

The October Crisis

Appendix D

“The October Crisis *per se* –

(in chronological order - 5 October to 29 December 1970)”

I. The FLQ on 5 October 1970

By 5 October 1970, the FLQ have committed over 200 criminal acts, including thefts, robberies, hold-ups and bombings and were responsible for six violent deaths: Wilfred (Wilfrid) O’Neill (O’Neil) (21 April 1963); Leslie McWilliams and Alfred Pinisch (29 August 1964); Thérèse Morin (5 May 1966); Jean Corbo (16-year-old FLQ member killed by an FLQ bomb, 14 July 1966); and Jeanne d’Arc Saint-Germain (24 June 1970).

On 5 October 1970, 20 terrorists are in jail, either awaiting trial or having been convicted for acts of terrorism, being: François Schirm, Edmond Guénette, Cyriaque Delisle, Serge Demers, Marcel Faulkner, Gérard Laquerre, Robert Lévesque, Rhéal Mathieu, Claude Simard, Pierre-Paul Geoffroy, Gabriel and Robert Hudon, Pierre Demers, Marc-André Gagné, François Lanctôt, André Roy, Claude Morency; Pierre Boucher, Michel Lorient and André Ouellette. At least three others (Pierre Marcil, Réjean Tremblay and André Lessard) have been arrested but are free on bail. Throughout the ensuing negotiations between the Government of Quebec (as represented by Robert Demers) and the FLQ (as represented by Robert Lemieux), the exact number of jailed terrorists implicated was not clear, because at least one did not wish to go to Cuba, as Robert Lemieux discovered when he visited the prisoners on behalf of the FLQ.

II. The FLQ Decides To Proceed by Kidnappings

In 1970, the FLQ decides to proceed to political kidnappings, as the next step towards the expected insurrection. Up to that time, most governments around the world have acceded to the demands of kidnappers, which had then only resulted in more terror and more kidnapping (See Louis Fournier, 1998 at p. 262).

III. The Governments and Authorities in Office on 5 October 1970

On 29 April 1970, the Quebec Liberal Party under Robert Bourassa is elected in a general election. The Liberals win 72 seats with 45.4% of the vote; the Union Nationale wins 17 seats with 19.6% of the vote; the Crédit Social wins 12 seats with 11.2% of the vote; and the Parti Québécois wins 7 seats with 23.1% of the vote. The cabinet is sworn in and meets for the first time on 13 May 1970.

On 8 August 1970, the Bourassa government, facing a general construction strike and labour unrest, which had haunted the previous government, settles the -strike by adopting the “Law Concerning the Construction Industry” and sends workers and contractors back to work. Pierre Laporte, the Minister of Labour, works calmly and firmly to reach the settlement and to adopt the law. His achievement is remarkable and is praised by all three opposition parties. (Debates 1970, 8 August, p. 1377).

The Bourassa government also faces the implementation of Medicare, a federal plan, which was left to each province to adopt by legislation and then to administer. By October 1970, only N.B., P.E.I. and Quebec of the 10 provinces have not already put the plan into force. Negotiations take place all summer with the Quebec medical profession and by 1 October 1970,

settlement is reached with all the doctors, general practitioners, dentists, optometrists, etc., etc., except the specialist doctors.

On 5 October 1970, Robert Bourassa (age 37) is Premier of Quebec in his first government (1970-1976); Pierre Laporte (age 49) is Minister of Labour and Parliamentary leader of the Government in the National Assembly; Jérôme Choquette (age 42) is Minister of Justice. William Tetley (age 43) is Minister of Financial Institutions, Companies and Cooperatives.

Jean-Jacques Bertrand (age 54) is leader of the Union Nationale, the Official Opposition.

René Lévesque (age 48) is leader of the Parti Québécois (PQ), but is not an elected member of the National Assembly. Jacques Parizeau (age 40) is President of the Executive Council of the Parti Québécois and is also not in the National Assembly, and Dr. Camille Laurin (age 48) is Parliamentary leader of the Parti Québécois in the National Assembly.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau (age 50) is Prime Minister of Canada. Mitchell Sharp (age 59) is Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, John N. Turner (age 41) is federal Minister of Justice, Gérard Pelletier (age 51) is Secretary of State and Jean Marchand (age 51), federal Minister of Regional Economic Expansion.

Jean Drapeau (age 54) is Mayor of Montreal and is faced by the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), a new municipal opposition party, with worker and socialistic programmes. A municipal election is fixed for 25 October 1970. Lucien Saulnier (age 54) is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the City of Montreal.

IV. The Events

1) Monday, 5 October 1970: Early in the morning, Louise Cossette-Trudel of the FLQ Liberation Cell parks her car on Redpath Crescent, Montreal, to make sure that Cross has not left

his house on his normal early morning walk. When the kidnappers appear in a LaSalle taxi at 08:20, she advises them that Cross is still at home and then she disappears. (There was probably some other woman with her, because it now appears that Cossette-Trudel did not know how to drive. The FLQ has never revealed who this woman was. Carole de Vault has suggested it was probably Suzanne Lanctôt.) (Globe and Mail, 8 January 1981).

2) Shortly thereafter, James Richard Cross (age 49), the British Trade Commissioner, is kidnapped from his home at 1297 Redpath Crescent in Montreal by “four” members of the Liberation Cell, being Louise Lanctôt, her husband Jacques Cossette-Trudel, Marc Carbonneau, Jacques Lanctôt and Pierre Séguin. (In fact, a gardener working on Redpath Crescent at the time later testified that he had seen five men take Cross away in a LaSalle taxi.) It is revealed only eight years later that another person is also involved. It is Barry Nigel Hamer (the only one who was disguised) who graduated from McGill University in Honours Electrical Engineering in the spring of 1970, but whose name is not made public until November 1978 by the investigative journalism of Marc Laurendeau of Montréal-Matin, who wrote of the matter in the magazine L’Actualité. Hamer was arrested in 1980 and pleaded guilty in 1981. It was Hamer who was able to surreptitiously obtain a supply of serpasil for the high blood pressure of Cross. How many members were really in the Liberation Cell? Eric Bédard speaks of “...**close to ten militants...**” (Eric Bédard, 1998 at p. 64).

3) The FLQ sends a communiqué to Montreal radio station CKAC, making seven demands for the exchange of Cross: a) the publication of their Manifesto; b) the release of the twenty-three named “political prisoners”; c) a plane to Cuba or Algeria; d) the reemployment of the Lapalme workers; e) \$500,000 in gold bullion; f) the name of the FLQ member who

denounced a cell of the FLQ to the police; and g) the cessation of police activities in search of the kidnappers.

4) Monday, 5 October 1970: Jerome Choquette, the Minister of Justice of Quebec, announces to the press the seven demands of the kidnappers.

5) Monday, 5 October 1970: In the evening, Mayor Jean Drapeau speaks on the radio to the kidnappers of Cross: **“It is my wish that James Cross be freed and I ask those who detain him to allow him to return to his family, to our city and to his native land.”** (My translation; see Jacques Lacoursière, 1972 at p. 19).

6) Tuesday, 6 October 1970: Contradictory editorials are published by Claude Ryan, Director of the *Le Devoir*, and Jean-Paul Desbiens of *La Presse*. Ryan calls for concessions to save the life of Cross. Desbiens declares that the freeing of prisoners will result in more violence. (See his editorial in Appendix “G”.)

7) Tuesday, 6 October 1970: The Bourassa Cabinet meets that evening and decides to work in concert with the federal government in respect of the Cross kidnapping.

8) Tuesday, 6 October 1970: The federal and provincial governments agree that any decision regarding the demands of the FLQ will be taken jointly. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declares that the FLQ demands are **“wholly unreasonable”**. Bourassa agrees with the federal position.

9) Tuesday, 6 October 1970: The *Toronto Star* and a few other Canadian papers advise the federal government to make concessions to the FLQ in order to obtain the release of Cross. In the next week, the *Star* does not repeat its recommendation, and only *Le Devoir* and two minor newspapers take this position.

10) Tuesday, 6 October 1970: Prof. Edward McWhinney of McGill University declares that the case of the kidnapping of the British diplomat James Cross is “...**clearly 100 percent a federal matter.**” (When Laporte, a provincial cabinet minister, is kidnapped, McWhinney is apparently silent.)

11) Wednesday, 7 October 1970: Trudeau announces that a minority cannot impose its views on the majority by violence.

12) Wednesday, 7 October 1970: Bourassa, who had cancelled the first part of his economic mission to the U.S. (California), leaves in the afternoon for the last three days of the mission in New York. He keeps in touch with his staff, with Choquette and others.

13) Wednesday, 7 October 1970: The specialist doctors, after weeks of limited services, decide upon a general strike. Jacques Parizeau wisely, courageously and publicly supports the Quebec government over Medicare and against the specialist doctors' strike - this despite the position of René Lévesque, Dr. Camille Laurin and the Parti Québécois Executive Committee. Lévesque had supported the specialists in good part (and had criticized the government) in the *Journal de Montréal* on 3 October 1970 and again on 7 October 1970.

14) Wednesday, 7 October 1970: An editorial of Huguette Roberge of *La Patrie*, notes that if the government cedes to even a part of the FLQ demands, the FLQ will kidnap another political figure, perhaps a Quebecer this time. (Jean-Claude Trait, 1970 at p. 128).

15) Wednesday, 7 October 1970: The FLQ Manifesto 1970 is read on CKAC by journalist Louis Fournier. (See the text of the Manifesto at Appendix “H”.)

16) Thursday, 8 October 1970: René Lévesque, in his daily column in the *Journal de Montréal*, does not call on the FLQ to release Cross unconditionally, but asks the government and the FLQ to reach an agreement: Much of the Lévesque article criticises the governments in

power for the situation which gave rise to the FLQ. Lévesque even talks of the blind brutality of the bureaucrats. The article, from a leader of a political party in opposition, can only reinforce the resolve of the FLQ. Lévesque says in part:

“I deplore the kidnapping of the British diplomat James R. Cross and hope that without delay those in power and the persons responsible for this unjustified act, together seek above all to avoid a tragic outcome.

“Here and there at the present time, governments and the institutions who serve them seem irreparably outstripped by the problems of society which are of a turbulence, power and complexity that one has never seen before.

“The blind brutality of the bureaucrats”

This was to be Lévesque’s position in subsequent articles and public statements until the evening of 16 October 1970, when the Executive Council of the Parti Québécois met and for the first time unequivocally asked the FLQ to release Cross and Laporte.

17) Thursday, 8 October 1970: At 10:30 p.m., the FLQ 1970 Manifesto is read on Radio-Canada television by Gaëtan Montreuil. As compared with the FLQ manifesto of 16 April 1963, it is not academic in style, but is written in popular street language. It emphasizes a workers’ revolution more than the separation of Quebec from Canada and it contains two criticisms of the Church. The Manifesto is very long and does not hold one’s attention throughout. After the reading, Montreuil declared: **“It was a very bad commercial.”** Trudeau had been against publication, and asked Laurent Picard, Executive Vice-President of Radio-Canada, not to broadcast it. Picard refused, when Trudeau spoke to him. Trudeau said that he respected the independence of Radio-Canada, but he reserved the right to call Picard a damn fool in the House of Commons. Gérard Pelletier, on the other hand, had declared publicly that he believed in

publication. **“No objection; it cannot do much harm.”** Mitchell Sharp also favoured publication.

18) 8 October 1970: Jocelyne Despatie, hired in August 1970 as a temporary receptionist in the Montreal office of Robert Bourassa, ceased to work there. (Le Soleil, 16 November 1970). It appears that she was later suspected of having ties to the FLQ.

19) Friday, 9 October 1970: René Lévesque criticizes the decision to publish the FLQ manifesto. (Journal de Montréal, 10 October 1970).

20) Friday, 9 October 1970: Claude Ryan, in an editorial, proposes the release by the federal government of some “political prisoners” for Cross. **“How far must one go to save the life of a man?”**

21) Friday, 9 October 1970: The specialist doctors, who two days earlier had decided to go on strike, are now fully on strike and have withdrawn all their services. Hospital and medical services are in disarray. Settlement has, however, been reached with all the other doctors (i.e. the general practitioners, the dentists, the ophthalmologists, etc.).

22) Saturday, 10 October 1970: An article of Lévesque calls for the release of some FLQ prisoners in exchange for the release of Cross.

23) Saturday, 10 October 1970: Jérôme Choquette draws up a proposed statement addressed to the FLQ that he will read at a press conference at 5:00 p.m. Bourassa cuts short his trip to New York, returns to Montreal, meets Choquette and goes over the statement to be read at the press conference. (Choquette had already discussed the statement with Mitchell Sharp, federal Secretary of State for External Affairs. According to Sharp, he had made important suggestions to Choquette as to the statement in respect of releasing certain prisoners. Choquette

had at first been reluctant to accept the Sharp proposals, but the declaration had been modified by the time of the press conference. (See Mitchell Sharp, 1994 at p. 194.)

24) Saturday, 10 October 1970: At 5:30 p.m., Choquette reads his statement at a press conference, calls on the kidnappers to release Cross and announces that terrorists will not be released in exchange for Cross. Choquette makes clear that:

“No society can consent to have the decisions of its judicial and government institutions challenged or set aside by the blackmail of a minority, for that signifies the end of all social order.” (Press conference of the Minister of Justice of Quebec, 10 October 1970).

Choquette advises, nevertheless, that the kidnappers would be given safe conduct to the country of their choice in exchange for Cross.

In the meantime, the Chénier Cell of Paul and Jacques Rose, Francis Simard and Bernard Lortie have planned to kidnap Pierre Laporte. They arm themselves, telephone the Laporte home, learn that he is playing catch football on the front lawn with his nephew and at 6:18 p.m. kidnap him from the front of his home on Robitaille Street in Saint-Lambert, a Montreal south-shore suburb. They take him to a house on Armstrong Street in Saint-Hubert, also on the south shore.

25) Saturday, 10 October 1970: That evening, Bourassa calls all members of his Cabinet to a full Cabinet meeting the next day in the Premier’s office at the top of the Hydro-Quebec building in Montreal. The Cabinet is to meet as a whole on the Crisis in Montreal for three days and then in Quebec City.

26) Sunday, 11 October 1970. Early in the morning, Julien Chouinard, the Secretary General of the Quebec Cabinet, phones Gordon Robertson, the Clerk of the Privy Council in Ottawa, at his home and advises that Quebec is having difficulty in holding FLQ suspects long

enough under the Criminal Code and wishes to invoke the War Measures Act. Robertson advises that he thought that “...**there was no chance whatever of that being done**”, unless Bourassa could convince Trudeau “...**of the utter necessity of so unprecedented an action.**” Bourassa, in consequence, calls Trudeau. (Gordon Robertson, 2000 at p. 262).

27) Sunday, 11 October 1970: In the morning, Claude Ryan telephones four senior Le Devoir staff members at their homes (Michel Roy, Jean-Claude Leclerc, Vincent Prince and Claude Lemelin) and calls them to a special meeting, which takes place in the Le Devoir offices that afternoon, where “**a provisional government**” and “**a government of public salvation (salut public)**” is discussed. Ryan phones Lucien Saulnier, Chairman of the Montreal Executive Committee, and visits him in his Ile-Bizard home that afternoon in order to discuss the matter. Saulnier apparently turns him down, but tells Mayor Jean Drapeau of the meeting and its portent.

28) 11 October 1970: Pierre Laporte writes a letter to Bourassa, asking for the release of jailed prisoners in exchange for himself.

29) Sunday, 11 October 1970: At 3:00 p.m., the whole Quebec Cabinet meets in the Premier’s Montreal office on the top floor of the Hydro-Quebec Building. The Cabinet continues to meet as a whole as the situation evolves. Information is provided to all the ministers as it arrives, and decisions are taken by the whole Cabinet. The session of the National Assembly, set for 12 October 1970, is postponed to a date to be fixed. Bourassa will make a public declaration.

30) Sunday, 11 October 1970: At 9:55 p.m., Bourassa reads a statement, which makes no promises but leaves the door open to negotiations. The Cabinet spends the night in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel.

31) Monday, 12 October 1970: The federal government calls upon the Canadian Army to patrol the Ottawa region.

In the morning, the Bourassa Cabinet meets informally at various times on the top floor of the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. Bourassa meets and briefs Opposition leader Jean-Jacques Bertrand (of the Union Nationale) and Camille Laurin and Camille Samson, parliamentary leaders respectively of the PQ and the Crédit Social in the National Assembly.

The Quebec Cabinet meets formally from 3:30 to 5:00 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. to half past midnight the next day (0:30 a.m., 13 October). It appoints lawyer Robert Demers to contact the FLQ on behalf of the Government of Quebec and to attempt to stall any further action by the FLQ. It receives police reports and details of a general conspiracy.

The special session of the National Assembly set for 12 October 1970 to deal with Medicare is postponed *sine die*.

32) Monday, 12 October 1970: A first draft of the Regulations under the War Measures Act is prepared by Michel Côté, attorney of the City of Montreal. (Rapport Duchaine, 1981 at p. 103. See the text of the draft at Appendix B, (B) of the Duchaine Report.)

Monday, 12 October 1970: The president of FRAP, Paul Cliche, declares, without distinguishing between the FLQ's objectives and methods, that FRAP's principal objective is the taking over of political and economic power by the workers of Quebec and in this sense it is in agreement with FLQ. (Le Devoir, 13 October 1970). Cliche later rectifies his declaration, to separate the aims of the FLQ from its methods, which latter the FRAP does not agree with. FRAP, however, never calls on the FLQ to release Laporte and Cross.

Monday evening, 12 October 1970: The Executive Council of the Parti Québécois makes a public declaration, giving their opinion in favour of **"...the liberation of political prisoners...."** This statement is made despite admitting to not having the facts on hand: **"This is why, even though we do not possess more information than does the citizenry in general,**

we believe that it is our duty to make this statement.” (My translation; Jacques Lacoursière, 1972 at p. 198; Journal de Montréal, 13 October 1970).

33) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: The Executive Council of Parti Québécois also calls on the specialist doctors to end their strike. (This is due to the excellent efforts of Jacques Parizeau, who convinced the PQ, and presumably Lévesque, to change their view.)

34) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: Mayor Drapeau declares: **“The revolution in Québec is not in preparation, it is in full execution. The situation is dangerous. The population has no idea of the gravity of the moment. It eerily resembles revolutions in other countries.”**(Le Soleil, 13 October 1970).

35) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: From 1:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m., the Bourassa Cabinet meets as a whole in the Premier’s office at Hydro-Quebec.

36) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: Answering questions outside the House of Commons, Trudeau says: **“I think that society must take every means at its disposal to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power which defies the elected power in this country....”** When asked by CBC’s Tim Ralfe just how far he would go, Trudeau answers, **“Just watch me.”**

37) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: Le Devoir publishes a succinct editorial by Claude Ryan on the negotiations and the alternatives both for Quebec and the FLQ. Ryan persists in not calling on the FLQ to unilaterally release Cross and Laporte.

38) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: an article appears in the Montreal Gazette, citing the Journal de Montréal article by Lévesque of that same day, in which Lévesque wrote:

“Two lives are worth much more than the interests of the state, important as they may be.”

“Quebec’s collective honour should mean an agreement with the terrorists’ demands, because Quebec’s honour would not soon recover if the two men were to die in a context which in no way justifies such extremes.”

“We are terribly wary of the social and political deterioration which would result, with very little doubt, from a tragic finish.” (The Gazette, 13 October, and Journal de Montréal, 13 October 1970).

39) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: Bourassa calls upon the specialist doctors to return to work.

40) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: Robert Demers, on behalf of the Quebec government, offers safe conduct to the kidnappers and also recommends parole for the five prisoners who are eligible for it. He negotiates with lawyer Robert Lemieux, who has authority to so act from the FLQ. Demers and Lemieux agree they will not talk publicly, but Lemieux soon is talking to the press and organizing protest meetings and demonstrations in favour of the FLQ. (Lemieux never seemed to understand his role as a negotiator. He was trying to be a negotiator, but was also a full-time participant, trying to foment an uprising alongside the other visible activists – Pierre Vallières, Charles Gagnon and Michel Chartrand.)

41) Tuesday, 13 October: In the evening, the negotiations between Robert Lemieux (lawyer for the FLQ) and Robert Demers for the Quebec government, break down. The Bourassa Cabinet agrees to try to continue to negotiate with the FLQ, but not to release convicted FLQ terrorists. Parole would, however, be recommended for the five prisoners already eligible. The position is unanimous and final. It is agreed to refuse the specialists’ offer of a 30-day truce, made by lawyer Raymond Lachapelle. Instead the specialists will be ordered back to work.

42) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: Premier John Robarts of Ontario declares: **“There is no way we can yield to these terrorist demandsBy Jove, this has got to be a law-abiding country where you can bring your family up without fear ... The demands are wrong – morally wrong and socially wrong – we have to stand and fight. It’s war – total war.”** (Toronto Star, 15 October 1970, as quoted in Denis Smith, 1971 at p. 33).

Tuesday, 13 October 1970: **“The former [Union Nationale] Minister of Cultural Affairs of the Government of Quebec, Mr. Jean-Noël Tremblay, sees in the actions of the FLQ, ‘the beginning of a global revolution, with the aim of establishing a socialist dictatorship.’ The F.L.Q., he notes ‘is following the objective of a global revolution. Quebec nationalism is only a pretext. It serves as a catalyst. ... I am convinced, as well that a good number of sincere nationalists have been mobilized and manoeuvred, without their suspecting it.”** (My translation; Jacques Lacoursière, 1972 at p. 209).

43) Tuesday, 13 October 1970: **“In the evening, Paul Rose takes a brick and continually strikes himself in order to inflame his face. He is able to considerably change his appearance....”** He disguises himself further as an old man and is able to avoid the police who are surveilling him. Thus he escapes into the automobile of Fernand Venne. (Duchaîne Report, 1981, at pp. 87-88).

44) Wednesday, 14 October 1970: Claude Ryan calls on the specialist doctors to end their strike.

45) Wednesday, 14 October 1970: FLQ leaders Pierre Vallières, author of “Nègres blancs d’Amérique” (1968), Charles Gagnon and FLQ lawyer Robert Lemieux hold meetings of students, teachers and professors to gather support for the FLQ. The result is a general “débrayage” of French-speaking CEGEP and university students.

46) Wednesday, 14 October 1970: The Bourassa Cabinet meets from 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Immediately afterwards, Bourassa announces that the Quebec government is willing to recommend parole for the five prisoners eligible for it and that the kidnappers will be given safe-conduct to Cuba or elsewhere, in exchange for Cross and Laporte. Robert Lemieux, lawyer and spokesman for the FLQ, is outraged, rejects the offer and breaks off negotiations.

Wednesday, 14 October 1970: At 9:00 p.m., sixteen “eminent personalities” hold a press conference and sign a petition, apparently prepared by Lévesque and corrected by Ryan. The sixteen are Claude Ryan; René Lévesque; Jacques Parizeau, President of the Executive Council of the Parti Québécois; Camille Laurin, Parliamentary leader of the Parti Québécois; Alfred Rouleau, head of insurance at the Mouvement Desjardins; Marcel Pepin, president of the CSN; Louis Laberge, president of the FTQ; Jean-Marc Kirouac, president of the UCC; Fernand Daoust, secretary-general of the FTQ; Yvon Charbonneau, president of the CEQ; Mathias Rioux, president of the Alliance des professeurs de Montréal; Raymond Laliberté, past president of the CEQ; Paul Bélanger, professor of political science at Université Laval; Marcel Rioux, professor of anthropology at Université Laval; Guy Rocher, professor of social science at Université de Montréal and Fernand Dumont, professeur et directeur de l’Institut supérieur de l’Université Laval.

René Lévesque opens the press conference with words “**Quebec no longer has a Government.**” (La Presse, 15 October 1970).

47) Thursday, 15 October 1970: The Petition of the “Sixteen” is published in Le Devoir with a request that it be signed by the public. (An earlier and briefer declaration by the same 16 persons appears in La Presse on 14 April 1970.)

48) Thursday, 15 October 1970: The Montreal Star calls on the specialist doctors to end their strike.

49) Thursday, 15 October 1970: La Presse publishes a cartoon by Girerd, entitled “**The Slipper Cell**” (“**la cellule ‘Pantoufle’**”), showing Michel Chartrand in slippers sitting in a rocking chair.

50) Thursday, 15 October: Many more meetings and demonstrations, led by Lemieux, Gagnon, Vallières, Michel Chartrand and others in support of the FLQ, are held by students, teachers and professors, resulting in the shutting down of most French-language university faculties, CEGEPs and high schools in the Montreal area, as well as some institutions outside Montreal. (Montréal-Matin, 16 October 1970. See also Annex One to Chapter 8.)

Thursday, 15 October 1970: The Bourassa Cabinet meets from 11:00 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. and agrees: a) to call in the services of the Canadian Armed Forces at 1:00 p.m.; b) to place all municipal police forces in Quebec under the authority of the Director General of the Sûreté du Québec; c) to study, with the federal government, what regulations should be put into force under the War Measures Act.

Thursday, 15 October 1970: At noon, a special meeting of 800 students of UQAM (Université du Québec à Montréal) takes place in the Salle Jésus and supports the FLQ. Carole de Vault, who was present, does not remember a single voice in opposition. (Carole de Vault, 1982 at p. 121).

Thursday, 15 October 1970: Robert Lemieux, Pierre Vallières, Charles Gagnon and Michel Chartrand organize a meeting of Université de Montréal students and convince nearly 1000 to sign the FLQ Manifesto 1970.

Thursday, 15 October 1970 at 3:07 p.m.: The National Assembly convenes and Bourassa announces that the Quebec government has called in the Army. All three leaders of the opposition parties (the Union Nationale, the Crédit Social and the Parti Québécois) rise in turn in the National Assembly and agree with the decision. Two hours later, Camille Laurin, Parliamentary leader of the PQ, contradicts himself, declares he was misunderstood, and opposes the bringing in of the Army. It seems evident that Laurin was pressured by Parti Québécois riding associations and by René Lévesque. (Le Devoir, 16 October 1970).

The Montreal Gazette's Richard Cléroux also reports from Quebec City that Laurin's "...**'explanation' that he was misunderstood, didn't cut much ice with the veteran observers here.**" (Gazette, 16 October 1970) (On 30 October 1970, Lévesque was to change his mind without reference to Laurin. See 30 October 1970, *infra*.)

All afternoon and evening, the National Assembly debates the three Medicare bills: a) amendments requested by all the doctors and also permitting the specialists to opt out, b) putting Medicare into force on 1 November 1970, and c) ordering the specialist doctors back to work.

51) 15 October 1970 at 6:00 to 6:30 p.m.: The Quebec Cabinet meets and decides: a) that the FLQ will be given notice to release Cross and Laporte within six hours of the publication of the notice; b) that a regulation under the War Measures Act will be put into force by the federal government, if by the expiration of the above six-hour period, Cross and Laporte have not been released.

52) 15 October 1970 at 9:00 p.m.: The Government of Quebec issues its six-hour notice to the FLQ: **"As a result of the present situation and the necessity to assure public order the Government of Quebec has decided to give its final position in the negotiations with the Front de Libération du Québec.**

“As concerns the preliminary question, that is the release safe and sound of Messrs. Laporte and Cross, the government of Quebec suggests that the International Red Cross should act as an intermediary between the two parties.

“As to the conditions demanded by the Front de Libération du Québec, the Government replies as follows:

1) It does not accept to liberate all the prisoners listed by the Front de Libération du Québec. On the other hand, it firmly agrees to strongly recommend the conditional liberation of five of these prisoners who asked for their liberation. Steps have already been taken in this regard.

2) The appropriate authorities undertake to furnish a safe-conduct to the members of the FLQ cells, who kidnapped Messrs. MM. Laporte and Cross.

3) The same authorities will assure that an airplane will be available for the transport to the chosen country.

4) Finally, as concerns the other conditions, the government does not believe it is legitimate to accept them. The Government has taken this decision, whilst measuring all the implications and alternatives that exist.

“Because of the nature of the situation and the multiple delays, which have taken place to date, the Government asks for a reply within six hours of the publication of this notice. Mr Robert Lemieux has been advised of the contents of this notice by Mr. Robert Demers.”

In the evening of 15 October 1970, 3000 cheering students meeting at the Paul Sauvé Arena in Montreal shout “FLQ, FLQ, FLQ” endlessly, in answer to speeches by Pierre Vallières,

the actor Michel Garneau, Robert Lemieux, the FLQ negotiator, and finally Michel Chartrand. (Eric Bédard, 1998 at pp. 67-68).

53) 15 October at 11:00 p.m.: Bourassa signs the letter he had drafted to Prime Minister Trudeau (dated 16 October 1970), requesting “des pouvoirs d’urgence... permettant de prendre.... moyens illégaux.” (Jacques Lacoursière, 1972 at p. 246) and gave it to a messenger with instructions to take it to Ottawa, but not to deliver it without first verifying with Bourassa’s office. The City of Montreal had the day before delivered a brief letter to Prime Minister Trudeau, dated 15 October 1970, and signed by Lucien Saulnier, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Mayor Jean Drapeau, asking for “...**the assistance of superior governments to protect society from a seditious plot and an apprehended insurrection.**” To the letter is attached a long letter of 15 October 1970 from Michel Saint-Aubin, the Director General of the Montreal Police, making the same request, but in different terms. (See the texts at Appendix K)

54) Friday morning, 16 October 1970: At midnight, the National Assembly unanimously adopts all three readings of all three Medicare bills.

The Parti Québécois, by motion of privilege, then attempts to debate the question of the kidnappings. The motion is ruled out of order by the Speaker. The House adjourns at 52 minutes past midnight.

55) Friday morning, 16 October 1970 at 3:15 a.m.: The letter, dated 16 October 1970, of Robert Bourassa on behalf of Quebec, addressed to Pierre Elliott Trudeau, requesting emergency powers, is delivered to Trudeau in Ottawa after consultation with Bourassa’s office. (See Document 146, dated 18 December 1970, deposited in the National Assembly in answer to a written question of Claude Charron, Parti Québécois Member of the National Assembly.) The letter reads in part:

“Under the circumstances, on behalf of the Government of Quebec, I request that emergency powers be provided as soon as possible so that more effective steps may be taken. I request particularly that such powers encompass the authority to apprehend and keep in custody individuals who, the Attorney General of Quebec has valid reasons to believe, are determined to overthrow the government through violence and illegal means. According to the information we have and which is available to you, we are facing a concerted effort to intimidate and overthrow the government and the democratic institutions of this province through planned and systematic illegal action, including insurrection. It is obvious that those participating in this concerted effort completely reject the principle of freedom under the rule of law.” (See Appendix K).

Members of the federal Cabinet are assembled in Ottawa and upon receiving Bourassa's letter, adopt the Regulation in virtue of the War Measures Act (see Appendix “L”). The state of apprehended insurrection and the proclamation of the Regulation come into effect at 4:00 a.m. (Duchaîne Report, 1981 at p. 118).

56) Friday, 16 October 1970: Le Devoir publishes a list of persons who support the petition of the 16 “eminent personalities”. Of the 150 or so persons who sign the petition, there is only one lawyer. It is Richard B. Holden. Louis-Philippe de Grandpré (later a Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada) is one of the six persons who telephone Le Devoir to oppose the petition.

In the morning, UQAM is closed. (Eric Bédard, 1998 at p. 143).

57) Friday, 16 October 1970: Lina Gagnon, a student in theology and political science at the Université de Montréal, comments on “The Silence of the Church During the Present Crisis in Quebec” (Le Devoir, 16 October 1970).

58) Friday, 16 October 1970: Jean Marchand declares in Parliament: **“The FLQ has thousands of guns, rifles, machine guns, and bombs, which could blow up Montreal and about 2000 pounds of dynamite, which latter is sufficient to blow up the centre of Montreal.”** (Debates of the House of Commons, 16 October 1970 at p. 224; see also Duchaine Report, 1981 at p. 8.)

59) Friday, 16 October 1970: Trudeau addresses the nation as to political prisoners and says:

“...they are qualified here and there as political prisoners. Who are these individuals, whom one wishes to have us accept as patriots and martyrs? I will tell you. Three of them have been condemned for murder, five for involuntary homicide ...”

Trudeau then notes the dilemma the FLQ poses: **“I recognize as I hope do others, that this extreme position into which the governments have been forced, is in some respects a trap. It is a well-known technique of revolutionary groups who attempt to destroy society by unjustified violence to goad the authorities into inflexible attitudes. The revolutionaries then employ this evidence of alleged authoritarianism as justification for the need to use violence in their renewed attacks on the social structure.”**

Friday, 16 October 1970: La Presse reports that the Quebec Prime Minister:

“...wishes and believes that the urgent measures will only be applied during a restricted period. Everything will depend on the actions of the police. But it is only a question of dismantling a little group of several hundreds of persons at most. The population accepted the exceptional measures with an exemplary calm and have every reason to be optimistic.

“Questioned about the possibility of even more severe measures being decreed, the Prime Minister replied that the extraordinary powers given to the police are already substantial and he does not believe that it will be necessary to increase them in the future.”
(La Presse, 17 October 1970).

Friday, 16 October 1970: In the evening, the Executive Council of the Parti Québécois meets in Montreal at the Party headquarters. Later, at a press conference, surrounded by PQ leaders, Lévesque declares: **“Le Québec n’ a plus de gouvernement”** and asks that the FLQ release Cross and Laporte. (La Presse, 17 October 1970).

“If the question is still open, we ask, we literally implore, the abductors to accept the conditions dictated Thursday evening by Ottawa and transmitted by the government of Quebec.

“If they are still capable of thinking beyond themselves and to step beyond the awful simplifications where chaos and destruction pose as creative acts, they should at long last see that their action has brought nothing but harm to everyone, not only to the hostages and their relatives; but if they persist and others imitate them, the consequence will be a longer and more cruel ordeal for Quebec....” (Gustaf Morf 1970 at p. 169).

The next day, Herbert Bauch of the Montreal Star describes Lévesque’s declaration: **“as a sharp reversal of form from Wednesday, when he joined with ten (sic) other prominent Quebecers in calling on the government to accede to the kidnappers’ demands.”**

60) Saturday, 17 October 1970: Lévesque writes in the Journal de Montréal:

“Quebec no longer has a government. The pitiable excuse for a government, which we had, was blown away, by the first tough blow. The Cabinet gave up its authority and now is only the puppet of the federal government. ”

Next to Lévesque's article is an article by Camille Samson, leader of the Crédit Social, **"The government heard our appeal"**, made public the previous Wednesday in a press communiqué where the Crédit Social of Québec asked the government to take a firm stand in the Cross/Laporte crisis.

61) Saturday, 17 October 1970: Claude Ryan writes in Le Devoir:

"For Mr. Bourassa and his Government there was more in the Cross-Laporte drama than the necessity to check the risk of insurrection at all costs. There was also and above all [emphasis added] a unique opportunity to affirm at the highest level the responsibility of the Quebec State." (Gérard Pelletier (English), 1971 at p. 161).

62) Evening, Saturday, 17 October 1970: The FLQ advises radio station CKAC that Pierre Laporte had been "executed" at 6:18 p.m., and that his body is to be found in the trunk of a car in the Saint-Hubert Airport parking lot. The reporters visit the scene, find the car, call a photographer and call the police, who at about 24 minutes past midnight, open the car's trunk to find the dead body of Pierre Laporte.

The FLQ communiqué of 17 October 1970 reads: **"Pierre Laporte, the Minister of Unemployment and Assimilation, was executed at 6.18 this evening by the Dieppe (Royal 22nd) Cell. You will find his body in the trunk of green Chevrolet (912420) at the St-Hubert base. P.S. The exploiters of the people of Quebec should take notice."**

63) 18 October 1970: Marcel Pepin, Louis Laberge, Mathias Rioux, René Lévesque, Jacques Parizeau, Camille Laurin, and Claude Ryan (also Guy Joron and Claude Charron) issue a communiqué asking the FLQ to release Cross (which they had not done in the petition of four days previous). They also ask the FLQ and the Quebec government to negotiate. (Le Soleil, 19 October 1970; Duchaine Report, 1981 at p.15)

64) 18 October 1970: The Bourassa Cabinet meets in the Palais de Justice in Montreal from 9:00 p.m. to 9:45 p.m. and notes that the funeral of Pierre Laporte will be held on Tuesday, 20 October 1970 at 4:00 p.m. at Notre Dame Basilica. Cabinet fixes 18, 19 and 20 October as official days of mourning. It is also agreed that the federal government will be requested to replace the War Measures Act Regulation as soon as possible by a special law.

65) 18 October 1970: the federal government creates a “Committee to Aid Persons Arrested under the War Measures Act”, to be chaired by Jacques Hébert.

66) 18 October 1970: **“By 7:00 p.m. 307 persons were behind bars after having been arrested Friday, Saturday or Sunday in virtue of the War Measures Act. Of this unprecedented number of arrests, 180 were carried out in Montreal, 4 in Sherbrooke, 14 in Hull, 11 in Joliette, 3 in Rouyn-Noranda, 56 in Québec City, 13 in Chicoutimi, 24 in Rimouski and 2 in Victoriaville.”** (Montréal-Matin, 19 October 1970).

67) Monday, 19 October 1970: Réal Caouette, leader of the Ralliement des créditistes in the House of Commons, declares: **“I am certain that the leaders of the FLQ have knowledge of everything that has happened and the places where their henchmen are hidden and I believe those leaders should be placed before a firing squad and put on notice to advise of the activities, organization and existence of the FLQ, which wishes to destroy the free society in which we live. They should be forced to denounce their killers and bandits, on pain of losing ten heads for each assassination they carry out.”**

68) Monday, 19 October 1970: The President of the Privy Council, Hon. Allan MacEachen, announced that the federal government would deposit a bill assuring civil liberties in Canada, in replacement of the present War Measures Act. (Le Devoir, 20 October 1970).

69) Monday, 19 October 1970: The federal Parliament votes 170 to 17 on a motion in favour of a resolution supporting the imposition of the Regulation under the War Measures Act. When the debate on the motion began on 16 October, a number of persons, including Robert Stanfield, leader of the Official Opposition, were critical of the Act, but when the debate resumed on 19 October 1970, after Laporte's death, there was little opposition (my translation; Lacoursière, 1972, at p. 256), except from those who had already spoken.

70) Tuesday, 19 October 1970: The Coroner delivers his report on Laporte's death to Choquette. The death was by strangulation by the chain around his neck.

71) Tuesday, 19 October 1970: Jean Pellerin, in an editorial in *La Presse*, writes:

“Civil Rights are provisionally suspended. But they are suspended for the big talkers and for those who always find themselves in the paddy wagon of martyrs. More than 99% of the population does not notice any repression by the government at all.” (Jean Pellerin, *La Presse*, 19 October 1970).

72) 20 October 1970: The broad majority of students of McGill, Concordia, Université de Montréal, and even UQAM, support the imposition of the Regulations under the War Measures Act. (Eric Bédard, 1998 at pp. 135-148).

73) Tuesday, 20 October 1970: The funeral of Pierre Laporte takes place in Notre Dame Basilica, Montreal, at 4:00 p.m.

74) On 21 October, Claude Ryan writes a moving **“adieu”** to Pierre Laporte, noting that he was a team player, the hardest of workers, a public figure with a solid knowledge of the political scene, who did not pose as an intellectual, but had chosen action. Although he was defeated in the leadership, he was a loyal lieutenant and as a family man, he was adored by his family.

At the same time, Ryan notes that at the funeral: **“Almost all those persons whom we met yesterday appeared to approve the attitude adopted by Trudeau and Bourassa since the beginning of the Crisis.”** (Le Devoir, 21 October 1970).

75) On 21 October 1970: the Coroner’s Preliminary Report is released by Justice Minister Choquette, after the funeral of Pierre Laporte, in respect for the Laporte family. The Report confirms that Pierre Laporte was asphyxiated by the tightening of a small chain he wore around his neck. (La Presse, 22 October 1970).

76) 21 October 1970: UQAM is opened (Eric Bédard, 1998 at p. 147).

77) 21 October 1970: San José, Costa Rica, (PA, UPI, AFP) – The government of Costa Rica agreed to release four terrorist guerillas for four American hostages. The kidnappings and terror continued in Costa Rica, nevertheless.

78) On 25 October 1970: Drapeau overwhelmingly wins the Montreal municipal election against the Front d’Action Politique (FRAP) and declares in his victory speech that certain persons attempted to put a provisional government into place during the Crisis.

79) On 26 October 1970: Jocelyne Despatie is arrested. She had been hired in August 1970 as temporary receptionist in the Montreal office of Robert Bourassa and ceased to work there on 8 October 1970. The news of her possible connection with members of the FLQ was first made public on 16 November 1970 in Le Soleil.

80) Monday, 26 October 1970: Persons still detained under the War Measures Act are given access to legal counsel for the first time.

81) 26 October 1970: Choquette, in a public declaration, states that the government recognizes the rights of the “committee to aid detainees” who will be able to make contact with persons held under the War Measures Act and whose purpose would be:

“a) To assure that essential contacts were maintained between the detainees and their families.

b) To look after the needs of the families of detainees and in particular the care of their children.

c) To adopt useful measures to prevent the detainees from suffering damages as a result of their detention and in particular in their employment.”

Choquette added: **“that all the persons released were unanimous in recognizing that they had been properly treated.”**

82) On 26 October 1970, the Toronto Star notes that there had been a plot to replace the government of Robert Bourassa. (Pierre Duchesne, 2001 at pp 564-565).

83) On 27 October, Pierre-C. O’Neill wrote in La Presse of attempts to create a **“provisional government”** and **“a government of public salvation”**.

84) Wednesday, 28 October 1970: Drapeau declares again that there was an attempt to form a provisional government.

85) Wednesday, 28 October 1970: Claude Ryan, Director of Le Devoir, denies all and writes of unfounded rumours orchestrated by Trudeau in Ottawa in an article entitled: **“The poisoned fruits of panic.”**

“In Mr. Trudeau’s entourage, there is a typical manner to put into circulation, then to verify, an opinion of which one is not sure, or is still a rumour, pure and simple.

In this way, Ottawa has constructed the theory of a plot which had the purpose of evicting Bourassa from power ...

“I do not, however, believe that they are capable of such lowness. I want rather to believe that they are carried away by panic.” (My translation; Le Devoir, 28 October 1970;

Claude Ryan, 1971 at p. 111).

86) Thursday, 29 October 1970: 500,000 copies of a special (8-page) edition of **“Pouvoir”**, entitled **“It Is Our Drama – It Is Up To Us To Get Out Of It”** is issued by the Parti Québécois. It explains the PQ’s position, which is in general that the War Measures Act was unnecessary and that the solution of the Crisis fell solely within Quebec’s jurisdiction. It does not discuss the view taken by the Party at the time of Laporte’s kidnapping, that the 23 terrorists should have been exchanged for Cross and Laporte.

87) Friday, 30 October 1970: Bourassa names Jean Cournoyer as Minister of Labour to replace Pierre Laporte.

88) 30 October 1970: Lévesque writes in the Journal de Montréal: **“The Army occupies Quebec. It is unpleasant, but no doubt necessary in times of crisis.”**

89) 30 October 1970: Claude Ryan, in answer to increasing public commentary, admits, in an editorial in Le Devoir, that on Sunday, 11 October 1970, he had telephoned four senior members of his staff and had called them to a special meeting in his office that morning. He had discussed the possibility of: a) Bourassa taking a hard line, or b) being unable to act, which would require: **“a provisional government made up of the worthiest elements of the several provincial parties, reinforced by a few political personalities from various sectors”**, or c) that Bourassa would not adopt a hard line. (My translation).

Ryan continues in his account, that emboldened by that meeting, and **“it having been agreed that Ryan should consult certain persons privately and confidentially”**, Ryan telephoned and then drove from downtown Montreal across Montreal to Ile-Bizard and visited Lucien Saulnier, Chairman of the City of Montreal’s Executive Committee, in his home that afternoon (11 October 1970). There he had a conversation with him that was **“purely private,**

consultative, et confidential". (Saulnier apparently turned Ryan down, but spoke to Mayor Jean Drapeau.) (Le Devoir, 30 October 1970).

90) 31 October 1970: Trudeau speaks to the nation on Radio-Canada, and in answer to René Lévesque and others who had asserted that the Quebec government of Robert Bourassa was in the process of abdicating its powers to Ottawa in the Crisis, declares:

"...that throughout the period of the FLQ-spawned crisis, there has been full agreement between the federal and Quebec governments and the Montreal municipal authorities.

"A handful of small-minded persons would have you believe this is scandalous, as if any agreement between the three spheres of government was bound to hurt Quebec and help Ottawa...

"In fact, all that each government did was to exercise its own powers in the sole interest of collective security."

91) 31 October 1970: Trudeau advises: **"The Canadian troops will return to their bases when Quebec makes the request."**

92) November 1970: At the beginning of the month, Nigel Hamer and Robert Comeau form the "Information Viger" cell.

93) 1 November 1970: The new bridge joining Quebec City to the south shore is named "Pont Pierre Laporte" by Robert Bourassa, in the presence of Mme Laporte, and is opened to traffic.

94) 2 November 1970: The original regulations issued under the War Measures Act are replaced by a new Public Order (Temporary Measures) Act, 1970, which is to apply until 30 April 1971. The Act is approved in second reading in the Houses of Commons by a vote of 152

to 1. The lone dissent is by David MacDonald, the Progressive Conservative member from Egmont (PEI), who feels that the War Measures Act had had “very detrimental effects.” (Hugh Segal, now a Senator, was one of MacDonald’s assistants.) The new regulations outlawed the FLQ and continued to provide for jail terms of up to five years for membership in it or for assisting the kidnappers. A person could be held for three days without being charged; this period could be extended to seven days upon the request of the Attorney-General of the province. Unlike the original regulations, the new law allowed those arrested to have immediate access to their lawyers.

95) 2 November 1970: On this day, the governments of Canada and Quebec jointly offered a reward of \$150,000 for information leading to the arrest of the kidnappers.

96) Jacques Hébert, president of the Quebec Civil Liberties Union, declared that a three-person committee had visited roughly half of the 118 prisoners detained under the War Measures Act. He reported that none had been tortured, although some had complained that they had been subjected to questioning techniques that were “absolutely unacceptable”.

97) 5 November 1970: Carole de Vault, a Parti Québécois and FLQ member and petite amie of Jacques Parizeau (Pierre Duchesne, 2001 at pp. 546-547), is advised to go to the police by Mme Jacques Parizeau, and to report her involvement with the FLQ and of a coming FLQ robbery. (de Vault, 1982 at p. 115). On 6 November 1970, she does go to the Montreal Police and tells of her FLQ involvement and of a coming theft by the FLQ of Caloil moneys. Later Jacques Parizeau agrees she acted properly. (de Vault, 1982 at p. 122). The police convince her

to become an informer, which she does and continues to be so until the end of 1972. (de Vault, 1982 at pp 115-117; Duchaine Report, 1981 at p.176). She comes to light as an informer when testifying before the Keable Commission in 1980.

98) 6 November 1970: Bernard Lortie, one of the kidnappers of Pierre Laporte, is captured in an apartment near the University of Montreal. Francis Simard and Jacques and Paul Rose hide behind a wall in a cupboard and escape 24 hours later.

99) 7 November 1970: The Viger Cell produces the first of its four communiqués, dated 7, 14, 21 November and 4 December 1970.

100) 8 November 1970: René Lévesque declares:

“However, there are certain things, which cause people to commit crimes in Quebec. I excuse no one, and I will never applaud the assassination, which has been committed. But they can be explained. If we keep the same sort of society, we will have the same sort of result.

“The police and the army will have to leave some day and Trudeau’s filthy tricks, in any event, will not prevent all sorts of other kidnappings.” (La Presse, 9 November 1970).

101) 10 November 1970: The FLQ, in a communiqué sent to the Montreal Gazette, claims that the FLQ does not want **“political power”**, but admits to **“high treason”**. (Gazette, 10 November 1970).

102) 15 November 1970: Jean-Jacques Bertrand, in a television interview, declares that he “... **would have acted like Bourassa, but he believed that Drapeau and Marchand went too far.**” (My translation; Jean-Claude Trait, 1970 at p. 200).

103) 3 December 1970: The house on rue des Recollets in Montreal North, where Cross has been sequestered in an 8 x 14-foot room, is discovered. Cross is released and is in relatively good health, although he has lost 22 pounds. The four FLQ terrorists who kidnapped Cross - Jacques Lanctôt (along with his wife and child), Jacques Cossette-Trudel (along with his wife), Marc Carbonneau, and Yves Langlois (alias Pierre Séguin) are flown to Cuba on a Canadian Armed Forces four-motor Yukon aircraft. Cross flies home to England.

104) 12 December 1970: Julien Morissette writes in the Montréal-Matin that the captured FLQ members “...**saved their own skins, that’s all they did.**” They renounced all their original demands, except asylum for themselves. “**Their slogan ‘We will overcome’ no longer made any sense and if there was to be a slogan, it was to be defeat and fiasco across the board.**” (My translation).

105) Jacques Hébert, chairman of a “Committee to Aid Persons Arrested Under the War Measures Act, notes in his preliminary report:

“However, in all honesty we must take certain circumstances into account: it was the first occasion in peace time that the police were given such broad powers. Approximately 450 persons were arrested and only a very small number of them complained of the way they were interrogated. Several even noted the courteous nature of

the interrogations and the arrests; and even if certain complaints were justified, it would seem that would not implicate more than a small number of policemen.” (Rapport préliminaire du Comité d’aide des personnes arrêtées en vertu des lois d’urgence, décembre 1970.) (My translation, Gérard Pelletier, français, 1970 at p.184).

106) 14 December 1970: The Quebec government announces that it will introduce legislation to indemnify persons who are victims of criminal acts, including Mrs. Pierre Laporte. (Le Devoir, 14 December 1970).

107) 27-28 December 1970: Paul Rose, Jacques Rose and Francis Simard are found in a 20-ft. tunnel in St. Luc, near St. Jean, Quebec. Instead of forcing them out by gas or dogs or gunfire, as was suggested by some hotheads and others, Bourassa asks Dr. Jacques Ferron of Longueuil to convince them to surrender. Dr. Ferron visits them and they emerge from their hideout a few hours later. There is no bloodshed, no police brutality, and no martyrs.

108) 29 December 1970: Minister of Justice Jérôme Choquette announces that under the War Measures Act Regulation, there have been 3068 seizures and 453 persons arrested, of whom 403 were released. Of those arrested 139 were students, 45 workers, 42 unemployed persons, 25 teachers and professors, 17 journalists, 15 office workers, and 14 technicians and others.