

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

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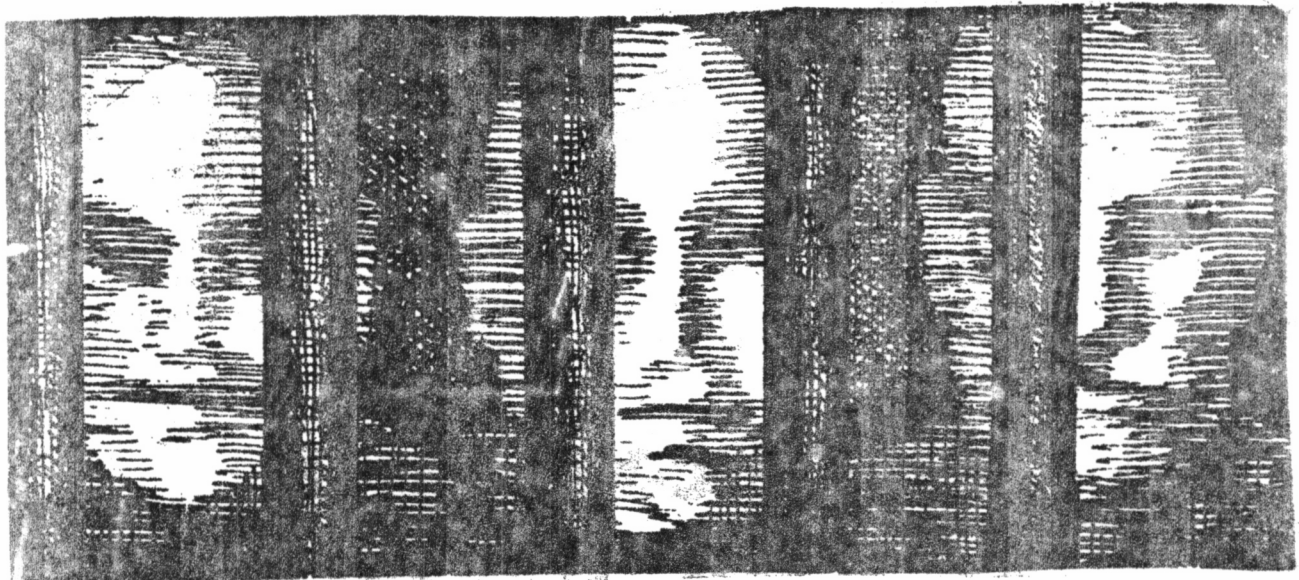
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CCC WHITE NIGGERS OF
AMERICA QUEBEC
SEPARATISM NOV 1974

White Niggers of America

by
Pierre
Vallières

Discussion with a Representative of the Quebec Struggle



"THE WORD CAN COME ONLY FROM US, THE NIGGERS: WHITE, BLACK, YELLOW. . .THE PEOPLE WITH DIRTY HANDS!"

"WE HAVE ALREADY WASTED TOO MUCH
TIME IN VAIN RECRIMINATION. NOW WE
MUST GO ON TO ACTION."

A SPEECH DELIVERED
BY JACQUE LARUE-LANGLAIS
TO CONTROL, CONFLICT &
CHANGE, ON NOVEMBER 9, 1971

"LET US REFLECT, LET US SHARPEN OUR
KNIVES, ROLL UP OUR SLEEVES AND TO-
GETHER GET TO WORK!"

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FINANCED BY THE MOTOR CITY LABOR LEAGUE AND THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

WHITE NIGGERS OF AMERICA

A Speech by Jacque Larue-Langlois

Jacque Larue-Langlois , representative of the Quebec workers struggle is a journalist, teacher and political activist.

The speech was delivered to attending members of Control, Conflict and Change, on Tuesday, November the 9th, 1971, at Central Methodist Church in downtown Detroit, Michigan.

Subject for his speech was Pierre Vallierre's autobiography, WHITE NIGGERS OF AMERICA. Vallierre, born a worker's son, raised in the slums of Montreal, is now a leader of the Quebec Liberation Front just a few short miles above the northern border of the U.S. After being arrested in 1966 as he and Charles Gagnon demonstrated in front of the U.N. while seeking recognition of the Quebec struggle, Vallierre wrote his book in the New York Men's House of Detention as he began a three year prison sentence for that demonstration.

White Niggers of America was the third presentation of the second year program of Control, Conflict and Change, a contemporary education program sponsored by the Motor City Labor League and the Black Workers Congress.

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WORKERS UNITE IN QUEBEC
a presentation
by Jacque Larue-Langlois

Brothers, Sisters, Comrades, I must tell you first that I'm not an intellectual, I dropped out of school the day I turned eighteen. So don't squeeze me too tight in a corner on philosophical questions from Vallières' book. But I can tell you that it is a true book, of a true Québécois and I think I feel everything that is written in it. What I would like to tell you about does not follow the particular outline of the book, but rather about the struggle that goes on in Quebec. Maybe I can bring out new facts that the book couldn't carry. I'm leaving open to discussion whatever the book contends.

OCTOBER 1970

I will begin in October of 1970; "October Events" as they are referred to back home. Let it be known that October 1970 was not the first stage of the Quebec liberation struggle and you may rest assured that this was not the last either. A lot more is to come.

What happened in October of 1970? On the 16th of October, two men had been kidnapped and 10,000 pigs couldn't do anything to find the kidnapper. Then 10,000 pigs not being sufficient, they decided to take stronger means; they proclaimed the War Measures Act. The War Measures Act was instituted for the opening of World War I in Canada back in 1914. It was established in order to allow a control over citizens from Germany with which Canada was then at war. The same act was pulled out again around 1932 against the Communist Party in Canada. Through it they could lock up the Communist leaders for a few years. It was used at the opening of World War II, against the Japanese-Canadians and the German-Canadians. Then it was pulled out again in October 1970 against Quebec because two men had been kidnapped and the police couldn't find the kidnappers.

This War Measures Act enabled Ottawa to bring 7,500 federal troops in on the Quebec territory which we considered occupation, military occupation of the autonomous Quebec territory. It also made possible 4,000 searches in various homes, for it allowed police to proceed without warrants. In addition it facilitated the arrest of some 500 people, kept up to three weeks in jail. This was illegal against some 450 of them as no accusations whatsoever were made at any time.

Ridiculous charges of seditious conspiracy were branded against thirteen of us altogether. We can claim them ridiculous charges because so far, seven of those charges have been judged and ended with acquittals while the rest have not been judged because the establishment has realized that they will never be able to prove them.

Although charges were held against forty-four people kept in jail after November 5, this was three weeks after our arrest and the ultimate date for passing charges or else releasing the arrested people. Altogether eighty-seven charges were made against forty-four persons. Twenty trials took place during the winter

and spring against thirteen people, one person was found guilty on one count, that of supporting the aims of the FLQ. He was sentenced but the day after the Court of Appeals received his appeal the man was let out on bail. And that's the score so far; that is all. They arrested 500 people, they charged 44 with 87 accusations, so far they have proven one which is under appeal and the man is out on bail. That is how far they went just because they were afraid --that is what happened in Quebec in October of 1970. The system was scared. It was scared because for the first time the Quebec Liberation Front had succeeded in reaching the workers and a response had come from the Quebec workers. Some labor unions had taken stands favoring the Manifesto issued by FLQ.

For the release of the kidnapped persons, a British diplomat and a Quebec minister, the FLQ asked for few conditions: the release of some 23 political prisoners, half a million dollars in gold, a plane that would take all those people, political prisoners and kidnappers away to Cuba or Algeria, and, fourthly, that the Manifesto of the FLQ be read in public openly as widely as possible. This last condition was fulfilled by the authorities and, of course, the only one they found acceptable. It was a gigantic step in the liberation struggle of the Quebec people. This beautiful Manifesto, made for the Quebec workers, was read over national television, French and English networks. Twice it was read over all radio networks and private stations, and it was published on front pages of all newspapers, dailies and weeklies, throughout Canada.

We discovered that labor unions backed it and a lot of workers backed it, and even some priests backed it way out, 500 miles from Montreal in a remote part of Quebec, where you would expect the Church would have a medieval grasp on the people. Way out there, a group of priests and Catholic citizens came right out and said, "We totally agree with the objectives of the FLQ as proposed in the Manifesto. On the actions taken by the FLQ in order to support those objectives we don't comment, it is none of our damn business, but we agree with the objectives." This stand was spreading all over, students were declaring that they agreed with our objectives all over Quebec. That is what scared Ottawa. The FLQ had made a breakthrough to the workers and the workers throughout Quebec understood that the FLQ was nothing more than it had claimed to be for years, what we refer to in Quebec as, le bras arme, the armed arm of the people.

Now Ottawa could act as it did because it received the support of the English Canadians of the country. Out of ignorance of the situation in Quebec, out of racism toward French Canadians and French Canada in general and out of colonialist attitudes of Canadians toward Quebecois. Quebec is being double colonized not only by capitalism and local Anglo-Saxon imperialism, but they also bear the burden of cultural colonial exploitation. You see, Quebec is an internal colony of Canadian colonialism where the survival of a national minority was due to the actions of genuine economic integration, of economic equalization. By keeping the Quebec people in a lower class they have kept this colony together. They have made it subsist and develop culturally into what it is today, a nation of six million people claiming the right to its autonomy, its right to political and total independence. And at the same time, Quebec is, of course, also a region of the Canadian political system which itself is subjected to foreign domination by the structures and practices of U.S. imperialism.

QUEBEC

Quebec, which had been known for a century as being predominantly rural, by 1950, a few years after World War II, had moved to what can be referred to as an advanced capitalist economic system. Today Quebec is 85% urban. Yet 60% of this advanced capitalistic colony is American owned. Twenty-eight percent is English-Canadian owned, and 88% is owned by Anglo-American property, while the population of Quebec itself is 83% French. Therefore, Québécois are victims of cultural repression, of race discrimination, of foreign political domination, being forced to speak English in order to get anywhere.

In my country, the country where I was born, where I, a French boy, started learning English when I was eleven or twelve, where 83% of the population is French, in order to earn my living properly, in order to advance amongst the population, I had to speak another language. I consider this a handicap. Now I have nothing against languages, I speak a bit of Spanish and I love speaking English, but I don't want to be obliged to speak any language other than mine in my own country in order to be able to earn my living. I think that is only normal and that is what the Quebec people decided a few years back now.

The Québécois, being a working class, are also victims of economic oppression. Ninety percent of the working class in Quebec is French. The rest is made up mostly of European immigrants. There are very few English workers in Quebec. The Canadian Communist Party in Quebec is English-Canadian. Workers in some of the shops were organized by the Communist Party a good 20 years ago. So we see that Quebec is economically exploited as wage labor in the capitalist production process.

Yet this is different in Quebec because you can't separate the two. The class line coincides exactly with the national divisions. The bourgeoisie is English by some 90% and the working class is undoubtedly French by 90%. Nationalism is just not an ideology standing above or outside the class struggle but must be analyzed in terms of the specific groups and classes that articulate or profess it. Canada is dominated by English-Canadian bourgeoisie, from Britain and the U.S., but in turn Canada is exercising control over Quebec. Quebec is dominated by the English-Canadian bourgeoisie, as a region within Canada, yet at the same time has produced its own French-Canadian petty bourgeoisie which has exercised political power within the province of Quebec. Yet nationalism is what was used in China, it's still used in Vietnam, it was used in Algeria, in Cuba, and it is in use now in Palestine. Nationalism there is used as a revolutionary ideology by revolutionary forces.

EXPLOITATION IN QUEBEC

There's a history which dates back four hundred years. You will be able to read in the book, The History of Quebec, by Léandre Bergeron, historic, cultural and linguistic traditions of Quebec that are 400 years old. Québécois have a national territory; Québécois form a nation. Québécois, as such, are exploited; they have a right to self-determination.

A federal commission in Quebec was set up by the government in Ottawa, called the Royal Commission on bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism to make a study of these aspects of life in Canada. The commission came out with astonishing statistics. In Quebec,

for instance, if you divide the workers into 14 ethnic groups, you find out that the French-Canadians, 83% of the population, come in twelfth position in the revenue ladder; they are just ahead of the Italian immigrants and the native Indians. The black community in Quebec is not important enough to have been part of this 14-group study because there are so few blacks.

The wage rates in Quebec are 25% lower than that of Canadian workers outside of Quebec; they are 40% lower than that of U.S. workers; the cost of living is about the same. We are buying the same products, we're being infested with the same TV crap, and we are being sold the same shit as you are being sold here. The average income of the French Québécois is 40% less than the English-Québécois. Unemployment in Quebec is two to three times higher than that of Ontario, the province right next to it. There are now 200,000 unemployed people in Canada of 20 million, half of whom are residents of Quebec.

In Montreal, statistics taken last year show that 12% of the workers do not earn \$2,000 a year. Twenty-three percent of the workers of Montreal do not earn \$3,000 a year; 39% of the workers of Montreal do not earn \$4,000 a year; 58% of the workers of Montreal do not earn \$5,000 a year. That's a vast majority, the 58%; that's a beautiful revolutionary mass dormant there. I think that we are going to wake it up; I think we are all going to wake up to it. French speaking people in Quebec make up three-quarters of the work force. Within this work force, 81% of the people making \$10,000 or more are English. In Montreal, French retain 17% of the upper management positions, English 83%, which is the exact reverse of the population ratio.

Universities could pull us out of it? Well, our universities are the result of what our petty bourgeoisie traitors have set up. Back home we call them roi negre, nigger kings. When the colonizer lands in Africa, he makes friends with the nigger kings and then he has all the people on his side. We use this expression to describe our traitors, our "Uncle Toms," our Québécois who have sold themselves to the system. Universities have been made by those people. Seventeen percent of the population is English, yet the English are 42% of the university students in Montreal. Those are facts. In 1969 our government voted \$23 million to McGill University, an English university, the elite university of the colonizer where the colonists are taught how to exploit the people. The government also put \$10 million in the opening of a new French University, that's a state university, Université du Québec, in Montreal.

WHAT WILL THE SOLUTION BE?

So what can the situation be? What can the solution be? Nationalism has always been dormant in Quebec. The conquest came in 1760 and ever since people have been trying to overthrow the conquerer. In 1837 and 1838, there was serious trouble -- a rebellion. Some twenty-odd people were hung, 600 were actually exiled outside the country. A lot of people were killed in fights and battles against the British troops. During the last two world wars, 1914-18 and 1939-45, Québécois massively refused to fight in Europe. Not because they were fascists, not because they were backing Hitler, but because to a Québécois going to fight alongside the Canadian-English Army, in Great Britain, was going to defend Daddy Colonizer and we were not going to do that. They can take care of themselves.

And way back in 1960, what was then called a separatist movement, was formed. Let me tell you first that the word separatist now, has definitely a pejorative connotation. It's not used anymore, except by the system to discredit the movement. We think of Quebec as a unity, as a whole. Quebec does not want to separate from anything; Quebec just wants its autonomy. The movement is for independence, for autonomy, and for freedom, not for separatism or for separation. But, in 1960, such was the spirit of these struggles and the Rassemblement pour L'indépendance nationale was formed. It brought together people who were mainly concerned about nationalism, problems of survival, with language and cultural problems. After eight years of action, it divided. It disbanded in 1968 and split into a right and left. The right wing of it became the Parti Québécois, the PQ, right wing of the RIN plus a United Progressive Bourgeoisie from the Liberal Party. Rene Leveque was the head of them. Leveque, now being the head of the Parti Québécois. It's a normal political party within the structure that advocates the independence of Quebec within its program, to be negotiated after the party takes power in Ottawa, but with no change in the economic or social system, the continuation of capitalism, the continuation of importing U. S. capital to Quebec, the continuation of the exploitation of the people by a small minority will remain. It is, therefore, a party that does not answer the real profound needs of the Quebec people. It is nothing but a bourgeois party. It would make of Quebec, it will make of Quebec another Bolivia or a Guatemala. Bolivia and Guatemala are politically independent countries. They don't have to answer to a mother country, directly or officially. There is only one language that is official, that is Spanish. Except, of course, if you work in the mines, since the mines are U.S. owned, you have to speak English, even in Bolivia. And the economy of the country, we all know, is the property of U.S. capitalism.

Parallel to the right wing formation of the Parti Québécois, was developed a left wing in 1968 which was called the FLP, Popular Liberation Front. It's an open, public group of radicals, organizing in working class citizens; committees, organizing in shops, organizing in schools, in universities, in colleges; taking stands on national questions, on Bill 63, for example, which was a Quebec law wanting to give priority to the French, on Operation McGill to overthrow the existence of this McGill University, bastion of imperialism within our own country. It took stands on Valliere and Gagnon in their four and a half year imprisonment for nothing.

ORIGIN OF THE FLQ -- THE WORKERS LIBERATION FRONT

The FLQ started in 1966, before the disbanding of the RIN. Previous to that, in 1963, it had existed as a narrow nationalistic organization. First, bombs were planted in mailboxes in the rich, bourgeois Anglo-Saxon ghettos of Montreal. But from 1966 on, when Pierre Valliere and Charles Gagnon took over the activities of the FLQ, the picture changed. The struggle became a class struggle. The FLQ started to put forward the fact that we were not fighting on racial problems or on language problems anymore. We were fighting for the survival of all the exploited workers. Since then, even though the French Canadian petty bourgeoisie has been the dominant nationalist force in Quebec during the last decade, the working class has become more and more politically conscious, through the action of the FLP and further through the action of the FLQ. Terrorist activities may tactically be discussed. They may not be discussed openly since they're the result of people who have to be underground to decide about them and go into action making them; but it's undoubtable that terrorist activities help render the population's consciousness, especially if they are accompanied like the October 1970 kidnappings by a manifesto that receives the publicity that manifesto got.

So the working class has been becoming more and more politically conscious, increasing the tendencies toward socialism within the independence movement. There have been dozens and dozens of strikes in Quebec in the last three or four years. I could name them all to you but the names would not mean much, just let me tell you that probably hundreds of thousands of Quebec workers have gone on strike in the last three years and some of those strikes that have lasted up to a year and a half.

One of them that started a year and nine months ago, it's still on. The workers still go from Montreal to Ottawa, a hundred and twenty miles, every day by bus to demonstrate in front of the Parliament building in Ottawa. They have organized a commune, they all live together, there are four hundred and forty families living off of this commune of strikers who refuse to go back. They have lost everything, the government has changed the system of mail postal workers, workers picking up mail for distribution. The government has set up another system altogether. They've lost everything, scabs are working; lost everything except the faith, except the desire to keep the struggle going, except that now they have found that the answer does not lie within the system, and a lot of Quebec workers have had the opportunity of making this trip, if you want, in the last few years.

VALLIERE AND GAGNON

Let me tell you for a few minutes about Pierre Valliere and Charles Gagnon and the way they have been for years as victims of repression of the system. They were arrested in 1966 in New York and then were kidnapped. Did you know how they got out of Manhattan House of Detention? They were arrested in September 1966, and there until January 13, 1967, over three months. That's where Valliere wrote most of his book and, of course, the Quebec police and the Canadian police tried to negotiate with the American pigs as to what they could do. How they could bring those cats back to Montreal. They could not formally and legally repatriate them, the solution they thought of was kidnapping them. They had been arrested for demonstrating in front of the United Nations. They were held for three and a half months, never once sent in front of the judge. They were charged with disturbing the peace, and then just kidnapped one night. They had a New York lawyer, but one Friday evening at seven o'clock they were told they were free. They couldn't reach their lawyer and were physically pushed out on the street in Manhattan. They physically resisted because they knew what was coming. Out in the street were American immigrant police who immediately picked them up for illegal entry into the U.S. They were handcuffed and taken over to the airport and put on a plane to Montreal where the police picked them up. That's how they were kidnapped on January 13, 1967.

They were the first FLQ cats to decide they would have trials, and plead not guilty. They would make a fight, a struggle, and they have had altogether seven trials in four years, murder trials, manslaughter trials, armed robbery trials.

Once Charles Gagnon was found guilty of robbery. Even this is pending a final decision of the Court of Appeals. The Provincial Court of Appeals has rejected the appeal, but it's at the Supreme Court of Canada now. So Gagnon has spent 42 months in jail altogether. He was sentenced to 2 years and he is still pending the final decision of the Court of Appeals. Valliere had two trials. He was sentenced to life at the end of the first one, but the Court of Appeals rejected the trial, saying it

was ridiculous and that it had strictly been a political trial. The court said that Vallierre had been judged much more for his political ideology than for his participation in the murder that he had been accused of taking part in. So Vallierre had another trial, much more ridiculous yet than the first one. The judge, a real clown, a real buffoon, really baffled, really ridiculed justice altogether. This guy was guilty of contempt of justice daily. We call him our own Judge Hoffman. This trial ended by a verdict of guilty, again, and Vallierre was sentenced this time to thirty months of jail. He came out of jail after a total of 45 months, his 30 months having been served amply.

Vallierre and Gagnon were picked up again last October with the rest of us and had to stand for 8 months. They were the last of the 497 people arrested and the last ones to come out, of course. While Vallierre and Gagnon were in jail, we organized from the outside a support committee which developed rapidly, and whose first objective was to publish, to distribute and generally to make known the ideologies for which Vallierre and Gagnon were in jail and had been fighting all those years. We succeeded in rallying a lot of pickets, a lot of demonstrations and sit-ins in halls of justice throughout Quebec, twice rallying 10,000 people in public demonstrations.

ELECTORIALISM - THE PARTI QUÉBÉCOIS

What is the solution? Elections? The Parti Québécois?

The Parti Québécois by the way, in the April of 1970 provincial elections got 24% of the popular vote. But for that it got only 7% of the Members of Parliament, because of the way the electoral map is distributed to favor the old parties. The Liberal Party who were in power got 48% of the popular vote. Out of this 48% of the popular vote 15% can be considered English vote which leaves 33% of the French speaking Québécois vote. Out of this 33% they got 78% of the Members of Parliament.

I hope not to have to fight too hard to convince you that electoralism in a capitalist society is nothing but a tool that the system uses to its own advantage. It's a tool; it's a fake that the system brandishes; it's the occasion of making a little cross on a piece of paper once every four years. That's not my idea of democracy. I don't think that's your idea of democracy either, especially when we know that the richest political party can buy elections. We know bloody well that elections are being bought all over the place. I don't think we can expect anything from electoralism. I think the people will have to find other means for showing that they are in the majority for a change in the system. This change will come about.

Quebec's political independence should come about in my opinion in the next 6 years at the most. I don't say 6 years for nothing, but because there will be a provincial election next year or the year after, in which the Parti Québécois will undoubtedly come close to the majority or it may even get majority then. At another election four years after that they will take power and they will have the majority and that will be the political independence of Quebec, the first step toward liberation.

We will have our Bolivia or our Guatamala. It will happen. The Canadian authorities are, to a certain extent, ready to accept it. Last night at a press conference that was broadcast live from Quebec City, Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, was asked if the population of Quebec could vote its own independence from Canada by democratically electing the Parti Québécois. Here is Trudeau's answer, a true politician's answer, "No. There would remain negotiations to ensure the organizing of the referendum.

We'd have to find out who to negotiate with, what the question of that referendum would be, when it would be to take place and what the implications of such a referendum would amount to." He's saying no, but he's saying we've seriously thought of the means of organizing the political independence of Quebec. Ten years ago a Canadian Prime Minister, 5 years ago a Canadian Prime Minister to this question would have answered, "Well, this is purely hypothetical, I mean, there's nothing to say." Pierre Trudeau has thought of the way it's going to be done. He knows, he has a way. It won't be done his way, don't worry. He's already accepted the idea that it will be done, even him.

In the struggle, all of a sudden, came October. October of 1970, the War Measures Act and Turnerville after it. It came to us not as a surprise. After the first shock, we all realized that it is within the logic of the system to use when it feels it is in danger. It is the only strength on which it really rests, physical violence, the police, and the army. They were scared. The workers were starting to back the FLQ. Capitalism is essentially the exploitation of a vast majority by a small minority. The minute the small minority realizes the vast majority is growing, becoming conscious, it pulls out its only force, the army and the police. So let's not be surprised, there will be more Octobers to come. More Octobers in Quebec, and more Octobers in Detroit. There will be Octobers all over America and there will be Octobers all over the world.

But even the measures they took in Quebec to scare the population didn't work. For example, the Parti Québécois in April 1970 had gotten in one particular circumscription before the events, that of Labor Minister Laporte, the man who was executed, not assassinated, but executed by the FLQ. His circumscription was free and there was a byelection in February of 1971 to replace him. In April of 1970, the Parti Québécois had governed 30% of the popular vote in Chablis in this circumscription, in this writing.

In February of 1971, after the events, after the army, after the War Measures Act, after the 4,000 searches, after the 500 arrests, after all the accusations and right in the middle of our trials, the percentage of the vote rose to 39%. In Laporte's writing, the victim's writing on the day before the election, the Liberal Party was issuing pamphlets saying, "Are you going to vote for the assassins of Pierre Laporte?" implying that the Parti Québécois, a petty bourgeois party that has publically denied the FLQ regularly, implying that the Parti Québécois may have participated in this execution made by the Quebec workers. The FLQ authors of the kidnappings of October were strictly workers, taxi drivers, deisel mechanics and people like that.

QUEBEC 1971

What's happened since October? Let's take a look at what's happened in 1971 so far, for example. We had 7 acquittals on charges of seditious conspiracy, we had in Quebec 18 arms and radio and communications equipment thefts attributed to the FLQ, 12 armed robberies in Montreal attributed to the FLQ, 21 bomb attacks attributed to the FLQ, 200 wounded pigs in demonstrations attributed to the Quebec workers which is part of the FLQ undoubtedly. And there was the strike at La Presse which is the biggest French paper in America, probably the largest French paper outside of France for that matter. It sells about 300,000 daily, this is a fair sized newspaper. It belongs to Power Corporation. Power Corporation is a gigantic holding in the hands of one man in particular. It holds this newspaper, it holds Canada's steam ship lines, it holds the common transportation throughout Quebec, it holds 7 or 8 TV stations, another 7 newspapers, it holds radio stations all over Quebec, all means of communication. It has a very strong capitalist hold on Quebec. The La Presse stenotype operators were negotiating a new working agreement last August. La Presse people, feeling that things weren't going too well, decided to take a lockout measure against the stenotype operators. Scabs were hired however and the newspaper kept functioning for

a few weeks. There were pickets, picket lines being crossed, fights, windows being broken, brawls and demonstrations of all sorts during all the month of September until finally La Presse decided to lock out the whole paper. That happened on October 27th, last. The paper doesn't print anymore.

On October 29th, two days after the lockout, the whole labor movement in Montreal through its three major unions, the Quebec Federation of Labor, which is the federation of all unions affiliated to America AFL-CIO and all other such groups, the Federation of National Trade Unions which is a local confederation of trade unions, about the same importance (each represents approximately 400,000 workers) and the Teachers Union, a big union of about 300,000 workers in Quebec, got together and organized a demonstration on October 29th, two days after the lockout in the streets of Montreal. This demonstration in which 12,000 people participated, ended with a big brawl with the pigs. A good hundred pigs were beaten and a couple hundred demonstrators also beaten of course.

A few days after that on November 2nd, there was this big rally at the Forum and there were 14,000 workers of these big three centrals present there. 14,000 workers within whom we could feel the awakening of class consciousness. The president of the CNTU in Quebec, a 400,000 worker union, said publically little over a week ago, that workers couldn't expect anything anymore from the government authorities, that workers could only count on themselves to settle their problems and that the solution could not lie within a capitalist society. Our labor unions are finally getting there.

We think, as a lot of journalists that have been staying and publishing around Montreal lately, that October 1971 has been relatively quiet compared to October of '70. Yet, even though Octobers will be more quiet, Octobers will be more frequent in Quebec. Octobers will be more and more a year-round thing. The 100,000 unemployed in Quebec now will be multiplied twice by February. It's going to be a nice situation.

We think that there can be no liberation without struggle. We think also that there can be no struggle without risk, without sacrifice. Such is the price of freedom and we are ready to pay that price. We are now organizing within the working movement in Montreal. A lot of organization is going on inside the labor unions and in non-union shops. There are still a lot of non-union shops in Quebec. Inside these shops a lot of les Comites d' Action Populaire, popular action committees are being set up. These groups are also being set up in colleges, in universities, in various sectors of town by women. These groups work starting from the peoples' problems, from the workers' problems in their shop, from the student's problems in their college, in their schools, from the women's problem within their family or the clinic's problem. They start here to organize the people. At the same time as they start with the peoples' own problems, they politicize them and progressively, after very few months of organizing, people come to realize that the answer cannot lie within the system. The answer is the overthrowing of the system. The answer is (let's not be afraid of words) revolution.

THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE: THE WORKERS

Revolution is nothing but a radical change of the social economic and cultural structures of the process. But it's a radical change that can be made by the people, by the majority of the people alone! Revolutions are not made by minorities. Revolutions

are not made by small groups of activists or by terrorists. Revolutions are not made by intellectuals. Revolutions are only made by people, the workers; thus, are made by workers. We have no reason, we have no right to overthrow the process if we do not represent the majority of the people. That is how we see democracy and that is not how the system sees democracy and I think we're not going to repeat the stupidity of the system.

The way to do it then is to unite on all fronts. Unite at home as we're doing, but unite all over the world. Unite all world liberation movements. The most effective way for English Canadians or for Americans to express their solidarity to the Quebec movement, is to build liberation movements of their own to destroy the structures and the practices of our common enemy which is American imperialism. The only way to help is to fight the structure as the monster exists and prevails in each of our communities. Our enemy is imperialism. Our enemy is imperialism coming from the east or from the west. Our enemy is imperialism, American or Soviet. We're against all imperialism; against imperialism in Vietnam,--in Palestine, in South America, in Quebec, in the rest of Canada, in the U.S., in Detroit. The people from Puerto Rico, the Young Lords, are being victims in New York; in California it's the Chicanos, the Mexican Americans are victims. All over the continent, women are being victims of this capitalist exploitation. All over the U.S. Black people are realizing that it's about time we fight the monster. The Red people of America and the Red people of Canada, and there are a lot of them, starting to fight the monster together. The only way to win is to fight everywhere. The monster is in Vietnam; they're fighting there. It's in Palestine; they're fighting. It's in South America; they're fighting. Let us fight here. Let us fight right in Detroit, in Quebec. Quebec can't do it alone.

Circumstances of Quebec culture, our history, are of national consequence today. Circumstances bring us to a vantage point, to a certain extent in this revolutionary struggle but this does not allow us to make a revolution of our own before the rest of the countrymen, or before the rest of the people make it against imperialism throughout the world. I don't think Quebec can pull another Cuba on the U.S. right here next door. I don't think it's possible. I don't think the Marines will let it be done. Let's not forget what Che said, "Let's make thirty, fifty Vietnams: There won't be enough U.S. Marines to go around." We have to do it all together. I think we can do it all together.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

Q: WHAT WERE THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE BOMBING OF THE SHOE FACTORY WHERE A WOMAN WAS KILLED, I.E. WHY THAT FACTORY AND SO ON?

A: That was in May of 1966, the bombing for which Pierre Vallierre and Charles Gagnon were accused of murder. The shoe factory, owned by a French Canadian family, employed 150 workers and had been on strike for 14 months. Vallierre had been working within the workers' committee organizing food supplies and trying to arrange negotiations. The workers were on strike because the boss refused them the right to form a labor union. Scabs kept the factory working, despite the pickets that were outside, their numbers limited by injunctions requested by the boss and approved by judges.

After 14 months of trying to negotiate, of trying to seek another answer, the FLQ decided that to draw the attention of the people to this particular strike, to this particular struggle, they would plant a bomb. The bomb was made into a shoe box, and delivered there at the noon hour. It was made to explode 13 minutes after it was delivered. As soon as it was delivered, people were called and told that there was a bomb in their building that would explode 12 minutes later. The boss told the caller to go to hell and didn't tell any of the employees about this. The bomb did explode, and a woman working in the office was killed by the explosion.

Q: REGARDING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FLQ TO THE FLP, WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THIS VISIBLE ORGANIZATION, HOW MUCH DOES IT REPRESENT THE IDEOLOGY OF THE FLQ?

A: I forgot to tell you that the FLP started working in 1968. It only existed for about two years. It was the structure that preceded the organization of the Comites d'Action Populaire, the CAP's. Therefore, today it just doesn't exist anymore. It was openly radical, therefore was seriously submitted to repression by the State. It had it's problems.

Q: SINCE THE SOVIET UNION IS SUPPORTING THE ARABS IN THE NEAR EAST, WHO YOU CONSIDER PART OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WHY SHOULD YOU CALL THE SOVIET UNION IMPERIALIST?

A: Because of Czechoslovakia, among other things. I mean that an imperialist power is one that imposes its power by strength, imposes its exploitation of peoples whose autonomy should be respected. This is exactly what they've done in Czechoslovakia, what they have been doing in other countries. The fact that they supply arms to Fatah or to other organizations of liberation in Palestine does not necessarily put them on the side of people throughout the world struggling against imperialism. It is one thing to help people to fight imperialism but it's another thing to act as an imperialist power.

A: HOW WIDESPREAD IS THE SUPPORT AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE FRENCH WORKERS TOWARDS THE FLQ? CAN YOU COMPARE THIS TO THE WORKERS' CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE U.S.?

A: How widespread is the support compared to the U.S.? Well, I don't really know what the support of the U.S. people is to strong radical action, including violent action in a revolutionary pattern, so it's very hard to compare. Of course the support of the labor union is not behind the FLQ. I mean we can't say the labor unions are backing the FLQ. That's not exactly true. I would say that we are feeling more and more within the workers' bastions a sentiment of pride that the workers have expressed after FLQ actions last October. The Montreal Central Council was the only union; it represents 200,000 workers. A support vote was

by 120 delegates in an official meeting. This backing to the manifesto is strong and means something. This is the official union that accepts the FLQ manifesto. Other groups of workers in non unionized shops throughout the territory of Quebec also back the objectives of the FLQ. But again it is the objectives that they back. We have had no union so far coming out and saying we agree with the actions of the FLQ.

Q: COULD YOU ELABORATE ON THE WORK OF THE POPULAR ACTION GROUPS. WHO LEADS THEM, HOW EXTENSIVE AND EFFECTIVE THEY ARE?

A: They're relatively new. They've decided last year to go into municipal politics and they tried to run candidates against Mayor Drapeau. Mayor Drapeau's election came last October 24th, exactly eight days after the imprisonment of 500 people among whom three or four were candidates of the Front. So this super structure was the victim of the events of October. It is slowly rebuilding right now, yet the structure is not very strong.

The CAP's, the Comites d'Action Populaire, exists. Some people are working at structuring them. They had one congress last May and they have one coming at the end of this month which should give us a fair picture as to the amount of organization that they have reached.

Q: YOU SPOKE OF THE FRENCH CANADIANS AS BEING AN OPPRESSED MINORITY IN CANADA. WHAT HAS BEEN THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN KEEPING FRENCH CANADIANS IN THEIR CONDITION?

A: Awful, awful bad. I had been boarding in a priest's boarding school until I was 18 and it took me a hell of a long time to get out of there. It still is quite bad in the country despite the fact that a lot of priests are taking radical stands because they realize that their action should be on the side of the people. And as I said before, a group of priests, for example, 400, 500 miles from Montreal, took a stand for the manifesto, which is something. But in Montreal the Catholic Church for all practical ends is dead. In the last three years, 11 or 12 very big churches have been sold or demolished in Montreal. There are no people in church anymore on Sunday in Montreal. But in the country it's another thing all together because the problem isn't the same.

Consciousness first arose for the national question, realizing that the first stroke of conscience comes to the national question, to the national culture of oppression and then on to the class struggle. Outside of Montreal in most of the province the cultural oppression is not nearly as strong. It doesn't exist in villages. There are a lot of villages and small towns in Quebec where nobody at all speaks English except the lawyer, the doctor, and highly educated people like that. So the problem isn't as acute there and, therefore, the situation didn't grow as fast.

Q: THE U.S. PRESS MADE A GREAT DEAL OF THE DEATH OF LAPORTE. WILL YOU PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY AND HOW IT HAPPENED? COULD YOU RELATE THIS TO THE GENERAL QUESTION OF THE PLACE OF TERROR IN REVOLUTION?

A: James Richard Cross, British diplomat, was kidnapped on October 5. Quebec Minister of Justice, Jerome Chaquette, made a declaration on the 10th, five days after the kidnapping, in the afternoon on TV. It was a Saturday afternoon and when he spoke he said the government would do nothing. "We are not going to accept any of the conditions. We ask the kidnappers to surrender and if they surrender we'll let them get away free." The answer of the FLQ to that, half an hour later, was the kidnapping of Pierre Laporte.

Now, Pierre Laporte was kidnapped by another cell altogether. He at one time attempted to run away by plunging through windowpanes and cutting himself seriously. I don't know what happened afterwards, of course, as I wasn't there. And we did not hear many details about things. The guys who were arrested afterwards that said, "yeh, I did it" didn't go around explaining how it took place. I can't give you all the sadistic little details except that the official story says that he, Pierre Laporte, had been strangled by a metal chain that he had around his neck. That's what I can tell you about Pierre Laporte's execution.

Relating to the general place of terror in revolution - revolution is an overthrowing of the system in order to replace it by something else. We've said that the system is capitalist, a small minority exploiting a vast majority. We have said that capitalism being a small minority exploiting a majority can only rest in case of danger on the violent strength of the police and the army. So time will come when capitalism, feeling danger approaching, will use violence again, in much more massive force, and in much more outright demonstration, than it did in Quebec last October, through the police and through the army.

Then what will have to be done? Citizens will have to take up arms to defend themselves. I think that is only natural. In such cases, because of the violence of the system, the workers, if they want to free themselves, must organize their own violence. If the cops are fighting with their fists we must fight with fists; if the cops have sticks, we'll carry sticks; if the cops have guns, why should'nt we have guns. That is my stand on violence in the revolution.

This question asks about terrorism. Yes, what is terrorism? Laporte, for example? Laporte was known as the minister in the provincial capital, more inclined to favor patronism of all sorts. To have friends and encourage nepotism. He was the racketeer, he was the finance man of the party. He was minister of labor. In 1961, as a journalist at the Devaue, he was the only journalist who walked through the picket lines during the strike. Laporte was a known enemy of the people. Laporte was a good example of our nigger kings which I talked about before. Laporte's execution came out as something almost normal.

I didn't find any Quebec workers stating that he stood against the execution of Pierre Laporte. Some of them expressed doubts. Not very many of them said they were for it very openly, at a time when you were liable to go to jail for five years if you supported the aims of the FLQ. But most of the Quebec workers that I have met, that I have been in contact with in the last year, said that it was not such a bad thing after all. And that examples like that are to be made and are wondering why the FLQ is not doing the same with Jacques Drapou, Mayor of Montreal. Or with the chief of police or some of the judges.

Q: WHAT IS THE POLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN QUEBEC?

A: Nothing. The Quebec Communist Party is made up of fifty English businessmen. It is a formal academic Communist Party, I'm sorry to tell you, but that is the way it is. There is a stronger Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist, Mao-Tse Tung Thought, that is coming up. And it is working in workers' districts, in slum areas, and it's doing some good action. However, members of this Marxist-Leninist Communist Party have trouble with - let's call them by opposition - the non-dogmatic revolutionaries of Quebec. People who support the FLQ don't necessarily agree with this Marxist-Leninist Party. I myself think we are all in the same struggle together. I think we're fighting the same fight. I definitely agree for using Marxism-Leninism, not as a bible to stick by, but as a lesson from which we can draw. Those people knew what they were speaking of; they had experience, Marx, Lenin.

Lenin made a revolution, Mao Tse Tung made a revolution. They have things to say, they have things to convey to us that are important.

Q: CAN YOU POINT OUT SOME ELEMENTS OF CULTURE, LANGUAGE, MUSIC AND SO ON IN QUEBEC THAT ARE SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT THAN AFRO-AMERICAN?

A: We speak another language. We communicate with a lot of books, with records of music that come mostly from France which is the center of French culture in the world. And our own music coming out, Quebec's music of today, is a rather suave mixture of American folk style, musically, but the words remain very Latin. I don't think I have ever probed into this matter very seriously. If whoever asked the question could be more explicit, ask for some detail, point out some elements of the culture, language, music and so on in Quebec, it would be more helpful.

Similar types with Afro-American? The difference is we're white niggers, we call ourselves white niggers. Bobby Seale reminds us of the difference. He came to Montreal in 1968 and we had a chance to discuss with him. He told us at once that, to a certain extent, a fellow who didn't want to be an exploited French Québécois could pull out of it. And in a year he could master the language, lose all accent and integrate. Some of our people have done it. While Bobby Seale said, "I can't change my color, I walk these streets and I'm always black." Some of our people can do it, and some of our people actually do it. That's one of the differences I can see with the black people; the resemblance I think Valliere has sighted in his book.

Q: YOU INDICATED THAT WITHIN TWO TO SIX YEARS PARTI QUÉBÉCOIS MAY HAVE A DEFINITE MAJORITY AND SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS IN ELECTED POSITIONS AND THAT IS THE FIRST STEP. COULD YOU ELABORATE ON THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS STEP. AND WHAT'S NEXT STEP?

A: I thought I made it clear when I said that the Parti Québécois is going to make a Bolivia or Guatemala out of Quebec. It will be a politically independent country working within the capitalist system, being exploited by Anglo-American capitalism, where a small minority of rich people will keep exploiting a vast majority. The change we want to make, is a Marxist-Leninist simple basis like "to each according to his needs, from each according to her ability." We want to build a society that rests on that principle. This is not what the Parti Québécois wants to bring about. So the next step would be bringing about this society. With an independent Quebec that is more conscious, that has its own structure, it will be easier to make the radical changes necessary for the overthrowing of capitalism.

Q: TAKING YOUR EXAMPLE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE QUEBEC WORKERS AND THEIR POSSIBILITIES OF GAINING LIBERATION THROUGH A MASS EFFORT, WHAT WOULD BE THE POSSIBILITIES OF SUCH A STRUGGLE DEVELOPING HERE IN THE USA, WITH THE PRESENT SEPARATION WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS WHICH HAS BEEN DIRECTED BY THE CAPITALIST ELITE? DON'T WE FIRST HAVE TO CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPING OUR RELATIONS WITHIN THE CLASS, RESULTING IN MORE EGALITARIANISM AMONG OUR COMRADES AS A SOLID BASIS FOR MASS STRUGGLE?

A: Sure. We have to do the same back home, too. This violent action, people taking up arms, is not for tomorrow. And let's not kid ourselves, it will take us a generation to do it. It's a big machine. We know the power of capitalism. But that is no reason to stop fighting. If you're going to walk a hundred miles, you just get up early in the morning and start walking. Well, let's walk together.

Q: PLEASE TELL US ABOUT THE COMMUNE OF STRIKING WORKERS THAT YOU REFERRED TO, HOW ARE THEY SUPPORTING THEMSELVES? ARE THEY GETTING HELP FROM OTHER UNIONS OR COMMUNITY PEOPLE?

A: There are four hundred and some odd workers, postal workers, picking up mail in the boxes, and taking it to the post office in trucks. They don't really form a living commune of 400 people. They live in their own homes. They get together every morning without exception. A group of them drives every day to Ottawa for a demonstration, 120 miles in a bus. The rest of them stay on the spot, they've organized cooperatives for childrens' clothes, for example and for food. They are used by the labor unions to organize demonstrations, to organize propaganda, to paint posters and things like that. They are receiving money from their union, which is affiliated with a big U.S. union. U.S. workers are partly paying for them. Thank you!

Q: COULD YOU DISCUSS THE AMOUNT AND TYPE OF BLACK REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY THAT EXISTS IN MONTREAL AND THE PROVINCE. ALSO, WHAT SORT OF RELATIONS EXIST BETWEEN BLACKS AND QUEBECOIS?

A: The black organization is not very strong in Montreal, for the simple reason that the black population is extremely limited. In Montreal the population is two and one-half million, almost as big as Detroit. I don't think there are any more than 80,000 black people. So it's a very small community compared, for example, to the Italians, the Greeks and Hungarians in Montreal. Most of the black revolutionary activities come from a group from the West Indies that come to Canada to attend McGill or Sir George Williams Universities. You undoubtedly heard of the group of black students that set fire to a computer at Sir George Williams University back in February of 1969. Some of them have been sentenced to long terms in jail, some of the trials are not over. There was a trial of a Black comrade that ended two weeks ago. That man was sentenced twice to contempt of court, one to two years for violent activity of some kind. I don't remember the exact wording of the accusation.

How close are we to them? Not very, for the simple reason that they don't speak French. That's part of the problem back home. The struggle is made by the majority of exploited workers and the struggle is in French. A lot of English speaking people, white and black, say, ok man, what can we do? We say take this book for six months and learn the language and then we can go back and we can work together. There's hardly anything doing otherwise, with the exception of organizing in their own community. But they'll never feel that they are part of Quebec.

An English speaking Quebecois has to choose now. If he is a revolutionary he has to choose between staying in Quebec, which implies learning French, or going elsewhere and fighting the revolution in Canada or the U.S. or wherever he wants to, in English.

Q: COULD YOU TRACE THE POLITICAL CAREER OF TRUDEAU, I.E., HIS DECLINE AND FALL?

A: That's a dream yet! As an honorable servant of the people, Pierre Trudeau is the son of a millionaire, very rich himself, dilettante lawyer who came into politics because it was interesting. Stories went around about him during major strikes in the 50's where he'd go see the workers in his big jaguar. There is a story about him climbing up a hill in his jaguar on a rainy day with a friend, pulling his window down and saying to a man walking on the sidewalk "walk you fucker", and then closing the window and saying "that's how we're going to make the revolution." That's the type of man, the type of revolutionary

Trudeau has been. He has always been a federalist in the Canadian political system and has always been dead against the independence of Quebec. His reasons were, and to a certain extent he was right in the 40's and the beginning of the 50's, Quebec was under the dictatorship of Maurice Duplessis and of the church. Quebec, before and at the end of the last World War, was almost a rural middle age community and their civil rights were defended by the Anglo-Saxons in Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada. To a certain extent he was right then. The problem with Trudeau is that he forgot about evolution. He's at the same point he was at in 1948. That's the decline and fall of Pierre le Trudeau. He stayed there.

Q: GIVE US THE KEY POINTS OF THE FLQ AFTER SEIZING POWER AND ITS PROPOSED FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

A: The FLQ being an underground movement is vowed to terrorist action, to violent action and does not plan on seizing power. The people of Quebec will seize power with the help of the FLQ in the struggle. So the key points of the FLQ after seizing power don't exist.

As to the proposed form of government. This revolution is first against Yankee Imperialism. It will take years, we'll all do it together. When it comes about, situations will have evolved throughout the world. We will have the benefit of the experiences of socialist revolutions that have been made since 1917, all over the world. We'll benefit from the anarchist society in Barcelona from '32 to '36 because we have a lot of things to learn from those people, too, from everyone. And we'll also benefit from the studies that are being made and will be made in the years to come.

I don't feel we can right now plan a society that will exist after the overthrowing of capitalism except by saying that we want it to be a real democracy. A society that is self-administered by the people in it; by the workers in it. A society where the shop, for example, belongs to the people. A society where the college and the university belong to the student and the teachers that work there. And that is only normal. That's the type of society we want to build. Now the exact detail and structure, I think we have time to think about that. I don't think that that is a Utopian dream either.

Let me take a few minutes to tell you what could happen. For example, let's take General Motors in Canada, because General Motors has a plant near Montreal. This plant assembles Chevrolets. I don't know how many, and they invested thirty million dollars in that plant five years ago. It's a big plant, it works, it works good. In the last five years they have been withdrawing ten million dollars profit per year, that's fifty million dollars; so the investment has been totally reimbursed. The other twenty million I say, we say, they stole from the Quebec people. They take the Quebec steel, they take the Quebec workers, they have them build cars and they bring the profits to the states. Why should we accept that? Because they pay the workers? But if they pay the workers thirty dollars a day, the workers bring eighty dollars a day and it's the fifty dollars that make up the ten million profit a year.

This fifty dollars difference goes into the pockets of rich American capitalists who buy what? New cars, new Cadillacs, or invest elsewhere in the world, in Nigeria, in France or in Canada or Quebec? Statistics show that the amount of money invested by U.S. capitalists in Canada per year is no more than half of what comes out in profit every year. So we're losing on the whole line. We say that the General Motors' plant near Montreal belongs to the Quebec workers and we say that a time will come when the Quebec workers will take it. And they won't buy it; they will take it. I think it's possible. I think they can fix it up; I

think they can make it work. And I think they won't necessarily build Chevrolets in a society where there are already too many cars on the road. Maybe they will need tractors that will be more efficient or maybe they will make a Quebec car that will correspond to the population there and that is not made as another means of exploitation.

Q: ARE WOMEN WORKING AS A SPECIFIC CONTINGENT OR JUST INCORPORATED IN THE GENERAL WORKERS' PEOPLE STRUGGLE - DO YOU KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE FLQ?

A: There are two women's liberation fronts in Montreal; there is the English Women's liberation front which emanates from the movement which exists throughout the United States and Canada, and there is also the Front d Liberation La Femme, the women's liberation front in French. They are quite active doing the same type of work that women's lib is doing throughout the U.S., but women have also participated in activities in the FLQ from the very beginning. In the very first group one woman was arrested; so far a dozen women were sent to jail for activities, including bombing, or for acting as propagandists for the FLQ.

Q: IN THE U.S. THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS SO BUREAUCRATIC THAT MANY SEE NO SUPPORT IN THIS GROUP. WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN QUEBEC? WHY DOESN'T THE BUREAUCRATIC TENDENCY NOT HAVE THE POWER IN CANADA?

A: The bureaucratic tendency has the power in Canada and it still officially holds the power even in the Quebec labor union. Because of the very special national conscience that develops, the political class struggle has also developed. A well run national liberation struggle will inevitably end in a class struggle and that is what is progressively happening in Quebec. It is the workers themselves, the support does not come from the labor unions officially or the bureaucratic system, it comes from the workers themselves.

Q: PLEASE SUGGEST A FEW CONCRETE WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN BUILD UNITY BETWEEN THE QUEBECOIS STRUGGLE AND THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AMERICAN STRUGGLE WHICH IS STRESSED; THESE SUGGESTIONS WILL, OF COURSE, SERVE TO STIMULATE OUR OWN THINKING ON THIS.

A: So far, all we have done is exchange means of struggle. We have a fight going on in Quebec and you have a fight going on in the U.S. The workers have a fight. We use instruments for this fight; that is, information, books, experiences, exchange is the only solution so far. Meeting each other, getting to know what is going on here, you getting to know what's going on there; seeing each other, corresponding, getting all the information, the original information, our problem here is that our information is all written in French. I think the only way is to exchange information, get to know each other, to know about our own struggle. When time comes for armed struggle maybe we can exchange guns if you make war or if we make war, or if we have good dynamite artists or you have good trigger artists, we could exchange, why not? We'll take all the means necessary.

Q: WHAT RELATIONSHIP IS THE QUEBEC LIBERATION MOVEMENT ESTABLISHING WITH OTHER CANADIAN PROVINCES OR STATES IN THE WORLD IN ORDER TO INSURE THAT QUEBEC CAN BE AN ECONOMIC ALLY VIABLE AND INDEPENDENT ENTITY AFTER INDEPENDENCE IS ACHIEVED?

A: This type of meeting that we are having tonight is an example; this exchange I was just speaking of is an example. When I came out of jail last February, I made a tour of Canada for about four weeks, I spoke at twenty-two different places and it was very interesting to meet Canadian workers all over backing the liberation struggle because they felt it was their own liberation

struggle going on in Quebec. So it is being done. We regularly hold these weeks on supporting the Vietnamese movement, the Palestinian movement, the South American movement, in Quebec, and have guest speakers coming in from these various organizations. I think that sort of thing is being done.

Q: IF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IS INADEQUATE TO PROMOTE CHANGE, HOW IN SIX YEARS, CAN THE QUEBECOIS REACH POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM?

A: The only independence they will reach is political independence. You seem to see a contradiction between the fact that elections can be bought and the fact that the Parti Quebecois will be able to take power. Let me tell you a truth. The Parti Quebecois will be able to buy elections too, the Parti Quebecois is a bourgeois party and they want power for themselves. They are tired of being exploited or exploiting for the English, they want to exploit for themselves; they can buy elections too.

Q: REGARDING THE UNION SUPPORT OF THE MANIFESTO, WAS THE UNION SUPPORT DUE TO THE DEMAND OF THE WORKERS WHO HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THE MANIFESTO? DID THE WORKERS PRESSURE THE UNION? WOULD YOU SAY THAT PUBLICATION OF THE MANIFESTO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT UNION SUPPORT?

A: Union support, the only official union support, came from the Montreal Central Council, 200,000 workers, represented by a very dynamic leadership including one of the five accused of seditious conspiracy with Valliere, Gagnon, the lawyer of Valliere, and myself. This group has a very strong leadership. It is a delegation of 120 some people who voted backing of the manifesto. All of the other backing of the manifesto came not through the union but through small units of workers themselves. In the CAP's or in the citizen's committees all over the province or through other structures that existed.

Q: AS SOON AS QUEBEC BECOMES POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT, WHEN WILL THEY TAKE OVER ECONOMICALLY? WHAT REACTION HAS BEEN ANTICIPATED BY UNCLE SAM?

A: They will take over economically when capitalism can be overthrown. Capitalism can be overthrown when we all overthrow it together. That's the only answer. I don't think Uncle Sam would do anything in case of a political independence by the Quebecois because Quebecois says U.S. capitalists stay here, we're very happy with it, nothing will change.

They don't care, if they don't lose money they don't care. It is just when a change is coming that they will act. And then we hope that Quebec won't be alone, that we'll all be in this together, and we can react, we can answer to Uncle Sam then.

Q: ISN'T THERE A DANGER THAT SECRET POLICE WOULD IMITATE FLQ TERROR AND AIM IT AT LIBERAL TYPES WHO MAY HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT AND CALL IT FLQ ACTIVITY?

A: Sure, just like here. It's been done. It's been done in the Black movement here. We have no instance where it's been done in Quebec but chances are that it's coming. Sure, they are capable of anything.