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The Berkeley of Sudbury: Student Radicalism at Laurentian University in the Sixties

Sara Z. Burke

Abstract

A key factor in student activism at Laurentian University was the ability of the two student populations — French and English — to join together to form an effective campaign for the advancement of collective undergraduate interests. This paper asserts that during the crisis years between 1968 and 1970, Francophone students gave leadership to the emerging student movement at Laurentian by drawing on their experience of French-rights activism to campaign more widely for a student voice in the politics of university reform. Tension over the issue of bilingualism early on became the defining characteristic of undergraduate culture, and Francophone students established a separate tradition of activism for French-language rights. The radicalization that occurred at the end of the sixties, however, had the effect of temporarily uniting Laurentian students around the broader cause of gaining representation in university governance. For students at Laurentian, the sit-ins, pickets, and mass meetings of 1969 and 1970 represented the high point of effective politicization, and the unity of the radical years could not be sustained in the face of ingrained differences that marked the student body. During the early 1970s, Francophone students returned the focus of their activism to securing French-language rights both within and beyond the university, and in 1974 broke from Laurentian's largely Anglophone student organization to form the separate Association des étudiant(e)s francophones (AEF).

For ten days and nights in April 1970, students occupied the lobby outside the cafeteria at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario. The students were protesting what they saw as arbitrary and incompetent actions taken by the Board of Governors. Following a Laurentian senate vote of non-confidence in Stanley Mullins, the university president, the board had refused either to dismiss Mullins or accept his resignation. In support of the student occupation, the senate called a recess, shutting down the academic functioning of the university for over a week. "In a situation believed unprecedented in Canadian university history," the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported, "the students and the faculty of Laurentian are allied against the Board and the president, Stanley Mullins."¹ Although the crisis was resolved peacefully, the students' activism in the spring of 1970 would lead to the resignation of the president and, ultimately, to the restructuring of university governance at Laurentian. During an orientation assembly that September, the student association president proudly welcomed the new first-

¹ "Laurentian Senate Allied with Students on Sit-in," *Globe and Mail*, 3 April 1970. I am indebted to Charles M. Levi, research consultant for the Laurentian University History Project, for creating meticulous research files on the 1968 to 1971 crisis in governance at Laurentian University. I also thank my excellent research assistant, Kaleigh Bradley, for skillfully combing through volumes of student newspapers. My colleagues Linda Ambrose, Stephen Azzi, Matt Bray, and Dieter Buse read earlier drafts of this paper and offered insightful criticism.

year students to “the Berkeley of Sudbury,” referring to the Berkeley campus in California which was at that time the epicenter of student radicalism in the United States.²

Student radicalism on this northern Ontario campus was part of a much larger movement for democratic change sweeping through European and North American universities in the sixties. The Canadian student movement produced many activists who challenged the authority of administrators and demanded greater representation within the governing structure of their universities. Student activists often identified themselves as participants in national or global movements, many became drawn to the New Left critique of capitalism, and their demands for a voice within their own universities was accompanied by a growing sense of responsibility for social change.³ Marked by militant student protest in France, Italy, West Germany, and Czechoslovakia, as well as across the United States, the movement resulted in significant student protest at a number of Canadian universities.⁴ To some extent, the events at Laurentian correspond to a pattern of student activism already familiar to Canadian scholars of higher education, revealing the strong generational solidarity identified by historian Cyril Levitt in his 1984 study, *Children of Privilege*.⁵ Yet Laurentian’s challenges as a bilingual university, and the shifting dynamic between Francophone and Anglophone students, provide a different context for understanding the success of student radicalism in a diverse undergraduate population.

A key factor in student activism at Laurentian was the ability of the two student populations — French and English — to join together to form an effective campaign for the advancement of collective undergraduate interests. During the crisis years between 1968 and 1970, Francophone students gave leadership to the emerging student movement at Laurentian by drawing on their experience of activism to campaign more widely for a student voice in the politics of university reform. At Laurentian, strain over the issue of bilingualism became the defining characteristic of undergraduate culture, and Francophone students established a separate tradition of activism for French-language rights. The

² “Freshmen Are Welcomed to Laurentian,” *Sudbury Star*, 14 September 1970.

³ Bryan D. Palmer, “New Left Liberations,” *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 245-309; Roberta Lexier, “‘The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened’: English-Canadian Student Movements and Off-Campus Movements for Change,” *History of Intellectual Culture* 7, no. 1 (2007): 1-18; Doug Owsam, “Youth Radicalism in the Sixties,” *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 216-47; Catherine Gidney, “War and the Concept of Generation: The International Teach-Ins at the University of Toronto, 1965-1968,” in *Universities and War: Histories of Academic Cultures and Conflict*, eds. Paul Stortz and E. Lisa Panayotidis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).

⁴ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 584-675; Steve Hewitt, *Spying 101: The RCMP’s Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 146-52, 163-64; Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 282-92; James M. Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008), 262-73; James M. Pitsula, *As One Who Serves: The Making of the University of Regina* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), 318-28; Jean-Philippe Warren et Julien Massicotte, “La fermeture du Département de Sociologie de l’Université de Moncton: Histoire d’une crise politico-épistémologique,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (September 2006): 463-96; Joel Belliveau, “Moncton’s Student Protest Wave of 1968: Local Issues, Global Currents and the Birth of Acadian Neo-Nationalism,” (paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, Vancouver, B.C., June 2008).

⁵ Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties; A Study of Student Movements in Canada, the United States, and West Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 72. Similarly, François Ricard argues that youth in the sixties became a unifying factor, that student leaders perceived themselves to be speaking in the name of all youth. François Ricard, *The Lyric Generation: The Life and Times of the Baby Boomers*, trans. Donald Winkler (Toronto: Stoddart, 1994), 111-27.

radicalization that occurred at the end of the sixties, however, had the effect of temporarily uniting Laurentian students around the broader cause of gaining representation in university governance.⁶

At the time of its foundation in 1960, Laurentian represented a unique experiment in post-secondary education — a bilingual and federated university located in a northern mining community. Although non-denominational, Laurentian University incorporated three federated colleges with church affiliations: the French Catholic Université de Sudbury, the United Church Huntington University, and the Anglican Thorneloe University. The movement to create a university in Sudbury had developed during the 1950s to promote the region's growing economic importance in the province. Sudbury had secured the university largely because of its nickel-copper mining industry, and the political influence of the city's two largest companies, International Nickel (Inco) and Falconbridge Nickel.⁷ Laurentian first occupied various makeshift buildings — including a funeral home — scattered throughout downtown Sudbury, before moving to a new campus on the shores of Ramsey Lake in September 1965. Drawing largely on the population of northern Ontario, Laurentian's enrollment increased steadily, but as the numbers of Anglophone students grew, the overall percentage of Francophone students declined sharply after the first five years, and continued to drop during the next decade. Between 1960 and 1961, the total enrollment was 185 students, 52 per cent of whom were Francophone; in 1965 to 1966, the number of students had risen to 901 with only 14.6 per cent Francophone; and by 1969 to 1970, the total number of full-time students was 1,773 but only 12.5 percent were Francophone.⁸

During the first decade of its existence, the university was managed closely by the Board of Governors, and most of the daily administrative details came under the direct supervision of the board executive and the university president. Since the founding of the university in 1960, student government had consisted of the Students' General Association (SGA). The SGA included students from both language groups, and the executive was formed by a president and two vice-presidents, one Francophone and one Anglophone. The SGA's first constitution, ratified in 1965, was also bilingual, and had been developed using models from both English and French Canadian universities, including Ottawa, Toronto, McGill, Laval, and Montreal. While all students voted for the SGA president, the vice presidents were elected only by those from their language group.⁹ From its inception, the SGA pushed the dean of students and the university president for a greater level of self-government, demanding control over the association's finances, and a tribunal to preside over student discipline. In the 1963 yearbook, SGA president Gérald M. Janneteau stated: "We must ask that where students' interests are concerned, that we must be heard, we must ask that we be consulted, we must ask that our ideas be taken into account."¹⁰

⁶ Rebecca E. Klatch explores the theory that during periods of rapid social change, such as the sixties, separate and often antagonistic groups exist within the same generation. Klatch, *A Generation Divided: The New Left, and New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1-16. This theme of generational division has been examined in a number of recent studies of specific Canadian campuses. See Gidney, "War and the Concept of Generation"; Johnston, *Radical Campus*; Pitsula, *As One Who Serves*; H. Blair Neatby and Don McEown, *Creating Carleton: The Shaping of a University* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 168-84.

⁷ Matt Bray, "The Founding of Laurentian University: 1958-1960," in *Laurentian University: A History*, ed. Matt Bray (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press for Laurentian University, 2010), 17-30.

⁸ Laurentian University History Project, File: Hagey Report, Charles Levi, Research Memo.

⁹ Laurentian University History Project, File: SGA/AGE, "History of the Students' General Association: The Years 1960 until 1998."

¹⁰ Gérald M. Janneteau, "President's Message," *Laurentiana*, 1963, 23.

Bilingualism and Francophone Students

As enrollment grew throughout the decade, and the percentage of French-speaking students declined, the survival of bilingualism became a lightning rod for activism among Francophone undergraduates. Early in the university's history, these students took on an increasingly political role within the larger student body over the issue of French-language rights on campus and beyond. In 1964, they organized l'Association des étudiants Canadiens-Français du nord-Ontario, and petitioned the royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism for French high schools in Ontario. Over the next few years, their activism within the university took different forms: protesting the fact that student cards were only issued in English, campaigning for bilingual signs on campus, and creating a biweekly French program, "Votre Université vous parle," on local television.¹¹

Tensions over the issue of bilingualism were deeply rooted in the foundations of the new university, and uneasy relations between Francophone and Anglophone students shaped undergraduate culture at Laurentian during its earliest years. "Do the French agitators at Laurentian fail to realize that their cause is not only hopeless but also fruitless?" wrote one Anglophone student in 1962. "Do they not see that this extreme Pro-French feeling has to die out at Laurentian if Laurentian is to exist united[?]"¹² Until 1965, the SGA published the student newspaper, *Lambda*, in both French and English, a compromise that neither language group found satisfactory. English-speaking students objected to what they saw as the disproportionate amount of French content promoted by a "pro-Français" editorial staff, while Francophone students protested the increasing dominance of English in all aspects of university life.

In 1965, following the report of a special committee on bilingualism, the Board of Governors approved several recommendations designed to strengthen bilingualism at the university, including the appointment of a director "to encourage participation by students in activities which cross language lines and tend to bridge the cultural gulf."¹³ Due to financial constraints, however, this position was never created. That same year, the student newspaper began publishing two editions, *Lambda* and *Le Lambda*, to provide more French content. The new French edition of the newspaper adopted a strong editorial position, criticizing the university administration, and advocating more complete bilingualism at Laurentian.¹⁴ In March 1966, a *Lambda* editorial attacked the activism of Francophone students, accusing them of "passionate fanaticism" in their campaign to ensure bilingual signs on washroom doors. "It is going to take a lot of extremely hard and long work by every single member of the French section to preserve their language and culture at Laurentian," the editorial concluded pessimistically. "I must be honest. I feel that the task set before the French of Northern Ontario is impossible."¹⁵

Until the late sixties, the language issue overshadowed other student concerns. Campus politics remained focused on bilingualism and, apart from references to the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, were slow to reflect a sustained interest in political issues beyond the university, such the rise of the civil rights movements or the Vietnam War. Similarly, among English-speaking students, only a small number exhibited the larger concerns beginning to mobilize students at other universities. After a lecture on apartheid in South Africa received a poor turnout in January 1965, one student wrote in *Lambda* that the parochial view of French-English relationships had produced a group of ostriches with their heads in the

¹¹ "Les Cartes d'identité," *Lambda*, 16 novembre 1962; "La Fondation de l'AECFNO," *Lambda*, mars 1964; "Émission bilingue de L'U. Laurentienne à CKSO," *Le Lambda*, 26 avril 1966.

¹² "The Francais-Anglais Split at Laurentian," *Lambda*, 14 December 1962.

¹³ Laurentian University, Board of Governors Minutes, Report of the Special Committee, 9 July 1965.

¹⁴ "J'accuse l'administration," *Le Lambda*, 26 avril 1966; "In Memoriam: Le caractère bilingue de l'Université Laurentienne," *Le Lambda*, décembre 1967.

¹⁵ "Bilingualism's Prospects are Dim at Laurentian," *Lambda*, 11 March 1966; "Will French-English Be Reconciled?" *Lambda*, 18 February 1965.

sand, so engrossed by petty arguments over the signs on washrooms doors that they were unaware of the vital problems facing the world. "Laurentian University is too great to be contained within the smallness of its bilingual problem," the article stated. "We need to be made acutely aware of what lies outside our narrow boundaries."¹⁶

Student Activism

The first stirrings of political activity among Anglophone students originated in the hostility of student leaders toward the university president. Relations between the president and the SGA grew increasingly sour throughout the decade. Mullins had been appointed president in 1963 at the age of forty-two. During the Second World War, he had served as an infantry officer, and later as an analyst working in military intelligence. After the war, Mullins set up an educational program for the Canadian army in Holland, before returning to university and graduating in 1948 with a master's in Romance languages from the University of Toronto. He had come to Laurentian from Laval University, where he had started his doctoral degree in English literature and, since 1958, had served as the director of English studies.¹⁷ Mullins' approach was autocratic, and he lacked diplomatic skills when dealing with both students and faculty. As Ontario's deputy minister of university affairs later observed, "Stanley Mullins ran a one-man type of show and tended to deal with the Board on a personal basis."¹⁸

Mullins soon came into conflict with other members of the administration, the faculty, and students. The students found Mullins to be overly paternalistic and controlling. John Rose, the SGA president from 1966 to 1967, criticized Mullins in *Lambda*, describing how he and other members of the SGA executive had been insulted when they arrived for a meeting. "Don't you ever do as you are told? Things would be a lot different here if you would," Mullins reportedly shouted at the students. After Mullins refused to allow student representation on a building planning committee, *Lambda* printed this news under the heading "Ein volk, ein reich, ein führer." In a report, published in *Lambda* in October 1966, Rose carefully itemized what he viewed as all the administrative and intellectual problems at Laurentian, including student apathy. He concluded with the challenge: "So now you know what's going on at Laurentian, what do you think about it? More important, what are you going to do about it? Are the students here for the administration or is the administration here for the students?"¹⁹

In spite of Rose's efforts, active opposition to the administration before 1968 seemed to be confined to the group of students involved in the executive of the SGA, or the staff of *Lambda* and *Le Lambda*. In January 1968, the editors of *Lambda* timidly printed a controversial article by Jerry Farber of California State College, entitled "The Student as Nigger," censoring certain offensive words and phrases.²⁰ Crudely comparing the situation of university students to that of black slaves, Farber's article had already appeared in student newspapers across North America. Several Laurentian board members were irritated by this publication, but to the disappointment of the student editors, *Lambda* received few complaints, and even fewer commentaries from the undergraduates themselves. In the next issue, the *Lambda* staff announced their resignations:

¹⁶ "Laurentian Students are Ostriches," *Lambda*, 18 February 1965. A rare exception for this period is "Why Are We in Vietnam?" *Lambda*, 26 February 1966.

¹⁷ "Laurentian's President Taking Over in Vital Year," *Sudbury Star*, 9 July 1963; "Former LU President Centre of Controversy," *Sudbury Star*, 30 December 2003; "President Regrets Laurentian's Bilingual Hopes Haven't Materialized," *Globe and Mail*, 7 March 1970.

¹⁸ Archives of Ontario (AO), RG32-1-1, Acc. 18006, Cmt M382, File: Laurentian University Faculty Association, 1970, E.E. Stewart to the Minister, 5 October 1970.

¹⁹ John F. Rose, "Presidential Report," *Lambda*, 20 October 1966.

²⁰ "The Student as Nigger," *Lambda*, 19 January 1968.

We assumed that the students would flood us with letters to the Editor. That was a stupid assumption. You can count the number of letters we got this year on your fingers. We can only assume that everybody is completely happy with the bookstore, the studying facilities, the library, Administration, the S.G.A., the dining facilities and the two newspapers.

The editors were pleased to hear that a student power group existed, but, they claimed, no one as yet had stepped up to do something about the many problems that plagued Laurentian. "We . . . can only say that they are too late," the editors noted bitterly.²¹

This assessment of student apathy would prove to be deceptive. In 1968, the SGA initiated the first in a series of student protests that, in concert with the activities of the senate and the Laurentian University Faculty Association, would culminate in a major restructuring of the university's governance. In March 1968, the Board of Governors attempted to amend the *Laurentian University Act* via a private members bill in the Ontario legislature. The amendments were simply housekeeping matters, yet the board had not consulted with the senate, faculty, or students. In particular, the students objected to the fact that changes were proposed to the membership of the university's Court of Discipline without adding student representation. The same month the editors of *Lambda* were walking huffily out of the office, Etienne St-Aubin, president of the SGA, launched a sustained protest against what he termed "this closed-shop type of decision-making."²²

The SGA organized a student rally, prepared a brief, and sent a delegation to Toronto to present it at Queen's Park. In the brief to the government, written in both French and English, the SGA stated:

It is indeed regretful and frustrating that the three major bodies within the University, namely the Administration, the Faculty, and the S.G.A.L.U., are only able to function *alongside* each other and not *together* in a cohesive manner for the betterment of the University.²³

After a two-hour debate, the parliamentary committee voted not to report the bill, and instructed the board not to bring it back without the appropriate consultation process having been done. Clearly annoyed by the students' actions, President Mullins informed *The Thorne*, a student newspaper at the affiliated Thorneloe College, that the SGA should have communicated its grievances with the administration before going to the legislature. "Laurentian's image suffered from the resulting publicity," Mullins told *The Thorne*.²⁴ In the summer of 1968, the board reluctantly acceded to the senate's demands to launch an inquiry into university governance, and the presidential advisory committee on consultative structures and procedures was created.²⁵

The students' success in turning back the board's amendments in 1968 marked the beginning of a more general politicization of undergraduate culture, diminished French-English differences, and

²¹ "Last Issue Thank God," *Lambda*, 9 February 1968.

²² Laurentian University Archives (LUA), F55, 1, Thorneloe University Students' Association, *The Thorne*, Etienne St-Aubin, "S.G.A. Presidential Report," n.d.

²³ AO, RG32-1-1, Acc. 13856, Box M297, Laurentian University, Legislation, 1967, Memorandum from the SGA, 21 March 1968.

²⁴ LUA, F55, 1, Thorneloe University Students' Association, *The Thorne*, "Presidential Interview," n.d.

²⁵ AO, RG32-1-1, Acc. 13856, Box M297, Laurentian University, Legislation, 1967, E.E. Stewart to W.C. Alcombrack; AO, RG32-1-1, Acc. 13856, Box M297, Drafts of the Amended Laurentian University of Sudbury Act, 5 October 1967 and 1968; AO, RG32-1-1, Acc. 13856, Box M297, E.E. Stewart to Minister, 22 March 1968.

coincided with a radicalization of the student movement across the country. Among Francophone students, the issue of university governance had always been closely linked to their central concern over protecting French-language rights. French-speaking students like St-Aubin and Pierre Fortin moved easily into leadership roles as the wider Laurentian student body became mobilized behind the cause of university reform. The events of March 1968 had highlighted the main structural flaw in the university's governance: the overly authoritative administration, which narrowly focused power in the hands of the president and the board executive. This structure had marginalized not only students, but also faculty and other levels of the administration. As students began to articulate their demands for representation and consultation in university governance, they found useful allies in their campaign among the faculty on the university senate.²⁶

The winter of 1968 to 1969 was marked by student radicalism in Europe and North America, and while Canadian events were less violent several campuses experienced confrontations between students and university administrations. In November 1968, a student occupation of four floors of the administration building at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia, was broken up by the RCMP, who entered the building in the early hours of the morning and made 114 arrests. Controversy also arose at the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan. Following the publication in December 1968 of an allegedly obscene picture in the student newspaper, the *Carillon*, the administration attempted to censor the newspaper. At a mass meeting in January, students voted to censure the Board of Governors, and in February a group of students disrupted a board meeting and harassed board members attempting to leave. In January 1969, at the Université de Moncton in New Brunswick, resurgent Acadian nationalism prompted Francophone students to boycott classes and occupy a university building. That same month, students at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia) in Montreal occupied the faculty club and computer centre for nearly two weeks. Angered by the board's delay in responding to charges of racism against a faculty member, the students eventually vandalized the cafeteria and set fire to the computer centre, causing nearly two million dollars in damages.²⁷

Throughout the winter, the tumultuous events mobilizing students elsewhere were all eagerly reported in the pages of *Lambda* and *Le Lambda*.²⁸ Student leaders at Laurentian adopted the rhetoric that characterized the movement across the continent, urging other young people to be self-aware, to link their own personal fulfillment to the larger goals of social change.²⁹ "This is the year of Student Power," *Lambda's* editorial announced in the September 1968 issue. "The tools for improving Laurentian are at

²⁶ In her examination of governance issues in the student movements at the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Toronto, and Simon Fraser University, Roberta Lexier argues that faculty tended to support students' demands for participation but drew the line at equal representation. Roberta Lexier, "The Community of Scholars: The English-Canadian Student Movement and University Governance," in *Mobilizations, Protests and Engagements: Canadian Perspectives on Social Movements*, eds. Marie Hammond-Callaghan and Matthew Hayday (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 125-44.

²⁷ Neil Compton, "Sir George Williams Loses Its Innocence," *Canadian Forum*, April 1969, reprinted in *Student Power and the Canadian Campus*, eds. Tim and Julyan Reid (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1969), 31-6; Hewitt, *Spying 101*, 163-64; Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 282-92; Pitsula, *New World Dawning*, 72-105; Belliveau, "Moncton's Student Protest Wave of 1968."

²⁸ "Ottawa U Holds Out," *Lambda*, 15 November 1968; "RCMP Arrest SFU Demonstrations," *Lambda*, 29 November 1968; "Censorship in Saskatchewan," *Lambda*, 17 January 1969; "Crise à Moncton!" *Le Lambda*, 24 janvier 1969.

²⁹ Patricia Jasen has pointed out the contradiction inherent to the rhetoric of the student movement, which attempted to reconcile an emphasis on individual freedom with an ideology of collective social change. Patricia Jasen, "'In Pursuit of Human Values (or Laugh When You Say That)': The Student Critique of the Arts Curriculum in the 1960s," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education*, eds. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 263.

hand. It is now up to us, students, faculty and administration to take these tools in hand and create the ideal academic community." In the same issue St-Aubin encouraged the students to take action for reform. Citing the SGA's success at Queen's Park in March, St-Aubin predicted a new political orientation for the student association. "[W]e are trying to create a dynamic aggressive, democratic and positive SGA," he wrote. "The days of the SGA as another department in this university, as a glorified Student Services Corporation are hopefully numbered."³⁰ *Lambda*, *Le Lambda*, and *Laurentiana* became openly provocative in their language, sexual content, and references to drug use, as though the student editors were deliberately goading the university administration into imposing censorship. Yet Laurentian officials refrained from interfering with the student press, perhaps unwilling to provoke storms of student protest. Responding to charges from the board that *Lambda* had printed "indecenties," Vice President Roland Cloutier pointed out that students were very reluctant to accept any form of censure, and suggested that a self-correcting system would be more effective than overt interference.³¹

In October the SGA sent two delegates, St-Aubin and Fortin, to attend the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) congress in Guelph. In an interview with the *Sudbury Star*, St-Aubin stressed that the student movement was committed to achieving university reform, but only through non-violent means. "Student power is human power," he reassured the *Star*.³² That fall, he also sent out a letter to each faculty member, along with a copy of Farber's "The Student as Nigger" article, inviting them to openly communicate with the students. "[W]e're maybe naïve enough or optimistic enough to think that things *can* be changed, knowing full well that things *must* be changed."³³ The mood that winter was aptly caught by *Lambda*'s self-effacing headline in November: "This University Belongs to the Student! Dig It. But Don't Worry Mullins, He Doesn't Have the Guts to Take it."³⁴ In his yearbook message of 1969, St-Aubin warned students not to close their minds against self-evaluation and ideas for change. He accused both Laurentian faculty and administrators of settling-in to a convenient complacency: "I have witnessed a style of education that promotes passiveness rather than creativity and a style of administration that governs out of habit rather than out of need."³⁵

For Francophone students, the issue of university governance was inseparable from their central concern over the survival of French culture at Laurentian. As a more broadly-based student movement began to emerge over the winter, Francophone students were able to direct the new activism of the SGA toward the cause of Franco-Ontarian rights. In October 1968, Francophone students prepared a brief for the Board of Governors, in which they leveled scathing criticisms of the current state of bilingualism and demanded immediate steps to increase French enrollment and preserve the use of the French language within the university administration.³⁶ Although it was censored by some Anglophone students, the brief was endorsed by the editors of both *Lambda* and *Le Lambda*, and St-Aubin made a personal appeal for unity on the issue. "The topic of bilingualism at Laurentian University is one that arouses deep emotions and reactions," he wrote on November 1 in *Lambda*. "These emotions usually lead to words and acts of

³⁰ Etienne St-Aubin, letter to the editor, *Lambda*, 1 November 1968.

³¹ Laurentian University, Board of Governors Minutes, 31 May 1968.

³² "Laurentian 'Student Power'," *Sudbury Star*, 2 October 1968.

³³ Laurentian University History Project, File: SGA/AGE, Wesley Cragg Papers, Etienne St-Aubin to Faculty, n.d.

³⁴ "This University Belongs to the Student!" *Lambda*, 15 November 1968. In October 1968, the student newspaper at Saskatchewan's Regina campus, the *Carillon*, had printed the same inflammatory headline (without, of course, the subsequent reference to Mullins). Pitsula, *New World Dawning*, 271.

³⁵ St-Aubin, "Message du président," *Laurentiana*, 1969, 7.

³⁶ "Mythe ou réalité?" *Le Lambda*, 25 octobre 1968; "Students Request Changes to Restore 'Lost Bilingualism' at Laurentian," *Sudbury Star*, 19 October 1968.

hatred and bigotry, mainly because of the heritage of hatred and bigotry that many individuals possess."³⁷

At a meeting of the SGA council a few days later St-Aubin's plea was successful, and a motion was passed supporting the brief in principle to "insure the survival of bilingualism at Laurentian University."³⁸ The new political strength of the students was confirmed in December: after nearly a year of lobbying, it was announced that students were to be given six seats on the senate, and two students were to be appointed to the committee on bilingualism.³⁹ By the end of term, it seemed as though Laurentian students had been successful in gaining a small voice in university governance without any of the disruption that had characterized the student movements at Moncton, Regina, or Simon Fraser. "[R]eform should and can be instituted through civilized discussions and improved communications," one student told *Lambda*. "If reforms such as those called for in the S.G.A. Brief to the Presidential Advisory Committee are instituted then Laurentian can boast, and boast proudly, in having achieved its 'quiet revolution!'"⁴⁰ This complacency would, however, be short-lived.

Buoyed by their achievements over the previous winter, the students at Laurentian had underestimated the resiliency of the existing governing structure. Faced with demands for change, the board's primary response was to maintain the status quo. Between 1969 and 1970 the students again confronted the administration, and student activism at Laurentian became more radical. The first incident occurred in October of 1969 as students and faculty joined together to publicly oppose a brief prepared by President Mullins to submit to the provincial committee on university affairs. Claiming that Mullins' brief had been written without any consultation with department heads, faculty, or students the SGA organized an "awareness day teach-in" on Monday, October 20 to discuss university problems. The mass teach-in attracted a huge crowd of more than 1,200 students and the meeting had to be moved from a lecture hall to the cafeteria. Mullins did not attend the teach-in and, after several hours of waiting for the president to arrive, over 200 students climbed the stairs to his eleventh-floor office and chanted angrily for his appearance. The events of what *Lambda* termed "Wake-up Monday" ended after Mullins came out of his office and agreed to answer the many questions directed at him by both students and faculty.⁴¹

The following week another large crowd of students gathered, this time to confront the governors over the question of student representation on the board. The presidential advisory committee, which had been appointed the year before to inquire into university governance, had recommended that seven non-voting members be permitted to attend board meetings, including two elected by the SGA and one by the part-time students association. The board executive rejected this proposal, and offered instead to allow only four new members — one SGA representative — to attend board meetings. On 31 October 1969, at a meeting of the full board, about 250 students again occupied the lounge outside, disrupting the proceedings with loud chanting and clapping. Fortin, now president of the SGA, addressed the crowd, telling the students: "We have to affirm to the board of governors that we want a democratic university. We want a voice at all levels."⁴² Late in the day, after the crowd had dwindled, the meeting recessed and

³⁷ St-Aubin, letter to the editor, *Lambda*, 1 November 1968.

³⁸ Laurentian University, History Project, File: Bilingualism, Wesley Cragg Papers, Minutes of SGA Council, 6 November 1968.

³⁹ "Victoire de l'Exécutif de l'A.G.E. – 6 étudiants au Sénat," *Le Lambda*, 6 décembre 1968; Laurentian University, Senate Minutes, vol. 9, 12 December 1968.

⁴⁰ "'The Quiet Revolution' – the S.G.A.L.U.," *Lambda*, 28 February 1969.

⁴¹ "President's Brief Runs into Snag at Laurentian U.," *Sudbury Star*, 18 October 1969; "Teach-in Today!" *Lambda*, 20 October 1969; "Laurentian Head under Fire from Students, Faculty," *Sudbury Star*, 20 October 1969; "Teach-in Turns on over 1200," *Lambda*, 22 October 1969.

⁴² "Students, Governors Clash at Laurentian," *Sudbury Star*, 31 October 1969.

the chairman announced to the waiting students that the board had approved the original proposal to appoint seven new members of non-voting observers, including the three student representatives.⁴³

The culmination of student radicalism at Laurentian occurred in April 1970, when students staged their ten-day occupation of the cafeteria, and a sympathetic senate effectively shut down the business of the university. Since his appointment in 1963, Mullins had had a difficult relationship with a succession of student leaders, and by 1970 he had become widely blamed for the paternalistic and incompetent university management. Although fluently bilingual, Mullins was viewed by Francophone students as ineffectual in maintaining French rights on campus.⁴⁴ This perception had been exasperated in May 1966, when Mullins had given a controversial public lecture — reported in the *Sudbury Star* under the heading “President Mullins Says: Bilingualism a Failure at Laurentian” — in which he had criticized the bilingual system for reinforcing “the two existing solitudes.”⁴⁵

In October 1969, *Le Lambda* bitterly pointed out that bilingualism at Laurentian was a term that only applied to French students forced to speak English.⁴⁶ Over the following winter, a group of faculty and students on the senate began systematically to oppose the president on a number of issues, and in January they had started a campaign to force Mullins’ dismissal, circulating a resolution of non-confidence around the university. In early March, Mullins attempted to negotiate a settlement with the board that included a two-year leave of absence.⁴⁷ On March 7, in what would be one of his final public statements as president, Mullins told the *Globe and Mail* that his hopes for bilingualism had not been realized at Laurentian. “The French have become bilingual and knowledgeable about English culture but they don’t mix that much,” he commented in an interview. “Their main concern is promoting and protecting the French fact.”⁴⁸

The board executive decided to take a firm stand against the growing pressure to remove Mullins, and at its meeting on 18 March 1970 adopted two motions that outraged the senate: first, to reject a senate appeal to have faculty and students on the finance committee; and secondly, to reject the president’s request for a leave of absence.⁴⁹ The senate responded quickly. At a meeting the following day the senate passed votes of non-confidence in Mullins and non-confidence in the board executive.⁵⁰ As the secretary of senate later explained to John Robarts, premier of Ontario, the board’s actions had revealed that “the Executive Committee of the Board has failed to recognize the importance of faculty and student participation in university governance.”⁵¹ The SGA followed this lead, passing their own resolutions expressing non-confidence in the president and the Board of Governors. Paul Therrien, a student senator, read into the records of the senate meeting the SGA’s condemnation of the board: “Be it resolved that we now question their competence in the administration of the University, in view of their failing effectiveness in the present situation. We no longer have confidence in this body and now hope that

⁴³ “Students Get Non-Voting Seats on Board at Laurentian U.,” *Sudbury Star*, 1 November 1969; “Students Confront Reluctant Board,” *Lambda*, 5 November 1969.

⁴⁴ “J’accuse l’administration,” *Le Lambda*, 26 avril 1966.

⁴⁵ “President Mullins Says: Bilingualism a Failure at Laurentian,” *Sudbury Star*, 24 May 1966.

⁴⁶ *Le Lambda*, 29 octobre 1969; “Bilinguisme à la Laurentienne,” *Le Lambda*, 19 novembre 1969; “Bilingualism,” *Lambda*, 10 December 1969.

⁴⁷ “Mullins to Leave Laurentian,” *Lambda*, 19 March 1970; “Laurentian’s President Mullins Ready to Seek Sabbatical Leave,” *Sudbury Star*, 14 March 1970.

⁴⁸ “President Regrets Laurentian’s Bilingual Hopes Haven’t Materialized,” *Globe and Mail*, 7 March 1970.

⁴⁹ Laurentian University, Board of Governors Minutes, 9 April 1970.

⁵⁰ “2-Year Leave for Laurentian Head Rejected,” *Sudbury Star*, 19 March 1970; “Laurentian SGA Calls Meeting,” *Sudbury Star*, 31 March 1970; “Senate and Board Clash over Presidency,” *Lambda*, 31 March 1970.

⁵¹ AO, RG3-26, Office of the Premier, Robarts: Correspondence, Box 426, File: Laurentian University, January-December 1970, John W. Clarke to Robarts, 23 March 1970.

further action be taken by the Department of University Affairs."⁵² The incoming SGA president, Victor Cormier, forwarded the students' resolutions to the provincial government.⁵³

The tense situation erupted on 1 April 1970, when the students held a mass meeting in the cafeteria to protest the actions of the board. After unanimously resolving to support the senate, the students impulsively launched a sit-in in the lobby outside the cafeteria. During the mass meeting, Scott Merrifield, a student senator and editor of *Lambda*, had suddenly announced that he was tired of the bureaucracy and had called for the occupation of the lobby. As Merrifield left the cafeteria, followed by about twenty students, Cormier had pledged the SGA's support and the sit-in had started. On April 2 the senate took the extreme measure of formally endorsing the student occupation of the building, giving the board an ultimatum: if it did not agree to a joint meeting to seek a solution to the situation, the senate would call an academic recess on the eve of the exam period, and suspend all academic activities on the following day. The students appealed for support to the community, and student leaders consulted union officials in Sudbury. That morning, the students had started picketing businesses owned by members of the board executive, and had distributed copies of their position paper to workers at the entrance to Inco plants. On the evening of April 3 the senate went ahead with its threat, called an academic recess, and closed down the university.⁵⁴

The conflict was now at an impasse, with the board executive and president on one side, and the senate, students, and faculty on the other. Final exams were suspended, students dragged sleeping bags and pillows — and, for some reason, two motorcycles — into the cafeteria lobby, and the academic work of the university ground to a halt. Speaking on behalf of the students, Merrifield told the *Globe and Mail* that they would continue the occupation until the board confirmed Mullins' resignation, established a presidential search committee with student and faculty members, and made a commitment that the university's governing structure would be reformed.⁵⁵ The board backed down, and agreed to hold an open joint meeting with the senate to discuss the crisis. Following several days of negotiations, the board and senate reached an agreement, and on April 10 the senate called off the recess. After ten days, the students gathered up their cushions and sleeping bags and ended their occupation of the lobby.⁵⁶

The board decided to accept Mullins' offer to resign effective 1 July 1970, and did not have him continue as president during the search for his replacement. The board minutes stated that "in the light of recent developments it now seemed doubtful whether such a final year in office would prove to be a happy one either for the President or for the University."⁵⁷ In sharp contrast to the occupations at Simon Fraser and Sir George Williams universities, throughout the ten day sit-in at Laurentian the administration had not asked the police to intervene. Within the larger community, the students' protest had struck a chord in keeping with Sudbury's tradition of labour activism. Union members had supported the students' picket of local businesses owned by board members, Copper Cliff Dairies and A & W had donated food to the students occupying the lobby, and the mayor had allowed his car to be

⁵² "Senate and Board Clash over Presidency," *Lambda*, 31 March 1970.

⁵³ AO, RG32-1-1, Acc. 18006, Cmt M382, General Correspondence, 1970, Victor Cormier to Sirs, 23 March 1970.

⁵⁴ "Laurentian Senate Allied with Students on Sit-in," *Globe and Mail*, 3 April 1970; "Students' Sit-in Continues," *Sudbury Star*, 2 April 1970.

⁵⁵ "Laurentian's 'Friendly' Guard Not Surprised by Party Plans," *Sudbury Star*, 26 April 1972; "Laurentian Board, Senate Agree to Meet," *Globe and Mail*, 6 April 1970.

⁵⁶ "Laurentian Impasse Continues; Await Governors' Reply," *Sudbury Star*, 3 April 1970; "Laurentian Governors Will Meet Senate, But Sit-in Continues," *Sudbury Star*, 6 April 1970; "Laurentian Board, Senate Agree to Meet," *Globe and Mail*, 6 April 1970; "Laurentian Senate Discusses 'Details' for Joint Meeting," *Sudbury Star*, 7 April 1970; "Laurentian Future on the Line," *Sudbury Star*, 9 April 1970; "Decision-Making Power Increased in Historic Talks," *Sudbury Star*, 10 April 1970.

⁵⁷ Laurentian University, Board of Governors Minutes, 9 April 1970.

used to distribute leaflets.⁵⁸ The students and senate had gained a significant victory: Mullins resigned, the board agreed to add student representation to the finance committee, and to give students, through the senate, representation on the search committee for a new president.⁵⁹

Laurentian's crisis in university governance was not yet over, however, and in the fall of 1970 students and faculty had one final showdown with the administration. Following the success of the sit-in during the spring, the returning Laurentian students continued to demonstrate their politicization. After salary negotiations between the board executive and faculty failed, the SGA held a mass meeting of students on September 23, and endorsed a senate motion censuring the board. By October 1, the senate had declared the situation intolerable and, once again, invoked an academic recess, shutting down the normal work of the university, this time for seven days.⁶⁰ Although some faculty attempted to continue teaching, most students boycotted classes. On October 6 four busloads of Laurentian students traveled to Toronto, where Cormier presented to the minister of education, William Davis, a brief outlining the problems at Laurentian, and a petition signed by 1,400 students and faculty calling for government mediation.⁶¹ After meeting with Davis, the senate called off the recess as of October 13, indicating in its minutes "a gesture of our willingness to assist in a resolution of the University problem."⁶² Davis then appointed J.G. Hagey, president emeritus of the University of Waterloo, to undertake an inquiry into the situation on behalf of the government.⁶³

Over the following winter, Hagey made several visits to the campus, meeting with members of the board and with representatives from the senate, faculty association, and students.⁶⁴ Subsequently, in his report issued in March 1971, Hagey supported the concept of shifting administrative power from the Board of Governors to a senate that represented the interests of faculty and students. In his introductory comments, Hagey pointed out that the relations between students and governing bodies in Ontario's universities had changed, that students were demanding and obtaining a voice in developing university plans and policies. The central problem at Laurentian, he explained, was that the university had not adapted its governing and administrative procedures to changing university conditions. "Apparently the past President and the Board believed that they could continue to administer and govern the University in the same manner as in the past," Hagey wrote. "The result is that a strong administrative organization was not developed and the Board has deemed it necessary to continue participating extensively in matters that should be the responsibility of the administration working with faculty, staff and students." He recommended that the board withdraw from all matters of an administrative nature, reduce the

⁵⁸ *Sudbury Star*, 10 October 1970.

⁵⁹ "Senate Studies Meeting Results," *Sudbury Star*, 10 April 1970.

⁶⁰ Laurentian University, "Board of Governors Minutes", 25 September 1970; "Senate Minutes," vol. 11, 28 September 1970; "Senate Censures B.O.G. Executive Committee," *Lambda*, 24 September 1970; "Support Your Senate, Back Student Demands, Liberate Your University," *Lambda*, 29 September 1970.

⁶¹ "Confusion on Campus at Laurentian," *Sudbury Star*, 1 October 1970; 6 October 1970; "Expect Laurentian Students to Return to Classes Thursday," *Sudbury Star*, 6 October 1970; "L.U. Students Picket at Queen's Park," *Lambda*, 8 October 1970; AO, RG3-26, Office of the Premier, Robarts: Correspondence, Box 426, File: Laurentian University, January-December 1969, Brief from SGA to Ontario Legislature, 6 October 1970.

⁶² Laurentian University, Senate Minutes, vol. 11, 8 October 1970; "Laurentian Senate Calls Off 'Recess' of Classes," *Toronto Daily Star*, 9 October 1970.

⁶³ AO, RG32-1-1, Acc. 18006, Cmt M382, File: Laurentian University Faculty Association, 1970, Note of Senate Minutes, 8 October 1970; AO RG32-1-1, Acc. 18006, Cmt M382, File: Laurentian University Faculty Association, 1970, William Davis to J.G. Hagey, 27 October 1970.

⁶⁴ University of Waterloo Library (UWL), Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, Office of the President, A79-0030/231, J.G. Hagey, Memorandum to Laurentian University Board, Senate, Faculty, Staff and Students, 3 November 1970; UWL, Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, Office of the President, A79-0030/231, Report by Dr. J.G. Hagey to the Senate and to the Board of Governors, Laurentian University, 10 December 1970.

power of the executive, and respect the rights of the senate, and that the senate undertake a study of the university's academic administrative organization.⁶⁵

At a meeting of the executive committee on 25 March 1971, Hagey praised the board for making progress with the organization of meetings, but cautioned members in their future dealings with the senate. "Board members must attempt to understand the difference in the orientation of the business man as compared to the academician," Hagey warned. "They must be prepared to accept this difference without criticism, and act with discretion and understanding, especially in their replies to Senate."⁶⁶ The report was received well by faculty and students at Laurentian, and the senate recorded its appreciation to Hagey "for the fairness and clarity with which he treated the issues."⁶⁷ Hagey himself remained skeptical about the impact of his recommendations. "While I did make some progress in getting the various groups within the university working together, there is still an explosive situation on the campus," he wrote to the minister of university affairs in June 1971. "The general lack of confidence that exists within the university is such that old wounds can very easily be re-opened."⁶⁸

Aftermath

For all students at Laurentian, the sit-in, pickets, and mass meetings of 1969 to 1970 represented the high point of effective politicization. Hagey's recommendation to strengthen the position of the senate had been in keeping with the influential Duff-Berdahl Report, *University Government in Canada*, published in 1966 and commissioned by the Canadian Association of University Teachers and the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges. The Duff-Berdahl Report had supported a two-tiered, bicameral form of university government, in which the Board of Governors was responsible for financial affairs, and the senate for academic matters, but where both bodies were required to work together in the decision-making process.⁶⁹ Students at Laurentian, like students at many other Canadian universities, entered the new decade with a more defined role in university governance. This role was solidified in November 1970, when the Board of Governors appointed one student senator a non-voting member of its executive committee, the heart of university government.

Yet during the 1970s political activism among students as a whole began to decline. In 1971, two student representatives resigned their seats on the senate, characterizing the behavior of other senators as fractious and indecisive. The following year, *Lambda* announced that only nine nominations had been received for thirty-three vacant student positions on various university committees. "Senate, with its elaborate committee system is a bulky time-consuming organization," the SGA president told incoming students in September 1974. "However it is the supreme decision-making body here at Laurentian for all academic matters. At present, student input is nil."⁷⁰ The university president agreed. In his report of October 1975, President Edward Monahan noted that most students felt no commitment at all to serve on university committees, and many student seats remained vacant throughout the year. Where former students fought for representation at this level, he claimed, their successors had "a somewhat more serious approach to study and less interest in participating in the governance of the university."⁷¹

⁶⁵ LUA, F65, 1, J.G. Hagey, "Consultant's Report to Laurentian University."

⁶⁶ Laurentian University, Board of Governors, Executive Minutes, 25 March 1971.

⁶⁷ Laurentian University, Senate Minutes, vol. 13, 25 March 1971.

⁶⁸ UWL, Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, Office of the President, A79-0030/231, Hagey to John White, 2 June 1971.

⁶⁹ Matt Bray, "The Challenges of the Sixties: 1960-1972," in *Laurentian University: A History*, ed. Bray, 33-57.

⁷⁰ "2 Student Senators Resign Posts," *Lambda*, 9 November 1971; "Committees Require Students," *Lambda*, 24 October 1972; "SGA/AGE Welcome," *Lambda*, 6 September 1974.

⁷¹ "Report Depicts Dismal Picture," *Sudbury Star*, 20 October 1975.

This apparent apathy among undergraduates concerning university governance signified, in reality, a splintering of the student movement at Laurentian. Across Canada, the activism of the 1960s only temporarily masked the older divisions of class, race, ethnicity, and gender as the following decade witnessed significant challenges from movements for Quebec nationalism, women's rights, and Aboriginal rights.⁷² By the end of the 1970s, Laurentian students had formed a range of groups in which to articulate needs not adequately represented by the original SGA. These included the Association of Laurentian Part-time Students (1969), the Association des étudiant(e)s francophones (1974), the women's liberation group (1969), the community of gay and lesbian students (1977), and the Native Students' Club, later the Native Students' Association (1973).⁷³ Throughout the decade, Laurentian students increasingly became critical of forms of activism that muted their differences. At the first meeting of the women's liberation group in 1969, for example, female students discussed their own lack of voice; how the student movement at Laurentian, in fact, had been dominated by men. Analyzing the recent burst of activism — the teach-in, occupation of the governors' lounge, and the SGA mass meeting — the female students noted that only one or two women had ever spoken: "For one thing, women have been forced into accepting an inferior attitude — that is, to feel that their opinions are not really worth expressing."⁷⁴

Francophone students returned the focus of their activism to securing French-language rights both within and beyond the university. In 1972, they began producing a separate newspaper, *Réaction*, and the following year formed an association separate from the SGA, La Maison des Francophones. In 1974 the separation became official when Francophone students held a referendum and voted in favour of the creation of an independent student association. While the SGA continued in theory to be a bilingual organization representing all students at Laurentian, French-speaking students formally established the separate Association des étudiant(e)s francophones. A group of Laurentian students led by a young history professor, Gaétan Gervais, created the Franco-Ontario flag, first raised outside the affiliated Université de Sudbury on 25 September 1975.⁷⁵ Frustrated by the limited range of French courses available, Francophone students became ever more critical of Laurentian's bilingual policy. By 1980, a group of Francophone faculty, students, administrators, and community representatives had formed a task force for a Franco-Ontarian University. Their ultimate goal — eventually deemed financially impossible by the provincial government — was to establish a separate French university in northern Ontario.

The period of radicalization at the end of the sixties temporarily united French and English students in a cause that became of primary importance to both groups: gaining a political role for students in the governing structure of the university. During the early stages of the student movement at Laurentian, French-speaking students provided leadership by drawing on their separate tradition of French-rights activism. The degree to which the leaders were able to mobilize widespread support can be assessed by the level of participation in such events as the teach-in of October 1969, which attracted over 1,200 students from a population of only 1,773 full-time students. Among Francophone students, the issue of university governance was linked closely to their concern for the protection of French culture and language against the growing Anglophone majority. As a more broadly based movement developed over the winter of 1968, Francophone students took the initiative and allied the new activism of the SGA

⁷² Alvin Finkel, *Our Lives: Canada after 1945* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1997), 127-9.

⁷³ "Women's Liberation," *Lambda*, November 1969; "Native Students Club," *Lambda*, 20 November 1973.

⁷⁴ "Women's Liberation," *Lambda*, November 1969.

⁷⁵ "Council Accepts Executive Budget," *Lambda*, 3 October, 1972; "The Shit Has Hit the Fan," *Lambda*, 5 December 1972; "Open Letter," *Lambda*, 23 October, 1973; "Acclamations Cancel Election at Laurentian," *Sudbury Star*, 31 October 1974; "Message du président de l'A.E.F.," *L'Original déchaîné*, 14 septembre 1987; Stéphanie St-Pierre, "Le drapeau franco-ontarien: 'Puissent ses couleurs nous rallier dans une nouvelle amitié et fraternité', 1975-1977" dans *Le drapeau franco-ontarien*, dir. Guy Gaudreau (Sudbury : Prise de parole, 2005), 13-42.

membership to their ongoing campaign for Franco-Ontarian rights. Their success was demonstrated in the fall of 1968, when the entire SGA council endorsed the brief on bilingualism.

The bilingual nature of the student population shaped the force of activism at Laurentian, but the unity of the radical years could not be sustained in the face of ingrained differences. While Laurentian students felt the impact of the student movement across Europe and North America, their politicization ultimately served to intensify their own sense of difference. In 1971, the yearbook *Laurentiana* was renamed *Slag* and dedicated to the Class of '71: "To those under the shadow of the slagheaps, to those in the north, of Laurentian and the future, a toast."⁷⁶

⁷⁶ "Dedication," *Slag*, 1971, 156.