the proportion of Francophones in Quebec.

Finally, the 30 per cent of Francophones who voted for the Parti Quebecois last April did not decide independence was necessary to solve Quebec's problems until a whole range of reforms within the federal system had been tried and failed during the 1960's. Two of the PQ leaders, Rene Levesque and Jacques Parizeau, were active reformers in the provincial government during the 1960's, and decided after trying the federal system that political independence was the necessary pre-requisite for solving Quebec's problems.

While all these movements originally took root in different sectors of the Quebec people around very specific issues, the major phenomenon of the last year has been their convergence on a variety of major issues.

This convergence has brought the support for the independence movement and pushed it towards programs of radical change, thus posing a serious challenge to the Montreal and Toronto big business elite and the federal government.

The seriousness of this democratic challenge and the broadly based popular support for radical change first exploded in the English Canadian consciousness during the spectacular rise of the Parti Quebecois during last April.

The Montreal and Toronto business elites and the federal government blew their cool by staging the Royal Trust withdrawal of funds from Montreal to Toronto a few days before the election, and by circulating falsified figures of taxes collected in Quebec and federal spending in Quebec.

This campaign of terrorizing the Quebec people might have scared off some of the more affluent PQ sympathizers, but it couldn't stop the more than 30 per cent of the Francophone vote and six seats in solid working class districts of Montreal.

The fact that the Quebec Bourassa Liberal party formed the government with just 24 per cent of the Francophone vote and the remaining twenty per cent of the Liberal vote from Anglophones, after a campaign of terror and manipulation of public opinion caused countless Quebecois to question the possibility of effecting serious change, even with the support of the people within the present electoral system.

It is this movement as a whole — the increasing militancy of the workers who refused government rationalization for unemployment and wage restrictions, the expansion of the trade union movement to include struggles for political power for the majority of the people, the transformation of very localized community organizations into disciplined mass organizations capable of posing a serious challenge to the rule of Drapeau in Montreal and politicization of large numbers of students and teachers — which is the target of the massive crack-down in Quebec by federal and provincial authorities.

Active members of every one of the democratic opposition movements in Quebec have been thrown in jail for an indefinite period during the last few days.

- members and candidates of the Front d'Action Politique, coalition of trade union political action committees and community organizations in Montreal who are contesting the Montreal civic elections;

- the staff of community projects, including the medical director of the St. Jacques community Health Clinic in Montreal, the director of the Montreal Family Planning Centre, and members of a family budgeting service;

- the members of the Parti Quebecois all over Quebec;

- university faculty, students and staff, including the secretary of the Union of Professors at the University of Montreal;

- trade unionists active in the summer confrontations between the construction union and the government;

- trade unionists active in building political action committees in cities and towns throughout Quebec;

- newspapermen, CBC reporters, and producers;

- Gaston Miron, winner of Quebec's highest literary award this year;

- Pauline Julien, chanteuse known around the world for her songs of Quebec's new spirit of freedom.

The extremist response by the federal government, opposed in vain by a united front of all the significant democratic opposition forces in Quebec cannot achieve its goal of eliminating this popular challenge to the present system in the short or long run.

In the short run, it would have to build hundreds of jails to hold thousands of people who are part of this democratic opposition which is challenging the Drapeaus, Bourassas, the Trudeaus, Royal Trusts which now control Quebec.

In the long run, they would have to make a radical changes in the political and economic system these movements are working towards if they were to permanently remove the social and economic conflicts that they have generated these popular movements.

The lesson of history is that it will be the movement rooted among the people that will carry through these changes.

# LADY SPECIAL REPORT LADY



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

**I**n 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 will not 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 P Québécois, 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.

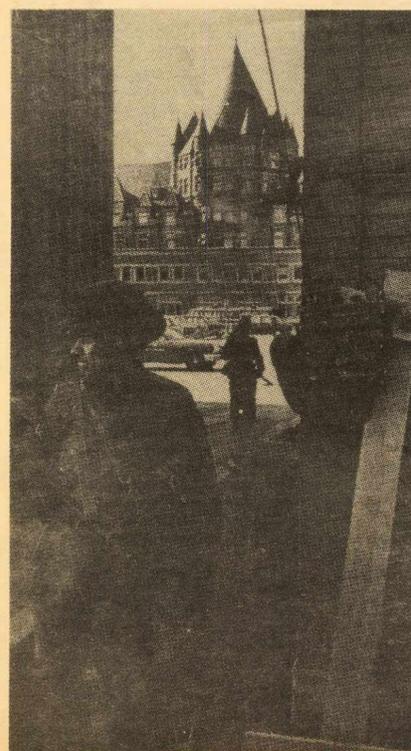
One of the most significant statements of the motives of the Trudeau government, and the steps by which it arrived at making the drastic move on October 16, is to be found in a column by Toronto Star Ottawa editor Anthony Westell appearing the day after the Act was invoked. Westell, a long-time Ottawa 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

Photocell



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 advisers, 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-Press 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 had 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-Press 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.

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 of 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 Coté, 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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# What U.S. Imperialism

## means to me . . . Jim Stolzman of Sociology

**GAZETTE:** How did the Teach-in on the Americanization of Canadian Universities affect you, Mr. Stolzman?

**STOLZMAN:** In a word, deeply. It had two major affects on me. First, I would say that it affected me in the political sense. It was both hopeful and en-

couraging that Canadians wouldn't settle for becoming a colonial country, and that they wanted to shape their own destiny rather than be dependent on the States.

To me, it was a positive thing because I believe the best Canadians are the un-American ones. The fact that Canada was worried about Americanization was a positive sign of things to come.

Secondly, it forced me to reflect on my performance as an academic in a Canadian University and wonder how I could orient my courses to uniquely Canadian issues and topics. I realized the extent of my ignorance of this country. I know more about Latin America or Europe than about Canada. This is shameful. I feel that it is incumbent on me to become more knowledgeable about Canada. My ignorance hinders my effectiveness, plus it curtails what I can teach Canadian students about the issues foremost on their minds. Both form and content in what I teach are reduced because of my ignorance.

often hurts, and quite often good sociology amounts to an exposee of how society operates. Any society has a set of official ideas of reality which are promoted by the people in power. Sociology often casts aspersions on these official interpretations. Those with the most to hide are frequently in a position to muffle you or even to fire you.

I cannot stress the importance of academic freedom. In this respect, Canada has a much healthier atmosphere than the States. Scholarship ad ideas that don't jibe with the outlook of these powerful people are tolerated.

To be honest, sociology in the States would be suicide. Because of the increased pressures, one has to steer away from the truth, or else, masquerade it. This type of tension doesn't appear to exist in Canada. As long as your motivations are intellectual, one has the freedom in the classroom, to analyze political situations plausibly with little fear of being muffled. Thus, from my outlook, I feel that it is better to be under the paw of the monster than in its belly.

The political climate in Canada is much better than it is in the States. There isn't such extreme paranoia about ideas that happen to be left of centre as in the States. To be sure, leftist ideas are still in the minority, but at least they can be expressed more openly than in the States.

**GAZETTE:** You mentioned in class the other day that you intend to become a Canadian citizen. How and when did this come about?

**STOLZMAN:** I had decided before I left the States. I was disenchanted with the directions in which things were going. My first decision was that I no longer wanted to be an American. Having realized that, the next thing was to decide what options were open to me. Canada offered me the opportunity to do the sort of sociology that I wanted to do. With the War Measures Act and the actions of the Government lately, I am having some second doubts, but I do plan to become a citizen and to acquaint myself with Canada in my work and in my attitudes. Canada is a society that holds a promising future unlike the States. It has a chance not to grow into a carbon copy of the United States.

**GAZETTE:** What do you have to offer as a transplanted American?

**STOLZMAN:** As an American, I offer a basic understanding of the corporate system, i.e., imperialism (the monster). Canadian instructors are effective because they have a second-nature sense of Canadian issues. What I bring is a knowledge of the effects on a person living under this corporate system. One witnesses things in the States which are not felt half so acutely here. How the system works, what effects it can be expected to have on Canadian society — these are issues where my opinions may be of value, and where my American background may prove advantageous.

## Hi, Ho,

### I went to the Fair

by Glenn Wanamaker

Quick now, who was judged the best parti-coloured, best standard cock AND grand champion land fowl at this year's Atlantic Winter Fair? You don't know, eh dummies. O.K. I'll give you a little hint.

One word of its name is in this song title, "The Star Spangled Banner", and it also makes a lot of noise. No, it's not Spiro Agnew but I'll give you five points for being close — it was the Star Spangled Hamburg cock. Of course.

The above was found, strangely enough, in the Industrial complex of the fair, along with the usual cock-a-doo-dle-doo-ing roosters (I think they were roosters, they were cock-a-doo-dle-doo-ing anyway) and the very proficient rabbits.

On the upper levels I stumbled onto different booths and an impressive art display, as well as an 87-pound pumpkin.

And don't let me forget that unco-operative macaw! With prompting, he emitted one squawk . . . at me. Enough said, on to the Forum.

Did you know that guinea pigs have tails that grow internally? Yup, and not only that, their nearest relation is the porcupine. Incidentally Blackie, the lady guinea pig, gave birth to five bouncing guinea piglets several days ago.

After viewing all the beautiful specimens of cow and horse flesh in nearby stalls, I ventured up to the area where the competitors and their horses were waiting to participate in various equestrian events. Feeling very important with pen and notebook in hand, I nonchalantly mingled with some of the more illustrious four-legged participants.

It was then that a two-legged participant approached me and asked if I would please hold her horse. She explained that she wanted to see the rest of the event.

"He won't give you any trouble."

My head nodded in involuntary acknowledgement. With the owner gone, I again tried the nonchalant approach.

"Nice horsie," I stammered, "nice horsie." Tom Thumb nuzzled his nose into my jacket.

"I must let him know I'm the boss," I thought as he began to take me for a

walk.

Mr. Thumb snorted, stared at me with his gigantic black eyes, and nuzzled me again. I smiled submissively. What a nice horsie!

A gambling booth was my next stop, and a very successful one too. How? Very simply though quite unintentional. I psyched out the "operators".

This particular game consisted of throwing a ball onto a large square which was painted with different coloured grooved squares. The batter had to pick the colour on which the ball would stop.

I pulled out my trusty pen and pad, thinking that recording my success or non-success might make an interesting sidelight to the story. Well, it seems an operator spotted me jotting down numbers after my second victory. I think he thought that I was trying to figure out the odds of the ball landing on such and such a colour.

He grinned at his friend and threw me the ball. I placed my quarter on green, tossed the ball, and watched greedily as the ball rocked gently onto the green square. I had them psyched. I knew it; they knew it. My confidence was restored. I might add, I cleared \$1.75.

Time for a little supper and then back to rinksides to watch more jumping events. The highlight of these events was the Junior Jumper Open in which three jumps were needed to find a winner. Alanna Palmer on Silk's Golden Satin finally earned the first prize loot.

In between all of this came the "World's Funniest Ford", driven by Count de Boxcar Young.

The most amazing thing about this act was the non-reaction of Countess Caboose, a canine perched peacefully on the back of the car. Despite the tremendous explosions of fireworks that left me shaking in my Hush Puppies, and the countless other startling stunts that occurred, this dumb dog sat calmly watching the smoke rise and the audience jumping in their seats.

And while we're on the subject of dogs, I'd like to close with this memo to two charming canine performers, Miss Fifi and her fiance, Mr. Quebec. You've got Miss Halifax and her strip-tease act beat any day!

**GAZETTE:** Will these reactions affect your courses this year?

**STOLZMAN:** Yes, and specifically my course on Stratification. If I am to be a Canadian academic, I need to learn about this country. I ought to gear my courses to topics of salience to my students. It's too easy to presume I'm still in America.

You know, there is very little difference between an American lecture hall and a Canadian one. It seemed natural to use American examples and textbooks here. I see now that this won't do. I must Canadianize my courses.

In stratification, I have made many references to the Black situation in the States. Even though everyone understood, I was, in effect, doing my bit to Americanize the students. I cannot forget about the Canadian inequalities just because some in America seem larger or make better examples. I plan to use what good Canadian textbooks I can find. After Christmas in 204, we will use "The Poverty Wall" by Ian Adams.

But, the problem is that Canadian sociologists have been traditionally influenced by Americans. Much of this American influence is found in their books. The Americans have long been the fashion-setters internationally in sociology. The discipline in sociology has been basically American, and I believe this American tradition to be bankrupt.

American sociologists are notorious for looking at trivial problems which lend to a qualitative analysis, but are timid about dealing with broader issues which aren't so simply analyzed. Americans don't try to look at things in a larger theoretical context.

I plan to make use of European texts by authors who have avoided this American influence. Still one cannot ignore the presence of American society in Canada. As was pointed out in the Teach-in, Canadian society is becoming more and more Americanized. One needs to know the nature of the animal you're fighting, and keep an eye on the consequences of Americanization of the Canadian economy.

**GAZETTE:** Why did you decide to come to Canada?

**STOLZMAN:** Sociology necessitates academic freedom. It is basic to the nature of sociology that the topics and ideas are politically sensitive. The truth

## Festival begins Thursday

# Beethoven's birth commemorated

"It is the Arts and the Sciences that indicate a higher life to us and give us the hope of attaining."

Ludwig von Beethoven.

This year, Dalhousie University, in conjunction with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Atlantic Symphony Orchestra, commemorates the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ludwig von Beethoven.

Beethoven was born at Christmastime, 1770, in Bonn, Germany, and died in Vienna, Austria, in 1827. The Commemoration is being marked by a Beethoven Festival of Music (November 19th-29th).

As part of the festival, there will be lectures on the Man and his Music given by the Department of Music, Dalhousie University, and an exhibition of Beethoven memorabilia arranged by Dr. Franz Grasberger, Director of the Music Department of the National Library of Austria, reflecting the theme, Beethoven, the Man and his Time.

Beethoven belongs to the Viennese Period of musical history, embracing Haydn, Mozart, and Schubert. Appreciated today more than in his own time, Beethoven pleaded for world concord through the powerful harmony of his music.

His sentiments toward his art were those of Schiller, who said of music:

Let thy magic bring together  
All whom earth-born laws divide;  
All mankind shall be as brothers  
'Neath thy tender wings and  
wide.

The Beethoven Festival of Music will open on November 19th at 8:30 p.m. in the McInnes Room of the Student Union Building when the VAGHY STRING QUARTET will present the first concert of Beethoven's music. The VAGHY STRING QUARTET has performed extensively in Canada and the U.S. and are currently artists-in-residence at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

The Quartet will perform two of Beethoven's major compositions: The Quartet (Harp), Opus 74, completed in 1809; and the A Minor Quartet, Opus 132, one of the last group of great quartets which Beethoven wrote.

In the second concert, the Atlantic Symphony Orchestra will feature Beethoven's Ballet Music from the "The Creatures of Prometheus", Opus 43, and the composer's Symphony No. 8 in F Major, Opus 93. The concert will be conducted by Maestro Klaro Mizerit, at St. Pat's High School, November 22 at 8:30 p.m.

The third concert features a unique group of artists, The New York Chamber Soloists. Created



The Vachy String Quartet in concert in the woods. They will play in the McInnes Room on November 19th at 8:30 p.m. as part of the Beethoven Festival.

in 1957, this ensemble consists of two voices, two wind, five string, and two keyboard instruments performing in varied combinations ranging from four to eleven artists, thus providing for great flexibility in repertoire and allowing a selection of rich chamber works seldom heard because of the diverse combinations for which they are scored.

Internationally renowned

pianist, Abbey Simon, has entertained music lovers on six continents. He will perform Beethoven's thirty-two variations, the Sonatas, Opus 110 in A flat Major, Opus 109 in E Major, and Opus 57 in F Minor (Appassionata) at Dalhousie on Thursday, November 26 at 8:30 p.m.

The final concert of the Beethoven Festival of Music on Sunday, November 29th at 8:30

p.m. in the Cathedral Church of All Saints, will be a presentation of Beethoven's 9th Symphony. The concert will feature the combined choirs of Dalhousie University and the Atlantic Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Maestro Klaro Mizerit.

Ticket prices for each concert range from \$3.00-\$1.00, with 50% discounts for students, and may be obtained at the SUB.

## Introducing Canadian Talent

# Acadian culture lives

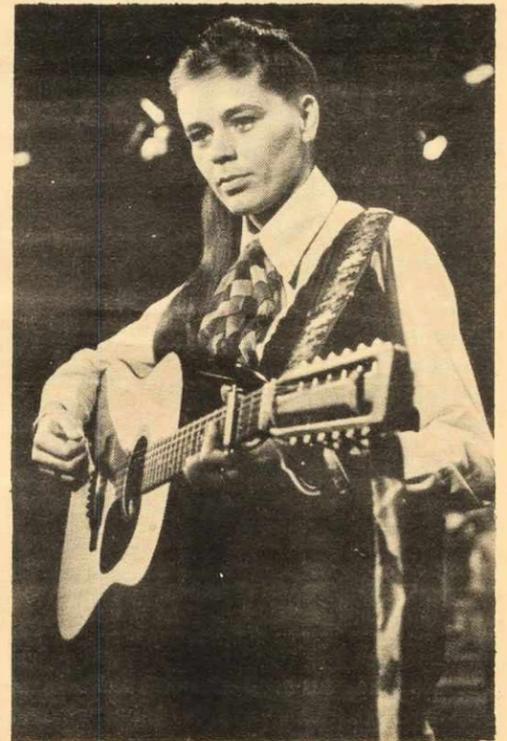
by Lorne Abramson

Edith Butler, dynamic Acadian songstress from Paquetville, N.B., is truly one of the great Canadian entertainers of recent discovery. Since she started singing five years ago with a guest appearance on CBC's Singalong Jubilee, she has built up a library of 500 songs of French-Canadian origin.

Besides frequent appearances on Singalong Jubilee, she was the featured artist on 'Sounds '66 and '68', and made a French language documentary for NFB called, "Les Acadiens de la Dispersion".

A graduate of Laval University in 1969, (Masters in Canadian Civilization) her songs and her personality reflect her pride in her Acadian origins. Her last appearances were at Expo '70 in Osaka at the Canadian Pavilion and at the Mariposa Folk Festival in July.

In a telephone interview, she was just as charming as Scott Brigley of CBC had said she was: "I'm not sure what I'm going to do in the future. Perhaps I'll make an album next year. I like doing special programs in Quebec City, such as the one I did for Donald Lautrec. I'm not really interested in being a big star. I'm proud of being an Acadian and I refuse to lose my French; this is why I sing French-Canadian songs more and more. My husband and I live in a small trailer outside Campbellton; I hate travelling! I would rather just hunt and fish and collect dead leaves; most of our time is spent just wandering in the wilderness."



Edith Butler — a truly nice person doing her own thing and doing it really well. She's a proud Acadian! — it's good to see. If she comes to Halifax — don't miss her!!

## Trio plays moody blues

Good jazz — that's what Joe Sealy is all about! At the Nova Scotia Art College, the Trio put on as he put it, "his first lunchtime gig"; and was well-received by the audience of both young and old.

The trio, with Joe Sealy on piano, Tim Cohoon on drums, and Dave Sadler on bass, has been playing together since last spring. At the beginning of the concert, the group had a little trouble getting together; however, they completely made up for it in the last two-thirds of the show. They played a lot of moody blues, with great changes of rhythm. Sealy has a pleasant stage personality and projected warmth to his audience. The trio looked as if they were really enjoying themselves up there; it was unfortunate that the audience was sitting so far from the group.

Sealy, originally from Montreal, resides in Halifax now and like the other two fellows, doesn't make a living by playing jazz; mostly, they play for sheer enjoyment. Actually, Sealy is a music consultant for CBC's Roundabout; Cohoon is a teacher and Sadler is a boat-builder by trade, is presently working on a 30 foot sloop.

Their first appearance, in the Chart Room, was a success and led to a summer-long stay at the Confederation Centre, P.E.I., backing up Mary-Lou Collins and Tommy Common. Since September, to quote Sealy, they've done a couple of great Bar-Mitzvah's! So, if you're looking for a great jazz trio, just call Joe Sealy at 835-5116, or thru CBC Roundabout — here's wishing them luck!

## AROUND HALIFAX

Thursday, Nov. 12 — Dalhousie Film Society  
"My Night With Maud".  
7:30 p.m. McInnis Rm.

Sunday, Nov. 15 — Folk Mass. SUB 7:30 p.m.  
— "Sunday Purgatory".  
Coffee House 9:00 p.m.  
SUB.

Tuesday, Nov. 17 — Dal Art Gallery Films  
(a) Jack Levine  
(b) Reg Butler.

Thursday, Nov. 19 — Concert Series  
"Vachy String  
Quartet". 8:30 p.m.

Nov. 19 - Nov. 29 — Beethoven Festival.

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University — November 26

Lord Nelson Hotel — Halifax (evenings)  
— November 25, 26

Winter isn't here yet but . . .

**Interfac Hockey starts Sunday**

by Chuck Moore

The 1970-71 interfac hockey season will start Nov. 15. There has been a lot of controversy as to the feasibility of having two leagues this year. In the past there has always been an "A" league for the more experienced players and a "B" league for the less experienced but this year both leagues will combine into one.

Fifteen or sixteen teams are expected to be iced this year consisting of: two teams from P.E., Law, Science, Meds, and possibly Grads; one team from Commerce, Dents, Engineers,

Arts, Pharm-Ed, and Soc. Work.

I dropped the suggestion to Wally Campbell, that the league be run as one league, but have two eight team divisions. The faculties entering two teams would have one team in each division. The first four teams in each division would be in the playoffs, and the winners of each division would play off for the championship. This method would not interfere with scheduling of games or keeping statistics because results could be recorded in the respective divisions. Remember this is still

only a suggestion.

This year's interfac hockey should be quite good going by the pre-season enthusiasm, and turnouts at the practices. The games will be played on Sunday afternoons and Monday evenings this season. I'll be bringing you the news on all future games.

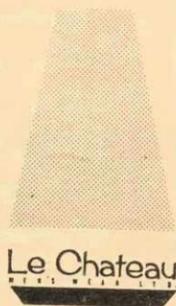


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Friday, Nov. 13 — Soccer CIAU at York

Saturday, Nov. 14 — Football. Atlantic Bowl

— Cross Country, CIAU at UBC

— Hockey, SFX at Dal. 8:00

— Open dance. Howe Hall 9:00 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 15 — Hockey, Dal. at SMU 7:30

Sunday - Thursday — D.G.D.S. Rehearsal

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## Is the current trend in Canada bothering you?

When you read the news last week did you feel a sudden surge of confidence in your government? Did the Trudeau press conference on Sunday really make you feel that the whole incident was under control? Did the knowledge that over three hundred of those nasty FLQ subversives had been arrested let you finally get some rest? Were you happy in the safety of your own home knowing your children were safe from terrorist bombings and murders? You were, weren't you? You weren't dragged out of your home and thrown in jail with no formal charge and denied even a phone call, were you? When your Cabinet decides that there is a state of "apprehended insurrection" you can rest assured that we looking after you and your loved ones.

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