

the university), or that most members of the teaching profession would favor its doing so. As for the students, there are many who will not be satisfied by even very drastic changes in the university. The occupation of the Sorbonne made it clear that the major complaints lay elsewhere: with the Gaullist government, with the "bourgeois," and with capitalism.

One major difference between American and French student radicalism is that the French inherit a legacy that is both more Marxist and more romantic. Since 1789, revolution has been a part of French politics, and many students see themselves as descendants of a movement that includes the revolution of 1848, the Commune of 1871, and the Popular Front government of

1936. The barricades symbolized the link.

From Marxism, the student received an acute class consciousness and a reverence for the modern-day representatives of the urban proletariat. In the occupied universities, everyone addresses everyone else as "comrade." As the general protests gathered momentum, the obsession to spread discontent to the working class also grew.

The government's decision to attack the barricades early on 11 May helped the students widen their appeal by convincing the Communist party, and the Communist-dominated unions, that it was time to call a general strike and a mass march through Paris. Two days later, Parisians watched the largest political parades that have been held since

the end of the war. The general strike and march, instead of being a grand climax for the student movement, simply gave it a second breath.

Probably only in a country like France, where one city so dominates the political, economic, and cultural life of a nation, could student demonstrations have such a startling effect. Yet, this crisis and its evolution, show how potent "student power" can be.

France has now slid into a major social and political crisis. No one expected it, no one masterminded it. Though its deeper repercussions will not be clear for months—or perhaps years—one of the immediate lessons is simple. Mass, spontaneous uprisings, unlikely as they are to start, are not easily stopped.—ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

Financial Plight at McGill: Quebec Favors Its French Universities

Montreal, Quebec. McGill University, once preeminent among Canadian institutions, is now finding its peculiar situation as an English-speaking institution in a predominantly French province an uneasy one. The uneasiness arises primarily from the circumstance that, while McGill grows increasingly dependent on the Province of Quebec for financial support, the province is caught up in nationalist ferment and is pressing the development of its French-language institutions.

Following its emergence as a major university at the turn of the century, McGill acquired two identities. One was its international identity as an institution emphasizing scientific studies and research, where such luminaries as Ernest Rutherford, in physics, and Sir William Osler, in medicine, did their early work. The other was its local identity as the cultural symbol and financial beneficiary of Montreal's economically dominant English-Canadian community. This dual identity has persisted. Moreover, McGill still enjoys a good reputation, even though its relative importance in Canada has declined as the University of Toronto, the University of British Columbia, and other Canadian universities have come into their own.

Now, however, McGill suffers because many French Canadians seem not to regard it as a *Quebec* institution. Indeed, McGill's most urgent task is somehow to convince French Quebecers that the province should, in its own interests, generously support and maintain a strong, internationally respected English-language university.

When the provincial government recently further increased the French universities' share of operating grants at McGill's expense, Quebec's Premier Daniel Johnson and his minister of education quite possibly believed they were doing the right thing. Certainly they knew they were doing the politically popular thing. Four-fifths of Quebec's 5.2 million inhabitants are French-speaking. Moreover, a major objective of French Quebec's "Quiet Revolution," under way since the late 1950's, has been to strengthen the system of French-language higher education.

The University of Montreal and Laval University in Quebec City are the province's principal French-language universities. Neither has had facilities and intellectual resources equal to McGill's. The Quebec government therefore has been following a policy of *rattrapage* (catching up) for the benefit of these universities and of the province's

smaller French-language institutions.

Officials of McGill and two smaller English-speaking universities in Quebec now insist that the *rattrapage* policy is being abused, and that, so far as per student expenditures are concerned, it is their own institutions which need to catch up. The provincial government has given the French institutions nearly \$55 million more in operating grants over the past 5 years than these institutions would have received had their grants amounted to no more per student than those received by the English-speaking institutions. While the officials of the latter institutions agree that the French universities have needed special development grants, they protest the way in which operating funds are being allocated.

For the academic year 1968-69 alone, they say, the French institutions will get another \$18 million in *rattrapage* funds. The government even reduced the grants to the English universities from the amounts proposed by a government-university committee: McGill's was cut by \$2.1 million from the \$21.1 recommended. While two of the eight French institutions also got less money, the others got more. These adjustments reflected enrollment projections, but special research funds also were given to the French institutions.

In the still recent past, the support given Quebec's French-language universities was a measure of French Canada's backwardness. Until its Quiet Revolution, Quebec was dominated by an ultraconservative political regime which did little to support university

education. For example, the University of Montreal's subsidy from the Provincial government in 1935 was \$25,000, and 20 years later the annual subsidy still came to less than \$1.5 million.

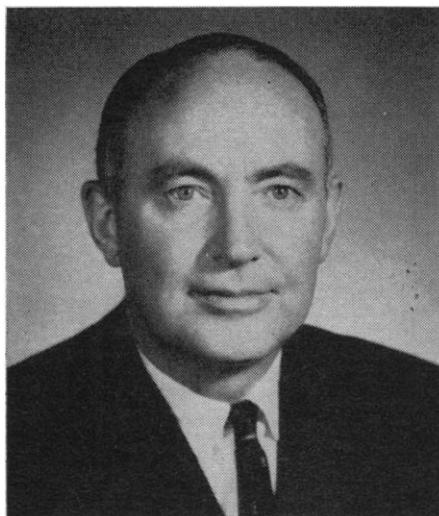
McGill University, on the other hand, enjoyed relative affluence during the University of Montreal's years of financial misery. McGill traces its origins to 1813, when a Montreal fur trader and civic leader, James McGill, died and left £10,000 and some land for the establishment of an institution to bear his name. Favored by good leadership and its location at Canada's commercial gateway, McGill began to thrive during the latter half of the 19th century.

Benefactions from Montreal's wealthy English-speaking commercial and financial elite gave the university a depth of resources unique for a Canadian institution. McGill's ties to this elite were intimate, for it was from this group that members of its board of governors invariably were drawn. (For complex historical and sociological reasons, no comparable class of wealthy French Quebecers developed; thus, the province's struggling French institutions had few potential benefactors.)

McGill's relatively favored situation continued for many years, but by the late 1950's it was clear that, unless major new sources of operating funds were soon found, the university would begin a disastrous decline. Its student enrollment, only 3300 before the war, had increased to nearly 8000 (its 1967-68 enrollment was 15,141; of these, roughly a fourth were candidates for graduate degrees). Costs were rising rapidly and the need for greater library and research space was critical.

Thus, McGill eagerly joined the French universities (which, as institutions chartered by the Catholic Church, were no more "public" in character than McGill) in seeking large provincial grants. With a progressive new Quebec government in power, such grants were indeed forthcoming. In considering McGill's present complaints, it is well to remember that about 60 percent of the university's operating funds next year will come from the province, whereas 10 years ago support from that source was insignificant.

The fact is, however, that McGill must compete with leading North American universities for faculty, research grants (for instance, the McGill medical faculty gets substantial support from NIH), and able students. Even



H. Roche Robertson, Principal of McGill.

when provincial subsidies are generous, McGill and other Canadian universities are handicapped in that they generally lack the kind of "big science" facilities commonly found at institutions such as M.I.T., the University of Michigan, and Stanford. A \$1-million cryogenic-magnet laboratory project now under way will give McGill its largest new scientific facility since the university's cyclotron was built during World War II. This project has received support from the U.S. Office of Naval Research as well as from industry and Canada's National Research Council.

According to D. L. Mordell, McGill's dean of engineering, next year will be a standfast operation for his faculty because of the cut in provincial funds.

Plans to start new activities in systems engineering and aerospace research have been set aside. Mordell says that, unless McGill is treated more generously by the province, its engineering program, which is of uneven quality even now, will lose its competence for research and graduate education. Such talk has recently become common at McGill when faculty members discuss their programs and prospects. This is true even though McGill has, in general, kept its forward momentum.

[McGill still often surpasses the University of Toronto in the production of Ph.D.'s (it confers 103 Ph.D.'s this spring, including 88 in the sciences) and rivals Toronto in attracting research funds (over \$10 million a year).]

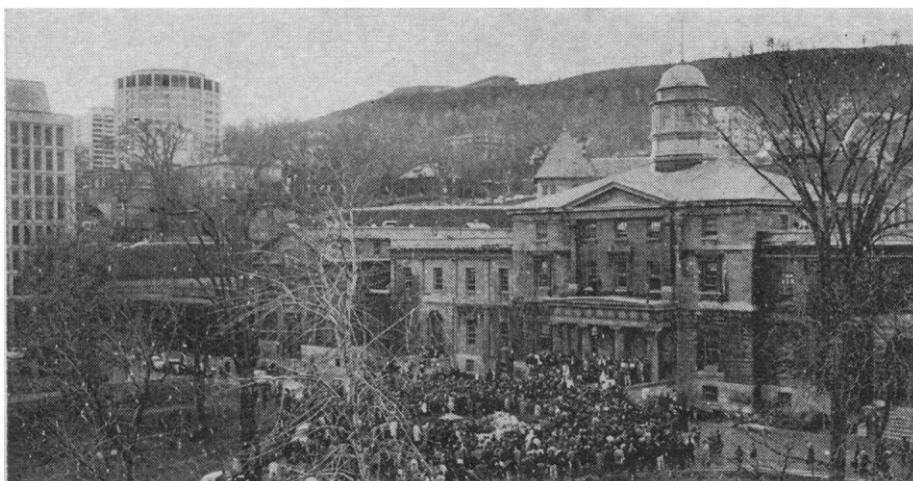
What can McGill do to increase its share of provincial operating grants? It may well be true, as some McGill people believe, that no real solution to the university's problem will be found until French Quebec accepts, ungrudgingly, the English-speaking minority as a partner whose institutions must be supported on the same basis as French institutions. Such acceptance may come, but, for the moment, the temper of French-Canadian opinion is hard to judge.

Quebec nationalist sentiment is expressed in a variety of ways, ranging from separatist demands for an independent Quebec to demands for revisions of the Canadian constitution allowing varying degrees of provincial autonomy. Extreme separatists would have McGill either become a French-

A POINT OF VIEW

Excerpt from the 1966-67 report by Robert H. Ebert, dean of Harvard Medical School, to the president of Harvard University.

A dominant trend of the last year, and one that has great significance for the future, has been a growing commitment to collective action. As a profession, medicine has for too long stood apart. As an institution, the Harvard Medical School, geographically separated from the parent university and vigorously pushing its own concerns, has occasionally been guilty of neglecting its ties with other Harvard faculties. Fortunately, the pattern is changing. There is now discernible a spreading awareness of the inter-dependence of physicians and specialists in economics, urban development, public administration, law, and engineering. There is an increasing recognition that community facilities and institutional endeavors must be integrated if principles of comprehensive care are to be translated into reality. And, not least, the barriers between medical specialties are falling as scientists expert in several disciplines combine their efforts to probe ever more deeply into the basic biological and chemical processes of life.



The Arts Building, scene of this student rally last fall (after McGill had charged three student journalists with publishing an indecent satire on Lyndon Johnson) is the centerpiece of the McGill campus. The circular structure in the background is the new medical sciences building.

speaking institution or lose its public financial support. Separatism has not, however, had much of a following in the past, and its present devotees may be more vocal than they are numerous.

A plebescite of sorts will soon be held on the issue of whether there should be "one Canada," with the federal government relinquishing no more of its power to Quebec or other provinces. The outcome may, indirectly, affect McGill and every other English-speaking institution in Quebec that depends on the goodwill of French Canadians for continued success.

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the Quebecer who recently took the leadership of Canada's Liberal Party, has adopted a strong one-Canada position, and the constitutional issue seems likely to dominate the federal elections on 25 June. Although Trudeau's opponent, Robert Stanfield, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, by no means can be described as a wrecker of the status quo, he has been making conciliatory gestures toward Quebec's Premier Johnson, who does seek greater provincial autonomy.

A clear-cut victory for the Liberals in Quebec and across Canada would doubtless be interpreted as an endorsement of a strong Canadian confederation and of efforts to foster closer relations between Canada's two major language groups. Conversely, some McGill faculty members fear that a defeat for the Liberal Party in Quebec, even if the Liberals won nationally, might encourage separatist activity and lead to further discrimination against English-speaking universities.

McGill's Principal, H. Rocke Robert-

son, and many of his associates believe that McGill has an important role to play in promoting bilingualism and biculturalism in Quebec. It is now conceded that, in the past, the university has tended to hold itself aloof from French Quebec. The makeup of McGill's Board of Governors, on which not a single French Quebecer now sits, provides evidence of that aloofness, but the board's membership is to be broadened, and one or more French Quebecers are likely to be appointed.

Complicating McGill's efforts to establish closer ties with French Quebec is the university's tradition of accepting large numbers of students from the United States and abroad. More than 15 percent of the students are foreign (of these, 37 percent are from the United States), and more than a fourth of the medical and other graduate students come from outside Canada. Although three-fourths of McGill's students are from Quebec, no more than 6 percent are French-speaking. Inasmuch as the rate of increase of student enrollment is greater in graduate than in undergraduate studies, the proportion of McGill students from outside the province may, if anything, increase.

Robertson wants to encourage bilingualism at McGill, believing that this would be good in itself and would attract more French Quebecers to the university. McGill has some professors who speak French and from time to time will be hiring others similarly qualified. The hope is that such professors might give certain courses in French, though students would not be forced to take their required work in that language unless the subject mat-

ter demanded it. A few courses have been offered in this way already. Traditionally, McGill has allowed students to write their examinations and papers in either English or French.

McGill students are in a number of ways showing an interest in French language and culture. They are, for example, asking that the university offer a credit course in conversational French. The decision of the student body last year to withdraw from the Canadian Union of Students and to join the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec was itself a clear indication of the growing student interest in Quebec and the French universities.

Being in a largely French milieu and charging fees which are quite low by comparison with those of many American universities, McGill hopes to attract increasing numbers of able French Quebecers, some of whom will be seeking a convenient "bridge" to the predominant North American culture. But McGill surely will fail in this unless it has the resources to keep its strength in those fields in which it excels, such as medicine and psychology, and to build strength in fields where it has been weak or mediocre, such as in most of the humanities and social sciences.

("The greatest weakness of McGill is that it attracts the top second-class graduate student," says Stanley B. Frost, dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research. "We get a number of students who have not quite made Oxford, or Harvard, or M.I.T. I want to have fewer foreign students and higher standards for graduate studies.")

Again, the question of provincial support is critical. Principal Robertson believes that an important first step in getting equitable treatment for McGill would be for the province to establish a university grants commission which, ideally, would be largely insulated from political pressures.

The provincial government has in fact developed a proposal for establishment of a Conseil des Universités, which would not be under the direct control of elected officials and which would have an important say-so in the awarding of grants (the council's powers seem not to have been clearly defined). This proposal may soon be brought before the provincial legislature. The next true test of French Quebec's intentions toward McGill will not come, however, until university operating funds are again put on the table and divided up.—LUTHER J. CARTER