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Journalists exercise caution when using the (other) L-word

There's more to a lie than errors of fact, as intent also plays a role in its use in coverage

SANDRA E. MARTIN

OPINION



The Globe and Mail's Standards Editor provides insight into the journalism practices and processes that guide our coverage

With the criminal trial of Donald Trump and campaigning for the U.S. presidential election in full swing, you may have noticed the more frequent use of the words "lie" and "liar" by journalists. I was surprised by the first two lines of The Atlantic's Tuesday newsletter, commenting on the testimony of Mr. Trump's former fixer: "Michael Cohen is an admitted liar and a convicted felon who is openly fuelled by a thirst for revenge against Donald Trump."

The Globe's U.S. correspondent, Adrian Morrow, is also reporting on the trial. He, too, uses the L-word, but in a much more considered fashion. For instance, the first paragraph of his May 16 report on the proceedings hits quite differently: "Donald Trump's lead defence lawyer accused star prosecution witness Michael Cohen of lying on the stand about a conversation with Mr. Trump over a payoff to a porn star, in the most confrontational moment so far at the former president's criminal trial."

"There may be no single word that causes more editorial paroxysms in political coverage than 'lie,'" Adrian told me in an e-mail. "The reason, I believe, is twofold. For one, lying implies not only the promulgation of a falsehood, but a specific intent to deceive. If you can't see inside someone's head, the thinking goes, can you really know that they are lying, as opposed to simply mistaken? The second, and I think more pervasive, is a desire for fairness and impartiality. 'Lie' is a strong term and a good many journalists fear that using it would make it seem they are putting a thumb on the scale against whomever they are describing as a liar."

He continued: "All of this may be somewhat academic in the case of Michael Cohen. He has pleaded guilty to making false statements to a financial institution and a congressional commit-

tee, and in both cases has made clear he knew full well that he wasn't telling the truth. During testimony at Trump's hush-money trial last week, he admitted to deliberately deceiving a special counsel investigation, journalists and his bank. Describing such actions as 'lying' is perfectly fair and impartial: it's an objective truth that Mr. Cohen has told lies many times to many people."

Even so, Adrian added – and this is where the conversation gets really interesting from the perspective of journalistic practice and ethics – the way the word is used matters.

Compare these two paragraphs, which Adrian provided as examples:

■ "Michael Cohen is an admitted liar who pleaded guilty to lying and is now accused by Donald Trump's defence team of telling even more lies."

If you can't prove that intent, says Patrick Brethour, The Globe's editorials editor, you can only state that the speaker is wrong.

■ "Michael Cohen has admitted to lying to Congress about a real estate project in Moscow and to a bank about his finances. He broke campaign contribution laws in a bid to cover up Donald Trump's alleged extramarital affairs. But testifying for the prosecution at Trump's hush-money trial, he insists he is now telling the truth. Trump's defence team argues he is not."

Both paragraphs are true, Adrian noted. "The first paragraph, however, robs the word 'lie' of its power by using it repeatedly without specifics. The second gives the reader a more precise picture of what exactly Mr. Cohen did and why it is relevant. It doesn't shy away from saying he has previously lied – which he clearly has – but by using the term once and immediately explaining it, it reinforces the significance, accuracy and full force of the word."

The Globe's Style Book offers this definition: "To lie, in the sense of telling an untruth, means to make a statement that the speaker knows is false, with an intent to deceive." That puts a heavy burden of proof on any journalist who uses the word to describe the actions of someone who has not, like Mr. Cohen, admitted to lying. If you can't prove

that intent, says Patrick Brethour, The Globe's editorials editor, you can only state that the speaker is wrong.

Attribution isn't sufficient cover, either. The Style Book states: "Even when we are quoting someone else as alleging a lie by an identifiable person, the person referred to could well take libel action. If we know a statement is false, descriptions based on such words as untrue and inaccurate convey this without getting into speculation on the speaker's knowledge or intent."

The Editorial Board tackled the subject on April 26, inspired by other news organizations' seeming acceptance of the "liar" label that federal Health Minister Mark Holland attached to Pierre Poilievre. On April 18, the Conservative Leader said he would not support the government's pharmacare plan, which he warned would replace private group health coverage. Mr. Holland later told a reporter that Mr. Poilievre's statement amounted to "out-and-out lies," and on a CBC broadcast said: "It's the dishonesty to me that is so reprehensible."

This coverage activated the Editorial Board's spidey sense. Was Mr. Poilievre's assessment of the legislation intentionally dishonest, or even factually incorrect? "We did some digging and it turns out at the very least Mark Holland was on very thin ice in saying Pierre Poilievre was a liar," Patrick says.

Bill C-64 states: "The purpose of this Act is to guide efforts to improve, for all Canadians, the accessibility and affordability of prescription drugs and related products, and to support their appropriate use, in collaboration with the provinces, territories, Indigenous peoples and other partners and stakeholders, with the aim of continuing to work toward the implementation of national universal pharmacare." (Italics mine.)

Could that reasonably be inferred as a plan to replace private health coverage? It could, yes, the Editorial Board concluded, assuming legislation continues down this path. So, Mr. Poilievre may be guilty of exaggeration and distortion, but not an outright lie, as characterized by some news outlets. It's a step that cannot be taken selectively, says Patrick. "If you start to do that, boy, you'd better be omnidirectional in what you're looking at, otherwise it becomes a partisan exercise, whether you intended it as partisan or not."

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U.S. Congress asks for briefing on scientists

Committee investigating origins of COVID-19 seeks information on researchers fired from Winnipeg laboratory

ROBERT FIFE
STEVEN CHASE OTTAWA

A U.S. congressional committee has summoned the country's Director of National Intelligence for a briefing on the firing of two Canadian scientists from Ottawa's high-security infectious-disease laboratory in Winnipeg.

The House of Representatives committee on energy and commerce, which is investigating the origins of COVID-19, want to know about the activities of Xiangguo Qiu and her husband, Keding Cheng, at the National Microbiology Laboratory.

Dr. Qiu had a role in approving the transfer of deadly Ebola and Henipah viruses to China's Wuhan Institute of Virology [WIV] in the fall of 2018.

"Of particular concern is that Dr. Qiu covertly and without authorization provided the Ebola genetic sequence, intellectual property related to research of Ebola, and possibly other pathogens to China," the committee wrote in a May 24 letter to National Intelligence Director Avril Haines.

The committee characterized the two scientists as Chinese spies who infiltrated the Winnipeg lab, and quoted the Canadian Security Intelligence Service as saying they were committed to building China's biosecurity platform for new and potent infectious-disease research.

"The CSIS investigation found Dr. Qiu led a project at WIV that would assess cross-species infection and pathogenic risks of filoviruses, work that CSIS suggests 'gain-of-function studies were possibly to take place,'" the letter states.

"In light of these concerns, please provide a briefing to the committee on what the U.S. intel-



Xiangguo Qiu and Keding Cheng, who worked at the National Microbiology Laboratory in Winnipeg, above, were fired in January, 2021. SHANNON VANRAES/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

ligence community knows about the CSIS report, and the communications between WIV scientists and Dr. Qiu and Mr. Cheng while they were at the National Microbiology Laboratory."

The two scientists were escorted out of the Winnipeg lab in July, 2019, and later had their security clearances revoked. They were fired in January, 2021. They have been under an RCMP national-security investigation since May, 2019.

The Globe and Mail revealed in March that the pair are now working in China and that Dr. Qiu is collaborating with researchers from the People's Liberation Army. The couple are using the pseudonyms Sandra Chiu and Kaiting Cheng, conducting research at prestigious institutions in China and alongside some of that country's most noted scientists.

MPs on the House of Commons special committee on Canada-China relations have also been investigating how the two scientists managed to escape scrutiny while doing work for China and allowing Chinese military scientists

and students access to the Winnipeg lab.

Conservative MP Michael Cooper said the fact that a U.S. congressional committee is now looking into the matter shows our allies have deep concerns about poor security safeguards at Canada's only Level 4 infectious-disease facility.

"Beijing's infiltration of Canada's highest security lab was a major national-security failure. The scrutiny that it is now receiving by the U.S. Congress underscores the damage that it has done to Canada's reputation," he said. "Allies are increasingly questioning Canada's reliability as a security partner."

Conservative foreign affairs critic Michael Chong added that the Trudeau government repeatedly "downplay and cover up" what he called one of the biggest national-security breaches in Canadian history.

"Now our allies are taking note. The letter from the U.S. Congress to the Director of National Intelligence shows the damage that Trudeau's incompetence and cover-

up have done," Mr. Chong said.

Declassified documents tabled in the Commons in late February showed that Dr. Qiu and Mr. Keding provided confidential scientific information to China and that CSIS found Dr. Qiu was associated with multiple talent-recruitment programs run by Chinese authorities.

The two scientists were fired after a probe found that they engaged in clandestine meetings with Chinese officials. Dr. Qiu posed "a realistic and credible threat to Canada's economic security," investigators said, while Mr. Cheng posed "a very serious and credible security danger to the government of Canada."

Documents reviewed by The Globe in March show that Dr. Qiu is now in China and most closely aligned with the University of Science and Technology of China (USTC) in the city of Hefei. In March, 2023, a document posted by a Chinese pharmaceutical company listed Dr. Qiu as working on a study related to a therapeutic antibody to the Ebola.

USTC was founded by the Chi-

nese Academy of Sciences decades ago and initially established to build up Chinese scientific expertise useful to the military, which at the time was pursuing technology to build satellites, intercontinental ballistic missiles and atomic bombs. The university has continued to maintain close military ties.

Dr. Qiu is a medical doctor from Tianjin, China, who came to Canada for graduate studies in 1996. She started at the University of Manitoba, but began working at the national lab as a research scientist in 2006, working her way up to become head of the vaccine development and antiviral therapies section.

She was also part of the team that helped develop ZMapp, a treatment for the deadly Ebola virus, which killed more than 11,000 people in West Africa between 2014 and 2016.

Over a period of 13 months, though, the Chinese-Canadian microbiologist and her biologist husband's lives were turned upside down.

She went from being feted at Ottawa's Rideau Hall with a Governor-General's Award in May, 2018, to being locked out of the Winnipeg lab in July, 2019.

By the time Canadian officials intervened in 2018 and began investigating, documents show, Dr. Qiu was running 44 separate projects at the Winnipeg lab, an uncommonly large workload.

CSIS found multiple unfinalized applications on her computers to enroll Dr. Qiu in Chinese talent-recruitment programs. She had been approved by Public Health Agency of Canada to provide training at the Wuhan Institute of Virology in the fall of 2017, but it appears her Canadian managers were unaware of her interest in signing onto lucrative Chinese recruitment programs.

CSIS also found an unfinalized employment agreement for Dr. Qiu to work with Hebei Medical University that would include \$1.2-million in research funding and \$15,000 a month in compensation as well as \$30,000 per year for leading laboratory operations remotely.

Supreme Court upholds sexual-assault conviction, affirms refusal of evidence

SEAN FINE
JUSTICE WRITER

The Supreme Court of Canada has upheld a sexual-assault conviction in which an ex-husband was denied the right to present evidence of a consensual encounter the night before the alleged assault — even when the complainant testified she wouldn't have sex with him because they were separated.

The court split 7-2 in a case that raised questions about how to balance a complainant's right to be protected from improper questioning against an accused person's right to challenge a complainant's credibility.

The case showed the court's newest member, Justice Mary Moreau of Alberta, who was appointed last fall, is willing to challenge its frequently pro-prosecution stand in sexual-assault cases. She wrote jointly for the minority with Justice Suzanne Côté, the court's most frequent dissenter on the side of men accused of sexual assault.

In 1982, Parliament passed a law to limit what defence lawyers could ask complainants in sexual-assault trials about their past sexual conduct. It was an effort to ensure that women were not treated as though they had less credibility because they were sexually active.

Anyone wishing to raise evidence about previous sexual behaviour needs to apply to a judge in a pretrial hearing, and show that it will be relevant to their defence and not present stereotyped reasoning.

But the case of T.W.W. from British Columbia posed tricky questions because trials may evolve in ways that were not anticipated when a pretrial ruling was made.

In this case, the ex-wife had told police she and her ex-husband had consensual sex on the evening of April 1, 2018, and then he'd violently sexually assaulted her the next morning. In her testimony at trial about the alleged assault, she suggested she would not have sex with him because they were separated and he had a new girlfriend. Her ex-husband said the violent attack in the morning never happened.

The trial judge, B.C. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jenkins, ruled before trial in 2021 that evidence of the evening sexual encounter on April 1 could not be introduced because its purpose would be to reinforce myths and stereotypes about the complainant. All nine judges of the Supreme Court of Canada agreed

with Justice Jenkins on that pretrial ruling, saying that T.W.W. had not been specific about the permissible use sought for the evidence.

Still, when the ex-wife testified that being separated was a factor in her lack of consent, it made it appear unlikely and improbable that she consented, according to the dissenters, Justice Moreau and Justice Côté.

That should have prompted the judge to revisit his pretrial ruling, and allow the evidence of the April 1 encounter to be used, the dissenters said. They would have quashed the conviction and ordered a new trial.

"Revisiting a ruling contributes to maintaining trial fairness and avoiding a miscarriage of justice," Justice Moreau and Justice Côté wrote. "The accused's right to a fair trial is constitutionally protected, and the trial judge has a duty to uphold that right."

They said this holds true, whether or not a defence lawyer asks the judge to revisit a pretrial ruling. In this case, lawyer Jaskarmdeep Mangat, while not explicitly asking for the review, tried to ask the complainant whether she had spent the night in T.W.W.'s bedroom, but the judge shut him down.

The majority agreed with the dissenters, to a point. They said some cases "cry out" for a judge to reconsider a pretrial ruling, even without being asked to do so, as evidence in a trial unfolds. But this was not such a case, Justice Michelle O'Bonsawin wrote for the majority, and the defence had ample chance to ask the judge to review the ruling and did not.

Lisa Helps, a lawyer who was part of the defence team in the case, said the ruling was an important one for revisiting pretrial rulings in sexual assault cases.

"It creates a mechanism that was not well defined that counsel can now, based on the ruling, be certain that they will be heard if an evidentiary matter brings up a new ground for the admission of evidence."

Joseph Neuberger, a Toronto lawyer and author of a newsletter on sexual-assault law, who was not involved in the case, said the majority ruling hampers the ability of accused people to bring forth relevant evidence.

The evidence of the April 1 sexual encounter "was necessary to rebut the Crown's theory that the sexual assault was during a breakdown in the relationship," he said, and to "rebut the complainant's characterization of the relationship at the time of the alleged sexual assault."

Refugee board orders deportation of trucker in Humboldt Broncos crash

BILL GRAVELAND CALGARY

The truck driver who caused the horrific bus crash involving the Humboldt Broncos junior hockey team was ordered Friday to be deported to India.

An Immigration and Refugee Board hearing for Jaskirat Singh Sidhu announced its decision in a 15-minute virtual hearing.

"I can't consider humanitarian and compassionate factors," Trent Cook from the immigration division of the board, who oversaw the hearing, told Mr. Sidhu.

"My sole role today is to make a finding on whether the minister has established the facts that support their allegation that you're inadmissible for serious criminality.

"I am satisfied that the minister's report is well founded.

"I am required by law to issue you with a deportation order."

Reporters were given online access to the hearing. Key participants, including Mr. Sidhu, were shown on the screen.

Mr. Sidhu remained impassive as the decision was read.

His lawyer, Michael Greene, had said the decision was a foregone conclusion, as all that was required to deport Mr. Sidhu was proof he's not a Canadian citizen and he had committed a serious crime.

Mr. Sidhu is from India and arrived in Canada in 2014.

In 2018, the rookie truck driver, living in Calgary, barrelled through a stop sign and into the path of the junior hockey team's bus at a rural intersection near Tisdale, Sask.

Sixteen people on the bus were killed and 13 were injured.

Mr. Sidhu pleaded guilty to dangerous driving offences and was sentenced to eight years in prison. He was granted full parole last year.

Mr. Greene said there are more legal and procedural steps to follow and Mr. Sidhu may not be deported for months or even years.

Mr. Greene said he plans to soon file an application asking the government to return Mr. Sidhu's permanent-resident status on humanitarian grounds.

He said immigration officials would look at Mr. Sidhu's offence, his remorse, and whether he is a security risk or a danger to the public.

"They also look at other factors including the person's establishment in Canada. Are there family ties? The best interests of any child involved, and any hardship that would occur were he to be removed," Mr. Greene said.

Mr. Sidhu and his wife now have a child who was born in Canada, Mr. Greene said. The child has severe heart and lung complications.

Several family members of those killed in the crash have said they want Mr. Sidhu deported.

THE CANADIAN PRESS



Officers escort Jaskirat Singh Sidhu out of a sentencing hearing in Melfort, Sask., in March, 2019. Mr. Sidhu was driving when his truck crashed into a junior hockey team's bus in 2018, killing 16 people and injuring 13 others. KAYLE NEIS/THE CANADIAN PRESS

ICJ orders Israel to halt assault on Rafah

Proposed measures, including getting more aid into Gaza, align with Canada's position on the conflict, PM says

GEOFFREY YORK JOHANNESBURG
BILL CURRY OTTAWA

The International Court of Justice has ordered Israel to halt its military offensive in Rafah, citing the "immense risks" of an assault that leaves hundreds of thousands of Palestinian civilians facing imminent threat of death.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau swiftly signalled his support for the court's ruling, which he called "binding." The world court's orders "go exactly" in the direction of Canada's position, and "we expect everyone to follow them as a matter of international law," he told reporters on Friday.

The court in The Hague, the highest judicial body of the United Nations, issued the order on Friday with the support of 13 of its 15 judges. Only the judges of Uganda and Israel opposed the order.

The court said Israel must comply with its obligations under the Genocide Convention by immediately halting its Rafah offensive in the southern Gaza Strip, along with any other action in Rafah "which may inflict on the Palestinian group in Gaza conditions of life that could bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

By the same 13-2 vote, the court's judges ordered Israel to open the Rafah crossing, between Gaza and Egypt, to allow the unhindered supply of "urgently needed basic services and humanitarian assistance."

The court also ordered Israel to ensure "unimpeded access" to Gaza for any UN-mandated investigation of genocide allegations, and it required Israel to submit a report within 30 days on its compliance with the orders. It did not, however, order a complete ceasefire across Gaza, which had been requested by South Africa in its latest urgent application to the court this month.

While the world court's orders are legally binding, the court does not have an enforcement mechanism, and countries such as Russia have simply ignored earlier rulings by the court.



Palestinians walk along a street in Khan Younis on Friday in the southern Gaza Strip. About 800,000 civilians have been displaced as they flee Israel's intensified bombing campaign. EYAD BABA/GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Trudeau, speaking at a news conference in Truro, N.S., said the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza is "horrific" and requires a major increase in aid. "The dangers of starvation and famine are real. We need to be helping on the ground. We need to get more aid in. The ICJ's latest proposed measures go exactly in that direction."

Mr. Trudeau's comments on Friday were in sharp contrast to his response to the court's initial ruling on Gaza in January, when his government declined to offer any comment on the specifics of the court orders.

On Friday, he also accused the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, of throwing obstacles into the path of a two-state solution in which Israel would co-exist peacefully with a Palestinian state.

"That is what Canada has been working on for decades. ... Unfortunately, the Netanyahu government is creating barriers and blockages to ever being able to create, or even imagine, that two-state solution. That is where we fundamentally disagree with the Netanyahu government even as we continue to support the rights of the State of Israel and also the aspirations of the Palestinian people."

The orders issued on Friday are interim measures by the world court in response to the South African application, as part

of a larger case in which South Africa alleges that Israel has breached the Genocide Convention, a 1948 treaty that Israel and 152 other countries have signed.

In its ruling, the court cited the "worsening conditions of life" faced by civilians in Rafah, including the displacement of about 800,000 civilians who have fled from Israel's intensified bombing campaign.



This order is ground-breaking as it is the first time an explicit mention is made for Israel to halt its military actions in any area of Gaza.

ZANE DANGOR
DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF
SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN MINISTRY

It quoted UN officials saying that the risks have already started to materialize, with one of the last remaining hospitals in Rafah forced to shut down and UN relief workers losing access to their Rafah warehouse. The court said it was unconvinced that Israel's evacuation efforts and other measures are sufficient to alleviate the huge risks posed by the military offensive.

In a separate section of their ruling, the judges reiterated their call for the "immediate and

unconditional release" of the hostages held by Hamas and other armed groups in Gaza. "The court finds it deeply troubling that many of these hostages remain in captivity," the judges said. They could not include this call in their formal orders, however, because the court only has jurisdiction over states, not armed groups.

Rafah had been the main place of refuge for about half of Gaza's 2.3 million people, until Israel launched its new assault this month. According to Gaza's health ministry, more than 35,000 Palestinians have been killed across the territory since Israel launched its offensive last October. Israel says about 1,200 people were killed and more than 250 hostages were seized by Hamas in the group's Oct. 7 attack on southern Israel that precipitated the Gaza offensive.

Independent analysts said the ruling on Friday gave South Africa nearly everything that it had requested in its application to the court. Although the ruling is unlikely to have any immediate impact on Israel's military offensive, it could increase the diplomatic pressure for a ceasefire and could leave Israel further isolated on the world stage.

Several ICJ judges issued separate opinions on Friday, with some suggesting that the court order did not require a complete halt to Israel's offensive. "It is not

an unconditional obligation to halt the military operation," said Aharon Barak, the Israeli appointee to the court. "It specifies that Israel must, in accordance with its obligations under the 1948 Genocide Convention, conduct its military offensive in a way that does not deprive the Palestinian civilian population of its essential means of existence."

Most of the court's judges, however, did not address this issue of interpretation, and at least one judge – South African judge Dire Tladi – flatly stated that the ruling required a full halt to the offensive.

Israel has repeatedly denounced South Africa's court application, accusing it of acting on behalf of Hamas. "No power on Earth will stop Israel from protecting its citizens and going after Hamas in Gaza," Israeli government spokesperson Avi Hyman told journalists on Thursday.

On Friday, Israeli officials responded to the court ruling by saying that the genocide charge is "outrageous and morally repugnant." They said Israel's military actions were "defensive and just," and they denied that the Rafah offensive would lead to the destruction of the Palestinian population "in whole or in part."

Zane Dangor, director-general of South Africa's Foreign Ministry, said his government welcomed the court ruling on Friday. "This order is ground-breaking as it is the first time an explicit mention is made for Israel to halt its military actions in any area of Gaza," he said in a statement on social media.

In effect, the court is calling for a ceasefire in Gaza, and other countries must also comply with this order, he said, in a tacit reference to the U.S. role in providing weapons to Israel.

Balkees Jarrah, associate director of international justice at Human Rights Watch, said the ruling shows the gravity of the situation facing Palestinians in Gaza.

"Nowhere in Gaza is safe, and civilians there are facing famine – and yet the Israeli government continues to flout the World Court's binding orders by obstructing the entry of life-saving aid and services," she said in a statement.

"The ICJ's decision opens up the possibility for relief, but only if governments use their leverage, including through arms embargoes and targeted sanctions, to press Israel to urgently enforce the court's measures."

Israeli strikes on Gaza intensify, heavy fighting reported in the north

NIDAL AL-MUGHRABI CAIRO

Israeli forces stepped up military strikes on Gaza on Friday, residents and medics said, with planes bombing targets in the southern city of Rafah even as the UN's top court ordered Israel to halt its offensive there.

Heavy fighting was also reported in Jabalia, in the north, where Israel's military said it had recovered the bodies of three hostages killed during the Hamas-led attacks on Oct. 7 that triggered the war.

In Rafah, where an escalating Israeli assault has sent hundreds of thousands of people fleeing from what was one of the few remaining places of refuge, residents reported intensifying aerial and ground bombardment in the south and centre of the city that borders Egypt.

Residents and Palestinian

media reported a series of strikes hitting roads and houses in the Shaboura neighbourhood in central Rafah shortly after the ICJ ruling was read out in The Hague.

Israel launched its assault on Gaza following a Hamas-led attack on southern Israeli communities on Oct. 7 that killed 1,200 people and saw more than 250 hostages seized, according to Israeli tallies. Since then, Israel's incursion has killed more than 35,000 people, according to Gaza health authorities.

In northern Gaza, medics said at least five Palestinians were killed when houses were hit in Jabalia and more were believed to be trapped under rubble, but that the area could not be reached owing to the intensity of the bombardment.

The Israeli military said it had recovered the bodies of three hostages taken into Gaza after they were killed on Oct. 7.

It said the bodies of Hanan Yablouk, Michel Nisenbaum and Orion Hernandez Radoux were recovered overnight in a joint operation by the army and the intelligence services in Jabalia.

Israel says its twin goals in Gaza are bringing back the remaining hostages and destroying Hamas.

"We will not stop fighting for their freedom," said military spokesperson Rear Admiral Daniel Hagari in a televised statement announcing the recovery of the three bodies. "Every decent country would do the same."

Simultaneous Israeli assaults on the northern and southern edges of Gaza this month have caused a new exodus of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fleeing their homes, and have cut off the main access routes for aid, raising the risk of famine.

Israel had said its forces cleared Jabalia, the largest of Gaza's eight

historic refugee camps, months earlier in the war. But it returned there this month saying it needed to prevent Islamist militants regrouping, and the area has seen intense fighting in recent weeks.

Residents said on Friday tanks had destroyed the local market and bulldozers continued to raze shops and property in Jabalia's narrow alleys. Hamas's armed wing said its fighters had engaged three tanks there.

Tanks also advanced close to the nearby Kamal Adwan Hospital, where medics said Israeli fire had caused the suspension of operations at the last functioning medical facility in northern Gaza Strip.

Also, some of the food supplies waiting to enter the Gaza Strip from Egypt have begun to rot as the Rafah border crossing remains shut to aid deliveries for a third week and people inside the Palestinian enclave face worsening hunger.

Rafah was a main entry point for humanitarian relief as well as some commercial supplies before Israel stepped up its military offensive on the Gazan side of the border on May 6 and took control of the crossing from the Palestinian side.

Egyptian officials and sources say humanitarian operations are at risk from military activity and that Israel needs to hand the crossing back to Palestinians before it starts operating again.

Israel and the United States have called on Egypt, which is also worried about the risk of Palestinians being displaced from Gaza, to allow the border to reopen.

Meanwhile the backlog of aid on the road between the Egyptian side of the crossing and the town of al-Arish, about 45 kilometres west of Rafah and an arrival point for international aid donations, has been building up.

One truck driver, Mahmoud Hussein, said his goods had been loaded on his vehicle for a month, gradually spoiling in the sun. Some of the foodstuffs are being

discarded, others sold of cheap.

"Apples, bananas, chicken and cheese, a lot of things have gone rotten, some stuff has been returned and is being sold for a quarter of its price," he said, crouching under his truck for shade.

"I'm sorry to say that the onions we're carrying will at best be eaten by animals because of the worms in them."

Aid deliveries for Gaza through Rafah began in late October, two weeks after the start of the war between Israel and Palestinian militant group Hamas.

The flow of relief has often been slowed by Israeli inspections and military activity inside Gaza and the amount reaching the enclave's 2.3 million residents has been far below needs, aid officials say.

A global hunger monitor has warned of imminent famine in parts of Gaza.

Since May 5, no trucks have crossed through Rafah and very few through the nearby Israeli crossing of Kerem Shalom, according to UN data.

The amount of aid waiting in Egypt's northern Sinai was now very large, and some had been stuck for more than two months, said Khaled Zayed, head of the Egyptian Red Crescent in the area.

"Some aid packages require a certain temperature. ... We co-ordinate on this with specialists who are highly trained in the storage of food and medical supplies," he said.

"We hope the border will reopen as soon as possible."

KSrelief, a Saudi-funded charity, has more than 350 trucks carrying items including food and medical supplies waiting to pass through Rafah, but has had to off-load flour because of the risk of it rotting, the group's supervisor general Abdullah Al Rabeeah said.

"We pack and send but also we have to check. It is a big burden," he told Reuters.

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N.L. soldier's remains to be repatriated from France

Unknown man who died in First World War will be interred during the 100th anniversary of province's National War Memorial in July

PAUL WALDIE
EUROPE CORRESPONDENT
GUEUDECOURT, FRANCE

Berkley Lawrence choked back tears as he held a small case containing his grandfather's leather dog tags, with his name and service number, 1686, neatly inscribed.

Stephen Lawrence was wounded twice in the First World War: once during the Battle of the Somme in July, 1916, and again three months later while fighting near Gueudecourt, in northern France. He's one of 3,600 Newfoundlanders who died or were wounded during the Great War, when the province was a separate dominion of the British Empire.

"It's shivering for me to be here," Mr. Lawrence said Friday as he stood at a small memorial in Gueudecourt that commemorates Newfoundland soldiers. "I break down every time I talk about him."

Mr. Lawrence, 70, is part of a delegation of Newfoundland and Labrador veterans and government representatives who have travelled to northern France this week for a historic ceremony.

On Saturday, the remains of a Newfoundland soldier who died during the First World War will be loaded on to a plane in Lille, France, and flown to St. John's. The casket will be interred in a new tomb for the unknown soldier on July 1 as part of commemorations marking the 100th anniversary of Newfoundland's National War Memorial.

The repatriation is the brainchild of Newfoundland Frank Sullivan, who served in the navy for 42 years and spent the past five



Canadians veterans lay a wreath at the Gueudecourt Newfoundland Memorial in France on Friday as part of the repatriation of an unknown Newfoundland First World War soldier. RAFAEL YAGHOZADEH/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

years lobbying officials.

Mr. Sullivan's great-uncle, Charles Canning, died near Beaumont-Hamel during the Battle of the Somme, and it always rankled him that there was a tomb of the unknown soldier at the National War Memorial in Ottawa and not one in St. John's.

"Newfoundland was its own dominion back then, so why haven't we got one? Our war memorial predates the Canadian one by 15 years," Mr. Sullivan, 77, said Friday as he toured the memorial at Gueudecourt.

It particularly irked him that the remains interred in the National War Memorial are those of a soldier who died during the Battle of Vimy Ridge in 1917, when more than 10,000 Canadians were killed or wounded while taking a strategic hilltop. Since Newfoundlanders didn't fight at Vimy Ridge, Mr. Sullivan felt the tomb in Ottawa didn't represent the province's substantial sacrifice.

About 12,000 Newfoundlanders signed up to fight after Britain declared war in August, 1914. That represented more than a third of the dominion's population of young men at the time. More than 700 died in the first half-hour of fighting at the Somme, and many of the bodies were never recovered. Another 239 died or were wounded at Gueudecourt.

Armed with a stack of research, Mr. Sullivan began lobbying various levels of government and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, a multinational organization that maintains cemeteries around the world for soldiers from Commonwealth countries who died during the world wars.

The repatriation project was approved in 2022, and the commission selected the soldier whose identity is unknown. The Newfoundland and Labrador government, with support from the

Royal Canadian Legion, refurbished the war memorial in St. John's and built a place for a tomb.

Mr. Sullivan saw the casket this week in France. "I broke down," he said as tears welled up in his eyes. "In July, it will be entombed, and we'll have our own hero."

Newfoundland Premier Andrew Furey, who has travelled to France for Saturday's ceremony, said almost everyone in the province has some connection to the men and women who lost their lives during the war. "Every Newfoundland and Labradorian learns from a young age the story of the fighting Newfoundland and how it was born in the First World War," he said.

Mr. Furey said the war had a profound impact on Newfoundland in terms of human cost and economic fallout, which ultimately led the province to give up its independence in 1949.

Bringing an unknown soldier

home "is incredibly moving and it will be historic for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to be able to go and visit and pay respects to someone who's given an ultimate sacrifice for the freedoms we enjoy today," he said.

Retired general Rick Hillier, a former chief of the defence staff, was among the veterans honouring fallen Newfoundland soldiers Friday. At one point, Mr. Hillier, who is from Campbellton, N.L., encouraged the group to walk by rows of graves and remember someone who died during the war.

"It's been incredible, very emotional," he said during the delegation's stop at a war cemetery outside Beaumont-Hamel.

As he toured the cemetery, Mr. Hillier was asked about the war in Ukraine and whether any parallels could be drawn with the First World War.

"The lessons of war never get old, sadly," he said. "Warfare changes in some ways, but fundamentally it's two people trying to kill each other. And you do that in any way you can."

Saturday's ceremony, which begins at the Newfoundland Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel, will also be special for Sharp Dopler, 61, from Paradise, N.L. The 14-year veteran of the naval reserve was forced out of the military in 1997 because of their sexual orientation.

Dopler has been included in the delegation as a representative of Rainbow Veterans of Canada, an organization that represents LGBTQ veterans, who were purged from the military for decades, up to the 1990s.

The organization has only recently been included in veterans' events and has started working with the Legion. "I had some fear coming here as a queer veteran," Dopler said. "But everybody here has been amazing."

They choked up when asked what Saturday's ceremony will mean to them. "It's a huge, huge honour," Dopler replied. "I still can't believe I'm here."

University of Toronto issues notice of trespass to pro-Palestinian encampment

JOE FRIESEN
POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION
REPORTER

The University of Toronto has issued a notice of trespass to the pro-Palestinian encampment on its campus, giving protesters until Monday morning to vacate the area.

Copies of the trespass notice were handed out and affixed to the encampment fence on King's College Circle shortly after 4 p.m. Friday, when an administration offer that could have ended the protest expired.

Student leaders accepted the notice and said they intend to continue negotiating with the university to seek a solution. The next meeting between university administrators and protesters is set for Sunday afternoon.

"This is definitely an escalation from the university," said Erin Mackey, a fourth-year student who has been speaking on behalf of demonstrators.

"We are here, we will continue to be here and we will continue to

demand divestment."

Demonstrators, many of whom have been living in the encampment since it began on May 2, have called on the university to disclose its investments and divest from companies connected to the Israeli military. They've also demanded that the university cut ties with Israeli academic institutions that operate in occupied territories.

In its notice of trespass, the university administration asserts that the campus is private property and that encampments are considered trespassing as well as contrary to the student code of conduct. It said many health and safety concerns have arisen from the protest and the takeover of a common space violates the fundamental principle of inclusion.

If the protesters don't vacate the area by 8 a.m. Monday, the university said it will take necessary legal steps and seek an injunction from the Ontario Superior Court. It said students could be subject to discipline, including sanctions as severe as a five-year suspension or a

recommendation of expulsion.

The notice of trespass also took specific aim at faculty and staff.

"Faculty members, librarians and staff may be subject to disciplinary measures up to and including termination of employment, in accordance with the relevant university policies and/or the applicable collective agreement," the notice states.

On Thursday the university made an offer aimed at ending the protest. It said it would expedite a review of the divestment request and create an expert working group to consider greater transparency in its investments. It rejected the protesters' demand to cut ties with Israeli universities, saying it would be at odds with its commitment to academic freedom.

In exchange for those concessions, the demonstrators were asked to dismantle their camp immediately and to refrain from disrupting convocation ceremonies.

On Thursday when asked if he was willing to call police to clear the encampment, U of T presi-

dent Meric Gertler said he was not eliminating any options.

The U of T protest is one of several on Canadian campuses, part of a broader movement that has spread across the continent, sparking debates about free speech and assembly and how universities should respond. Police cleared encampments at the University of Alberta and the University of Calgary with batons and flashbang explosives earlier this month and there have been violent clashes at U.S. universities.

Kalliopé Anvar McCall, a fourth-year student and protest organizer, said she thought the trespass notice would unify the demonstrators.

Earlier in the day, she said the university had not made a serious attempt at negotiation with its proposal to end the encampment, saying it was more of an ultimatum than an offer.

"They are trying to force us to accept these outrageous terms by threatening to clear us out," Ms. McCall said.

"This document is nothing but

a summary of their already existing procedure on divestment and disclosure with a few minor tweaks to bait us into thinking that we are getting a good deal."

Dr. Gertler said Thursday that the administration had been patient in seeking a negotiated solution. But the protesters have occupied part of campus for weeks and some members of the community are distressed by the encampment.

Jay Solomon, chief advancement officer for Hillel Ontario, a group that advocates on behalf of Jewish students, said his organization has heard from Jewish students who feel intimidated by the encampment and he called on the university to end what he described as an unlawful occupation of campus.

"I think the university needs to take immediate action to ensure that Jewish students, like all other students, feel welcome and safe on campus. What they've been doing up until now has been ineffective and it's time to take more concrete and immediate steps," Mr. Solomon said.

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MLA resigns post as house leader

Harrison stays in Saskatchewan cabinet after admitting he brought a gun into legislature 10 years ago

JEREMY SIMES REGINA

One week after Saskatchewan Premier Scott Moe publicly assured people there was no truth to the accusation his government house leader Jeremy Harrison brought a long gun into the legislature, Mr. Harrison says it did indeed happen.

Mr. Harrison admitted Friday to bringing in the weapon while also announcing he was stepping down as government house leader because of it.

Mr. Harrison remains in Mr. Moe's cabinet as the minister responsible for trade and immigration issues while the Opposition NDP says the entire affair raises serious questions about the premier.

"I apologize for this lapse in judgment and for not advising the premier of this one occasion," Mr. Harrison said in a statement. "I have offered, and the premier has accepted, my resignation as government house leader.

"Approximately a decade ago, I was going hunting on a weekend. "I stopped at the legislative

building for a short period of time and brought a properly cased long gun into the building with the knowledge of security officials so as to not leave it unattended in my vehicle in the parking lot.

"In retrospect, I should not have done this."

The government house leader is responsible for shepherding government bills through the house.

The Opposition NDP had been demanding for days that Mr. Harrison step forward and explain allegations made a week ago by Speaker Randy Weekes on the final day of the spring sitting.

Simmering tensions between Mr. Weekes and fellow members of the Saskatchewan Party caucus boiled over that day, with Mr. Weekes publicly accusing them of trying to bully him in his job as an impartial arbiter of House debate.

He singled out Mr. Harrison as the prime culprit, saying Mr. Harrison sent intimidating text messages and flashed the inside of his suit jacket — suggesting he was carrying a handgun.

Mr. Weekes also accused Mr. Harrison of flouting House rules by once bringing a hunting rifle into the building.

The next day, Mr. Moe dismissed all the allegations, telling reporters: "I have been informed they are all unequivocally false."

THE CANADIAN PRESS



The University of Calgary, seen in 2020, stopped admitting students to its petroleum engineering bachelor's degree program in 2021 amid an oil-sector downturn. TODD KOROL/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

University of Calgary prepares to relaunch oil engineering program after hiatus

AMANDA STEPHENSON CALGARY

The University of Calgary is planning a potential relaunch of its oil and gas engineering program, which it suspended three years ago owing to dwindling student demand.

The university stopped admitting students to its petroleum engineering bachelor's degree program in 2021 after a multiyear period of low oil prices, corporate consolidation and widespread energy-sector layoffs.

While the university still has a number of hoops to jump through before it can officially relaunch the program, spokesperson Joe McFarland confirmed in an e-mail the process to restart it has begun. While he did not say when the program would resume, he said the

university is once again seeing demand from young people interested in pursuing careers in the oil and gas sector.

"We have engaged with our industry partners, and we look forward to having this important program resume," Mr. McFarland said.

The University of Calgary is located in Alberta's largest city, which is home to the head offices of Canada's largest energy companies.

But at the time of the petroleum engineering program's suspension, Alberta's unemployment rate was among the highest in the country (averaging 8.7 per cent for the year) in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and the continuing oil-and-gas sector downturn.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Lawyers sue B.C. over addition of notaries, paralegals to regulatory body

MIKE HAGER VANCOUVER

British Columbia's trial lawyers and its self-regulating law society have launched constitutional challenges to the provincial government's move to combine oversight of their profession with notaries and paralegals, a move they contend violates their institutional independence.

The Trial Lawyers Association of B.C. filed its lawsuit on Tuesday in B.C. Supreme Court, and the Law Society of B.C. filed its claim last Friday.

These twin challenges could substantially delay the creation of a new regulator named the Legal Professions British Columbia, which is the core piece of Bill 21, passed last week on the final day of the legislature before the fall election.

The lawyers in both suits say the change means members of their profession will no longer have a "functional majority" of this new body that will set the rules for lawyers, law firms and articling students in B.C., as well as handle complaints against lawyers.

Under the current 32-person system of governance, the Law Society of B.C. is overseen by 25 lawyers elected by their peers in nine regions of the province as well as up to six non-lawyers appointed by the province and the Attorney General.

The new regulator's board will shrink to 17 directors: nine lawyers, two other positions for both notaries and paralegals, three appointed by the province (at least one of whom must be Indigenous).

However, the lawsuits note that only five of these directors will be elected by their peers in the legal profession, with the remaining four lawyers to be appointed along with one other director as part of a merit-based process voted on by all the other directors.

"Bill 21 eliminates the independence of the bar in British Columbia by, amongst other things: Effectively eliminating lawyer self-regulation of the legal profession in British Columbia by allowing for a functional majority of government-appointed lawyers and non-lawyers to control the board of directors," the trial

lawyers' association wrote in their notice of civil claim.

The law society said in a statement the new law is an "unnecessary government direction and intrusion on the legal profession" that threatens the legal profession's ability to serve the public.

B.C. Attorney General Niki Sharma was unavailable for an interview this week, but her office sent a statement saying she was reviewing the legal claims and her government still hopes to continue to work with the Law Society on a "smooth and effective transition."

The statement reiterates the government's rationale for the regulatory overhaul, saying it's aimed at making access to legal services more attainable and affordable for people by expanding the services offered by notaries, which have their own self-regulating society in B.C., and paralegals, which have never had their own regulator.

An "intentions paper" the government published before proposing the law says shifting to one regulator for all three professions would also improve people's access to legal advice by

prioritizing the public interest "over the interests of the professionals it regulates."

Ron Usher, who spent nearly nine years working for the Law Society before becoming general counsel for the Society of Notaries Public of B.C., said he was surprised by the "moral panic" the regulatory change created among many of his legal colleagues.

He estimated the lawsuits could delay the policy shift by two years or more.

The Federation of Law Societies of Canada said it is watching these lawsuits and, as is its policy, only intervenes in cases once they reach their final appeals, which is typically the Supreme Court of Canada.

B.C. has long maintained that the legal profession has not done enough to make its services more accessible to more of society and that legal aid cannot completely fill this gap in access. A Law Society of B.C. survey done by Ipsos in 2020 found nearly two-thirds of people with legal problems don't seek advice and, of those that do, less than half approach a lawyer.

The province said the society

has attempted to make legal services more affordable by promoting projects run by non-lawyers through its "Innovation Sandbox," but that approach has not done enough to impact the many people priced out of seeking such advice.

Julie Maciura, co-founder of the Toronto-based SML Law, said the new regulator would be unique in Canada if the majority of directors were non-lawyers. But Ms. Maciura, who also acts as independent legal counsel for the Ontario College of Teachers and the College of Optometrists of Ontario, said the independence of the legal system and the judiciary will remain as long as the process for appointing the other directors of B.C.'s new regulator is transparent and based on people's competency.

She argued that a lot of qualified lawyers who would be great regulators don't volunteer their time overseeing their provincial law societies because they refuse to put their name forward for the election process, which can become competitive with firms jockeying to get their own employees into director positions.



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Ontario to pay to speed up corner-store beer sales

Ford announces deal to give Beer Store chain \$225-million to help expand alcohol sales to convenience stores

JEFF GRAY
QUEEN'S PARK REPORTER

Ontario Premier Doug Ford unveiled a deal on Friday that will speed up his long-delayed plan to allow beer in the province's corner stores but require the government to funnel up to \$225-million to the Beer Store chain, which is owned by multinational brewing companies.

The deal means Mr. Ford, who made the announcement at a gas station near his home in Toronto's west-end area of Etobicoke, is now poised to fulfill a stalled, six-year-old promise on expanding alcohol sales within months. The government says the first convenience-store shelves will be stocked with beer by Sept. 5.

That is 16 months before Ontario's existing deal with the Beer Store was set to expire, on Dec. 21, 2025. The 10-year agreement, made by the previous Liberal government, guaranteed the chain's quasi-monopoly on beer but allowed a limited number of grocery stores to sell it.

The Progressive Conservative government says the new deal, which will also allow beer, wine, cider and premixed drinks in all



Ontario Premier Doug Ford and Finance Minister Peter Bethlenfalvy announce in Toronto that the province is speeding up the expansion of alcohol sales. CHRISTOPHER KATSAROV/THE CANADIAN PRESS

grocery and big-box stores as well as convenience stores this year, will give Ontarians up to 8,500 more places to buy booze — ending the Beer Store's dominance over beer sales, which dates back a century to the end of Prohibition.

Critics immediately seized on the multimillion-dollar payment to the Beer Store, which is controlled by the Canadian arms of global beer giants Molson Coors and Anheuser-Busch InBev. The money will go toward covering wages and other costs to keep a minimum number of Beer Store locations open, as the chain is a

key part of the province's recycling system.

The announcement fuelled speculation that the Premier was contemplating calling an early election, in spite of Ontario's fixed-election-date law, which has the next vote scheduled for June, 2026. Asked several times by reporters on Friday if he would stick to that date, Mr. Ford declined to answer directly.

Ontario Liberal Leader Bonnie Crombie called the beer deal "a blatant attempt by Doug Ford to buy the next election" in a post on the social-media site X, saying it would only benefit "grocery

store billionaires and multinational companies."

NDP Official Opposition Leader Marit Stiles said in a statement that the money could be better spent elsewhere, with hospital emergency rooms closing and millions of Ontarians without family doctors.

The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health warned that increasing the number of places to buy alcohol would "significantly increase" the 6,000 annual deaths in the province blamed on drinking. CAMH urged the province to allow municipalities to opt out of the plan, as it did for cannabis stores.

The deal will make Ontario just the third jurisdiction in Canada to allow beer in convenience stores, after Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador. It is common in many U.S. states and allowed in Britain.

Only 450 grocery-store locations were allowed to offer wine and beer under the existing Beer Store agreement. The new deal will allow all grocery stores, big-box stores and corner stores to sell the 12 and 24 packs now exclusively sold at the Beer Store, as well as 30 packs.

The province's LCBO stores will retain their monopoly on hard liquor, and become the wholesaler for the new booze retailers. The Beer Store will retain a role in distribution.

The Retail Council of Canada, whose members include the country's biggest grocery chains, criticized the new deal, which

will require larger retailers to start collecting empties as the role of the Beer Store in the recycling system for alcoholic beverage containers recedes. (The government and the Beer Store must still negotiate a new recycling deal.)

Diane Brisebois, the council's president and chief executive, decried what she called "a sweetheart deal for the big multinational beer companies" that is "compounded by pushing the brewing giants' recycling costs off onto grocers and hence onto Ontario consumers." She even suggested grocers might even bail out of the booze business.

The government's payments to the Beer Store will cover worker wages and benefits, but also renovations to stores, sales and marketing, and even the costs of new computers and software. It is also supposed to cover compensation for lost sales because of the cancellation of the chain's monopoly on 12 and 24 packs, until the existing 10-year deal is up.

The cash, which would be subject to audits, comes with a pledge to keep at least 386 of the Beer Store's 422 outlets open until July, 2025, and at least 300 running until the end of that year.

Speaking to reporters, Mr. Ford insisted that the money would go solely to the Beer Store's workers, not the beer giants that own it — even though the text of the deal says otherwise.

"What we're doing, we're supporting the front-line workers at the Beer Store," he said.

Arrival of obesity-treating drug in Canada offers hope, but questions remain

CARLY WEEKS
HEALTH REPORTER

The long-awaited arrival in Canada of an effective medication to treat obesity marks an important moment for some people living with the disease, but experts say persistent barriers to access need to be tackled.

Earlier this month, drug maker Novo Nordisk announced that Wegovy, the brand-name version of the drug semaglutide, approved for the treatment of obesity, is now available in Canada after a major delay owing to worldwide demand.

The company also sells semaglutide under the brand name Ozempic, which comes in a different dose and was approved in Canada to treat Type 2 diabetes. It has been available here since 2018.

Semaglutide is a glucagon-like peptide 1 receptor agonist, or GLP-1. It's a class of drugs that mimic the body's own GLP-1 hormone, found in the gut, which plays a critical role in controlling insulin and glucagon levels.

Demand for Ozempic since its

release in Canada and around the world has been unprecedented, fuelled by stories from people who easily lost weight while taking the medication. Although it's officially approved as a diabetes drug, doctors have the discretion to prescribe it in an off-label capacity to people who don't have diabetes.

As a result, prescriptions for Ozempic soared, leading countries such as Canada to experience shortages as a result. And this prompted heated debate over who should have access to the highly effective medication. Demand has yet to dissipate, with spending on semaglutide on the rise, and more evidence has emerged that the drugs can also reduce the risk of heart attacks and other serious health problems, such as liver disease and chronic kidney disease.

Now that the obesity-treatment version of the drug is available, experts say they hope it helps reduce the longstanding stigma faced by many people with the disease and changes the perception that carrying excess weight is solely a personal choice. But in order to help those living

with the disease, issues such as who pays for the drug need to be addressed.

For instance, earlier this year, Ontario limited coverage for Ozempic under its drug benefit program to individuals with a diabetes diagnosis. A federal pharmacare program that would provide universal access to diabetes medications would exclude Ozempic.

"I think it's unconscionable it's not covered," said Samir Gupta, a clinician scientist at the University of Toronto who focuses on knowledge translation and science communication. "Obesity, if we think of it as a chronic disease, it justifies the coverage."

GLP-1 drugs were the biggest contributors to increased spending by public drug plans in 2021, according to the Canadian Institute for Health Information. Spending rose by \$130-million that year.

In 2022, CADTH, a federal body that provides advice on drug coverage and is now known as Canada's Drug Agency, recommended that the provinces and territories not cover the cost of Wegovy. According to its report, the decision

was based on the fact that it wasn't clear that taking the drug provided any health benefits beyond helping people shed pounds.

However, experts such as Daniel Drucker, one of the researchers who discovered the GLP-1 hormone decades ago, believes that is about to change. Clinical trials of semaglutide and similar compounds such as tirzepatide, sold under the brand name Mounjaro, are showing promise beyond weight management.

A study published last fall in the New England Journal of Medicine found that in a group of non-diabetic people taking semaglutide, 6.5 per cent experienced a heart attack or other serious cardiovascular event, compared with 8 per cent in a placebo group.

Other trials are in advanced stages of determining if semaglutide and similar agents are effective at treating a range of conditions, including Parkinson's disease, sleep apnea, liver disease and more, Dr. Drucker said.

"We don't know the results of all of those trials," said Dr. Drucker, a clinician-scientist based at the Lunenfeld-Tanenbaum Re-

search Institute at Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto. "It's quite likely that at least some of these Phase 3 trials will be positive and will be able to expand the benefit of these medicines. It's a very exciting time."

As for side effects, Dr. Drucker noted that GLP-1 drugs have been in use for nearly two decades, while Ozempic itself has been on the market for several years. Bob Dent, the founder of the Weight Management Clinic at the Ottawa Hospital, said there are side effects with semaglutide — nausea, vomiting, bloating, constipation, stomach pain — but there are a "ton more" with obesity.

That's not to say GLP-1 or similar drugs are right for everyone or a quick fix. Some people can carry extra weight and be healthy, Dr. Dent said. If people do decide to take medication, they should know that they'll need to be on it for a long time and will need to take other steps, such as undertaking an exercise program, he said.

"It's a matter of risk versus benefit. When it works, it works really well, but it doesn't work in everybody."

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Plan for undocumented migrants nears cabinet review

Immigration Minister's proposal is set to be examined as soon as next week, sources say

MARIE WOOLF

The federal cabinet could discuss plans as early as next week to provide a path to citizenship for thousands of migrants living in Canada without valid documents, including rejected asylum seekers, so they can remain here legally.

Immigration Minister Marc Miller is preparing a plan for discussion by cabinet before Parliament breaks for its summer recess within weeks.

It would propose that people living in Canada without legal

status – including former international students whose study permits have expired – have a chance to apply to regularize their position and gain permanent residence.

Depending on the numbers who apply, the government may consider staggering the granting of permanent residence to undocumented migrants over several years to avoid a sudden surge, granting them work permits first.

Last year, Ottawa froze the number of permanent residents it aims to welcome to Canada for 2026 at 500,000 in the face of shrinking public support for immigration.

The federal government has also stuck with its targets of 485,000 permanent residents for 2024, and 500,000 for 2025.

Polls have shown a sharp drop

in public support for immigration as Canadians increasingly associate a lack of affordable housing with an influx of newcomers.

But Syed Hussan, executive director, Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, said people who are living and working here already would not apply additional pressure on housing.

He said regularizing the status of migrants who are living here could also lead to the injection of billions of dollars into the economy. He said a program to give status to people living in Canada would be a “litmus test” of the government’s commitment to support migrants.

Many migrants without valid papers have been working here for decades and have children but risk deportation because they overstayed in Canada or

have been denied the right to remain.

People who entered the country legally, including as temporary workers, but remained here after their visas expired are among those who could qualify to stay, rather than facing deportation.

In an interview with The Globe and Mail last year, Mr. Miller estimated hundreds of thousands of people may be living in the country without valid documents. He said he plans to present a proposal to cabinet in the spring on allowing undocumented immigrants to “regularize their status.”

Two well-placed sources whom The Globe is not naming because they are not authorized to speak on the matter, said the cabinet is on track to discuss his proposal.

The plan would fulfill the

Prime Minister’s mandate letter to former immigration minister Sean Fraser in 2021, which asked him to “further explore ways of regularizing status for undocumented workers who are contributing to Canadian communities.”

A number of countries have introduced plans to allow migrants without correct papers to regularize their status.

In Ireland, a program launched in 2022 ran for six months and gave people who had lived there for four years the chance to apply for official permission to remain.

Canada is also expected to insist that migrants have lived in communities for some time, and have not just arrived. People who have committed serious crimes and terrorist offences would also be barred from the program and would still face deportation.

Everyone is fighting for camera time in the Parliamentary hot tub

SHANNON PROUDFOOT

OPINION



In the bucolic early days of reality TV, a bunch of randoms were cast for a show, and it was only as the action unfolded

and the producers had fun in the editing suite that personalities and archetypes would emerge.

They’d have the scheming villain; the hot-but-unstable one; the underdog with a heart of gold; the one with a back story that was way too hefty and sad for the corrugated cardboard exoskeleton of the genre; and so

on.

There was some beautiful purity to this. You’d show up looking for love or a modelling career, and some unseen person at a computer would either ruin your life or make you a star by turning you into a caricature of yourself. Such innocent times.

But then, as the genre matured, people got wise to the game and would come onto these shows ready to claim their camera time with a prefab personality they wore like a Halloween costume. The whole thing went meta, with everyone winking at the invisible audience from behind their chosen façade.

Which brings us to politics and some of the truly absurd things that have happened lately that have no explanation, except that everyone is in their villain-on-The Bachelor era.

This week, Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre rose in the House of Commons to ask a signature hard-nosed question about the government’s drug policy. Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland answered him – or “answered him,” given how things go in what is still insultingly called Question Period.

“Mr. Speaker, the Conservative leader is wearing more makeup than I am today,” she began. You know when you – or, say, some staffer writing bits for you – cook up a one-liner you think is a winner, but when you deploy it in real life it sounds like it was sprayed out of an aerosol can? This was that.

The rest of Ms. Freeland’s purported answer was drowned out by cackling and loud harrumphing from the respective benches.

Then Speaker Greg Fergus asked her to withdraw the comment on another member’s appearance, which she did.

Back in November, at a committee meeting, Conservative MP Rachael Thomas was asking Heritage Minister Pascale St-Onge a string of questions about funding for news outlets. At one point, she requested that the minister “if at all possible” respond in English.

Asking such a thing in a country where bilingualism is as fraught as it is in Canada is like jamming a fork into a power outlet. A multiday outrage festival followed, and Ms. Thomas eventually apologized.

Social-media performance art – and long before that, posturing for the TV cameras – is nothing new for politicians, but lately it seems to have hit a new volume and level of desperation.

But the reason she might have temporarily taken leave of her senses was that she was chasing a slam-dunk recorded moment in which she asked a pointy question and got an incriminating answer. And denying her that just may have been why the fluidly bilingual Ms. St-Onge stuck to responding in her mother tongue.

Similarly, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh overplayed his hand when he showed up at a committee last year to question then-Loblaws CEO Galen Weston Jr., Canada’s designated inflation-rage sponge.

Mr. Singh rolled in with a stack of papers tall enough to use as a coffee table, which he said were questions from 2,000 Canadians that he wanted Mr. Weston to personally answer.

But when the NDP Leader asked to enter his prop into evidence, the committee refused because he hadn’t had the questions translated.

What these interactions – and a growing parade of others – share is that the people involved looked ridiculous in the moment and in the room where they were supposed to be doing serious work to shape the country, be-

cause what they were really doing was vamping for an invisible audience somewhere else. Social-media performance art – and long before that, posturing for the TV cameras – is nothing new for politicians, but lately it seems to have hit a new volume and level of desperation.

John O’Leary led communications and opposition research for the Liberal caucus until 2020. As he describes it, the social media carrots dangling before MPs are exactly like those of a teenager aspiring to be an influencer: Get clicks and get noticed among a cast of 300 or so extras in the House of Commons.

“I think there’s a perception among members of Parliament that they need to gain attention and find ways to stand out,” he said.

“And for some, I think that has meant being very sharp, being highly critical, highly partisan, on social-media.”

He describes a dual audience for these viral bids: They’re trying to reach voters and constituents, of course, but there’s also within-caucus ambition to produce something that gets the same bounce as someone else. And the algorithms – both human and digital – have very clear taste, and it doesn’t lean toward the nuanced, the earnest or the technical.

“It’s awfully hard to go viral with a post about small-craft harbour funding or announcing a new milestone in dental care,” Mr. O’Leary said. “That’s not clickbait.”

In their 1991 book *A Capital Scandal*, Robert Fife and John Warren devote a whole chapter to exploring how the arrival of TV cameras in the House of Commons in 1977 changed how politicians worked (the short answer was that it made things dumber, meaner and greasier, so trace the dotted line to imagine where we are now).

There were intense debates about letting the cameras in, the authors write, and plenty of people rang alarm bells.

“We have been elected to represent the people,” André-Gilles Fortin of the Social Credit Party warned.

“Not to entertain them.” That idea seems about as wistful and impossible now as finding true love in two months on a TV show with its own hot tub.

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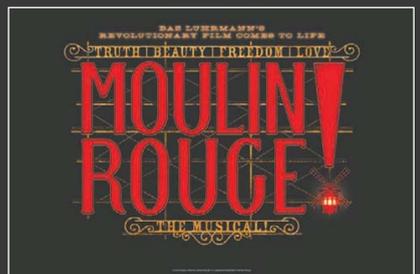
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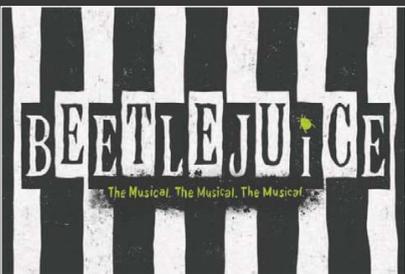
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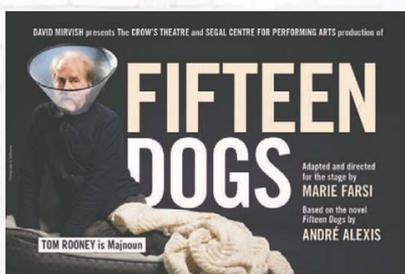
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Flouting China's divorce restrictions, one woman celebrates the end of her marriage in style

Qian Jin's transgressive party publicized something seen as regrettable, defying country's push to keep people married

JAMES GRIFFITHS
ASIA CORRESPONDENT
HONG KONG

Qian Jin never had a wedding ceremony. When she and her husband got married in 2019, they just signed papers. No vows, no dress, no party. So after the now-35-year-old posted about her marriage dissolving earlier this year, Feng Xiaogang, an influencer with more than 1.6 million followers on Douyin, the Chinese version of TikTok, reached out. He offered to throw Ms. Qian a "divorce party" and invited his fans to join them in central Beijing, to metaphorically cleanse Ms. Qian of a marriage she found stifling and contentious.

"For a long time, I couldn't bring myself to admit that I had chosen the wrong person, because I didn't want to admit I'd failed. I didn't want to be a 'divorcee,'" said Ms. Qian, dressed in a wedding gown bedecked with stapled-on evidence of her unhappy marriage, including loan documents from when she helped pay off her then-husband's debts, and selfies. Her former partner could not be reached for comment. With Mr. Feng seated beside her, attendees came up one by one to help Ms. Qian cut up her sad memories, and slice the hem of her dress, until she could run free, a single woman once again.

Ms. Qian's ceremony this month was doubly transgressive, not only in celebrating something still widely seen as regrettable in conservative China, but also in running against Beijing's stated desire to keep people married as part of a bundle of policies intended to boost the country's birth rate as China faces down a future demographic crisis.

Between 2000 and 2020, the number of divorces in China exploded from around 1.2 million a year to more than four million, as old stigmas against ending a marriage eased somewhat and legal restrictions were gradually lifted. Until 2021, if both husband and wife agreed to divorce, they could file paperwork with their local marriage registration office and their union would be dissolved without the need for a court case.

That year however, a mandatory, month-long cooling-off period was introduced, resulting in a marked reversal in the previous trend. Last year, there were more than 2.5 million divorces, the lowest figure in more than a decade, according to data from China's National Bureau of Statistics.

China is not the only country to have a



Newly divorced Qian Jin, left, gets emotional as a participant in a divorce party put on by influencer Feng Xiaogang, right, cuts the hem of her wedding dress.

cooling-off period – France and Britain both make couples wait several weeks – and officials have defended the unpopular measure as preventing supposedly impulsive divorces, arguing that women in abusive marriages could still petition a court to immediately grant a divorce.

But getting a court to agree to do so is easier said than done. According to the China Justice Observer, which monitors legal cases and offers advice to plaintiffs, even before the new cooling-off legislation came in, judges often imposed such measures themselves, dismissing applications and telling couples to come back in six months should they still want to separate. A 2018 survey by China's Supreme People's

Court found that more than two-thirds of cases were dismissed on the first hearing – research by the Beijing Qianqian Law Firm found judges often denied or ignored women's claims of intimate partner violence. Ms. Qian dismissed the idea that women ended their marriages on impulse, saying she had been unhappy for years before finally telling her husband it was over. It was not divorce, but marriage that might need a cooling-off period more, she added.

Women in China are still expected to sacrifice their careers for their family, and to give a large amount of control over their finances to their husband or his parents. Ms. Qian said many younger women may

avoid marriage for fear of giving up their economic independence and security, or put off having children – as she did – because they worry it will make them even more dependent on their husband.

Pro-natalist policies such as the divorce cooling-off period have so far disproportionately affected women, with rollbacks on abortion rights and increasing pressure on young women to marry and have children rather than enter the work force.

The ratio of working-age people to retirees in China is particularly imbalanced as a result of the one-child policy that was in place until 2016 – the negative effects of which, including forced abortions, also predominantly fell on women.

Beijing has since scrapped all remaining family-planning restrictions, and many local governments have introduced incentives for new parents, but the birth rate has continued to drop, with just over nine million babies born in China last year, the lowest number since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. If the country wants to boost the birth rate, "we need more policies to protect women," Ms. Qian said. Before the recent legal change, around 70 per cent of divorces were initiated by the wife.

Zhang Jing, a 19-year-old photography student who attended Ms. Qian's divorce party, agreed. She said she could not imagine getting married, adding that it felt more like entering into bondage than anything else. She said she rarely saw positive examples of marriage, referencing stories she'd read about women being abused or having to give up their careers.

"If society wants me and my peers to get married then we need to see the benefits of doing so first," Ms. Zhang said.

She was one of around two dozen people who joined Ms. Qian in celebrating her divorce, helping her cut up her dress and sharing stories with the group. Many spoke positively about marriage, provided it was with the right person. One woman said her mother had fallen in love at age 48, after two failed marriages, adding that being brave enough to divorce the wrong person could make someone happier in the long run. Mr. Feng, the influencer who put on the event, said that older people often see divorce as a black mark against their child, "but it's not, and if they don't divorce, staying in an unhappy marriage is also a black mark, one that will only grow and grow."

He described Ms. Qian as "very brave" and said he hoped the party could help lift some of the remaining stigma around divorce. "If more people can eliminate this impression that divorce is grey and unglamorous through my videos, maybe more parents will support their children in saying goodbye to bad marriages, rather than urging them to put up with it."

With reports from Alexandra Li in Beijing

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Marshall Smith, Alberta Premier Danielle Smith's chief of staff, went from battling a drug addiction to battling Ottawa on everything from pensions to clean energy rules.
MEGAN ALBU/
THE GLOBE AND MAIL



The leader of Alberta's drug counter-revolution

In Vancouver, he was a street hustler whose substance abuse and rough life nearly killed him. In Edmonton, he is the Premier's right-hand man – and he wants to upend settled wisdom on how to solve the overdose crisis

MARCUS GEE EDMONTON

One day in the early 2000s, police acting on a tip about some suspected drug dealers kicked in the door of a Vancouver hotel room. They found a well-known dealer inside, but they also found a fast-talking, rail-thin guy with a dimpled chin and boyish good looks. He was new on the scene. His name was Marshall.

Over the next few years, they got to know him well. Whenever they saw him, they would stop to talk. He was unusually well-spoken and, as they soon learned, he had a remarkable back story. They urged him to get help with his addiction.

Caught up in the turmoil of the streets, he always turned them down. Like many people hooked on street drugs, he spent his time hustling to get money for his next hit. He stayed up for days on end, wired on stimulants. He passed out in doorways. He ate food from trash cans.

Today that guy, now a silver-haired 53-year-old in a crisp dress shirt, holds one of the most powerful behind-the-scenes jobs in Canadian politics. Marshall Smith is chief of staff to Alberta Premier Danielle Smith, who has been wrangling with Ottawa over everything from pensions to clean-energy rules.

That alone would make his story worth telling. But his importance goes beyond his perch in a wood-paneled office of Alberta's legislative building. Drawing on his experience living with addiction, then recovering from it, he is leading a campaign to upend the conventional wisdom on how to end Canada's drug crisis.

That crisis has killed around 43,000 Canadians since 2016, about the same number as died fighting in the Second World War. The death rate escalated during the COVID-19 pandemic and has stayed high since.

About once every hour in Canada, someone succumbs to an overdose, in communities as rural as Bell Island, N.L., or as urban as Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, where Mr. Smith once roamed.

The conventional wisdom, repeated over and over by advocates and health authorities, holds that the crisis is the result of a "poisoned drug supply." Potent synthetic opioids such as fentanyl have taken over from heroin and cocaine as the dominant street drugs, permeating the drug market.

The solution is not to force people to stop using them or to put pressure on them to get treatment for their addiction. The solution is to make it less dangerous for them to use their drugs: the approach known as harm reduction. That means giving drug users supervised places in which to consume them, clean needles with which to inject them and even free, pharmacy-dispensed "safe supply" drugs to take.

Mr. Smith rejects that approach. Though harm reduction has its place, he says, the main problem is not the drugs, dangerous as they are. The problem is addiction. The solution is recovery.

First as an aide to a series of addictions ministers and now at the Premier's right

hand, he has been leading a top-to-bottom revamp of the province's addiction-treatment programs. Under his tenure, Alberta has made treatment in publicly funded addiction centres free for anyone who wants it. It has given Albertans same-day access to addiction medicines through a toll-free number. It has spent tens of millions of dollars on raising the number of treatment beds.

To curb what it sees as the excesses of harm reduction, it has put strict new limits on the province's supervised-consumption sites, which were being blamed for rising disorder in the surrounding communities. It has said a hard No to safe supply, too. There is nothing safe about it, Mr. Smith insists. In British Columbia, he says, the authorities have effectively become drug dealers, "handing out the very thing that they believe is poison" in the first place.

Alberta calls its new approach the Alberta Model and Mr. Smith is its chief architect. He says there is nothing quite like it anywhere. "The scale of change that we're embarked on is unparalleled in the world," he says. "This is where the most interesting drug-policy work on the planet is going on right now."

His critics call that nonsense. They say there is no real evidence that Mr. Smith's program will save lives. In fact, overdose deaths have soared in recent years.

His harshest detractors say Mr. Smith is just a glib salesman who lacks the credentials to lead such a sweeping program of change. Mr. Smith fires right back, saying the flak comes mostly from a small "lunatic list" of radical activists and members of the "public-health intelligentsia."

The scrapping between Mr. Smith and his foes is part of a fierce national argument over how to address the drug crisis. Though Mr. Smith is barely known to the public, and says he prefers it that way, he has emerged as one of the most influential voices in that argument.

Lately, the momentum has been all his way. Public concern over open drug use, homeless encampments and other signs of public disorder has changed the political climate, making Alberta's approach more palatable.

British Columbia's NDP government just backtracked on its experiment with decriminalizing small-scale drug possession. The federal government denied Toronto's request to launch its own experiment with decriminalization. Ontario Premier Doug Ford asked Ottawa to stop approving sites that give out safe-supply drugs. He argued, as Mr. Smith does, that people on the program often sell their drugs, which can end up in the hands of young people.

If the harm-reduction model was a revolution in the way Canada viewed drug use, Mr. Smith is leading a counter-revolution. At the annual Recovery Capital conference in Calgary last month, he got loud applause when he vowed that he and his team would keep working flat out to build the Alberta Model. "I'm a nightmare to work for – I can

be bitchy and sucky and, you know, angry," he told one session, but "come hell or high water – which is a saying we have in Alberta – we will get this done."

Keith Humphreys, a professor in the School of Medicine at California's Stanford University who shares Mr. Smith's doubts about harm reduction, says he is "one of the most gifted public-policy entrepreneurs I have ever worked with." The Premier, Ms. Smith, says he is "sort of the spiritual leader for all of us in the government."

Another influential admirer is Pierre Poilievre, the federal Opposition Leader, who could become prime minister next year. In 2022, he put out a much-discussed video called Everything Feels Broken. It shows him touring the rougher parts of downtown Vancouver while praising the Alberta Model and condemning "woke Liberal and NDP governments" for letting "taxpayer-funded drugs flood our streets."

Acting as his guide but never identified is a figure with a black windbreaker and a shock of silver hair, a guy who knew those streets as a homeless man in the depths of addiction: Marshall Smith.

Mr. Smith was born in Toronto but grew up in Los Angeles. His father, Mark Smith, was a sound engineer who worked in music and film.

Mr. Smith says he had an average middle-class upbringing in his family's modest L.A. bungalow. But in high school he discovered alcohol. He favoured rye and Cokes and often ended up outdrinking his pals. "When we drank and they stopped, I didn't," as he puts it.

After his parents split up, he finished his high school in the States and then moved to Victoria, where his mother lived. He worked as a prison guard after graduation, moved into administration then jumped to

the provincial government, developing a reputation as a skilled project organizer. He worked on Vancouver's successful Olympic bid and joined a B.C. delegation to Prague, where he chatted with Henry Kissinger.

"Cruising the corridors of power with an easy confidence that belied his 28 years, he'd whisper advice to cabinet ministers one minute, spin a scrum of reporters the next, then crack up fellow Liberal insiders with an always-ready joke," Michael Smyth wrote in the Vancouver Province a few years later.

All the while, he was drinking. His job called for moving from reception to reception and dinner to dinner, with after-work drinks thrown in. One night in a club, someone offered him cocaine. "It was fantastic," he recalls.

The next step was methamphetamine. Mr. Smith was staying in a hotel in Vancouver and found he was out of coke. He went out on the street to see whether he could find some. A guy named Dave offered him meth instead.

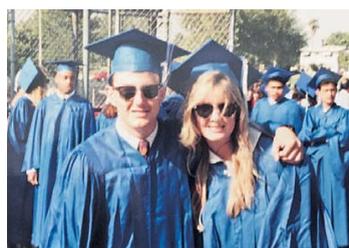
And that, he says, "was the end of my cocaine problem." It was all meth, all the time. Until then, he had managed to keep his job and his life more or less together.

■ ADDICTION, A12

Below left: Mr. Smith with an unnamed classmate celebrates his high school graduation. Upon finishing high school, he moved to Vancouver to live with his mother.

Bottom left: Mr. Smith worked on Vancouver's successful Olympic bid where he traveled to Prague to celebrate the awarding of the 2010 Olympic in 2002.

Below: Mr. Smith, around 2003, worked as a correctional officer at the Surrey Pretrial Services Centre. He moved into administration then jumped to provincial government.





Mr. Smith meets with his staff at their office in Edmonton earlier this month. Mr. Smith concedes that addiction can be stubborn and that recovery is a long-term, often life-long process.
MEGAN ALBU/
THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Addiction: Smith's emphasis on recovery put him at odds with B.C. on its crisis

■ FROM A11

When he graduated to methamphetamine, a powerful stimulant, it all unravelled. As he often puts it when telling his story, "it was at that point that I hung up my suit and tie and kind of vanished into the streets."

His descent made headlines. B.C. Political Aide Caught in Drug Raid on Canada Day, said the Vancouver Sun in 2004. The next year he made the news yet again when two men beat him up with a crowbar. He still has a scar from where the crowbar pierced his foot.

He lost his job, his friends and his home. He found his way to the Downtown Eastside, then, as now, the most notorious haven for drug use in Canada. His weight plummeted, a common effect of using meth, which suppresses appetite.

For the next four years, he lived the life of a street hustler, with all the perils that came with it. He had his nose broken in a fight. He had a can of bear spray emptied into his face. He developed beat-up "street feet" from walking and standing all day.

Sometimes he scrounged up enough money for a hotel room. Other times he slept on a street corner. For a while, he had enough cash to rent a shipping container at a self-storage place under the Granville Bridge and crashed inside. He ran an extension cord to a nearby socket to power a heater and a light.

He did a couple of stints in jail. There, he encountered some of the guards he used to work with, along with some of the inmates he used to guard. One of them broke his jaw.

Only the persistence of the Vancouver cops who were watching over him allowed

him to get out alive, he says. One of them said: Keep this up and you are going to die. Mr. Smith accepted his help and went to a small, publicly funded addiction-treatment centre in Maple Ridge, just outside Vancouver.

It worked. He not only got sober, but moved into the treatment business himself. Over the next decade, he held jobs at a number of programs around British Columbia, gaining a reputation as a charismatic and energetic advocate for recovery.

Lorne Mayencourt, a former member of the B.C. Legislature, hired him to work at the Baldy Hughes centre in Prince George. He says the guys there respected Mr. Smith because he had lived the life himself, knew all the tricks and "couldn't be snowed."

According to a report last summer in The Tyee, a Vancouver-based online news magazine, a consultants' report on the centre found it fell short of several licensing requirements while Mr. Smith was in charge. Staff were not well trained in storing and administering medications. They were not doing proper assessments of clients, collecting their health data or preparing them for discharge once their treatment was done.

Mr. Smith left in 2011. Mr. Mayencourt dismisses the critical report, saying management of Baldy Hughes was "very, very professional." Mr. Smith himself says Baldy Hughes used a new model of treatment, based on a famous Italian program, so judging it by the standards of more conventional treatment was unfair.

From early on, Mr. Smith's emphasis on recovery put him at odds with the prevailing school of thought in British Columbia on how to deal with the drug crisis. In 2003, Vancouver became the first North American city with a supervised-consumption site when Insite opened its doors in the Downtown Eastside.

Authorities have since handed out millions of clean needles, along with countless tourniquets, crack pipes and doses of naloxone, a drug that reverses overdoses. With so many people dying, many argued, the emphasis should be on measures just to keep them alive, not get them sober — a much more complex, expensive and uncertain enterprise.

Mr. Smith strongly disagreed. By calling addiction a chronic condition and accepting that some people would always use drugs, he now says, it was treating them like patients with an incurable cancer, in essence telling them: "We're really sorry, but we're just going to have to keep you



Safe-supply drugs, like this box of cocaine given out on the Downtown Eastside in 2021, have faced a backlash in recent years amid concerns over public drug use.
DARRYL DYCK/THE CANADIAN PRESS

comfortable while you die."

On the other side of the Rockies, Jason Kenney took notice. The United Conservative Party premier reached out to Mr. Smith. Would he come to Alberta to help revamp the province's treatment system?

One of the first things Mr. Smith did when he arrived in 2019 was to pick up the phone and try to find out how many treatment beds the province had. No one could tell him. He hit the road with a friend, driving to every treatment centre he could find and asking how much space they had. He would record the answer with a clicker, the kind that nightclub bouncers use.

He found that, because of high costs and bureaucratic hurdles, many of the available beds were going empty. After investigating further, he came to the conclusion that Alberta's treatment system was a ragged patchwork of disconnected parts. It wasn't that the system was broken. There was no system.

So he set out to build one. After four years of work, it is beginning to come together.

The UCP government says it has built or funded more than 725 beds since taking office in 2019, freeing up more than 10,000 additional spaces, an increase of 55 per cent. Spending on mental health and addictions has roughly tripled since 2019. The ministry in charge has gone from being a small division in the health ministry to the seventh largest department in the provincial government.

There is more to come. In April, the government announced that it was setting up a whole new agency, Recovery Alberta, to deliver addiction and mental health services. A second agency, the Canadian Centre of Recovery Excellence, will pull together research on addictions and treatment.

One frigid Alberta day this winter, Mr. Smith took me on a tour of the system he has helped to build. Though he can be chippy and boastful, Mr. Smith is also engaging and formidably articulate. When he is speaking with someone, he looks them straight in the eye, addresses them by name and often leans in to tap their forearm as if to say, "and get this!"



Far left: Alberta Premier Danielle Smith in April speaks to media in Edmonton. Ms. Smith has calls Mr. Smith a 'spiritual leader' of sorts 'for all of us in the government.'
JASON FRANSON/THE CANADIAN PRESS



Left: Tents line the sidewalk on East Hastings Street in the downtown east side of Vancouver in July, 2022.
DARRYL DYCK/THE CANADIAN PRESS



Driving his white SUV, often taking his hands off the wheel to make a gesture, he kept up a steady stream of the fluent talk for which he is known. He talks so much in his job that his favourite vacations are at a quiet Mexican resort where no one expects him to say anything. His other, less placid recreation is going to the arena to cheer on the Edmonton Oilers. He keeps his hockey sweater in his trunk.

Our first stop was a new “navigation centre” in Edmonton. The idea is to give people suffering from homelessness and addictions an easy off-ramp from the streets. The centre can help them find a shelter bed, apply for social assistance, replace lost identification documents and get on addiction medicines, which can be delivered right to the centre through the province’s Virtual Opioid Dependency Program.

The second stop was at a jail in Red Deer. Jails tend to be revolving doors for people with addictions. They break the law to get drugs, do some time, get out and do it all over again.

To break that cycle, authorities have set up a recovery centre right in the jail. Those

who clear the application process get off the usual collection of locked cells and onto a separate floor. They have their own private rooms, better beds and clothing, an exercise area and even pizza-and-karaoke nights.

The price of admission is taking part in a heavy schedule of group meetings and therapy intended to prepare them for their eventual release. Sitting in a circle with a dozen others, a 35-year-old named George (last names are off limits here) said he had been sober for eight months and 11 days, his longest period of abstinence since he was 13.

The others gave him a round of applause. Mr. Smith joined in. “It is so amazing to watch when the light comes on in these guys,” he said later.

The final stop on his tour was at a “therapeutic community,” also in Red Deer. Pioneered at a place called San Patrignano near Rimini, Italy, therapeutic communities offer a long-term program of job-training, mentoring and communal living designed to help clients not just overcome their addictions but learn to live healthy and productive lives again.

Red Deer’s is one of at least 11 that Alberta hopes to build around the province. It opened last May, and it’s Mr. Smith’s pride and joy. He said he himself sketched out the design for the 75-bed facility. He even chose the carpets.

He showed off its amenities: a games room with foosball, table tennis and big-screen TV; a well-equipped cafeteria that serves vegan and gluten-free meals to those who want them; the big meeting hall where residents gathered earlier to congratulate a man who was graduating after a nine-month stay, hoping to be reunited with his eight-year-old twin sons.

It’s a phased program that sees residents move up as they improve, eventually earning a private room with separate bathroom and often becoming mentors to newcomers. Mr. Smith stresses that, contrary to what his critics say, he does not insist that strict abstinence is the only path to recovery. Drugs and alcohol aren’t allowed, but residents can smoke on an outdoor deck and take addiction medicines like methadone or suboxone if they need to.

To help them get better, the centre offers standard treatment methods like cognitive behavioural therapy and dialectical behavioural therapy. Medical staff are on hand to help them with health problems and case workers to help them arrange court dates and posttreatment housing. Everyone is expected to contribute to the community, doing chores such as working in the kitchen.

It’s a far cry from the 30-day or 60-day programs that are common in many provinces. Residents often drop out of such programs, or finish them and fall into addiction again. Some go into treatment time after time and still don’t get better.

Mr. Smith contends that the problem isn’t that drug treatment usually doesn’t work, as some of his critics claim. It’s that a lot of treatment just isn’t very good. If someone has been living in a tent under a bridge and using fentanyl for years, a few weeks of treatment isn’t going to cut it.

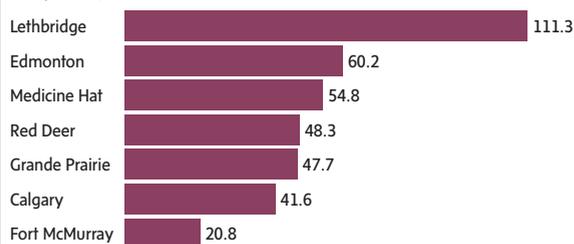
The focus of the Alberta Model is to get people with addictions quickly and smoothly into high-level treatment, to keep them there as long as they need and ease their transition back to normal life.

If they are not in a condition to do that, Mr. Smith says, the government should sometimes step in, even if that means giving them care against their will. Alberta is working on a “compassionate intervention” law that would create “facilities and legal processes to save the lives of those who are a danger to themselves or others.”

At least four of the multimillion-dollar therapeutic communities are being built in First Nations, which have an overdose fatality rate seven times that of the general

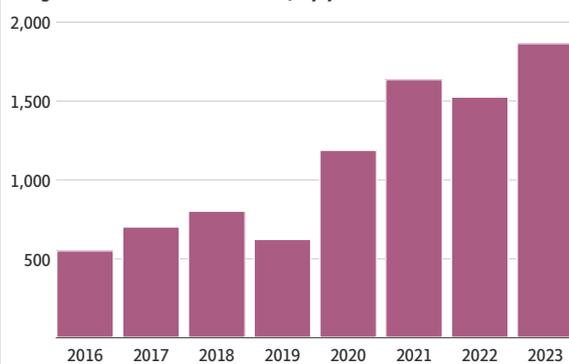
Drug overdose deaths rates in Alberta, by municipality, 2023

Rate per 100,000



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA

Drug overdose deaths in Alberta, by year



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA

population. Mr. Smith has cultivated close ties with several chiefs who are sympathetic to his recovery message and skeptical about harm reduction.

Even some of his critics concede he has brought new resources and attention to the drug problem. But will it all make any real difference?

Governments across Canada are shovelling money into addiction treatment, community policing, street-nurse programs, supportive housing and other strategies. People keep dying. No one has a silver bullet.

Alberta admits it can’t really say whether its recovery model is working, at least not yet. Asked whether it has any figures on recovery rates in its treatment centres, a spokesman, Hunter Baril, said that “we are still working to build a fulsome data set that informs on the outcomes of treatment and recovery.”

Neither can it say whether waiting times for treatment have improved with all its new spending. Mr. Baril says “we are currently working to establish a program that better defines what wait times look like.” Treatment centres, he explains, have not been required to report on their success rates. Alberta is trying to change that.

And yet the government has no hesitation boasting that its efforts are causing death rates to drop. Mr. Smith told the Hotel Pacifico podcast in January that though both B.C. and Alberta were still seeing high numbers of overdose deaths, “ours are on the decline quite, quite significantly. ... That’s not happening in British Columbia.”

That claim was false. Both provinces had their worst years for overdose fatalities in 2023. Data just released by Alberta show that 2,051 people died from overdoses, the first time the annual toll has topped 2,000. That is nearly two-and-a-half times as many as in 2017.

Mr. Smith blames the increase partly on a spike in overdoses in Edmonton last summer from an influx of carfentanyl, a cousin of fentanyl that is 100 times as strong. He says critics are exploiting the death figures to discredit the Alberta Model: “They favour a different model, and so it’s in their interest to criticize ours.” That’s premature, he says. Alberta is still rolling out its new system.

The critics say that, despite his background, Mr. Smith simply doesn’t understand the problem he is trying to solve. “It’s obvious to me that he hasn’t done much reading, he hasn’t talked to people who are affected by addiction and he hasn’t talked to the experts,” says Esther Tailfeathers, a well-known addictions doctor on the Blood Tribe reserve in Southern Alberta and a champion of harm reduction.

She says recovery from addiction is not a linear process, a simple matter of doing the work and getting better. Those suffering from it often have relapses. Many are burdened with past trauma and mental illness. Most don’t have the advantages enjoyed by Mr. Smith, with his comfortable upbringing and job skills.

She thinks the government’s plan to put a 75-bed, \$30-million therapeutic community on the reserve is like opening a Walmart there and expecting “that somebody’s going to go and buy what they need and pay and get out and they’re fine.”

Mr. Smith concedes that addiction can be stubborn and that recovery is a long-term, often life-long process. He still goes to meetings himself to talk and share stories with other recovering addicts. A long-time smoker known for slipping onto his office balcony at the legislature for a puff,

he quit this winter and “it has been incredibly tough.”

He insists, though, that with good treatment, addiction can be beaten. Asked for evidence, he e-mails over an alphabetical list of 175 studies.

A report by the British Columbia Centre on Substance Use on therapeutic communities says that several reviews of communities around the world found that they had “similar or superior outcomes” to other treatment options, “with some studies reporting greater improvements in legal issues, employment status and psychological functioning.”

One study of San Patrignano said that 72 per cent of those who completed the program were still drug free after five years. The trouble, says respected Ontario addictions doctor Meldon Kahan, is that many people can’t hack the long-term commitment and so drop out. Running such communities is “enormously expensive,” too.

He applauds Alberta for spending the money anyway, but says recovery programs should be geared for everyone, whether or not they are ready for long-term treatment. Though Dr. Kahan is a skeptic about safe supply, he says any recovery program should be paired with reasonable, well-regulated harm-reduction measures designed to keep people alive even if they are not ready to attempt recovery.

Most experts agree. The answer to the overdose crisis, they say, lies in a mix of harm reduction and treatment, not one or the other. Most places do both. As well as using harm-reduction programs such as safe supply, B.C. is spending many millions expanding treatment programs. Alberta gives out needles and naloxone kits like any other province. It has seven supervised consumption sites.

In that sense, the feuding between Mr. Smith and his critics often seems futile, another example of today’s polarized politics.

Both camps are sincere and passionate. Both want to save lives. Harm-reduction advocates remind us that addiction is not a crime or a moral failing. Those who use drugs are more than just anonymous figures haunting our back alleys. They are real people with sons and daughters, mothers and fathers. Yet we often treat them as pariahs, threatening them with jail and failing to give them the necessities of life, like proper housing.

The recovery camp reminds us addiction does not need to be a life sentence. Millions of Canadians have managed to overcome it, whether by taking addiction medicines like methadone, going to programs that demand abstinence like alcoholics or narcotics anonymous or simply exercising their willpower and quitting cold turkey.

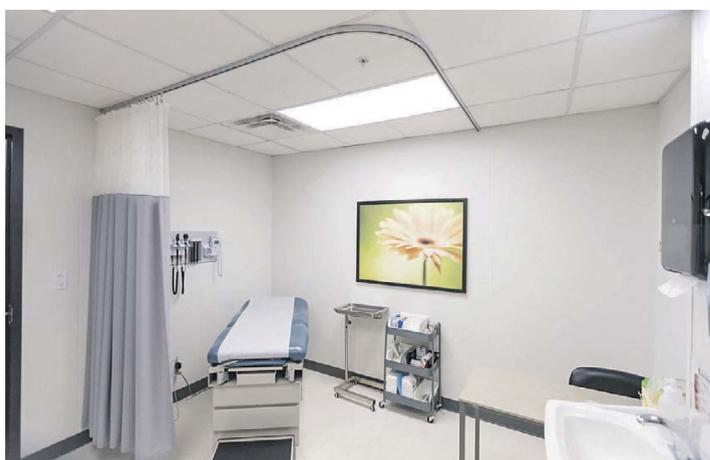
Sometimes they just need a push to get there. Mr. Smith says that the harm-reduction camp tends to patronize drug users, giving them everything and demanding nothing. By treating them as victims with the right to keep on using as long as they wish and face no consequences, it fails to take account of the human capacity to rebound from the most wretched circumstances.

Though he deplores the corrosive prejudice he calls “toxic stigma,” he says there should be at least some disapproval attached to using dangerous illegal drugs. Shunning and shaming smokers, he notes, helped slash the number of deaths from tobacco.

As he puts it, addiction is “an illness that tells you you don’t have a problem.” Looking back at his four years on the street, it is clear to him now that “I needed to get out of there. I needed to get the drugs away from me. I needed order and boundaries in my life.”

He still keeps in touch with the policeman who hounded him to get sober all those years ago. That young cop, now a senior officer, saw something in him. He told him he was better than what he had become. He told him he could change.

Now that Mr. Smith is in the position to make a difference, he says he wants to give others the same chance.



Top left: A nursing room at the Red Deer Recovery Community, seen earlier this month, is one of at least 11 that Alberta hopes to build around the province.

MEGAN ALBU/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Left: A spiritual room at the Red Deer Recovery Community is one of the many amenities at the facility. Others include a games room, cafeteria as well as a large meeting hall.

MEGAN ALBU/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

With a report from Alanna Smith

Russian attack destroys trains and tracks in a battered Ukrainian border region

Kremlin's Kharkiv push appears to be a co-ordinated new offensive that includes testing rival country's defences in Donetsk further south

ILIIA NOVIKOV KYIV

A nighttime Russian attack destroyed trains and tracks in Ukraine's northeastern Kharkiv region, officials said Friday, and authorities organized the evacuation of children from the area as it is being pumelled by the Kremlin's forces in a powerful new offensive.

The overnight strike on rolling stock and railway tracks also damaged buildings, according to Ukraine's national railway operator Ukrzaliznytsia. No injuries were reported.

Authorities have evacuated more than 11,000 people from the Kharkiv region since Russia launched an offensive there on May 10, regional Governor Oleh Syniuhubov said. Officials on Friday announced the mandatory evacuation over the next 60 days of 123 orphans and children living without their parents in the area.

Russia's Kharkiv push appears to be a co-ordinated new offensive that includes testing Ukrainian defences in the Donetsk region further south, while also launching incursions in the northern Sumy and Chernihiv regions. Russian President Vladimir Putin has said the Kremlin's army is attempting to create a "buffer zone" in the Kharkiv region to prevent Ukrainian cross-border attacks.

Ukraine's problems have been mounting in recent months as it tries to hold out against its much bigger foe, and the war appears to be at a critical juncture.

The new Russian offensive is stretching thin Ukraine's depleted ranks, exhausted by more than two years of war. Destroying the train network puts further pressure on the already overstretched Ukrainian army.

Crucial Western aid for Kyiv, especially air defence systems to stop Russia's targeted destruction of the power grid, isn't arriving quickly enough. Also, most Western donors won't let Ukraine use the sophisticated long-range weapons they are provid-



Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky, left, is seen at a printing house in Kharkiv that was destroyed by Russian shelling the day before. UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SERVICE/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

ing to strike targets on Russian soil. That allows Moscow to assemble virtually unimpeded its troops for cross-border assaults, as well as deploy missile launchers to bombard Ukraine.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky said those limitations made possible an attack on the city of Kharkiv, the region's capital, on Thursday that killed seven civilians and wounded 21 others.

Zelensky said on social media that Ukraine has "a shortage of air defence systems that are actually available in the

world" and a "lack of long-range capabilities for our warriors and the complete inability to destroy the very source of Russian terror near our borders, including the missile launchers that actually hit Ukraine and the lives of our people."

The Ukrainian military claimed Friday it had stopped the Russian advance in the north of the Kharkiv region and were conducting counter-offensive operations.

A Russian troop buildup in the Sumy and Chernihiv regions, however, is ongoing, with daily air and artillery strikes, ac-

ording to Ihor Prokhorenko, a general staff spokesman.

It was not possible to independently verify the claims.

Thursday's strike on Kharkiv using S-300 missiles hit a printing company, burning about 50,000 books, Zelensky said. Serhii Polituchyi, owner of the Faktor-Druk printing plant, said the attack would reduce Ukraine's book-printing capacity by 30-40 per cent.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Singapore Airlines tightens safety measures after turbulence horror

Singapore Airlines said Friday it will halt meal services and get all cabin crew to buckle up when planes fly through turbulence as part of tighter cabin measures after one person died and dozens were injured on a flight from London this week.

The airline said it has adopted a "more cautious approach to managing turbulence in-flight" after the Boeing 777 jet heading to Singapore hit extreme turbulence in the Irrawaddy basin on Tuesday, hurling people and items around the cabin.

"In addition to the suspension of hot beverage service when the seat belt sign is on, the meal service will also be suspended," the airline said in a statement.

"Crew members will also return to their seats and secure their seat belts when the seat belt sign is on."

The plane, carrying 211 passengers and 18 crew members, made a sharp 6,000-foot (around 1,800-metre) descent in about three minutes, after which it diverted to Thailand. Officials said the turbulence was believed to have occurred when meals were being served and many people were not using seat belts.

A 73-year-old British man died of a suspected heart attack. Forty-six passengers and two crew members remained hospitalized Friday.

Passengers have described the "sheer terror" of the aircraft shuddering, loose items flying and injured people lying on the floor of the plane.



The interior of Singapore Airlines flight SQ321 is pictured after an emergency landing at Bangkok's Suvarnabhumi International Airport in Thailand on Tuesday. REUTERS

Singapore Airlines said other existing safety measures during poor weather conditions include getting crew members to secure loose items in the cabin and galleys to minimize turbulence-related injuries, advising passengers to return to their seats and buckle up, and monitoring passengers who may need assistance such as those in the toilet.

"Pilots and cabin crew are

aware of the hazards associated with turbulence. They are also trained to assist customers and ensure cabin safety throughout the flight," the airline said.

"SIA will continue to review our processes as the safety of our passengers and crew is of utmost importance."

The Singapore Straits Times newspaper said public records showed that authorities have in-

vestigated six other Singapore Airlines flights hit by turbulence in the past two decades, in which some passengers and crew members were injured. Tuesday's incident was the only one involving a fatality.

Singapore Transport Minister Chee Hong Tat said investigators in Bangkok have secured data from the plane's cockpit voice recorder and the flight data record-

er. "They are going through the data from these two recorders now to be able to ascertain what happened during those moments," Chee told local media.

It is unclear what caused Tuesday's severe turbulence.

It is believed to have been clear air turbulence, the most dangerous type that often occurs with no visible warning in the sky ahead.

Wind shear can occur in wispy cirrus clouds or even in clear air near thunderstorms, as differences in temperature and pressure create powerful currents of fast-moving air.

Samitivej Srinakarin Hospital, where most of the 104 people hurt in the incident were treated, has said that the 48 people still hospitalized include those spinal or spinal cord damage, skull or brain injuries and damage to bones or internal organs.

Twenty people remained in intensive care, but the hospital said none was in life-threatening condition.

They include six Britons, six Malaysians, three Australians, two Singaporeans and one person each from Hong Kong, New Zealand and the Philippines.

Singapore Airlines has issued a deep apology over the incident. Its CEO, Goh Choon Phong, has pledged it will co-operate fully in the investigation and has visited those in the hospital to offer his support.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Freeland optimistic G7 will reach deal on using frozen Russian asset revenues

BILL CURRY
DEPUTY OTTAWA BUREAU CHIEF
OTTAWA

Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland says she's optimistic that talks under way in Italy among G7 finance ministers will ultimately lead to a deal on how revenues from frozen Russian assets can be used to help Ukraine.

Ms. Freeland, who is also Canada's Finance Minister, spoke with reporters Friday by phone from Stresa, Italy, where meetings of G7 finance ministers and central bankers are taking place ahead of the G7 leaders summit scheduled

for mid-June.

"Canada's firm position has always been that Russia, the aggressor, must pay for the destruction it has caused," Ms. Freeland said. "I am optimistic that we are going to reach a deal."

After Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February, 2022, Western countries froze some US\$300-billion of the Bank of Russia's gold and foreign exchange reserves.

Reports suggest the talks are focused on using the interest from the frozen assets rather than the assets themselves.

U.S. Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen says putting those assets to

use will be a key topic of conversation at the G7 meetings as leaders look for ways to support Ukraine.

"I've not seen anything I regard as a show stopper, but there are some issues that need to be sorted out and people will have to be flexible to reach common ground," Ms. Yellen told Reuters on Friday.

Ms. Freeland said the discussions are gaining momentum in Italy, which pick up from talks last month in Washington during meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

"We're not there yet. But I am

really optimistic that we'll get there," she said. "There is an imperative to act with urgency and to get money to Ukraine as quickly as possible."

She said Canada has already taken the legal steps to act within its own jurisdiction, but the vast majority of the seized Russian assets are in Europe.

Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a decree this week that outlined potential retaliatory measures in response to any seizure of frozen Russian assets.

"Part of what we've been doing with the Europeans is work to develop a mechanism where the risk and the burden is equitably

shared among all the allies, given some very different starting positions," Ms. Freeland said. "One of the things that Canada is bringing to the table to this meeting is saying, as we're developing the final scheme, Canada is prepared to be one of the countries that steps up to directly provide financing to Ukraine, backed by the future profit from the assets."

She said other topics on the agenda at the G7 meetings include efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and proposals for an international deal on tax reform.

With reports from Reuters

Private daycares squeezed out by B.C. public programs

XIAO XU VANCOUVER

It took Jason Li more than a decade to find a suitable detached house in Vancouver's Mount Pleasant neighbourhood where he and his wife could open their second daycare.

Initially, Mr. Li believed the building he finally bought would only require minor adjustments to obtain a licence. But he spent months meeting the demands of the City of Vancouver and Vancouver Coastal Health, requirements that were sometimes in conflict.

The city wanted a cabinet in the basement area designated for child care gone. Vancouver Coastal Health ordered that it stay. Mr. Li had to find a smaller one that suited both parties.

Then the city wanted a door linking the basement and ground floor eliminated, saying it violated building codes. But the health authority said it needed to be there to ensure child safety.

"The city says one thing, VCH says another," Mr. Li said. "We had no clue and felt confused."

Mr. Li invested more than \$1.6-million to buy the house and thousands more in renovations. During the year he awaited licensing approval, he didn't earn any income from this site.

He noted he gets little support as a private daycare provider for his business as the provincial NDP government shifts its resources to funding non-profit and publicly run child care.

As demand for child-care spaces has exploded and with a fall election looming, the provincial government has worked to dramatically ramp up the availability of publicly funded daycare spaces. But daycare spots in B.C. are still hard to come by and publicly funded spaces, which generally cost less, have especially long wait lists.

The majority of spaces in B.C. are currently offered by private operators, and these centres are also growing faster than publicly funded options. But providers like Mr. Li say they are being discriminated against even though they're offering a much-needed service.

On May 16, the B.C. government announced the latest round of grants for groups expanding or creating new child-care spaces. Those eligible include Indigenous governing entities, local governments, public bodies such as health authorities and non-profits. The grants can run up to \$500,000 for costs related to minor renovations or equipment – and higher for bigger renovation, building and expansion projects.

Providers like Mr. Li are not eligible.

While he believes his building can accommodate more children, he is only allowed to enroll a maximum of eight. He received a \$4,500 grant from the province – an initial payment of \$500 plus an additional \$500 a space – in start-up funding.

Mr. Li's Green House Childcare Centre is classified as a "family child-care" centre, meaning it is privately owned and operated out of a home rather than a community-based facility. "Group child-care" centres, meanwhile, can be private or public, are allowed to accept more kids and are operated out of a community-



Fatima Abaszadeh, owner of Cozy Childcare in Vancouver, says her private daycare is booked until September, 2026. FELICIA CHANG/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

based facility.

Subsidies are available to parents at both types of facilities, but amounts differ. For example, parents of kids three and under at family daycares qualify for \$600 a month. The corresponding amount at a group centre is \$900.

These discrepancies, where publicly run centres receive more financial support from the government and parents at larger daycares are eligible for bigger subsidies, make it difficult for smaller, private centres to operate, he said.

Fatima Abaszadeh said parents ask daily whether her daycare has space for their children but it's fully booked until September, 2026.

"It's really horrible. I'm so sorry for all the parents," said Ms. Abaszadeh, owner and manager at Cozy Childcare.

In response to soaring demand, she explored the possibility of launching a larger facility in Kitsilano.

But after nearly eight years of searching, Ms. Abaszadeh has been unable to find a location that meets the city's requirements, especially for outdoor space. Even if one were available, she couldn't afford it without substantial government support. Moreover, government-capped tuition means she is unable to charge enough to balance her investment.

"With all expenses and the lease and the teachers' wages, it isn't worth to start this business at all. You're stuck in a crazy loop of this business," she said.

Child-care advocates prefer a publicly funded system, arguing it provides more affordable care, accountability and transparency.

But private providers say the lack of space in the public system means their work is still necessary.

A 2021 internal document from the Ministry of Education and Child Care, released by the BC United Party under freedom of information legislation, indicated that only public organizations, Indigenous governments and non-profits would be eligible for provincial child-care space creation funding.

This approach was to "further signal government's move away from market-based child care towards a universal, co-ordinated child-care system," states the note.

"As the government moves towards a universal, public-funded, flat fee model of child-care delivery, it may be cost prohibitive for for-profit providers to remain in the sector, making the creation of these spaces unviable in the

preference for a publicly funded system.

"When we think about investing public dollars, taxpayer dollars, we want to make sure that we're building a system that is community owned, and it's going to be long lived and serves the public good. It's not just about investing taxpayer dollars for private asset," she said.

Still, that funding isn't keeping pace with demand.

In a 2023 report, researchers from the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives concluded that 48 per cent of younger children – those not yet attending kindergarten – reside in a child-care desert, defined as a postal code in which there are at least three children competing for one licensed space.

In B.C., 64 per cent of children live in child-care deserts. The province ranks behind only Saskatchewan, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Manitoba.

B.C. was the first province outside Quebec to embrace the federal goal of \$10-a-day daycare – a promise that helped the NDP win the 2017 election.

But Ms. Gregson, B.C.'s spokesperson for the \$10-a-day child-care campaign, said the province is now behind other parts of the country in implementing the program: Only 11 per cent of child-care is at a \$10-a-day site in the province.

"Like in other provinces, there's been a lot of dependency on the federal government to carry out a bigger share," she said.

According to a chart provided by the ministry, federal investment in B.C.'s child-care sector has significantly increased since 2021-22. And by next year the federal government will be

contributing more to daycare funding in the province than the B.C. government.

On May 14, Premier David Eby announced the province will begin a pilot project using existing school space as well as school district resources and staff to provide child care. Mr. Eby said the model will start in three school districts with 180 spaces but is designed to grow.

The care will be provided by CUPE BC members, including early childhood educators, early childhood educator assistants and education assistants. The union's president, Karen Ranalletta, said such a move will attract education assistants back into the sector by supplementing their schedules, given that many of them do not work full-time hours.

Mary Sweeney would be grateful for any kind of quality daycare spot for her three-year-old son.

The Nelson, B.C., resident has been searching since 2022 for a facility that can accommodate her son, who has cerebral palsy. She said she has been rejected four times by small, privately operated centres, who told her their limited resources mean they can't take him.

A larger, publicly funded facility would be more appropriate, but she hasn't been able to get a spot there either.

As a result, she has been commuting 16 hours a week to the Okanagan, where her mother-in-law cares for her son.

"It just makes no sense to not have kids like mine in these larger daycare centres where there is zero priority and everyone's waiting for a spot," she said.

"There's really not a lot that anyone can do; everybody's basically powerless."

medium-term."

The document also states that for-profit, private child-care providers make up the majority in the B.C. sector and are creating more spaces at a faster rate than publicly funded daycares.

Data provided by the ministry last month show that from 2019-20 to 2023-24, the number of private group child-care spaces increased by about 15,000 to 72,182. Publicly funded group child-care spaces saw a smaller increase of around 10,400, climbing to 61,874.

In comparison, family child-care spots increased by about 270, reaching 12,573.

In a statement, the ministry acknowledged private providers continue to be important and said operational funding will remain equal in both sectors.

Sharon Gregson, of the Coalition of Child Care Advocates of B.C., supports the government's

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Trials for truth go on, regardless of serial killer's fate

Robert Pickton has been in a coma since maximum-security prison attack in Quebec

BRIANNA CHARLEBOIS
NONO SHEN VANCOUVER

Advocates for alleged victims of B.C. serial killer Robert Pickton say they remain focused on getting justice for the women, as Mr. Pickton lies in a Quebec hospital in a coma after being attacked in prison.

Angela Marie MacDougall, executive director of Vancouver-based Battered Women's Support Services, reflected on the weekend assault that left Mr. Pickton with what police called life-threatening injuries, saying "There's something to be said about jailhouse justice."

But regardless of his fate, she said the fight on behalf of the women Mr. Pickton was accused of killing continues.

She said that includes a legal application opposing an RCMP bid to destroy about 14,000 pieces of evidence collected in the Pickton investigation.

There are also multiple ongoing lawsuits by family members of victims against Mr. Pickton and his brother, David Pickton.

Jason Gratl, the lawyer representing family members of victims in nine lawsuits against the brothers, said the potential death of the killer would have no bearing on proceedings.

"Robert William Pickton's state of health or well-being – I don't anticipate it will have any significant effect on the progress of the civil trial," he said in an interview Thursday.

"Based on his self-published book, *The Fall Guy*, I didn't anticipate that he would have any constructive contribution to make at the trial."

Mr. Pickton was convicted in 2007 on six counts of second-degree murder of six women, but is suspected of killing many more



Angela Marie MacDougall, executive director of Battered Women's Support Services, is helping oppose an RCMP bid to destroy about 14,000 pieces of evidence collected in the Pickton investigation. DARRYL DYCK/CP

who went missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

He bragged to an undercover officer of killing 49 women and the remains or DNA of 33 women, many of them taken from the Downtown Eastside, were found on Mr. Pickton's pig farm in Port Coquitlam, B.C.

Police in Quebec said Thursday that Mr. Pickton, who was attacked Sunday at the maximum-security Port-Cartier Institution, was in a medically induced coma but that doctors planned to try to wake him soon.

Mr. Gratl said a bigger issue for his clients than whether Mr. Pickton survives is the potential destruction of the evidence. "It's in their interest to preserve the evidence seized by the RCMP on the Pickton farm to allow my clients to prove that Robert Pickton and David Pickton caused them to suffer loss."

In 2014, the botched investigation into Mr. Pickton resulted in a settlement of \$50,000 for the victims' children who had sued all

three levels of government and the RCMP.

Ms. MacDougall's group is a signatory to a letter to the B.C. government calling for the exhibits to be preserved.

"It has an element of profound and deep significance because it is a representation of all those women and those families that did not receive justice through the criminal system," she said of the evidence.

About four years ago, B.C. Mounties applied to dispose of the material found at a Ruskin, B.C., property linked to Mr. Pickton. It is now being held at RCMP warehouses.

Items range from pieces of clothing, shoes and hairpins – including one with hair still in it – to a sex toy and a rusty .303-calibre bolt-action rifle.

The RCMP has argued that the items were taking up substantial space and continued to run up costs. It said the evidence in question had been captured and retained and would not affect fu-

ture prosecution.

In an e-mail, RCMP staff sergeant Kris Clark confirmed that the application to destroy it remained before the courts and the process was ongoing.

The letter opposing the destruction of that evidence, sent to the provincial government on Dec. 11, spoke to the damage that would be done to the families seeking justice.

"Twenty of the charges against Pickton were stayed, and have not yet resulted in any convictions," it said. "For the families of those victims, justice has been elusive and they still hold hope that one day they will know what happened to their loved ones."

In another argument for the preservation, the letter said statements by the defence, Crown and jury also "strongly suggest a shared belief that he did not act alone and others may be implicated in the deaths of the six women Robert Pickton was convicted of killing."

Mr. Gratl echoed this.

"In addition to my client's more narrow interests, there are a number of community organizations that oppose the destruction of evidence on the basis that the investigation into who killed the women on the Pickton farm should not be concluded because Robert Pickton likely had accomplices," he said.

"The destruction of evidence seized by the RCMP would preclude a meaningful investigation [of] accomplices and would certainly preclude any prosecution."

The Vancouver Rape Relief & Women's Shelter was also among those calling for a halt to the RCMP's disposal plan.

Hilla Kerner, a spokeswoman for the shelter, said they felt compelled to sign the letter "in solidarity with families of the victims" to see the needle pushed toward justice. But, she said, the destruction of the evidence and Mr. Pickton's potential death could mean no justice at all for those whose deaths did not result in a conviction.

"There is never ultimate justice, but in so many cases, there is no justice at all," she said.

"The Pickton story – the tragic, horrific stories of its victims – is a story about terrible male violence, but also terrible, terrible state abandonment of the women who were killed, and I'm afraid we're not better off yet."

Lydia Hwitsum, director at BC First Nations Justice Council, said the handling of the Pickton case also puts a spotlight on issues facing the Indigenous community.

"Not much has changed to improve outcomes for Indigenous women's safety" in the years since Mr. Pickton was convicted, she said in an interview.

Ms. Hwitsum also called for the preservation of evidence.

"The pathway to justice has not been reached for so many that have been harmed at the hands of Pickton," she said. "The evidence that's there speaks to what our people have gone through and it is critical to hold onto that."

THE CANADIAN PRESS

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A Golden Age musical refreshed

The Shaw Festival's new production of *My Fair Lady* features Tom Rooney as a tragic, moving Henry Higgins

J. KELLY
NESTRUCK
THEATRE



My Fair Lady
AT THE FESTIVAL THEATRE IN
NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, ONT.

Book and lyrics by Alan Jay Lerner
Music by Frederick Loewe
Directed by Tim Carroll and
Kimberley Rampersad
Starring Kristi Frank, Tom Rooney

CRITIC'S PICK



Kristi Frank, right, and Tom Rooney star as Eliza Doolittle and Henry Higgins in *My Fair Lady*, two leads who make every scene feel like a freshly redecorated room in a handsome old house. DAVID COOPER/SHAW FESTIVAL

My *Fair Lady*, now getting a very fine production at Ontario's Shaw Festival, is the Golden Age musical most rewarding to revisit in a new production every decade or so.

This is owing, in part, to Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe's endlessly listenable score with show tunes such as *I Could Have Danced All Night* and *On the Street Where You Live*.

But, mainly and plainly, the 1956 musical set in Edwardian London is worth returning to because of the fascinating complex central relationship between Eliza Doolittle, a feisty lower-class flower girl, and Henry Higgins, a haughty phonetics expert who promises to teach her to speak English in a way so that she can pass for a lady.

What is the nature of the bond that builds and then breaks between them? Teacher and student? Father and daughter? Artist

and apprentice? How abusive is their relationship? How romantic?

An audience's perception of *My Fair Lady* – just like its protagonist – can be totally transformed simply through how language is spoken (and sung); no need for a rewrite of the dialogue, much taken directly from Bernard Shaw's 1913 comedy *Pygmalion*, or a concept.

Higgins's infamous final line about his slippers has been delivered in more ways than Kate's final speech in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*. But the Shaw's new production, neatly co-directed by Tim Carroll and Kimberley Rampersad, has lead performances from Kristi Frank and Tom Rooney that make every

scene feel like a freshly redecorated room in a handsome old house.

Frank's Eliza is the strongest I've ever seen. She always seems to have agency in her journey; it's clear that she chooses every day to continue to participate in her training, rather than being exploitively experimented upon by Higgins.

When Eliza has her breakthrough with her vowels and aitches, she does a dance in celebration with Higgins. But there's no hint of a crush on him in her delivery of the subsequent song: "I only know when he / began to dance with me / I could have danced, danced, danced all night."

Who Eliza seems to have fallen

in love with in that moment is herself – with what she can accomplish when she puts her mind to it; she quite literally finds her voice.

As for Rooney, he is an accomplished comic actor who can get a laugh out of anything if he wishes – but he avoids turning the constant stream of misogynist and classist language Higgins hurls at Eliza ("baggage," "squashed cabbage leaf") into an insult-comedy routine.

What gradually becomes clear in his performance is that, while Eliza is able to alter the way she talks and therefore is perceived, Higgins is trapped by his own tongue and unable to change the way he speaks. He clearly develops some sort of feelings for Eliza

– but is incapable of forming a caring relationship with her or anyone else because of this; his loneliness is palpable.

His is a tragic paradox – a master of language who can't control his language – and I was surprised at how much I was moved by Rooney in the role.

Around the leads are more traditionally comic performances that lighten the mood. Taurian Teelucksingh makes a grand impression, especially musically, as Freddy, the cash-strapped upper-class man who falls for Eliza; David Alan Anderson is congenially guileless as Higgins's pal Pickering; and Patty Jamieson gives a portrait of patience as Higgins's long-suffering housekeeper Mrs. Pearce.

As for Eliza's ne'er-do-well father Alfred P. Doolittle, David Adams doesn't try to redeem or deepen this character who is constantly threatening physical violence – and just plays him straightforwardly as a singing Shavian contrarian.

Though missing the expected grand staircase, Lorenzo Savoini's understated rock-musical style set with an elevated walkway eventually won me over with its elegant use of emptiness, aided by the emotive shadows and silhouettes conjured by lighting designer Mikael Kangas. The high-light of the costuming by Joyce Padua, meanwhile, is a terrific set of Ascot toppers that look designed by Frank Gehry.

A small parting suggestion: The Shaw Festival should program a singalong show or two for this very long run (to December!) as there were many audience members at a matinee this week who, like Higgins, couldn't hold their tongues.

My Fair Lady runs to Dec. 22

Gordon Lightfoot tribute concert at Massey Hall was a fitting homage to a legend

BRAD
WHEELER
MUSIC



If one were forced to choose the highlight of the Gordon Lightfoot tribute concert at Toronto's Massey Hall on Thursday, there would be no wanting for contenders. The late singer-songwriter played the venue on more than 170 occasions, and it is hard to imagine his compositions sounding any better than they did on a night when major and minor chords were struck, familiar melodies hummed and memories celebrated.

Meredith Moon, Lightfoot's youngest daughter, gave an affecting three-song performance, which included the relatively obscure *Oh So Sweet*. "This is the song my dad used to tune his guitars to," she said. Her own *Slow Moving Train* was a favourite of her father's, the capacity crowd was told. And on the duetted *If You Could Read My Mind* with Serena Ryder, the line "Because the ending's just too hard to take" was just that.

Lightfoot, a painter of a songwriter and a Canadian icon, died on May 1, 2023. He was 84.

Though the all-Canadian evening was often poignant, there were just as many upbeat moments. Burton Cummings's imitative imagining of Lightfoot singing Rod Stewart's *Maggie May* was hilariously uncanny.

The hoedowned *Alberta Bound* by the Good Brothers and Blue Rodeo was so convincing that I felt the urge to book a train trip to Medicine Hat.

Allison Russell's intense rendition of *Black Day in July*, Lightfoot's response to the Detroit riot of 1967, resonated emotionally. The Grammy winner seemed to be living the song's protest, not reciting it.

The surprise appearance of Rush musicians Geddy Lee and Alex Lifeson for a psychedelic take on *The Way I Feel* with Blue Rodeo was a maple-blooded occasion for the ages.

My personal favourite moment was small and subtle. Blue Rodeo, one of the concert's two house bands, backed Julian Taylor on Lightfoot's *All I'm After*. At times, as Taylor crooned, Blue Rodeo's Jim Cuddy mouthed lines to himself: "Ain't it funny, life feels different with each new passing day/ All I need is my reflection in your wild and windswept ways."

Done off microphone and with a sly smile, it was not performance. It was private joy in plain sight; a salute to a fellow professional's perfect lyricism; a tribute as meaningful as any.

The concert, filmed for future broadcast on CBC, was divided in two. The first half featured solo presentations and others backed by Lightfoot's old band, which starred the long-time rhythm section of bassist Richard Haynes and drummer Barry Keane.

Sylvia Tyson, who with Ian Tyson recorded covers of *Early Morning Rain* and *For Lovin' Me* in the 1960s, offered her own *At the End of the Day*, an elegiac ballad. "When I think of the good times," she sang, "all the hard times fall away."

Near the end of the first set, Tom Cochrane took on a moody epic, *The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald*. It is a classic that had to be done. But if Cochrane drew the short straw, his rendition with Lightfoot's former sideman was strong and faithful to the original.

After the intermission, Murray McLachlan spoke about Lightfoot's lonesome *Early Morning Rain*. He said past interpreters of the song had often taken liberties with the chords, and he would perform it the way Lightfoot wrote it. This was avenging a slight to a songwriter.

McLachlan's version managed to be both respectful and imitable.

The Manitoba troubadour William Prince brought the house down with his cover of the counselling *The House You Live In*. He added a personal touch by mentioning that he wished he knew the song's fourth verse when he was younger:

*When you're down in the dumps and not ready to deal
Decide what it is that you need
Is it money or love, is it learning to live
Or is it the mouth you must feed?
Be known as a man who will always be candid
On questions that do not relate*

The tempo picked up with the arrival of Blue Rodeo. Guitarist Colin Cripps's cosmic-cowboy suit alone heightened expectations quickly met by a high-spirited *Steel Rail Blues*.

The concert was not perfect. Host Damhnait Doyle of CBC radio was committed to breathless platitudes, chipper blather and amateurish segues. She described Lightfoot as a man, a myth and a legend "all rolled into one." That is not accurate. Unlike Johnny Cash and Bob Dylan – she mentioned both of them – Lightfoot was not part-myth. He was a country boy with a gift for melody and melancholic expression. A humble star, he wrote lore but was not lore.

The night closed with a packed-stage presentation of 1971's *Summer Side of Life*, about youthful idealism ruined by the realities of living. The buoyant woe was perfect.

Can the 2024 Canadian Screen Awards save an industry in crisis mode?

BARRY
HERTZ
SCREEN TIME



There is no polite way to describe last year's edition of the Canadian Screen Awards.

Embarrassing and condescending, the one-hour CBC broadcast last April profoundly failed this country's storytellers, prioritizing long-gone-Hollywood talent like Ryan Reynolds and hackneyed comedic bits about clichéd Canadiana over artists who actually work and thrive inside this country's ecosystem.

Combine the aftertaste of that misstep with the many other crises facing Canada's screen sector – from the limbo-like status of the Online Streaming Act to the collapse of the traditional broadcast landscape – and this year's edition of the CSAs arrives next week during what feels like a mission-critical moment.

Yet Tammy Frick, chief executive of the Academy for Canadian Cinema & Television, which produces the CSAs, is well-aware of the weight placed upon her organization's shoulders.

"We got some wonderful feedback from last year and, of course, some negative feedback, so that all challenges you to reassess things," Frick says in an interview. "We're not going to please everyone, but we're learning, we're innovating."

To that end, this year's 12th edition of the CSAs – which will hand out 171 awards over the course of four nights, culminating in a one-hour CBC broadcast May 31 – will be a slightly remixed affair.

Like last year's telecast, this year's show won't be live but "live-to-tape."

"We'll have our big two-hour gala awards show on the afternoon of May 31, then we'll drop in moments that happened hours before, and earlier in the week from the other awards shows, into one 60-minute broadcast that will air that night," Frick explains. "But the majority of the show will have a 'live' feel."

Comedian Mae Martin is hosting this year and the star of Netflix's upcoming series *Tall Pines* will actually be in Toronto to participate. This already sets Martin apart from last year's host, Samantha Bee, who filmed her material in New York. Meanwhile, the ceremonies will have a decidedly more intimate feel, with the Canadian Academy moving the shows into Toronto's CBC Broadcast Centre, which has a capacity of about 600, instead of the more cavernous Meridian Hall, which the CSAs struggled to fill in the past. And although this year's broadcast is being produced by Makers, which handled last year's boondoggle, Frick is confident of the show's current direction.

"We are very much dedicated to getting as much content supporting Canadian talent out there to the public," she says. "We tried a new format last year coming out of the pandemic, and

learned a lot."

One more tweak: The marquee telecast will air on a Friday night instead of the traditional awards-show slot of Sunday, a change that the Canadian Academy pitched the CBC to capitalize on what Frick describes as a larger weeknight audience.

Will all these changes be enough to not only draw in new audiences, but retain those hearty few CanCon devotees who historically watch the CSAs? Last year's broadcast had an average audience of 136,000 in what ratings firm Numeris categorizes as the "2+" age market, and just 31,000 in the 25-54 demographic. That's more than double the 25-54 audience for the pandemic-era 2022 broadcast, but not exactly numbers to crow about. (The show also streams live on CBC Gem, though the network doesn't release streaming figures.)

Perhaps the omnipresence of director Matt Johnson's *BlackBerry* – the second-most popular Canadian film at the domestic box office last year behind the *Paw Patrol* sequel, and easily the most talked-about homegrown movie in ages – will help draw in curious eyeballs. Like last year's CSAs, where Clement Virgo's drama *Brother* won a record 12 awards including Best Picture, the odds of a *BlackBerry* sweep this edition could generate desperately needed buzz. The same goes for the multiple nods scored by Brandon Cronenberg's *Infinity Pool*, the Crave miniseries *Little Bird*, and the final season of CBC's *Workin' Moms*.

Then again, the Canadian Academy is facing its own internal challenges, some of which feel like unforced errors. In February, just two weeks before it was set to announce the nominees for this year's CSAs, the organization announced that this year's awards would be pushed more than a month later than originally scheduled owing to the change in venue. (Next year's CSAs will return to the traditional early April slot.)

Not only did the late-game shift cause headaches for film and TV executives plotting potential marketing campaigns, but the move puts this year's CSAs smack in the middle of a hectic spot on the industry calendar. When the CSAs hand out the first batch of awards Tuesday, it will be just days after the end of the Cannes Film Festival, the start of the up-front season (when broadcasters present new programming to advertisers), and in the midst of the Inside Out Film Festival in Toronto, the film-exhibition conference ShowCanada in Halifax, and the Blue Mountain Film + Media Festival in Ontario cottage country.

And of course, the Canadian Academy faces the same financial challenges that have racked so many of this country's arts institutions.

"It's a volatile landscape, but we're in a sound financial position," Frick says. "Right now there's a feeling of rebuilding. We see the future as being a lot brighter."

Canadians – or at least as many as the CBC can hope to rope in next Friday night – will be watching intently.

UN decries violence in Myanmar's Rakhine state

Spokesperson says tens of thousands of civilians have been displaced in Buthidaung, town has largely been burned

GENEVA

The UN human rights office warned Friday of "frightening and disturbing reports" about the effect of new violence in Myanmar's western state of Rakhine, pointing to new attacks on Rohingya civilians by the military and an ethnic armed group fighting it.

Spokesperson Liz Throssell of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights cited the burning of the town of Buthidaung, as well as air strikes, reports of shootings at unarmed fleeing villagers, beheadings and disappearances as part of the violence in the northern part of Rakhine in recent weeks.

"We are receiving frightening and disturbing reports from northern Rakhine state in Myanmar of the impacts of the conflict on civilian lives and property," she

told a regular briefing in Geneva. "Some of the most serious allegations concern incidents of killing of Rohingya civilians and the burning of their property."

She said tens of thousands of civilians have been displaced in recent days amid fighting in Buthidaung, citing evidence from satellite images, testimonies and on-line video indicating that the town has been largely burned. A battle begun in neighbouring Maungdaw presented "clear and present risks of a serious expansion of violence," she added.

Ms. Throssell denounced signs of new attacks on Rohingya civilians by Myanmar's military and the Arakan Army, the well-armed military wing of the Rakhine ethnic minority movement that seeks autonomy from the central government.

She pointed to one survivor's account about dozens of dead bodies as he fled Buthidaung, while others spoke of abuse and extortion from the Arakan Army forces.

A statement issued online late Friday by the United League of Arakan, the political arm of the Arakan Army, said civilians in the battle zone had taken refuge in areas controlled by its forces, adding that it "has been doing its utmost to safeguard and care for these Internally Displaced Persons [IDPs] as valued citizens, irrespective of race or religion."

However, Rohingya activists have blamed the Arakan Army for most of the current destruction. The ethnic Rakhine nationalists whose cause the armed group espouses have long expressed antipathy toward the Rohingya.

The fighting comes in the context of a civil war in Myanmar that began after the army ousted the elected government of Aung San Suu Kyi, leading to an armed resistance opposing military rule.

The pro-democracy fighters are allied with several of the ethnic minority groups that have been fighting for greater autonomy for decades, and have well-trained mil-

itary forces.

The Arakan Army had a loose ceasefire with the military government until last October, when it joined with two other ethnic armed groups to capture territory in north-eastern Myanmar.

State Department spokesman Matthew Miller on Tuesday said the United States was "deeply troubled" by reports of increased violence in Rakhine state, and called on the military and armed groups to protect civilians and allow humanitarian access.

The Rohingya were the targets of a brutal counterinsurgency campaign incorporating rape and murder that saw an estimated 740,000 flee to neighbouring Bangladesh as their villages were burned down by government troops in 2017.

They have lived in Myanmar for generations, but they are widely regarded by many in the country's Buddhist majority, including members of the Rakhine minority, as having illegally migrated from Bangladesh. The Rohingya face a great amount of prejudice and are generally denied citizenship and other basic rights.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

It's the little things, stupid

MARCUS GEE

OPINION



Cities spend a lot of time, energy and money on the big things that make them livable: roads, public transit, policing, public health. They often forget that, as the saying goes, it's the little things that count. This is especially true in my city, Toronto.

While city hall splashes out on things like subway lines and public-housing projects, garbage bins overflow, pavement crumbles and fountains stand dry. When things aren't breaking down, they are often simply ugly. For all its glories, today's Toronto has an air of neglect and disorder.

All of this was sadly obvious on my ride to work on the Dundas streetcar this Thursday. Start with the streetcar itself. Mine had been subjected to a particularly aggressive form of what is called an "ad wrap." Desperate for funds, the Toronto Transit Commission lets companies wrap some of its vehicles in advertising, turning them into rolling billboards.

My streetcar was wrapped by a big-box home improvement store, not just on the outside but in the interior. What a shame. The TTC's sleek, red-and-white streetcars are an emblem of the city. Though not always a joy to ride, they are lovely to watch as they glide around city streets. The ad wraps ruin the impression.

Soon my streetcar passed one of those CaféTO patios. Since the pandemic, the city has been letting cafés, bars and restaurants put tables in the curbside lanes of some main streets in the warm weather. It's a great idea.

The patios have been buzzing this week as people get out to enjoy springtime.

But the execution is a mess. To protect patrons from passing cars, the city has walled off the patios with those great big wedge-shaped concrete barriers that contractors use for highway work. In an attempt to soften the brutalist effect, it has painted them blue and white this year, with the Toronto logo superimposed. Many patios have lines of bright orange plastic construction stanchions to boot.

So ugly. In a city full of artists and designers, couldn't we find a better way?

Next I passed a nice city park. Tethered to a pole were a pair of trash bins: one grey for garbage, one blue for recycling. I know I am a little obsessed, but this system puts efficiency ahead of beauty, blotting the face of Toronto parks. My streetcar passes right by City Hall itself on my way to work, so I got off to look around. Nathan Phillips Square, just outside, is one of the premier public spaces in the city, home of the famous skating rink spanned by concrete arches.

Another mess. Designed, like City Hall, by Finnish architect Viljo Revell, the square underwent a big redo about a decade back that was supposed to return it to its austere glory. The city has done a fine job since then of mucking it up. Big green or brown planters that look like they belong in a tacky suburban estate home are scattered all about. The elegant old concrete planters stand empty and crumbling. The grass is uncut and ragged around the statue of Winston Churchill, who looks suitably displeased.

Up above, on the raised podium that surrounds City Hall's famous curving towers, the green roof has gone to seed. The attractive native plants put in there to keep the building cool and make the podium more inviting have been overtaken by grass. The surrounding walkways boast a healthy assortment of weeds. City workers in orange vests were doing some desultory weeding when I walked by, but they admitted it was a losing battle.

I walked up to the corner of Yonge and Dundas streets to catch another streetcar, but first I ducked down into the Dundas subway station. Again, a mess.

Dundas is among the subway system's original stations and one of its busiest, with an exit into the giant Eaton Centre shopping mall. It has undergone several piecemeal renos over the years, to little effect. The space is cramped, confusing and, with its mustard wall tiles, frankly hideous.

At the bottom of a narrow stairway to the sidewalk above, a yellow floor sign warned: Keep Moving. Thanks. What must visitors to Toronto think when they pass through this depressing portal? Considered on their own, these are indeed little things: mustard tiles, cheesy planters, garish ad wraps. But having a healthy, functional city means getting the little things right. Toronto is failing.

EBRAHIM RAISI'S HELICOPTER CAUGHT FIRE AFTER CRASH, NO SIGN OF ATTACK, IRAN MILITARY SAYS

TEHRAN, IRAN The helicopter carrying Iran's late president Ebrahim Raisi caught fire soon after it crashed into a mountain and there was no sign it was attacked, state media reported, citing the military's crash investigators.

The general staff's statement said the communications between the control tower and the crew of the helicopter before the crash contained nothing suspicious. It said the last communication of the crashed helicopter was between it and two helicopters accompanying it some 90 seconds before the crash.

There was no sign of anything shot at the helicopter and its flight path did not change, the statement said.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

No election deal as leaders of BC United, Conservatives trade scathing comments

VICTORIA

A proposed deal to avoid vote splitting between British Columbia's two right-of-centre parties in the fall election has fallen apart with their leaders blaming each other and trading scathing personal remarks.

BC United Leader Kevin Falcon says in a statement the talks ended with B.C. Conservative Leader John Rustad ultimately deciding against a proposed "non-competition" agreement.

Mr. Falcon blames Mr. Rustad for prioritizing "his own ambition" while Mr. Rustad says in a statement that Mr. Falcon was "irrational and unreasonable and prepared to lie."

Mr. Rustad adds in an interview that BC United's proposal was "completely unacceptable."

Mr. Falcon says there were talks between two representatives of each party this month, most recently on Wednesday, and BC United proposed the non-competition framework.

He says the proposal included that the parties would not run candidates against each other's members who were seeking re-election, and the BC Conservatives would run in 47 seats and BC United in 46.

"Despite the common ground achieved during these meetings, last night John Rustad decided to reject a reasonable offer aimed at preventing a vote split, risking another four years of [Premier David] Eby's NDP government that will further jeopardize the well-being of this province," Mr. Falcon's statement on Friday said.

"In doing so, John Rustad placed his own ambition above the best interests of British Columbia."

Mr. Falcon was not immediately available for further comment.

Mr. Rustad repeated his promise to field a full slate of candidates in all 93 B.C. ridings in October.



BC United Leader Kevin Falcon, pictured in February at the legislature in Victoria, blamed Conservative Leader John Rustad for 'prioritizing his own ambition' over a proposed 'non-competition agreement.'

CHAD HIPOLITO/THE CANADIAN PRESS

"People are looking for change," he said in his interview. "They are not looking for what has been."

Mr. Rustad said the B.C. Conservatives would go "head on with the NDP and challenge for government."

"

People are looking for change. They are not looking for what has been.

JOHN RUSTAD
B.C. CONSERVATIVE LEADER

He said the talks included a proposal to run candidates under a single B.C. Conservative banner, but BC United was not in favour of that approach.

The standings in the current 87-seat B.C. legislature are: 55 NDP, 26 BC United, two B.C. Greens, two B.C. Conservatives and two Independents.

Mr. Falcon's statement said despite common ground between the parties' representatives, Mr.

Rustad rejected the United proposal without making a counter-offer.

"As British Columbians continue to ask John Rustad and myself on the campaign trail why we could not find common ground, I can confidently say that BC United did everything possible to secure a free enterprise, non-competition framework," Mr. Falcon said.

Mr. Falcon said the rejected agreement also involved plans to form a coalition government if the combined BC United and B.C. Conservatives seats constituted a majority.

In his statement on Friday, Mr. Rustad repeated comments that the two parties would not merge before the election.

Mr. Falcon had bluntly rejected B.C. Conservative moves to hold merger talks late last year, Mr. Rustad said.

Mr. Rustad's statement said recent polling suggests BC United is currently at 12 per cent of the popular vote with less than five months before the election.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

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Saks had 'deep concerns' with decriminalization pitch

Federal Addictions Minister says Toronto's proposal did not include age restrictions or limits

STEPHANIE TAYLOR OTTAWA

Federal Addictions Minister Ya'ara Saks says she had "deep concerns" about the lack of limits Toronto put on its now-rejected pitch to decriminalize the possession of illegal drugs — and the city health agency's refusal to make any changes.

Earlier this month, Saks told reporters that Toronto Public Health's long-standing application was "dormant," then announced its denial days later, on a Friday evening before a long weekend.

That came after she faced weeks of growing political pressure to abandon support for the policy.

The minister now says the pro-

posal did not include age restrictions or limits on the amount of drugs a person could have in their possession.

She says she made the decision to refuse the pitch after she received word in early May that Toronto would not amend its plans to address the concerns raised earlier by department officials.

A spokesperson for Toronto Public Health did not answer questions about the minister's description of her objections or the timeline of events.

Dane Griffiths said the agency was informed of Ottawa's decision to reject its application on May 17, the same day it was announced publicly.

In a statement, he said decriminalization is but one "evidence-informed policy tool to help remove barriers to care."

"I had deep concerns with the proposal," Ms. Saks told The Canadian Press in an interview Thursday.

The city first submitted its de-

criminalization request in January, 2022, and updated it in 2023.

"Health Canada presented Toronto Public Health with a series of questions meant to address some of the concerns raised about the proposal," Ms. Saks said.

Not only did Toronto's application seek to decriminalize personal possession of "all" controlled drugs and substances, but Ms. Saks said it did not set limits on how much one person was allowed to possess.

"Having that threshold matters because it's about personal use," the minister said.

"The application from Toronto Public Health also did not include age restrictions, unlike a similar pilot project in British Columbia," she said.

A recent request from British Columbia to scale back a similar pilot project in that province threw the fate of Toronto's application into question.

More confusion was piled onto the matter when Prime Minister

Justin Trudeau dismissed the Toronto Public Health's application as not being active.

On May 7, Ms. Saks told reporters its application was "dormant" and that nothing had come across her desk.

She said on Thursday that officials had heard nothing from Toronto Public Health for months, but then at the beginning of May, the agency informed Health Canada they would not amend the proposal.

On May 17, the news release announcing the rejection of the proposal said it failed to "adequately protect public health and maintain public safety."

It also cited the lack of support from the Ontario government, after Premier Doug Ford and his ministers repeatedly vowed to fight Toronto's application.

The rejection comes after Ottawa agreed to scale back the pilot project in B.C.

That province became the first jurisdiction in Canada to pilot the decriminalization of personal

drug possession in early 2023, as a way to combat the toxic drug supply and overdose crisis by destigmatizing drug use.

It was limited to certain illegal substances such as heroin, fentanyl, cocaine and methamphetamine.

In April, the Liberals received an urgent request from the provincial NDP government to recriminalize the use of drugs in public spaces. Their use in private spaces is still legal.

The change came in response to concerns from police and nurses, as well as backlash from the public and federal Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, who blamed decriminalization for fuelling addictions and overdose deaths.

"The Toronto proposal cannot be compared 'apples to apples' with the model used out West," Ms. Saks said, "where there are age limits and only certain drugs have been decriminalized."

THE CANADIAN PRESS

U.K. Conservatives lose 78 MPs to resignation

LONDON

British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak is facing a mass departure of lawmakers with the number of resignations surpassing the level the Conservative Party suffered before a landslide defeat in the 1997 election.

Mr. Sunak, in power since 2022, this week called a national election for July 4, but his party is far behind in the opinion polls after a period of high inflation, low economic growth and a steady stream of political scandals.

The number of Conservative members of Parliament who will not be standing at the next election reached 78 on Friday, more than the 72 in the run-up to the 1997 election.

Late on Friday, Michael Gove, a veteran Conservative who has held several government roles and was a leading voice in the push for Britain to leave the European Union, said he was also standing down. "There comes a moment when you know that it is time to leave. That a new generation should lead," he said in a letter.

Andrea Leadsom, who held ministerial roles and ran for the Conservative leadership in 2016 but lost to Theresa May, said she would stand down at the election.

Conservative members of



British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak travels from Northern Ireland to Birmingham during a day of campaigning on Friday. HENRY NICHOLLS/AP

Parliament said so many colleagues were leaving because it was unlikely the party would win the election and many had grown tired of the infighting and polarization in Parliament.

All the opinion polls predict Mr. Sunak will lose the election with his Conservatives trailing the opposition Labour Party by about 20 percentage points.

Only 12 Conservative members of Parliament said they would stand down in the run-up to the 2017 election, while 32 lawmakers stood down before the 2019 election, according to the House of Commons Library.

Defence Minister Grant Shapps said earlier there was nothing unusual about the number of lawmakers leaving. "You often get a lot standing down at election time," he told Sky News.

Former business minister Greg Clark and veteran Brexit supporter John Redwood were among the Conservative lawmakers who announced they were standing down on Friday. Some of the Conservative Party's best-known politicians have already said they will stand down, including former prime minister Ms. May.

REUTERS

INDEPENDENT TORONTO MP KEVIN VUONG ASKS POILIEVRE TO LET HIM JOIN CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS

OTTAWA Independent MP Kevin Vuong, who previously ran for the Liberals, says he now wants to run for the Conservatives in the next election, and has asked Pierre Poilievre if he can join his caucus.

But the Tories are not considering allowing him to sit with them in Parliament, spokeswoman Sarah Fischer said Friday.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau dropped Mr. Vuong as a candidate just days before the September, 2021, vote. The party cited Mr. Vuong's failure to disclose a withdrawn sexual-assault charge before running for office, which came out in a report by the Toronto Star in 2021. He denies the allegations that led to the charge, and called them false.

He was elected anyway, and has sat as an Independent for the downtown Toronto riding of Spadina-Fort York ever since.

Sitting in his Parliament Hill office on Friday, he says that while his time in the House of Commons got off to a "rough start," he thinks he has made an impact and has something to offer Mr. Poilievre's team.

"I believe that I can have more to give," said Mr. Vuong. "That's why I'm looking to be able to be a part of a team, to be able to do that."

He pointed to his efforts to raise awareness about the plight of homeless refugees in Toronto and press the Liberals to eliminate interest on federal student loans in Question Period.

Mr. Vuong's desire to join the Conservatives does not come as a surprise to caucus members or other party insiders. He has voted alongside the Conservatives on a range of issues from economic matters to drug policy since joining the House of Commons.

Mr. Vuong made it official last November when he took out a party membership.

Asked whether he had spoken directly to Mr. Poilievre about his desire to join the group, Mr. Vuong said he hadn't, and that the extent of their relationship is that they sometimes cross paths outside the House.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

WORLD FORECAST

	TODAY	TOMORROW	MONDAY
AMSTERDAM	19/11 SH	21/13 SH	19/11 S
ATHENS	27/18 PC	24/16 SH	25/15 S
BANGKOK	31/27 T	32/28 T	32/27 T
BEIJING	15/13 R	29/15 S	31/18 S
BERLIN	24/14 PC	24/15 T	24/16 SH
BRUSSELS	19/12 SH	20/11 SH	17/8 PC
COPENHAGEN	20/13 S	19/14 SH	18/13 SH
FRANKFURT	20/11 PC	21/13 SH	21/13 C
HONG KONG	26/25 R	28/26 SH	28/27 T
JERUSALEM	23/14 SH	26/18 S	33/18 S
LAS VEGAS	31/19 S	33/22 S	35/23 S
LONDON	20/13 S	20/12 SH	18/11 SH
LOS ANGELES	20/14 PC	20/14 PC	22/14 S
MADRID	28/15 PC	29/17 PC	29/15 S
MIAMI	34/25 SH	34/25 T	33/26 S
MOSCOW	22/12 S	24/12 SH	22/12 S
NEW DELHI	46/32 S	47/33 S	47/32 S
NEW YORK	27/17 S	27/17 T	21/18 R
NICE	20/15 SH	22/17 PC	22/16 PC
ORLANDO	34/24 S	36/24 S	36/25 S
PARIS	21/14 SH	21/11 SH	18/9 SH
PHOENIX	32/21 S	35/24 S	38/24 S
ROME	21/13 SH	26/14 S	27/15 S
SAN FRANCISCO	13/10 PC	14/10 S	14/11 S
SEOUL	25/18 C	25/14 R	20/13 PC
SINGAPORE	29/28 T	30/27 T	30/28 T
SYDNEY	19/11 C	20/11 S	20/10 S
TOKYO	22/17 PC	24/20 PC	23/21 R
WASHINGTON	30/20 SH	30/21 T	29/20 T

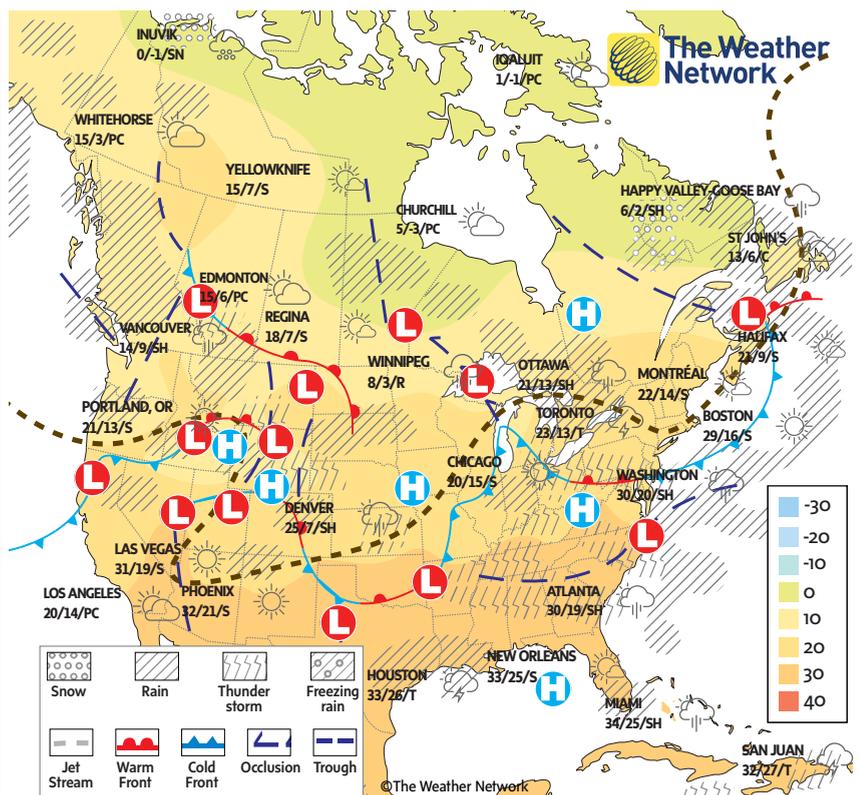
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Daytime high, overnight low, and conditions

C CLOUDY	RS RAIN/SNOW
FG FOG	S SUN
FR FREEZING RAIN	SN SNOW
HZ HAZE	SF SNOW FLURRIES
NA NOT AVAILABLE	SH SHOWERS
PC PARTLY CLOUDY	T THUNDERSTORMS
R RAIN	W WINDY

NATIONAL FORECAST

	TODAY	TOMORROW	MONDAY
BANFF	9/3 T	10/0 R	11/2 PC
BARRE	22/10 T	23/16 S	22/13 R
BRANDON	14/2 S	17/7 SH	16/6 SH
CALGARY	15/6 T	12/4 R	18/6 S
CHARLOTTETOWN	16/7 SH	16/6 PC	16/8 PC
CHICOUTIMI	16/7 PC	19/9 PC	21/13 PC
CHURCHILL	5/3 PC	3/1 S	4/2 PC
CORNER BROOK	13/3 R	8/3 C	13/4 PC
CORNWALL	22/14 S	24/15 PC	22/16 R
EDMONTON	15/6 PC	16/6 SH	19/7 S
HALIFAX	21/9 S	16/9 PC	14/8 PC
HAMILTON	25/12 T	22/16 S	22/14 R
HUNTSVILLE	20/11 R	24/15 PC	20/13 R
IQALUIT	1/1 PC	2/2 SN	2/3 C
JASPER	12/4 SH	11/3 PC	12/4 SH
KELOWNA	15/5 SH	15/7 SH	20/10 S
KINGSTON	22/15 SH	21/16 PC	20/15 R
LONDON	24/11 T	25/17 S	21/13 R
MONTREAL	22/14 S	25/14 PC	23/16 R
NIAGARA FALLS	27/13 T	24/17 S	24/15 R
NORTH BAY	16/10 R	23/14 PC	19/12 R
OTTAWA	21/13 SH	25/14 PC	20/15 R
PRINCE GEORGE	15/6 SH	14/6 PC	14/6 SH
PETERBOROUGH	23/12 T	25/15 S	21/14 R
QUEBEC	20/11 S	20/11 S	20/13 SH
REGINA	18/7 S	16/8 R	18/9 PC
SASKATOON	16/6 PC	17/7 S	18/9 PC
SAULT STE MARIE	15/8 R	23/13 PC	17/11 R
SAINT JOHN	21/10 S	17/10 PC	19/10 PC
SEPTILES	11/7 SH	8/6 PC	10/8 PC
ST JOHN'S	13/6 C	6/2 C	6/2 PC
SUDBURY	16/8 R	24/14 PC	18/12 R
THUNDER BAY	15/6 PC	16/8 S	18/9 SH
THOMPSON	8/4 SH	7/4 SH	12/2 SH
TORONTO	23/13 T	20/15 S	20/14 R
VAL-D'OR	17/10 SH	23/10 PC	20/13 R
VANCOUVER	14/9 SH	12/10 R	17/11 R
VICTORIA	13/9 SH	12/10 R	18/10 SH
WHISTLER	11/4 R	7/5 R	11/5 R
WHITEHORSE	15/3 PC	17/6 PC	11/2 SH
WINNIPEG	8/3 R	17/8 S	15/7 SH
YELLOWKNIFE	15/7 S	17/7 SH	16/7 S



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Job action could disrupt border activity

Union members vote 96 per cent in favour of strike action, which could occur June 3 if negotiations stall

GABRIELA CALUGAY-CASUGA

Canadian travellers could face disruptions at the border this summer after the union representing border workers voted 96 per cent in favour of strike action, placing union members in a legal strike position as of June 3.

The vote by members of the Customs and Immigration Union (CIU), which is a division of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), covers 9,000 workers, including officers at airports and land entry ports, intelligence officers, trade officers and non-uniformed headquarters staff.

Border agency employees are

considered essential and must continue to provide services during a strike. Job actions at the border will likely take a work-to-rule form. Workers could stop collecting taxes and duties, ask travellers more questions and more fully inspect vehicles, which could increase waiting times.

The workers have been without a contract for almost two years. In April, both parties met for a hearing at a Public Interest Commission, where a panel of three people listens to each side. The commission's report is expected to be released before mediation sessions in June.

"Taking job action is always a last resort, but this strong strike mandate underscores that our members are prepared to do what it takes to secure a fair contract," said Chris Aylward, PSAC national president.

Even a minute of border disruptions could have almost a million dollars of economic im-

act, said Laura Dawson, executive director of the Future Borders Coalition. The coalition is a bi-national organization of businesses, transportation, tourism, researchers and academics.

Trade constituted 68 per cent of Canada's gross domestic product in 2022, according to the latest figure from the World Bank.

Ms. Dawson said Canada relies on having a functioning border and a big part of this is achieved by supporting border workers.

"It's the conditions under which those border officials work that make a successful border experience or not," Ms. Dawson said. "It is horrendous, the implications of not having a functional border in Canada. There's probably no other economic action that would be as significant for Canada."

Disruptions will also affect border communities, Ms. Dawson said. Many residents of border communities need to cross into the U.S. for school or work

regularly. "If suddenly that border is closed, then that part of their community life is shut down," she said.

Workers at the border last took strike action in 2021. The union said their work-to-rule measures almost brought commercial cross-border traffic to a standstill.

The strike votes were collected between April 10 and May 23. CIU national president Mark Weber said voter turnout was overwhelming, with nearly 70 per cent of the union's members casting a vote.

"Members are indignant," Mr. Weber said. "They're really, really mad that they are being told by the employer they should accept so much less than everybody else gets."

Mr. Weber said wages for officers with the Canada Border Services Agency are in the lower-middle range of what is paid to the broad law-enforcement community. CBSA personnel are also some of the only law

enforcement and public safety employees who cannot retire after 25 years, he said.

The union did not say how far the two sides are in the negotiations.

NDP MP Alistair MacGregor said the Liberal Party has turned its back on border agency workers. "They're setting the stage for unnecessary disruptions this summer," he said during Question Period.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was asked Friday about the labour standoff, but declined to comment on the details of the disagreement.

"We know when it comes to CBSA the work they do is extremely important and extremely difficult," he told reporters at a news conference in Truro, N.S. "But we also know that the best labour agreements happen at the bargaining table and that's exactly where the ministers are focused and we will continue to do that."



Dogs wait to board a plane during a press event Tuesday introducing BARK Air, an airline for dogs, at Republic Airport in East Farmingdale, N.Y. PHOTOS BY EDUARDO MUNOZ/REUTERS

BARK Air wants all dogs to fly first class

ALEKSANDRA MICHALSKA
EAST FARMINGDALE, NEW YORK

With this airline, dogs are ditching the kennels and flying first class.

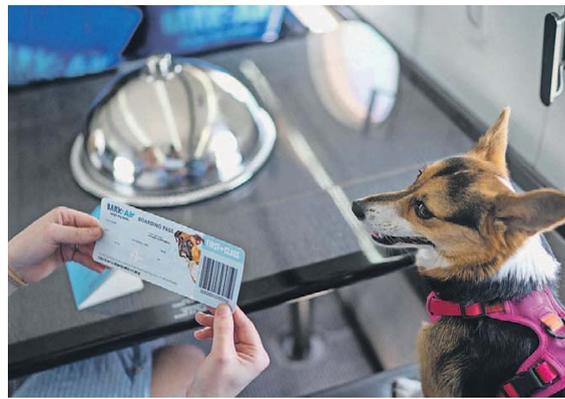
BARK Air wants to pamper pets and their owners even before takeoff and made its initial flight from New York to Los Angeles on Thursday.

Chief executive Matt Meeker said the business idea came from struggling to transport Hugo, his Great Dane.

"I was unable to travel with him long distances and had the idea that there should be an airline that caters to dogs," said Mr. Meeker, who also founded Bark-Box, a subscription service for dog products owned by Bark Inc. "We cater everything to the dog, trying to lower their anxiety and their stress, so they have the most comfortable, fear-free experience on an airplane."

The dog-first experience starts with a waiting lounge filled with treats and a speedy check-in. BARK Air also offers an onboard spa for the pups and a menu featuring "doggie champagne" and "barkaccinos."

The company aims to sell 10 tickets per flight to make room for 10 dogs, though the luxury aircraft can accommodate up to



A woman shows a dog's boarding pass after getting on a plane. Tickets for one person and one dog cost US\$8,000 for a one-way international flight or US\$6,000 for domestic trips.

15 people.

Tickets for one person and one dog cost US\$8,000 for a one-way international flight or US\$6,000 for domestic trips.

Mr. Meeker says prices could decrease in the future.

"We're operating at a loss today as we start. The idea is over time, we have a pretty clear pathway to lower the price for the consumer and lower our costs. And that comes with scale and more routes."

Currently, BARK Air flies

between New York, Los Angeles and London.

The company is considering adding flights to Paris, Milan, Chicago, Seattle, and seasonal destinations in Florida and Arizona after receiving 15,000 requests for new destinations.

"I hope that we can create an experience that reaches every family that wants to travel with their entire family like they do with their children."

REUTERS

Committee says Ottawa should tackle 'excessive' profits in food sector

ROSA SABA

The federal government should consider policies to tackle "excessive net profits" in the food industry, the House of Commons committee studying food prices said in its latest report.

The committee recommended the government look into ways to address these profits in "monopolistic and oligopolistic sectors in the food supply chain," which it says are driving up prices for farmers and consumers.

In a report presented on Thursday, the committee detailed its research into the causes of food inflation and insecurity in Canada, including the high-profile testimony of grocery executives over the past several months.

The leaders of Loblaw, Metro, Sobeys-owner Empire, Walmart Canada and Costco have all faced questions from MPs over the size of their profits amid high food inflation, which the grocers say they haven't unduly profited from.

The committee report offered a number of recommendations that range from lowering the barriers to entry for new companies to Canada, to making legislative changes to strengthen competition law regarding mergers.

The committee also recommended that the government discuss with the provinces and territories legislation to make the grocery code of conduct mandatory.

It comes on the heels of an announcement from Loblaw that it plans to sign on to the code after months of pressure on the country's largest grocer to participate.

The industry-led code is intended to help level the playing field for smaller companies in the industry.

It's meant to be voluntary, but in recent months pressure has grown on the government to make it law instead as not all of the major grocers appeared to be willing to sign on.

In December, Loblaw and Walmart told the committee they were concerned it would increase prices for Canadians. And earlier this year, the committee wrote a letter to those two grocers, saying if they didn't sign on, it would recommend that the code be made mandatory.

Last week, Loblaw announced that after months of discussions it was ready to sign on to the code as long as all stakeholders do.

"The code now is fair, and it will not lead to higher prices," said president and chief executive Per Bank.

At the time, Walmart said the company is reviewing the latest draft of the code.

The grocer did not immediately respond to a request for comment. Neither did Costco.

The Retail Council of Canada declined to comment on the report.

Michael Graydon, CEO of the Food, Health & Consumer Products of Canada association and chairman of the interim board for the code, said the group is "very supportive" of all the committee's recommendations.

When it comes to the code, "our industry's desire is a fully inclusive code that involves all stakeholders. That remains our goal and so [I] am hopeful that can be achieved," he wrote in an e-mail.

Francis Chechile, a spokesperson for Agriculture Minister Lawrence MacAulay, said the government has been clear that it supports an industry-led code, but that after years of work, "it's well past [time] that all major retailers join the Code."

The government is calling on the remaining large retailers to sign on to the code as their participation is vital to its success, Mr. Chechile said in a statement.

"In the meantime, we are exploring all available federal options, including legislation. As key aspects of the Code would fall under provincial jurisdiction, we have encouraged provincial and territorial governments to do the same."

The committee's report references research the Competition Bureau released last year that noted the Canadian grocery sector has become increasingly concentrated through a series of mergers and acquisitions in recent decades.

The Competition Bureau is currently investigating the use of restrictive clauses in the grocery sector, controls in lease agreements that it claims hamper competition in the industry.

And Industry Minister François-Philippe Champagne has said he's seeking a foreign grocer to strengthen competition in the Canadian market.

The report's recommendations include that the government should empower the Competition Tribunal to dissolve or prohibit a merger if that merger would result in excessive combined market share. It also recommends that the law be strengthened by shifting the burden onto merging companies to prove that their deal won't hurt competition.

A spokesperson for Mr. Champagne's office highlighted recent changes the government has made to the Competition Act, saying bills C-56 and C-59 "have already addressed concerns such as curbing excessive profits, strengthening competition law, and facilitating fair market access."

The best way to lower prices and help smaller players is to increase competition, spokesperson Audrey Millette said in a statement, adding that having more players in the market is one way to put downward pressure on prices.

"We will continue to stand up for Canadians by working with provincial and territorial partners to make life more affordable and continue to hold corporations accountable."

THE CANADIAN PRESS

ITALIAN TEENAGE COMPUTER WHIZ SET TO BECOME FIRST SAINT OF MILLENNIAL GENERATION

ROME Pope Francis paved the way for the canonization of the first saint of the millennial generation on Thursday, attributing a second miracle to a 15-year-old Italian computer whiz who died of leukemia in 2006.

Carlo Acutis, born on May 3, 1991, in London and then moved with his Italian parents to Milan as a child, was the youngest contemporary person to be beatified by Francis in Assisi in 2020.

The approval of a second miracle for Acutis was notified by the Pontiff on Thursday during a meeting with the head of the Vatican's saint-making department, Cardinal Marcello Semeraro, a Vatican statement said.

Pope Francis announced he will convene a Consistory of

Cardinals to deliberate the canonization of Acutis, as well as other three Blessed.

Touted as the "patron saint of the internet," Acutis used his natural tech talent to create a website to catalogue miracles and took care of websites for some local Catholic organizations.

He was a self-starter. While still in elementary school, Acutis taught himself to code using a university computer science textbook, and then learned how to edit videos and create animation.

Acutis, who died of acute leukemia on Oct. 12, 2006, was put on the road to sainthood after Pope Francis approved the first miracle attributed to him: The healing of a seven-year-old Brazilian boy from a rare pan-

creatic disorder after coming into contact with an Acutis' relic, a piece of one of his T-shirts.

According to Vatican News, the second miracle recognized on Thursday is related to a woman from Costa Rica, who in July, 2022 made a pilgrimage to Acutis' tomb in Assisi to pray for the healing of her daughter, who had suffered severe head trauma after falling from her bicycle.

The young woman started showing signs of recovery immediately after her mother's plea.

Already as a small child, Acutis had showed a strong religious devotion that surprised his non-practicing parents.

He was buried in Assisi at his own request, having become an admirer of St. Francis of Assisi for his dedication to the poor.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

TRAVEL: Canada's Great Bear Rainforest

Fjords, wildlife and local people build a spectacular — and eco-friendly — safari holiday on Canada's west coast

SIMON AGER

The Serengeti may have a lock on our imagination when it comes to safaris, but there are other places where you can come face-to-face with wildlife in its natural habitat, like Canada's Great Bear Rainforest.

It's 6.4 million hectares of fjords, rainforest and islands have become a global beacon for ethical and sustainable nature travel.

One of the companies responsible for that reputation is BC's Maple Leaf Adventures, which developed its yacht-based safaris here in the early 1990s. The company offers several itineraries this summer and fall.



PHOTO: GREG SHEA
Special permits and small groups give guests exclusive access to protected wildlife and their homes.

A Different Kind of Safari

Like all great safaris, these trips are designed to highlight and work in harmony with the place. And what is the place like?

At the end of the road in a small coastal town, guests board their 90 to 140-foot expedition yacht, and the crew untie the lines that tether it to the end of the road. Town and traffic fades. The bow points down the channel and enters a maze of coastal islands, while mountains rise up to the side.

For the next week, the expedition winds between islands, dropping anchor in scenic coves and down fjords.

The local guides, including naturalists, take guests ashore several times a day to explore rainforest, wild beaches, a research station, natural hot springs and of course wildlife hot spots. Kayaking and small boat rides are also included.

Meanwhile, the chef creates amazing meals and snacks that await guests' return aboard.

A Front Row Seat to Nature's Spectacle

Summer trips feature the coast's rich marine life from seabirds to whales (and perhaps a coastal wolf), as well as spectacular remote islands and the coastal fjords.

Autumn trips feature the wildlife events triggered by the autumn salmon spawn: bears and whales in particular.



PHOTO: JEFF REYNOLDS
Local crew, with warm hospitality, take the trips over the top.

Canadian Janet Fraser explored the region recently on Maple Leaf's restored tugboat Swell. "The ship and zodiac were able to go places most people will never see," she said. "We got up close to nature and saw animals where they are meant to be."



A guest in tugboat Swell's wheelhouse, taking the helm.



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- 🕒 **Swell:** a classic, 88-foot tugboat built in Vancouver in 1912, 12 guests;
- 🕒 **Cascadia:** a light-filled catamaran designed specifically for expedition tourism, 24 guests.

Owned and cared-for by BC locals, these ships are part of the coastal community. Guests are welcome to take the helm under the crew's supervision. We cruise close to the shoreline in the company of nature and wildlife.

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Great Bear Rainforest Fall 2024

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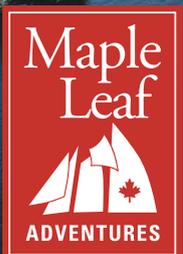
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RETAIL

Competition Bureau investigating Loblaw, Sobeys' parent companies ■ B7

FINANCIAL SERVICES

Advisory leader Benjie Thomas named CEO of KPMG Canada ■ B2

DAVID BERMAN

A bet on copper has paid off, but its future direction is murky ■ B9

FINANCIAL FACELIFT

B.C. man seeks 10-year path toward a comfortable retirement ■ B10

Mispriced deal leaves banks holding unsold shares of Iamgold

NIALL MCGEE
MINING REPORTER

A syndicate of Bay Street underwriters is carrying unsold shares in Canadian gold mining company Iamgold Corp. after they mispriced a US\$300-million bought deal financing, two sources told The Globe and Mail.

Toronto-based Iamgold announced the equity financing after the close on Tuesday at US\$4.17 a share, a discount of 7.1 per cent to its closing price. The company trades on the Toronto and New York stock exchanges.

The bought deal was led by National Bank Financial Inc., BMO Nesbitt Burns Inc. and RBC Dominion Securities Inc.

In this type of financing, the company that issues new stock gets the proceeds, regardless of whether underwriters are able to flip all the shares.

Graeme Jennings, vice-president of investor relations with Iamgold, said in an interview that the bought deal had closed on its end, and the company had already received the funds.

"We have good support for shareholders," he said. "That's really all we can comment on from our side. You'd have to talk to the brokers for their view."

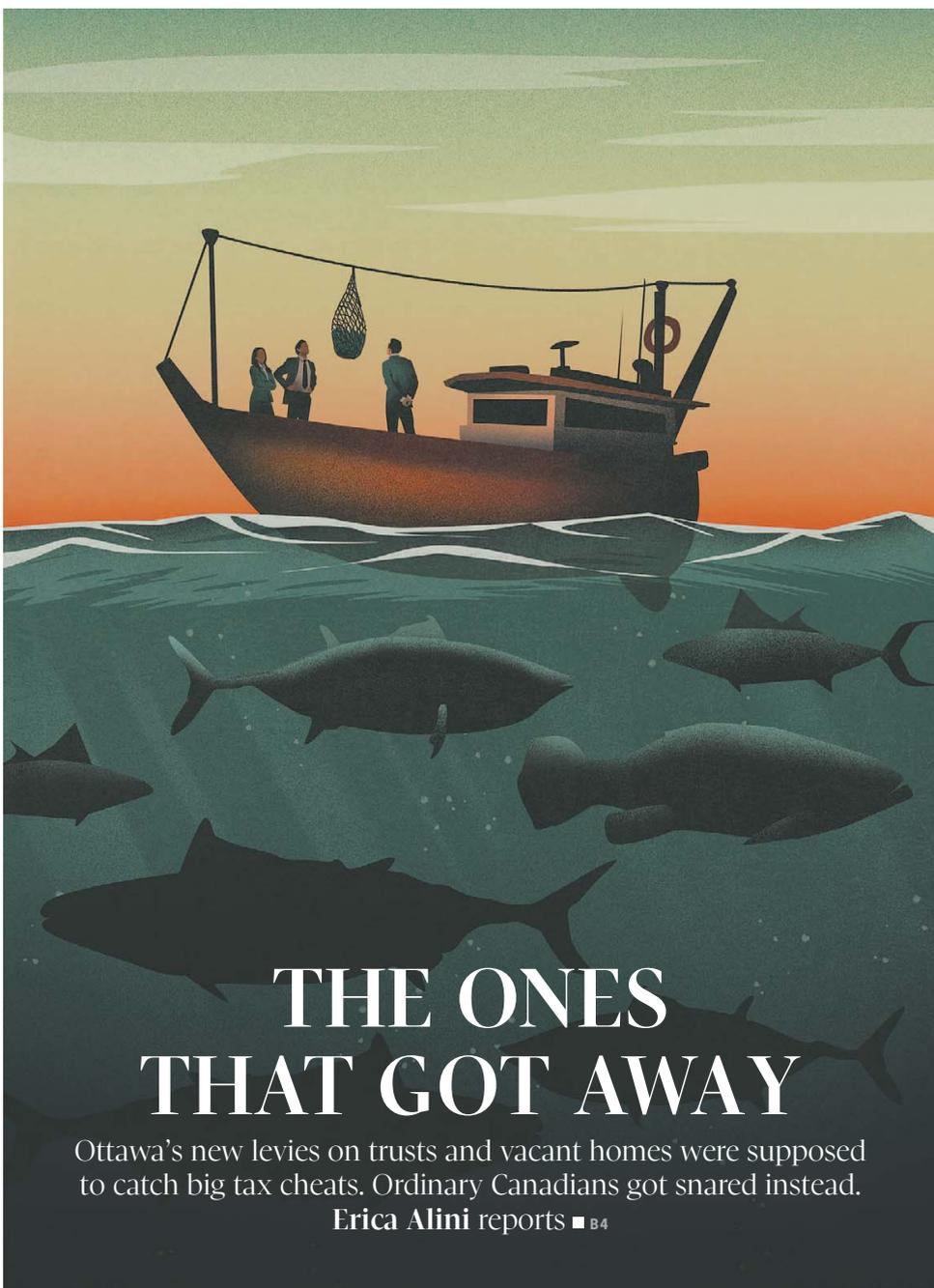
The Globe reached out to the lead bankers at National, BMO and RBC for comment but did not receive a reply.

When a bought deal goes well, underwriters are able to sell the shares to institutional buyers in a matter of hours, usually before the stock market opens the next morning.

But almost three days later, the two sources said that around 20 per cent of the Iamgold shares being offered for sale were left unsold.

■ IAMGOLD, B8

{ COVER STORY }



THE ONES THAT GOT AWAY

Ottawa's new levies on trusts and vacant homes were supposed to catch big tax cheats. Ordinary Canadians got snared instead.

Erica Alini reports ■ B4

ILLUSTRATION: ROMAIN LASSER/GLOBE AND MAIL

Gildan's board fight is a lesson in shareholder management

NICOLAS VAN PRAET MONTREAL
ANDREW WILLIS TORONTO

Glenn Chamandy, co-founder of Gildan Activewear Inc., left his job as chief executive officer last year in a cloud of mystery after relations with his board soured. Now he returns triumphant – and under more pressure than ever before to deliver returns for the investors who won his job back.

The raucous five-month battle that engulfed the T-shirt maker came to a sudden conclusion late Thursday, when Gildan's entire board of directors and CEO Vince Tyra quit, admitting defeat at the hands of activist investor Browning West. The Los Angeles-based firm, which owns about 5 per cent of Gildan's shares, has now taken control of the company and will reinstate Mr. Chamandy as CEO, with United Rentals Inc. CEO Michael Kneeland becoming

chairman.

Mr. Tyra's bio has already been scrubbed from the Gildan website.

The feud was a rare case of activists pushing for the status quo. And though it's often hazardous to predict whether the fallout from such cases will have a lasting impact on the Canadian corporate landscape, observers say it does provide a cautionary tale for other boards overseeing strong-willed executives who di-

rectors think might be past their best-before date.

Gildan's legacy board, the directors who dismissed Mr. Chamandy last December, weren't fast or blunt enough in explaining publicly why they showed him the door, according to one insider who spoke openly on condition they not be named.

Other experts say those directors underestimated the strength of Mr. Chamandy's backing from Browning West and other institu-

tional investors – and their resolve.

"It does show that sometimes the personality, the charisma, and the history of a long-time CEO and founder with investors is not something you can break easily," said François Dauphin, president of the Institute of Governance for Public and Private Organizations. "Once you start pushing against that, it's really hard to get yourself out."

■ GILDAN, B8

MARKETS		
▲ S&P/TSX	22,320.87	+120.08
▲ DOW	39,069.59	+4.33
▲ S&P 500	5,304.72	+36.88
▲ NASDAQ	16,920.79	+184.76
▲ DOLLAR	73.14/1.3673	+0.15/-0.0029
▼ GOLD (oz.)	US\$2,334.50	-2.70
▲ OIL (WTI)	US\$77.72	+0.85
▼ GCAN (10-YR)	3.59%	-0.02

China's bet on a new industrial revolution poses a big risk for the ruling Communist Party

JOHN RAPLEY

OPINION

Joe Biden's imposition of steep tariffs on imports of Chinese electric vehicles may look like the latest salvo in a trade war between the United States and China. However, it's more than an attempt to out-Trump Donald Trump in an election year. Unlike the former president, who used tariffs to keep Chinese goods out

of the U.S., Mr. Biden is going head-to-head with China in a race to capture the global markets of the future.

Expect to see more of this, and it could get interesting because China is betting on a new industrial revolution – one that could catapult it to true parity with the West, or that may end in tears.

After China's breakneck economy began slowing in recent years, the country's policy elite faced a dilemma in how to respond.

■ RAPLEY, B8

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SPORTS

JONATHAN BACHMAN/GETTY IMAGES



GOLF Adam Hadwin says it would be kind of cool to be a spy ■ B13

TENNIS Swiatek and Alcaraz are favoured as French Open starts Sunday ■ B14

SOCCER Visit by FC Cincinnati provides tough test for Toronto FC ■ B15

Raising money for research into clear cell ovarian cancer

In co-operation with the Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation, Burke Penny set up a fund as a way to honour his wife

PAUL WALDIE

PITCHING IN

The organizer: Burke Penny

The pitch: Raising \$180,000 and climbing

The cause: To fund research into clear cell ovarian cancer

When Lindsey Martin-Penny was diagnosed with a rare form of ovarian cancer in January, 2022, she went through five months of chemotherapy, but nothing worked.

Her oncologist referred her to Dr. Stéphanie Lheureux, an ovarian-cancer specialist at the Princess Margaret Cancer Centre in Toronto.

Ms. Martin-Penny and her husband, Burke Penny, lived in Midland, Ont., and they had a Zoom call with Dr. Lheureux. “She was amazing, just really empathetic,” Mr. Penny recalled. “But she said, ‘I don’t really have anything that I can offer you at the moment.’”

Ms. Martin-Penny died a few weeks later, on July 21, 2022. She was 59 years old, a former teacher and a greeting-card designer. She and Mr. Penny had been together for 36 years.

Mr. Penny, 77, was devastated but he wanted to do something to honour his wife. He reached out to Dr. Lheureux and offered to help fund her research. Less than a year later, he set up Lindsey’s Legacy Fund For Clear Cell Ovarian Cancer Research in co-operation with the Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation.

So far Mr. Penny and his family and friends have raised \$180,000, partly through an event called Lindsey’s Legacy Cabaret; A Musical Theatre Showcase. The second annual cabaret will be held in Midland on June 20, which was Ms. Martin-Penny’s birthday.

Mr. Penny has set a target of raising \$300,000 this year. He noted that around 300 Canadian women are diagnosed with clear cell ovarian cancer every year. It’s one of the most aggressive forms of cancer and there is no effective treatment.

Dr. Lheureux is already making progress, he added, and he wants her work to continue. “Our vision is that no more lives like Lindsey’s are cut brutally short by clear cell ovarian cancer,” he said.

pwaldie@globeandmail.com



Burke Penny, right, is pictured with his wife Lindsey Martin-Penny, who died in 2022. Lindsey’s Legacy Cabaret; A Musical Theatre Showcase will be held on June 20, which was her birthday. COURTESY OF BURKE PENNY



Benjie Thomas has led the private equity and pension group at KPMG Canada since 2006, building a track record of supporting the country’s mid-market buyout firms. SAMMY KOGAN/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

KPMG Canada names advisory leader Benjie Thomas as its next chief executive

JAMES BRADSHAW
INSTITUTIONAL INVESTING
REPORTER

KPMG Canada LLP has chosen Benjie Thomas to be its next CEO, promoting a top executive with deep experience advising on deals, as well as strong relationships with private equity firms and pension funds.

Mr. Thomas, 49, will take over the Canadian arm of KPMG International Ltd. on Oct. 1, succeeding current CEO and senior partner Elio Luongo, who has led the Canadian firm since 2016.

Currently, Mr. Thomas is KPMG’s Canadian managing partner for the firm’s advisory practice, which includes management and risk consulting, as well as deal advisory services. A member of the firm’s management committee, he is also the national industry leader for private equity and pension funds. He started at KPMG as a student and has spent nearly 23 years at the company.

He is the second new CEO named to lead one of the big four global accounting firms’ Canadian offices in recent weeks. Earlier this month, Ernst & Young named Alycia Calvert as its chair and CEO, making her the first woman to hold the top job at one of those big four.

The decision to tap Mr. Thomas as CEO is a sign of the in-

creasing importance of consulting and advisory services – and the higher-margin revenue they generate – to one of the world’s largest tax and accounting firms. In Canada, KPMG has more than 10,000 employees, and the advisory practice Mr. Thomas oversees accounts for about 2,000 of them. The unit is contributing a growing share of revenue as margins for audit and accounting services have come under pressure.

“

[Benjie Thomas] is the right leader to take the firm through its next chapter.

ELIO LUONGO
CURRENT KPMG CANADA CEO

Relationships with large institutional investors are highly valuable, and Mr. Thomas has led the private equity and pension group at KPMG Canada since 2006, building a track record of supporting the country’s mid-market buyout firms.

Colleagues also see him as an approachable, affable leader who embodies the company’s culture and as an enterprising executive with a competitive urge to win business. A former varsity football player at the University of Waterloo, where he studied accounting, his office wall in To-

ronto is lined with framed basketball jerseys and sports memorabilia.

“Like many Canadians, I’m the child of proud immigrants who, through example, instilled education, work ethic, resilience, entrepreneurship, community and most importantly a deep sense of family and faith,” Mr. Thomas said in a statement. “These are the values that will guide my leadership.”

Under Mr. Luongo’s tenure as CEO, KPMG Canada has invested heavily in technology to adapt its own systems and advise clients on how to cope with the pace of change as digitization, cloud computing and emerging AI tools promise to reshape businesses.

“The Canadian economy is facing unprecedented disruption,” Mr. Thomas said. “Organizations are dealing with a growing list of risks and challenges, but emerging technology also presents them with unparalleled opportunities.”

Mr. Luongo will complete his two terms as CEO on Sept. 30, reaching the maximum eight years allowed for the company’s leaders. In a statement, he called Mr. Thomas “a respected leader with a collaborative approach, and a steadfast commitment to quality and innovation.”

“He is the right leader to take the firm through its next chapter.”

B.C., Kwiakah First Nation create new management area in Great Bear Rainforest

WENDY STUECK
ENVIRONMENT REPORTER

The province of British Columbia and the Kwiakah First Nation are creating a new management area in the Great Bear Rainforest that will replace commercial logging with a conservation model that generates revenue from other sources, including the sale of carbon credits.

For Kwiakah Chief Steven Dick, the agreement opens the door to a conservation economy he hopes could be a model for other Indigenous communities.

“This creates a bright future for Kwiakah members to be out on the land – where they see opportunity not only for learning but over time, creating resources for future generations,” he said.

The agreement, announced Friday, reflects increasing interest – from governments and Indigenous peoples – in conservation models that go beyond protected areas to include jobs, research and innovation. The new management area will be the ninth such area in the Great Bear Rainforest, a 6.4-million-hectare swath of forests and ocean inlets on B.C.’s north and

central coast.

The region was the focus of anti-logging campaigns from the late 1990s, with First Nations and environmental groups protesting clearcut logging of a coastal rainforest that was home to old-growth trees, a rich and diverse ecosystem and the white kermode bear, also known as the Spirit Bear.

After two decades of negotiations that involved First Nations, the province, environmental groups and industry, the B.C. government in 2016 announced the Great Bear Rainforest agreement, which included new legislation and other measures to conserve 85 per cent of forest area and 70 per cent of old growth in the region.

While that agreement won praise and global attention, it had some unforeseen consequences, including stepped-up logging in Kwiakah territory as other parts of the Great Bear Rainforest were put off-limits.

Before the Great Bear Rainforest agreement was announced in 2016, up to 70 per cent of some parts of Kwiakah territory were under conservation measures, Mr. Dick said. After the agreement was announced, those protection levels dropped to 50 per cent and logging activity increased, he added.

“We were working quite closely with environmental groups to achieve that 70 per cent and that was kind of a shock,” Mr. Dick said.

Since the 2016 deal was announced, Kwiakah has been working to increase protection on its traditional territories.

The new forest management area includes 7,865 hectares of forested land within the Great

Bear Rainforest. As with previous management areas, an amendment will be made to the Great Bear Rainforest (Forest Management) Act to reduce the annual allowable cut tied to the major tree farm licence in the area, Bruce Ralston, the Minister of Forests, said in a statement, adding that “any lost harvesting revenue is intended to be counteracted through the generation of carbon credits and regenerative forestry jobs.”

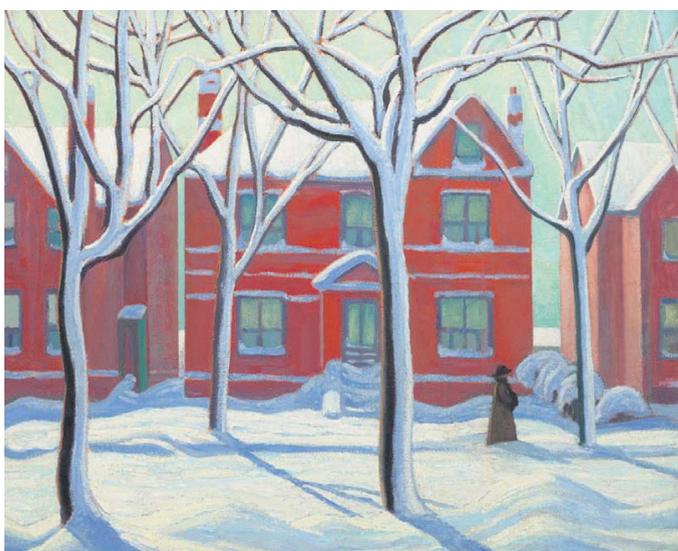
Tree farm licences are area-based tenures that provide harvesting rights to a given area.

B.C. has developed its own system to register forest carbon offsets, which have become part of the financing picture for the Great Bear Rainforest. To date, the primary purchaser of Great Bear Rainforest credits has been the B.C. government, which uses the credits to meet its pledge to run a carbon-neutral public service.

The B.C. government was not immediately available to provide data on how much it has spent on carbon credits. In a July update, the province said more than 9.4 million tonnes of greenhouse-gas emissions have been sequestered since the implementation of the Great Bear Rainforest agreement.

The Kwiakah First Nation is one of the smallest in B.C., with only 20 registered members. In a statement, the nation said its core territory spans roughly 86,000 hectares in the southern reaches of the Great Bear Rainforest and includes Phillips Arm and Frederick Arm, ocean inlets that are home to historical village sites, all five species of Pacific salmon, Roosevelt elk and grizzly and black bears.

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Lawren Harris, House in the Ward, Winter, c. 1924 | At Loch Gallery Toronto

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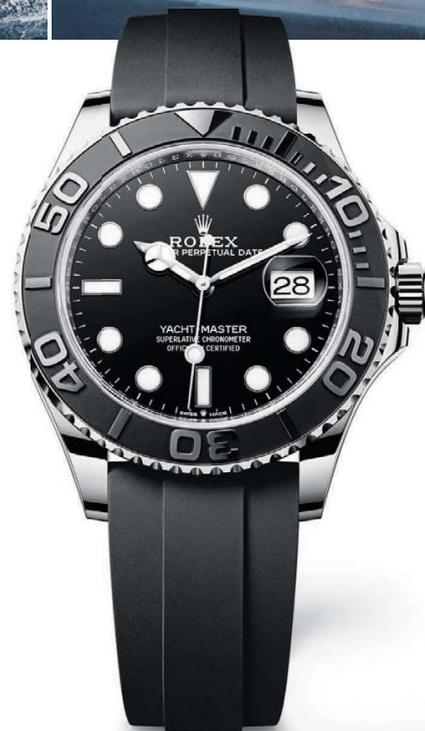
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WHAT ARE THEY?

At SailGP, the competitors are not pilots. Although they know a thing or two about taming gravity using just the power of the wind. They're not scientists, although they're quite familiar with the intricate mathematics of speed, the unforgiving physics of the elements, and the onboard chemistry that is the mark of all outstanding crews. They're not pioneers, although they keep field-testing the finest instruments craftsmanship can provide and continue pushing the limits of an art that has taken 6,000 years to perfect. They're not dreamers, either. Except, maybe, for their profound belief that those who don't fall can fly. **Welcome to the SailGP global championship.**

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Tax rules for sharks catching minnows

Ottawa's goal ostensibly was to collect more information about who truly owns property in Canada, but the new initiatives wound up creating a costly bureaucratic nightmare for many ordinary citizens

ERICA ALINI

Karyn Morris was surprised to learn earlier this year that she would have to file a special tax return for trusts. Until this spring, she had no idea she was a trustee.

But Ms. Morris, a 74-year-old retired teacher in Toronto, and her sister had added their names to their 100-year-old mother's investment account so they could help her with paying bills and other routine financial matters. That arrangement, Ms. Morris learned, is considered a so-called bare trust under common law and, for the first time this tax season, required filing a tax return under new federal rules.

Even more surprising was the \$1,511 fee they were charged for filing the trust's paperwork by the large accounting firm that usually does their mother's taxes. But most puzzling of all to Ms. Morris was that, according to news reports, this unprecedented and costly tax headache stemmed from rules Ottawa had rolled out to combat money laundering and tax dodging.

"They may be trying to catch some big fish but they're just catching a whole bunch of minnows," she recalled telling her friends.

She was among the many ordinary Canadians who found themselves ensnared in what experts say was a federal push for financial transparency that ran up against the reality that, under common law, a trust and other kinds of legal devices can exist even if people such as Ms. Morris had no intention of creating them.

Over the past six months, Ottawa has taken the rare step of walking back on two separate sets of new tax-filing rules — the bare trust requirements and the equally controversial Underused Housing Tax (UHT). Both contained measures to collect more information on trusts and other legal structures, and both backfired in similar ways.

How did this double tax fiasco come to be?

Critics say the responsibility is widespread. Officials at the Department of Finance failed to adequately consider the possible side effects of the new measures for Canadians who hadn't intentionally set up a trust or other legal devices, and the officials pressed ahead despite warnings from tax practitioners. The potential implementation issues entirely escaped legislators' scrutiny when Parliament debated the two bills that contained the measures. And the Canada Revenue Agency did little to spread the word about the new tax obligations or simplify the paperwork for taxpayers with straightforward situations.

Experts have also lambasted the federal government for waiting far too long to reverse course. In the case of bare trusts, the about-face came after a large share — if not most — of the people who were aware that they needed to file had already done so. On the UHT, Ottawa is scrapping tax-reporting requirements that affect Canadians for 2023 and following tax years, but keeping in place an obligation to file for the year 2022, leaving many tax preparers and their clients perplexed.

The dubious exercise cost millions of dollars and countless hours of work for taxpayers, accountants and the government itself.

Yet, Canada direly needs tougher rules around trusts and other legal relationships to combat a festering dirty-money problem, transparency advocates say. And in the world of anti-money-laundering, it may not be possible to weave a regulatory web that catches the big fish — crooks hiding vast amounts of money — without also creating some extra paperwork for the minnows, the honest taxpayers who often can hardly afford expensive tax advice.

The key to move forward, several anti-money-laundering and trust law experts interviewed by The Globe and Mail agree, is to redraft the rules to make them easy and low cost for Canadians such as Ms. Morris to follow.



ILLUSTRATION BY ROMAIN LASSER/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

duction of the UHT, a levy on underused or vacant foreign-owned real estate. While primarily aimed at wealthy investors based abroad, the measure also made it mandatory to file a special tax return for Canadians who own homes through certain trusts, corporations or partnerships. (The CRA describes the latter as a relationship between people carrying on a business in common with a view to profit.)

The government's goal ostensibly was to collect more information about who truly owns property in Canada. In a country known for attracting billions of dollars from criminals and well-heeled tax cheats who conceal ownership behind complex legal structures, it was a worthy and long-overdue effort, anti-money-laundering experts say.

But Canada also has many informal family financial arrangements that can be deemed trusts or partnerships under common law, and the new rules wound up creating a costly bureaucratic nightmare for many Canadians in fairly typical situations who have middle-class incomes and nothing to hide.

Among those caught in the new trust-reporting requirements were many people who, as in Ms. Morris's case, had joint accounts with elderly family members to help them with money management. Many Canadian couples who own rental property together discovered they may be deemed a partnership, subject to the tax-filing requirements of the UHT. Parents whose name had been added to the title of an adult child's home because they guaranteed their mortgage found out they may be among those obliged to file a trust as well as a UHT return.

The new trust rules and the UHT both generally demanded more information — rather than more taxes — from Canadians, but there were also severe penalties for non-compliance. And the requirements were hard to decipher, often forcing those affected to spend hundreds of dollars, if not thousands, on accountants and lawyers for help.

Eventually, public uproar forced the government to backtrack. In November, Ottawa announced it would largely scrap the need for Canadians to file UHT returns for 2023 and following years, even as it

kept in place an obligation to send in returns for 2022. And this past March, the CRA said it would largely suspend filing requirements for bare trusts for the 2023 tax year, while it consults with the Department of Finance on how to simplify its guidance on the rules.

But by the time the federal government dropped or paused the complex new requirements, they'd already drained millions of dollars out of public coffers and Canadians' pockets. On the UHT, documents tabled in the House of Commons show that, as of early March, the CRA had spent \$59-million to administer the new measure and assessed just \$49-million in taxes owing.

On the new trust rules, a survey of small- and medium-sized accounting firms estimated that tax preparers and their clients may have spent almost \$1-billion to complete 2023 tax returns for bare trusts that are now obsolete. According to documents tabled in the House, the CRA had received nearly 44,000 bare trust returns as of early April.

It's a two-pronged debacle that many tax professionals say undermined public confidence in the tax system. Its origins span the halls of government.

The first time Finance officials circulated a draft of stricter rules to gather more information about trusts and their beneficiaries was in 2018. During the previous two years, the Panama Papers scandal, a leak involving millions of documents that detailed international money laundering and tax evasion, had shone a light on Canada's role as a sought-after tax haven for the global elite.

With the legislation, Ottawa was following international best practices for increasing governments' visibility into who truly owned assets held through trusts. That version of the rules, as described in the 2018 federal budget, expanded the kinds of trusts that would have to file annually to the CRA and the type of information they'd have to disclose.

For years, though, that draft legislation languished. Then, in early 2022, federal regulators presented for public consultation another draft that extended the reporting obligations to bare trusts, a type of trust in which the trustee has no significant power or responsibilities and can only act on the instruction of the beneficiary.

Tax professionals looking at the new iteration of the draft law were quick to spot potential trouble ahead. Bare trust arrangements are common in Canada and "can often arise unintentionally," the Joint Committee on Taxation of the Canadian Bar Association and Chartered Professional Accountants of Canada, which represents lawyers and CPAs, warned in a letter to Finance officials.

The rules would require taxpayers to determine which situations involve a bare trust, the group flagged, adding also that the tax forms were designed for different types of trusts and that the paperwork would likely result in extra accounting costs for Canadians.

The government, though, pressed ahead. Asked to comment on the feedback provided by the Joint Committee, Caroline Thériault, a spokesperson for the Department of Finance, said the group also acknowledged in its submission that financial transparency is an important policy issue. "The collection of beneficial ownership information on trusts, including bare trusts, remains an important part of Canada's international commitments in this regard," Ms. Thériault said in an e-mail.

The new rules were added to an omnibus bill that included provisions to eliminate the interest on federal student and apprentice loans, and create the first home savings account, among several other measures.

In the House, the new rules on trusts received a single, cursory mention as the legislation wound its way through Parliament. In the Senate, the debate focused primarily on concerns about the impact of the measure on attorney-client privilege. The bill received royal assent in December, 2022.

The legislation underpinning the UHT, which imposes an annual 1-per-cent levy on foreign-owned residential real estate that is deemed underused or vacant, may have also received an unusually low level of scrutiny. While the Trudeau government announced the measure in its 2021 budget, Finance didn't post a backgrounder on the proposed design of the tax until Aug. 6 of that year, just days before Parliament was dissolved ahead of a federal election.

Some MPs later expressed concern that the government didn't receive enough feedback from the public because of the timing of the consultation process.

Ottawa has variously portrayed the UHT as a tax to raise revenue for housing affordability initiatives and a measure meant to deter foreign real estate investors from



"These criminals from around the world know that they don't want to go through the Canadian banking system. So it's just easier to leave those houses, townhouses and condominiums empty."

KEVIN COMEAU
CORPORATE LAWYER WHO HAS WRITTEN ON POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS TO COMBAT MONEY LAUNDERING

The basic facts of the two tax boondoggles are all too familiar to many Canadians who were affected by them this spring. Yet, those who weren't — or didn't know that they should file — remain largely unaware of them.

The first set of new measures made it mandatory to fill out a specific tax return for almost anyone with a trust, a legal device that separates legal from beneficial ownership. With a trust, someone called a trustee holds property for the benefit of someone else, called the beneficiary.

Crucially, the new rules extended the obligation to file tax documents to bare trusts, which, in common law jurisdictions, are often informal arrangements that aren't documented in writing. (Common law, which is based on precedent, applies in every province and territory except Quebec, which follows written civil law.)

The second tax change was the intro-



Sasha Caldera, campaign director at anti-corruption non-profit Publish What You Pay Canada, says blanket registration rules for people who own or control land indirectly will make Canada a less hospitable place for money launderers.

LAURA PROCTOR/
THE GLOBE AND MAIL

leaving their Canadian properties empty.

But the issue of foreign-owned vacant homes has ties to money laundering as well.

Having tenants is often a risk for law-breakers who've parked dirty money in real estate, according to Kevin Comeau, a corporate lawyer who has written on policy and legislative proposals to combat money laundering. That's because it usually means collecting monthly rent payments that are routed through banks.

"These criminals from around the world know that they don't want to go through the Canadian banking system. So it's just easier to leave those houses, townhouses and condominiums empty," Mr. Comeau said.

Testifying before the House finance committee on the UHT, James Cohen, the then executive director of the Canadian chapter of Transparency International, a non-governmental anti-corruption organization, described how foreign buyers could easily conceal funds invested in real estate by using Canadian corporations and legal structures such as trusts.

"Canada has had weak beneficial ownership laws, which have allowed individuals to hide their identity behind anonymous corporations, trusts and nominees," he told MPs, according to a transcript of his testimony. "A foreign buyer of Canadian property could funnel their funds, whether licit or illicit, through various jurisdictions, ultimately landing in an anonymous Canadian incorporated company with nominee directors signing for it."

The UHT legislation included certain corporations, trusts and partnerships in the reporting requirements. Homeowners holding real estate through those structures would now have to file a return.

But Mr. Cohen still sounded skeptical that the UHT would have a significant impact on foreign owners' behaviour. The government would likely still struggle to identify non-Canadian owners. And a 1-per-cent tax was likely too low to dissuade wealthy criminals from laundering their money in Canada's real estate market, he said.

Unlike the rules on trusts, the UHT received plenty of attention from MPs and senators. But what received little attention was the fact that the broad filing requirements demanding a tax return from people owning property through a corporation, trust or partnership would also apply to Canadians.

While domestic homeowners were largely exempt from the tax, those affected by the rules would still have to file – if only to claim an exemption from the levy – or risk penalties of thousands of dollars.

Finance officials who described the rules to Parliament failed to highlight this aspect of the rules. Testifying before the House finance committee in February, 2022, for example, Pierre Mercille, director-general responsible for legislation in the sales tax division at the ministry, told MPs: "Canadian citizens, permanent residents of Canada and certain Canadian entities would not be subject to the tax or required to file an annual return."

That statement was accurate for the vast majority of Canadians – but not for everyone, as a significant minority of the country's homeowners would soon discover.

Allan Lanthier, a retired partner at international accounting firm EY, pins a lot of the blame for both tax blunders on the Department of Finance. Mr. Lanthier, who has been an adviser to Finance and the CRA, believes the core issue is a growing focus by bureaucrats who draft tax laws for Parliament on what he dubs "legislative perfection."

"We've got to make everybody report so we can make our best effort to get the 1 per cent of terrorist financing and Russian oligarchs, etc. ..." Mr. Lanthier said, describing the thinking that was likely behind the sweeping tax-filing rules for trusts and the UHT.

It's a kind of tunnel vision that Mr. Lanthier said he's observed through the years in several instances and not just for tax policy aimed at money launderers and tax

cheats. Usually, he said, the outcome is extremely complex legislation that even professionals struggle to understand – with little attention paid to the unintended effects on the 99 per cent of taxpayers who, while not the main target of the abstruse rules, are nonetheless swept in by them.

Mr. Lanthier recalled an instance in which Finance officials told him they weren't just closing current tax loopholes, they were also writing tax rules to try to pre-empt creative tax schemes that no one had thought of yet.

"This particular provision that we have in there – and it's complex – we agree that we can't see what mischief it's going to catch right now. But what about the mischief on the horizon that we can't contemplate yet," Mr. Lanthier said, recalling that conversation.

But closing loopholes and anticipating potential new ones is the name of the game when you're going after money launderers and tax dodgers with sophisticated financial and legal advice, Mr. Comeau said.

"When you're trying to plug the holes in which money launderers from around the world are sending their dirty money to Canada, you really have to be cognizant of all the ways in which they can bring money in," he said. "If you only plug the ones that are common to business – like corporations, partnerships, limited partnerships – they will just move their structures in a way that will use the one that you haven't plugged."

And hiding ill-gotten gains in Canada has been exceedingly easy, experts say. In a 2020 report, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service estimated that the scale of money laundering in this country ranges from \$45-billion to \$113-billion annually.

Canada is known for allowing individuals to hold assets through a variety of legal structures with no obligation to disclose beneficial owners, a trait that continues to make it a popular destination for fraudsters hiding illicit funds, a 2022 report by Transparency International warned.

Over the past several years, the country has made slow progress in plugging some of the regulatory holes through which dirty money has been flowing in.

British Columbia has created a public ownership registry that gathers information on people who own or control land indirectly, such as through corporations, partnerships or trusts. The province is also in the process of rolling out a similar registry for businesses, something that is already up and running in Quebec. The federal government started requiring information about beneficial ownership for certain corporations earlier this year. And discussions are also under way among provinces and territories to form a pan-Canadian corporate registry of beneficial ownership.

While stopping short of creating a public registry, the stricter rules on trusts, which include listing all beneficiaries, were

a step in the same direction.

The idea behind these initiatives isn't that criminals and tax fraudsters will rush to write down their names on government forms, Mr. Comeau said. But broad requirements to register the true owners of various assets make life harder for the intermediaries – such as rogue lawyers, accountants and corporate service providers – who often act as nominees on corporations, trusts or partnerships to shield the identity of their corrupt clients, he added.

"Now they can't be registering themselves for 300 corporations in Canada, saying they're the beneficial owner because right away, it's red flags," he said.

Eventually, those blanket registration rules will make Canada a less hospitable place for money launderers, said Sasha Caldera, campaign director at Publish What You Pay Canada, an anti-corruption and natural resource governance non-profit organization.

"It's deterrence," he said. "When you make it that much more difficult for someone to launder money in a country, they'll think twice and they'll likely try to do business elsewhere."

But imposing catch-all reporting requirements can get tricky when it comes to trusts in a country such as Canada, said Adam Hofri-Winogradow, a law professor at the University of British Columbia whose research focuses on trusts. Under common law, many trusts can be created informally.

"In many cases, you don't need any written document to create a trust," Prof. Hofri said. "You can create trusts orally, you can create them by way of behaving a certain way."

The ability to establish a legal structure, such as a trust, without having to pay a lawyer or other professional is a strength of common law systems, Prof. Hofri said. But it also makes it possible for people to create trusts without meaning to do so, he added. (In Quebec, a trust can only be established by a contract, by a will or, in certain cases, by law, according to Jeffrey Talpis, a law professor at the University of Montreal.)

"You end up with people being trustees who have no clue that they are," Prof. Hofri said, which can become a headache for anti-money-laundering rules.

Yet other common law countries have managed the task. Britain, for example, has had a trust registry for a few years that includes reporting obligations for bare trusts. And it did not trigger the mayhem over accidental trusts that ensued in Canada.

The key difference is that registering a trust for people with simple situations is a much more straightforward exercise in Britain, said Ian Roxan, associate professor of law emeritus at the London School of Economics.

While the national tax authority collects the information on trusts in Britain, as the CRA does in Canada, trustees register their trusts through a separate online portal rather than by filling out a tax return, he said. And, crucially, there is no requirement to provide a trust document.

"That's one of the big headaches to the bare trusts under the Canadian system," said Prof. Roxan, who is both a non-practising solicitor in England and a barrister and solicitor in Ontario.

British citizens may still want to get professional advice on whether or not they have a trust subject to the reporting rules, added Prof. Roxan, who also served in the tax policy branch of Canada's Department of Finance working on trust and tax law in the 1980s. But when it comes to registering the trust, "there's no obvious reason why someone who has a really simple affair can't just do it themselves."

Ottawa might still want to use tax returns to gather ownership information on trusts instead of setting up a separate online registry, especially if the goal is also to crack down on tax evasion and aggressive tax planning, he said.

But the tax-filing process the CRA tried to extend to informal trusts was clearly designed for legal structures that had been deliberately created, Prof. Roxan said. That sort of paperwork is unnecessarily complicated and onerous for people with the kinds of informal arrangements that can be unintentional trusts, he added.

"I think that's where the problem came from, asking for too much information," he said.

All anti-money-laundering experts interviewed by The Globe agreed that dropping reporting requirements entirely for bare trusts and other types of unintentional trusts might carve too big a hole in the new information-sharing regime.

But any system for submitting beneficial ownership should be "cheap and easy" for Canadians with simple circumstances, Prof. Hofri said.

Ultimately, the esoteric rules created by Ottawa misfired even in the fight against dirty money, Mr. Caldera said.

"Introducing legislation without proper guidance will just be a mess in terms of compliance, and compliance is what we're really after here," he said.



ADAM HOFRI-WINOGADOW
LAW PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

“In many cases, you don’t need any written document to create a trust. You can create trusts orally, you can create them by way of behaving a certain way.”

[ENERGY]



Power in the pipes

Hot water is pumped in from a geothermal power facility at Climeworks's Mammoth carbon-removal plant in Reykjavik, Iceland, on Friday

JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

B.C.-based \$900-million hydrogen project gets \$337-million loan from infrastructure bank

DARRYL GREER
CHUCK CHIANG VANCOUVER

The Canada Infrastructure Bank is providing a \$337-million loan toward a Vancouver company's plans to create a network of hydrogen factories and fuelling stations that could create nearly 300 jobs while cutting greenhouse-gas emissions.

HTEC's \$900-million H₂ Gateway project, which is also backed by the B.C. government, includes plans for up to 20 hydrogen refuelling stations, 18 of them in B.C. and the others in Alberta.

Both the bank, which is a Crown corporation, and the B.C. government said the stations would be supplied by three new electrolysis hydrogen production plants in Burnaby, Nanaimo and Prince George, while another facility to liquefy 15 tonnes of by-product hydrogen would be built in North Vancouver.

B.C. Premier David Eby said Friday that the H₂ Gateway differed from past hydrogen projects because it targets specifically the medium- and heavy-duty transport industry with an accessible supply of the clean-burning fuel.

"HTEC has a vision for these fuelling stations that's targeted at industry, particularly the transportation industry," Mr. Eby said.

The B.C. government said the project would create more than 280 jobs and could reduce emissions by about 133,000 tonnes a year.

HTEC president Colin Armstrong said developing an "ecosystem" of supply and fuelling stations was the first step in creating demand for hydrogen adoption in the transport industry.

"We can't quite drive up to Prince George today, but our goal is to connect up there, particularly on the heavy-duty side of things," Mr. Armstrong said. "But once we do this, we believe we

can take [hydrogen] certainly across the country and to the rest of the world."

The project is designed to support hydrogen-fuel-cell vehicles the government says can travel long distances and have short refuelling times, and 14 of the new stations will be able to refuel up to 300 heavy vehicles a day.

University of Toronto professor of mechanical and industrial engineering Murray Thomson said hydrogen has long been championed as a potential clean-burning fuel for mass adoption because it emits only water when consumed while generating a large amount of energy.

That large quantity of energy generated through hydrogen and its refill speed are two reasons the trucking sector prefers the source to electric trucks weighed down by heavy batteries with low energy density.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Facing protests, universities must realize they are businesses

Tulane University prioritized its key stakeholders – students, donors and taxpayers – by preventing pro-Palestinian demonstrations at graduation festivities

GUS
CARLSON

OPINION



NEW ORLEANS, LA.

U.S.-based columnist for The Globe and Mail

The anticipation of trouble hung like the thick bayou humidity over Tulane University in New Orleans last weekend as thousands of graduates and their families gathered for the school's commencement celebrations.

On benches beneath the campus's stately moss-covered oaks and at the Boot, the iconic student watering hole where parents and grads pregamed with Jägermeister-and-root beer concoctions called Boot Bombs, the question pecking at many was this: Would the anti-Israel protests that had roiled Tulane for months be rekindled to disrupt this showcase event?

It was not a trivial concern. A significant percentage of Tulane's student population is Jewish, among the highest of U.S. universities not considered explicitly Jewish.

But there would be no turmoil. Tulane's administration had pre-empted any attempts by protesters to reprise their bad behaviour. There was significant police presence across the campus, high-risk areas were cordoned off with 20-foot-high chain-link fencing and visitors were advised repeatedly that free speech did not mean the right to disrupt the freedom of others – and that violators would face consequences.

A sad commentary on the current state of campus life? Perhaps, but Tulane's hard-line posture is a teaching moment for the craven chief administrators in so many ivory towers across academia, as well as in corporate C-suites.

Tulane's leaders, unlike so many others who have allowed and even enabled protests to plunge their campuses or workplaces into chaos, understand that, at their core, academic institutions are businesses. Their customers are the students and families who buy the product; their investors are the donors and taxpayers who fund the operations. Free expression may be a guiding principle, but it is not a one-way street if it threatens an enterprise's viability – at least not at Tulane.

In many respects, Tulane's commencement was the equivalent of a corporate annual meeting. It was a chance for the administration to show the school's skill in manufacturing its core product – brilliant young minds – and how its steady hand at the helm refuses to be blown off course by the strong winds of current events. This is, after all, a school that has survived for 150 years – even through hurricanes, including Katrina.

For the more than 2,000 grads, who themselves lived through the devastation of Hurricane Ida in 2021, as well as COVID-19, the message from Tulane's leaders on managing protests sparked by the conflict in Gaza was clear: We've got this covered.

Tulane's is a posture any leader – academic and corporate – should heed. Allowing protests of any kind to put a business at risk would be – or should be – grounds for dismissal, as the presidents of Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania learned the hard way. In those instances, where leaders failed to condemn pro-Palestinian protests, big billionaire donors pulled their support.

Columbia University cancelled its main commencement ceremonies this month after weeks of disruptive campus protests that culminated in a police raid to oust protesters occupying a building on its Manhattan campus.

The inability or unwillingness of Columbia's leaders to lead has big consequences for its financial health. Donors are pulling back, students are thinking twice about attending – and parents are balking at paying for it. And there is a movement in the U.S. Congress to stop public funding for schools such as Columbia, which got more than US\$1.2-billion in taxpayer money last year, in addition to its rich private endowment of more than US\$13.6-billion.

Tulane set the tone early, after a violent clash between students and masked protesters in a pickup truck flying a large Palestinian flag after the Oct. 7 start of the Gaza conflict. The school issued suspension warnings to disruptive students, faculty and staff, shut down an on-campus organization that incited dissent and worked with police to oust professional protesters encamped on the fringes of the campus – in a sense, protecting the business.

The tone remained steady for commencement. Through public address announcements and on giant digital signs inside and outside Yulman Stadium, where the ceremony was held, Tulane's position was reiterated:

"Tulane University promotes and protects the free exchange of ideas," the message said. "Freedom of expression includes the ability to engage or not to engage in the exchange, examination, and discussion of ideas. It does not include the right to disrupt the freedom of others."

Even Tulane's choice of commencement speaker was smart. Jon Meacham, the presidential historian, delivered a keynote address devoid of political partisanship. He urged the graduates to pursue civil discourse, not disobedience.

There were only a couple of glimpses of the issue. One graduate wore a stole in the colours of the Palestinian flag, but it was drowned in a sea of brightly coloured, Tulane-themed parasols carried by graduates, a school tradition. A small plane towing an Israeli flag buzzed the stadium early in the ceremony but elicited no reaction – positive or negative – from the crowd.

The most notable expression of emotion during the program was the crowd's reaction to Yolanda Windy's soulful rendition of the jazz favourite *Do You Know What It Means to Miss New Orleans*. Many people wept. But theirs were tears of joy and appreciation for the grads, not sadness and distress about having the moment ruined by protests – a sign that Tulane's leaders had made the interests of their key stakeholders the top priority.

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China's plan to solve its housing crisis is not enough

Few believe the country can transition to more sustainable growth without confronting millions of empty apartments and the developers that overextended to build them

ALEXANDRA STEVENSON HONG KONG

China has a housing problem. A very big one. It has nearly four million apartments that no one wants to buy, a combined expanse of unwanted living space roughly the area of Philadelphia.

Xi Jinping, the country's leader, and his deputies have called on the government to buy them.

The plan, announced last week, is the boldest move yet by Beijing to stop the tailspin of a housing crisis that threatens one of the world's biggest economies. It was also not nearly enough.

China has a bigger problem lurking behind all those empty apartments: even more homes that developers already sold but have not finished building. By one conservative estimate, that figure is around 10 million apartments.

The scale of China's real estate boom was breathtaking. The extent of its unrelenting bust, which began nearly four years ago, remains vast and unclear.

China's leaders were already managing a slowdown after three decades of double-digit growth before the housing crisis created a downturn that is spiralling out of their control. Few experts believe that Beijing can transition to more sustainable growth without confronting all those empty apartments and the developers that overextended to build them. All told, trillions of dollars are owed to builders, painters, real estate agents, small companies and banks around the country.

After decades of promoting the biggest real estate boom the world has ever seen, and allowing it to become nearly one-third of China's economic growth, Beijing stepped in suddenly in 2020 to cut off the easy money that fuelled the expansion, setting off a chain of bankruptcies that shocked a country of homebuyers.

It was the first test of Beijing's determination to wean China's economy off its decades-long dependence on building and construction to sustain the economy.

Now the government is confronting another test of its resolve. To stop the excesses of the past, it signalled over the past few years that no real estate company was too big to fail. But as dozens of big developers have gone bust, they have obliterated any confidence that remained in the housing market. Officials have since tried everything to restore optimism among buyers. Nothing has worked.

With few buyers, developers that are still standing are also on the brink of default. And they are intricately connected to local banks and the financial system that underpins the government in every village, town and city. One recent estimate, from the research firm Rhodium Group, put the real estate sector's entire domestic borrowings, including loans and bonds, at more than US\$10-trillion, of which only a tiny portion have been recognized.

"Right now, not being able to sell homes



People walk past a housing complex under construction in Beijing on May 17. China has nearly four million apartments that no one wants to buy. JADE GAO/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

looks like a risk, but it isn't. More developers going bankrupt is," said Dan Wang, chief economist at Hang Seng Bank. The first big developers to default, including China Evergrande, were problems hiding in plain sight.

Evergrande's initial default in December, 2021, set off fears of China's own "Lehman moment," a reference to the 2008 collapse of Lehman Bros., which set off a global financial meltdown. The fallout, however, was carefully and quietly managed through policy support that let Evergrande finish building many apartments. By the time a judge ordered the company to be liquidated five months ago, Evergrande had effectively ceased being a viable business.

But China has tens of thousands of smaller developers around the country. The only way for officials to stop the free fall in the market, Mr. Wang said, is to bail out some mid-size developers in cities where the crisis is more acute.

China's top leaders are instead refocusing the lens to address the millions of apartments that no one wants to buy, pledging to turn them into social housing at lower rents. They have committed US\$41.5-billion to help fund loans for state-owned companies to start buying unwanted property — altogether equivalent to eight billion square feet, of which a little more than four billion square feet is unsold apartments, according to the National Bureau of Statistics.

When Beijing's response was announced last week, shares in developers initially rallied. But some critics said the initiative had come too late. And most speculated that it would take a lot more money. Estimates ranged from US\$280-billion to US\$560-billion.

Officials in Beijing began softening their approach last year. They directed banks to funnel loans and other financing to dozens of real estate companies they deemed good enough to be on a government "white list."

The support was not enough to stop housing prices from crashing.

Policy makers pulled other levers. They made their biggest cut ever to mortgage rates. They tried pilot programs to get residents to trade in old apartments and buy new ones. They even offered cheap loans to some cities to test out the idea of buying unsold apartments.

In all, local authorities tried out more than 300 measures to increase sales and bolster real estate companies, according to Caixin, a Chinese economic news outlet.

Still, the number of unsold homes continued to reach new levels. Prices of new homes kept falling. So at the end of April, Mr. Xi and his 23 top policy makers began to discuss the idea of taking some of those unwanted apartments off the market in a program not unlike the Troubled Asset Relief Program, which the U.S. government set up in the wake of the American housing-market crash.

Last week, China's most senior official in charge of the economy, Vice-Premier He Lifeng, convened an online gathering of officials from across the country and delivered the news: It was time to start buying apartments. Not long after, the central bank loosened rules for mortgages and the central bank promised to make billions of dollars available to help state-owned companies buy apartments.

The move underscored just how worried the government had become about the dysfunctions in the housing market.

Yet almost as soon as state media reported Mr. He's call on local governments to buy unsold apartments, economists started asking questions.

Would local governments be expected to buy all the unsold apartments? What if they, in turn, could not find buyers? And there was the price tag: Economists calculated that such a program should be in the hundreds of billions of dollars, not tens of billions.

More worryingly, to some, the central bank had already quietly started an apartment buyback program for eight hard-hit cities, committing US\$1.4-billion in cheap loans, of which only US\$280-million had been used. Those governments did not appear to be interested in using the loans for the same reason that consumers did not want to buy houses in smaller cities.

One big difference now, said John Lam, the head of China property research at UBS, the Swiss bank, is political will. The country's most powerful leaders have said they stand behind a buyback plan. That will put political pressure on officials to act.

"The local government can acquire the apartments at a loss," Mr. Lam said.

NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

Lynx Air selling off equipment, parts in bid to recoup losses

CALGARY

Lynx Air hopes to sell off everything from life jackets to oxygen masks as it tries to recoup a portion of the losses it suffered before filing for creditor protection earlier this year.

In court filings last week, the defunct discount carrier said it has worked out deals with a pair of aviation companies abroad to sell plane parts and equipment ranging from seats to tires and transponders.

Any hope of gains on the airline's nine aircraft themselves was dashed after the half-dozen leasing companies behind them cancelled their deals and took back the planes, according to an affidavit from interim chief financial officer Michael Woodward.

The filings ask Alberta's Court of King's Bench to approve agreements that would see New Hampshire's Aero 3 repair company buy more than 50 wheels and brakes and the Cayman Islands-based BOC Aviation leasing company snap up 79 other items, from food carts to a single garbage can.

Lynx, which owed \$186-million when it sought creditor protection in late February, says a third company "unexpectedly terminated negotiations" around four turbofan jet engines.

The shutdown of the Calgary-based carrier three months ago came as budget airlines that have cropped up in recent years face continuing financial pressures — if they've survived at all — amid industry consolidation and fallout from the travel-sector implosion during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In October, WestJet closed its discount carrier subsidiary. It also plans to wind down Sunwing Airlines and integrate the low-cost carrier into its mainline business by late April after buying the Toronto-based company last May.

Ultralow-cost Flair Airlines has also confronted financial turbulence over the past 18 months. As of November, it owed the federal government \$67.2-million in unpaid taxes related to import duties on the 20 Boeing jets that make up its fleet.

As of Feb. 22, Lynx owed \$124.3-million to Indigo Partners, the U.S. private equity firm run by Bill Franke that owns one-quarter of the carrier.

Lynx also owed \$47.8-million to various trade creditors and \$25.6-million in unpaid taxes to the federal government, according to court documents. It owed a further \$4.1-million to the Toronto and Montreal airports and \$4.5-million to Delta Air Lines for aircraft maintenance and warehousing.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Loblaws, Sobeys' parent companies probed by Competition Bureau

DARRYL GREER
ROSA SABA VANCOUVER

Canada's Competition Bureau has launched investigations into the parent companies of grocery chains Loblaws and Sobeys for alleged anti-competitive conduct, court documents reveal, with Sobeys' owner calling the inquiry "unlawful."

The Federal Court documents show the Commissioner of Competition launched the probes on March 1, saying there's reason to believe the firms' use of so-called property controls limits retail grocery competition.

The commissioner claims the controls that the grocery giants have baked into lease agreements are designed to restrict other potential tenants and their activities and are hampering competition in the grocery market.

The Competition Bureau revealed its investigation into the use of property controls in the grocery sector in February.

At the time, deputy commissioner Anthony Durocher told a House of Commons committee that property controls can be a barrier both for independent grocery stores and chains looking to expand, as well as for foreign players looking to enter Canada.

That's why in a report last June, the bureau recommended the government limit their use in the grocery sector in order to help boost competition and make it easier for new supermarkets to open.



Sobeys owner Empire pushed back against an investigation by Canada's Competition Bureau, saying that the probe gave the commissioner 'the appearance of a lack of independence' amid criticism over grocery pricing and retailers' conduct. LAURA PROCTOR/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Industry Minister Francois-Philippe Champagne has said he's seeking a foreign grocer to strengthen competition in the Canadian market.

Loblaws Cos. Ltd. and Sobeys parent Empire Co. Ltd. are two of the three major Canadian grocery companies and each owns a number of grocery chains across the country. Details of the investigations are contained in a pair of court applications lodged by the commissioner on May 6.

Sobeys owner Empire has pushed back against the investigation, saying in a separate court application that the probe gave the commissioner "the appearance of a lack of independence" amid public criticism from feder-

al politicians over grocery pricing and retailers' conduct.

Loblaws' parent company is cooperating with the bureau's review, said spokeswoman Catherine Thomas on behalf of George Weston Ltd.

"Restrictive covenants are very common in many industries, including retail. They help support property development investments, encouraging opening of new stores and capital risk-taking," she said.

The commissioner applied in the Federal Court to order Empire and George Weston to hand over records about real estate holdings, lease agreements, customer data and other records.

In the court documents, the

commissioner describes Empire and George Weston's holdings in real estate investment trusts, or REITs. In both cases, the companies' own grocery banners are significant tenants for the real estate companies.

Through a subsidiary, Empire holds a 41.5-per-cent interest in Crombie Real Estate Investment Trust, and Empire is an anchor tenant in the majority of Crombie's properties, the documents say, adding that Empire's ownership interest in Crombie puts it in a position to exercise influence over the REIT.

George Weston has a controlling ownership interest of 61.7 per cent in Choice Properties Real Estate Investment Trust, and Loblaws accounted for more than half of Choice Properties' rental revenue in 2023, the documents say — and Choice Properties and Loblaws have a strategic alliance under which the REIT has agreed to "significant restrictions" limiting "its ability to enter into leases with supermarket tenants other than Loblaws."

The commissioner's probe is focused on the companies' operations in Halifax, but also more broadly across the country.

The documents show the inquiries are zeroing in on two types of property controls in contracts and commercial leases used by the grocery retailers "in many markets in Canada."

Restrictive covenants in private contracts, the commissioner says, "limit or restrict" how a piece of land can be used and can

apply even after changing ownership.

The covenants can "leave restrictions or exclusions on competitors that extend beyond ownership of the land, sometimes for decades," the applications say.

The probes are also looking into "exclusivity clauses" in commercial lease agreements that "limit or restrict" who a landowner can lease to and which products can be sold by other parties close to another leaseholders' business.

"According to market participants, property controls are widespread in the retail grocery sector, impacting where and how businesses can compete in the retail sale of food products," the commissioner claims.

The property controls, the commissioner says, may give the companies "the ability to exclude actual or potential competitors from selling food products within certain geographic areas or to dictate the terms upon which they carry on business."

Sobeys parent Empire claims the commissioner was wrong to start the inquiry because it doesn't have a "dominant" market position.

In a separate application in Federal Court that has yet to be decided by a judge, the company denies that property controls are anti-competitive and says they "are not unique to the grocery sector, but have been widely used for decades in a range of retail and other sectors across the country."

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Rapley: It seems likely that China will deepen its presence in the developing world

■ FROM B1

Although recent annual economic growth rates in the 5-per-cent to 6-per-cent range still look pretty good in comparison to Western countries, China nonetheless stands far back from its Western rivals. With a per-capita income less than a third of that in the U.S., and a population that is aging quickly, China started running the risk of growing old before it grew rich. So the country's policy makers, eager to escape the so-called middle-income trap, began looking for ways to jumpstart the economy.

Broadly speaking, two cures to China's malaise have been floated. Western economists, along with some of their Chinese peers, see the fundamental problem as a structural imbalance. With a savings rate close to 50 per cent — which is to say that nearly half the country's output is invested rather than spent — China has raised its output at an astonishing pace. But incomes are not rising fast enough to buy all the stuff being produced. The result is a slowdown. The solution, therefore, is to reduce investment and raise consumption, and use that to move the economy into a new growth phase.

Such a strategy would pose obvious risks for the ruling Communist Party. Mindful of how the Soviet Union's experiment in giving its citizenry more power ultimately caused the collapse of the regime, China's rulers are reluctant to gamble on such a major change in the country's political



A worker assembles an SUV at a car plant in China in March. Corporate executives visiting the country after a couple of years away report themselves amazed at the pace of progress in its technology. CHINATOPIX VIA AP

economy. Instead, sticking with the devil they know, they're making another bet — which may be no less risky.

Rather than change their economic model, they're looking to advance into a higher stage by developing new industries at the frontiers of the economy — especially renewable energy and artificial intelligence. To do this, the government is allocating generous subsidies and support to those sectors to enable them to rapidly ramp up production. The result has been a dramatic expansion in industrial capacity, with

the country now producing half of the world's automobiles and 90 per cent of its solar panels.

It's not just quantity that China is expanding rapidly, it's quality. Corporate executives visiting China after just a couple of years away report themselves amazed at the pace of progress in the country's technology. Chinese EVs are now considered to be superior to what Western producers are engineering. Faced with this renaissance, Western companies are themselves outsourcing production to China, to take advantage of the support

they get there.

Amid the flood of Chinese exports resulting from this subsidized competition, governments elsewhere have a choice. They can continue to import inexpensive products from China, saving their consumers money but watching their industrial jobs disappear, or they can fight back. The U.S. has opted to do the latter. The Europeans, despite their divisions, look likely to follow suit. And already some major developing economies, such as Mexico and Brazil, have imposed tariffs of their own. As trade barriers go up, China

can do two things to fight back. It can do end runs around the protectionism by moving plants from China to countries that have freer access to Western markets, such as Mexico. It can also pick up the pace of its overseas development program, expanding its Belt and Road Initiative to build new markets in the developing world. In fact, the two responses dovetail: Outsourcing to other developing countries will raise their growth rates, thus expanding their markets for Chinese goods.

It therefore seems likely that China will deepen its presence in the developing world, accentuating its intensifying competition with the West there.

But the greater risk to its strategy could come not from geopolitical rivalry but from internal dangers. Some observers have noted the similarities between what China is doing today and what the former Soviet Union tried to do in the 1960s, when its own industrial expansion began to slow. Rather than reform domestically, which would have been politically disruptive, the Soviet elite then tried to use the country's scientific prowess to develop new industries. That strategy ultimately failed. The rest is history. If China doesn't manage to pull off this new industrial revolution, its governing class may ultimately face a fate as troublesome as that which befell its Soviet predecessors.

John Rapley is an author and academic who divides his time among London, Johannesburg and Ottawa.

Gildan: Saga provides a lesson on the importance of communication with shareholders, expert says

■ FROM B1

Former Gildan chairman Don Berg and the other directors who dismissed Mr. Chamandy initially said that they didn't see eye to eye with the CEO on the timing of a leadership handover and they worked until the very last moment to try to hammer out a compromise with him. It wasn't until after Mr. Chamandy was gone that they took a harsher tone, saying he'd become increasingly detached from his job and unable to articulate a credible long-term growth strategy for the company.

Even if the board's process to address CEO succession was appropriate — engaging advisers and considering Mr. Chamandy's proposals, for example — the announcement of his termination still took investors by surprise. And if there's one warning for other companies from this saga, it's to communicate with shareholders more closely when working through leadership issues, said Catherine McCall, executive director of the Canadian Coalition for Good Governance.

"I don't think the lesson is that shareholders should micromanage the board because I think the situation, the circumstances, don't encourage that takeaway," Ms. McCall said. "[But] they should have maybe been talking to shareholders more. ... If anything, this is going to prompt or encourage more shareholder engagement."

Gildan's board decided to resign on Thursday after counting shareholder votes cast ahead of

the company's annual meeting next Tuesday and realizing they had no path to victory — Browning West's slate of directors had amassed more than enough support to win the battle. The board decided to step down after receiving roughly 15 per cent of votes cast, according to information obtained by The Globe and Mail.

Two departed Gildan executives, Mr. Tyra and executive vice-president Arun Bajaj, will receive severance packages made up of two years' worth of salary and bonus, plus vesting of all their performance-based stock in the clothing company, according to Gildan's regulatory filings. Mr. Tyra walked away with approximately US\$16-million in total, while Mr. Bajaj received about US\$8-million, according to one source familiar with the company's compensation plan. The Globe and Mail agreed not to identify the individual because they are not permitted to speak for Gildan.

Gildan also halted a sales process launched last winter by the previous board after the company received a takeover offer from an undisclosed potential buyer. Several U.S. private equity funds, including Bain Capital and Sycamore Partners, kicked tires at Gildan after the board put the company up for sale, The Globe reported.

The now-departed board members expected to win endorsements from two shareholder advisers — Institutional Shareholder Services Inc. and Glass Lewis & Co. When the two firms endorsed

the Browning West slate instead, directors were shocked and realized they were likely to be voted out, according to two sources familiar with the board's deliberations. ISS and Glass Lewis are extremely influential in determining how index funds cast ballots.

With Browning West controlling the company, Gildan is now expected to take a series of steps to try to boost financial returns. Mr. Chamandy will likely "face pressure to execute" on a new operating plan, which is underpinned by several aggressive financial targets to drive a roughly 19-per-cent annual earnings per share growth through 2028, BMO Capital Markets analyst Stephen MacLeod said in a research note Friday.

The plan is to move production of basic clothing, including T-shirts and socks, from facilities in Latin America to a newly constructed, lower-cost factory in Bangladesh. Gildan would then increase production of higher profit margin lines such as fleece wear at its factory in Honduras, and beef up its share buybacks and dividend payout.

"Glenn Chamandy's return as CEO is the best outcome for everyone" because of his operational knowledge and management team support, Stifel analyst Martin Landry said in a separate note. He said the most important near-term catalyst for Gildan stock would be if Mr. Chamandy bought back shares after selling his entire stake in December following his termination. "It would send a strong positive signal," he said.

Iamgold: Company's shares drop by 10.7%, closing well below bought deal price

■ FROM B1

The Globe is not identifying the sources because they were not authorized to speak publicly.

While it's not uncommon for the shares of companies that raise money in bought deals to trade down the day after a deal is announced, owing to dilution, if the deal is priced correctly, the stock won't trade below the bought deal price.

There were immediate signs the Iamgold deal was in trouble because its shares dropped by 10.7 per cent on Wednesday, closing at US\$4.01, well below the bought deal price. The shares fell even further on Thursday to US\$3.87. On Friday, the stock closed at US\$4.00.

Making matters worse for underwriters, gold prices have come under some pressure in recent days.

When bought deals are "hung," such as this one, underwriters have several options. They can bid their time and wait for the gold market to recover, which may drive Iamgold's share price above the bought deal price, thus putting the dealers in a position to flip their shares.

They can "break the syndicate," which means every broker is on its own, and each can decide whether it wants to sell shares at lower prices or hold on to them.

Or underwriters can conduct a "cleanup trade," which means agreeing en masse to sell what's unsold at a lower price than the original bought deal price.

Iamgold said it is using proceeds from the bought deal to buy an additional 9.7-per-cent stake in its Côté Gold Project from its joint venture partner, Sumitomo Metal Mining Co. Ltd. Iamgold's stake will rise to approximately 70 per cent as a result of the transaction, with Sumitomo's share falling to roughly 30 per cent.

Underwriters were set to earn a 4-per-cent commission on the original bought deal. The other banks in the syndicate are CIBC World Markets Inc., Scotia Capital Inc., TD Securities Inc., Canaccord Genuity Group Inc. and Cormark Securities Inc.

EXILED CHINESE BUSINESSMAN FUNDED LIFESTYLE THROUGH \$1-BILLION SCAM, PROSECUTOR ALLEGES

NEW YORK Exiled Chinese businessman Miles Guo scammed his followers out of more than US\$1-billion after Chinese authorities seized his property, a federal prosecutor said on Friday as Mr. Guo's fraud trial began in New York.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Micah Ferguson told jurors that Mr. Guo, who was a real estate developer in China and moved to New York, amassed an online following through videos criticizing the Chinese government.

After authorities in China and Hong Kong seized his assets in response, Mr. Guo started pitching fraudulent investments to his followers, Mr. Ferguson said.

"Miles Guo ran a simple con on a grand scale. He lived a billionaire's lifestyle using money he stole from people he tricked and cheated," Mr. Ferguson said.

The Manhattan jury of 12 will weigh allegations that Mr. Guo used his prolific online presence and hundreds of thousands of followers to bring in funds he spent on himself and his family.

Mr. Guo, who is known by several names including Guo Wengui, Miles Kwok and Ho Wan Kwok, has been jailed in Brooklyn since his March, 2023, arrest.

Mr. Guo's lawyer Sabrina Shroff said in her opening statement that his businesses were legitimate, and that his aim was to build a movement against the Chinese Communist Party.

Starting in 2018, prosecutors say Mr. Guo touted financial opportunities in Mandarin-language online videos, offering investments in his media company, a purported cryptocurrency venture and a farm-loan program, as well as membership in what was billed as an exclusive club offering concierge services.

Prosecutors said Mr. Guo stole from the funds to buy a New Jersey mansion, a yacht, several luxury cars and other extravagances, including two US\$36,000 mattresses.

Mr. Guo faces 12 counts of fraud, racketeering, conspiracy and money laundering.

The Beijing critic has been a business associate of former U.S. president Donald Trump's onetime adviser Steve Bannon. REUTERS

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What to expect from soaring copper prices

From AI to green energy, can investors hope to squeeze more out of this now hot commodity?

DAVID BERMAN

OPINION

DEEP DIVE

The argument in favour of copper was straightforward when the commodity was in the doldrums last year: Copper is integral to a lot of modern pursuits, from AI to electrification to green energy, so it was just a matter of time before an investment would pay off.

But with copper prices soaring this year, can investors hope to squeeze more out of the now-hot sector?

Copper futures trading on the New York Mercantile Exchange rose to a record high, above US\$5 a pound in mid-May, for a gain of 34 per cent this year.

Even though the price has since backed off, to US\$4.77 a pound Thursday, copper has easily outperformed gold, crude oil and even the S&P 500 so far in 2024.

Naturally, the shares of copper producers are tagging along, given the prospect of soaring cash flows in the quarters ahead.

Freeport-McMoRan Inc. (FCX-N)

Daily closes in U.S. dollars



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: REFINITIV EIKON

Freeport-McMoRan Inc., a popular go-to name because of its relatively low-cost production and its gargantuan size, is up 20 per cent this year.

No wonder. The miner estimates that for every 10-cent increase in the price of copper, its EBITDA – or earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization – will climb by US\$430-million by 2025 and 2026.

The difference between copper priced at US\$4 a pound and US\$5 a pound, then, implies that this measure of cash flow will rise US\$4.3-billion by next year. Given that Freeport-McMoRan's reported EBITDA was US\$9.5-billion in

2023, that's a 45-per-cent increase.

Smaller producers, which can be more sensitive to shifting commodity prices, have embarked on even larger rallies. The share prices of Ivanhoe Mines Ltd. and Lundin Mining Corp., for example, have risen 47 per cent this year.

"The year-to-date rally marks the beginning of copper's second secular bull market this century, with copper miners set to print massive margins for the next 2-3 years at least," Maximilian Layton, an analyst at Citigroup, said in a note this week.

Copper's new glow comes after better-than-expected global economic activity, as fears of

recession fade and China supports its own growth with fiscal stimulus measures.

But there's more going on here. Copper supply is notoriously slow to respond to rising demand, given the enormous regulatory hurdles and high costs associated with developing new mines.

That means copper producers could struggle to feed an increasingly copper-hungry economy as countries modernize their electricity grids, expand their fleets of electric vehicles and build the data centres that tap into artificial intelligence. "I think the long-term picture is well-understood to be fairly constructive, so I don't think that we've necessarily seen the highs" for copper, said Shane Nagle, an analyst at National Bank of Canada, in an interview.

Full disclosure: I sold my Lundin Mining shares in mid-March, booking a gain on my original investment years ago but missing out on ... oh dear, another 20 per cent since I sold.

Nonetheless, I'm not alone in expecting a few bumps now that the price of copper is reflecting an increasingly optimistic outlook that might be ignoring several headwinds. As Mr. Nagle pointed out, political views may be shifting away from green energy expansion at a time when new copper projects are coming online.

High mortgage rates are hampering the U.S. housing market, another big consumer of copper.

China's property market is imploding. EV demand, at least in North America, appears to be fizzling.

What's more, some observers aren't so sure that copper's rise is signalling economic strength, which challenges some of the immediate demand assumptions for the economically sensitive commodity. "I've always found that there is a pretty good correlation between the price of copper and the price of oil. If they're both going up, it's telling me that the global economy is doing well," said Ed Yardeni, president and chief investment strategist at Yardeni Research, in an interview.

Right now, though, the two commodities aren't in sync: Crude oil has slumped 11 per cent since early April, and the price is up just 6 per cent over the past year, lagging copper by 26 percentage points.

Mr. Yardeni's conclusion: "It looks to me as though copper is overextended relative to global economic activity."

Already, we have seen signs of a potential shift in investor sentiment. Copper prices fell 6 per cent Wednesday, and Freeport-McMoRan's share price sank almost as much, highlighting a risk in joining the copper rally at its current heights.

Copper has a lot going for it. But it's a lot easier to get enthusiastic about the commodity when it is out of favour.

Today's politicians left with a CPP quandary decades in the making

PAUL KERSHAW

OPINION

Policy professor at UBC and founder of Generation Squeeze, Canada's leading voice for generational fairness. He offers policy advice to governments of all party stripes, including the current federal cabinet.

I don't like cleaning up other people's messes, especially when they could have been prevented.

That's why I sympathize with incumbent governments. The NDP in B.C., Progressive Conservatives in Ontario and Liberals in Ottawa all struggle to balance their budgets today because governments failed decades ago to plan adequately for boomers' retirement.

Budgets tabled in 1995 through 1998 by prime minister Jean Chrétien's government make this failure clear. While it prepared better for the boomer bulge than any previous or succeeding administration, its own budgets show it knowingly left the job unfinished.

By reviewing that government's mixed record, we can better empathize with contemporary politicians of all party stripes. They've inherited fiscal messes that their predecessors knew about, but didn't prevent.

Consistent with data I've shared in previous columns, the



Nineties-era budgets from a federal government led by Jean Chrétien, seen in 1996, show his administration took steps to ready for a boomer bulge but left the job unfinished. RANDY VELOCCI/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

1995 federal budget stated: "The percentage of persons over age 65 will nearly double over the next 40 years." That would mean senior citizens would go from 12 per cent of the population today to about 23 per cent by the year 2030.

The budget further said Canada would have only three workers in the next century to support every retired person, compared with five at that time, and seven when boomers started in the work force. Meanwhile, expenditures on Old Age Security (OAS) and the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans would increase as a share of the economy over 40 years – from 5.3 per cent in 1993 to

more than 8 per cent in 2030.

Mr. Chrétien responded by launching a "federal-provincial review of the CPP" and promised to release a paper the next year on changes needed to ensure OAS sustainability.

The 1996 budget followed through. "Unless changes are made to the CPP, today's younger Canadians and future generations will be asked to pay almost three times more than people are paying now for the same CPP pensions," it stated. "Steps should be taken now to ensure that future generations are not faced with unreasonable burdens, and to assure young Canadians that the CPP will be there for them

when they retire."

The same budget announced that OAS would be replaced by "a new Seniors Benefit," starting in 2001. It would deliver more money to less-affluent retirees, preserve benefits for those with incomes up to \$70,000 (today's dollars), and reduce benefits for those with incomes above this threshold. Eligibility for OAS would be determined based on household, not individual, income. Funds spent through existing age and pension income credits would be repurposed to help offset OAS increases.

By 1997, the government began increasing CPP premiums by 68 per cent over the next six years, and reported progress on the new seniors benefit in the 1997 and 1998 budgets. Thereafter, something changed. The new seniors benefit received no mention in the 1999 budget, nor did any alternative to adapt the OAS.

While I'm still hunting down the backstory for the OAS reversal, several insights emerge from this history lesson.

First, governments predicted the fiscal challenges posed by population aging decades ago. Since Ottawa engaged provinces to review CPP pressures, premiers had every reason to anticipate the same demographic changes would affect provincial fiscal plans, because population aging drives medical expenditures.

Second, the Chrétien government deserves kudos. Inviting boomers to pay higher CPP

premiums while still active in the labour market is among the most significant policy decisions in Canada's history to promote intergenerational fairness. It protected the program for younger and future generations without leaving unpaid bills.

By comparison, the failure to revise OAS is a mark against us. Governments knew that the OAS was generationally unfair, and would shackle the finances of contemporary administrations unless revenue was increased or benefits reduced.

Eventually, prime minister Stephen Harper proposed to raise eligibility for OAS from the age of 65 to 67. But even had his plan not been cancelled by the government of Justin Trudeau, Mr. Harper's changes would only have taken effect in 2023. So he too kicked the can down the road several election cycles after his announcement. "Better late than never" is the moral of this trip down memory lane. Former plans to update the retirement-income system remain relevant.

As a starting point, following through on the plan to repurpose funding from the age and pension income-tax credits could save \$6-billion annually. By making this change in the next fall economic statement, Ottawa would buy some time to perform the harder work of evaluating other options to revise OAS benefits, or ask affluent boomers to pay more in taxes to cover their cost.

Divorce is already difficult – and rising real estate prices aren't helping

ANITA BRUINSMA

OPINION

Toronto-based financial coach and a parent of two teenage boys. You can find her at Clarity Personal Finance.

It's never been more expensive to get divorced and a large part of that stems from housing. With rising house prices and escalating rents across the country, newly single parents face tough choices.

Whether a couple owns a home or rents, housing is most likely their single biggest household expense. When home owning spouses face a divorce, one spouse might want to buy out the other. But increasingly, that's financially out of reach.

In the Toronto area, for example, the average house price was \$1,177,700 in the first quarter of 2024. To buy the other person out, one spouse has to pay them half of the equity in the home. If we assume there's a \$600,000 mortgage on the house, that works out to \$577,700 in equity,

and so a payout of \$288,850.

The spouse keeping the home would also now be on the hook for \$600,000 of mortgage debt.

If the spouse doesn't have the cash available for a buyout, it will need to be tacked on to the mortgage. According to this online mortgage calculator, for one person to carry a \$888,850 mortgage, they need to earn about \$235,000 a year and make \$5,296 in monthly mortgage payments. Then there are the continuing costs of owning a home such as property taxes, insurance, utilities and internet, that can easily top \$10,000 a year. That's over \$74,000 of housing-related costs a year.

Renting can be less expensive but still hard, especially because the size of the living space you need to house a family can be difficult to find. Realistically, a parent probably needs a place with a minimum of two bedrooms, and maybe more. If they are renting, their options for homes with multiple bedrooms – especially three or more – are limited and expensive. In Toronto, for example, a three-bedroom apartment

rents for \$3,900 on average – that's \$46,800 a year.

Complicating the housing decision is thinking about what would be best for the kids. Most parents want to stay close to their current neighbourhood so that their kids' lives are less disrupted by the separation. Staying close to school, friends, and the other parent can make the separation easier on the kids.

Ideally, both parents would have a somewhat equal living arrangement. If one parent has a three-bedroom house with a TV room in the basement while the other has a two-bedroom apartment where the kids share a room, the kids might want to spend more time at the "better" house. These factors add layers of complexity to the housing decision.

So how are couples balancing the difficult decision of separating and making the most financially sound – or least damaging – choices?

Some are choosing to take on big mortgages to keep the matrimonial home. This can be very stressful as the parent is now

solely responsible for each massive monthly payment. Some people might be lucky enough to have a parent who can help out with a financial gift or an early inheritance that can be used to keep the mortgage lower.

Others are buying homes further away from their current neighbourhood in order to find something less expensive. This is a hard choice because of the disruption for the kids, not to mention the parents.

What's known as "nesting" is another approach, one that may look good on paper, but doesn't always go so smoothly in reality. Nesting means a couple rents an apartment that they take turns living in while the kids stay in the matrimonial home. This allows them to rent a small place instead of one that's big enough for the kids. Other people move in with their parents, or have a friend or family member share a place with them to help with the costs.

Some couples continue living together after separation. They share a house, but they keep their lives as separate as possible

and set up routines, including having a child-care schedule. If it's possible to create a separate unit in the home, even better. Creating enough separation between people can make the arrangement more palatable. Adding a basement apartment or even a laneway house is expensive, but more affordable than a second home.

These solutions aren't options for everyone, and a newly single parent might have a heavy financial burden. Likely there will be sacrifices, such as cutting the vacation budget, limiting kids' participation in activities and living a frugal lifestyle. It can also affect the parent's ability to save for their retirement, a long-term impact that can sometimes be forgotten in the chaos.

When going through the process of separation, it's crucial for parents to put together a plan that can get them through the tough early years while looking ahead to how their financial situation could ease down the road, allowing them to feel more confident about the choices they are making during a difficult time.

Can Peter, 53, afford to retire in 10 years?

Couple wonders if their retirement spending target of \$80,000 a year after tax is on track

DIANNE MALEY

FINANCIAL FACELIFT

At the age of 53, Peter is planning well in advance of the day when he hangs up his hat and joins his wife Gloria in the postwork world. Gloria, 61, is retired and has deferred taking government benefits to age 70.

Peter is earning \$120,000 a year including bonus. While neither has a defined-benefit pension, Peter's employer provides partial matching of his contributions to his registered retirement savings plan and his tax-free savings account.

Gloria and Peter own a \$1.1-million condo in a small British Columbia town that they share with their son, 21, a student who works part-time and plans to go to graduate school. They have a mortgage of \$90,000. They also own a \$300,000 co-op vacation property in California that they rent out for a few months every year and which they plan to sell at some point.

Peter and Gloria would like to stay in their home for as long as possible, even if it means spending less money in retirement or working longer. Their \$800,000 investment portfolio came from savings throughout their working careers and a family inheritance.

They plan to buy a car in three years – and every 10 years thereafter – at a cost of \$40,000. They need to replace the air conditioner in their vacation place. The couple also want to help their son with a down payment on a home.

Their retirement spending target is \$80,000 a year after tax. Are they on track?

We asked Trevor Fennessy, a certified financial planner and associate portfolio manager at CWB Wealth Partners in Calgary, to look at Peter and Gloria's situation. Mr. Fennessy also holds the chartered financial analyst (CFA) designation.

WHAT THE EXPERT SAYS

"With 10 years until retirement, it's great that Peter and Gloria are taking a closer look at their overall retirement picture," Mr. Fennessy says. "A glimpse into the future should provide peace of mind – and the motivation to continue saving diligently over the final years of Peter's working career," the planner says.

Between now and when he quits working, Peter will continue to maximize contributions to his employer-sponsored savings programs to capture all available company matching, Mr. Fennessy says.

Inclusive of his employer's contributions, Peter will be contributing \$900 a month to his RRSP and \$400 a month to his TFSA. These contributions are assumed to increase with inflation



MELISSA RENWICK/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

CLIENT SITUATION

The people: Peter, 53, Gloria, 61, and their son, 21.

The problem: Can they afford for Peter to retire in 10 years or so?

The plan: Peter continues to save in his employer-sponsored plans. He defers taking government benefits to age 70. They put off the gift to their son until the vacation co-op is sold.

The payoff: The reassurance that they can age in place in their own home without having

to worry about money.

Monthly net income: \$7,350.

Assets: Cash \$19,000; his stocks \$93,000; her stocks \$5,000; his TFSA \$27,000; her TFSA \$9,000; his RRSP \$148,000; her RRSP \$495,000; registered education savings plan \$11,000; residence \$1,100,000; vacation property \$300,000 Total: \$2,207,000.

Monthly outlays: Mortgage \$735; condo fee \$135; property tax \$310; water, sewer,

garbage \$50; home insurance \$105; electricity \$165; maintenance \$300; transportation \$375; grocery store \$1,000; clothing \$400; gifts, charity \$175; vacation, travel \$800; vacation property net cost \$300; dining, drinks, entertainment \$250; personal care \$85; sports, hobbies \$150; subscription \$45; health care \$100; life insurance \$50; phones, TV, internet \$230; RRSP \$900; TFSA \$400. Total: \$7,060.

Liabilities: Mortgage \$90,000 at 7.2 per cent

as Peter's salary increases.

Their mortgage rate recently jumped to 7.2 per cent from 1.7 per cent, so any funds available beyond Peter's group contributions should be used to pay down the mortgage, the planner says. When it comes up for renewal again next year, they plan to shorten the amortization to 10 years so that it will be paid off by the time Peter retires.

Peter and Gloria should prepare for a further increase in their monthly mortgage payment when they renew. "Even if the couple renews at 5 per cent, their monthly payment will increase by more than 20 per cent to account for the shortened amortization period." Peter and Gloria must adjust their discretionary spending to account for this increase if they hope to enter retirement debt-free, the planner says.

The couple will need to dip into their investment portfolio over the next while to cover some capital expenditures. The air-conditioning unit at the

vacation property will need to be replaced for \$15,000 in early 2025. As well, they would like to purchase a new vehicle for \$40,000 in 2027. "To cover these costs, they should draw from their non-registered savings, or simply cut back on their discretionary spending wherever possible to provide funding," the planner says.

Peter and Gloria's savings, continuing contributions and debt repayments will allow them to enter retirement with a household net worth of about \$2.94-million, Mr. Fennessy says. This will consist of \$1.38-million in investable assets and \$1.56-million in real estate. This is assuming a 4.5-per-cent rate of return on all investment accounts, a 2.1-per-cent inflation rate, and 1 per cent annual growth for real estate.

Peter and Gloria have a spending goal of \$80,000 a year in current after-tax dollars. They would also like to replace their vehicle every 10 years for \$40,000, adjusted for inflation. Peter and Gloria will be selling their

vacation property when Gloria turns 80 and travel to the property becomes prohibitive, owing to travel insurance costs, the planner says. "Based on these outlined expenditures, Peter and Gloria are on track to meet their retirement goal and leave a net estate of roughly \$1.73-million for their heirs at age 95," Mr. Fennessy says.

Peter and Gloria's income throughout retirement will comprise the Canada Pension Plan and Old Age Security benefits and withdrawals from their investment portfolio. Early withdrawals from the registered accounts, ahead of mandatory conversion to registered retirement income funds at age 71, will be helpful to smooth out the couple's taxable income levels, Mr. Fennessy says. It is unlikely that the OAS clawback will become an issue, he says.

Their investment portfolio will be entirely depleted when Peter reaches 95, the planner says. They will still have their primary residence, but this leaves

very little in the form of retirement savings if Peter lives beyond 95.

"For longevity protection, Peter could follow in Gloria's footsteps and delay his CPP or OAS to age 70," Mr. Fennessy says. He had been planning to take them at 65, but waiting will give them higher benefits, which in turn will allow more of their investment portfolio to remain in place.

The equity in the couple's home provides a solid buffer for covering medical expenses that they may need in their later years.

A secondary goal that the couple has indicated is to help out their son with a \$100,000 down payment. To facilitate this gift, Peter and Gloria would need to decrease their retirement spending by 5 per cent, the planner says. Alternatively, they could delay the gift until the sale of the vacation property.

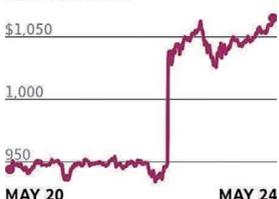
"Upon sale of the vacation property, Peter and Gloria should anticipate a sizable tax bill due to capital gains tax," Mr. Fennessy says. They should maintain thorough records of all capital improvements that they have made to the property. These expenses will help to increase their adjusted cost base and reduce the overall taxable capital gain. Since the gross capital gain will be shared between them, barring any significant future capital appreciation, it is not likely that they will be affected by the newly proposed increase to the personal capital gains inclusion rate, the planner says.

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STARS AND DOGS JOHN HEINZL

NVIDIA CORP. PAST FIVE DAYS

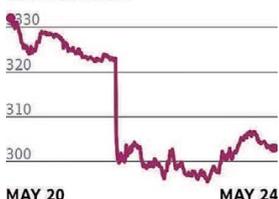


SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **STAR** You know, maybe this artificial intelligence thing will catch on after all. Having already gained more than 90 per cent this year, shares of **Nvidia Corp.** soared to a new record high after the world's largest maker of AI chips announced first-quarter results that crushed Wall Street's expectations. Driven by strong growth in its data centre business, revenue jumped 262 per cent to US\$26-billion and earnings shot up 628 per cent to US\$14.9-billion or US\$5.98 a share. The company also hiked its dividend by 150 per cent and announced a 10-for-one stock split. A few more quarters like this and we'll know if AI is more than a flash in the pan.

NVDA (Nasdaq), US\$1,064.69, up US\$139.90 or 15.1% over week

LULULEMON ATHLETICA INC. PAST FIVE DAYS

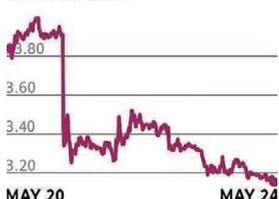


SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **DOG** For years, **Lululemon Athletica Inc.**'s apparel has been popular with people who like to work up a sweat. Now, it's Lululemon investors who are sweating. With the stock already down sharply this year amid growing competition from upstart brands such as Alo and Vuori, the shares took another hit on news that Lululemon's chief product officer, Sun Choe, is leaving to pursue another opportunity. "Clearly, the narrative around the company has worsened," said Wedbush analyst Tom Nikic, who slashed his stock price target to US\$397 from US\$492. All of this explains why LULU is nursing a boo-boo.

LULU (Nasdaq), US\$303.01, down US\$31.94 or 9.5% over week

PELOTON INTERACTIVE INC. PAST FIVE DAYS



SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **DOG** Test your business knowledge! Shares of **Peloton Interactive Inc.** retreated after: a) the company's new "Human Hamster Wheel" product was recalled after dozens of users chipped their teeth on the metal water spout; b) North Korean agents hacked into Peloton's fitness bike app, causing the screen to display a video of Kim Jong Un barking commands such as, "Pedal faster, weak American!" and "Tell the dotard that Little Rocket Man says hi!"; c) the struggling company announced a refinancing that includes a US\$300-million offering of 5.5-per-cent convertible notes, a \$1-billion five-year term loan and a \$100-million five-year revolving credit facility. Answer: c.

PTON (Nasdaq), US\$3.15, down 77 US cents or 19.6% over week

E.L.F. BEAUTY INC. PAST FIVE DAYS

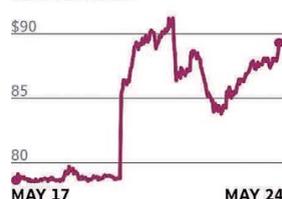


SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **STAR** They say beauty is only skin deep. Well, yeah, if you peel off someone's skin they're going to look scary. Duh. Anyway, what's both beautiful and deep is the stack of money **e.l.f. Beauty Inc.** investors are making. Shares of the cosmetics and skin care company – whose initials stand for eyes, lips and face – were giving off a healthy glow after net sales surged 71 per cent to US\$321.1-million in the latest quarter, beating expectations and easing fears about a slowdown in the beauty industry. With the stock up more than 80 per cent in the past 12 months, despite a pullback earlier this year, investors' portfolios are looking beautiful indeed.

ELF (NYSE), US\$191.42, up US\$32.97 or 20.8% over week

BOMBARDIER INC. PAST FIVE DAYS



SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **STAR** For years, owning **Bombardier Inc.** shares was the financial equivalent of throwing a stack of \$1,000 bills out an open airplane window. Well, Bomber is back, baby! Having jettisoned its other businesses to focus on private jets, the company is enjoying a strong demand tailwind that began during the COVID-19 pandemic when more corporations and wealthy folks started buying their own planes instead of travelling with the masses. With Bombardier's long-term debt falling to about US\$5.6-billion from more than US\$10-billion a few years ago and the share price more than quadrupling from its 2022 lows, investors are finally enjoying a smooth flight.

BBD.B (TSX), \$88.98, up \$9.89 or 12.5% over week

Is now the time to buy Canadian bank stocks?

Potential catalysts are stronger economic growth, more favourable capital markets and improved credit conditions, expert says

JOHN HEINZL

OPINION



INVESTOR CLINIC

Why aren't Canadian banks going up like the big U.S. banks? JPMorgan Chase & Co., for example, is up about 17 per cent this year, and Wells Fargo & Co. has gained about 22 per cent. Canadian banks are either down or have single-digit gains. Why is this happening, and what will it take for Canadian banks to move higher?

I ran your question by Rob Wessel, a former top-ranked bank analyst who is now managing partner of Hamilton ETFs.

"Historically, the Canadian banks have been very strong investments relative to their U.S. large-cap peers. That said, the U.S. banks have meaningfully outperformed the Canadian bank peers recently," Mr. Wessel said in an e-mail.

There are several reasons for this, he said. A year ago, U.S. banks were trading at lower valuations than the Canadian banks. But thanks to the resilient U.S. economy, U.S. banks have enjoyed stronger growth in earnings per share, driven by rising net interest income, solid loan growth and strong capital markets for the largest banks.

"By contrast, a sluggish Canadian economy has weighed on revenue growth for our banks and contributed to large and sustained increases in loan-loss reserves, making it difficult for the Canadian banks to grow earnings, which has weighed on their



TD kicked off the second-quarter earnings season for banks on Thursday, posting adjusted net income of \$3.79-billion, up slightly from last year and ahead of analysts' estimates. FRED LUM/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

stocks. Taken together, this has produced a surprisingly large divergence in performance, which will be difficult for the U.S. banks to sustain," he said.

Problems specific to individual Canadian banks have also weighed on their share prices. Toronto-Dominion Bank, in particular, has been slammed by allegations that drug traffickers exploited its lax anti-money-laundering controls in the U.S. to wash hundreds of millions of dollars in illicit profits, sparking investigations by the U.S. Department of Justice and financial regulators. Analysts estimate that TD could ultimately face penalties of about US\$2-billion.

TD kicked off second-quarter earnings season for the banks on Thursday, posting adjusted net income of \$3.79-billion that was up slightly from last year and ahead of analysts' estimates. The rest of the Big Six banks will

report this coming week.

According to Mr. Wessel, potential catalysts for Canadian bank stocks include stronger economic growth, more favourable capital markets and improved credit conditions.

"In our view, analyst estimates for credit losses for next year – 2025 – are quite conservative and include continued reserve builds, which is a big assumption given that total allowances for credit losses have risen for seven consecutive quarters and are currently approaching highs reached during the COVID-19 pandemic," he said.

"This conservatism offers the potential for credit losses next year to be lower than expected, resulting in better-than-expected earnings and increased consensus earnings estimates for 2025. Lastly, the sector is not terribly expensive on forward earnings, with an average multiple of

about 10.3 times 2025 estimates, and dividend yields, on average, are close to 5 per cent, providing some downside protection."

I am semi-retired and my wife is still working. We try to maintain a roughly 60-40 split of stocks compared to fixed income. We have a handful of individual stocks, but most of our equity position is in exchange-traded funds. About 12 per cent of our portfolio is in the Vanguard S&P 500 Index ETF. Do you think it is risky to hold such a large position in one ETF? Should I diversify into more than one ETF for the U.S. portion of our portfolio?

I don't think you need to sweat this too much. If you had 12 per cent of your portfolio in a single stock, that would qualify as risky.

But having 12 per cent of your portfolio in a broadly-diversified ETF doesn't raise red flags for me.

The purpose of an index ETF, after all, is to provide diversification, and S&P 500 funds such as VFW do just that, and at very low cost (VFW's management expense ratio is just 0.09 per cent). While technology shares account for nearly 30 per cent of the S&P 500, financials, health care and consumer discretionary stocks also have double-digit weightings, with high single-digit contributions from communications, industrials and consumer staples. So you're getting a nice cross-section of the U.S. economy, which helps to control your risk.

You could achieve even greater U.S. diversification with a product such as the Vanguard U.S. Total Market Index ETF (VUN), which holds more than 3,700 U.S. stocks, compared with the 500 largest U.S. companies in the S&P 500. However, VUN and VFW have a great deal of overlap, particularly among their largest constituents, and consequently their returns have been very similar. For the 12 months ended April 30, VFW's total return, including dividends, was about 24.3 per cent, compared with 24 per cent for VUN.

If anything, you could even increase your weighting in VFW by a few percentage points to get more U.S. exposure. Depending on your risk tolerance, you might also benefit from increasing your overall equity weighting to more than 60 per cent. Some investors have found that the 60-40 mix, which has been a popular rule of thumb for decades, is too conservative given that people are living longer and stocks have historically outperformed bonds. But if the 60-40 split helps you stay disciplined and lets you sleep at night, then by all means stick with it.

E-mail your questions to jheinzl@globeandmail.com. I'm not able to respond personally to e-mails, but I choose certain questions to answer in my column.

How this adviser went from being an engineer to a business coach to a financial planner

BRENDA BOUW
GLOBE ADVISOR

BEHIND THE ADVICE

Felicia Lee, principal and certified financial planner at Clarity Planning Inc. in Vancouver, talks about her early experiences with delayed financial gratification, why she studied engineering in university and how she made the transition to financial planning.

What was your first money lesson?

Growing up in Brunei, my parents would give me pocket money. One thing I craved was these fried chicken drumsticks at the canteen at my elementary school. I figured out that if I saved up my money for a few days, I could afford to buy those for lunch (instead of always having what my mom packed). I learned about delayed gratification; that if I really wanted something, I could just save up for it.

What were some of your experiences with money growing up?

When I was 16, my parents moved our family, including me and my younger brother, to Canada. While attending high school in Vancouver, I had a few part-time jobs, including at a pizza shop and Science World. Studying and working part-time was challenging, but it kept me disciplined and meant I could buy a few things I wanted here and there. It also helped me save money for when I went to university, which made me feel really good. I got a scholarship and lived at home while attending university, but I still needed money for transit, school supplies and activities.

What was your career path before becoming an adviser?

I studied electrical engineering at the University of British Columbia because I had strong marks in science, technology, engineering and math. Plus, my English wasn't very strong and there weren't a lot of language requirements to get into that program. I didn't love engineering but knew I would be good at it. I was being



Felicia Lee of Clarity Planning studied electrical engineering because she wanted a steady job after university. 'I was being practical,' she says.

practical. As an immigrant kid, I wanted to have a job that would pay well after graduation because my parents made so many sacrifices to bring us to Canada. For example, I couldn't have taken art history because it had no established career track. That would've felt very irresponsible.

I worked as an engineer at Telus Corp. before shifting to marketing and then into business. The company also sponsored my MBA. Later, I got into the business coaching industry before obtaining various financial planning certificates. I started my own company more than three years ago.

What decision around money has made the biggest impact on your life?

I am a big believer in investing in skill sets. Some people are surprised when they hear I transitioned from engineering to business to business coaching and then to financial planning. But I always knew that if I invested in the training, I could do well at whatever I wanted to do next. Studying also comes easy to me, especially after getting an engineering degree, which was very challenging.

What's your biggest money mistake – and what did you learn from it?

For four years, I took public

transit to university. It was a long commute and the days on campus were also long. The first thing I did after I graduated was buy a new car, a Toyota Rav4. I financed it through monthly payments. Having a new car for the first year was fun, but once the honeymoon period wore off, making those high monthly payments for four years was painful. I kept the car for 19 years, so it worked out fine in the end. However, since then, I've only purchased good used cars and saved a lot of money up front.

What are you best at when it comes to your finances?

I'm very strategic about what I invest in, which isn't always easy. For instance, my husband and I bought our first house in Vancouver in 2007 after my daughter was born. It seemed like a crazy decision at the time because the mortgage was a little more than we could afford back then. However, since then, the home has more than doubled in value, so it was worth it in the long run. The same can apply to other long-term financial decisions. It may not always be the cheapest investment, whether it's a home or a stock, for example, but it may be worth it if you can afford it and believe it will create value over the long term.

This interview has been edited and condensed.

Five stocks with dividend growth and a solid yield

ROB CARRICK

OPINION



If you want a high dividend yield, prepare to sacrifice dividend growth. If you want dividend growth, prepare to sacrifice a high yield. So go two of the key rules of dividend investing.

Is there a middle ground? I went in search of one by running a quick screen of stocks in the S&P/TSX 60 Index using the dividend view available on the Watchlist feature on The Globe and Mail website.

We happen to have a bumper crop of high-yielding blue-chip stocks these days. But a high yield has its costs. Investors are down on these stocks – that's why the yields are as high as 6 per cent to almost 9 per cent. Elsewhere in the dividend space, there are stocks that have participated in the broad market rally of the past year or so and thus offer diminished dividend yields.

My screen started with the big blue chips of the S&P/TSX 60 ranked from highest dividend yield on down. The next step was to find stocks with a yield of 3 per cent or more and a double-digit five-year annualized dividend growth rate.

Here are the five stocks on the final list:

Canadian Natural Resources Ltd. (CNQ-T): Riding the energy sector wave of the past year, CNQ shares have jumped 32 per cent. But the stock still yields 3.9 per cent, and dividend increases have averaged 22.5 per cent over the past five years.

Canadian Tire Corp. (CTC.A-T): The shares have been hit hard lately because of concerns about the impact of a slowing economy – that explains the dividend yield of 4.9 per cent. The dividend has increased by an average annual 13.9 per cent in the past five years. Slower growth is certainly possible if sales and profits are under pressure.

Open Text Corp. (OTEX-T): Tech has been strong lately, but Open Text shares are down about 24 per cent in the past year. The dividend yield is 3.2 per cent, and the five-year dividend growth rate is 12.2 per cent.

National Bank of Canada (NA-T): A dividend yield of 3.7 per cent and a five-year dividend growth rate of 10.3 per cent. The shares are up 12.5 per cent in the past year, among the best performances by big bank stocks.

And, finally, one stock that is close enough on dividend growth to warrant inclusion here. It's **Manulife Financial (MFC-T)**, with a dividend yield of 4.5 per cent and five-year dividend growth of 9.9 per cent. Manulife shares are up about 40 per cent in the past 12 months.



Shares of Canadian Tire have been hit hard lately because of concerns about a slowing economy, which explains a dividend yield of 4.9 per cent. SAMMY KOGAN/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

S&P/TSX COMPOSITE INDEX
PAST 12 MONTHS



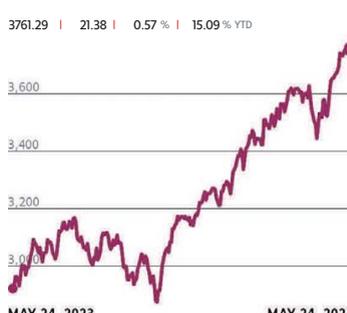
S&P 500
PAST 12 MONTHS



DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE
PAST 12 MONTHS



S&P GLOBAL 100 INDEX
PAST 12 MONTHS



S&P/TSX COMPOSITE INDEX STOCKS
LARGEST STOCKS BY MARKET CAPITALIZATION

Symbol	Close	Net Chg	% Chg	Vol 000s	YTD %Chg	Symbol	Close	Net Chg	% Chg	Vol 000s	YTD %Chg	Symbol	Close	Net Chg	% Chg	Vol 000s	YTD %Chg
AAV ADVANTAGE OIL	11.47	0.18	1.59	392	34.47	CIGI COLLIERS INT	152.53	0.47	0.31	22	-8.99	KEY KEYERA CORP	36.01	-0.03	-0.08	1881	12.43
AOI AFRICA OIL CO	2.43	0.02	0.83	232	-2.41	CSU CONSTELLATION	3818.00	95.92	2.58	33	16.22	KMP-UN KILLAM APA	17.52	0.12	0.69	138	-2.45
AEM AGNICO EAGLE	92.53	0.07	0.08	724	27.36	CRP-UN CROMBIE RE	12.84	-0.03	-0.23	101	-6.96	KKS KINAXIS INC	149.71	-1.12	-0.74	26	0.67
ACI AIR CANADA	18.40	-0.01	-0.05	1955	-1.55	DYF DEFINITY FINA	43.47	-0.13	-0.30	82	15.80	KXN KINROSS GOLD CO	11.04	0.21	1.94	5610	37.66
AGI ALAMOS GOLD I	22.56	-0.09	-0.26	640	27.16	DML DENISON MINES	3.15	0.06	1.94	1289	35.78	LIF LABRADOR IRON	29.97	-0.07	-0.23	62	-6.05
ASTL ALGOMA STEEL	10.78	-0.01	-0.11	98	18.95	DSG DESCARTES SYS	136.84	0.94	0.69	99	22.81	LB LAURENTIAN BAN	27.40	0.33	1.22	115	-1.69
AQN ALQUINUM POW	8.93	-0.01	-0.11	983	6.82	DOL DOLLARAMA INC	124.23	0.25	0.20	334	30.10	LSPD LIGHTSPEED C	20.69	0.74	3.71	1194	-25.63
ATD ALIMENTATION	80.21	0.84	1.06	800	2.79	DIR-UN DREAM INC	12.66	0.02	0.16	247	-9.31	LNK LINAMAR CORP	69.25	0.15	0.22	80	8.17
AP-UN ALLIED PROP	17.06	0.12	0.71	761	-15.46	DPM DUNDEE PRECIO	11.21	0.31	2.84	548	32.19	L LOBLAW CO	156.66	0.41	0.26	683	22.12
ALA ALTAGAS LTD	30.37	0.00	0.00	626	9.17	EQB EQB INC	83.81	1.76	2.15	53	-3.92	NG NOVAGOLD RES I	19.69	0.23	1.18	821	19.04
AIF ALTUS GROUP L	48.19	0.32	0.67	39	14.36	ELD ELDORADO GOLD	21.32	0.24	1.14	206	23.95	LUN LUNDIN MINING	16.54	0.31	1.91	851	52.58
ARC ARC RESOURCES	25.05	-0.01	-0.04	1357	27.35	EFN ELEMENT FLEET	24.26	0.05	-0.21	364	12.52	MAG MAG SILVER CO	18.27	0.22	1.22	156	32.49
ATZ ARITZIA INC	32.98	0.73	2.26	257	19.93	EMA EMERA INCORPO	48.87	-0.18	-0.37	686	-2.84	MG MAGNA INTERNAT	61.97	0.46	0.75	1666	-20.85
ACO-X ATCO LTD CL	40.50	0.12	0.30	202	4.73	EMP-A EMPIRE COMP	33.88	-0.31	-0.91	278	-3.34	MFC MANULIFE FIN	36.31	0.39	1.09	9812	24.01
ATH ATHABASCA LTD	4.91	0.11	2.29	2293	17.75	ENB ENBRIDGE INC	49.53	0.08	0.16	9148	3.84	MFI MAPLE LEAF FO	23.29	0.00	0.00	91	-7.73
ATS ATS CORP	43.53	0.13	0.30	138	-23.78	EFR ENERGY FUELS	8.97	-0.14	-1.54	272	-5.58	MTR MATR CORP	16.27	0.19	1.18	87	7.32
BTO B2GOLD CORP	3.75	0.00	0.00	4952	-10.50	ENR ENERPLUS CORP	27.56	0.24	0.88	239	35.70	MDA MDA LTD	12.04	-0.17	-1.39	175	4.51
BCE BCE INC	45.89	-0.55	-1.18	3538	-12.04	ENG ENGHOUSE SYS	28.80	-0.13	-0.45	32	-17.95	MEG MEG ENERGY CO	29.52	0.32	1.10	1529	24.31
BDGI BADGER INFRA	41.83	0.31	0.75	22	2.75	EQX EQUINOX GOLD	7.64	0.11	1.46	404	18.63	MX METHANEX CORP	72.23	0.48	0.67	64	15.24
BLDP BALLARD POWE	4.20	0.07	1.69	366	-14.46	ERO ERO COPPER CO	31.14	0.92	3.04	169	48.64	MRU METRO INC	74.56	0.27	0.36	301	81.60
BMO BANK OF MONTA	130.48	0.61	0.47	1588	-0.48	EIF EXCHANGE INCO	45.76	0.01	0.02	44	1.46	MTY MTY FOOD GROU	44.30	-0.12	-0.27	50	-2.61
BNS BANK OF NOVA	65.27	0.29	0.45	2723	1.19	FFH FAIRFAX FINAN	1564.03	14.03	0.91	37	27.94	MTL MULLEN GROUP	13.00	-0.02	-0.15	128	-7.41
ABX BARRICK GOLD	23.27	-0.02	-0.09	2833	-2.80	FIL FIL MINING C	24.99	-0.46	-1.81	264	18.38	NA NATIONAL BANK	114.71	0.75	0.66	1628	13.57
BHC BAUSCH HEALTH	8.71	-0.01	-0.11	204	-18.06	FTI FINNING INTL	43.03	0.45	1.06	392	12.29	NGD NEW GOLD INC	2.69	0.10	3.86	1184	40.10
BTE BAYTEX ENERGY	4.72	0.10	2.16	3914	7.76	FCR-UN FIRST CAPI	15.30	0.05	0.33	172	-0.26	NXE NEXGEN ENERGY	10.64	-0.22	2.11	875	14.78
BIR BIRCHCLIFF EN	5.86	0.03	0.51	892	1.38	FR FIRST MAJESTIC	9.81	0.13	1.34	543	20.68	NPI NORTHLAND POW	23.60	-0.18	-0.76	665	-1.95
BB BLACKBERRY LTD	3.94	0.02	0.51	745	-16.17	FS FIRST QUANTUM	18.10	0.35	1.97	2603	66.82	NWH-UN NORTHWEST	5.10	0.03	0.59	263	-1.16
BEI-UN BOARDWALK	70.71	-0.63	-0.88	54	-0.88	FV FIRSTSERVICE	196.00	-0.33	-0.17	76	-8.69	NG NOVAGOLD RES I	4.94	0.12	2.49	168	-0.20
BBB-B BOMBARDIER	88.98	0.71	5.59	564	67.22	FVS FORTIS INC	54.53	0.02	0.04	2190	0.04	NTR NUTRIEN LTD	80.44	-0.87	-1.07	1251	7.76
BLX BORALEX INC	32.96	0.68	2.11	243	-2.14	FVI FORTUNA SILVE	8.31	0.37	4.66	2937	62.94	NUV NUVEI CORP	43.80	-0.35	-0.79	61	25.83
BOY BOYD GROUP SE	234.42	1.25	0.54	47	-15.82	FNV FORTUNA-NEVADA	166.72	0.19	0.11	304	13.59	NVA NUVISTA ENERG	12.98	0.08	0.62	537	17.57
BAM BROOKFIELD AS	54.97	0.52	0.96	1217	3.29	FRF FREEDHOLD ROYA	13.49	0.09	0.67	282	-1.46	OGC OCEANAGOLD CO	3.18	0.15	4.95	2659	25.20
BBU-UN BROOKFIELD	25.84	0.31	1.21	203	-5.52	WN GEORGE WESTON	195.58	0.79	0.41	128	18.89	ONX ONEX CORP	97.72	0.11	0.11	50	5.61
BN BROOKFIELD COR	61.21	0.51	0.84	1574	15.16	GFL GENVORNOME	42.46	-0.48	-1.12	171	-7.11	OTX OPEN TEXT CO	41.09	-0.62	-1.49	724	-26.22
BP-UN BROOKFIELD	41.15	0.71	1.76	371	-1.46	GFI GIBSON ENERGY	22.49	0.15	0.67	233	11.72	OLA ORLA MINING L	5.67	0.16	2.90	803	31.25
DDO BRP INC	91.27	-0.15	-0.16	511	-3.74	GIL GILDAN ACTIVE	51.41	2.60	5.33	503	17.32	OR OSISKO GOLD RO	22.14	0.06	0.27	574	17.08
CAR-UN CDN APARTM	44.69	0.08	0.18	268	-8.42	GSTY GOESLEY LTD	175.60	3.66	2.13	24	11.80	OSK OSISKO MINING	2.95	-0.01	-0.34	1050	10.49
CWB CNB WESTERN B	27.13	0.11	0.41	212	-12.12	GRV GRANITRE RE	68.03	-0.77	-1.12	117	-0.82	PAAS PAN AMERICAN	28.75	0.14	0.49	665	32.92
GIB-A CGI GROUP I	142.52	-0.45	-0.31	292	0.40	GRT-UN GREAT-WEST LI	42.67	-0.11	-0.26	3379	-2.71	POU PARAMOUNT RES	31.92	-0.10	-0.31	142	23.10
CIX C FINANCIAL	14.86	0.12	0.81	349	0.00	HRX H&R REAL ES	9.32	-0.05	-0.53	233	-5.86	PXI PAREX RESOURC	22.47	0.18	0.81	271	-9.94
CRU-UN CRT REAL ES	13.57	0.10	0.74	97	-7.37	HWW HEADWATER EXP	7.31	0.06	0.83	441	16.96	PKI PARKLAND FUEL	39.13	0.21	0.54	334	-8.38
CAE CAE INC	25.47	-0.33	-1.28	528	-10.94	HBM HUDBAY MINERA	13.18	0.39	3.05	3109	80.80	PSI PASON SYSTEMS	15.64	0.35	2.29	74	-3.28
CCO CAMCO CORP	72.38	1.38	1.94	670	26.69	HOU HUBBY ONE LTD	40.09	0.15	0.38	788	0.98	PPL PEMBINA PIPEL	49.88	0.09	0.18	4194	9.34
GOOS CANADA GOOSE	19.12	-0.12	-0.62	328	21.47	IAG IA FINANCIAL	92.83	-0.06	-0.06	431	2.77	PET PET VALU HOLD	27.06	0.06	0.22	103	-5.98
CM CANADIAN IMPER	66.39	0.20	0.30	3012	4.06	IMG IAMGOLD CORP	5.48	0.17	3.20	7664	64.07	PEY PEYTO EXPLORA	15.42	0.09	0.59	1220	28.07
CNR CANADIAN NATI	173.35	-0.14	-0.08	574	4.08	ING IGM FINANCIAL	36.72	0.23	0.63	74	4.88	POW POWER CORP OF	40.26	0.02	0.05	1132	6.25
CNO CANADIAN NAT	104.66	1.11	1.07	3542	20.56	IMO IMPERIAL OIL	94.44	0.95	1.02	399	25.12	PRF PRAIRIESKY RO	25.85	0.14	0.54	153	11.42
CP CANADIAN PACIF	109.15	0.18	0.17	996	4.11	INN INNERGEX RENE	8.92	0.10	1.13	450	-2.94	PD PRECISION DRIL	96.85	1.83	1.93	52	34.59
CTCA CANADIAN T	136.75	-2.60	-1.87	180	-2.82	IFC INTACT FINAN	228.99	1.85	0.81	169	12.33	PBH PREMIUM BRAND	89.74	0.74	0.83	27	-4.56
CU CANADIAN UTILI	31.57	0.13	0.41	321	-1.00	IFP INTERFOR CORP	18.41	-0.02	-0.11	76	-21.59	PMZ-UN PRIMARIS R	13.30	-0.06	-0.45	76	-3.62
CFP CANFOR CORP	15.32	-0.03	-0.20	161	-14.17	IPO INTERNATIONAL	18.49	-0.11	-0.59	57	17.25	PRM PRIMO WATER	30.96	0.56	1.84	128	55.11
CPX CANPACK POWE	37.99	0.27	0.72	222	0.40	IIP-UN INTERRENT	12.01	0.03	0.25	146	-9.22	QBR-B QUEBECOR IN	29.76	0.59	2.02	948	-5.58
CS CAPSTONE MININ	10.24	0.10	0.99	2135	58.76	IVN IVANHOE MINES	19.39	0.48	2.54	899	50.89	QSR RESTAURANT BR	92.29	-0.03	-0.03	1524	-10.86
CJT CARQUEST INC	116.91	-0.83	-0.70	36	-1.90	JWL JAMIESON WEL	26.00	-0.31	-1.18	42	-18.06	RCH RICHELIEU HAR	39.26	0.05	0.13	30	-18.17
CCL-B CCL INDUST	72.01	0.93	1.31	263	20.84	KEL KELD MINE IN	7.66	0.24	3.23	2073	17.67	REI-UN RIOCAN REA	17.46	0.00	0.00	338	-6.23
CLS CELESTICA INC	80.34	4.27	5.61	789	107.01	KNT K92 MINING IN	5.92	0.16	2.78	273	3.50	RCY ROYAL BANK OF	53.69	0.10	0.19	1048	-13.45
CVE CENOVIUS ENER	27.75	0.35	1.28	4728	25.68	KEL KELT EXPLORAT	5.92	0.16	2.78	273	3.50	RJ ROYAL BANK OF	143.92	0.25	0.17	1870	7.40
CG CENTERRA GOLD	9.59	0.13	1.37	783	21.24	HNU BETAPRO NAT G	5.27	-0.65	-10.98</								

SOCCER
Barcelona looks to best eight-time champion Lyon in Women's Champions League final ■ B15

BASKETBALL
Something has to give in Game 3 as Pacers face top-seeded Celtics ■ B21

HOCKEY
Winnipeg Jets promote associate coach Scott Arniel to head coach ■ B22

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[HOCKEY]



A shot by Oilers centre Connor McDavid is blocked by the stick of Stars goaltender Jake Oettinger during the first overtime in Game 1 of the Western Conference final on Thursday in Dallas. Despite this letdown McDavid ended up scoring the game-winner in the second overtime period. TONY GUTIERREZ/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

This is Connor McDavid's time to show he is one of hockey's greats

The Oilers' Stanley Cup hopes will rise and fall with their superstar. His success will be the key story of the playoffs

CATHAL KELLY
OPINION



Every playoff series has its sliding-doors moment. If this had happened instead of that, everything would have ended up different.

Generally, these instants don't happen until you're well down the road. But the Oilers had theirs in Thursday night's Game 1 of their Western Conference final against the Stars.

Edmonton gave up the lead in the third period, sending the game in Dallas to overtime. The Oilers' Connor McDavid took a four-minute penalty off the faceoff to start OT. The Stars hit two posts. Like everything else in Texas, the Oilers' net was starting to look bigger.

Then an Edmonton three-on-two. Zach Hyman pulled up in the Stars' zone and began to spin slowly, like a boat reversing direction. In the post-season, this will usually get you knocked out. But the move so unsettled the Dallas defence that they all began to collapse onto him. Hyman fired the puck toward the front of the net, where McDavid was standing by himself.

McDavid plus time to manoeuvre plus front of

net plus no defender equals goal 100 per cent of the time. That is a rule of hockey reasoning. It is true because it works.

McDavid moved to his left, where the net was open. Dallas goalie Jake Oettinger sprawled toward him. McDavid had four feet of goal to shoot at. He hit four inches of stick. That was the moment.

You could see it spinning out from there. Dallas scores. McDavid takes the blame. The series spirals. We're back to wondering if the best player in hockey is ever going to figure it out.

Instead, McDavid scored a more difficult one in the second OT period, picking a hard pass out of the air and redirecting it at 90 degrees into the Stars' net.

"Always nice to score an overtime goal," McDavid said afterward.

Whatever this guy decides to do once hockey ends, keynote speaker is probably off the table.

After one game, there are two things we can guess about this series – it is going to be even more of a whiplash affair than the previous one against Vancouver; and, for good or ill, McDavid will be the story of it. So far, he's had the sort of playoffs only

he could have. He's second in postseason scoring (23 points in 13 games), but hasn't been great. Until Thursday, he'd gone five games without a goal. If you follow the daily reviews, teammates such as Evan Bouchard and Leon Draisaitl are receiving better notices. Even the Edmonton goalies are getting more press.

If Mitch Marner played as McDavid is now, the Leafs would be doing three news conferences a day, the theme of each one being 'Told you so.' But when McDavid is only setting up two goals a night, it's a downer.

Nine years into his career, McDavid is in a Lionel Messi scenario. Statistics are not the thing for him. Were he to retire today, he'd be a hall of famer.

Actually, were he to retire today, his mystique would be massively amplified. It'd be a tantalizing series of

what might have been. 'Connor McDavid' and 'mysterious' are not two ideas that currently co-exist.

All that's missing on his 'best ever' résumé is a win. Any sort. One Cup won't put him anywhere near the front of that conversation, but it will get him into it.

■ KELLY, B22

McDavid plus time to manoeuvre plus front of net plus no defender equals goal 100 per cent of the time. That is a rule of hockey reasoning. It is true because it works.

Hadwin tackles the reality of dedicating his life to a sport he rarely wins

Canadian golfer says when the chips are down, he's usually at his best

SIMON HOUP

WEEKENDS WITH ...

Adam Hadwin is on the phone from his house in Wichita, Kan., but he's beginning to think he's not alone. "I have a sneaking suspicion my wife is filming me in the back somewhere," he says. "Like, getting these answers, to make fun of me later." Someone's always taking him down. If it's not his wife, Jessica, who lovingly uses him for Twitter fodder, it's security on the 18th hole of the RBC Canadian Open, where Hadwin last year briefly turned from one of this country's best golfers into one of the world's most famous tackling dummies, when he tried to shower his good friend Nick Taylor with celebratory Champagne and instead ended up going viral for all the wrong reasons. Happily, Hadwin, 36, suffered no long-term effects, and



PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY THE GLOBE AND MAIL
SOURCE PHOTO: ANDREW REDINGTON/GETTY IMAGES

he'll be teeing off next Thursday at this year's edition of the tournament at Hamilton Golf and Country Club. "I hope to get there and meet up with the security guard and get a photo," he said. No doubt his wife will send it out into the world.

I suppose I should begin by offering my condolences on the Canucks.

Yeah, I'm a huge fan of the Van-

couver Canucks and I want them to do their best, but as a fellow athlete, I understand that not everything goes your way, and sometimes you can compete as hard as you want and not get the results you want. But as a Vancouver Canucks fan, I hate it that I cannot watch more hockey this year.

When were you happiest?

My wife would probably kill me

if I didn't say some time right now. But I feel like, gun-to-head? I'd probably say maybe early, mid-teen years, back in Abbotsford, when I can remember going up to the golf course after dinner, when it was still light out, 'til, like, 10 o'clock, and there'd be nobody on the golf course. Just kind of an early summer evening and I could play Ledgeview however and whenever I wanted, and I was out there by myself. That was when I was still just trying to get better at the game. It wasn't how I earned my living, it never felt like a job. It was something I wanted to do. Just very peaceful, just out there by myself, trying to get better, just hitting shots and working at it.

What do you consider the lowest depth of misery?

I find it hard to separate personal and professional sometimes. I feel like you have these two different lives – personally, there are things that you're going through, but professionally things might still be okay. And then professionally, things aren't going well, but personally things are great. So, personally, going

through infertility with my wife and seeing her struggle, and the strain I think that infertility brought on us as a couple and everything – that was probably the hardest time that I've dealt with, personally, but professionally I was still playing pretty well. And professionally, there was a time, probably going into '21, where I had sort of hit my peak, coming off of 2017, 2018, where I had won, and I sort of was on this slow climb down. I went without an instructor for a few months, and then during 2021, I sort of revamped my swing, and although I was getting better, I was basically fighting for my [PGA] card the entire year, trying to maintain my status on Tour.

What characteristic defines you?

Tenacity, the sort of 'never give up.' When the chips are down is usually when I'm at my best. I haven't met many people that share my level of competitiveness. And that's a life thing. That's everything that I do. It doesn't matter whether it's a fun game of pickleball or trying to win a major. I will definitely be giving everything that I have.

■ WEEKENDS WITH, B22



[PANTHERS VS. RANGERS]

Looking for a way in

Sam Bennett, centre right, of the Florida Panthers goes for a loose puck against Braden Schneider, centre left, of the New York Rangers during Game 2 of the Eastern Conference final at Madison Square Garden in New York on Friday.

Read the game story at [GLOBESPORTS.COM](https://www.globeandmail.com/sports/hockey/nhl/article/panthers-vs-rangers)

BRUCE BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES

The French Open

BETTING FAVOURITES

Iga Swiatek is a heavy favourite to win the women's title, according to BetMGM Sportsbook. There is a big gap to the next player, two-time Australian Open champion Aryna Sabalenka, followed by 2023 U.S. Open champ Coco Gauff and 2022 Wimbledon champ Elena Rybakina. Carlos Alcaraz is narrowly the top choice for the men's title, followed by defending champion Novak Djokovic and Jannik Sinner.

THE BASICS

The site in Paris is Roland Garros. The surface is red clay courts. Women play best-of-three-set matches; men play best-of-five-set matches. There are day and night sessions on most days. The women's final is June 8; the men's final is June 9.

SUNDAY'S MATCHES

The court and assignments for Day 1 have not been released yet, but the matches that will be on the schedule are known. The most eye-catching matchup might be Andy Murray, 37, versus Stan Wawrinka, 39, in a showdown between a pair of three-time major champions. Other players set for first-round action Sunday include former No. 1s Naomi Osaka and Carlos Alcaraz, and past French Open winners Jelena Ostapenko and Barbora Krejickova.

DEFENDING CHAMPIONS

Iga Swiatek got past Karolina Muchova 6-2, 5-7, 6-4 for a third career championship at the French Open and fourth Grand Slam title overall. Novak Djokovic defeated Casper Ruud 7-6 (1), 6-3, 7-5 for his 23rd major trophy; he has since raised that total to 24. It was Djokovic's third title at Roland Garros, making him the first man with at least three from each of the four Slam sites.

PRIZE MONEY

Total prize money for the 2024 French Open is rising to nearly €53.5-million, about US\$58-million – an increase of nearly 8 per cent from last year. The two singles champions each will receive €2.4-million, about US\$2.6-million.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

NHL PLAYOFFS

CONFERENCE FINALS

(Best-of-7) — All Times Eastern
EASTERN CONFERENCE
N.Y. RANGERS (M1) VS. FLORIDA (A1)
 (Florida leads series 1-0)
Friday
 Florida at N.Y. Rangers
Sunday
 N.Y. Rangers at Florida, 3 p.m.
Tuesday
 N.Y. Rangers at Florida, 8 p.m.
Thursday, May 30
 x-Florida at N.Y. Rangers, 8 p.m.
Saturday, June 1
 x-N.Y. Rangers at Florida, 8 p.m.
Monday, June 3
 x-Florida at N.Y. Rangers, 8 p.m.

WESTERN CONFERENCE

DALLAS (C1) VS. EDMONTON (P2)
 (Edmonton leads series 1-0)
Thursday
 Edmonton 3 Dallas 2 (2OT)
Saturday
 Edmonton at Dallas, 8 p.m.
Monday
 Dallas at Edmonton, 8:30 p.m.
Wednesday, May 29
 Dallas at Edmonton, 8:30 p.m.
Friday, May 31
 x-Edmonton at Dallas, TBA
Sunday, June 2
 x-Dallas at Edmonton, TBA
Tuesday, June 4
 x-Edmonton at Dallas, TBA
 x — played only if necessary

NBA PLAYOFFS

CONFERENCE FINALS

(Best-of-7) — All Times Eastern
EASTERN CONFERENCE
BOSTON (1) VS. INDIANA (6)
 (Boston leads series 2-0)
Thursday
 Boston 126 Indiana 110
Saturday
 Boston at Indiana, 8:30 p.m.
Monday
 Boston at Indiana, 8 p.m.

WESTERN CONFERENCE

MINNESOTA (3) VS. DALLAS (5)
 (Dallas leads series 1-0)
Friday
 Dallas at Minnesota
Sunday
 Minnesota at Dallas, 8 p.m.
Tuesday
 Minnesota at Dallas, 8:30 p.m.

PWHL PLAYOFFS

THE WALTER CUP

(Best-of-5)
All Times Eastern
BOSTON (3) VS. MINNESOTA (4)
 (Series tied 1-1)
Friday
 Boston at Minnesota
Sunday
 Boston at Minnesota, 6 p.m.

AHL CALDER CUP PLAYOFFS

DIVISIONAL FINALS

(Best-of-5) — All Times Eastern
EASTERN CONFERENCE
CLEVELAND (1) VS. SYRACUSE (3)
 (Cleveland wins series 3-0)
HERSHEY (1) VS. HARTFORD (5)
 (Hershey wins series 3-0)
WESTERN CONFERENCE
MILWAUKEE (1) VS. GRAND RAPIDS (2)
 (Milwaukee leads series 2-1)
Friday
 Milwaukee at Grand Rapids
Sunday
 x-Grand Rapids at Milwaukee, 6 p.m.
COACHELLA VALLEY (1) VS. ONTARIO (3)
 (Coachella Valley wins series 3-0)
 x — played only if necessary

MEN'S WORLD HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIP

PLAYOFFS

At Prague and Ostrava, Czechia
Thursday
QUARTERFINALS
 Canada 6 Slovakia 3
 Czechia 1 United States 0
 Sweden 2 Finland 1 (OT)
 Switzerland 3 Germany 1
Saturday — All Times Eastern
SEMIFINALS
 Sweden vs. Czechia, 8:20 a.m.
 Canada vs. Switzerland, 12:20 p.m.
Sunday
THIRD PLACE
 Semifinal Losers, 9:20 a.m.
CHAMPIONSHIP
 Semifinal Winners, 2:20 p.m.

2024 WIMMER CUP

CANADIAN MAJOR JUNIOR CHAMPIONSHIP

At Saginaw, Mich.
Friday
 Saginaw (host) vs. Moose Jaw (WHL)
Saturday — All Times Eastern
 London (OHL) vs. Drummondville (QMJHL), 4 p.m.
Sunday
 Saginaw (OHL)/(host) vs. Drummondville (QMJHL), 7:30 p.m.

CPL

Friday
 Halifax at York
Saturday — All Times Eastern
 Hamilton at Ottawa, 3 p.m.
 Victoria at Vancouver, 6 p.m.
Sunday
 Winnipeg at Calgary, 5 p.m.

CEBL

Friday
 Niagara at Brampton
 Scarborough at Winnipeg
Thursday
 Vancouver 95 Montreal 75
Saturday — All Times Eastern
 Montreal at Saskatchewan, 9:30 p.m.
Sunday
 Ottawa at Brampton, 4 p.m.
 Scarborough at Vancouver, 7 p.m.

MLB

AMERICAN LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION				
	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	35	17	.673	—
Baltimore	30	18	.625	3
Boston	26	24	.520	8
Tampa Bay	25	26	.490	9½
Toronto	23	26	.469	10½
CENTRAL DIVISION				
Cleveland	33	17	.660	—
Kansas City	32	19	.627	1½
Minnesota	26	23	.531	6½
Detroit	23	27	.460	10
Chicago	15	36	.294	18½
WEST DIVISION				
Seattle	27	24	.529	—
Texas	24	27	.471	3
Houston	22	28	.440	4½
Oakland	21	31	.404	6½
Los Angeles	20	30	.400	6½

Friday
 Toronto at Detroit
 Kansas City at Tampa Bay
 Texas at Minnesota
 Baltimore at Chi. White Sox
 Cleveland at L.A. Angels
 Houston at Oakland

Thursday
 N.Y. Yankees 5, Seattle 0
 Toronto 9, Detroit 1
 Baltimore 8, Chicago White Sox 6

Saturday
All Times Eastern
 Toronto (Berrios 5-3) at Detroit (Olson 0-5), 1:10 p.m.
 Baltimore at Chi. White Sox, 2:10 p.m.
 Texas at Minnesota, 2:10 p.m.
 Houston at Oakland, 4:07 p.m.
 Kansas City at Tampa Bay, 4:10 p.m.
 Cleveland at L.A. Angels, 9:38 p.m.

Sunday
 Toronto at Detroit, 11:35 a.m.
 Kansas City at Tampa Bay, 1:40 p.m.
 Baltimore at Chicago White Sox, 2:10 p.m.
 Texas at Minnesota, 2:10 p.m.
 Cleveland at L.A. Angels, 4:07 p.m.
 Houston at Oakland, 4:07 p.m.

INTERLEAGUE

Friday
 Seattle at Washington
 Milwaukee at Boston
 N.Y. Yankees at San Diego

Thursday
 Philadelphia 5, Texas 2
 Oakland 10, Colorado 9, 11 innings

Saturday — All Times Eastern
 Seattle at Washington, 4:05 p.m.
 Milwaukee at Boston, 4:10 p.m.
 N.Y. Yankees at San Diego, 9:40 p.m.

Sunday
 Milwaukee at Boston, 1:35 p.m.
 Seattle at Washington, 1:35 p.m.
 N.Y. Yankees at San Diego, 4:10 p.m.

RESULTS AS OF FRIDAY, MAY 24, 8:45 P.M.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION				
	W	L	Pct	GB
Philadelphia	37	14	.725	—
Atlanta	29	18	.617	6
Washington	21	27	.438	14½
New York	21	28	.429	15
Miami	17	34	.333	20
CENTRAL DIVISION				
Milwaukee	28	21	.571	—
Chicago	27	24	.529	2
St. Louis	23	26	.469	5
Pittsburgh	23	28	.451	6
Cincinnati	20	30	.400	8½
WEST DIVISION				
Los Angeles	33	19	.635	—
San Diego	27	26	.509	6½
San Francisco	25	26	.490	7½
Arizona	24	26	.480	8
Colorado	16	33	.327	15½

Friday
 Atlanta at Pittsburgh
 L.A. Dodgers at Cincinnati
 San Francisco at N.Y. Mets
 Chicago Cubs at St. Louis
 Philadelphia at Colorado
 Miami at Arizona

Thursday
 San Francisco 7, Pittsburgh 6
 San Diego 6, Cincinnati 4, 10 innings
 Atlanta 3, Chicago Cubs 0

Saturday — All Times Eastern
 San Francisco at N.Y. Mets, 1:40 p.m.
 Atlanta at Pittsburgh, 4:05 p.m.
 Chicago Cubs at St. Louis, 7:15 p.m.
 L.A. Dodgers at Cincinnati, 7:15 p.m.
 Philadelphia at Colorado, 9:10 p.m.
 Miami at Arizona, 10:10 p.m.

Sunday
 Atlanta at Pittsburgh, 1:35 p.m.
 L.A. Dodgers at Cincinnati, 1:40 p.m.
 San Francisco at N.Y. Mets, 1:40 p.m.
 Philadelphia at Colorado, 3:10 p.m.
 Miami at Arizona, 4:10 p.m.
 Chicago Cubs at St. Louis, 7:10 p.m.

DP WORLD TOUR

SOUDAL OPEN

At Antwerp, Belgium
Friday
SECOND ROUND — PAR 71
 Nacho Elvira, Spain 64-64—128
 Ross Fisher, England 66-63—129
 Romain Langasque, France 64-67—131
Aaron Cockerill, Canada 66-66—132
 Samuel Jones, New Zealand 62-70—132
 Niklas Norgaard Moller, Denmark 64-68—132
 Andrew Wilson, England 64-68—132
 Matthew Baldwin, England 66-67—133
 Joe Dean, England 68-65—133
 Thomas Pieters, Belgium 67-66—133
 Alex Fitzpatrick, England 66-68—134
 S. Garcia Rodriguez, Spain 70-64—134
 Matthew Jones, England 64-70—134
 Frederic Lacroix, France 68-66—134
 Mike Lorenzo-Vera, France 69-65—134
 Paul Waring, England 68-66—134
 Angel Hidalgo, Spain 67-68—135
 Richard Mansell, England 67-68—135
 Lukas Nemecek, Austria 70-65—135
 Tom Vaillant, France 68-67—135
 Nicola Von Dellingshausen, Germany 66-69—135

TELEVISION

SATURDAY (ALL TIMES EASTERN)

AUSTRALIAN RULES FOOTBALL
 AFL Premiership: Richmond Tigers vs. Essendon Bombers, TSN 2, 5:30 a.m.
AUTO RACING
 F1: Monaco Grand Prix, Qualifying, TSN 5, 9:55 a.m.
 NASCAR Xfinity: BetMGM 300, FOX, TSN 5, 1 p.m.
BASEBALL
 MLB: Toronto vs. Detroit, SN Ontario, East, West, 1 p.m.
 MLB: Kansas City vs. Tampa Bay, SN 1, 4 p.m.
 MLB: L.A. Dodgers vs. Cincinnati, FOX, TSN 2, 7 p.m.
 MLB: N.Y. Yankees vs. San Diego, SN 360, 9:30 p.m.
BASKETBALL
 WNBA: New York vs. Minnesota, CBS, 1 p.m.
 NBA: Boston vs. Indiana, ABC, TSN 1, 3, 4, 5, 8:30 p.m.
 WNBA: Indiana vs. Las Vegas, SN 1, 9 p.m.
FOOTBALL
 UFL: St. Louis vs. Arlington, ABC, 12 p.m.
 UFL: Birmingham vs. San Antonio, ABC, 3 p.m.
FOOTBALL
 UFL: Michigan vs. Houston, FOX, 2:30 p.m.
GOLF
 DP World Tour: Soudal Open, Third Round, Golf Channel, 7:30 a.m.
 PGA: Charles Schwab Challenge, Final Round, Golf Channel, 1 p.m.; CBS, 3 p.m.
 Senior PGA Championship, Final Round, Golf Channel, 3 p.m.; NBC, TSN 3, 4 p.m.
HOCKEY
 IIHF Men's World Championship: Sweden vs. Czechia, TSN 1, 4, 8 a.m.
 IIHF Men's World Championship: Switzerland vs. Canada, TSN 1, 4, 12 p.m.
 Memorial Cup: London vs. Drummondville, TSN 1, 3, 4, 5, 4 p.m.
 NHL: Edmonton vs. Dallas, CBC, OMNI, SN Ontario, East, West, Pacific, 8 p.m.
RUGBY
 Super League: Catalans Dragons vs. Warrington Wolves, SN World, 12:30 p.m.
SOCCER
 FA Cup: Manchester City vs. Manchester United, SN 1, World, 10 a.m.
 La Liga: Real Madrid vs. Real Betis, TSN 2, 2:30 p.m.
 CPL: Hamilton vs. Ottawa, OneSoccer, 3 p.m.
 CPL: Victoria vs. Vancouver, OneSoccer, 6 p.m.
TRACK AND FIELD
 Prefontaine Classic, NBC, 4 p.m.
SUNDAY
AUTO RACING
 F1: Monaco Grand Prix, ABC, 7:30 a.m.; TSN 5, 8:55 a.m.
 IndyCar: The 108th Running of the Indianapolis 500, NBC, CTN 2, TSN 3, 5, 12:30 p.m.
 NASCAR Cup Series: Coca-Cola 600, TSN 5, FOX, 6 p.m.
BASEBALL
 MLB: Toronto vs. Detroit, SN Ontario, East, West, Pacific, 11:30 a.m.
 MLB: Chicago Cubs vs. St. Louis, TSN 2, 7 p.m.
BASKETBALL
 WNBA: Minnesota vs. Atlanta, NBA TV Canada, 6 p.m.

NBA: Minnesota vs. Dallas, SN 1, East, Ontario, West, Pacific, 8 p.m.
 WNBA: Dallas vs. Los Angeles, NBA TV Canada, 9 p.m.
GOLF
 DP World Tour: Soudal Open, Final Round, Golf Channel, 7 a.m.
 Senior PGA Championship, Third Round, NBC, TSN 3, 1 p.m.
 PGA: Charles Schwab Challenge, Third Round, Golf Channel, 1 p.m.; CBS, 3 p.m.
HOCKEY
 IIHF Men's World Championship: Bronze Medal Game, TSN 1, 12 a.m.
 IIHF Men's World Championship: Gold Medal Game, TSN 1, 12 a.m.
 NHL: N.Y. Rangers vs. Florida, CBC, ABC, City TV, SN 1, Ontario, East, West, Pacific, 3 p.m.
 PWHL: Boston vs. Minnesota, PWHL YouTube, TSN 4, 6 p.m.
 Memorial Cup: Saginaw vs. Drummondville, TSN 1, 3, 7:30 p.m.; TSN 4, 8:30 p.m.
RUGBY
 NRL: Brisbane Broncos vs. Gold Coast Titans, SN World 1, 12 a.m.
 Super League: London Broncos vs. Hull Kingston Rovers, SN World, 10 a.m.
 Super League: Salford Red Devils vs. Wigan Warriors, SN World 1, 10 a.m.
SOCCER
 Italian Serie A: Atalanta vs. Torino, TLN, 11:55 a.m.
 CPL: Winnipeg vs. Calgary, OneSoccer, 5 p.m.
 Italian Serie A: Frosinone vs. Udinese, TLN, 2:30 p.m.
TENNIS
 French Open: Day 1, TSN 4, 4:50 a.m.; TSN 2, 5 a.m.

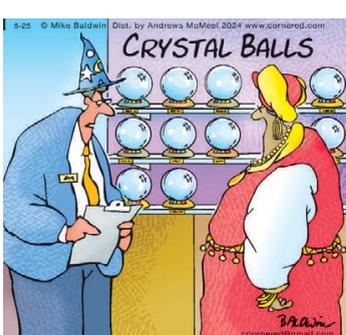
MLS

Saturday — All Times Eastern
 Miami at Vancouver, 6 p.m.
 Chicago at D.C., 7:30 p.m.
 Cincinnati at Toronto, 7:30 p.m.
 Columbus at Orlando, 7:30 p.m.
 Los Angeles F.C. at Atlanta, 7:30 p.m.
 Nashville at Montreal, 7:30 p.m.
 N.Y. City F.C. at New England, 7:30 p.m.
 Philadelphia at Charlotte, 7:30 p.m.
 Salt Lake at Dallas, 8:30 p.m.
 Seattle at St. Louis, 8:30 p.m.
 Minnesota at Colorado, 9:30 p.m.
 Austin at San Jose, 10:30 p.m.
 Houston at L.A. Galaxy, 10:30 p.m.
 Kansas City at Portland, 10:30 p.m.

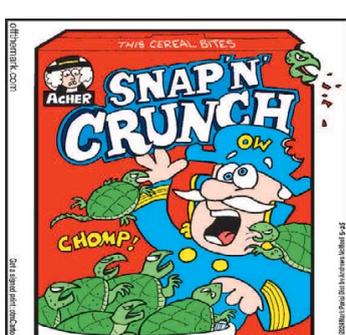
WNBA

Friday
 Indiana at Los Angeles
Thursday
 Chicago 90, New York 81
 Connecticut 83, Minnesota 82, OT
 Phoenix 83, Washington 80
Saturday — All Times Eastern
 New York at Minnesota, 1 p.m.
 Connecticut at Chicago, 8 p.m.
 Indiana at Las Vegas, 9 p.m.
 Washington at Seattle, 9 p.m.
 Dallas at Phoenix, 10 p.m.
Sunday's games
 Minnesota at Atlanta, 6 p.m.
 Dallas at Los Angeles, 9 p.m.

CORNERED



OFF THE MARK



SPEED BUMP



BIZARRO



Barcelona seeks its first win against Lyon in Women's Champions League final

Spanish club aims for a fourth consecutive title, but French squad has history on its side

TALES AZZONI | BILBAO, SPAIN

Barcelona has to find a way past the most successful club in women's soccer if it wants to build on its recent dominance.

Barcelona will play in its fourth straight Women's Champions League final on Saturday in Bilbao against record eight-time champion Lyon, the nemesis it has never been able to beat. The titleholder from Spain has a shot at a statement victory by finally overcoming the storied French club and winning its third European title — all within a four-season span.

Lyon, meanwhile, will be hoping to reclaim the trophy after not getting out of the quarter-finals last season and seeing the hype grow about Barcelona and its star players Alexia Putellas and Aitana Bonmati, who have won back-to-back world player of the year awards.

"We are a team that has won a lot in the past. But we remain really ambitious," Lyon coach Sonia Bompastor, the first woman to win the league as a player and coach, said on Friday.

"For me we are the best team in the world and will continue to be no matter what happens tomorrow. I trust my players. I know there is all the individual and collective talent needed to achieve this goal."

Bompastor, who can become the first woman to win two titles as a coach, said it's natural for rivals to be extra motivated to try to bring down Lyon, which will be playing in its 11th European final in 15 seasons.

Lyon won five titles in a row from 2016-20, and holds nearly every Women's Champions League



Chelsea's Erin Cuthbert, left, vies for the ball with Barcelona's Alexia Putellas, right, during the women's Champions League semi-final match at the Olympic Stadium, in Barcelona, Spain on April 20. Barcelona will take on eight-time champion Lyon in the league final. JOSE BRETON/AP

club record. The French side has won all four of its matches against Barcelona, including 4-1 in the 2019 final in Hungary and 3-1 in the 2022 final in Italy.

"This Barca is different from the one we faced in the final two years ago," Bompastor said. "They have made new signings and each final brings with it a different story. It will be a totally different game tomorrow."

Barcelona beat Chelsea for its first European title in 2021 and Wolfsburg for its second in 2023.

"We have the confidence of being a more experienced team," said Barcelona coach Jonatan Gi-

Lyon won five titles in a row from 2016-20, and holds nearly every Women's Champions League club record. The French side has won all four of its matches against Barcelona.

raldez, who will leave at the end of the season to join U.S. club Washington Spirit. "We're a team that has been growing a lot, not only in domestic competitions, international competitions, but also with the national team, of course."

The club had nine players in the Spain squad that broke through with the nation's first Women's World Cup title last year. Barcelona also sent eight players to the semi-finals of the inaugural Women's Nations League, which Spain won in February.

Barcelona is trying to become the third team to win three European titles, after the eight by

Lyon and four by Eintracht Frankfurt. It reached the final by overcoming a 1-0 first-leg loss to Chelsea at home in the semi-finals. Lyon eliminated French rival Paris Saint-Germain. Lyon has lost two of its goal scorers from the 2022 final in Turin — Amandine Henry and Catarina Macario. The other, Ada Hegerberg, had been nursing an injury but was expected to be fit to play on Saturday.

"Ada has resumed normal team training," Bompastor said. "She could be available tomorrow."

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

FC Cincinnati provides TFC a tough test

NEIL DAVIDSON

After scoring a club- and tournament-record eight goals in a lopsided Canadian Championship win Tuesday over semi-pro CS Saint-Laurent, Toronto FC steps up in class Saturday when FC Cincinnati comes to BMO Field.

Cincinnati (9-2-3) stands second overall in Major League Soccer and has won six straight since a 2-1 loss at CF Montreal on April 13. A victory Saturday would make that winning run a club record.

"I think Cincinnati is just a real championship team," said Toronto coach John Herdman. "They're consistent and they have the levels of concentration that puts them where they are in the table. Points per game [a league-high 2.14] doesn't lie. The standings don't lie. They're a top, top team."

Cincinnati also sports a formidable 5-1-1 road record. The club has won three straight away from home (at Atlanta, Orlando and Columbus), tied for the longest road win streak in club history.

"I think we have a group of guys that understand when you're on the road against different types of teams, especially teams that are good with the ball, you have to understand how to defend for durations that you don't necessarily like but that allow you to get results," said Cincinnati coach Pat Noonan.

"That I think our group has done well. Toronto's another team that has the quality with the ball to break teams down, they have the individual talent to break you down. And they can score in different ways. Our group has understood at different times how to struggle and how to defend the [penalty] box and how to play under pressure. And that's certainly important when you go on the road."

It's working. Cincinnati boasts the league's stingiest defence, averaging 0.79 goals against per game. It has conceded a league-low eight goals from open play and has eight wins in games decided by one goal this season.

Roman Celentano leads all goalkeepers in fewest goals allowed (five in 10 games) and goals-against average (0.50).

TFC has been on a run of its own. Toronto (7-6-1) is seventh in



Toronto FC forward Prince Owusu, left, and CS Saint-Laurent midfielder Khenoussi Aylan battle for the ball during Tuesday's game at BMO Field. JOHN E. SOKOLOWSKI/USA TODAY SPORTS

the Supporters' Shield race, has won seven of its last nine games (7-2-0) in all competitions and scored 13 goals in its last two outings, including a 5-1 shellacking of Montreal last Saturday.

But Toronto will be without Federico Bernardeschi on Saturday. The Italian star, who has been involved in 11 goals (seven goals and four assists) in his past six matches across all competitions, is suspended for yellow card accumulation.

"[A] massive blow," said Herdman.

Cincinnati star playmaker Lucho Acosta, meanwhile, has recorded a goal or assist in eight straight games the longest active streak in MLS and tied with Miami's Lionel Messi (from Feb. 21 to May 4) for the longest such run this season. The 29-year-old attacking midfielder from Argentina also leads the league in game-winning goals (five) this season.

At US\$4.22-million this season, the 2023 MVP is the 13th-highest-paid player in MLS.

Acosta's name was audible at training Friday as Toronto assistant coach Jason DeVos oversaw a defensive drill.

"We've been developing the Acosta rules. You can develop them but applying them are two different things," said Herdman.

The two teams played to a scoreless draw in Cincinnati in their season opener Feb. 25.

Noonan describes today's TFC as a "team that's certainly improved" since then.

"They have a better idea of each other," he said. "They're in good

form."

BMO Field has been a happy hunting ground for Cincinnati. Its most recent visit, last September, was a 3-2 win that clinched the Supporters' Shield.

"I feel like they've been able to just tick over that machine over from last season and they haven't really skipped a beat," said Herdman.

Cincinnati leads the all-time series 6-4-1. It took all six points from Toronto last season and is undefeated in five games (4-0-1) against TFC since Noonan took over in 2022. Toronto last beat Cincinnati 3-2 at BMO Field on Sept. 29, 2021.

Toronto captain Jonathan Osorio and centre back Kevin Long are available after missing the past three games through injury or suspension. Herdman said full-back/wingback Richie Laryea, who has been out since injuring a hamstring in the season opener, will likely return next week.

Shane O'Neill and Brandon Servania remain on the Toronto injured list. Laryea was listed as questionable on the league's injury report.

Cincinnati is without the injured Yuya Kubo, Aaron Boupendza, Alvas Powell and Corey Baird.

Saturday's game — it's shown on Apple's MLS Season Pass, starting at 7:30 p.m. ET — is Toronto's 10th since April 20, with two more to come next week. It's the seventh outing for Cincinnati over the same time period.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Whitecaps fans frustrated Messi won't play with Miami for game at BC Place

GEMMA KARSTENS-SMITH | VANCOUVER

Marc DeLuca and his wife had the perfect sixth birthday gift for their son, Jack — tickets to see Lionel Messi and Inter Miami CF play the Whitecaps in Vancouver.

News that the legendary Argentine soccer star didn't make the trip to B.C. has devastated not only the DeLucas, but thousands of fans who ponied up for pricey tickets to Saturday's game.

"It was supposed to be a big surprise for [Jack] to see his soccer idol," said Marc DeLuca, who spent about \$1,500 for five tickets in the upper bowl at BC Place.

"It just completely obliterates our birthday plans." Messi isn't the only player set to miss the match, which was expected to draw more than 50,000 fans.

Miami — the top team in the Major League Soccer standings with a 9-2-4 record — also opted to keep Uruguayan striker Luis Suárez and Spanish midfielder Sergio Busquets in Florida.

The decision is based on the club's upcoming schedule, which includes three games between Saturday and the following Saturday, Miami head coach Gerardo (Tata) Martino said Friday.

"We thought it was the most prudent for them not to play this match. They have been training but they will not be available for the game," he said through an interpreter.

"We obviously understand the frustration of the people wanting to watch these players play. We as coaches sometimes have to make these very difficult football decisions."

Martino was quick to note that the artificial turf at BC Place did not play a role in the decision. Keeping the trio at home was all about saving them from gruelling travel and a three-hour time change, he said.

In the past, MLS has opted not to schedule midweek games for teams that have travelled long distances, or scheduled another road game nearby, Martino added.

"But it's not a complaint," he said. "We understand in our specific case that the players that we're talking about are very important for everyone. But the health of these players is the priority."

For soccer fan Sarkis Vides, Miami leaving three of its top stars at home feels "kind of disrespectful."

"If it's a concert, like a Taylor Swift ticket, and she doesn't show up, then the event is cancelled," said Vides. "So you're paying for Inter Miami versus Whitecaps, but Inter Miami's squad isn't really showing up. Their B-team is showing up."

MLS issued a statement Friday saying it will "continue to review measures regarding how clubs report player availability."

The 'Caps (5-4-4) are in need of a solid result, especially after dropping a 2-0 decision to Canadian Premier League side Cavalry FC in Canadian Championship play on Tuesday.

Saturday won't be the first time Messi has missed an MLS game this season. Fans in Orlando, New York and Washington were also disappointed when the World Cup winner didn't play road games in their cities. After signing a blockbuster deal with Miami last summer, Messi also missed games in Atlanta and Chicago. The Chicago Fire attempted to win over angry fans by offering a credit for the game.

Whitecaps chief executive officer Axel Schuster said that isn't an option in Vancouver.

Instead, the Whitecaps are offering fans 50 per cent off all in-stadium food and beverages on Saturday, plus a free kids meal for anyone 18 and under.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

BIRTH AND DEATH NOTICES

TO PLACE AN AD CALL: 1-866-999-9237 EMAIL: ADVERTISING@GLOBEANDMAIL.COM

BIRTHS

DAVID AND DARIA RICE

David and Daria are thrilled to welcome their second son Shepherd Hayes Rice, born May 21, 2024. This is a proud moment for big brother Knox and loving Grandparents Susan & Rob Thompson, Barb & John Rice and Dan & Ginny McWilliams.

IN MEMORIAM

In Loving Memory



DAVID MARSHALL PITFIELD

Today would have been Marshall's 34th birthday. There is not a day that passes during which those who loved him don't think about him. In collaboration with RISE HELPS, last year the Pitfield family created the Marshall Pitfield Youth Loan Fund to help young entrepreneurs succeed despite challenges associated with mental health and addiction. We are enormously grateful and deeply touched by all who have generously given to this fund. Nothing would have pleased Marsh more than to know that those who loved him and miss him so much are doing what they can to better the lives of those for whom so many days are such a struggle. Below is a link to RISE's Report describing the Loan Fund's first year of activity. With all our gratitude for your continued support alongside the family and Marsh's friends.

www.risehelps.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Marshall-Pitfield-Youth-Loan-Fund-Year-One-Report-FINAL.pdf

DEATHS

VIRGINIA L. BALDWIN

Virginia L. Baldwin passed away on May 19, 2024. Predeceased by her husband, Angus G.M. Baldwin; her brother, David; her mother, Elaine; and her father, General William "Bill" K. Carr. Survived by her brother, Peter Carr of Alberta. Virginia was, first and foremost, a devoted and caring wife and partner to her beloved Angus. Their life together was a dance, choreographed by circumstance. She took on all roles and all challenges with guts and gusto and faced them always with mascara. Gini, as she was known to friends, was a fighter, a fashionista, a designer, a well-read researcher, a lady (mostly) and a confidante. Each one of her many friends brought light to another aspect of her being. Virginia was that diamond: many faceted, sparkling in many different lights; Virginia 'Gini' Baldwin was a wonderful gem to behold.

DEATHS

BRENDA JANE BECK (YATES)
1932 - 2024

Passed away peacefully at North York General Hospital May 18, 2024. Brenda led a full and happy life surrounded by family and friends, to whom she was a constant example of unending kindness, strength, and grace.

Brenda was predeceased by her cherished husband of 65 years, Dr. Peter Beck, her best friend and love of her life; her parents, George and Bertha Yates; siblings, Graham Yates, Havelock Yates, Freda Smart, Verna Ainsworth, Randolph Yates, and Greta Spilsbury; and granddaughter, Megan Anne. Brenda was a loving mother to her sons Randy (Chrisanna), Ron (Noreen), and Graham (Donna); a devoted grandmother to Jennifer (Bryan), Alison (Hamish), Claire (Jacob), and Caroline; and beloved great-grandmother to Cameron, James, Liam, and Megan. Brenda will be missed by a cousin, many nieces, nephews, friends, and the whole Amica Bayview Gardens community.

Born and raised in Montreal, Brenda grew up as the youngest of seven children. Brenda greatly enjoyed travelling by train between Montreal and Port Union, where her family cottaged in the summers. They spent their time camping on the beach, swimming, singing and dancing around the piano, and greeting family and friends every Sunday for what was affectionately called 'Port'. As a teenager, Brenda moved to Port Union from Montreal, and graduated from Scarborough Collegiate (R. H. King Academy). After she and Peter married in 1952, they lived in the Don Mills area of Toronto for the rest of their lives.

Brenda travelled extensively with Peter and the family around the world, and spent many winters in Florida and the Caribbean. Brenda loved the water, enjoying most of her summers by the lake, whether it be Lake Ontario at Port Union, Stoney Lake, and many others. Brenda always had a song in her heart, usually one sung by her favourite singer, Frank Sinatra. Like her mother before her, Brenda was a lifelong fan of the Toronto Maple Leafs. She enjoyed cheering and critiquing her team; it has often been said that Brenda should have had a direct line to the Leaf's bench. Brenda was constantly curious and loved to learn, qualities she encouraged in her sons and granddaughters, of whom she was so proud.

Brenda had a gift for finding and building community wherever life took her. In the last three years, she was an integral part of the Amica Bayview Gardens community. The Becks would like to extend their heartfelt thanks to the entire Amica Bayview Gardens family for their friendship and support of Brenda; as well as the staff at North York General Hospital.

Brenda will be dearly missed by all who knew her and experienced her kindness and wonderful sense of humour. A private family service was held at St Margaret's Cemetery in West Hill. Brenda and Peter supported many charities throughout their lives; in lieu of flowers, please donate to the charity of your choice.

DEATHS

SIEGFRIED THEODOR BECKMANN "Siggy"

It is with deep sorrow that we bid farewell to Siegfried (Siggy) Theodor Beckmann, who passed away in the late hours of May 15, 2024, at the age of 92.5 (to the day).

Siggy is survived by his devoted wife of 55 years, Barbara; his loving children, Nicole (Brian) and John (Christina); and his cherished grandchildren, Nikolas, Lukas, Alexa Swales, and Jack Beckmann.

Born on November 15, 1931, in Stelle, Germany, Siggy, who fondly referred to himself as "Der kleine Junge from Stelle," ventured to Canada in 1952 on a work transfer. His journey led him to Winnipeg before finding his home in Mississauga, where he met his beloved wife. With an entrepreneurial spirit, Siggy established his own travel business, a venture he nurtured until its sale in 2002.

Siggy's warmth and affability endeared him to all who crossed his path. His familiar greeting of "How goes the battle?" will be remembered by many. His infectious smile illuminated every room, reflecting his diligent work ethic and unwavering commitment to his endeavours, particularly his beloved family. His grandchildren held a special place in his heart, and he delighted in spending time and creating cherished memories with them.

Among Siggy's many talents, his melodious voice stood out. Family gatherings resonated with his soulful renditions of nostalgic songs and joyful Christmas carols. Even in his final days, he delighted in reciting poems from his school days, leaving an indelible mark on those fortunate enough to witness his artistic prowess.

Siggy's legacy is one of love, laughter, and a zest for life that will continue to inspire all who were privileged to know him. Though he may have bid farewell to this world, his spirit will forever echo in the hearts of those he touched.

A cremation has taken place and a celebration of Siggy's life will be held at a later date.

DEATHS

DOLORES KATHLEEN BRADFORD

Our beautiful and profoundly loving mom, sister, nana and aunt, Dolores Kathleen Bradford (nee Mac Donnell) passed away peacefully on Friday, May 17, 2024, in Mississauga, ON. Dolores had seven children, many of whom were with her in her final moments.

Dolores was born in Montreal, where she later married the love of her life, William "Bill" Bradford in 1954, and together they welcomed children, Michael (Heather), Gary (Cathie), Sandra (Sonny), Maureen (John), Laurie (Tim), Joe (Leanne) and Janet (Mark). She also leaves to mourn 17 grandchildren and 24 great-grandchildren. Predeceased by husband, Bill Bradford; in 2022, her parents, John Angus MacDonnell & Helen Breslin; sister, Myrna; and infant daughter, Mary.

Dolores and Bill relocated to Mississauga in 1978, where mom became a member at Lambton Golf Club, several bridge clubs and was an active member St. Christopher's Parish for over 45 years. Dolores demonstrated kindness, generosity, and an unwavering faith.

Her greatest joy was found in her family, and she built a foundation of love that fostered deep family connections among her children and grandchildren. Every one of them felt her love and each has a special bond, with treasured memories of special experiences with her. Mom would glow, as the grandkids came running into her house shouting "Nana we're here!"

The family would like to express their deep gratitude, for the exemplary care given to Mom at home by Violet Shaheen, Cathy Jalos and the Bayshore palliative care team.

Visitation, at Turner and Porter Neweduk-Erin Mills Chapel (1981 Dundas St. W., Mississauga), from 5 - 8 p.m. on May 30th. Funeral Mass will be celebrated at St. Christopher's Catholic Church (1171 Clarkson Rd. N., Mississauga), at 11:30 a.m. on May 31st, followed by reception in the church hall. In lieu of flowers, please consider a donation to Sunnybrook Hospital. Online condolences and livestream link available through www.turnerporter.ca

DEATHS

FLORENCE MILSTED BARWELL (nee Sharpe)

We are saddened to announce that Florence passed away at Trillium Hospital in Mississauga, Ontario, on Sunday, May 12, 2024, in her 99th year.

Predeceased by her husband of 15 years, Ed Barwell (1988). Daughter of the late Florence and George Sharpe; sister of the late Frank and Olwyne. Florence and Ed were long time employees of Bell Canada, which is where they met. Florence will be greatly missed by her cousin, Mary; as well as Mary's children, Catherine Dean, Helen Jones and Simon; and Florence's nephew, Hugo Laffey, all located in England; her long time friend, Ruth Graham; and many other caring and helpful friends and neighbours.

Blessed with good health, Florence lived independently at the home she loved in Etobicoke with her companion cat, Jamie. Florence was well read, kind, witty and generous. She will be missed.

A donation in her memory may be made to a charity of your choice.

Interment will be held at Prospect Cemetery, on Saturday, June 1st at 11 a.m.

DEATHS

JOHN WILLIAM BLOSS

Peacefully, at L'Arche Daybreak, Richmond Hill, on May 18, 2024, at the age of 76. Much-loved brother of Frances. Dear son of the late William and Veronica Bloss. John was a treasured member of the L'Arche Community for more than 50 years. A visitation was held at Marshall Funeral Home on May 21st, and a Service was held at St. Mary's Anglican Church, Richmond Hill, on May 22nd. John's cremated remains will be interred in the family plot at St. James Cemetery, Toronto. Donations to L'Arche Daybreak would be appreciated in memory of John (larchedaybreak.com). Memories and online condolences may be left at: marshallfuneralhome.com

FUNERAL SERVICES

BROWN, Rita Julia
Celebration of Life
Thursday 3-6 p.m.

COFFEY, Robert (Bob) G.
Celebration of Life
Wednesday 1 p.m.

ELDER, Douglas
Celebration of Life
Saturday, June 8th 10 am-Noon

HUNTER, Jane
Saturday, June 15 2 p.m.

LAIDLAW, Ernest John
Celebration of Life
Sunday, June 16th 2-4 p.m.
Toronto Cricket Skating & Curling Club

LOWERY, Frank Warren
Graveside Service
Saturday 9:30 a.m.
St. James Cemetery

MUNN, Anne Rosemary
Friday, June 14th 11 a.m.
Timothy Eaton Memorial Church

REDWAY, Andrea
Service Saturday, 11 a.m.
Leaside United Church

SHORT, Margaret "Robin"
Saturday, May 25th 1 p.m.

VAN HAMME, Douglas
Friday 11 a.m.
St. Cuthbert's Church

WHYTE, George Edward
Celebration of Life
Monday, June 10th
3-5 p.m. The York Club

ZULLA, Rodolfo Hilisan
Monday, June 3rd 1 p.m.

Humphrey Funeral Home
At W. Miles - Neubigging Chapel
www.humphreymiles.com
416-487-4523

DEATHS

DAVID MARSHALL PITFIELD

In Loving Memory



DAVID MARSHALL PITFIELD

Today would have been Marshall's 34th birthday. There is not a day that passes during which those who loved him don't think about him. In collaboration with RISE HELPS, last year the Pitfield family created the Marshall Pitfield Youth Loan Fund to help young entrepreneurs succeed despite challenges associated with mental health and addiction. We are enormously grateful and deeply touched by all who have generously given to this fund. Nothing would have pleased Marsh more than to know that those who loved him and miss him so much are doing what they can to better the lives of those for whom so many days are such a struggle. Below is a link to RISE's Report describing the Loan Fund's first year of activity. With all our gratitude for your continued support alongside the family and Marsh's friends.

www.risehelps.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Marshall-Pitfield-Youth-Loan-Fund-Year-One-Report-FINAL.pdf

DEATHS

PATRICIA ANN BEAN

Patricia "Trish" Ann Bean, born in Kitchener and longtime resident of Thornhill, died on April 23, 2024, in Sutton at the River Glen Haven Nursing Home. She was 68. Trish was predeceased by her mother, Patricia "Patsy" Lang Bean; her father, Edward M. Bean; and her sister, Stephanie Snyder. She is survived by her Bean brothers, Ed (Deb), Tim (Reta) and Brad (Lynn); brother-in-law, Rod Snyder (Kenika); seven nieces and nephews, and assorted newbies.

Trish lived a challenging life with grit and grace. Fiercely independent, opinionated and vulnerable, Trish was an accomplished swimmer in her youth and a mistress of television trivia in middle age.

Trish enjoyed the support over the years of many PSWs, family friends and members of the Thornhill United Church. We especially thank the River Glen staff for their patience and professional care in Trish's declining years. No service is planned. Family will celebrate her life over her favourite lobster dinner. For those so minded, a donation to CAMH would be in keeping with her wishes.

DEATHS

AGNES ROBINA SALTER
September 21, 1926
May 26, 2023

On the one-year anniversary of her passing, we reflect on and are grateful for her extraordinary life as a nurse, teacher, mentor, writer, artist, musician, mother and wife.

DEATHS

JEAN SAUNDERSON
In Loving Memory

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DEATHS



ELEANOR SEALE-CLINKARD
(née Seale)

Eleanor Seale-Clinkard (nee Seale) passed away peacefully on Saturday, May 11, 2024, in the presence of her devoted husband John, of 42 years, and her three children and their partners: David (Laura), Paul (Britney), and Anne (Sam).

Eleanor will be greatly missed by her husband, children, her two grandchildren (Pennington and Brooks), and by her large circle of friends.

Eleanor was born in Senneville, Quebec in 1952. She was the second oldest of four daughters of Bill and Tina Seale (nee Hoffman) who met in Groningen, Holland shortly after the Canadian Army liberated the country in 1944-45, while Bill was an officer in the Canadian Army. Eleanor cherished her Dutch heritage and visited the country several times in her youth and later with her husband.

Music was an integral part of Eleanor's life and identity. She played and taught clarinet and piano from a young age, and was an active member in her high school band, playing at Expo-67 and touring Scotland and England. After high school she attended Bishop's University, completing a double honours in English and music, while playing clarinet professionally in the Sherbrooke Symphony Orchestra, occupying the role of concertmistress.

After graduation in 1974, Eleanor moved to Toronto where she took a job as a copy editor at Holt Rinehart and Winston. Following a brief stint in publishing, she moved to recruiting as a head-hunter, initially at Jerry Baker and Associates and subsequently as a vice president at Management One Consultants. With her very warm and outgoing personality, Eleanor could talk to anyone and make them feel at ease. Her career success (and prudent budgeting) enabled her to buy a house on her own before her 30th birthday, an achievement that she remembered with pride for the rest of her life.

Despite having a career she loved and her own home, Eleanor had always dreamed of having a family. At the encouragement of a coworker, she answered a personal ad in the Globe and Mail placed by a single male (divorced, no children) who had similar aspirations of finding a family-oriented partner to spend the rest of his life with. Eleanor did what she did best, and after a thorough "interview" at the Belair Café on Cumberland, she decided that this "candidate" had potential. John and Eleanor married a year later, each selling their respective homes to purchase a larger home suitable for the three children that blessed their lives shortly thereafter (and, of course, a grand piano).

Eleanor retired from recruiting for more flexible and "family friendly" hours, and began teaching piano to children in the neighbourhood, which she would continue until 2020. She also joined a group of local mothers, forming a "Moms and Tots group" who, like Eleanor, were all first-time mothers eager to learn parenting skills and trade expertise and time. These friendships were maintained as their children grew up, married, and had children of their own.

After all three children left for university, Eleanor turned her attention to financial management. An avid researcher, she quickly picked up successful investment principles and brought together a group of like-minded individuals who met monthly to discuss stocks and bonds. She was a successful investor whose advice and financial expertise were frequently sought by her friends and children.

When John retired and moved his gym membership uptown and closer to home, Eleanor decided to join him. Their gym routine quickly became one of the most important parts of her day, establishing a love of fitness that Eleanor maintained for the rest of her life. It was at the gym where she also met her "gym ladies," a group of women who met for post-workout coffees, took trips together to Upstate New York, and supported each other through health and personal battles.

Eleanor also enjoyed travel, and in keeping with her "do-it-yourself" approach, she became the tour director for herself and John, planning many trips to Europe, Ireland and the UK. For the past several wedding anniversaries, she organized a trip to Corning, New York, making sure to reserve a table in the front window of "Three Birds Restaurant." This would ensure they had a front-row seat for the local parade of lights on the US Thanksgiving weekend.

Although Eleanor's physical health declined quickly in the past year, she will be remembered by her family and friends as a "force" who faced life, and death, on her own terms.

In lieu of flowers, memorial donations to The Salvation Army would be appreciated.

A service and reception will be held at Morley Bedford Funeral Home, 159 Eglinton Ave West, on June 4 at 1p.m.



WILLIAM EDMOND DICKSON
"Bill"

Born October 25, 1949, in Toronto
Died May 14, 2024, in Toronto

Predeceased by his parents, Edward Dickson and Dolores Dickson; and his brothers, Robert and Gerald.

Grieved deeply by his loving wife, Kit McGoey; his daughter, Leigh Dunlevy (Kyle); his son, Ted; their mother, Bonnie; and his grandchildren, Scarlett, Atlas and Rose Dunlevy.

Bill will be sorely missed by his sisters, Judith Molly Bell and Catherine (Wayne) Gibson; and his many nieces and nephews, Theo Bell (Dave), Colin Bell (Jaclyn), Toby Gibson (Sarah), Laura Gibson (David), Claire Dickson (Mark), Elizabeth Dickson, Alexis Golberg (Sean) and Sophie Dickson.

Bill was an invincible man, lion-hearted, truly one of a kind, fascinated by the world and all the people in it. He made fast friends everywhere his travels took him, and his love and generosity of spirit was legendary.

He loved his sports and excelled at most. A true gentleman with a brilliant imagination and mind, and a dreamer on a grand scale. Always unconventional and enthusiastically independent, fondly nicknamed "un" by his loyal childhood friends because of his predilection to do and think the opposite of what was expected.

His true love was being in nature, especially Muskoka, where he spent all his childhood summers and his early married life.

At that time, as a true entrepreneur, he owned a stable of small-town newspapers dedicated to spreading good news, specifically Parry Sound, Lakefield and the Kawartha. Later owning various businesses in Toronto.

His last few years were sadly hampered by declining health, leaving him mostly homebound. We will remember him as the shining light that he always was and know that light will burn brightly in our hearts forever.

We will hold a memorial for Bill on Thursday, June 6, 2024, at 5:30 Queens Quay W., in the multi-function room from 3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. Friends and family welcome.

DEATHS

KATE DORFMAN

On Thursday, May 23, 2024. Kate Dorfman, beloved daughter of Faye and the late Jeffrey Dorfman. Dear sister and sister-in-law of Ruth Dorfman and Fred Sztabinski, and Aubrey and Sylvia Dorfman. Adored aunt of Jorja, Munro, Layla, and Cole. Kate touched the lives of everyone she encountered with a smile and her one-of-a-kind energy. Kate radiated with her love of music, singing and dancing, and she lit up a room with her bright blue eyes. Her sense of humour and perfectly-timed one-liners kept everyone laughing. There is now a profound void where Kate's unique charisma once flourished. Kate is UNFORGETTABLE.

At Benjamin's Park Memorial Chapel, 2401 Steeles Avenue West (three light west of Dufferin) for service on Sunday, May 26, 2024 at 2:30 p.m. Interment Shaarei Tzedec Section at Roselawn Cemetery. Memorial donations may be made to DANI (Developing and Nurturing Independence) for adults with developmental disabilities, 905-889-3264, <https://www.dani-toronto.com>

MARY MARGARET EVERS

Mary "Bezzie" Margaret Evers (née Cummings) of Stouffville died on May 12, 2024, at Princess Margaret Cancer Centre in Toronto, with her family by her side after a courageous battle with cancer. Born on November 22, 1961, to Hilary (née Cade) and Alan Cummings in Knowle, England. Raised by Hilary and her stepfather, Alfred Newman. Journeyed to Canada in 1982 as a nanny. Married devoted husband, Roger Evers, on May 30, 1987. Welcomed much-cherished twins, Clair (Mats) and Devon (Sarah) in 1991. Enjoyed decades of memories together along with brother-in-law, Dennis (David). Retired from Strawberry Patch Montessori School after 19 years. Mary loved tea, the ocean, travelling, walking around Musselman's Lake with her beloved dog, Benson, Muse, Aston Villa, Doctor Who, teddy bears, shopping, crafting, and being MeMa to her grandpets. Mary will also be missed by her sister, Judy (Gary); brother, Pete (Irena); sister, Lizz (Kevin); stepsister, Diana (Graham); godson, Johnny (Vicky); goddaughter, Lefty (Joe); and countless others. Signs of Mary to watch for and remember her by include robins, owls, and the scent of lavender.

CHRISTOPHER GROUNDS

Christopher (Chris) Grounds passed away suddenly, but peacefully on May 20, 2024 at his home in Burlington, at the age of 86. He was the loving husband of the late Janet, the proud father of Fiona (Scott), Annalie (Todd) and Vanessa (Michael), the adoring grandfather, of Mark (Michelle), Andrea (Greg), Kyle, Vicky (Zack), Brett (Hannah), Jeff (Kate-Lynn), Ian, Julia and Alison (Theo) and the delighted great-grandfather, of Nolan, Myles, Ben and Gemma.

Chris was born in Birmingham, England, and immigrated, with Janet, to Canada in 1966. He made his living as a cartographer, but his true vocation was a choral singer with the Festival Singers, and the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir. Chris was the author of frequent letters to the editor of the Globe and Mail, an avid Jeopardy watcher, a voracious reader, a fan of the Blue Jays, and the Raptors, and a lover of all pets. His biggest joy was his family, of whom he was incredibly proud. Cremation has taken place. A celebration of life will take place at a later date.

Celebrate a life

Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in The Globe and Mail.

DEATHS



PATRICK MARTIN CUMMINS
December 27, 1944 – May 18, 2024

It is with profound sadness that we announce the sudden passing of Patrick "Pat" Martin Cummins of Ottawa, at the age of 79. He died Saturday, May 18, 2024, in the ICU of the Brampton Civic Hospital following emergency surgery for an abdominal aortic aneurysm. He was surrounded by his wife of 52 years, Dianne (Bonsor); daughters, Julie Sinclair and Carolyn Cummins; son-in-law, Dan Adamson; and grandchildren, Toby and Tyler Adamson and Corbin and Quinn Sinclair. He was predeceased by his son-in-law, Brian Sinclair.

Pat was born in Saskatoon and raised in Blucher, Saskatchewan, the eldest son of Thomas Cummins and Cathleen Callaghan and beloved older brother of Gerald Cummins. Pat attended boarding school in Zenon Park, SK, and studied history and philosophy at St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan. He joined the RCMP in 1967 and was selected to attend law school at McGill University, earning his LLB and BCL. While in Vancouver, BC (1990-1994), he served as OIC of Contract Policing, he relocated to Ottawa in 1994 to serve as Director of Training, and then in 1997 became the first Ethics Advisor of the RCMP. He was promoted to Assistant Commissioner in 1994 and retired in 2001 after 35 years of service. Among the highlights of his distinguished career, he was awarded the Commissioner's Commendation (1983) for leading a high-profile fraud investigation into international customs law that led to the then largest ever fine in the history of Canada for a criminal conviction; he helped investigate the high profile 1985 Air India bombing, and years later shared this expertise, joining the Lockerbie Pan Am disaster investigation.

In 1970, the summer before starting law school, Pat met Dianne at the Cock'n Bull Pub in Montreal. He immediately knew she would be the woman he would marry and thus researched the British Columbia marriage laws early on in their courtship. A man of integrity, he abided by Dianne's "must date for at least two years before marriage" rule, and they wed June 24, 1972, in New Westminster, BC.

In 2003, Pat happily accepted the invitation to come out of retirement and re-engage with the RCMP as a temporary civilian member and was appointed Tribunal Investigator in the Republic of Ireland. Pat and Dianne lived in Dublin for the next four years, weekending and vacationing across Europe. Pat regarded this time as his "second honeymoon." Once back in Canada, Pat enjoyed retirement by volunteering for Perley Health for the past 20 years, transporting veterans to and from Mass, chronically fixing his 1989 LeSharo Winnebago, fishing with close friends on the Serpentine River in Newfoundland, exploring his genealogy, travelling and cruising with Dianne, watching his grandchildren play hockey, spending Christmas holidays with family at Montebello and sampling his extensive Scotch collection.

Pat had an insatiable curiosity and expressed a real desire to help others. As an avid reader, it could be difficult to get his attention when he was engrossed in a newspaper, magazine, or history book. He was an exceptional listener who would provide sound counsel on a wide range of topics. With an occasional sideways glance and gruff chuckle, he served to remind us not to take a situation or oneself too seriously. He had the endearing quality of "dropping in" on people, unannounced, especially at supper time, much to Dianne's chagrin. Pat's greatest gift was connecting with people. He easily built friendships and actively maintained connections, sending over 200 Christmas cards annually to relatives and friends. He will be remembered as a true gentleman - kind, intelligent, curious, caring, with a great sense of humour - who touched the lives of everyone he met.

We would like to thank the Toronto Paramedic Service paramedics and the doctors, nurses and healthcare staff at the Brampton Civic Hospital who cared for Pat and showed us much compassion.

Family and friends are invited to join us in honouring Pat's memory at a public visitation to be held at the Beechwood National Memorial Centre, 280 Beechwood Avenue, on June 5th from 5:7 p.m. A memorial service will be held on June 6th at 1 p.m., with a reception from 2-5 p.m. For those unable to attend in person, a livestream link will be available on the Beechwood website.

In memory of Pat, donations made to the Heart and Stroke Foundation would be greatly appreciated.



MORRIS JAMES GREEN
"Jim"

Jim passed away on May 13, 2024, with his family by his side. He was the loving and supportive husband of Fiona (nee Lamont) for 52 years; devoted father to Iain (Dawna) and Evan; and beloved granddad to David and Peter. Jim was born in Montreal in 1948, the son of Morris and Marjory Green. He was predeceased by sibling, Elizabeth; and is survived by sister Wendy Green-Chandler (Paul).

Jim attended Sir George Williams University and began his career in the trust industry. He, Fiona and Iain moved to Toronto in 1975, where Evan was born in 1976. Further studies led him to York University. When the boys were older, Jim's entrepreneurial mindset led him to shift careers. He joined TAL Private Management in 1992 and CGOV Asset Management in 2002. Jim then moved with his CGOV partners to Fiera Capital, with which he was associated until his death.

Jim was a gentleman of the utmost integrity who cared for his clients and worked diligently on their behalf. He had a great respect for his colleagues and supported their work. He loved nothing more than mentoring younger employees.

Friendships, young and old, were important to Jim and he always enjoyed his "chats." He and Fiona lived in the same North Toronto home for 46 years. Summers and weekends were spent in Clarksburg, where Jim would "potter around" for hours on the property and where he played - but didn't enjoy - golf. As he said, it was all about the camaraderie.

Uppermost, though was Jim's love and undying support for his family. He relished being a hockey coach when the boys were younger and supported Iain and Evan in their academics, sports and their chosen careers. His guidance and encouragement were a cornerstone in their lives, shaping them into the individuals they are today. That continued with his grandsons, to whom he was devoted. He missed very few of the boys' hockey games and was known to view simultaneous 'away' games online using his and Fiona's iPads. Jim adored Dawna and his friendship and regard naturally extended to her family.

Jim was a man of few words, but the wisdom that he imparted to family and friends will never be forgotten.

The family kindly requests that donations be made in Jim's memory to the McKenna Institute at the University of New Brunswick, part of whose mission is to support the next generation of entrepreneurs. Donations can also be made to Muscular Dystrophy Canada where Jim was a Director for many years.

A Celebration of Jim's Life will be held in Toronto in late July.

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DEATHS



JOHN McLEAN PARSONS HAMILTON

We bid farewell to John, whose kindness, wisdom, friendship and good humour were treasured by us all. John died on May 21, 2024, leaving behind a rich community of loving relationships.

John walked through life with curiosity, humility and a gentle strength. He was a teacher, counsellor, researcher and career coach. John passionately enjoyed canoeing, singing, listening to jazz and classical music, cheering on the Blue Jays, hiking and simply being outdoors. For two decades he faced the challenges and losses of Parkinson's Disease with profound grace and courage. His steadfast routine of going for a daily walk in his beloved town of Elora, no matter the weather, was an inspiration to us all. We are grateful that John has opened the book to the next chapter, and that his passing was serene and uplifting, surrounded by loved ones.

John was predeceased by his mother Elizabeth Hamilton (née Parsons); father Robert McLean Prior Hamilton; and sister Susan Van Iterson (née Hamilton). He was dearly loved by his wife Barbara Hamilton (née Lucas); his son Brian Hamilton; his daughter Diane Hamilton; his stepson Geoffrey Brunt; and his stepdaughters Robyn Wynberg (née Brunt) and Sarah Brunt.

As John neared the end of his life, he became more reliant on the gentle hands of many caregivers. The family is tremendously grateful for their open-hearted kindness and dedication. John's ashes will be scattered in Georgian Bay near his favourite island. A celebration of John's life will be held at the Church of St John the Evangelist, 36 Henderson Street in Elora, Ontario on Friday, June 7th at 1pm, with a reception following at the family home.

In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to Parkinson Society Southwestern Ontario (pssso.ca).

DEATHS



LEE HAYDEN

Surrounded by her loving family, Lee Norton Hayden (née Burnham), 84, died peacefully, May 15, 2024, in Toronto. Lee is survived by her husband, Peter R. Hayden, Q.C., of 58 years; daughters, Katie Hayden (Scott Jeffery) and Jenny Hayden (Lisa Roman); and grandchildren, Tessa and Zoë Jeffery-Hayden, and Rafa and Gabriel Hayden-Roman. She will also be missed by her sister, Anne Burnham; sister- and brother-in-law, Lynda and John Diakiv; sister-in-law, Diane Bews; and her nieces and nephews. She was preceded in death by her parents.

Lee was born on January 7, 1940, to Dorothy (née Quiri) and Frederick Burnham in Boston, MA, and grew up in Boston and Chicago. She received her BA from Wellesley College in Massachusetts in 1962 with a focus on English, Art History and Zoology. She later met Peter while teaching elementary school in Boston. She laughingly described how Peter, the gregarious "Canuck," hogged her guitar and left beer stains on it at a folk party... and the rest is history. The pair married in Cambridge, MA, in July 1965, and moved to Toronto soon after, where Lee worked as a book editor and elementary school teacher until she and Peter had their daughters.

She was a passionate 45-year volunteer with the Toronto Symphony Volunteer Committee and Junior Women's Committee, and was honoured by the province of Ontario in 2011 for her 40 years of service to the Symphony. She was committed to her TSVC music education work and offered leadership in such programs as the Preludes, Student Concerts, Adopt-A-Player and Morning with the Symphony. Her grandchildren lovingly remember attending Young People's Concerts with her, and holding hands and snacking on TicTacs through the "scary" parts.

Lee was also a devoted volunteer at her daughters' schools, and helmed the parent councils at both Oriole Park P.S. and North Toronto Collegiate. She believed in access to quality education for all — and this was reflected in her engagement in the public education system. Other highlights of her 50+ years in the North Toronto community include hosting Christmas Eve parties at #50, longstanding tennis, exercise and bridge groups, programs with the CFUW North Toronto, volunteering with POINT, 1950s Rock 'n' Roll parties at Eglinton Park, Eastbourne Maple Syrup Festivals and tending her gardens in the company of her treasured poodles, Bonnie and Lucy.

Lee lived for her and Peter's annual pilgrimages to her favourite islands, Sanibel and Nantucket. Weeks in Sanibel were spent filling her fanny pack with tulips, olives and alphabet shells on the beach at sundown, spotting roseate spoonbills and night herons at the Ding Darling, and grabbing fresh fish at Gramma Dot's. Summers in her beloved First Mate cottage in 'Sconset were spent catching up with lifelong US friends, bunny walks down shell streets, celebratory lobster fests, caring for her prized window boxes and lazy afternoons jumping in the waves at her favourite beaches.

The family would like to thank her dedicated and compassionate caregivers and staff from Home Instead, as well as the attentive care teams at Sunnybrook Hospital.

A celebration of life will be held Tuesday, June 11th, from 4 to 6 p.m. at the Funeral Centre at Mount Pleasant Cemetery, 375 Mt. Pleasant Rd., Toronto, M4T 2V8.

If desired, memorial donations may be made to Pathways to Education or the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.

DEATHS



GORDON EDWARD KAISER

Gordon Kaiser passed away peacefully on May 16, 2024, surrounded by his family, at Mt. Sinai Hospital following a brief illness. Gordon is survived by his loving spouse of 18 years, Charlene Bain, who stood by him through triumphs and challenges, sharing in his joys and supporting him through his endeavours. Gordon's remarkable spirit, intellect, and generosity opened her world and provided their lives together with endless opportunities and unforgettable experiences. Gordon is also mourned by his five children: Christine (Chris Bentley), Kelly (Kevin Bean), Gordon Jr. and their mother Terry, and Jennifer (Aleen Sadeh) and Colleen and their mother Sandra. Gordon took extraordinary pride in the achievements of his children and provided them with unwavering support. The Kaiser Kids are grateful to Charlene for the important role she played in nurturing Gordon's relationships with his family, fostering a loving environment that Gordon treasured. Gordon was over the moon about his three grandchildren: Wesley Bean (15), Emerson Bean (13), and Bennett Sadeh (7 months). Gramps loved being in their company, whether cheering on Wes and Emmy at one of their hockey games or cooing with baby Bennett. Gordon also leaves behind his brother, Ken Kaiser (Helen), of Vancouver.

Born in Victoria on March 9, 1944, to Ted and Laura (née Vereecken), Gordon spent his early years growing up in numerous cities across Canada before entering St Michael's College at the University of Toronto in 1963, where he completed his undergraduate degree in economics, and Queen's University in 1966, where he obtained his law degree and a Master of Economics. To pay for school he worked as a porter for CN Rail and prided himself on being able to survive an entire shift on a single OH Henry! candy bar. After his family, Gordon's passion was his work. He began his career at Gowlings law firm where he joined as a partner after being recruited by Gordon Henderson. Over his legal career, Gordon appeared in the courts of five provinces as well as the Federal Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of Canada. Gordon was also a bold entrepreneur, pushing innovation in the early days of the telecommunications industry. In the early 1990s he bought a fledgling subsidiary of telecom giant Nokia and built a California-based paging company, CUE, which represented the largest American FM subcarrier network at the peak of the paging industry.

In the last few decades, Gordon's work focused on energy policy, law, and arbitration. He was especially passionate about protecting the public interest. As Vice Chair of the Ontario Energy Board, Gordon's dissenting opinion in an April 2007 hearing on the jurisdiction of the Board in setting low-income energy rates was a major factor in overturning the ruling and helped lead to the establishment of programs which keep electricity costs down for low-income households. Gordon brought this philosophy of law that promoted, above all, fairness, to his role as Alberta's Market Surveillance Administrator. He came to this public service role at a pivotal time and fearlessly advocated to ensure Alberta's restructured market benefited from competition. In recent years, Gordon was increasingly concerned about climate change and his work focused on energy regulation in the context of low-carbon transitions.

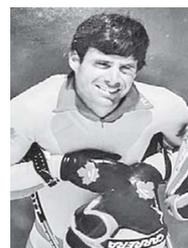
Through his pivotal role initiating and sustaining the CAMPUT Energy Regulation Course, Gordon was responsible for educating a generation of regulators. He served as an Adjunct Professor at Queens University, the University of Toronto and the Osgoode Hall Law School. Along with Bob Heggie, he founded and co-chaired the Canadian Energy Law Forum, was a founding editor of the Energy Regulation Quarterly and authored eight books. Gordon's generosity often extended to his students and colleagues; growing up his kids never knew how many would turn up for dinner.

Gordon's larger than life personality extended to every facet of his life. He enjoyed a good meal with good friends. When he wasn't working, he was happiest playing tennis at Cottingham or the Badminton and Racquet Club or bringing people together at the National Club where he was a member for more than 27 years. For many years, he was an involved member of the Beaches community and was often seen walking the boardwalk with his three standard poodles Jack, Charlie and Max. More recently he enjoyed a glass of wine on his deck on Marlborough listening to the CP train pass through, spending time at his beloved cottage in Cap-Brûlé, New Brunswick, and vacationing in Palm Springs.

Gordon was a devout Catholic and his faith inspired his generosity. For those wishing to honour Gordon, donations may be made to the Saint Elizabeth Foundation (foundation.seh.com), which Gordon served on the Board and supported for many years. His family wishes to thank the staff of Team C of 12 South at Mt. Sinai Hospital for the exceptional care they gave to Gordon.

Gordon's family will remember him at a private funeral mass and invite friends and colleagues to celebrate his life at the National Club, 303 Bay Street, Toronto, on June 6th, from 3:00 – 6:00 p.m. Condolences may be forwarded through www.humphreymiles.com.

DEATHS



ROBERT JAMES KIRBY

It is with much love and sadness that we share the passing of Robert James Kirby "Kirbs" on May 17, 2024.

Jim's life was cut short, but he lived a big life that touched so many people in so many ways. He triumphed throughout an athletic career that led him to multiple victories in skiing and golf against the very best athletes in the world. Recreationally, he was the best club athlete at whatever he decided to compete in.

Jim was a fierce competitor who focused on making his teammates proud by leading with an unparalleled work ethic and true admiration for other's accomplishments. He was generous to the extent that he would give you endless amounts of his time and skill as a friend and coach, but never give you a head start or a three-foot putt.

He fought battles with himself, including addiction, and never gave up and never stopped learning about himself. His greatest victory was also the race of his life when he overcame the odds and established himself once again as a certified coach and caregiver to others who needed his help.

A man of strong and genuine character who gave all he had to helping others. He was on top of his game again.

Jim leaves us after a heroic battle with cancer, knowing he fell a few times but has left a legacy of resilience and determination to succeed like no other.

Jim will be immensely missed by his loving family and many friends, but no one more than his kids, his pride and joy, Griffin and Brooke; his mother, Joyce, the best Mom in the world and his rock; and his wonderful brother and sister, Doug (Martha) and Suzy (John).

As Jim heads to the first tee with Bobby, we don't say goodbye because our memories of Kirbs will stay with us forever. He was that guy!

His family and friends are planning a celebration of Jim's life at Georgian Peaks Ski Club on Sunday, June 9, 2024, at 1:30 p.m. Arrangements entrusted to Fawcett Funeral Home – Collingwood.

KAYLA KOLODNY

On Wednesday, May 22, 2024. Loved daughter of the late Jack and Fanny Kolodny. Dear sister and sister-in-law of Harvey and Joyce Kolodny, Caroline (Kelsey), and the late Ernest Burman, Michael Stern and the late Marilyn, Dina and Mendy Shalit. Devoted aunt of Mark, Cindy, Mitchell, Melissa, Michael, Joelle, Sandy, Eric, Gayle, Richard, Shirad, Nissim, Yaacov, Einat, Dov, and Rachel. Kayla grew up in Montreal. She attended United Talmud Torah School. She spent several years in Israel working for the Canadian Embassy in Tel Aviv. She worked for many years with the SIDS Foundation. Kayla was a voracious reader. While her physical body did not support her, her intelligence overcame that constraint. She was a delightful to converse with and she wrote beautifully. A graveside service will be held on Sunday, May 26, 2024, at 12:30 p.m. in the Community section of Pardes Chaim Cemetery. Memorial donations may be made to Magen David Adom, (416) 780-0034 or The Toronto Public Library, (416) 393-7123.

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DEATHS

J. FERGUS KYLE
August 31, 1929
May 21, 2024

Ferg was born in East York, Ontario, the only child of James (Fergus) and Charlotte Kyle, and passed away peacefully at the age of 94 on 21 May 2024 in Burlington, Ontario.

He grew up in Toronto, where he attended UTS, then moved to Montreal, and studied Engineering at McGill. While at University, he joined the RCAF "City of Westmount", 401(F) (Aux), Squadron in St. Hubert. That was the beginning of his aviation dream.

In the RCAF he flew Harvards, Vampires, Sabres, T-33s, Expeditors and the Otter. He retired from the RCAF in 1972 as a Lieutenant-Colonel and CO of 401 Squadron.

Concurrent with his Air Force Reserve career, he joined Trans Canada Airlines (Air Canada) in 1955. There he flew DC3s, North Stars, Super Constellations, Vanguards, Viscounts, DC9s, DC8s and his favourite the Lion Tristar from which he retired in 1989.

His early airline career often took him to London, UK, where he met his wife of 59 years Jenny. They lived in Ste. Marguerite and Rosemere in Quebec, and then embarked on the big move to "chase the flying" which led them to Burlington, Ontario. Along the way they raised 3 children, and took up many pursuits.

Ferg was an avid Ham Radio enthusiast and joined the Burlington Amateur Radio Club, where he participated in many emergency preparedness exercises with local agencies. He and Jenny were members of the St. Luke's Anglican Church congregation in Burlington. He participated in various projects at the Canadian Warplane Heritage Museum in Hamilton, Ontario - including flying the Yale. He was a talented sketch artist taking after his father who was a political cartoonist for the Globe (amongst others) newspaper in Toronto.

Ferg was predeceased in 2021, by the love of his life Jenny, and his daughter Elizabeth in 2014. He leaves behind two sons James (Julie) and Peter (Renee), and five grandchildren Gillian, Philip, Catherine, Simon and Vivienne.

Funeral Services will be held at St. Luke's Anglican Church, 1371 Elgin Street, Burlington, Monday, June 10th at 2 p.m. All welcome.



DEATHS



DR. ROBERT DOUGLAS MASNYK
BSc (Hons), MD, FRCS(C)

Rob passed away peacefully, on May 13, 2024, at the age of 52, at the Ottawa Civic Hospital, with his loving and devoted wife, Peggy, at his side. He was predeceased by his mother, Patricia Anne; his maternal grandparents, William and Helen Borsch; his paternal grandparents, Dan and Rose Masnyk; and his father-in-law, Ivan Mahne. Rob is survived by his wife, Peggy Anne; his father, Myron; and stepmother, DorisAnn; as well as his dotting mother-in-law, Alojzija Mahne; dear brothers-in-law, Mark (Lisa), John (Jennifer), and Anton, and their families. Rob was a scholar, talented orthopaedic surgeon, educator, medical consultant, and physician advisor. He was also an avid sports fan, car enthusiast, trivia buff, and science fiction guru. His kindness, passion for helping others, and his witty sense of humour will always be remembered. Private interment has taken place. A celebration of Rob's life will be held at a later date. For those who wish, donations in Rob's memory can be made to the Sick Kids Foundation. Online condolences may be made through: www.turnerporter.ca

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DEATHS

CONSTANCE PRISCILLA LYNN MATTHEWS
September 24, 1935
May 20, 2024

Lynn passed away in Toronto, on Monday, May 20, 2024, with the love and warmth of family by her side. She was born in Listowel, Ontario, and raised in Picton, the loving daughter to John and Cynthia Arnaud; sister to Daphne Goodkey and Tim Arnaud. The devoted wife to Robert (Bob) George Matthews, who she joins in heaven; wonderful mother to John (Jennifer), Diana and Gillian Matthews; and dear 'Mattie' to Claire and Tom.

Lynn spent her working and adult years in Toronto surrounded by her family and friends. She was an avid reader, gardener, tennis, and bridge player, and enjoyed travelling with Bob and family. She was comfortable in both casual and formal settings. She enjoyed summers at the family cottage 'Woods' on Stony Lake, with her loved ones. Lynn was a wonderful friend to many and enjoyed arranging family and social gatherings. She was adored for her quick wit and spirited energy.

Heartfelt thanks to her devoted caregiver, Lynn, who was a tremendous source of comfort in her last few years.

A Visitation and funeral service will be held at Morley Bedford Funeral Home, 159 Eglinton Avenue West, Toronto. Visitation on Friday, May 31st from 5:00 to 7:00 p.m. Funeral service on Saturday, June 1st at 11:00 a.m.

In lieu of flowers, for those who wish, please make donations to The Princess Margaret Foundation, Heart and Stroke Foundation.



JACK MCMURTRY

John Kay (Jack) McMurry passed peacefully on May 22, 2024, age 95. Predeceased by his long-time and dear partner, Helga Rolston. Jack will be dearly missed by his sister, Dawn Zachar; his nieces, Julie Zachar-Smit, Cindy Selihar, Carrie Zachar and Jill Grande and their extended families. Jack was a treasured member of the family for Susannah Rolston and David Doyle, especially in the years since Helga's passing.

A career Confederation Life man, Jack kickstarted a successful second career after the demise of that once-great company. Jack had countless friends, most especially at his beloved Rosedale Golf Club where he was a well-known and respected fixture. Jack was an eternal optimist and positive person; enjoying every round of golf, every road trip to faraway golf resorts and most especially, taking great joy in every opportunity to catch up with friends and delighting in learning how they have been getting along - indeed every square meal could be a cause for delight ("the best roast beef I've ever had!"). Jack delighted in once sharing a beer with the great Jack Niklaus, who asked to meet the fellow golfer with whom he shared a unique trait - having been struck by lightning on the links.

Our thanks to the staff at Amica Bayview Village, for the wonderful and valued support in caring for Jack in recent months.

A celebration of Jack's life to occur at a later date.

DEATHS



WILLIAM THOMAS MCGRENERE
June 10, 1936
May 10, 2024

Tom McGrenere passed away on May 10, 2024, after a brief illness, with his family at his side. He was the beloved husband of Gwen, whom he affectionately called "Rookie," for 59 years; a loving father to Scott, Joanna (Chris) and Tim (Melanie); and proud "Papa T" to Cate, Andrew, Audrey and Seamus. He was born in London, Ontario, in 1936, the sixth of nine children to Bill (a railway conductor for the CPR) and Evelyn McGrenere. He is survived by his siblings, Barb Forsdike and Joe McGrenere; and was predeceased by Marie Beaghan, Jerry McGrenere, Joan Collier, Noreen Addison, Florence Kelly, and Mary Helen McGrenere.

Tom graduated from Osgoode Law school in 1963, was called to the Bar in 1965 and then began a long and distinguished career in Toronto. He started practicing for the firm Bassel Sullivan and subsequently was a co-founder and partner of the firm Lawson, McGrenere, Wesley, Jarvis and Rose. He was a teacher of the Bar Admission course, a Director of the Advocate Society, a Board member of the Ontario Police Commission and the Medical Legal Society, a member of the American College of Trial Lawyers, and an appointee to the King's Council.

Still, Tom was a humble, gracious and generous man whose focus was always on seeing, celebrating and supporting his family and friends. For 50 years, he enjoyed New Year's Eve with lifelong friends: the Cathcarts, O'Malleys, Sweeneys and Weirs. He loved golf, even though golf often didn't love him back. He was an avid fisherman in his younger years, and an enthusiastic touch football player in the Interfirm Lawyer League where he was known to have "great hands." He was a lifelong handyman; at the age of 83, he did a solo rewiring and shelf installation job in his eldest son's garage, once again bringing light and order to darkness and chaos - cleaning up after his children one last time.

Tom spent most of his sunset years with Gwen up in Southampton playing highly contested and meticulously documented Scrabble games every afternoon, playing golf and losing money to Scott Ritchie at the Saugeen Golf Club, and sitting on the Board of the Bruce County Playhouse. He was a profoundly loyal friend and family man, seen by many as the most honourable lawyer they had ever met (his children didn't understand lawyer jokes until much later in life). He was a true man for all seasons and a beacon of light to all.

When Tom first went to law school, he couldn't pay his \$500 fee and fortunately relied on a friend to loan him the money to get the Dean off his back and attend classes that year. And so now, fast forward, a fund in his name has been set up to support Osgoode Hall law student financial need. You may donate at giving.yorku.ca/TomMcGrenere. Donations can also be made to Community Living London, an organization dear to the heart of the McGrenere family. There will be a Celebration of Life on Friday, July 12th, from 1:00 to 4:30 p.m. (remarks at 2:00) at the Old Mill Inn in Toronto.

DEATHS



DR. HAROLD MERSKEY
1929 - 2024

Professor Emeritus, Department of Psychiatry, Western University, London, Ontario.

Harold Merskey, devoted husband, father, grandfather, uncle, and great-uncle, died peacefully in London, Ontario, on May 15, 2024. Survived by his wife, Susan; children Helen Kaymer (Andrew), Ruth, Alan (Kat Balpataky); grandchildren Linnet Farshi-Kaymer (Tom), Elana Kaymer (Simon Zeffert), Madeleine, Owen and Griffin Merskey; nephews Philip Young (Sylvia), Joseph Young (Rachel Goldstone) and niece Sarah Krosner (Gadi). Predeceased by his beloved parents Sophie and Harry Merskey and siblings Donald Mercer (Maureen) and Fay Young (Leo). Harold will be missed by family, friends and colleagues around the world.

For nearly 60 years, Harold was an exemplary psychiatrist and pain management specialist. He was a founding member of the International Association for the Study of Pain, the Canadian Pain Society and the Founding Editor-in-Chief of Pain Research and Management. His commitment to patient care and scientific research advanced the treatment of pain and our understanding of dementia. He was proud to help combat the abuses of psychiatry and speak out on behalf of political dissidents trapped in the former Soviet Union.

Author of more than a dozen volumes, and 400 publications, Harold was a prodigious writer, a fine teacher, a mentor and colleague to friends around the world and across several generations. People reached out to him regularly for advice, support, and insight into therapeutic and ethical matters, relying on his discretion, wisdom, and compassion.

Harold died aged 95, of vascular dementia. Continuing a lifelong commitment, he made one final contribution to science, donating his brain and spinal cord tissue for research into neurodegenerative dementias at the London Brain and Biobank. Our family is deeply grateful for the care Harold received from friends in the community, and latterly, to the team at High View Residences. The funeral took place on Friday, May 17, 2024.

In lieu of flowers, please consider donations to either www.londonbrainandbiobank.ca/ using the following link: <https://lhf.donordrive.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=donate.event&eventID=654>

or to the Rabbi's Discretionary Fund at Congregation Or Shalom <https://www.orshalomlondon.org/donate/>

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ERNEST JOHN LAIDLAW

Ernest Laidlaw wanted to live to be 100; it is with sadness that we announce that he died quietly at Sunnybrook Hospital, on Saturday, May 11, 2024, at the age of 96. Born in Toronto in 1927, John (as he was known by his family) spent his early years in London, England. He returned to Canada, with his parents Ernest and Hilda Laidlaw and his sisters Joanne and Marilyn, eventually settling in Westmount, Quebec.

After graduating from McGill University with a PEng in 1950, Ernie (as he was known by his friends) set off on a grand adventure travelling across Europe on a motorbike, and then on to explore Australia and New Zealand. He relished his memories with the McGill Outing Club, meeting sweetheart Margaret Williston, with them marrying in fall of 1957. They flourished in Montreal, enjoying the many outdoor pursuits of skiing, hiking, canoeing and camping.

In the 1970s, John and Margaret moved to Toronto, purchasing their idyllic ravine home. John worked with Ontario Hydro for many years, building and later refurbishing power plants and eventually retiring from there. Tragedy struck on a ski vacation when Marg was swept away in an avalanche. John championed both the search as well as her recovery and rehabilitation afterwards. Together they continued their love of the outdoors, exploring Ontario as well as travelling across Europe and the Caribbean. In 1979, their daughter Gillian was welcomed to the family and was promptly bundled along for the rest of the adventures. In the 1990's, after Marg suffered a debilitating stroke, John picked up much of the household duties while encouraging her resiliency and rehabilitation.

John was a strong, physical man, creating cross-country ski trails throughout his beloved ravine, tending his tomatoes and riding his bike well into his 90's. He was an avid bridge player, enjoying decades of cards with his bridge club friends. There was nothing John liked better than a good steak with a glass of red wine, except maybe building a roaring fire in his fireplace.

John will be missed by his loving daughter, Gillian; his sister Marilyn and husband Cal, several nieces and nephews and his extended family. He was predeceased by his parents, Ernest and Hilda Laidlaw, his sister Joanne Baker (2021) and her husband, Bob (1976) and his wife Margaret (2022).

A celebration of life will be held at the Toronto Cricket Skating & Curling Club, located at 141 Wilson Avenue, on June 16th from 2:00 - 4:00 p.m. The family extends warm thanks to the many doctors, nurses and PSWs who helped with John's care in recent years. In lieu of flowers, please spend some time with your friends and family or enjoy a walk, enjoy the outdoors. These are things John appreciated. Although Ernie didn't make the 100-year milestone as he had hoped, he certainly lived a long, active, healthy life. Condolences may be sent to www.humphreymiles.com.

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DEATHS



HAZEL MIKLOS

MIKLOS, Hazel Margaret (nee Jamieson) in her 99th year, died peacefully at The Village of Arbour Trails in Guelph Ontario, in the early hours of May 18, 2024. Hazel was the beloved wife of the late Josef Miklos and cherished sister of the late Derek Jamieson.

An adventurous spirit propelled Hazel to emigrate from Scotland to Canada to build her future, first in Montreal but eventually in Toronto where she settled. A graduate of the University of St Andrews, Hazel worked for many years, as an educational psychologist, specializing in youth with learning challenges. Many of those young people maintained contact with her over the years, a testament to Hazel's ability to establish strong and meaningful connections which helped to shape positive futures.

Hazel was an intelligent, personable, and fiercely independent individual with a good sense of humour and someone who never lost interest in the issues of the day. Her love of animals was boundless, as her numerous dogs well knew. Hazel's final few years were marked by cognitive decline.

A very special thank you to Mary Illman, who provided loving care and support to Hazel, and also to Valerie Gilmor whose advocacy and guidance were invaluable.

Hazel will be remembered fondly by friends, neighbours, colleagues and the many families she helped.

At Hazel's request, funeral arrangements are private. Arrangements entrusted to Wall-Custance Funeral Home & Chapel, Guelph, Ontario.

DEATHS



VICTOR GORDON MILES

March 2, 1929
April 6, 2024

Born in Hampstead, London, England, Victor was the only child born to Donald and Dorothea Miles.

As a young boy, Victor was deeply moved by the events of WWII; aiding in the War effort as a teenager, he achieved top ranking in the Army Cadet Force.

His artistic talent had become apparent at an early age, initially painting war related themes and landscapes. Victor attended the Cambridge School of Art, with a particularly memorable semester at Ca' Foscari University in Venice.

During this period, he was introduced to set design at the Cambridge Arts Theatre. In these precious years he met his beloved wife Mary Comber, a 'fellow' art student.

Taking a break from his studies, Victor completed his mandatory military service with the Household Cavalry Life Guards Regiment. This training brought Victor much pride; and he kept this experience alive over the years with visits from other Cavalry members.

After art school, Mary left with her family for the US. As a now qualified artist/designer, Victor followed Mary to the West Coast, arriving in Vancouver in 1953. They married in Oregon and settled in West Vancouver, later building their dream home in Lions Bay.

Victor was always grateful for the opportunity to live in Canada, and to devote his life to the visual arts. His flexible position as a senior designer with CBC Television afforded him more time to paint while raising the family. CBC's varied programming in music, arts, current affairs, science and technology made for a stimulating environment during these decades of intense socio-cultural change.

In 1986 Victor left the CBC. He then devoted his time primarily to painting. The two principal subjects of his work were philosophy and science, including artificial intelligence. Victor exhibited locally and internationally throughout the years. He then chose to pull back from gallery exhibitions, and direct his energies purely toward artistic creation.

Thus he gained a singular level of freedom and independence.

Victor and Mary's Lions Bay home was always a haven: full of family; cherished friends; art; unique furnishings; delicious food; signature martinis, music; CBC Radio; fires; books; flowers; candles; and stunning sunsets.

Victor died peacefully in his sleep; a private family service has been held. If spirits do live on, Victor's will always be in Howe Sound, Grantchester Meadows, with distant views of Kings College Chapel in Cambridge and of St. Mark's Square in Venice.

The family would like to extend heartfelt thanks to Victor's devoted caregivers, who provided such attentive care, fulfilling his wish to remain at home.

Predeceased by Mary in 2023, Victor is survived by his loving family. Children, Andrea (Brian), Raef (Cathy), Cynthia (Paul) and grandchildren Katrina and Eric Fast, Miles (Taylor), Michaela and Nathaniel Vince, and Alex and Samantha Balfour.



SCOTT MORRISON

It is with great sadness we announce the sudden and unexpected passing of Scott, on Wednesday, May 22, 2024, at the age of 56. Beloved husband, father, and friend. He is survived by his wife, Kristin (née Comerford); their three children, Katie, Emily and Evan and his sisters, Lynn McDougall and Michelle Barnabe.

Scott completed his medical degree at the University of Toronto and his Anesthesia residency at the University of Ottawa. He initially worked in Toronto, beginning his career at St. Joseph's Hospital. In 2004, Scott and his growing family moved to Belleville, accepting a job with Quinte Healthcare. All the while, he continued to work as a locum Anesthetist in Sault Ste. Marie and 2021 marked 20 years of service in the Soo. In 2014, driven by his love of Northern Ontario and after 14 years as a locum, Scott and his family moved to Sault Ste. Marie permanently, when he joined the active staff of the Sault Area Hospital as a full time Anesthetist. Scott was a gifted Anesthesiologist. He was knowledgeable, technically skilled and a compassionate and caring doctor. He encouraged the development of protocols that improved patient safety and was constantly looking for ways to improve patient care. His use of multilingual medical terminology, epic stories from his vast OR experiences and wicked sense of humour made him a pleasure to work with. As a clinical lecturer at the Northern Ontario School of Medicine, Scott was a mentor to many medical students and Anesthesia residents.

Scott loved being at the lake and hiking with his dog, Theo. A dedicated swimmer, paddle boarder, kayaker and biker, Scott was happiest when spending time with his family and friends, as well as supporting the development of young athletes. He was a dedicated swim coach and opened his home as a billet over the years to several Soo Greyhound and Thunderbird players. Most importantly, Scott was a loyal friend and partner. Scott's legacy is one of love, laughter and a zest for life that will continue to inspire all those that were privileged to know him. His spirit will forever echo in the hearts of those he touched. His family sends love to all, and deep appreciation for the kindness we have been shown over these difficult days. Words cannot express our profound gratitude.

Friends and family are invited to visit at Northwood Funeral Home Cremation and Reception Centre (942 Great Northern Rd., Sault Ste. Marie, ON P6B 0B6, 705-945-7758), on Wednesday, May 29, 2024 from 1:00 p.m. until 4:00 p.m. A Funeral Service will take place in the Chapel at 4:30 p.m. with Rev. Helen Smith officiating. In lieu of flowers, please go for a bike ride, or a paddle, and hug your people tight. Memorial donations to the Heart and Stroke Foundation or the ALS Society of Canada would be greatly appreciated by the family. www.northwoodfuneral.com

Scotty, we will love you forever.

JOYCE ALICE ELIZABETH NESS

(nee Miller)
March 17, 1928 - April 23, 2024
"A Born Teacher with a Touch of Class"

Joyce Ness passed away peacefully, after a brief illness on Tuesday, April 23, 2024, in Whitecliff Residence, White Rock, BC. She had just celebrated her 96th birthday in March. She was predeceased in 2017 by her beloved husband of 67 years, Robert William "Bill" Ness. She will be missed by her sister, Beverley Robertson (the late Don Robertson) of Ottawa, Ontario; daughter, Jody Ness (John Riddle) of Windsor, Ontario; her grandchildren, Geoffrey Riddle, and Cynthia Van Tol (Hugh); and great-grandchildren, Korall Van Tol and Acacia Godin (Fred). She will also be missed by daughter, Tierney Ness of North Vancouver, BC; grandchildren, Gareth Fyfe and Whitney Estrella (Lau); and great-grandson, Sonny Estrella. Joyce graduated from the Class of 1946 with an Elementary Teaching Certificate, Macdonald College School for Teachers, and taught grade one for 25 years in Montreal.

Funeral service will be held at St. Mark's Anglican Church, Ocean Park, South Surrey, BC, on Saturday, June 22, 2024, at 11:00 a.m. A reception will follow in the Church Hall. In lieu of flowers, donations to the White Rock Salvation Army Food Bank would be greatly appreciated.

DEATHS



JAYE (JANET JOY) ROBINSON

December 7, 1962 – May 16, 2024

Jaye passed away peacefully, surrounded by her cherished husband William Crossland "Billy," her sons Jackson "Jake," Samuel "Sam," and William "Will," daughter-in-law Brooke, and her faithful dog, Sadie.

A passionate and creative supporter of family, friends and community, she spent her life serving the public, representing her community with fierce determination and unbending principle, and creating and implementing major events to bring people together, foster arts and culture, and drive economic growth.

Amidst her many accomplishments, nothing eclipsed the love she held for her "four boys." Jaye was not just their guiding light; she was a pillar of strength and support, a cherished fun and funny "Momma" to Jake, Sam and Will, and an ever-present best friend and partner-in-everything to Billy for 42 years. She was their leader in play, infusing their lives with laughter and love. Her passion for celebration and meticulous attention to detail ensured no achievement went unnoticed and no occasion unmarked.

Born in Orangeville, Ontario, to John "Jake" and Shirley Robinson (née Jackson) on a special day that coincided with her father's birthday, providing Jaye and Jake a unique and unwavering bond. She is survived by her mother, Shirley, and her siblings Elizabeth "Brandy," Robin, Kelly, and John.

Jaye was raised on a small farm in a close-knit community near Grand Valley, Ontario. Memories from life on "The Farm" are filled with apple picking and cider pressing, maple syrup harvests, tending the large vegetable garden where each year the green onions spelled out a new message, and traversing the waters of the "the Mighty Irvine" creek that flooded the laneway each spring. It was here, with the one-room "Little School House" community centre just down the road, that Jaye inherited, from both Jake and Shirley, a strong sense of community service, celebration, and collective fun that she carried throughout her personal and professional life.

Jaye's formative years were a testament to her diverse talents and passions, and perhaps a sign of things to come. At school she was student council president and class valedictorian. She was an active curler, while her artistic side found expression in competitive tap and jazz dancing. Summers were a split between her Jackson grandparents in Grand Bend and her Robinson grandmother and 21 cousins in Waupoos.

As a young girl, she was affectionately known as J.J., but upon arriving at the University of Guelph, she decided that henceforth, she would be known as "Jaye," and it stuck. She thrived in the university culture, and this is where her passion for community began to shine. She was Residence Hall President, then Vice President of Activities for the campus-wide Central Student Association. As Vice President, her leadership skills and passion for organizing events became evident as she orchestrated numerous on-campus activities, including Frosh Week, Homecoming, Winterfest, the Community BBQ and weekly live concerts. The following year, she was elected President – a full-time position representing all 20,000 students.

Following university, after spending some time travelling throughout Europe and Asia and taking time to study French at Sorbonne and Laval, Jaye's professional career began in the events and protocol office of the former city of North York. She quickly rose through the ranks and eventually became Director of Events for the City of Toronto when North York and the other five Metro Toronto municipalities amalgamated into the "Mega City" in 1998.

Jaye's innovative approach merged arts, culture, and economic development, resulting in the founding of many of Toronto's current iconic initiatives like Nuit Blanche, as well as Summerlicious and Winterlicious, which were originally designed to help Toronto's struggling restaurant industry in the wake of the SARS crisis. Her Moose in the City initiative, which generated international attention and raised money for charity, involved placing 326 moose around the city that were decorated by local artists. The Celebrate Toronto Street Festival was designed to bring the city together after the amalgamation in 1998 by transforming five major intersections along Yonge Street into a world-class, free one-of-a-kind festival. The festival attracted more than one million revelers each year with 12 stages and more than 1,200 performers. Toronto's Millennium Lights New Year's Eve Celebration was Canada's largest millennium celebration and attracted over one million people to Toronto's waterfront. Her other events included Cavalcade of Lights, Live with Culture, Winter City, Summer in the Square and many more. All of these events showcased Toronto's vibrant culture and generated significant economic benefits for the city.

Jaye also played an active leadership role in the festivals and events industry, serving as President of Festivals and Events Ontario for five years and developing a national certificate program and special events course at George Brown College. In 2000 she was inducted into the Festival and Events Ontario Hall of Fame.

In 2010, Jaye's commitment to public service led to her election as Toronto City Councillor for Don Valley West, a role she cherished for 14 years. She proudly represented her community, which encompassed the neighborhoods where her parents and grandparents once lived.

Jaye advocated for transparent governance and evidence-based decision-making. She championed hundreds of motions addressing planning reform, road safety, public transit, congestion management, environmental initiatives, improving Toronto's fiscal health, and protecting trees and green spaces. She created a number of brand new parks in Don Valley West and revitalized dozens more. She worked on protecting and expanding Toronto's tree canopy by strengthening the tree protection by-law. She was a steadfast supporter of environmental and sustainability initiatives, including strategies to reduce single-use plastics and textile waste.

Serving as Chair of Public Works and Infrastructure from 2014 to 2018, she introduced the City's Vision Zero Road Safety Plan and Long-Term Waste Management Strategy. As Chair of the Toronto Transit Commission from 2018 to 2022, Jaye secured record-setting investments in public transit and spearheaded environmental initiatives, such as expanding the TTC's electric bus fleet. As a strong advocate for arts and culture, she was a member of the Art Gallery of Ontario Board of Trustees, the Canadian Film Centre Board of Directors, and the Toronto Symphony Orchestra Board of Directors. Most recently, she led Toronto's preparations for the FIFA World Cup in 2026 and advocated to bring a professional women's soccer team to the City of Toronto.

Jaye was a beloved leader and mentor to her staff, both former and present, and will be deeply missed at City Hall.

If you were lucky enough to meet Jaye, or more likely see her in action, you would have experienced a kind, caring, creative, inclusive, fun, and funny individual – a visionary with an unprecedented passion for her community. She will be dearly missed, but her legacy will live on.

A Celebration of Life will take place Thursday May 30 at 11AM, Yorkminster Park Baptist Church, 1585 Yonge St, Toronto, ON, M4T 1Z9. All are welcome.

In lieu of flowers, please consider a donation to the Toronto Region Conservation Authority (<https://foundation.trca.ca/donations/>) in Jaye's name and help keep Toronto green.



MARION MCLELLAN MITCHELL

Marion McLellan Mitchell passed away peacefully on May 18, 2024, in her ninety-first year, in palliative care at Mackenzie Health, Richmond Hill. Born in Glasgow, Scotland on July 8, 1933, she spent her adult life living in Richmond Hill, with her beloved husband Ron, who passed away in 2006. She lived her life with grace and dignity and was deeply involved in the community, most notably with the hospital where she served as a volunteer for many years, and as a member of the Board of Trustees from 1987 to 1992, at what was then York Central Hospital (now Mackenzie Health). She spent a lifetime singing in church choirs, beginning at the age of six. She is survived by her sons, Ron and Bruce; her daughter-in-law Diane; and grandchildren Laura, Alanna, Benjamin, Owen, and Andrew. She will be deeply missed and remembered for her kindness and compassion for others ahead of herself.

A celebration of her life will be held at Thornhill Presbyterian Church, 271 Centre Street, Thornhill on Wednesday, May 29 at 1:00 p.m.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the church at tpchurch.net

Celebrate a life

Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in The Globe and Mail.

Honour a loved one

Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in The Globe and Mail.

Precious memories

Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in The Globe and Mail.

DEATHS



PATRICIA SARJEANT

Patricia Sarjeant, beloved wife, mother, sister, friend, journalist and counsellor, died on May 16, 2024, peacefully at Shanty Bay. According to her wishes, her life ended in the home where she grew up and with her husband, Rudy Luukko, at her side, holding her hand. Her bedroom window looked out over the lakeshore that she and Rudy had enjoyed for many years and where they were wed in 1983. Patricia is survived by her son, Kevin Sarjeant (Sarah Antle-Moors) of Toronto; daughter, Laura Reeves (Tyler Austin) of McDonough, Georgia; her grandson, James; and sister, Mary Jane Sarjeant (Ron McClean) of Shanty Bay. Grateful for her friendship is her dear friend, Jean Lillie of Toronto.

Born in Barrie to Bob and Beth Sarjeant in December 1953, Patricia shared her family's love of the water and ski slopes, and played flute with her touring Barrie High School band. After graduating with a Queen's BA, and a master's in journalism from Western, Patricia travelled in Europe and worked on an Israeli kibbutz.

Patricia joined the *Regina Leader-Post* in 1979, where she met fellow reporter, Rudy. Love led to marriage, and then jobs at the *Calgary Herald* before returning to their home province and moving to Toronto in 1986. After working at *Canadian Press*, Patricia found a greater calling for personal and professional growth and her exceptional ability to connect with people on a deep emotional level. Through private and college courses, Patricia became a counsellor specializing in grief and bereavement. She managed a hospice that operated out of Sunnybrook Hospital, providing at-home visits. Patricia became a mother when Kevin arrived in September 1997, and then Laura 13 months later, both via adoption. Patricia devoted herself to provide the best possible upbringing for her children, who deeply appreciate what a wonderful mother she was.

Having helped the terminally ill, Patricia was herself diagnosed in March 2019 with glioblastoma, typically fatal in less than 18 months. With her relentless devotion to a healthy lifestyle, consultations with health professionals, and two brain surgeries and follow-up treatment at Sunnybrook, Patricia beat the odds by living for more than five years. Special thanks to Maki of North Simcoe Muskoka support services; personal support workers, Maria and Liz of AGTA; Bayshore nurse, Vahid (Ed); and palliative doctor, Jacky Lai. A celebration of Patricia's life will be held this summer.

DEATHS

JOHN CHARLES TURNER
May 8, 1932 – May 15, 2024

*"I've lived a life that's full
I traveled each and every highway
And more, much more than this
I did it my way."* - Frank Sinatra

John Charles Turner - "JCT" - always did things his way. He lived life large.

Lifelong golf partner and loving husband of 61 years to Gail Marie Turner (nee Cowie); father to John Matthew (Lauren, Hannah, Clayton), Kimberly Gail (Peter Murphy and children, Morgan, Alexandra, Caroline, Adam), Richard Frank (Alison and children, Alexander and Camryn, Sara, Emma); and predeceased by Adam Edward (Christina and children, Cole, Finn, Kate). He recently became a great-grandfather to Blaire Alison Turner. John is survived by his brother, James Ralph Adam Turner (Annetta).

Son to Frank Turner (of England) and Elsie Marion Adam (of Lindsay, Ontario), John was born and raised in Toronto on Pinewood Ave. He attended Humewood Public School and Vaughan Road Collegiate.

John launched his real estate career with S.E. Lyons Brokerage in the early 1950s. He later became partner at Gibson Willoughby Realtor and went on to establish Town Centre Properties. He excelled as a deal maker, investor, and developer of commercial properties in Toronto, notably owning the Medical Arts building on Bloor Street, the Canadianna Motor Hotel at Hwy. 401 and Kennedy Rd., and assembling the land for the Yorkville Shopping Mall. His entrepreneurial ventures extended into railway, film, and art investments. His achievements inspired his children and nephews, several of whom pursued careers in real estate.

In the summer of 1950, John Charles Turner was vacationing on Lake of Bays and met Gail Marie Cowie while she was working as a chambermaid and caddy at the historic Bigwin Inn (later, both would become original members following Bigwin's restoration). Enamored by Gail's spirited nature, they married on November 3, 1956, at Rosedale Golf Club. They began raising their family on Leacroft Crescent in Don Mills where John Jr., Kimberly and Richard were born. By 1965, they moved to Tudor Gate where Adam completed the family. John and Gail created a beautiful home to raise their children with the loving support of Mr. and Mrs. Duncan, who cared greatly for the family.

In winter 1959, John and Gail snowshoed off South Portage Rd. into McDonald's Bay on Lake of Bays, and their cottage, Owlscourt was born. Owlscourt was renowned for big dinners, big parties, and big band music. There was always a seat at the table and a gourmet meal (always on a hot plate) for family and friends on the lake. He took great pride in maintaining Owlscourt impeccably and always ensured that the roads were graded, the geraniums planted, the boats cleaned, the beer cabin stocked and the pantry full of essentials. His collection of tools and equipment rivaled that of an F1 mechanic, all proudly labeled "JCT." Every imaginable cottage toy could be found at Owlscourt for his grandchildren. He loved a good party and built his own disco, dubbed the "Night Owl Club," a party barn equipped with sports bar like games, massive sound system and industrial kitchen.

JCT was a passionate collector and restorer of antique cars and boats. Among his notable projects were the restoration of a 1937 Jaguar SS Swallow, a 1937 Touring Packard and a 1920 Bentley boat-tail speedster that raced through the streets of Monaco. Additionally, he restored classic Muskoka wooden boats, including a 32' 1927 Minett Shields he called 'The Penguin' and his beloved 22' 1955 Gravelle Streamliner affectionately named 'The Night Owl.' He was a member of the famous Caughnawana Fishing & Hunting Club in Quebec, accessible in those days only by float plane, of which one he owned. (He never actually had a pilot's license. He would quip, "who's going to check my license in the sky.")

He and Gail bought their ocean side home in Lost Tree Village in West Palm Beach in 1976 and enjoyed 30+ wonderful years of Florida winters and golf. If they weren't at Owlscourt or Lost Tree Village, you could find them at Beacon Hall in Aurora, Ontario, most likely golfing. John loved and cared for Gail immensely. They enjoyed many happy times together golfing, boating, dancing, curling, skiing, and travelling together.

John will be remembered as a "larger than life" character, for his successful business acumen, his meticulous property management, his over-the-top generosity and his love for Gail, his four children and thirteen grandchildren. At 92, John now joins his 'Gaily' and their son, Adam, on the fairways in heaven.

A special thank you to the incredible caregivers at Belmont House. Visitation will be held at the Mount Pleasant Funeral Centre (375 Mount Pleasant Road, East Gate Entrance) on Sunday, June 2nd, 2 p.m., followed by a service at 3 p.m. and a reception at 4 p.m. In honour of JCT and his love of colour through art and fashion, please feel free to dress up colourfully. A private interment will take place at the family plot in Lindsay, ON. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to the Foundation at Belmont House, Odette Cancer Centre at Sunnybrook Hospital or the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation of Canada. Condolences can be left at: www.etouch.ca

IAN CORMACK
PALMER SMITH

September 23, 1939
May 9, 2024

It is with heavy hearts that we announce the passing of our beloved husband, father and grandparent, Ian C. P. Smith. He was born in Winnipeg in 1939 to Cormack and Grace Mary Smith. Ian will be lovingly remembered by his wife of 59 years, Eva; their four children, Brittmarie (Dave), Cormack (Michelle), Duncan (Sheryl), Roderick (Pam); and their nine grandchildren, Annika, Keaton, Rebecca, Olivia, Erik, Rory, Noah, Mackenzie, and Kendall.

Ian graduated from the University of Manitoba with honours in B.Sc. in Chemistry, a M.Sc. in Physical Chemistry. He further enhanced his education by attending Cambridge University in England and graduating with a PhD in Theoretical Chemistry. Ian began his 47-year career with the National Research Council of Canada in Ottawa making a significant impact as a mentor and advisor. He rose in the ranks of NRC to Director General of the Institute for Biological Sciences in Ottawa, and in 1992, he moved back to Winnipeg to build the new Institute for Biodiagnostics as its Director General focusing on cancer diagnosis and treatment.

Ian will be sadly missed by all who knew him.

The family will be holding a private memorial at a later date.

DOUGLAS JOHN VAN HAMME
1941 – 2024

It is with great sadness that we announce the death of Douglas John Van Hamme at his home on May 17, 2024. Doug is survived by Margaret, his wife of more than 30 years. He will also be dearly missed by sons Christopher (Julie) and Jonathan, and their mother Lynne; stepsons Daniel (Jenna) and Simon (Michelle) and grandchildren Freya, Narayan and Aedan. He is survived by his sister Barb (Richard), his nieces Jennifer and Sharon and predeceased by his brother Ken, sister-in-law Gwen, and his parents Doris and Raymond. Doug was a devoted and loving husband, proud father and stepfather, doting grandfather, and loyal friend.

True soulmates, Doug and 'Margie' shared everything: a passion for the arts that involved countless nights at the theatre and matinees at the ballet; a love of travel that took them everywhere from Belgium, to Iceland, to Elrose, Saskatchewan; and an insatiable appetite for reading that expressed itself in the stacks of books, newspapers and New Yorkers they devoured together and the literary quotes they volleyed impressively back and forth across the dining room table.

A passionate and skilled educator, he inspired generations of students and teachers with his gentle encouragement, his sense of humour, and a warm, welcoming manner that made everyone feel at ease in his presence. Doug loved to regale friends and loved ones with humorous stories of growing up in North Toronto. He was an equally good listener who showed deep interest in the lives and stories of others.

The family will receive friends at the Humphrey Funeral Home A.W. Miles – Newbigging Chapel, 1403 Bayview Avenue (south of Davisville) from 5:00 – 7:00 p.m. on Thursday, May 30th. A service will be held at 11:00 a.m. on Friday, May 31st at St. Cuthberts Anglican Church, 1399 Bayview Ave. In lieu of flowers kindly consider a donation to Scouts Canada (scouts.ca) or the Tarragon Theatre (tarragontheatre.com) in Doug's name. Condolences may be forwarded through www.humphreymiles.com.

Humphrey Funeral Home
A.W. Miles - Newbigging Chapel
416-487-4523

Pacers get some home cooking

MICHAEL MAROT INDIANAPOLIS

The Indiana Pacers can read the numbers. They're down 2-0 in another best-of-seven series and are heading home, where they are a perfect 6-0 during this season's playoff run.

They need a win in Saturday's pivotal Game 3 to get back in this series, just as they did last week against New York.

And, yes, they're facing the top-seeded Boston Celtics, who are a perfect 4-0 on the road this postseason.

The bleakest part of this equation for Indiana is the possibility of losing All-NBA guard Tyrese Haliburton. The league's assist champ departed in the third quarter of a Game 2 loss after re-injuring his left hamstring. He did not return.

Yet this Pacers team, largely composed of playoff newcomers or newcomers to high-profile postseason roles, has not blinked when others wrote them off – and they do not intend to start now with so much at stake this weekend.

"Our fans give us so much en-

ergy," said Indiana forward Pascal Siakam, a midseason acquisition from Toronto where he won an NBA title.

"Obviously, for me, I'm experiencing for the first time the energy and they're so passionate about our team. We can't wait to go out there Saturday and just the energy they're going to bring to support us."

Haliburton's status could change everything. The Pacers are expecting an update on his playing status on Friday's injury report. While the injury could dampen the mood in Indy, it won't change the fact this will be the city's biggest weekend in years.

The 108th running of the Indianapolis 500, the world's largest single-day sporting event expected to draw a crowd of nearly 300,000, is sandwiched in between Saturday's Game 3 and Monday's Game 4.

Should rain force the race's first postponement since 1997, it would be rescheduled for Monday – creating a wildly rare Pacers and racers Memorial Day double-header.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sports in brief

WADDELL RESIGNS AS GM, PRESIDENT OF HURRICANES
RALEIGH, N.C. Don Waddell has resigned as president and general manager of the Carolina Hurricanes, ending a 10-year run with the NHL club. The Hurricanes announced Waddell's departure in a release on Friday and said assistant general manager Eric Tulsky will act as interim GM while the team searches for a permanent replacement. Waddell joined the Hurricanes as president on July 1, 2014, and was appointed GM on May 8, 2018. Carolina made the playoffs in all six seasons he was in charge of hockey operations. The Hurricanes lost in the second round each time except for the 2022-23 season, when they were swept by Florida in the Eastern Conference final.

STAKUSIC FALLS SHORT OF FRENCH OPEN QUALIFICATION
PARIS Marina Stakusic's bid for her first entry in a Grand Slam main draw has fallen just short. The 19-year-old tennis player from Mississauga fell 6-3, 6-2 to Ukraine's Yuliia Starodubtseva on Friday in the final round of qualifying for the French Open. Stakusic's loss means five Canadians will compete in the main singles draws at Roland-Garros. Gabriel Diallo qualified for the men's draw Thursday and joins fellow Montrealer Félix Auger-Aliassime and Denis Shapovalov of Richmond Hill, Ont., in the men's draw. Leylah Fernandez of Laval, Que., and Bianca Andreescu of Mississauga who is making her return to action after missing nine months with a back injury, are in the women's draw.

CHICAGO, ISLANDERS SWAP FIRST-ROUND DRAFT PICKS
The Chicago Blackhawks moved up in the first and second rounds of the 2024 NHL Draft through a trade with the New York Islanders on Friday. The Blackhawks received the 18th and 50th overall picks of the draft from the Islanders. In turn, New York pocketed the 20th and 54th selections in addition to receiving the 61st overall pick. The 2024 NHL Draft begins on June 28 at the Sphere in Las Vegas. Rounds 2-7 will be conducted on June 29. REUTERS

DJOKOVIC LOSES GENEVA SEMI
GENEVA Novak Djokovic will defend his French Open title in Paris still without a trophy this season after losing in the Geneva Open semi-finals on Friday. The 44th-ranked Tomas Machac beat Djokovic 6-4, 0-6, 6-1 in the last clay-court event to prepare for Roland Garros, where main draw play starts on Sunday. His record in 2024 dropped to 14-6 overall and 0-3 in semi-finals, including at the Australian Open against Jannik Sinner.

CANADA BEATS BULGARIA IN MEN'S VOLLEYBALL NATIONS LEAGUE ACTION
ANTALYA, TURKEY Canada's men's volleyball continued its

preparations for the Paris Olympics with a 3-0 win over Bulgaria on Friday in Volleyball Nations League action. Eric Loeppky of Steinbach, Man., had a team-high 14 points as Canada posted set scores of 25-22, 30-28 and 26-24. Canada improved to 2-1 in VNL play after opening with a 3-1 win over host Turkey on Tuesday before a hard-fought 3-1 loss to top-ranked Poland on Thursday. The 12th-ranked Canadians return home for the next leg of VNL play and will next face Cuba on June 4 in Ottawa. THE CANADIAN PRESS

BARCELONA SAYS XAVI HERNÁNDEZ WILL NOT RETURN AS COACH
BARCELONA, SPAIN Barcelona says coach Xavi Hernández is leaving the club at the end of the season. The Spanish club made the announcement Friday after a meeting between club president Joan Laporta, Xavi and several other senior figures at the team's training ground. The club said Laporta "has informed Xavi Hernández that he will not be continuing as first team coach in the 2024-25 season." Xavi's last game in charge will be Sunday's away game against Sevilla on the final day of the league season.

ON OUR WEBSITE

Blue Jays vs. Tigers

The Toronto Blue Jays (23-26 and last in the American League East) were in Detroit on Friday night to face the Tigers (23-27, second last in the AL Central) in the second-game of their four-game set.

Mavericks vs. Timberwolves

The Dallas Mavericks were in Minnesota to face the Timberwolves on Friday night in the second game of their NBA Eastern Conference Finals. Dallas led the best-of-seven series 1-0.

Boston vs. Minnesota

Boston was in Minnesota for Game 3 of their best-of-five PWHL final on Friday night. The series, which is for the inaugural Walter Cup, was tied 1-1. Game 4 is Sunday in Minnesota and Game 5, if necessary, is Wednesday in Boston.

Panthers vs. Rangers

The Florida Panthers were in the Big Apple on Friday night to face the New York Rangers in Game 2 of their Eastern Conference final, with Florida holding a 1-0 lead in the best-of-seven series.

Oilers vs. Stars

The Edmonton Oilers are in Dallas on Saturday night to face the Stars in Game 2 of their Western Conference final, with Edmonton holding a 1-0 lead in their series.

For these stories and more, check our website: GLOBESPORTS.COM



Sports

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Arniel promoted to Jets head coach

The 61-year-old joined Winnipeg as an associate coach when Bowness was hired

WINNIPEG

Scott Arniel came to Winnipeg in 2022 to join the staff of new head coach Rick Bowness.

Two years later, he is replacing his former boss as the Jets' leader behind the bench.

The Jets announced Friday that Arniel is being elevated from associate to head coach of the NHL franchise. The promotion comes almost three weeks after

Bowness announced his retirement.

The Jets said a news conference with Arniel and general manager Kevin Cheveldayoff will be held Monday.

Arniel helped Bowness lead the Jets to a 98-57-9 record and two playoff appearances over two seasons.

The Jets put together a brilliant regular-season campaign in 2023-24. Bowness was named a finalist for the NHL's coach of the year award after the Jets posted a 52-24-6 record, good for second in the Central Division and the Western Conference.

But the success did not translate to a postseason run. For the second postseason in a row, Win-

nipeg was eliminated in five games in the first round, this time at the hands of the Colorado Avalanche.

Arniel has experience leading the Jets' coaching staff. He filled in for Bowness three times for family and health reasons over the past two seasons. Arniel posted a 15-7-3 record over those stretches, including 10-5-2 this season.

The 61-year-old from Kingston, Ont., got his first experience in coaching as a player/assistant coach with the International Hockey League's Houston Aeros in 1995-96.

He retired in 1999 after 18 years as a pro player and spent the next two seasons as an assistant coach

for the IHL's Manitoba Moose.

He stepped up to the NHL coaching ranks in 2022 and spent three seasons as an assistant with the Buffalo Sabres before returning to the Moose, now in the American Hockey League, and serving as their head coach from 2006-10, including a trip to the Calder Cup Final in 2009.

Arniel was hired as the head coach of the Columbus Blue Jackets before the 2010-11 season and was fired midway through the 2011-12 campaign, leaving the team with a 45-60-18 record.

He returned to the AHL as head coach of the Chicago Wolves in 2012-13 before serving as associate coach of the New York Rangers for five seasons (2013-18),

helping them reach the Stanley Cup final in 2014.

Arniel was an assistant coach for the Washington Capitals for four seasons (2019-22) before joining Winnipeg.

Arniel was drafted by the original Jets (now Utah) in the second round (22nd overall) in the 1981 NHL draft.

He played his first five seasons with the Jets and returned to Winnipeg for another stint in 1990-91.

The left-winger played 730 games for Winnipeg, the Buffalo Sabres, and Boston Bruins and recorded 338 points (149 goals, 189 assists) and 599 penalty minutes.

THE CANADIAN PRESS



[BLUE JAYS VS. TIGERS]

Caught stealing

Blue Jays shortstop Bo Bichette tags out Tigers' Wenceel Pérez, who was attempting to steal second base during Friday's game in Detroit. For the game story go to [GLOBESPORTS.COM](https://www.globesports.com)

PAUL SANCYA/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kelly: The Oilers window for winning with McDavid is narrowing down

■ FROM B13

Messi got the final stamp on his forms when he was 35, right at the end of the application window. If he hadn't won that World Cup with Argentina in Qatar, all those goals over all those years in all those championship seasons would not have mattered. At a certain level, you can't blame the draft or the GM or the salary cap. It was on you and you failed.

McDavid is in that window, and probably not for long.

The Oilers will never have this sort of season again – one in which they start out looking like a flaming paper bag left on your doorstep, and end up playing like they were all raised together in some sort of Soviet-era military program.

This is as close as any roster featuring McDavid and Draisaitl is going to get to looking balanced. Even Edmonton's permanent goalie problem has been temporarily neutralized.

The Oilers are always one awkward hit from disaster. There are already rumours milling that McDavid is playing injured.

For right now, the journey has been choppy, but not turbulent. Dallas is probably the best all-around team left in the playoffs. If the Oilers can do this, well, you know. You shouldn't say it, but you can think it.

Which of course leads you to start thinking about other alternate futures. What about one in



Stars defenceman Thomas Harley, right, blocks a pass by Oilers left winger Dylan Holloway during Game 1 of the Western Conference final at American Airlines Center on Thursday. JEROME MIRON/USA TODAY SPORTS

which McDavid gets his Cup and follows that up with a gold medal in Milan.

There is a world in which, over the course of 20 months, McDavid goes from the star who couldn't shoot straight to elbowing on the all-time list with Mark Messier and Guy Lafleur.

Wayne Gretzky and Gordie Howe are already out of reach. At

McDavid's age, Gretzky already had six Cups – four Stanleys and two Canadas. But you never know. It's not as though the NHL is choc-a-bloc with potential dynasties. If McDavid finally learns how to win, he might not stop.

Just talking this way is a jinx. The Oilers are one bad night of sleep for goalie Stuart Skinner away from dropping four in a row.

But this is also why things never turn out for Canadians in the NHL. The country's so tight on the stick that people won't play the what-could-be game.

It doesn't require a trick of fate or a perfect world for Connor McDavid and the Edmonton Oilers to come good. All it requires is that the people who shouldn't miss don't.

OILERS TAKE GAME 1

Connor McDavid's goal 32 seconds into double overtime got the job done as the Edmonton Oilers took a 3-2 road win over the hometown Dallas Stars and a 1-0 series lead in the Western Conference finals.

Edmonton was coming off a seven-game second-round series against Vancouver, while Dallas defeated Colorado in six games to advance.

McDavid once again etched his name among the greats. The 27-year-old superstar joined Wayne Gretzky as the only two players in NHL history to record 20 assists through 13 or fewer games in a postseason multiple times after setting up Zach Hyman's second-period goal on Thursday. McDavid also had 20 assists in 13 playoff games in 2022. Gretzky accomplished the feat in 11 games in 1983 and 1985, and in 13 contests in 1987.

Zach Hyman, with a goal and an assist, and Leon Draisaitl also scored for Edmonton. The Oilers have now registered six one-goal victories – including killing off 37 of 40 penalties – in these playoffs.

"Great for momentum," said Oilers netminder Stuart Skinner, who finished with 31 saves.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Weekends with: While he would make a terrible spy, Hadwin admires Jason Bourne

■ FROM B13

Is there a characteristic of yours that you don't like?

Probably a couple, yeah. I have an extreme ability to put things off, and to push things until a decision has to be made. And it leads to a lot of indecisiveness. It might stem from a little form of laziness, as well. Those are probably the two that I would say would bother me the most.

Who is a fictional character you admire?

I was a huge fan of the Bourne movies, Jason Bourne. That whole spy type, I think it would be kinda cool to do. Bourne always came out on top. Just, you know, always knowing what to do.

I'm sorry to say this, but do you think you would make much of a spy if you can't even invade a

golf course with a bottle of Champagne?

Correct. No, I would make a terrible one, which is probably why his character seems kind of cool – because I can't do it.

During the PGA Championship last weekend, a fan stripped down to his underwear and jumped into a water hazard to retrieve a club you'd lost. At some point, do you start to think, 'Maybe it's me that inspires people to act strangely?'

It definitely has to be something to do with me, for sure. But I think that it probably is not inspiring others to act in some sort of manner, it's probably me doing dumb stuff. I think that's probably the common denominator. You know, if I wear my credential going out onto the green, I probably don't get tackled. If I don't let the club slip and end up in the water, then that moment doesn't go viral.

Are there any podcasts you're listening to these days?

I just can't get into them. I can't sit there for an hour and listen to people talk.

On a video that you and your wife made for the PGA Tour, she said that you sleep like a corpse, with your hands folded on your chest. Is that to conserve energy?

No. I mean, I didn't think we were going to analyze the way that people slept in this world.

Sorry, I'm not trying to embarrass you.

No, I don't even care. Listen, my wife has put more stuff out on Twitter about me and the things that I have done, that there's nothing embarrassing. Like, there's no such thing any more for me.

Do you have a greatest

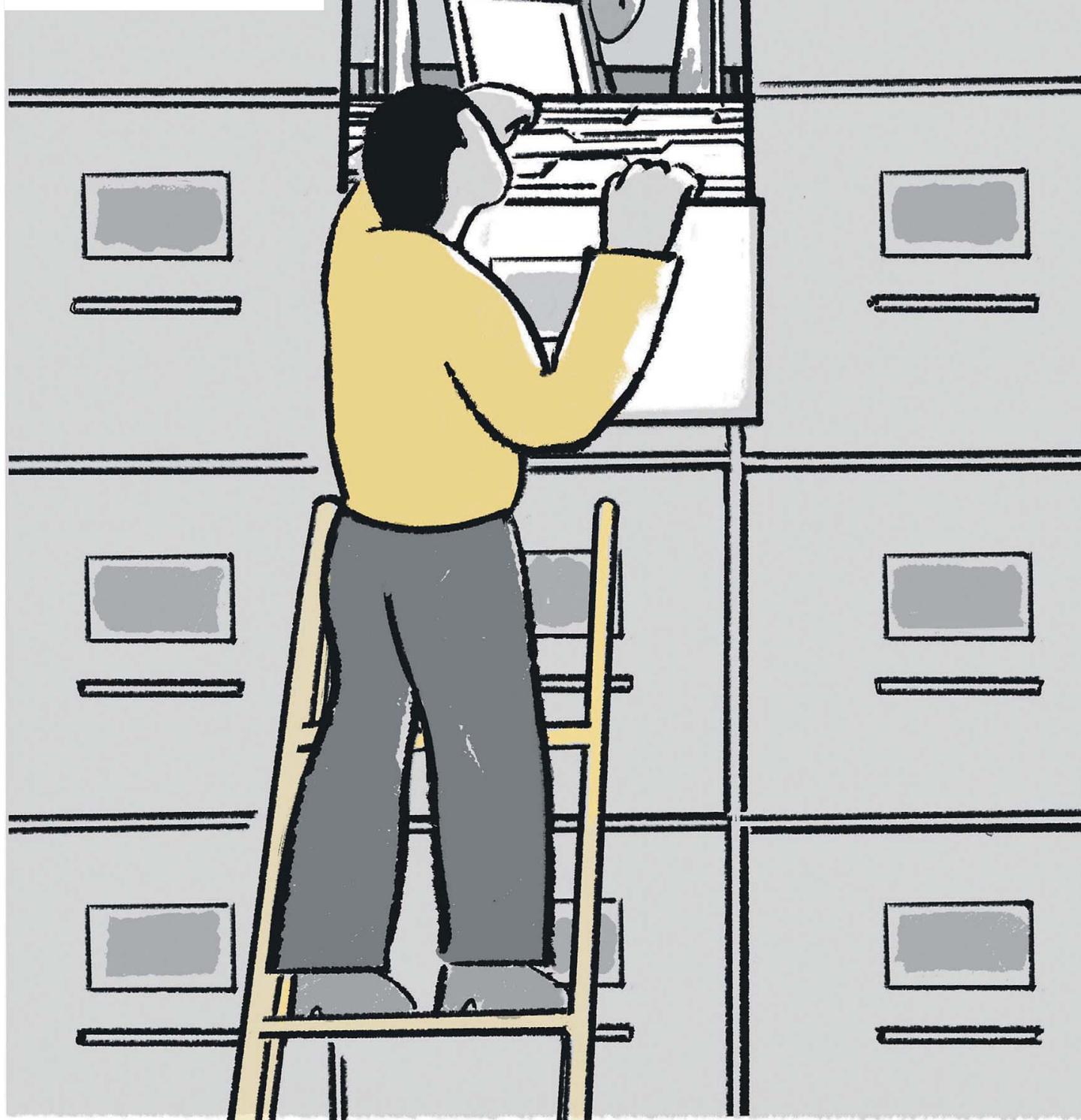
extravagance?

The only thing that comes to mind that I actually spend a lot more money on than I should is that I fly privately in between events – and that's not every week. But I'll spend the money to get some private jet hours, to make life a little bit easier at times during the year for us. Everything else is pretty bland, pretty boring.

What compels a person to dedicate their life to a sport where they almost never win?

Haha! Lunacy. (Pause) The reason I got into golf was that it's all on me. Good or bad, it's all on me. If I don't perform well, I don't have anybody else to blame. If I perform well, I know that I've done the work. I didn't play team sports any later than sort of my early teens. I played some of that stuff in high school, and I found it very difficult to

cope with – even at that age – individually doing well and the team doing poorly, and also the vice versa, of doing poorly individually but the team doing well, as if I didn't do my part. So, I think with golf, for me, it's this personal responsibility. My success is all dependent on me. Now, obviously, I have surrounded myself with an amazing team that will get me there. But at the end of the day, nobody hit the shot for me. Nobody's in my head as I'm standing over the golf ball. And you know, even Tiger said it when he was at his peak, he was like, 'I'm 30th in putting.' There's just so many facets to get better at, and there's this endless chase of perfection that I think that we're all trying to attain. And maybe because it never happens, that's kind of what pushes us even more. That: 'Well, I finished fifth. Yeah, it's a great week, but I didn't win. So, I have to get better.' Versus, 'Well, yeah, we won this game, so we're good.'



OUR POWERLESS PUBLIC SERVICE

Justin Trudeau came into office promising to restore the federal bureaucracy to its rightful place of prominence in policy-making. Instead, **Konrad Yakabuski** writes, the Prime Minister's Office has further eroded the public service's decision-making abilities

OPINION

Konrad Yakabuski is a columnist for The Globe and Mail.

Giddiness is not ever what one expects to witness inside Ottawa's Lester B. Pearson Building, whose early 1970s brutalist design evokes heavier emotions. The more than 3,000 federal public servants who work in the hulking Sussex Drive office complex, home to Global Affairs Canada, are a generally stern lot known for seriousness and straight faces.

Yet, when Justin Trudeau made his first appearance in the Pearson Building after being sworn in as Prime Minister in 2015, there was much giddiness, indeed. The hundreds of federal workers who had gathered in the building's foyer to catch a glimpse of their new Liberal boss dropped any pretext of impartiality. They clapped, hooted and cheered. And they swooned to

take selfies with Canada's then-new rock star PM.

Gobsmacked experts in public administration could not believe their eyes. "What the heck was that? That's not how public servants are supposed to react," Stephen Van Dine, a former assistant deputy minister in the federal government, recalls thinking at the time. "What motivated that release?"

The outpouring of enthusiasm had as much to do with Mr. Trudeau's celebrity status as with the promise his election represented for government employees.

The bureaucracy was then still reeling from cuts implemented by Stephen Harper's Conservatives that had led to the elimination of more than 20,000 public-service jobs. Mr. Harper's Prime Minister's Office had disparaged senior bureaucrats and routinely shut them out of the policy-making process. Some government employees had taken to wearing "Harper Hates Me" buttons to work. The new Lib-

eral PM vowed to restore the bureaucracy to its rightful place in policy-making, and even to reverse the concentration of power in the PMO that began under another Trudeau.

"One of the things that we've seen throughout the past decades in government is the trend towards more control from the Prime Minister's Office - actually it can be traced as far back as my father, who kicked it off in the first place," Mr. Trudeau had told the CBC's Peter Mansbridge during the campaign. "I actually quite like the symmetry of me being the one who'd end that."

More than eight years later, those words ring hollow. Mr. Trudeau has centralized power and control in the PMO to an extent his father could never have dreamed of.

Back in Pierre Trudeau's time, senior bureaucrats could still pull rank over political staffers, and cabinet ministers could still stand up to the PMO. That is no long-

er the case. The PMO is now almighty, while the role of the bureaucracy has been reduced to processing orders, and not always very effectively.

Despite growing seemingly uncontrollably under Mr. Trudeau - between 2015 and the first quarter of 2024, the ranks of the public service increased by more than 40 per cent to about 368,000 - the policy-making capacity of the bureaucracy has atrophied significantly. The role of outside consulting firms has exploded as in-house expertise withers and senior bureaucrats and departmental managers look to consultants for advice, in essence abdicating their own responsibility for formulating policy recommendations to their political bosses. The PMO's obsession with communications wins means that the rigorous analysis once performed by the bureaucracy to assess the effectiveness, sustainability and affordability of new programs is skipped over.

■ BUREAUCRACY, 06

ILLUSTRATION BY TALLULAH FONTAINE

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We need radical tax reform to get out of Canada's productivity rut

A broader restructuring of the system would avoid some of the traps we are seeing with the capital-gains changes

ANDREW
COYNE

OPINION



Once again the Trudeau government has stepped on the hornet's nest called tax reform, and once again it is getting stung. We have seen this happen before: for example, with the changes to the taxation of small private corporations in 2017, and with the "proposal" (if you can call it that: leaked to the press, it was more in the nature of a trial balloon) of the same year to tax employee health and dental benefits as income. Both encountered a storm of opposition, and were either amended or killed.

Now it is happening again, this time with regard to the taxation of capital gains. As with the previous attempted reforms, the proposal to increase the inclusion rate on capital gains from one-half to two-thirds (on gains over \$250,000, for individuals; on all gains for corporations) is defensible on its own. It is right, on the face of it, to tax capital gains at the same rate as wages and dividends, which is the practical effect of increasing the inclusion rate.

Likewise, it was right, in 2017, to try to stem the enormous rise in wealthy individuals turning themselves into private corporations to take advantage of the preferential tax rate on small businesses – a wildly unfair opportunity for what is euphemistically called "tax planning" – as it would have been right to tax employee benefits as income, since that's what they are.

The problem with all three reforms is their piecemeal nature. The tax system, it is well known, is riddled with dozens of similar anomalies and inequities: deductions, exemptions and other preferences that are either unfair or inefficient or both. To go after just one at any given time looks like selective justice. It opens the way for those affected, not just to persuade the public that they are being unfairly singled out, but much more importantly, to persuade themselves. There is no more lethal political movement than a special interest that is sincerely convinced it has been wronged.

Probably the government's advisers thought a single-bullet reform was more manageable politically than one aimed at closing a number of tax breaks at one go. But it hasn't tended to work out that way. With a broader reform, it is true, you antagonize many more taxpayers. But that in itself arguably makes it less toxic politically: if everyone's ox is being gored at the same time, it's

harder for any one group to complain of ill treatment.

Moreover, with the revenue gains from a more substantial broadening of the tax base it becomes possible to cut tax rates, even quite significantly, without harm to the government's fiscal position. Depending on how it was designed, this could result in an equal or greater number of "winners" from reform, to offset the "losers." Whereas with a single-shot reform there are no winners, only losers.

That's not just better politics. It's also better policy. Raising the tax on capital gains to the same rate as other forms of income may eliminate one distortion in the system, but at the cost of increasing another: the distortion from taxing income generally. While it's generally a good idea to close tax preferences – since they cause decision-makers to focus, not on the real economic costs or benefits of different choices, but on the tax advantages attached to each – it's even better to close preferences and cut rates.

It's particularly crucial at this particular moment. By now it is well understood that Canada is suffering from an acute crisis of growth, productivity and investment. That is to say, investment has sunk to such low levels – insufficient even to replace capital as it wears out or becomes obsolete, meaning the capital stock is actually declining – that productivity has not merely ceased to grow, but has of late been falling, as has per capita GDP.

This is not the sort of problem – a senior Bank of Canada official has referred to it as a productivity "emergency" – that can be turned around with piecemeal, incremental adjustments. It will take radical reform, on a wide range of fronts: from abolishing interprovincial trade barriers to ending business subsidies to opening up protected sectors of the economy to foreign competitors and investors.

But perhaps the most urgent imperative is sweeping reform to Canada's tax system: the single largest barrier to investment and the biggest impediment to its efficient allocation. A good place to start is with the Finance Department's annual report on the cost of federal "tax expenditures." As the term implies, these are tax preferences that, by taxing certain taxpayers, activities and things at less than the statutory rate, cost the government money, the same as a spending program.

Not every tax expenditure should be considered a tax distortion, just because it loses the government revenue. The test is whether a given measure moves the system closer to or further away from neutrality. RRSPs, for example, which exempt savings

The tax system, it is well known, is riddled with dozens of similar anomalies and inequities: deductions, exemptions and other preferences that are either unfair or inefficient or both. To go after just one at any given time looks like selective justice. It opens the way for those affected, not just to persuade the public that they are being unfairly singled out, but much more importantly, to persuade themselves.

from tax in the year they are saved – though they are taxed on withdrawal – ensure that savings are taxed only once, eliminating the bias against savings of a "pure" income tax.

The vast majority of such tax expenditures, however, serve no such legitimate purpose. Among the more obvious targets for elimination, on the personal income tax side:

■ **The non-taxation of capital gains on principal residences.** High housing prices have many causes, but surely one of the most significant is that the gains on principal residences are entirely exempt from capital-gains tax: a tax break the Finance Department reckons costs the government roughly \$6.5-billion annually. Is it any wonder that so much money has been plowed into housing, rather than more productive investments?

■ **The age tax credit.** The tax system gives you a cookie for turning 65. It doesn't matter whether you are rich or poor: everyone gets the same tax break, just for being old. The current cost to the treasury is \$5.5-billion, up 50 per cent in the past seven years. As the numbers of the elderly swell, this can only grow.

■ **The Canada Employment Credit.** Again, you get a tax goodie for being employed, no matter what your income. Why? Especially given the cost: \$3.2-billion a year.

■ **The non-taxation of benefits from private health and dental plans.** The failure to bring these into taxation costs the government another \$4-billion annually.

■ **The charitable donation tax credit.** Charity is a wonderful thing. But when you claim the charitable donation tax credit, you're not just giving your money: you're dragging everyone else into paying a part of it with you. What qualifies as a "charity" may have little to do with feeding the poor, and everything to do with political activism. Why should you have to pay for my pet causes? Cost: \$3.8-billion.

There are lots more of these on the corporate income tax side. While many are inefficient and wasteful, most are fairly small beer, in terms of revenue forgone. The biggest exception: the preferential rate for small business.

We can see now what a distraction the 2017 controversy was. For all the political capital the government spent to somewhat limit the ability of a few wealthy taxpayers to have their income taxed at the small-business rate, it would have done far better to fix the problem at its source: by ending the preference for small business.

This isn't just a matter of revenue loss. Baldly put, Canada has too many small businesses. Everyone loves a startup, but the real productivity gains come when a small business grows into a large business. Yet the tax system, perversely, encourages them to stay small. One dollar above \$500,000 annual income, a corporation pays 15-per-cent federal tax. One dollar below, it pays only 9 per cent. This makes no earthly sense, and would make no sense even if didn't cost the treasury \$6.2-billion annually.

What sorts of tax cuts could be bought with these kinds of revenues? The Fraser Institute recently proposed reforms to the personal income tax system that would result in just two tax brackets: 15 per cent (under \$235,675 in income, the same as the current top bracket threshold) and 29 per cent.

This would still leave Canada with relatively high marginal tax rates at the top end: at about 50 per cent, federal and provincial combined, Canada's tax system would remain among the most steeply progressive in the developed world. But for most people below the top bracket it would mark a major improvement in tax competitiveness.

The institute put the cost of these cuts at about \$38-billion. Just the handful of large preferences I have listed here would yield about \$30-billion of that. It should not be hard to scrounge up the remaining few billion, whether by closing additional tax preferences or by – heaven forbid – cutting spending.

On the corporate side, the issue is less cutting rates – Canada's corporate tax rates remain relatively competitive, though we are about to lose much of our edge, with the coming expiry of the Accelerated Investment Incentive – then it is more systemic pro-investment reforms, the kind that would really catch the attention of international investors.

For example, the economist Jack Mintz has proposed moving to a distributed profits tax: Profits would only be taxed on distribution to investors, exempting those reinvested in the company.

Professors Robin Boadway and Jean-François Tremblay, for their part, have suggested replacing the corporate income tax with a tax on corporate "rents." Income is a slippery concept, depending as it does on measuring and comparing the values of things at different points in time, as we do when calculating inflation, capital gains, depreciation, amortization and so on.

The alternative is to tax corporations on their cash-flow each year: all cash in is taxable, all cash out is exempt. Capital purchases, in particular, could be expensed 100 per cent in the year they were made. But whereas corporations are currently biased in favour of debt finance – interest expenses are deductible, dividends are not – Mr. Boadway and Mr. Tremblay would allow a standard deduction for a "normal" return on equity.

The tax would therefore only fall on profits in excess of that normal return – what economists call "rents" – the kind that aren't readily available elsewhere, and hence can be taxed without scaring off investors. Effectively, the marginal tax rate on investment would go to zero.

There are pros and cons to each approach (the Boadway/Tremblay proposal would also require, among other things, fully taxing dividends and capital gains at the personal level). The point is simply to say that incremental reforms (even supposing anyone were talking of those) are no longer sufficient.

It has taken decades for Canada to sink into its current state. Unless we want to spend the next several decades getting out of it, we will have to be prepared to think about radical, even revolutionary reforms, starting with our antiquated, overloaded, exception-riddled tax system.



More Russian elites are being caught in Putin's web

NINA L. KHRUSHCHEVA

OPINION

Professor of international affairs at The New School and the co-author (with Jeffrey Taylor) of *In Putin's Footsteps: Searching for the Soul of an Empire Across Russia's Eleven Time Zones*

In Russia, if a public figure is being prosecuted or punished, two things used to be true: they oppose Vladimir Putin's rule or his "special military operation" in Ukraine, and they are not a high-ranking official.

The arrest last month of deputy defence minister Timur Ivanov for allegedly accepting a bribe ominously defied these rules. It also highlights deepening tensions among powerful groups in Russia amid a lack of coherent leadership from the despot in charge.

Make no mistake: Mr. Putin has no serious challengers. When he ordered the full-scale invasion of Ukraine on Feb. 22, 2022, even his own security council was surprised. Russia's political and business elites were then forced to sacrifice many of their prewar privileges and start building a new Russia that corresponded with Mr. Putin's vision of history and international relations. They had no choice.

If the elites have no choice, ordinary Russians certainly do not. When they learned of the invasion, they poured into the streets to protest, only to be faced with a harsh crackdown. The protests mostly stopped, and Russians resigned themselves to an unwanted war, a declining quality of life and worsening development prospects. Many began quietly relocating their businesses and moving their money to places such as Armenia or Kazakhstan.

Mr. Putin has made plenty of pronouncements about his war goals, from achieving the "de-Nazification" and "demilitarization" of Ukraine to standing up to the West as it attacks "traditional values" and violates the international laws that it enforces on others. According to Mr. Putin, Russia – together with emerging-economy partners such as China and Brazil – is leading the creation of a new, multipolar world order.

What Mr. Putin has not offered is a clear strategy for achieving these goals. Nor has he provided Russians any vision of how they should live, or how Russia should operate, within this new world order. With no shared road map to follow, many Russian actors are being forced to improvise, often in ways that conflict. For example, as the Kremlin pushes "de-privatization," or the nationalization of private firms deemed relevant to national security, Russia's central bank Governor, Elvira Nabiullina, is fighting to limit state involvement in business wherever possible, in order to forestall the collapse of Russia's fast-shrinking market economy.

Conflicts are perhaps most apparent within the military establishment. Last year's rebellion by the late Wagner Group leader Yevgeny Prigozhin is a case in point. The late Mr. Prigozhin did not want to take down Mr. Putin, but he did want Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu's head. And given the centrality of Wagner mercenaries to the Russian war effort, he was convinced he could get it. Instead, he and several other Wagner leaders perished when their airplane exploded in mid-air two months after the aborted coup.

This brings us to Mr. Ivanov, a long-time ally of Mr. Shoigu who amassed an enormous fortune overseeing construction, property management, housing and procurement for Russia's military, and who topped the list of Russia's richest civil servants, with an annual household income of 136.7 million rubles (then US\$2-million).

All those riches did not go unnoticed. Already in 2019, an investigation by Proekt Media highlighted major discrepancies between Mr. Ivanov's reported income and his wealth. Back then, a useful apparatchik like Mr. Ivanov was unlikely to face punishment as he was nothing if not useful. Under his leadership, Oboronstroy, the Russian Defence Ministry's largest infrastructure and construction holding, rapidly built the Sevastopol Presidential Cadet School after Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea. Mr. Ivanov also impressed Mr. Putin with the quick construction of the Defence Ministry's military-themed Patriot Park, which opened in 2016, and of a mammoth cathedral dedicated to the armed forces on the park's grounds.

But with the Ukraine war dragging on, and Russia gripped by uncertainty, the state is no longer the monolith it once was, and powerful groups seem increasingly willing to break the unspoken rule against public infighting. This includes Rosguard (the national guard), the FSB (the internal security service), and the FSO (the security service for government officials), which allegedly were also behind Mr. Prigozhin's mutiny.

In March, Mr. Putin gave the FSB a mandate to fight corruption. FSB leaders seem to have concluded that this was an ideal opportunity to weaken the Ministry of Defence, beginning with its richest and most ostentatious leaders. Going after Mr. Ivanov made it easier to undermine Mr. Shoigu, who somewhat predictably just lost his post as defence minister. He gave way to a potentially more effective minister, Andrei Belousov, a former economist. Mr. Belousov was in charge of the economy in Mr. Putin's previous government, and his appointment suggests a drive toward the efficient and sustainable militarization of Russia's economy.

Mr. Shoigu, for his part, has assumed a ceremonial position atop Russia's Security Council, which only the President controls. Moreover, Mr. Shoigu's alleged nemesis, General Aleksei Dymin, the Governor of the Tula region and once a supporter of Mr. Prigozhin, has moved up, becoming Mr. Putin's aid responsible for military production.

These reshuffles suggest that the Kremlin seeks to strengthen the state's organization around the war agenda. But intra-elite discord does not bode well for Mr. Putin. Russian history suggests that policies pursued without sufficient consultation or clarity can become a threat to a leader's rule, with support quickly turning into opposition.

After succeeding Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev denounced his predecessor and decided unilaterally to launch de-Stalinization. In support of his anti-repression agenda, he appointed the Belousov-like civilians Aleksandr Shelepin and Vladimir Semichastny to head the KGB. Unlike the Ukraine war, de-Stalinization was a worthy endeavour. But it would have been more widely embraced with a country-wide debate about the role in Stalin's crimes of all his lieutenants, including Khrushchev, and an effort to build a broad consensus. That didn't happen, and hardliners, along with Shelepin and Semichastny, ousted Khrushchev in 1964.

Similarly, Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika was viewed as a "czarist" policy imposed on the Soviet *nomenklatura* from above. The late Mr. Gorbachev wanted to free Russia from the shackles of communism, but offered no viable blueprint for the future he desired, and he also reshuffled bumbling apparatchiks, with hollow results. Ultimately, the program fatally undermined the Soviet Union – but not before spurring resentful hardliners to attempt a coup in 1991.

Mr. Putin admires Stalin, not Khrushchev or Mr. Gorbachev. But it is from Khrushchev and Mr. Gorbachev that he might learn the most.



Shai Gilgeous-Alexander attends last year's Met Gala in a Thom Browne ensemble. The Hamilton-raised NBA MVP runner-up has twice been named the league's most stylish player by GQ magazine. NINA WESTERVELT/NYT

How a star named Shai restored my awe in sports

I never thought I'd claim a favourite player in middle age, David Ebner writes – until Shai Gilgeous-Alexander arrived

OPINION

David Ebner is a member of The Globe and Mail's editorial board

The infatuation was unexpected. Let me tell you about him. I've already regaled my wife, close friends and co-workers – sometimes unsolicited and often at length.

He's 25 years old, from Hamilton, Ont., and he's one of the best basketball players in the world. He's an aspiring fashion icon, and seems like a good family man, too. This summer, he has a clear shot to enter the annals of Canadian sports history at the Olympics in Paris.

I'm a former sportswriter, in middle age, surprised to publicly declare I have a favourite player: Shai Gilgeous-Alexander.

My first favourite player, circa age 7, was Mike Bossy, the great NHL goal scorer and four-time Stanley Cup champ. Our affections are drawn to winners. In high school, my passions shifted. I traded basketball's New York Knicks for Nirvana. After university I was hired at The Globe and wrote in the business section for years. When a sports job came open, the editor-in-chief asked me: "Do you even like hockey?"

It is true that I had grown distant from sports. I brought an outsider approach to my reporting, but I still understood why people loved sports. It's the dynamics that vest a game with meaning; it's a hope for something amazing to happen.

The story that drew me in most was the Canadian men's basketball team. This country was forever a nobody on the court, save for Steve Nash's Hall of Fame career. But in the mid-2010s, a parade of prospects started to make the leap from gyms around Toronto to the NBA. I had the workings of a book, until "the rise" of Canadian hoops crashed into the reality of failing to qualify for the 2016 Summer Olympics. Canada lost the make-or-break game by a single point. I tasted the bitterness of what it's like to stake a lot on the outcome of a game: not like a fan, but not entirely dissimilar.

Then came Shai Gilgeous-Alexander.

My run as a sportswriter ended as he made it to the NBA in the late 2010s, landing with the Oklahoma City Thunder after his first season.

Young teams are usually terrible – yet Shai led the Thunder to more wins, and further into the playoffs, than any such youthful team before, until they were knocked out of the final eight last week.

I had joined The Globe's editorial board and kept tabs on his climb.

The core of my might-have-been basketball book hadn't been the sport alone. It was an immigrant story, a story of Toronto and of Canada. Many of the two dozen-plus Canadians in the NBA are children of immigrants. Shai's mother, a former Olympic sprinter, is from Antigua, as is his father's family. My parents arrived in Ottawa from Austria in the early 1970s. To me, basketball is a story of a changing Canada.

An outsider's eye works for journalism but that view is the opposite of being a fan – short, of course, for fanatic. It had always struck me as overly devotional, the passions of all those at an arena or stadium, so many of them wearing players' jerseys. I may have once or twice haughtily scoffed at such sartorial choices. But academic research shows that fandom can be a big positive in a person's life, starting with the benefits of community.

The moment my emotional distance started to recede had to be the shoes. Shai, whose self-styled fashion game had accelerated like his game on the court, put out a new pair with Converse in the fall of 2021, in baby blue. I arrived at a Vancouver shoe store as it opened on the morning they came out. Shai wasn't yet famous; I was the only one there. It stoked a sense of being part of something.

As I let go of my detached appreciation, I ate up stories about Shai at fashion weeks in New York and Paris, including as a Thom Browne runway model. At last year's Met Gala, he put together

an elaborate black-and-white Thom Browne ensemble. He's twice been named the most stylish player in the NBA in GQ magazine. I closely followed his Instagram. This year, he married his long-time girlfriend on Valentine's Day. A few weeks ago, they welcomed their first child.

This past winter, my wife and I visited Portland, Ore., to see his Thunder play the Trail Blazers. On the court, Shai was great as always – he was the runner-up for this season's MVP award – but it was his comportment, his leadership, that resonated most for me. We went early to watch the players warm up, and after he was done, he took time to embrace everyone, players, coaches. He has curated a bond on a young Thunder team. Young teams are usually terrible – yet Shai led the Thunder to more wins, and further into the playoffs, than any such youthful team before, until they were knocked out of the final eight last week.

It is, however, his commitment to and performances for Canada's national team that hooked me the hardest. He turned almost winning into actually winning. At last summer's FIBA World Cup, Shai led Canada to its first medal, a bronze. Two games earlier, when Canada was losing with the chance to qualify for the 2024 Paris Olympics slipping away, his steady heroics won the day. "Unorthodox, offbeat, slithery, being unpredictable" – that's how he describes himself on the court. At the World Cup, when it counted the most, he was all of that.

Rediscovered fandom has its limits. I will not buy a jersey, though the idea of a red-and-white Canada jersey with his No. 2 on the back has flitted across my mind. And this summer I'll watch every minute of the Canadian team at the Olympics. The last – and only – time Canada's men stood on an Olympic podium for basketball was in 1936, so long ago it was the Canadian inventor of the game, James Naismith, who handed out the medals.

There's an old sportswriters' dictum: no cheering in the press box. Now freed from such strictures, I am a fan. From fashion to his otherworldly basketball footwear, Shai Gilgeous-Alexander has invoked in me something from boyhood – a sense of awe, and of what might be.

IS OUR CAPITAL IN CRISIS?

After a visit to Ottawa, **Michael Bociurkiw** writes, he was shocked to find his hometown's core has become a ghost town and homelessness has spiralled

OPINION

Michael Bociurkiw is a global affairs analyst and senior fellow at the Atlantic Council.

Growing up in Ottawa, our family took an outsized pride in touring friends, relatives – even freshly released Soviet dissidents – around Canada's national capital. Compact, beautiful and user-friendly, as “PKs” or professor's kids, it topped living in Washington and London, two other capitals we called home occasionally during sabbaticals.

Sure, Ottawa was and still is one of the coldest capitals in the world, but the joys of skating on the Rideau Canal, documenting the fall colours of the Gatineau Hills on our Instamatic cameras, or cycling on endless bike paths through protected greenbelt areas amid steamy summer days, more than made up for those brutal months of shovelling snow and freezing at bus stops. In my books, the ByWard Market in summertime still rivals notable seasonal spaces elsewhere in the world.

My Ottawa bursts with nostalgia: It's where I snagged my first job – selling ice cream from a bicycle cart while my musician brother busked on its streets. Carling Avenue is where I had my first kiss. Ottawa is where I graduated from high school and university, puffed on my first cigarette, learned the skills of journalism, served Her Majesty's Government as an executive assistant to a member of Parliament, and produced an award-winning, current-affairs radio program at Carleton University's campus station, CKCU-FM.

Whenever I return to Ottawa, those cherished memories from my teenage and early adult years flood back into my mind like an unstoppable tsunami – warm, fuzzy feelings that I wouldn't trade for the world.

But sadly, that didn't happen this spring when I dropped in for a few days for the huge UN plastics summit that attracted delegates from almost 180 countries.

Not only did the central core resemble a ghost town – mostly because thousands of civil servants, backed by powerful unions, refuse to return to their office desks – but many of the walking routes I used to take through downtown have morphed into a distressing obstacle course of homeless people camped out on the sidewalks. In fact, the last time I felt like that – and I've been to some of the meanest cities in the world – was in Pretoria, South Africa, around the time of the BRICS summit last year, when a wrong turn to the diplomatic quarter brought a few anxious encounters. On many strolls through my former home, I shook my head in disbelief thinking, “This isn't the Ottawa I know or love.”

Turns out, I'm not alone. Several foreign delegates at the UN plastics summit told me they were surprised at the number of homeless people and others causing disruption in the immediate vicinity of the Ottawa conference centre. Old friends from student days who remain in the capital say they aren't proud of what they see day in and day out.

It's hard not to feel sorry for the

Several foreign delegates at the UN plastics summit told me they were surprised at the number of homeless people and others causing disruption in the immediate vicinity of the Ottawa conference centre. Old friends from student days who remain in the capital say they aren't proud of what they see day in and day out.

small mom-and-pop businesses that are struggling to survive amid a sharp drop in foot traffic. Scores of cafés and lunch stops are suffering, including the deserted Presse Café.

Hotels and corporate travel venues are feeling the pinch as the federal government isn't hosting as many events. “Corporate travel is a little lagging because of the government and how they're operating. And with work-from-home policies, the federal government now does not entertain the kinds of meetings that they used to,” said Steve Ball, president of the Ottawa Gatineau Hotel Association.

At the moment, the feds are mandating a two-days-a-week-in-the-office policy, but it's not widely enforced. That is set to increase to three days a week come September, CTV Ottawa reported, citing an article in *Le Droit*.

I am rarely in agreement with Ontario's bombastic Premier, Doug Ford, but he seemed to make some sense recently when he called on federal workers to return to their desks: “You got to get the economy going [in Ottawa's] downtown. These restaurants are hurting, the shops are hurting. Ridership on the transit's hurting. I think that's a normal request. You get hired, come to work. Imagine if I told everyone else in the province you don't have to go to work? Our economy would be shot. So, they shouldn't get special treatment.”

He's right. And I'm not betting money on the current federal Liberal government to grow the spine needed to bully the unions into submission any time soon.

To be sure, Ottawa is a complicated organism. Officials from several government entities, including the National Capital Commission and provincial, regional and municipal officials, and even the transit service on occasion, all have a say in its development and day-to-day operations. Squabbles between the unelected poobahs of the bloated NCC and elected city councillors are commonplace, right down to the positioning of walking paths.

Another vivid example of Ottawa's too-many-chefs-in-the-kitchen governance style is the much-maligned Rideau Street area between Sussex Drive and St. Patrick Street, which despite billions of dollars of investment over the decades has resisted attempts to transform itself into an urban legend. The sinkhole disaster of 2016 might have been a sign from the heavens that it is meant to be something else.

When I was a cub reporter covering the city in the 1980s, I wrote for *The Globe and Mail* about ambitious plans to transform the artery into a covered, heated pedestrian mall. As I predicted, it never worked out and these days the street is open to buses, cars and pedestrians. Discount stores, fast food outlets and cannabis shops line much of its length. It's low-end and trashy, and must be one of the most unsuccessful urban design projects in the country. (A post on TripAdvisor refers to the mall as “the definition of an urban planning disaster.”)

And the lack of consensus on renovating the official residence of the Prime Minister – 24 Sussex Dr. had always been included in tours of the city when I was a kid chaperoning visitors around town – needs to be settled soon so that what Politico called “Canada's most famous fixer-upper” can be returned to the NCC's portfolio of attractions.

Let's hope that an aggressive push to bring housing into the downtown core, mostly through high-rise residential buildings, will bring more vitality back and help alleviate the acute nationwide housing shortage.

Of course, it is easy to make a lightning visit to my former home and launch criticism at decision-makers for bad policy decisions. For one, other global cities are grappling with a host of post-COVID issues. In New York, for example, city hall has been unable to wean restaurateurs off of outdoor dining sheds, which have robbed neighbourhoods of precious parking spaces and impeded access for pedestrians, sanitation operations, pest control and emergency vehicles. (For many restaurant owners, it was a once-in-a-lifetime chance to grab free real estate and expand their operations, but many sheds have become dilapidated and are now canvases for graffiti artists.)

Second, things have changed a lot in Ottawa since I used to toss newspapers across neighbours' lawns as a boy in Alta Vista. Now, the majority of the capital's households consist of two people and the citizenry has aged considerably.

But my perspective is shaped not only by living in the city for many years, but by comparing the state of play in other capitals. Visits to major world capitals in the past months, including Washington, London, Rome, Warsaw and Brussels, showed that they've bounced back from COVID in a way that Ottawa hasn't.

Let us look at this crisis as an opportunity to reimagine what Canadian downtowns should be, especially Ottawa. At the end of the day, if Canada wants to retain its image as a Group of Seven middle power, it needs to fix its front porch first.

Trudeau needs to read the writing on the wall

STEPHEN MAHER

OPINION

Political journalist and the author of several books, including *The Prince: The Turbulent Reign of Justin Trudeau*.

In October of 2022, when I started working on my book about Justin Trudeau's government, I told my interview subjects that I thought history would judge him favourably.

It seemed to me then that Mr. Trudeau had changed the country more than Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin or Stephen Harper, and that his record could be measured against Brian Mulroney's. Justin's father, Pierre – who gave the country the Charter of Rights and Freedoms – is more significant, but I thought history might put Justin ahead of other recent prime ministers.

Mr. Trudeau lifted many children out of poverty, legalized marijuana, reformed the Senate (sort of), steered the country through the pandemic and managed to save the North American free-trade agreement from Donald Trump. He made progress on Indigenous reconciliation, checked rising inequality and acted to bring down emissions with a carefully designed carbon tax, which he backed resolutely through tedious legal and political battles.

Of course, he also made many mistakes, burning political capital on nonsense. The first was his trip to the Aga Khan's island, an ethical minefield he chomped into after rejecting the advice of senior staff. There was a disastrous trip to India, with too many costume changes, a guest appearance by a Khalistani terrorist and no subsequent increase in chickpea exports.

Worst was the SNC-Lavalin affair, in which his office put inappropriate pressure on the attorney-general at the time, Jody Wilson-Raybould, who did not want to give a get-out-of-jail-free card to a troubled company with deep connections to the people who run the country. It brought his government to the brink of collapse, but he got past it, and all his recent predecessors had presided over scandals that were at least as bad.

That was how I saw Mr. Trudeau when I started researching the book – generally successful, in spite of many mistakes. Eighteen months later, as the book is being published, Mr. Trudeau looks worse, and the trend line ought to give him pause.

His mishandling of relations with both China and India – and his mysterious reluctance to tackle foreign interference in Canadian politics – has shaken the confidence even of natural supporters. More dangerous to him, though, is his economic leadership, or lack thereof.

In 2015, Mr. Trudeau won by promising to act for “the middle class and those working hard to join it.” He eventually lost that focus, and he responded slowly to voters' concerns about the cost of living, leaving a huge opening for Pierre Poilievre. He has failed to effectively defend the carbon tax, such that many Canadians are now convinced it is the cause of all their problems, although it is not.

And he failed to prevent a housing crisis. He dramatically increased immigration while there was not enough housing, which should have been obvious because of all the tent encampments. Mr. Trudeau has since responded, but only after Mr. Poilievre positioned himself as the champion of young people struggling to put roofs over their heads. Mr. Trudeau can't win an election if he can't convince those voters that he, not Mr. Poilievre, has their backs.

He personally saved the Liberal Party of Canada from ruin, so Liberals are not going to now defenestrate him, Liz Truss-style, but many of his supporters hope he will declare victory and hit the speaker circuit while there may still be time for a new leader to put the house in order.

In February, when I interviewed the Prime Minister, he convinced me that he is sincere in his desire to lead the party into the next election. “I just see it as such a fundamental choice in what kind of country we are, who we are as Canadians,” he told me. “That, for me, is what I got into politics for: to have big fights like this about who we are as a country and where we're going.”

It may serve his purposes to stay, but not the party's. The trajectory is very bad. His brand is worn out. He can't connect. If he runs again, the campaign will inevitably be a referendum on him, which the Conservatives are confident they can win. If he leaves, it might turn into a referendum on Mr. Poilievre, the outcome of which is harder to predict.

A few months ago, a friend of Mr. Trudeau told me that there are four people who might be able to convince him to leave: his old friend and strategist Tom Pitfield, his chief of staff Katie Telford, and cabinet ministers Marc Miller and Dominic LeBlanc. A few weeks later, *Globe* columnist Lawrence Martin wrote that Mr. LeBlanc – who used to babysit Mr. Trudeau when they were young – is talking about running for the job, which is the kind of thing that happens when the ship is taking on water.

Mr. Trudeau has a global brand and a record he can point to with pride, and he can look forward to returning to his lucrative career as a public speaker. That would be easier if he hangs up the gloves while he's still undefeated.



Ottawa's central core, pictured in April, 2020, has seen a sharp drop in foot traffic, partly because civil servants only have to work at their offices twice a week. JUSTIN TANG/THE CANADIAN PRESS



Federal Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre is pictured eating an apple at an Okanagan orchard in B.C. during an interview with Don Urquhart, the editor of *Castanet*, a local news outlet. PHOTO ILLUSTRATION: THE GLOBE AND MAIL. SOURCE: YOUTUBE

Poilievre's media strategy is bearing fruit

After seeing his predecessors struggle to control their own narratives, the Conservative Leader has used social media and belligerence toward journalists to create a direct line to his supporters, **Andrew Lawton** writes

OPINION

Andrew Lawton is the author of *Pierre Poilievre: A Political Life*, from which this essay has been adapted.

Pierre Poilievre was campaigning in British Columbia's Okanagan region when he stopped at an orchard for an interview with Don Urquhart, the editor of *Castanet*, a local news outlet in Oliver and Osoyoos, B.C. Mr. Poilievre was munching on a red apple during the interview — which sounds like an irrelevant detail, but isn't.

Mr. Urquhart asked Mr. Poilievre about his approach to politics, accusing him of “taking the populist pathway” and “appealing to people's more emotional levels” — “people would say you are taking a page out of Donald Trump.” Mr. Poilievre challenged the journalist on each question, asking for specific examples; Mr. Urquhart was unable to answer.

The Conservative Leader and his campaign team knew they'd struck paydirt. They published their own video of the interview, which amassed 1.5 million views on X (formerly Twitter) before *Castanet* even released its story. The title: “How do you like them apples?”

The absurdity of Mr. Poilievre chomping on his apple while nonchalantly swatting away Mr. Urquhart's questions helped make the interview a viral sensation. The humble fruit quickly became a folk symbol in Conservative politics. At the next Conservative caucus meeting, each of the party's members of Parliament held up a red apple as they posed for a group photo, yet another illustration of politicians' ability to take something fun and make it deeply uncool. At later rallies, Mr. Poilievre started tossing out apples to people to reward them for witty interjections. And the Conservative Party, per usual, fundraised off the video, getting money from supporters who tend to share Mr. Poilievre's sense that most journalists are anti-Conservative.

The incident also attracted unique global attention — from Fox News in the United States, the *Daily Mail* in Britain and Australia's *Sky News*, among other outlets. American conservatives who had never heard of Mr. Poilievre adopted him as a hero in their right-versus-media culture war. “Canadian Conservative Appears to be Eating an Apple; He's Actually Chewing Up This Lefty Journalist,” was the headline at Ben Shapiro's *Daily Wire*.

While they haven't all featured fruit, or even been face-to-face, Mr. Poilievre's confrontations with media have become routine ever since he declared his candidacy for the Conservative leadership two years ago. During the leadership race, for instance, then *Global News* reporter Rachel Gilmore asked Mr. Poilievre's team to comment for a story that positioned him as “far-right” for having joined Canadian veteran James Topp for a leg of his march

across Canada protesting vaccine mandates. Mr. Topp had appeared on a podcast hosted by a man who had been arrested on firearms charges and said the government should be overthrown. Mr. Poilievre personally made the decision to ignore Ms. Gilmore's direct request for comment and instead offer a public statement. “No wonder trust in the media is at an all-time low,” Mr. Poilievre wrote. “One of *Global News*'s so-called journalists decided to smear me and thousands of other Canadians because we criticized the federal government's unscientific and discriminatory vaccine mandates.”

A statement attributed to the campaign accused Ms. Gilmore of forcing Mr. Poilievre to answer for anyone he'd ever met and anyone those people had ever met, calling the tactic “guilt by multiple degrees of separation.” It continued: “For example, Mr. Poilievre has met with Justin Trudeau. That does not make Mr. Poilievre responsible for Mr. Trudeau's many racist outbursts, including dressing up in racist costumes and mistreating visible minorities in his own party.”

These episodes aren't just good social-media fodder; they're part of a deliberate and calculated Conservative strategy to put the media on defence. “Just like we're not going to let a Liberal get away without telling the truth, we cannot let the mainstream media get away with it,” says former Conservative leader Andrew Scheer. Mr. Poilievre's friend and the Tories' House leader. “They actively want Justin Trudeau and the Liberals to win. They want a leftist agenda to be implemented. They are believers in what Justin Trudeau is doing, and they concoct and contrive media narratives to hurt us and help them. So at the very least, if we can show that bias to Canadians, then come campaign time, we'll have a fighting chance to get our message through.”

The strategy, in fact, goes deeper. It has roots that predate both the Conservative Party, which was founded in 2003, and its predecessor, the Canadian Alliance, launched in 2000. They stretch all the way back to the early 1990s and Mr. Poilievre's first experience of politics as a teenaged Reform Party activist in Calgary.

Reform leader Preston Manning, whose constituency board Mr. Poilievre served on while he was still in high school, contested elections in 1998, 1993 and 1997, each time setting out with a well-considered platform of economic and democratic reforms aimed at addressing the grievances of Western conservatives. In each election, Mr. Manning spent much of his campaign on the defensive, dogged by protesters shouting “Racist, sexist, anti-gay, Preston Manning go away.” The messages he wanted to communicate to voters were often overwhelmed by discussion of topics the media and his opponents considered more important, often concerning divisive or “extreme” positions on social issues

Many around the Conservative Leader genuinely believe that the mainstream media is out to get them and that there's nothing to be gained by sitting down with the CBC's Rosemary Barton, for instance.

either held by or attributed to Mr. Manning and his party.

He was supplanted as Reform leader in 1997 by Stockwell Day, on whose leadership campaign Mr. Poilievre was a key member. As a former Alberta treasurer, Mr. Day wanted to campaign primarily on cutting taxes and fiscal issues, but as a devout Christian and a creationist he came under even more pressure than Mr. Manning to explain his personal beliefs and answer accusations of racism and homophobia.

Since his election to Parliament in 2004, Mr. Poilievre has served under three Conservative leaders — Stephen Harper, Andrew Scheer and Erin O'Toole — each of whom has faced his own onslaught of criticism for being too extreme, for having a hidden agenda on abortion rights or other social policies, for being some version of “racist, sexist, anti-gay.” Each has campaigned on the defensive, talking about issues his opponents wanted to discuss in terms defined by those opponents and generally accepted by media.

Mr. Poilievre has long been frustrated by this dynamic. At the 1996 Reform convention in Vancouver, he was asked by a reporter about the accusation that his party was “racist and intolerant.” The 17-year-old responded that Reform's critics “only say it because it sounds good. Truth is, we're new and they don't want us to grow.”

In retrospect, the whole of his career can be seen as the careful construction of a political persona and style of communication that makes him invulnerable to the pressures that have forced his predecessors into defensive, even apologetic postures, while allowing him to dictate the terms by which he interacts with Cana-

dians. This is Mr. Poilievre's most distinctive feature as Conservative Leader.

Whether debating Liberals in Question Period, speaking to media in scrums or taking questions in apple orchards, Mr. Poilievre often goes on the offensive, attacking premises he and his Conservative colleagues view as being inherently and unfairly biased against them. What is often read by non-Conservatives as belligerence is from his point of view a necessary tool to craft his own narrative and allow the messages and policies he expects will resonate with voters to break through.

“The Liberals, NDP and the mainstream media try to create these terrible binary choices where you either break faith with your party base and your core values and your party policy or you do this terrible thing that they can brand you as being nasty or whatever,” says Mr. Scheer. “What Pierre is so good at is the third option, flipping it right back and saying, ‘No, it's actually the Liberal policies that are causing this or that problem.’ He's got this ability to do judo and frame the debate back on better terrain for us so that we're not constantly being defensive or led around by the mainstream media narrative.”

The strategy underlying Mr. Poilievre's media interactions is also evident in his choices about who he will and won't sit down with. His leadership campaign decided early on that he would not make the rounds on current affairs shows such as CBC's *Power and Politics* or CTV's *Question Period*. It wasn't out of disdain for the hosts (although one campaign team member told me Mr. Poilievre holds a healthy suspicion of most members of the parliamentary Press Gallery), but a concerted effort to upend the traditional model of doing politics. He has noted that his predecessors as Conservative leader have gone to great lengths to appease the media and have nevertheless emerged with their reputations in tatters. He chooses instead to sit for interviews with media outside the Press Gallery. As 2023 came to a close, Mr. Poilievre did nearly a dozen year-end interviews, all with non-Ottawa-based journalists: local talk radio, *True North*, ethnic and cultural media, and conservative columnists Brian Lilley and the late Rex Murphy of *Postmedia*.

Many around the Conservative Leader genuinely believe that the mainstream media is out to get them and that there's nothing to be gained by sitting down with the CBC's Rosemary Barton, for instance. Spending his time with alternative media outlets also allows him to truthfully say he's not hiding from the media while bursting the balloons of Parliament Hill journalists who sometimes think of themselves as the only real reporters.

The other dimension of this strategy is Mr. Poilievre's dedicated cultivation of social-media audiences. He had long posted his House of Commons speeches on-

line, but there wasn't a concerted effort to get eyeballs on them. It was only when he was demoted from his finance critic role in 2021 by then-leader Erin O'Toole that he took it upon himself to increase his direct communication with Canadians. “It allowed him the chance to go and get really good at YouTube,” says Conservative strategist Hamish Marshall, who worked on Mr. Poilievre's leadership campaign.

Mr. Poilievre became more prolific on social media, talking about complex economic issues in simple and digestible terms. In one video, he illustrated inflation by holding up a three-foot-long piece of lumber and a foot-long piece, pointing out how the shorter one cost the same that day as the longer one had a year earlier.

He worked continuously to find new angles and situations to talk about issues that mattered to him. Mr. Poilievre once took a break from door-knocking to sit down with two constituents and smoke shisha — molasses-based flavoured tobacco — from a hookah. “Now I know what you think I'm smoking,” he said to the camera after taking a drag. “You think I'm smoking the stuff that Justin Trudeau brags about smoking. No, this is a much better product.” Mr. Poilievre called it “very relaxing.” He chatted with one of the constituents, a small-business owner, about jobs, the cost of living and hard work. “Everything Justin Trudeau touches blows up in smoke,” he quipped.

While Mr. Poilievre had always been among the most active MPs on social media, his demotion allowed him to create content with new zeal, expanding his digital platform and national profile.

Since becoming Leader in September, 2022, he has honed this skill further. Last December, the Leader released *Housing Hell*, a 15-minute mini-documentary on the housing crisis. The video racked up more than five million views in its first month online, featuring Mr. Poilievre's narration over slick graphics, charts and footage that emphasized the same thoughts on housing that have peppered his speeches for years. Conservative MPs were urged to share it when it was released, no doubt helping its early virality. The video was panned by several journalists: In *The Globe and Mail*, Gary Mason said it offered a “lousy, dime-store analysis of our housing crisis,” and the CBC convened a panel of housing experts to discuss what the video got right and wrong. The dozens of news stories alerting Canadians to the documentary made it a pretty clear win for a politician who wants people to hear what he thinks from him rather than from anyone else.

With his social-media prowess, Mr. Poilievre now has a direct line to his electorate. He uses it to amplify his wins and to fight negative storylines. It all amounts to a degree of independence from the Press Gallery and control over his own narrative that his predecessors would have envied.



Bureaucracy: The ArriveCan hearings exposed the public service's real-life Hunger Games

FROM 01

In their April 16 budget, the Trudeau Liberals announced a slew of new measures and billions in new spending to boost housing construction and create national dental, pharmacare and school lunch programs. Notwithstanding their attractiveness to inflation-ravaged, house-poor voters, the new initiatives raise serious jurisdictional questions; most provinces already run similar programs of their own.

The launch of these new federal programs will lead to yet more bureaucracy at a time when the federal government is struggling to efficiently run existing programs. The budget forecast the federal public service will shrink by 5,000 full-time posts by 2028, but observers have cast doubt on that projection. After all, the public service grew by more than 10,000 in the first quarter of 2024 alone.

Ottawa's newest programs appear to have been designed to generate favourable headlines for an unpopular government. They are eerily reminiscent of policy flops such as the First-Time Home Buyer Incentive or the Canada Digital Adoption Program, announced to great fanfare, only to be quietly scrapped this year.

Announcing new programs is, of course, the easy part. But the Trudeau Liberals have a poor record on execution. What was most telling about reaction to the budget largesse, which also included multibillion-dollar investments in artificial intelligence and defence, was how little enthusiasm the announcements generated among the stakeholders most affected by them. Given the Liberals' failure to fulfill earlier promises on innovation and defence, they simply do not buy the hype any more.

The budget also introduced a surprise increase in the capital-gains tax inclusion rate, set to take effect in June, without providing technical details on the new rules. The move smacked of tax-policy improvisation, undertaken without significant prior analysis of its effect on investment decisions and economic competitiveness.

"Good public policy is the result of a process that includes due diligence, research and federal-provincial consultation. This government doesn't seem to have a lot of patience for that," Mr. Van Dine says. "The homework isn't being done any more and a lot of these new initiatives are being launched through an issues-management perspective rather than an evidence-based policy perspective."

Where senior bureaucrats once ran interference or warned unschooled politic-

ians off their half-baked ideas, they now know better than to provide contrarian advice. The old *Yes Minister* trope about the wily bureaucrat pulling his political master's strings has been turned on its head. Now, senior bureaucrats obey the PMO, period, as a matter of self-preservation. The millennials and Generation Zedders who now dominate the public service – more than half of all federal workers are under 45 – have known nothing else.

Parliamentary hearings into the ArriveCan fiasco have yielded an astonishing spectacle as senior bureaucrats publicly accuse each other of lying to deflect blame. The era when public servants worked anonymously and ministers were held accountable for mistakes or scandals that occurred in their departments is over. The ArriveCan hearings portray a rudderless and cutthroat public service – the image of a *Hunger Games* sequel – albeit one without consequences, since almost no one in the public service ever ends up getting fired.

"The notion that the public service has no constitutional personality distinct from the government of the day, and which has underpinned our parliamentary system, just does not work any more," says Donald Savoie, the Canada Research Chair in public administration and governance at the University of Moncton, and expert on the federal public service. "You now have public servants appearing before parliamentary committees throwing one another under the bus and ministers are nowhere to be seen to accept responsibility."

This is not how parliamentary government based on the Westminster model is supposed to work. In Canada's political system, inherited from Britain, a professional, permanent and non-partisan public service has traditionally been a bulwark against bad policy. Public servants "serve" the government of the day by providing "fearless advice" to cabinet ministers, who are often dilettantes with no prior expertise within the remit of their portfolios. Senior bureaucrats present the range of policy options available to address a given problem or issue, drawing on extensive research, cost-benefit analysis and data. Ideally, cabinet ministers choose the best course of action; but even when they do not, civil servants are expected to loyally implement whatever policy is chosen. Only, when things do go wrong, ministers are not supposed to pass the buck.

Fearless advice and loyal implementation were long the touchstones of the federal public service. The 1918 Civil Service Act was the result of Conservative prime

minister Robert Borden's election promise to "destroy every vestige of patronage" with the adoption of a merit-based appointments system in the public service. Senior bureaucrats worked in near-anonymity but wielded significant influence, if not power. Unlike cabinet ministers, public servants possessed institutional memory and knowledge built up over years or decades in government. Smart ministers generally placed their unbridled trust in their unelected deputies. The latter returned the favour by speaking truth to power and saving unskilled ministers from scoring own-goals.

By the 1930s, the federal public service had assembled what sociologist John Porter called "an outstanding group of expert administrators who were to be the architects of the economic and social policies required by the post-war construction." In his groundbreaking 1965 study of power structures in Canada, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Porter pointed to Conservative prime minister R.B. Bennett's 1932 recruitment of Queen's University economics professor William Clifford Clark as deputy minister of finance as the beginning of "the golden age of Canadian public administration." Clark, who spent two decades as finance deputy, oversaw the 1935 creation of the Bank of Canada and laid the groundwork for a post-war social safety net under Liberal prime minister Mackenzie King. By the 1950s, Mr. Porter wrote, the upper levels of the federal public service constituted "what is probably the most highly trained group of people to be found anywhere in Canada."

The 1957 election of John Diefenbaker's Conservatives put the principle of public-service neutrality to the test. Though Mr. Diefenbaker and his ministers were deeply suspicious of the senior bureaucracy, which had climbed the ranks during more than two decades of Liberal government, there was no purging. After his defeat in 1963, however, Mr. Diefenbaker blamed top bureaucrats for having plotted to undermine his government. His comments conditioned Tory attitudes toward the public service for decades.

Under Pierre Trudeau, the public service saw its leading role in policy development increasingly usurped by political appointees in the Prime Minister's Office. The PMO staff grew from a handful of aides to dozens of political operatives. Under Canada's 15th prime minister, cabinet also moved from being a collegial decision-making body into more of a focus group. The PMO began to act as a political counterweight to the influence of top bureau-

crats on their ministers. It also engaged in less savoury activities outside the legal purview of the bureaucracy. In 1971, Mr. Trudeau's principal secretary Marc Lalonde set up a special operation within the PMO to conduct surveillance of and political action against the Quebec separatist movement.

When Mr. Trudeau left office, the PMO and Privy Council Office, which oversaw the public service, sat atop the federal government pyramid. Mr. Trudeau's first PCO clerk, Gordon Robertson, described the PMO as "partisan, politically oriented, yet operationally sensitive," and the PCO as "non-partisan, operationally oriented, yet politically sensitive." But after two decades of Liberal government – save for Joe Clark's nine-month interregnum in 1979 – the public service had again come to be closely associated with Liberal policies.

Campaigning for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party in 1983, Brian Mulroney vowed to hand out a "pink slip and a pair of running shoes" to civil servants who failed to perform. Once in power, Mr. Mulroney massively increased the staff of the PMO. He also created politically attuned chief-of-staff positions in ministerial offices to prevent ministers from being "captured" by their top bureaucrats.

The relationship between the Mulroney PMO and the public service did not turn out to be nearly as toxic as expected. After naming Paul Tellier as PCO clerk in 1985, Mr. Mulroney came to respect and rely on his policy advice and that of his deputy ministers. This was evident in the decision to implement a politically unpopular value-added tax on goods and services to replace an existing levy on manufacturers that had penalized Canadian exports. Jean Chrétien's Liberals campaigned in 1993 on a pledge to scrap the GST, though they soon abandoned it. Why? Because they recognized it was a sound policy that improved Canada's economic competitiveness and helped the Chrétien Liberals restore federal public finances to health.

The Grits had promised to do away with ministerial chiefs-of-staff – "these new Clark Kents of government," in the words of then Liberal candidate and former PCO clerk Marcel Massé – and restore the public service to its pre-eminent role in the policy process. However, the promise of a new golden age for public servants ran up against the much larger imperative of deficit control. Then finance minister Paul Martin and his deputy David Dodge, along with Mr. Massé as chairman of a pivotal program-review cabinet committee, presided over a top-to-bottom overhaul of government operations that led to 50,000 public-service job cuts. Every program was scrutinized. Departmental spending was slashed by more than 20 per cent.

The Chrétien-era program review redefined the role of the federal government and the public service with it. Both emerged significantly smaller, though arguably more focused and efficient. Unfortunately, the Liberal record was tainted by the sponsorship scandal, which arose after lucrative contracts had been awarded to Liberal-friendly advertising firms in Que-



ILLUSTRATION BY TALLULAH FONTAINE

bec to boost support for federalism after the 1995 referendum. Senior public servants ended up being implicated in a politically driven scheme after it was revealed that some ad firms had provided kickbacks to the Liberal Party in exchange for contracts. The scandal led to a public inquiry headed by Quebec judge John Gomery that called for wholesale checks on the way that top public servants performed their jobs to prevent them from being drawn into such political exercises in the future.

Conservative leader Stephen Harper rode the sponsorship scandal to power in 2006 by promising tough measures to make public servants more accountable. The Federal Accountability Act made deputy ministers accounting officers for their departments, emphasizing their responsibility for efficiently managing the departments and de-emphasizing their role in formulating public policy. By making deputy ministers directly answerable to Parliament, the act also undermined the principle of ministerial accountability. It became easier for ministers to shirk responsibility for departmental failures that occurred on their watch.

But overburdening public servants with ever more stringent reporting requirements did not make government more efficient. "In reality, the changes made the government operations thicker, adding new management layers, increasing the cost of overhead; made morale problems in the federal public service worse; and muddled accountability requirements," Prof. Savoie wrote on the 10th anniversary of the Federal Accountability Act's adoption in 2016. "It is not too much of an exaggeration to suggest that it has done little more than keep public servants and consultants busy turning a crank that is not attached to anything."

The Trudeau Liberals could have changed this. They did not. Indeed, they added to the bureaucratic burden by requiring departments to appoint "delivery officers" responsible for tracking progress on the realization of Liberal campaign promises. Making ministerial mandate letters public was touted as an example of the Liberal commitment to running a more "open and accountable" government. But the Liberal mandate letters amounted to an everything-but-the-kitchen-sink list of priorities rather than a focused or realistic agenda. Most federal departments already had their own mandates, spelled out in the legislation that created them, which they had a legal obligation to perform. The Liberals' "deliverology" exercise forced public servants to focus on fulfilling the party's election promises, regardless of whether they made for good policy.

Luckily, the deliverology experiment petered out before the end of Mr. Trudeau's first term. Fulfilling election promises, beyond the low-hanging fruit, turned out to be hard work. (See: eliminating long-term water advisories on Indigenous reserves by 2021.) In the end, deliverology will be remembered as mostly as a failed communications exercise rather than a substantive effort to make government operations more results-driven. No government could have delivered on the hundreds of tasks

Mr. Trudeau's PMO gave cabinet ministers in their mandate letters, many of which defied measurement. As Prof. Savoie quipped in a 2019 book: "One can ask how one can possibly assess, in any meaningful fashion, Justin Trudeau's efforts to promote 'international engagement that makes a difference in the world.'"

The deliverology exercise also contributed to a serious decline in public-service morale. A survey of both senior and rank-and-file public servants published by the Ottawa-based Institute on Governance and the Brian Mulroney Institute of Government at St. Francis Xavier University found deep disenchantment with the Trudeau government. "[T]he strong undercurrent is that the public service has lost an element of independence and is now expected to deliver on platform commitments rather than offering objective policy advice on the feasibility of the commitment or alternate ways to achieve the objective of the platform commitment," said the 2022 report, which was co-authored by Mr. Van Dine, an Institute on Governance senior vice-president at the time. "Speaking truth to power, though important, seems less achievable to many participants."

That is an astonishing indictment of a government that promised to let public servants speak their mind. But Prof. Savoie partly blames the reticence to speak up on enhanced media scrutiny of the public service. "The notion that you could provide fearless advice in private no longer applies," he said. "Public servants are afraid that they will provide advice and the next day The Globe and Mail will have an article saying public servants disagree with their minister." Mr. Van Dine goes even further: "Deputy ministers would appear to have lost the ability to provide advice in part because the systems that support them are rewarded for responsiveness to political demands versus medium- and longer-term stewardship of departmental mandates."

This is hardly the only sign of deep malaise in the public service. A deepening dispute over remote work – public-service unions have promised a "summer of discontent" over a Treasury Board edict that government employees go into the office at least three days a week starting in September – is just the tip of the iceberg. Younger public servants, in particular, are challenging long-standing rules about remaining neutral on the job.

As one of his first moves after being named Privy Council Clerk by Mr. Trudeau last year, John Hannaford struck a "task team" of five deputy ministers to undertake a "conversation" on values and ethics with public servants. The current Values and Ethics Code for the Public Sector was released in 2003 and updated in 2012. Since then, the pervasive influence of social media and proliferation of disinformation has undermined trust in government. And a new generation of public servants who grew up in the internet age holds vastly different attitudes about freedom of expression. This is creating conflict in the federal workplace.

"Some participants noted that serving the government of the day can feel like censorship or a loss of one's own voice ...

A deepening dispute over remote work is just the tip of the iceberg. Younger public servants, in particular, are challenging long-standing rules about remaining neutral on the job.

This includes having to have a social media presence that is aligned with values and ethics principles – including the need to respect non-partisanship as part of demonstrating respect for democracy," the Deputy Ministers' Task Team on Values and Ethics Report said. "Yet individuals also have an expectation of a right to express their own opinions."

The picture that emerges from the report is that of a stifling work environment, with many public servants unclear about where to draw the line between their own political opinions and beliefs and their obligation to remain neutral on the job. It found the public service struggling to navigate hot-button issues such as diversity, racism, colonialism and gender bias in the workplace. "Participants discussed how personal and cultural values are deeply ingrained and can significantly influence individual decision-making. These values are shaped by one's upbringing, beliefs and societal norms, and while they can be a source of moral guidance, there must also be a harmonization to our common values and ethics," the report said, noting it is now common for public servants "to be vocal advocates for specific social justice causes, and that challenges can arise when trying to align outside interests with public service values and ethics."

It is easy to see how, in such a climate, the public service would cease to be an attractive career choice for the country's best minds. "People who are ambitious are going to say: 'I'm not going to waste my time here.' That is the risk," Prof. Savoie warns. The federal public service still counts thousands of bright and dedicated people. But John Porter's 1965 description of the senior bureaucracy as "probably the most highly trained group of people to be found anywhere in Canada" hardly rings true now. Attracting talent is an issue.

The federal public service has nevertheless continued to grow rapidly under Mr. Trudeau, seemingly without justification. While the scope of government activity has expanded under the Liberals, especially during the pandemic, the range or quality of services it provides has not increased at the same pace as employment. Growth of the federal work force has far outpaced population increases since 2015, and that is despite Liberal immigration policy that has led to the fastest population growth in more than six decades.

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada has been cracking under the stress. An early 2023 report prepared by former deputy immigration minister Neil Yeates – commissioned in the wake of a disastrous 2022 that saw long lines at passport offices, ballooning backlogs in processing asylum claims, and the flawed rollout of special programs for Afghans and Ukrainians – described the department's current organizational model as "broken" and "being held together by the hard work and dedication of staff." It deemed the current structure ill-adapted to a department whose head count grew by 144 per cent in the decade to 2023 to more than 12,000 employees and called for major structural, cultural and governance reforms.

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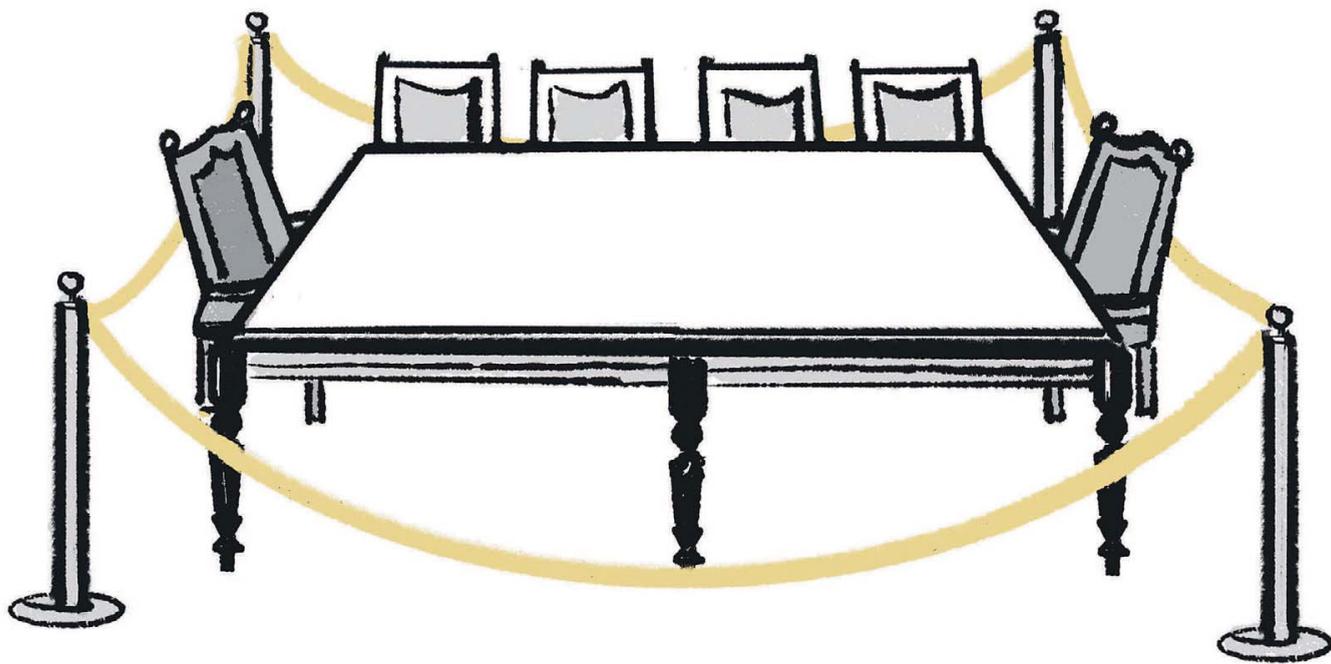


ILLUSTRATION BY TALLULAH FONTAINE

Ottawa: Canada's bureaucracy continues to balloon

■ FROM 07

"The department has been restructuring to modernize our programs and services to be more effective and efficient," IRCC said in a reply to questions about the Yeates report. "We have been implementing a business-line model to better align with the demands and realities in order to be more responsive to our clients and Canadians ... A governance review is underway, and the next steps will be determined in due course."

The whack-a-mole approach to addressing departmental failures is unlikely to get to the root causes of the multiple malaises undermining the effectiveness of federal public service. Prof. Savoie calls for a royal commission to examine the state of the public service and recommend changes to its structure and mandate, with the aim of restoring its central role in the policy process, recalibrating the balance of power between the PMO and the bureaucracy and ensuring the public service is able to attract the talent needed to address public-policy challenges in the 21st century.

A royal commission on the public service would not be without precedent. There have been several of them since Confederation, though the last one – the Royal Commission on Financial Manage-

ment and Accountability – published its report in 1979. Paraphrasing a former U.S. secretary of state, it compared public service reform to "operating for an appendectomy on a man carrying a piano upstairs." It nevertheless deemed reform an urgent necessity. "There is, in many public servants, a high degree of commitment to sound management. This commitment must be nurtured if we are to halt the decline in the image, morale, and effectiveness of the Canadian public service," concluded the commission, headed by former Toronto-Dominion Bank chairman Allen Lambert.

Almost two decades earlier, the Royal Commission on Government Organization had made a similar observation. "Government in modern society is often burdensome and restrictive: Consequently, it will seldom be viewed as better than a necessary evil – it is a sign of national vigour that this should be so," wrote the commission, headed by another giant of Canadian business, John Grant Glassco. "But the public does itself a disservice if it belittles the public servants by whom the affairs of government are administered. Excellence is nowhere more necessary today than among those charged with the management of public affairs, and excellence cannot be sustained indefinitely without public recognition."

The challenges facing the federal public service are very different today than they were in the 1960s and 70s, and the reforms enacted in the wake of the Glassco and Lambert commissions ran their course long ago. Centralization of power in the PMO was not on the radar when the Glassco commission tabled its report in 1962. And the Lambert commission was principally concerned with making the public service more cost-effective at a time when the government was growing by leaps and bounds. While a future royal commission should also examine the cost and efficiency of the bureaucracy, its mandate should focus on ensuring the public service is "fit for purpose" to perform its critical policy-making functions. That is likely to require major organizational changes, new legislation and, possibly, the privatization of some government services. Why, for instance, must Ottawa run passport offices when private operators could do so more efficiently for less?

Canada is hardly the only parliamentary democracy to witness the degradation of its public service and concentration of power in the prime minister's office, with a resultant decline in the quality and effectiveness of public policy. Britain's Commission on the Centre of Government recently released its own report on deleterious impact of this phenom-

enon. "The centre [of government] in recent years has become far too dominant yet far too ineffective. It has scooped out initiative and all but emasculated Whitehall departments, which alternately try to second-guess what the flip-flop centre thinks and are micromanaged by it," the commission's deputy chairman, historian Sir Anthony Seldon, wrote in *The Sunday Times*. (Whitehall is British shorthand for the public service.)

More than ever, in our darkening age of political polarization, we need a neutral and non-partisan public service to guide major policy decisions. And we need competent public servants to implement them without fear or favour. The Trudeau Liberals have done themselves and Canadians a disservice by failing to recognize that a policy-capable and operationally efficient public service is any government's best asset. Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, who speaks disparagingly of "gatekeepers" of all sorts, has given no indication he understands that either.

What future does that suggest for a country that faces chronic (and related) budget and productivity deficits and desperately needs to develop sustainable, affordable and equitable policies to address them both? We cannot expect them to come out of the PMO. Its dominance is partly what got us into this mess.

THE DECLINE OF STUFF

In the future, there will be less need for container ships laden with manufactured goods churned out by factories in low-wage countries, **Marc Levinson** writes

■ OPINION

Marc Levinson is a historian and economist in Washington. His books include *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and Outside the Box: How Globalization Changed from Moving Stuff to Spreading Ideas*.

Iran's seizure of an Israeli-linked container ship near the Strait of Hormuz on April 13 is just another ill wind buffeting the world economy. Houthi attacks on vessels navigating the Red Sea, drought-related reductions in the number of vessels that pass daily through the Panama Canal, and renewed piracy in the Indian Ocean also highlight the vulnerabilities of the long-distance supply chains on which the world economy depends. But those supply chains are slowly becoming less important. Trade in manufactured goods is likely to grow more slowly than the global economy in the years ahead, and consumers will feel the consequences.

One cause of the slowdown in trade is demography. Almost everywhere except sub-Saharan Africa, populations are aging quickly as birth rates fall below the replacement level. Fewer new families – the prime purchasers of consumer durables – are being formed in almost every middle-income and upper-income country. Older households, put simply, buy less stuff. They have had years to accumulate possessions, and they are more inclined to spend on vacations, restaurant meals, and medical bills than on dresses and dining room furniture, the sorts of manufactured goods that are shipped across borders.

Technological change is also dampening the goods trade. An electric vehicle has several thousand fewer parts than a similar internal combustion vehicle, so the worldwide shift to EVs is affecting exports of components such as pistons and mufflers. Manufacturers' investment in equipment has been weak, in part because they can keep industrial machinery up to date by downloading software rather than replacing hardware. Traditional light bulbs are being supplanted by much smaller and cheaper light-emitting diodes.

And then there is the uncomfortable fact that long supply chains are becoming less reliable and much slower. Two decades ago, nine out of 10 container ships arrived in port at or near the scheduled time; these days, the percentage is closer to half. While events like the recent bridge collapse in Baltimore obviously cause delays, the main reason is the industry's obsession with building ever-larger vessels that clog container terminals with large volumes of freight during a single port call. Removing a container from a ship takes longer than it used to because there are more containers stacked in the hold and atop the deck, and more trucks and trains are needed to get the boxes into and out of the port.

Once, ships could speed up to recover time lost in port. That's no longer so easy: Ship lines have slowed their vessels to save fuel, and newer ships generally cannot go as fast as their predecessors. If they've fallen behind schedule, they often cannot make up lost time. Complicating things further, it has become common for ship lines to cancel

One cause of the slowdown in trade is demography. Almost everywhere except sub-Saharan Africa, populations are aging quickly as birth rates fall below the replacement level.

sailings in order to get their vessels back on schedule. A shipper may plan on its cargo leaving China for Vancouver on a particular date, only to discover belatedly that the next opportunity will be three weeks hence.

These transport delays and uncertainties raise the costs of manufacturers and retailers that are shipping their goods by sea. They are forced to own their cargo for longer before they can sell it, which entails additional financing costs, and they face greater risk that their goods won't be on hand when needed. Many companies are dealing with the risk of delayed shipments by keeping larger inventories in their warehouses, a trend that began during the COVID-19 pandemic and has persisted since then. Others are seeking multiple sources of key parts and finished products. Either way, controlling supply chain risk will bring higher prices at the store.

A large share of our consumer goods come from China and Southeast Asia, where manufacturers shifted production decades ago. That cut the cost of many items: In the United States, baby clothes, window shades and kitchenware all cost less today than they did at the start of the century. But with the dearth of young people driving up compensation in many places that once lured foreign companies with low wages, manufacturing in many Asian countries is no bargain. Unlike in the early years of the 21st century, falling import prices no longer help central banks control inflation with little pain for the public. Rising trade barriers and export and import restrictions due to geopolitical tensions are also pushing up

costs.

This isn't the end of globalization. Rather, globalization is taking on an unfamiliar form. The container ships laden with thousands of colourful metal boxes, filled mainly with goods churned out by factories in low-wage countries using inputs from other low-wage countries, are gradually mattering less to the world economy. More and more, globalization has to do with the exchange of services, mainly in the form of digits. Banks underwrite loans in one country, approve the paperwork in another and collect payments in a third. A British book publisher calls on a copy editor in Pakistan, and a movie for streaming in Canada can be made anywhere, with the dialogue rendered into multiple languages by artificial intelligence. In the business sector, a large share of investment goes toward research, software and other non-physical expenditures that can be undertaken wherever the expertise is available, with the intangible product moving across borders with the click of a mouse.

This sort of trade is impossible to measure accurately: When an engineering firm in Toronto transmits technical drawings to its branch in Paris, no money changes hands and, officially, no international trade has occurred. But as the globalization of manufacturing counts for less in the world economy, the movement of non-physical products across borders is more important than ever. Out of public view, businesses' worldwide search for talent is driving globalization away from stuff and toward an ever greater exchange of things we can't see or touch.

Even the U.S. could use international election observers

LLOYD AXWORTHY
ALLAN ROCK

OPINION

Lloyd Axworthy is a former Canadian foreign minister and the current chair of the World Refugee and Migration Council. He has led numerous Canadian election monitoring missions, including in Ukraine in 2019.

Allan Rock is a former minister of justice and attorney-general of Canada and Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, and a current member of the Transatlantic Commission on Election Integrity.

In this year where half of the world's adults will vote in a national election, one race stands out as existential, and not just for the country in question: November's presidential race in the United States. Restoring former president Donald Trump to the White House would, of course, mean a return to his erratic and disruptive style of governing, but it would also install a pro-authoritarian administration that would endanger democratic governance worldwide. What's more, the putative Republican nominee and his associates have already suggested they will only accept the coming election's outcome if he wins – advancing the claim that the 2020 election was stolen, which prompted the Jan. 6 insurrection at Capitol Hill.

We are therefore facing a double jeopardy: chaos if Mr. Trump wins, and chaos if he does not.

Ottawa has reportedly adopted a “Team Canada” approach to consider how to manage a potential Trump presidency. That is a welcome cautionary response. But is it not just as important to help our American allies ensure that their election will be free and fair, to avert the doubts being pre-emptively sown?

The international community can help do so by employing the well-established practice of independent and impartial election monitoring. A coalition of concerned democracies could deploy monitors to observe, evaluate and report on the way the election is conducted. Certification by such a credible coalition would go a long way toward blunting any potential partisan attacks made by a sore loser, and signalling that false allegations of “rigging” will be challenged.

International monitoring of American elections is not without precedent. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has been invited to observe U.S. presidential elections dating back to 2002. But Russia is among OSCE's members, and the Kremlin might seek to influence the report; indeed, during the 2019 Ukrainian election, the credibility of the OSCE mission was called into question. Monitoring by domestic entities such as the National Democratic and Republican Institutes, meanwhile, would also present challenges; in this political climate, whatever they report will surely be dismissed as biased. Even leaving it to the U.S. court system to determine election fairness would be problematic, as the courts have become increasingly partisan.

Canada has the experience and relationships to lead both the creation of an international coalition of democracies and the carrying-out of the monitoring itself. Over the past 18 years, Canadem, our national election monitoring agency, has sent delegations to more than a dozen countries. In recent years, Canada has produced thorough and reliable reporting on elections in countries such as Ukraine, Peru and Sierra Leone.

With 23 representatives throughout the U.S., Canada's network of American consulates is also ideally positioned to monitor election fairness there. Those offices could work in co-ordination with international partners to observe and report on the election's integrity.

Of course, Canada is in the midst of an inquiry into allegations of foreign interference in our own elections, which has prompted the government to introduce legislation to address that threat. We have also pioneered techniques to counter cyberattacks by malign foreign powers. Monitoring the U.S. election would allow us to use some of the lessons we have learned, buttress the democracy next door and set the stage for international monitoring of our own federal election in the next year or so.

There is another challenge, however: convincing the U.S. to accept our help. Americans tend to view their system as the model democracy, and may be offended by the very idea of international monitoring of their election. But we can mute that reaction by reminding them that the Democracy Summit, twice convened by President Joe Biden himself, advocated the co-ordination of international efforts to safeguard election integrity in all democracies. As the most prominent among them, the U.S. would only be setting an example. And since a hallmark of a resilient democracy is the willingness to accommodate outside scrutiny, welcoming independent monitoring should be seen as a sign of strength, not weakness.

As two individuals who have contested 15 elections between us, we have personal knowledge of the power of the popular will when expressed through the ballot box. And while the whole world will be watching how the U.S. presidential election is conducted and its outcome, no country has more at stake in a free and fair election – and a healthy U.S. democracy – than Canada. We should thus take the lead in mounting an international effort to observe and evaluate its integrity.

ASSEMBLED by Claire Cameron

Claire Cameron is a novelist and essayist whose books include *The Bear* and *The Last Neanderthal*. This piece was assembled using more than 35 stories of experiences with medical assistance in dying (MAiD) in news articles, medical journals and personal stories. Each line is a quotation.



GETTY IMAGES

Voices of MAiD

I think I'm ready

I can't tell stories any more

I'm already on the outside looking in

the decision was based on my quality of life

there are a lot of tears

I don't want to leave you all, but it's time

He said to me, "I'm ready to die."

there was no talking him out of this

it wasn't easy as a daughter

I don't know how to explain this to my kids

with a heavy heart, I agreed

I told him I greatly respected his decision

Why is it so hard to talk about?

there is no guarantee all family members will agree

a new identity as an adult orphan or childless parent

we don't talk about death freely

we are not wired to cope emotionally

with knowing the exact date

I believe it is a compassionate response

participants in this study all reflected positively

an option other than prolonged suffering

we need to respect the autonomy of each physician

the law itself is inherently flawed

not everyone is convinced

What is the nature of suffering?

he was tired of fighting

not enough home care support

patients have a right to die a dignified death

and yet a society will not provide

resources for people to live with dignity

A date was set for the Tuesday

we made silly excuses

for why certain days were inconvenient

tears were of sadness at losing each other

and relief she would no longer have to suffer

everything was "the last time"

I volunteered to be the attending nurse

As the doctor prepared to administer the drugs

I always speak with a quiet and caring voice

anybody would feel the emotion of the room

a little tear comes to me when I see the family

they always say thank you

We took a photo of all of us on the bed

one bite of a friend's homemade Key lime pie

a sweet tooth never dies

saying goodbye to those you love

there is a real sense of closure

I miss her every single day

The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures - Junius

The mounting case for new housing ideas

Tall and sprawl is a defining feature of Canadian cities: a bunch of towers surrounded by an ever-widening expanse of detached houses.

This is by design. Such a result was dictated by policies that tightly prescribed what sort of homes gets built and where. Cities accommodated a growing population in sprawling suburbs and on some plots of land where tall buildings were permitted. For decades, there was little else in between.

That's started to change, with rising public and political support for the missing middle of housing – from fourplexes to small apartment buildings. Such changes are long overdue and represent the start of where cities need to go to help stabilize housing markets for decades of growth ahead.

The details matter. It's one thing to allow for more density; policies also need to help establish the conditions where building a lot of new homes makes economic sense. There are a bunch of old rules that went generally unnoticed for years that need rethinking, such as parking minimums and development charges.

Then there's the matter of stairs.

Apartment buildings of three or more storeys require two exits. This has been part Canada's building code since 1941. It was rooted in fire safety, which made sense decades ago. Like parking and development charges, the rule makes less sense today. It also makes Canada a global outlier.

Single-stair buildings – also known as point access blocks – are common around the world, and in accordance with modern fire-safety standards. In countries such as Germany, single-stair buildings of up to seven storeys are permitted.

Such designs, whether there's an elevator or stairs, allow for more family-friendly housing with multibedroom homes, something the missing middle is supposed to deliver. The homes are grouped around a stairwell, without the long hallways familiar in North America, and those dwellings have more windows, for light and ventilation. Single-stair buildings can also be built on smaller lots.

Requiring two staircases forces builders of apartments to a hotel-style layout, that long hallway with homes on either side. The result is usually a row of one-bedroom homes.

It also means builders have to assemble more land to make a project feasible. Like parking and development charges, two staircases can quietly make housing more expensive – and the homes less pleasant to live in.

The idea for single-stair buildings has percolated in recent years and while it was once the domain of advocates deeply interested in housing, it is, suddenly, somewhat hot.

B.C. is the first province to consider the change.

In January, the B.C. NDP sought input from industry experts of how the provincial building and fire codes could be updated to allow for single-stair buildings of up to eight storeys. B.C. cited “more flexibility for multi-bedroom apartments” – exactly the type of housing the province, and the country, needs.

A few other jurisdictions are considering the same path. The California state legislature last year passed a bill to start work on updating building standards to include single-stair designs. In Ontario, the idea is on the table, proposed in early 2022 by an expert panel, but no further action has occurred.

One of the leading voices for reform is Conrad Speckert at LGA Architectural Partners in Toronto. He grew up near Zurich in a single-stair building and after moving to Canada was surprised to see the “hostility with which small apartment buildings have been actively discouraged in this country.”

A century ago, apartments flourished in Canadian cities – before strict zoning rules disallowed them on most civic land. In recent years, apartment buildings have been unfairly consigned to busy arterial roads. The same thing continues to happen, as Toronto city council this week debated allowing small apartment buildings on what it calls “major streets.”

New housing is needed throughout cities. Fourplexes are welcome but more is necessary. Parks and schools should be surrounded by small apartment buildings. Instead, such amenities are too often in neighbourhoods of detached homes with declining populations, where density is restricted or prohibited.

As provinces and cities begin to allow for more density, they must also reconsider long-standing rules that no longer make sense. Single-stair buildings are no panacea but offer a type of housing that could rapidly flourish, if given the chance.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SEEN BEFORE

Re “Pierre Poilievre is pretending he doesn't know how his job works because it makes it easier” (May 18): Pierre Poilievre's attacks on the press are addressed, and it is contended that he's “teaching the receptive public to automatically distrust anyone critical of him.” We should look south of the border to see where he has borrowed this odious strategy.

When Donald Trump was asked why he keeps attacking the press, he said, “I do it to discredit you all and demean you all so that when you write negative stories about me no one will believe you.” That Mr. Poilievre is comfortable attacking a cornerstone of Canadian democracy should be a red flag when it comes time to vote.

■ **Paul Tortolo** Waterloo, Ont.

HOLD ON

Re “Is the Jewish moment in North America over?” (Opinion, May 18): I have come to realize that I have spent the last 50 years fighting the wrong battle.

When I returned home from a socialist Israeli kibbutz in 1976, I thought the battle would be to create a multicultural Canada, where a secular Jewish liberal existence would thrive. I was wrong.

It seems it was all a mirage destined to disappear. I should have stayed in Israel and fought for a secular Jewish liberalism there. You know, the kind that has been so easily abandoned by the progressives of the West, to the benefit of extremists on both sides.

■ **Phillip Morris** Mississauga

I grew up in Toronto during the golden age described. In the 1950s, when racism targeting non-Anglo-Saxons was high, it was Jewish landlords who rented to Italian immigrants.

The mother of a best friend wore short-sleeved blouses in the summer. Not unusual except for the number tattooed on her forearm. She was neither ashamed nor proud of it. The number was simply a fact, as horrible as that fact may be.

Toronto after the Second World War was very Protestant and Orange. It took Jewish professionals – lawyers, doctors and accountants who the establishment would not hire, along with Jewish mayor Nathan Phillips – starting their own firms to break down barriers, not just for themselves but everyone. No other ethnic group fought as hard to uphold everyone's civil liberties.

Protesters should temper their words and conduct with an appreciation of Toronto's history and Jewish contributions to the city – indeed, this country.

■ **Michael Di Paolo** Toronto

Contributor Noah Richler appears to judge the future only by the present.

There has been a breadth of contributions from Jews for more than 3,700 years. While every ancient empire crumbled, we survived, prospered and contributed to the advancement of civilization, out of all proportion to our tiny numbers and despite the forces of darkness arrayed against us.

Israel is not going anywhere. Neither are Jewish communities around the world.

Our mission is and always has been to be a light unto the world. If the forces of darkness are permitted to prevail, the civilized world would not be far behind.

■ **Jack Zwicker** Markham, Ont.

I agree that that we are in a time of correction, when communities that haven't previously had a voice have a chance to shine.

But I also believe in our common humanity, and that the Jewish people, who have added so much to the advancement of the human race in the arts, sciences and pure knowledge, can never be discounted or dismissed.

In my mid-80s, I have discovered the writings of Baruch Spinoza, a Jewish Dutch philosopher from the 17th century. His philosophy suits me down to the ground. Or, should I say, up to the stars.

■ **Anne Carr Sechelt**, B.C.

A recent visit to Spain gave me the opportunity to visit the Prado Museum in Madrid.

There was a special exhibit entitled *El espejo perdido*, or “The Lost Mirror,” referring to artistic depictions of Jews in the run-up to the Spanish Inquisition and the aftermath.

It goes without saying that Jews were not imagined favourably. The lesson of the exhibit is that despite the passage of time, Spanish culture is left with deep scars in its treatment of its former citizens.

Contributor Noah Richler speaks of an end to a Jewish moment in North American culture. Let us consider that if his analysis is correct, and the current rot of antisemitism is permitted to spread, then it is also the end of our moment as a tolerant, pluralistic society that our ancestors will one day lament.

■ **David Roy** Toronto

RED ZONE

Re “King Charles's portrait faces tough crowd in the age of Instagram and Photoshop” (May 18): As a high-school art teacher, yearbook photographer and professional illustrator, I know firsthand the value of creating a hand-painted portrait over posting a quickly forgotten photo on social media. (By the way, I do know the potential magic of taking a great, memorable photo.)

The latter is often like a quick sugar rush. The first is like remembering the handmade ravioli one used to make with nonna in her basement: Just thinking of it stirs feelings of how one should value the opportunity to create something tactile.

Of course not everyone will get what I am talking about, since they may only know what ravioli tastes like from a grocery store. Personally, I favour the tough assignment of grabbing a canvas and not knowing how it will look many hours later when it comes out fully baked, a typically magical and transformative experience.

■ **Sam Sisco** Mississauga

It is said that art is in the eye of the beholder.

Controversy accompanies royal portraits whenever they are unveiled. For a Canadian example, think of Jean Paul Lemieux and his 1979 installation at Rideau Hall of his Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip painting. New monarch, new fuss.

As a Canadian, to me Jonathan Yeo's painting symbolizes a monarchy fading and receding into history. Critic Kate Taylor writes that “a painted portrait ... has little practical or political function in the 21st century.” Well so, too, the monarchy in a 21st-century Canada.

■ **Greg Schmidt** Calgary

Painted portraits tell a story by portraying the people who shape a nation's history, development and culture.

A national portrait gallery would help Canadians understand who they are and remind them of what they can aspire to be. The absence of such a gallery – along with the portrait of King Charles – has me seeing red.

■ **Jeffrey Sprang** Oshawa, Ont.

Letters to the Editor should be exclusive to The Globe and Mail. Include name, address and daytime phone number. Keep letters under 150 words. Letters may be edited for length and clarity. E-mail: letters@globeandmail.com


OPINION

Prison attacks may feel just. But they're not

Canada's corrections system is seeing a surge in violence, and that's a real problem

ROBYN
URBACK

OPINION



Not one sane person is mourning the attack last weekend on Robert Pickton, one of the most violent and sadistic serial killers in Canadian history. In fact, a makeshift spear to the head, which the Vancouver Sun reported was the weapon used, was probably too gentle a treatment in terms of what the murderer deserves.

Mr. Pickton was convicted of six counts of second-degree murder in 2007, but he is believed to be responsible for the deaths of many more women (he bragged to an undercover officer after his arrest in 2002 that he had killed 49 women). Over the course of

many years, the former pig farmer would lure women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and take them to his 17-acre farm in Port Coquitlam, where he would have sex with them, murder them and desecrate their bodies. He was sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for 25 years, and he was living in a maximum-security prison in Quebec when he was attacked on Sunday.

The spear to Mr. Pickton's head also did what the Canadian government and Supreme Court would not, which was to spare his victims' families the cruelty of enduring an utterly pointless parole hearing. Canada's most vile and notorious serial killers will likely never be released from prison, but they nevertheless get to go through the exercise of applying for parole, despite the devastating trauma it reignites for families. Mr. Pickton became eligible for day parole in February.

So it is tempting to see this attack as a good thing: necessary retribution for a decidedly evil man, and a way to deliver some peace to his victims' families. But

the worsening violence in Canadian prisons isn't something we should celebrate, despite how much it might tickle our innate desire for vengeance against the worst of the worst.

Earlier this month, Ivan Zinger, Canada's correctional ombudsman, raised the alarm about rising rates of assaults both between prisoners and against correctional staff in federal penitentiaries. According to Correctional Service of Canada data, prisoner-on-prisoner assaults jumped from 573 in 2014-15 to 1,331 in 2023-24. Mr. Zinger suggested one reason might be an idle prison population caused by the cancellation of various programs during the COVID-19 pandemic. (The Union of Canadian Correctional Officers, meanwhile, points to the reduced use of solitary confinement.)

In any case, there are several reasons why the public should care about the conditions in Canada's penitentiaries. Unlike Mr. Pickton, most people who are currently incarcerated in this country will be released in some capacity and will attempt to rein-

tegrate into society. That reintegration becomes much harder – meaning recidivism is more likely – if prisoners are immersed in violence, abuse, gang activity and the like for the years or decades they are kept in prison. The constant threat of abuse from other prisoners is also a burden that offenders' families have to endure, and while the public might not have much sympathy for them – it was their relative's actions that landed them in prison, after all – it all contributes to an ecosystem of trauma where the effects reverberate well beyond the prison walls. On a purely pragmatic level, too, it costs time and money to investigate and treat prison assaults. Mr. Pickton's intensive-care stay in hospital won't come cheap.

Then there are the moral implications. In a just society, imprisonment is not supposed to be compounded by violence, torture and gross indignities; the removal of one's freedom is itself the punishment. And though inmates lose certain rights over the course of their incarceration,

they do not lose all of their Charter-protected rights as individuals. It is a reflection of us as a moral and democratic society that we maintain baseline living conditions even for the most heinous criminals, which should include basic programming, palatable food and protection from abuse or assault.

It is fair to argue that the justice system itself badly needs reform – that too many recidivist, violent criminals are being released on bail (the government did introduce legislation back in the fall to make it tougher for repeat violent offenders to receive bail) and that our parole system prioritizes the rights of those convicted of crimes over those of victims' families, as well as the safety of the community. But reform has to happen at a systemic level. To put it crassly, we can't rely on inmates wielding spears to keep deranged serial killers from their parole hearings – nor should we.

Mr. Pickton may have gotten what he deserves. But it's not what Canada's justice system needs.

Insulting a rival politician's appearance is a low blow

MARSHA
LEDERMAN

OPINION



In a debate, one can go low or high, to borrow from Michelle Obama.

High: question – even attack – your rival's policies, decisions or actions.

But if low is a politician's preferred route, there are other options. Among the ugliest, if you will, is targeting an opponent's physical appearance.

So one could hardly believe their ears when Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland, generally a fine debater – smart, articulate, knowledgeable, passionate, informatively fierce – went after Pierre Poilievre's grooming habits in the House of Commons this week.

"The Conservative Leader is wearing more makeup than I am," she said, during a heated Question Period exchange about the cost of living.

Mr. Poilievre had rerouted the discussion to focus on the Liberals' drug decriminalization efforts. "They've been forced to backtrack right before the election on their legalization of hard drugs because Canadians are revolting against the policy," he said, demanding to know whether the Liberals plan to legalize drugs after the next election.

That's when Ms. Freeland delivered her shot about Mr. Poilievre's makeup routine. Shouts of outrage erupted, rightly so, in that playpen they call Parliament.

The Speaker admonished Ms. Freeland and asked the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister to withdraw the statement. "We



Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland apologized in Parliament and withdrew a comment she made about Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre's appearance. ADRIAN WYLD/CP

don't comment on the appearances of members," said Greg Ferguson (who is currently dealing with his own political mess regarding accusations of using "partisan language").

She apologized and withdrew the comment. What she said, instead, is that Mr. Poilievre is "phony, all the way through." When he raises concerns about the economy as he talks down about Canada; when he states his worries about the opioid crisis.

That's appropriate debate. But Ms. Freeland's points were lost in the mire of her low-brow, not at all honourable insult.

This is not the only recent example of a politician going for this kind of low-hanging fruit. In

the U.S. Congress last week, Republican Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene said to Democratic rival Jasmine Crockett: "I think your fake eyelashes are messing up what you're reading."

With enormous goodwill (of which Ms. Greene is really not deserving), this would maybe have been understandable – but still not okay – if the discussion at hand was about, say, proposed regulations around cosmetics. Even then, it would have been far below the belt. As it stands, they were in fact debating whether Attorney-General Merrick B. Garland should be held in contempt of Congress.

Contemptible behaviour. "That's beneath even you,"

Democrat Jamie Raskin hurled at Ms. Greene.

The Georgia congresswoman has repeatedly shown herself to be unworthy of her position, so the lazy stab in the eyelashes wasn't exactly shocking. This Donald Trump sycophant's low blow was entirely in keeping with her record of stupidity and nonsense, including promoting conspiracy theories. One really cannot expect better from her.

But Ms. Freeland? And then there's Ms. Crockett, who was successfully goaded into insinuating that Ms. Greene has a "bleach blonde bad built butch body." (She has since expressed interest in trademarking the phrase.)

Insulting someone's appear-

ance – especially in a public, political sphere, on the taxpayer dime – says more about the person making the quip than it does about the person they're mocking.

For a man to do it today would be unthinkable, thank goodness. With a notable exception.

Mr. Trump not only seems to get away with it (saying E. Jean Carroll was not his "type"; calling Stormy Daniels "horseface" etc.), but he earns laughter and applause for it – which says a lot about his supporters. *Don't you miss the good old days, when you could comment on a woman's looks without facing the wrath of the woke?*

It could have been a career-killer back in 2011 when former B.C. NDP MLA David Schreck, now a self-described political pundit, used his Twitter account to ask whether then-B.C. premier Christy Clark was dressing inappropriately in the legislature, revealing too much cleavage.

Afterward, in response, Ms. Clark told reporters she was used to "stupid criticism." But she also noted, "I don't think we can groom a lot of young female leaders if this is the level of comment we have."

Wise words from the high road.

Have we learned nothing since then? This kind of playground insult is so off-base it's hard to believe this even needs to be said.

As much as, Mr. Trump aside, a male politician would (and should) be castigated for making these types of remarks, it feels particularly egregious when women, who have no doubt had much life experience in being judged by their appearance, stoop to this kind of behaviour – apologies or not.

Team Canada's lesson: When trade partners go dark, seek out the bright parts

DOUG
SAUNDERS

OPINION



What do we do when a country turns against us, or is ruled by a regime that is contradictory to our fundamental values? Do we hold our noses and try to play along, or do we cut that country out using the blunt tools of bans, sanctions and tariffs?

This is far from an abstract question today. Canada more or less completely cut itself off from Russia after President Vladimir Putin invaded Ukraine in 2022. However, in relations with China, Canada has not fully followed the lead of the United States, which has gone so far as to ban the TikTok app and charge American consumers a painful 100-per-cent tariff on electric cars. With India, Canada is simultaneously trying to deepen economic and trade relations while being shunned and condemned – and its citizens allegedly physically attacked – by the ruling party.

Yet it is not the right question.

If Canada simply ended ties with any country whose rulers stepped outside the bounds of democracy, we would not have much of an economy left. And in many cases, we would be assisting in the subjugation of citizens and companies who oppose the regime.

Better than asking what sorts of countries we should do business with, we ought to be asking which specific parts of those countries we can maintain and even deepen relationships with – and whether those countries actually have distinct and independent parts.

To borrow a musical analogy, we ought to ask not whether a country is authoritarian or democratic, but whether it is monophonic – like a saxophone, issuing a single note under control of the lone player – or polyphonic, like an orchestra or a jazz band, its many players able to deviate from the composition's charts or veer into outright dissonance. If the horns have gone sour, say, you can keep jamming with the rhythm section.

The polyphonic state, even under an intolerable strongman leader, still has regions, cities, in-

stitutions and companies that are worth cultivating relations with. In fact, doing so can help loosen that leader's hold.

Canadians know this because our largest trading partner recently went dark, its authoritarian-minded president turning angrily against Canada after 2016; there are strong signs he will do so again if he wins November's election. But the United States is a profoundly polyphonic country. That fact allowed Team Canada to work: After Mr. Trump tried to eliminate crucial free-trade relations, an unprecedented coalition of Canadian business people and politicians from all parties mounted a successful campaign aimed at those U.S. states, cities, federal departments, corporations and work forces that don't sing to Mr. Trump's tune, even if they're in his party, and restored trade relations. The Globe's Adrian Morrow reports that a new Team Canada campaign is already under way, to prepare for a potential 2025 Trump presidency.

This approach could work with India. There are alarming signs that Hindu-nationalist Prime Minister Narendra Modi

may break relations with Canada after being accused of sending agents to kill Canadians of Sikh ethnicity (and because he tends to favour far-right countries). But India is rather polyphonic. Many of its 36 states and territories, as well as many corporations and public institutions, are not in line with Mr. Modi's party. Canada will need India if the United States falls deeper into authoritarian isolationism; this could be achieved with another Team Canada.

If left in power, authoritarian leaders can turn their countries into one-note organs. In the 2000s, Russia was polyphonic; it was possible for Western investors, provincial and state politicians, universities and militaries to have relationships with their Russian counterparts without being touched by Mr. Putin's ideology. Then he removed voices: In 2004, he eliminated state elections, making governors directly appointed. Big companies all had to fall under his indirect control. Now, during this period of total war, even the smallest institutions have become mere notes from Mr. Putin's tuneless trumpet.

China is more difficult. It was once fairly polyphonic, tolerating autonomy (within firm limits) in some of its cities and 22 provinces, its private corporations, its universities and some media, even during President Xi Jinping's first years.

Then, especially after 2017, he shifted from an authoritarian chorus to a stark drumbeat of totalitarianism, obliterating most independence. There definitely are still private companies and institutions that don't want to sing from Mr. Xi's songbook and that resist state and party control; the problem is that we can't clearly know which ones.

European leaders, seeking alternatives to an unco-operative America, have been courting the Chinese regime. Canada shouldn't go there, but a U.S.-style total economic cutoff would serve no useful purpose and leave us dependent on other malign forces. Instead – and not only with China – we need to invest much more in the needed screening, scrutiny and intelligence resources to avoid those sections of the orchestra that are too close to the conductor's baton.

REX MURPHY

JOURNALIST, 77

COMMENTATOR PARLAYED WIT AND ELOQUENCE INTO MEDIA STARDOM



Rex Murphy stands in *The Globe and Mail's* Toronto studio in 2007. Mr. Murphy, despite his dislike of the federal Liberal government, ran for the provincial Liberal Party in Newfoundland, though he was unsuccessful. He also ran for the provincial Conservative Party and lost. DEBORAH BAIC/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

The Newfoundland-born columnist's 'stratospheric command of the English language' led to newspaper columns and appearances on *The National*, where he often criticized politicians and what he saw as climate-change alarmism

FRED LANGAN

Rex Murphy became one of Canada's best-known media figures, through his work on television, radio and in print, but he was a man so intensely private that few people knew the real Rex Murphy. He was a complex man, loved by conservatives for his attacks on the Liberal Party, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and what he saw as climate-change alarmism that hurt oil workers in his native Newfoundland and Alberta. He shared these views in newspaper columns and appearances on CBC Television's *The National*.

He lampooned Mr. Trudeau, a couple of years before he became Prime Minister, in this commentary on *The National*: "The trouble with Mr. Trudeau is these kinds of appearances, more fluff than fodder, playing off his glamour, place him very much in the unserious world of reputation celebrity and give nutrition to the thought that he is a lucky lightweight and not a serious leader of a modern democracy." He ended his three-minute, 29-second monologue with this closing line: "The lightness of being Justin may just be unbearable."

Despite Mr. Murphy's dislike of the federal Liberal government, he ran for the provincial Liberal Party in Newfoundland, though he was unsuccessful. He also ran for the provincial Conservative Party and lost.

Mr. Murphy was a long-time contributor to *The Globe and Mail* whose last column ran in January, 2010. He then moved to the *National Post* and shifted to the right; the more "woke" the world became, the more conservative were Mr. Murphy's views.

Mr. Murphy died of cancer in Toronto on May 9. He was 77.

Robert Rex Rafael Murphy, was born in Carbonear, in what was then the Dominion of Newfoundland in March of 1947; the precise day of his birth is uncertain. Rex's father, Harry, was a cook in the merchant marine and later worked on the oil rigs off the coast of Newfoundland. His father's work inspired one of Mr. Murphy's favourite themes as a pundit; he often opined about the importance of jobs in the oil fields of Newfoundland and Alberta.

"I remember talking to Rex's father once in St. John's and he said he didn't know where Rex got his brains, but he didn't get

them from him," said the journalist Michael Harris, who became friends with Mr. Murphy when they worked together at CBC News in St. John's.

As a student at Memorial University of Newfoundland, in St. John's, Mr. Murphy criticized Joey Smallwood, the premier of the province and the man who brought Newfoundland into Confederation in 1949, two years after Mr. Murphy was born.

At a student conference at Bishop's University, in Lennoxville, Que., Mr. Murphy blasted the premier over his promise for free tuition for many — though not all — the students at Memorial.

"I got up and said this promise had a lot more air than tire, at best a half-truth and at worst a fraud," Mr. Murphy recalled in a 2015 interview with CBC host Ramona Dearing. He said Mr. Smallwood then went on radio and ranted against Mr. Murphy, then a student, for bad-mouthing him in "mainland Canada."

"Somewhere along the way, he [Joey Smallwood] suggested that if I felt that way I should stay on the mainland, where I should be."

The threat from Mr. Smallwood so upset Rex's mother, Marie, that she retreated to the bedroom in their home in Freshwater, Nfld., worried her son might never come home.

It was the start of a ferocious fight between the two men, one which the eloquent Mr. Murphy would win. But first he was elected president of the student council at Memorial University and was sitting in the school's auditorium when his nemesis, Mr. Smallwood, announced free tuition and partial board for all students. The premier was irked when some students cheered Mr. Murphy for the win. Mr. Murphy later went on a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford University in England.

When he returned, he drifted into journalism, first at a private radio station then he moved to the CBC. In 1969 he was interviewed as part of a CBC documentary on how the fishery was collapsing and people were leaving the province. Mr. Murphy told a story to illustrate it: "There's an old joke that says how do you get 40 people into a Volkswagen? The answer of course is you tell them it's going to Toronto. My better answer is how do you get 80 in a Volkswagen? You tell them it's coming back." He went on to say that

Newfoundlanders have a strong love of their native province.

"There's a mysticism about Newfoundland, and I don't think that word is wrong. That somehow colours your character much as the history of Newfoundland and the language of Newfoundland, in particular, the history, the language and the fishery they somehow get into the temperament of almost every Newfoundlander, city or outport guy," Mr. Murphy told Ms. Dearing.

"

Rex took down perhaps the most corrupt premier in Canada, Joey Smallwood after 20 years of 100-per-cent control of Newfoundland, and it took courage to do that. Smallwood tried to recruit him and co-opt him but he couldn't do it.

MICHAEL HARRIS
JOURNALIST

After a few years Mr. Murphy became co-host of the main CBC Television newscast in St. John's. There he made his name in an on-air campaign against Mr. Smallwood. He and his co-host, Jennifer Davis, detailed what they saw as the corrupt ways in which Mr. Smallwood ran the province, from the province's rotten deal with Quebec over the Churchill Falls hydroelectric site to a failed linerboard mill run by a man who became a fugitive.

"Rex took down perhaps the most corrupt premier in Canada, Joey Smallwood, after 20 years of 100-per-cent control of Newfoundland, and it took courage to do that. Smallwood tried to recruit him and co-opt him but he couldn't do it," Mr. Harris said. "Rex's conservatism came from seeing the worst of what a Liberal premier could do and as Smallwood was near the end of things he was extremely dictatorial. The CBC was the one avenue that he could not control and Rex and Jennifer did this amazing job of calling him to account."

Mr. Murphy and his CBC co-host, Ms. Davis, married and had a daughter together. The marriage ended in divorce.

Mr. Murphy did not look like a

media star and his language was complex, not written in neat, short declarative sentences. But audiences loved him. His weekly commentaries on *The National* would be transcribed and posted on the CBC website.

"I did a search for the top stories for *The National's* website for the previous month and then the previous six months and then the previous year and Rex's columns, even though they were old, were always the ones that got the most page use over time," said Robin Rowland who was producer of *The National's* website from 1998 until 2003. "He was a great writer; he was articulate, and he had some great ideas at the time which not everybody agreed with because it was somewhat conservative, but it was really good online print reading."

Mr. Murphy was not classically telegenic, his friend Mr. Harris observed. "Rex wasn't the guy on top of the wedding cake. He was unusual in television because he looked different. Some people would say that he looked funny; he would say of himself, 'I look like a Martian,' but he had this brilliant mind; he was a walking thesaurus."

Mr. Murphy hosted *Cross Country Checkup* for 21 years. His persona on the weekly radio call-in program was different from his television opinion broadcasts on *The National* and his columns in the *National Post*. Mr. Murphy was much softer on radio than he was on television or in print.

"I hired Rex for *Cross Country Checkup*," says Beth Haddon who was head of CBC Radio Current Affairs and Features. "I look back on it as one of my best hires. If you ever get to hire a phone-in show host, make it a Newfoundlander. He brought wit, a formidable intelligence and a vocabulary seldom heard even on CBC Radio. You could say he reinvented the program. The ratings went up and so did the show's stature and reputation. Aside from his stratospheric command of the English language, the trademark of his style was courtesy and respect for the callers. He always heard people out even when some of the calls were pretty half-baked. He would challenge and clarify without condescension or unkindness. He never wavered. And the listeners appreciated it; they liked him and often said so when they phoned in. He was a great host. I think the person that *Checkup* listeners got to know was the real

Rex Murphy. The public persona came later."

Mr. Murphy was hired to do opinion pieces on *The National* in 1995 and did his final broadcast in June of 2017.

"From Joey Smallwood to Justin Trudeau, there aren't many politicians who didn't feel Rex's wrath or praise," said Peter Mansbridge, former host of CBC's *The National*, who would share Chinese food with Mr. Murphy on the nights of his weekly broadcast. "He loved his country, but his vision of it clashed with many others. To some it was insightful, to others hurtful. In his final years, there's no doubt he got more of the latter in his columns, tearing into his subjects with a passion some felt went too far. But there were things he wanted to say and clearly there were people ready to listen."

One of Mr. Murphy's fans is *National Post* founder and columnist Conrad Black, who spoke to him on the telephone shortly before his death.

"Rex, in particular, had a special and marvelous gift for illustrating his concerns with ultra-literate hyperbole and the impact of his words was accentuated by his intense eyes, mobile features and as he concluded his thought, the slight resemblance of his lower face to a venerable and determined snapping turtle," Mr. Black wrote on Mr. Murphy's death. "At heart, Rex was a man of great generosity of spirit, unshakable civility, immense enjoyment and knowledge of the language, written and spoken; he was essentially a libertarian who was offended by superfluous and sanctimonious authority, and by pretension in general."

Rex Murphy was a hit on the speaking circuit. He was criticized for speaking to groups in the oil industry, but he dismissed it saying no one told him what to say. He was popular because he was entertaining.

"Every year McGill invites a speaker to the annual Leacock lunch, and one year Rex Murphy was the speaker," said Brenda Norris, a governor emerita of McGill University's board of governors. "I don't know what we were expecting but he bowled us over. He was one of the best speakers we ever had."

Rex Murphy's final column in the *National Post*, perhaps predictably an attack on Justin Trudeau, appeared on May 7, two days before his death.

Special to *The Globe and Mail*



HOW WE EAT
Spring onions
are more than
a garnish ■ P3



DRINKS
Four red wines
that promise to age
gracefully ■ P3



SOCIETY
Art lovers
unite in
New York ■ P6



Heidi Caillier's home in Washington exemplifies her covetable new-meets-nostalgic style. HARIS KENJAR

House proud

For interior designer Heidi Caillier, a mix of patterns and patinas creates a home that feels like a hug, writes **Beth Hitchcock**

Heidi Caillier wasn't sure her first book would sell many copies. Though the North Tacoma, Wash.-based interior designer's traditional-with-a-twist style was gaining fans online, she never imagined it would translate into success — or recognition.

Then, shortly after the release of *Memories of Home* (Rizzoli) last September, Caillier realized she might be wrong. She was in Brooklyn for a photoshoot for one of her projects when she passed a woman on a crosswalk who blurted that she loved her work.

"It was so lovely and validating," Caillier says. "It's hard to know if what you're doing is good or being accepted. But I finally thought, 'Wow, I'm on the right path here!'"

Less than a decade into her design career, clients across North America are asking for a "Heidi House." Her rooms are the kind you want to curl up in. With her love of wallpaper, unexpected modern-traditional pairings and palette of smokey pastels and earth tones, Caillier has created a signature style that's somehow both fresh and timeless. In the foreword to Caillier's book, designer Amber Lewis, founder of the popular online shop Amber Interiors, writes that every time she sees one of Caillier's projects, she wonders: "Is this new? Or has it been there forever?"

■ DESIGN, P4



Santorini, Greece



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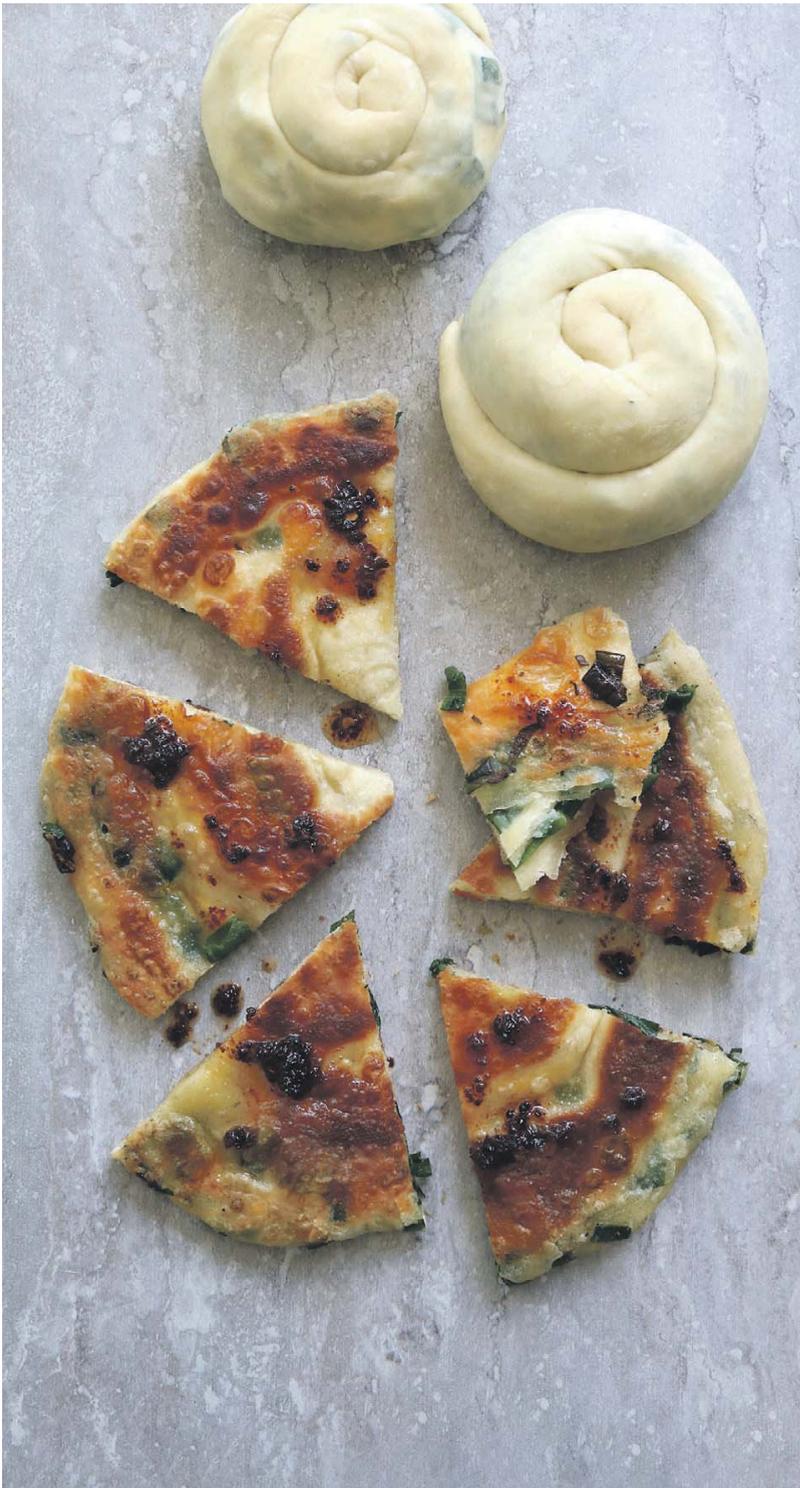


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JULIE VAN ROSENDAAL/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

HOW WE EAT

Spring onions

These versatile vegetables are ready to be the star of a dish

JULIE VAN ROSENDAAL

Every spring, onions are among the first shoots of green to emerge when the soil thaws enough to allow for new growth. Alliums of all kinds come back year after year, and tend to be prolific.

“Walking onions” – spring onions that eventually grow clusters of bulbs that are heavy enough to drop back into the dirt to sprout new offspring the following season – can double from year to year. Last week, no fewer than three of my neighbours offered chives from their profusions of clusters in their front gardens.

The term spring onions can refer to any number of long, slender, vibrant green onions with little to no bulb. It can also refer specifically to the variety of onions (including walking onions) that look like scallions on a larger scale, with white bulbs the size of a large marble. Depending where you are, you may be lucky enough to have access to ramps: garlicky alliums that are often referred to as wild onions or leeks, and can be (responsibly) foraged in wooded areas, mostly in Eastern Canada.

All can be used in many ways, providing a fresher, greener flavour compared with regular white cooking onions. They're amazing in fritters and frittatas, tacos and noodless, often added as fresh garnish, but can also be sautéed, roasted or grilled.

Once you have a bundle, whether from the store or your backyard, you can encourage new growth by sticking the stem ends in a small glass of water – the roots will grow longer while the green ends continue to grow upward to be snipped off and used as you need them. (And when you're tired of having them on your countertop, plant them in the backyard or in a container indoors.)

If you have lots to use, it's always a good idea to make green-onion cakes, a common snack across China. Restaurateur Siu To introduced them to Edmonton back in 1979, the year after he opened his first location. Today, they're iconic in the city, and commonly served at festivals and other events.

Special to The Globe and Mail

SPRING-ONION CAKES

There are many ways to make a green-onion cake; the process of rolling the dough thin, then rolling it up, turning it into a coil and rolling it flat creates flaky layers, similar to a paratha. If you don't want to cook all four cakes at once, you can freeze them, rolled flat and uncooked, between pieces of waxed paper or parchment, and cook them straight from frozen. (They can be frozen after cooking, too, but are best served crisp and warm, straight from the pan.)

2 cups all-purpose flour
¼ tsp baking powder
¼ tsp salt
¼ cup butter (dairy or plant) or vegetable oil (divided)
¼ cup warm water
vegetable and/or sesame oil, for cooking
12-20 spring onions, scallions and/or chives, chopped
salt, to taste
chili oil, for serving (optional)

In a medium bowl, stir together the flour, baking powder and salt. Rub in half (2 tablespoons) of the butter, shortening or oil, and then stir in the water until you have a soft dough. Turn it out onto the countertop and knead for a few minutes, until it's smooth. Return it to the bowl, cover with a towel and set aside for half an hour or so.

Divide the dough into four pieces and roll each into a rectangle (it can be oval-ish) as thin as you can – about 7x10 inches, with a long side facing you. Melt the remaining butter and brush some over the dough, then scatter with a quarter of the spring onions. Sprinkle with salt.

Starting at a long side, roll up tightly into a long roll, and then shape it into a coil. Repeat with the remaining dough, butter and onions, and let them rest for about five minutes.

On a lightly floured surface, gently roll each coil flat, aiming for about a quarter-inch thick, gently pressing out any air bubbles that form, and sprinkling the top lightly with flour, too, if the rolling pin is sticking.

Heat a large heavy skillet over medium-high heat, and add a drizzle of vegetable and/or sesame oil. Cook each cake for a few minutes per side, turned as needed until deep golden and blistered. Serve warm, with chili oil if you like.

Makes four spring-onion cakes.

Aging gracefully

Four wines for the cellar, including two outstanding bottles from the Tuscan coast

CHRISTOPHER WATERS

WATERS ON WINE



One of Italy's most famous wines, Ornellaia is always expensive and often sumptuous. Delivering the pure hedonism of the best Napa cabernet with elegant Tuscan style, the winery dubbed its 2021 vintage La Generosità (Generosity) to help convey the character of estate's flagship wine.

It's about as opulent as Ornellaia can get with vibrant acidity to get the balance right. “You know Italians love their food, so wine without acidity wouldn't make sense to us,” explains Alessandro Lunardi, who oversees Ornellaia's sales in North America. “That tension on the palate is very important for us.”

One of the first “super Tuscan” wines, which were high-quality red wines made with grape varieties not permitted in local winemaking regulations, Ornellaia released its first Bordeaux-style red blend from Bolgheri on the Tuscan coast in 1985.

(At the time, making an Italian wine from cabernet and other French grape varieties would have been as common as Tuscan chefs using Dijon mustard in their dishes.) Prior to the wine boom, the coastal region wasn't viewed in such glamorous light.

In the 1930s, the area's marshlands and swamps were drained to combat malaria. The breeding grounds for mosquitoes became a home for cabernet sauvignon and other international grape varieties, marketed first by Tenuta San Guido, the makers of Sassicaia, in the 1970s and Grattamacco and Ornellaia in the 1980s.

More than 70 producers produce wine in the region today, focusing largely on red blends of cabernet and merlot. Surprisingly, the traditional Tuscan grape, sangiovese, represents only 1 per cent of the 1,365 hectares of vines planted in Bolgheri.

“Sangiovese was planted in Bolgheri previously, like it was in the rest of Tuscany, by default, but the best wine it could manage was rosato,” says Lunardi, referring to rosé. “When we planted our vineyards between 1980 and 1981, we were the first to introduce merlot with cabernet sauvignon and cabernet franc.”

Petit verdot vines were a later addition to the estate vineyards, while sauvignon blanc, petit manseng, viognier, verdicchio and vermentino are propagated for Ornellaia's white wines. (A sibling winery that had its debut in 1987, Masseto is based on merlot from a neighbouring vineyard. It has its own winemaker and winery. Like Ornellaia, Masseto is regarded as one of Italy's most collectible wines.)

Wines from Bolgheri stand apart from the typically leaner red wines produced farther inland in the Chianti Classico zone. The cooling influence of the Tyrrhenian Sea helps to mitigate intense summer temperatures, with cooler nights slowing ripening and maintaining acidity in the grapes.

A team of 80 vineyard workers tends to the Ornellaia estate, which is divided into 90 parcels, grouped by grape variety and soil type. Each is harvested, fermented and aged separately before the final blend is determined. Such nth-degree management is possible when a bottle of your wine comes with a \$275 price tag in Canada. And that attentiveness also shapes Le Serre Nuove dell'Ornellaia, which was introduced in 1997 as the second wine of the estate.

Produced with grapes grown on younger vines, Le Serre Nuove was established to be a ripe and approachable red, but in outstanding vintages, such as 2021, it can rival the potency and polish of its big brother at a third of the price. Ornellaia also produces Le Volte dell'Ornellaia, a blend bottled as a Tuscan red wine, which is appealingly supple, savoury and spicy, consistently enjoyable and sells in the \$30 range.

Ornellaia 2021 is featured as part of the May 25 Vintages release online and at select LCBO outlets and will be released in the fall in British Columbia and Alberta. Another Ontario release is scheduled for late September. It is recommended alongside three other red wines with tremendous potential for aging.

Special to The Globe and Mail

BOTTLES TO TRY



DUCKHORN NAPA VALLEY CABERNET SAUVIGNON 2021 (UNITED STATES)

SCORE: 92 PRICE: \$94.95

Duckhorn's classic cabernet expresses benchmark Napa power and generosity. There's a core of ripe dark fruit that's rounded out by cedary and spicy oak-derived flavours. Appealingly smooth and complete, this medium-bodied red wine checks all the boxes, but could use some drama. More time in bottle will see that sweet fruit character turn savoury and more complex in nature. Drink now to 2030. Available at the above price in Ontario, \$98.99 in British Columbia, various prices in Alberta, \$93.99 in Saskatchewan, \$94.75 in Quebec (2020 vintage), \$112 in Nova Scotia, \$104.99 in Newfoundland (2018 vintage).



HENSCHKE KEYNETON EUPHONIUM 2018 (AUSTRALIA)

SCORE: 94 PRICE: \$79

Originally launched in 1958 as Henschke Dry Red, this ripe and plush blend of shiraz, cabernet sauvignon, cabernet franc and merlot is made with grapes grown throughout the Barossa in South Australia. Its full-bodied style makes the most of its core of sweet dark fruit, which gains complexity from peppery and meaty notes. Beautifully balanced and structured, this promises to age gracefully. Drink now to 2043. Available at the above price in Ontario, various prices in British Columbia and Alberta, \$79 in Quebec, \$82.49 in Nova Scotia.



LE SERRE NUOVE DELL'ORNELLAIA 2021 (ITALY)

SCORE: 95 PRICE: \$78.95

Le Serre Nuove's blend centres on merlot, with cabernet sauvignon, cabernet franc and petit verdot, to make the red wine more approachable when it's young. It's ripe and engaging with satisfying fragrance, flavour and freshness; a second wine that's riding shotgun. Fine-grained tannins contribute to the supple texture and a long, expressive finish adds to the harmony and balance. Drink now to 2040. Available at the above price in Ontario, \$79.99 in British Columbia, \$79.75 in Quebec, \$80.23 in New Brunswick, \$71.29 in Nova Scotia.



ORNELLAIA 2021 (ITALY)

SCORE: 98 PRICE: \$276.95

Ornellaia always commands attention, but the 2021 vintage is sure to push collectors' enthusiasm to new heights. There's an immediacy of appeal here, with an intensely perfumed nose suggesting a mix of ripe dark fruit, mint, sage, mocha and spicy notes. The layers of flavours are rich and refreshing, making this structured and balanced red blend expressive and enjoyable upon release. There might be temptation to open now, but there's more complexity to come. Drink 2030 to 2050. Available at the above price in Ontario.



Design: The interior designer who's saying no to white walls

FROM P1

The right path for Caillier involved taking detours and developing a strong sense of direction. “We always had a comfortable home, but I didn’t grow up in a world where interior design was a thing,” she says. Caillier remembers moving every two to three years: Her father was an army man who later became a Baptist minister. By the time she finished high school, Caillier had lived in eight different states. Her travel continued later in life: After studying in international public health, Caillier worked in a small medical clinic in Gambia, studied yoga in India and worked as a scuba instructor in Australia. “I was approaching my life by trying to turn hobbies into a career,” she says. “But nothing stuck.”

After settling in San Francisco, Caillier indulged another hobby, decorating, by starting a blog called “The Rustic Modernist” (“Oh, it’s no longer online,” she says with a laugh. “The writing would be very cringe.”) The blog led to short stints at two design firms and the showroom at the San Francisco Design Center. This helped her gain experience and perspective. She began to work as a designer in her own right in 2015, when she was pregnant with twins and living in the Seattle area. At first, Caillier gave clients what they wanted: white walls, trendy rugs and catalogue furniture. Eventually, inspired by the Pacific Northwest light and climate, she began developing her own formula of mixed floral prints, moodier colours, and graphic lines and shapes. “I had to take a step back and stretch my comfort level to learn my own taste and get others to trust me,” she says.

Now, Heidi Caillier Design has six employees, all fully remote, and 15 to 20 projects on the go at any given time, with coast-spanning locations from Southern California to Rhode Island. Caillier finds herself flying to job sites every other week and has a growing list of celebrity clients, though she declines to name names yet.

Though designers at her level often showcase glossy perfection on their social-media feeds, Caillier prefers to keep it real, sharing her challenges and frustrations.



It’s tough to keep up with the constant need for content, she says. And people can be demanding and rude if she won’t share a paint colour or fabric name. Recently, she posted an Instagram story about a vendor who said the custom leather chairs she designed couldn’t be fabricated. After Caillier’s perseverance – and 10 hours spent troubleshooting – she got the chairs she envisioned.

“I think it’s important to remove the veil because most people perceive design as pillow fluffing or picking out a pretty sofa,” she says. “In reality, this is a very hard job that involves many technical details and constant anxiety.”

At the peak of her success, Caillier has chosen to speak out about social issues, from gun control to abortion. “When Uvalde happened, that just put me over the edge,” she says of the 2022 Texas shooting where 19 students and two teachers

were fatally shot. “It’s baffling and enraging that someone could choose having a gun versus keeping a kid safe.”

Though her posts result in some combative replies, Caillier feels it’s important to use her platform for something meaningful. “You have to reach a point where you don’t care if you lose followers or clients,” she says. “At this point, it feels like I can’t not say anything.”

Caillier has come too far along this path to turn back now. And she’s more motivated than ever to keep growing in her craft and creating spaces in which to make memories – for her young sons, for her clients and for anyone else who loves design. “There’s so much going on in the world, it feels so negative, so to have a place that holds and can nurture you, it’s really important.”

Special to The Globe and Mail



Clockwise from top left: Heidi Caillier gave a contemporary-lined sofa a traditional twist with leafy chintz upholstery. For her room, she chose a monoprint approach, meaning the same pattern is used on multiple surfaces. Unexpected colour pairings are at play in this bathroom as glossy lilac tiles meet hand-painted terracotta ones. Caillier’s book, *Memories of Home*. Grasscloth walls and an indigo batik print on the vintage Togo sofa give this space a well-travelled vibe. Below, Caillier incorporated an heirloom porcelain chandelier and married it with modern rush-backed chairs.

PHOTOS BY HARIS KENJAR

DESIGN ADVICE

How to master the mix and fill your spaces with personality

EMBRACE THE QUIRK

“I love a little bit of weirdness in an interior,” Caillier says. “I work with a stylist named Mieke ten Have, who says, ‘Every room needs an anchovy,’ and it’s true. How boring to walk into a room that’s just pretty or perfect! You have to bring in something that fuses it up, whether it’s a weird piece of art or a funky light fixture.”

THINK ABOUT THE ENVELOPE

“Furnishings alone can’t make a room,” Caillier writes in her book. “Architectural elements like wood panelling, millwork and wallpaper are necessary, especially in large-scale, new houses, which can lack character.”

WALK AWAY FROM TRENDS

Caillier believes it’s important to trust your instinct and ask yourself what you’ll want to live with not just now, but in the future. “I’m not superdriven by trends, just picking things I love,” she says.

SNAP UP GREAT VINTAGE PIECES

“I always want a house to feel like it was decorated with a mix of family heirlooms and inherited furniture,” she writes, adding that vintage accents lend authenticity. But don’t wait too long when you spot something special, she advises: “Once they’re sold, they’re gone forever.”

PUT FURNITURE IN THE BATHROOM

Caillier often will design a vanity to feel like a piece of furniture, with delicate legs, she writes. “A vanity that extends to the floor with a toe-kick isn’t always necessary, especially in a guest bath that doesn’t require much storage.”



SATURDAY CROSSWORD
DOUBLE TALK
BY PAUL COULTER,
EDITED BY JEFF CHEN

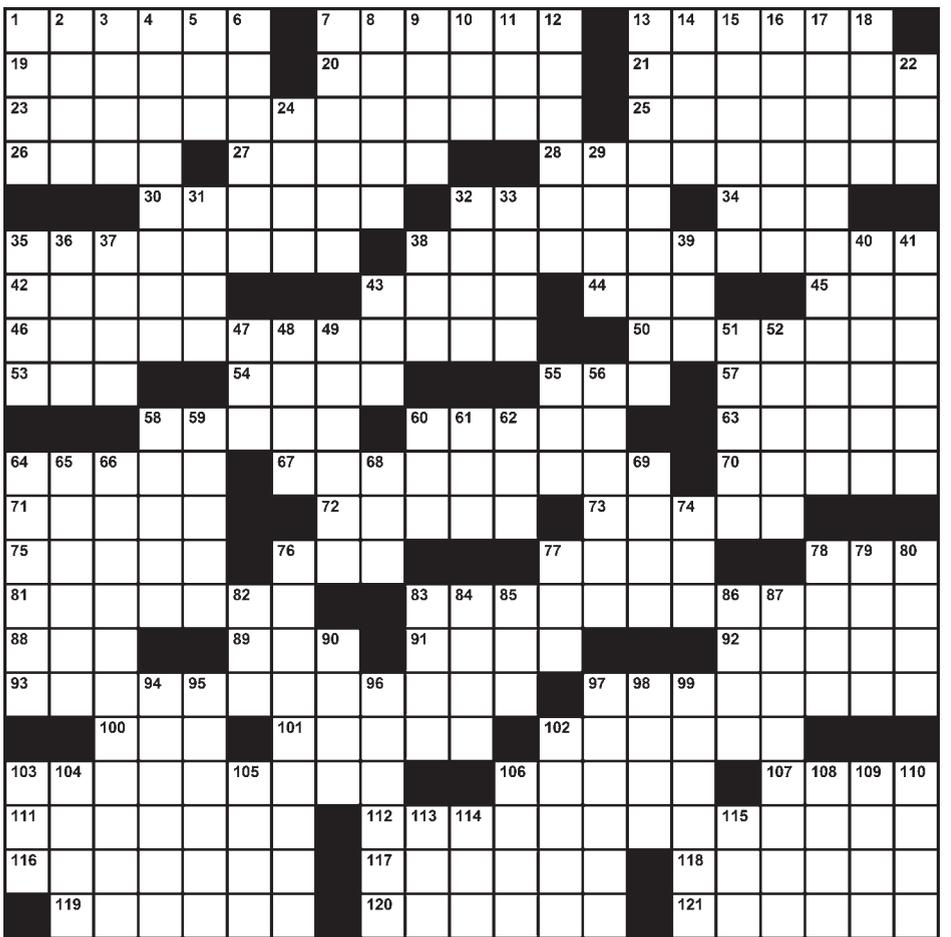
ACROSS

- 1 Character in many fairy tales
- 7 Employ additional employees
- 13 Nickname for a white terrier
- 19 Husband, in Honduras
- 20 Circuit board components
- 21 Brings into accord
- 23 *Hush-hush?
- 25 "Peter the Great" of the NHL
- 26 Jack who hosted "The Tonight Show"
- 27 Prepare to drive
- 28 They're pressed to generate carriage returns
- 30 On dry land
- 32 Be of one mind
- 34 Seafood that may shock you?
- 35 Soldiers can get drinks from them, in two ways
- 38 *Chop chop!?
- 42 Crush an exam
- 43 Muffin stuffin'
- 44 Like some wine or martinis
- 45 It absorbed the WHA in 1979
- 46 *Can-can?
- 50 "Nineteen Eighty-Four" superpower
- 53 Has way too much at the buffet, in slang
- 54 Movie magnate
- 55 Screener at LAX and LGA
- 57 Inclined, in a way
- 58 House shower?
- 60 Ethiopia's Selassie
- 63 Miss Hawkins of Dogpatch who has her day
- 64 Esau's father
- 67 *Din-din?
- 70 Newspapers, collectively
- 71 Classic name in wafers
- 72 Karate schools
- 73 Operatic villains, usually
- 75 Non-jolting joe
- 76 Farm layer
- 77 Joan of art

- 78 TV series with "NY," "Miami" and "Cyber" spinoffs
- 81 Unblinking hieroglyph in Egyptian mythology
- 83 *All right, all right!?
- 88 Aurora's counterpart
- 89 Burma's first prime minister
- 91 Alternatively, online
- 92 Color, as a cartoon
- 93 *Nudge, nudge?*
- 97 Not a fan of
- 100 Opposite of trans, in gender studies
- 101 Bog mosses
- 102 Threat ending
- 103 Hairpin curve feature
- 106 Woman's name derived from the Greek word for "peace"
- 107 Mention, with either praise or approbation
- 111 Phrase with a wave
- 112 *Well, well!?
- 116 Summon for duty
- 117 Still buggy
- 118 State that borders Arizona
- 119 Ledger column
- 120 Ding and dong
- 121 Breaks off a relationship

DOWN

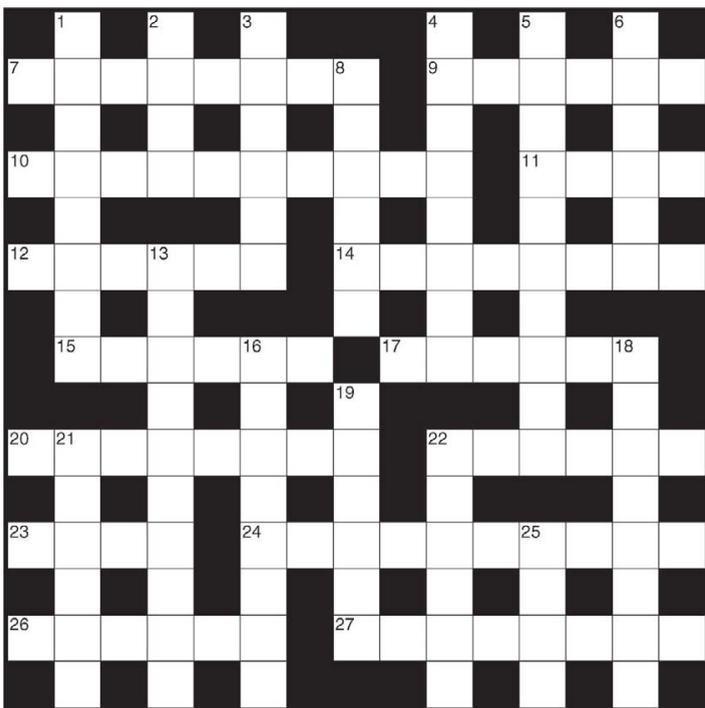
- 1 Star who played Sparrow
- 2 Between ports
- 3 Assigner of a G or R
- 4 ___ method (teaching technique)
- 5 Jargon suffix
- 6 Can't stand
- 7 Milk dispensers
- 8 Arouse
- 9 Introductory course?
- 10 Amin of "The Last King of Scotland"
- 11 Calzone's center?
- 12 PH-neutral vitamin brand
- 13 What a dump!
- 14 Kitchen addition?
- 15 Got an eyeful, and then some
- 16 Like adult male walruses
- 17 Chip slogan of the 1990s
- 18 Choosing rhyme's starting word
- 22 Part of CBS
- 24 Brightly colored, perhaps
- 29 Call for
- 31 Famed American clockmaker Thomas
- 32 "Sad to say ..."
- 33 Cotton pickin' contraptions



- 35 Head of some families
- 36 Battery contents
- 37 Realizes, to a CFO
- 38 Sellout sign letters
- 39 Manhattan sch.
- 40 Restaurant with a green and red vegetable logo
- 41 Makes up?
- 43 "Forgot 2 say ..."
- 47 Matterhorn or Mont Blanc
- 48 Ancient mariner for 40 days and nights
- 49 Bare
- 51 Irritates
- 52 Classic arcade name
- 55 R.N.'s forte
- 56 Belgrade locale
- 58 Chocolate source
- 59 Jeer
- 60 "The ___" (Uris novel)
- 61 Year abroad in Mexico?
- 62 Freudian basics
- 64 Completely committed
- 65 "Later"
- 66 They're often swiped at offices
- 68 Many millennia
- 69 It's a long story
- 74 Ground cover
- 76 Manually operated fillers
- 77 "Nothing special"
- 78 Salad veggie, for short
- 79 Foul mood
- 80 SSN, often
- 82 Seek a House seat
- 83 Dirty coat
- 84 Dirt bike cousins, briefly
- 85 Adversary
- 86 Letter openers
- 87 Halfway home?
- 90 ___-friendly
- 94 Additional employees employed
- 95 Have high hopes
- 96 Tough it out
- 97 Circus sites
- 98 Peddle
- 99 Go by
- 102 Be bombastic
- 103 Premium channel choice
- 104 Queen of the gods, once
- 105 Drawn tight
- 106 Dire day for Caesar
- 108 NYSE debuts
- 109 Hatcher, Garr or Polo
- 110 QED's "E"
- 113 Peace activist Yoko
- 114 Kimono's closer
- 115 Harry and Hermione's pal

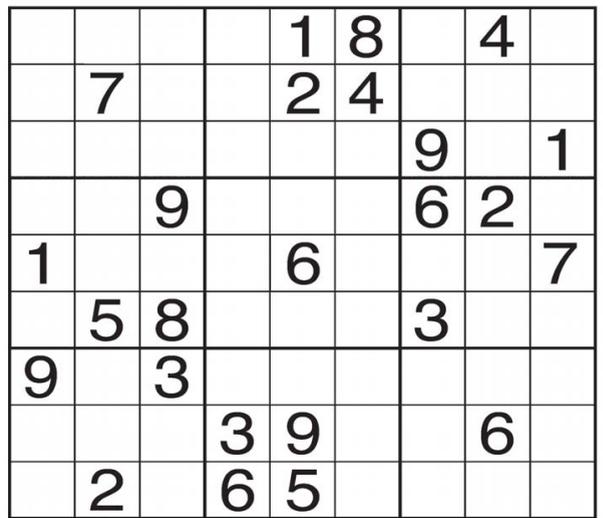
SOLUTIONS This Saturday's crossword answers will be in next week's section | Last Saturday's crossword, KenKen and Sudoku solutions in today's Pursuits section

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD BY FRASER SIMPSON



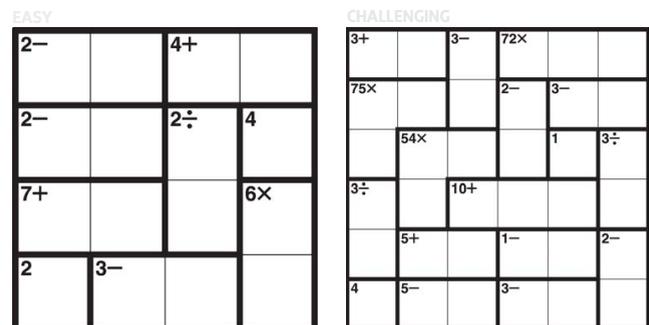
- ACROSS**
- 7 Phony incentive attached to obligations (8)
- 9 Romantics behold abridged poem (6)
- 10 Careless Peron is upset with copies (5-5)
- 11 Pitch stone (4)
- 12 Throttle corrected itself (6)
- 14 Scold is sheltered by virgin (8)
- 15 Arrive ringing hour (brilliant finish) (6)
- 17 Calls for a baseball team spread across Rhode Island (6)
- 20 Planet Mercury has less hot methane (5,3)
- 22 Engineer my group's attention to detail (6)
- 23 Revolutionary female dish designer (4)
- 24 Organization of PGA tour has signs (10)
- 26 Evasive tactic concealed by brazen drunk (3,3)
- 27 Tender piece of prose written by her in storage facility (8)
- DOWN**
- 1 To recap, I possibly like some singers' voices (8)
- 2 Ship on a quest slowly heaves left (4)
- 3 Stiff resistance invades small thicket (6)
- 4 Push away a deception by FiftyThirtyEight creator Silver (8)
- 5 All the Giverny busts (10)
- 6 Avoid turning up carrying 100 magic shop purchases (6)
- 8 Light fixture in Stones concert (6)
- 13 Links warning to differences of opinion backing Ethiopia's lead concern during a drought (6,4)
- 16 Big headache meeting at the front with Arthur's mom (8)
- 18 Arthur's dad hugged by boy from Alabama, maybe (8)
- 19 In reality, watch kids among sloths (2,2,2)
- 21 Answer includes the city called the birthplace of democracy (6)
- 22 Hardy, wearing a toupee? (6)
- 25 Chat disturbed German cardinal (4)

SUDOKU



DIFFICULTY RATING:
★★★★★
INSTRUCTIONS
Fill in the grid so that each row of nine squares, each column of nine and each section of nine (three squares by three) contains the numbers 1 through 9 in any order. There is only one solution to each puzzle.

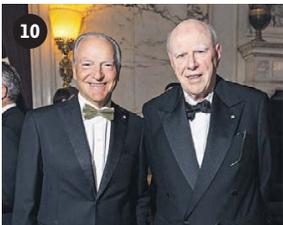
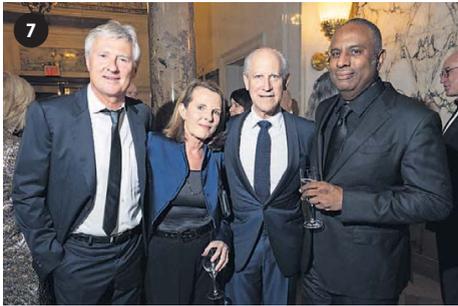
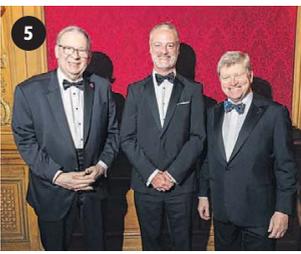
KENKEN



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LAST SATURDAY'S CRYPTIC ANSWERS

- ACROSS**
- 1 MUSKRATS (*stark + sum* rev.), 5 RW(AND)A (*war* anag.), 9 TREE FORTS (letter bank), 11 LATTE (hidden rev.), 12 WAND-ER (2 defs.), 13 GREEN TEA (anag.), 15 T(H)E 'SJAINT, 16 TO ME (2 defs.), 19 OPIUS (anag.), 20 OF COURSE (*ferocious - I* anag.), 23 S(C + H)OONER, 24 A + MOUNT, 27 THE + FT, 28 TOR + MENTOR, 29 PA'S + S ON, 30 C + ENSURES
- DOWN**
- 1 MOT + OWN, 2 SHEEN (2 defs.), 3 RE + FLE(X)ES, 4 TAR + O, 6 WALLET (hidden phonetically in *quality*), 7 NO(T AT H + O)ME (*that* anag.), 8 AVE + RAGES, 10 SCRANTON (*not narcs* rev.), 14 DAF + FIEST(a) (*fad* rev.), 15 TO(U)GH(N)ES + S, 17 HO(USE + T)OP, 18 CRU(MP)ETS, 21 CO(S—T)CO, 22 STARES (*stairs* hom.), 25 UTTER (2 defs.), 26 T + RUE



1. Stephan Jost, Michelle Koerner and Andrew Federer.
 2. Victoria Jackman, Kevin Morris and Vita Jackman Kuwabara.
 3. Jane Clark, Jay Smith and Judy Ney.
 4. Tadáskia and Pamela Joyner.
 5. David L. Cohen, Rob Sobey and Tom Clark.
 6. Sarah Evans and James Burn.
 7. David Zwirner, Annabelle Selldorf, Glenn D. Lowry and Stan Douglas.
 8. Laurent Bergeron and Carol Appel.
 9. Stéphane Aquin and Glenn D. Lowry.
 10. Pierre Lasseonde and Michael Audain.
 PHOTOS BY KENNEDY POLLARD AND RYAN EMBERLEY

ON THE SCENE

Art allies

Council for Canadian American Relations raises money for scholarship funds to support young creatives

NOLAN BRYANT
 SOCIETY



COUNCIL FOR CANADIAN AMERICAN RELATIONS GALA 2024, MAY 14, NEW YORK

A plethora of arts supporters, museum directors and artists from both sides of the Canada-United States border gathered May 14 in New York for the biennial gala held by the Council for Canadian American Relations. Formed in 1972 by the late philanthropist Bluma Appel, and with the help of David Rockefeller and former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, the U.S. non-profit, which is recognized as a qualified donee by the Canada Revenue Agency, has been facilitating cross-border arts support ever since.

The council held its second annual Art With A Conscience program at the Museum of Modern Art on the morning of the gala, which aims to delve into topical issues and their intersection with the arts. This year, a panel featured architects Annabelle Selldorf and Brian Porter and the artist Faheem Majeed, who talked design, community engagement and the power of collaboration.

A few hours later, the biennial gala was in full swing at the Metropolitan Club. The evening's program recognized a handful of individuals whose contributions to the arts have been greatly felt on both sides of the border, including the aforementioned Selldorf, for her work on countless institutional and cultural projects including the gallery space of David Zwirner, who presented her with the award.

In the audience was Stephan Jost, director of the Art Gallery of Ontario, where Selldorf, alongside Diamond Schmitt (principal Donald Schmitt was in attendance) and Two Row Architect (aforementioned principal Brian Porter was also there), are tasked with designing the new 50,000-square-foot Dani Reiss Modern and Contemporary Gallery. Glenn D. Lowry, a former head of the AGO, now director of MoMA, presented respective awards to the Vancouver-

based film and photo-focused artist Stan Douglas, and philanthropist Pamela Joyner, of San Francisco, a leading collector of the work of Black artists. Suzanne Nossel, CEO of PEN America, introduced author Margaret Atwood, who sent remarks for her tribute award via video, while philanthropist Michael Audain of Vancouver, who serves on the CCAR board, introduced Rob Sobey, chairman of the Sobey Art Foundation, who was recognized for his leadership in the arts, namely for his work on the annual Sobey Art Award.

Yours truly was a guest at the table of James Burn, a partner at Brand Active and a member of the CCAR's board of directors. To my right at dinner was London-based arts supporter Dasha Shenkman; and nearby were fellow supporters Salah Bachir and his husband, artist Jacob Yerex.

Neighbouring were tables dotted with other CCAR board members including Nancy McCain (there with her husband, Bill Morneau); Vicki Heyman (there with her husband, former ambassador Bruce Heyman); Rosamond Ivey; and Armi Thorsteinson (there with his wife Susan Glass).

Judy Ney (whose late husband Edward served as U.S. ambassador to Canada) and CIBC Wood Gundy's Jay Smith served as the dinner chairs. Artists out included Kent Monkman, Eleanor King, Miles Greenberg and Kapwani Kiwanga, who represented Canada at the Venice Biennale this year. Institutional directors there included Gaëtane Verna of the Wexner Center; Sasha Suda of the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Matthew Teitelbaum of Museum of Fine Arts Boston; Christopher Deacon of Ottawa's National Arts Centre; and Jean-François Bélisle of Canada's National Gallery. Also out was U.S. Ambassador to Canada David L. Cohen, Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations Bob Rae and Tom Clark, Consul General of Canada in New York, who served as event emcee. The evening also raised money for a scholarship fund that supports the creative pursuits of young creatives on both sides of the border.

Special to The Globe and Mail

HOROSCOPES SALLY BROMPTON
 SATURDAY, MAY 25, 2024

IF TODAY IS YOUR BIRTHDAY

Don't hang back in the shadows – get out into the world and make use of your many talents. A combination of charm and determination will make it easy for you to get others over to your side – and your side will be the winning side.



you need to push yourself a little bit harder and deliver a little bit more. Make sure colleagues do their bit as well – don't attempt to do it all on your own.

SAGITTARIUS NOV. 23 – DEC. 21
 The task you face this weekend may look daunting but if you get together with people who share your desire to get ahead in the world you should be able to handle it. Many hands, and many brains, will make light work of the situation.

CAPRICORN DEC. 22 – JAN. 20
 If someone you had a bust-up with recently offers you an apology this weekend be smart and accept it – maybe even offer an apology of your own. You actually make a pretty good team and it would be a shame to end it over something trivial.

AQUARIUS JAN. 21 – FEB. 19
 Some of the insights you have over the next 48 hours will amaze those whose outlook on life is more limited than your own. They may be nothing much to you but to friends and colleagues they will look like genius. Make that work in your favour.

PISCES FEB. 20 – MAR. 20
 Keep your thoughts and feelings to yourself this weekend, because the less other people know about what is going on in your head and your heart the more room you will have to move in a new direction. Don't give too much away about yourself.

Discover more about yourself at sallybrompton.com

ARIES MARCH 21 – APRIL 20
 Try not to be too intense in your activities this weekend. There is so much positive cosmic movement now that you should be aiming to be as laid-back as possible. Everything you need and desire will come to you anyway, so why strive too hard?

TAURUS APRIL 21 – MAY 21
 If you have your suspicions that a colleague is up to no good you must act on them quickly. You may not want to cause a scene but better than allowing them to carry on making an unholy mess of what should be a straightforward job.

GEMINI MAY 22 – JUNE 21
 Good ideas will come thick and fast over the next 48 hours, but don't try to keep track of each one that pops into your head because you won't succeed. Carry a pen and notebook with you and jot down each idea the moment that it occurs.

CANCER JUNE 22 – JULY 23
 Use your talent for cutting through confusion and getting to the heart of a situation to find out why a friend is making such a mess of things. Once

you have isolated what they are doing wrong you can suggest ways to change. They will thank you for it.

LEO JULY 24 – AUG. 23
 Now is the ideal time to start a project that you have been thinking about for at least the past six months. It doesn't matter that you have not yet completed your planning, it matters only that you move to the next stage, the doing stage, immediately.

VIRGO AUG. 24 – SEPT. 23
 Something will inspire you this weekend to look at your ambitions in a new light. Most likely you will realize that you have been aiming too low and need to raise your sights to a level where you can claim to be a leader rather than a follower.

LIBRA SEPT. 24 – OCT. 23
 You won't need to crack the whip to get things done this weekend – friends and loved ones want to please you to such an extent that they will deliver far more than is expected of them. Make the most of it, because you know it won't last!

SCORPIO OCT. 24 – NOV. 22
 This may not be make or break time exactly but it is certainly a time when

BRIDGE BY STEVE BECKER
 SATURDAY, MAY 25, 2024

North dealer.
 North-South vulnerable.

The bidding:

North	East	South	West
1[H]	Pass	3[D]	Pass
3[H]	Pass	4[D]	Pass
4[S]	Pass	4NT	Pass
5[H]	Pass	5NT	Pass
6[D]	Pass	7[D]	Pass

 Opening Lead – six of diamonds.

NORTH

♠ A K 9
 ♥ A J 10 9 7 4
 ♦ 10
 ♣ J 9 7

WEST

♠ J 8 4
 ♥ K Q 8 5 2
 ♦ 7 6 4
 ♣ 6 3

EAST

♠ Q 10 6 5 3
 ♥ 3
 ♦ 8 3
 ♣ Q 10 8 5 2

SOUTH

♠ 7 2
 ♥ 6
 ♦ A K Q J 9 5 2
 ♣ A K 4

When declarer runs a long suit, one or both opponents often find themselves unable to discard safely.

Consider this case where South – after learning via Blackwood that his partner had two aces and a king – bid seven diamonds in the hope that dummy would provide him with a 13th trick in addition to the 12 he could already count.

West led a trump, won in dummy, and South played the ace and another heart, ruffing in his hand. When East showed out on the second heart, any chance of developing an extra heart trick by ruffing went by

the boards, forcing declarer to rely primarily on a squeeze. Accordingly, he next played three rounds of trump and cashed the A-K of clubs to produce this position:

North
 ♠ A K 9
 ♥ J
 ♣ J

West
 ♠ J 8 4
 ♥ K Q

South
 ♦ 7 2
 ♥ J 9
 ♣ 4

The jack-of-diamonds lead caused no problem for either

defender, West discarding a heart, and dummy and East each a club. But the nine-of-diamonds lead left both opponents without recourse. West had to part with a spade, whereupon declarer discarded dummy's heart. East was then forced to part with a spade or the queen of clubs, and either way, South was sure to score the rest of the tricks.

[LAST SATURDAY'S ANSWERS]

CROSSWORD

C	A	P	E	R	L	A	B	L	A	D	S	P	F	F	T						
A	G	A	M	E	O	N	O	A	I	R	E	S	A	E	R	O					
B	O	S	O	N	G	O	D	O	N	T	O	T	O	W	I	M	A	M			
S	T	E	V	E	N	L	E	G	U	M	E	S	A	M	E						
H	O	M	E	W	I	N	E	E	L	P	A	Y	S	C	A	L	E	S			
O	P	O	S	E	S	T	R	A	P	A	O	N	E								
A	T	S	D	A	M	I	A	N	S	W	E	A	T	L	O	D	G	E			
R	O	T	S	S	I	T	S	P	A	I	L	S	E	A	M						
D	U	E	T	S	C	L	E	F	E	R	R	O	R	E	L	I					
S	T	R	A	Y	S	E	S	A	M	E	S	E	E	D	B	R	A	T			
			T	N	T			S	A	D				A	G	E					
C	O	R	E		G	U	E	S	T	J	U	D	G	E	P	A	S	T	E		
A	R	E		I	S	A	A	C		P	A	R	A		A	N	N	A	L		
W	E	P	T		E	S	T		S	U	R	F		S	O	H	O				
S	O	L	O	C	A	R	E	E	R		H	A	N	N	A	H	W	I	I		
					I	M	P	S		C	E	N	T		B	O	A	S	T		
E	S	C	A	L	A	T	O	R		H	A	I		P	L	U	S	H	I	E	
N	E	A	T		E	Y	E	L	I	D		E	V	E	N	S	O				
D	I	N	O		J	A	V	A		A	P	P	L	E	T		D	U	V	E	N
A	N	T	E		E	M	E	R	Y		I	O	N		E	M	E	N	D		
T	E	S	S		T	O	Y	S		N	A	Y		D	E	L	T	S			

SUDOKU

1	8	2	4	3	6	7	5	9
4	5	6	7	8	9	3	1	2
9	7	3	2	5	1	6	4	8
7	1	8	9	6	3	4	2	5
5	3	9	8	2	4	1	7	6
2	6	4	1	7	5	8	9	3
6	4	1	5	9	8	2	3	7
3	2	5	6	4	7	9	8	1
8	9	7	3	1	2	5	6	4

KENKEN

1	3	2	4		
3	4	1	2		
4	2	3	1		
2	1	4	3		
2	3	1	5	4	6
3	5	6	2	1	4
4	6	2	3	5	1
5	4	3	1	6	2
6	1	5	4	2	3
1	2	4	6	3	5

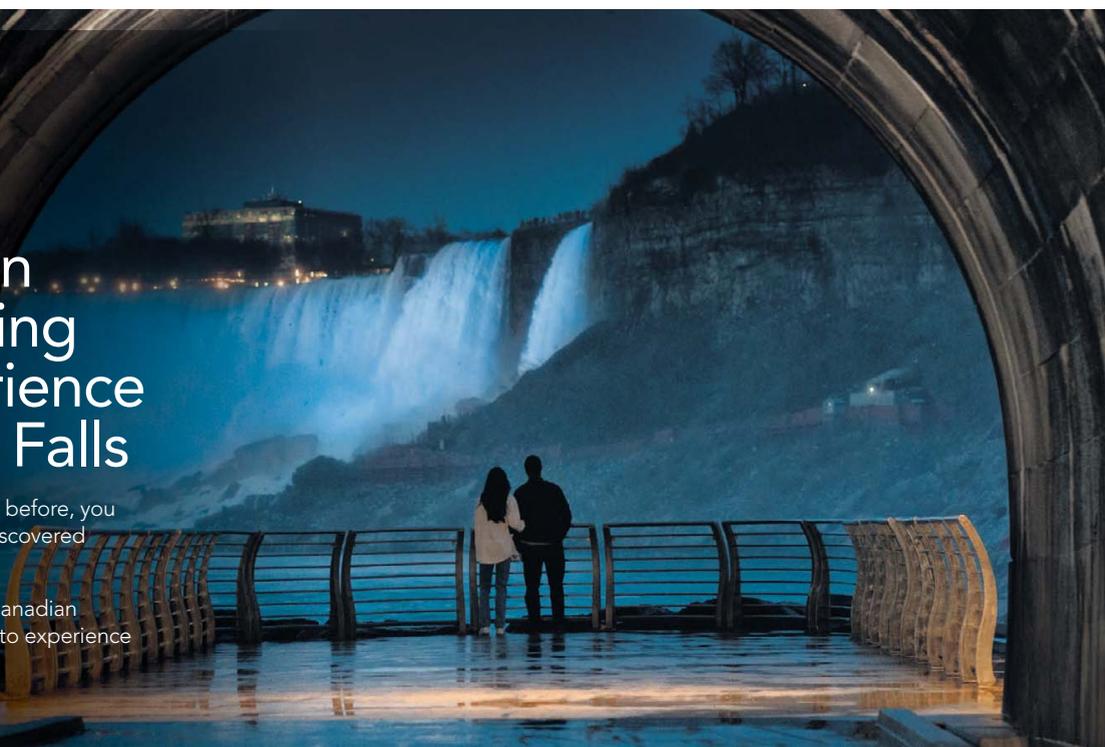
FRIDAY'S QUICK ACROSS: 1 Mamba, 4 Debate, 8 Air, 9 Guinea pig, 10 Inherit, 11 Wagon, 13 Gravel, 15 Extort, 18 Blend, 19 Hauteur, 21 Scapegoat, 23 Too, 24 Satisfy, 25 Repel. DOWN: 1 Meaning, 2 March Hare, 3 Auger, 4 Dainty, 5 Beeswax, 6 Cap, 7 Egg on, 12 Goose step, 14 Endless, 16 Turmoil, 17 Choosy, 18 Basis, 20 Utter, 22 Act.

FRIDAY'S CRYPTIC ACROSS: 1 Waste, 4 Jubilee, 8 Tea, 9 Abdicates, 10 Athlete, 11 Level, 13 Entree, 15 Agenda, 18 Amiss, 19 Arising, 21 Headdress, 23 Ace, 24 Scruple, 25 Tiers. DOWN: 1 Wattage, 2 Spaghetti, 3 Evade, 4 Judges, 5 Backlog, 6 Lot, 7 Easel, 12 Vindicate, 14 Eased up, 16 Anglers, 17 Raceme, 18 Ashes, 20 Inset, 22 Air.

Discover an awe-inspiring new experience in Niagara Falls

If you've visited Niagara Falls before, you might think you've already discovered everything it has to offer.

But this summer, the iconic Canadian destination is unveiling ways to experience the Falls like never before.



A new way to view the falls has launched at Niagara Parks Power Station. SUPPLIED

Niagara Parks is introducing new features for both the daytime and nighttime experiences at its newest attraction, the Niagara Parks Power Station + Tunnel, enhancing the allure of this distinctive fusion of museum and waterfall observation spot.

Built in 1901, the Niagara Parks Power Station harnessed the power of Niagara Falls to generate hydroelectricity for over a century until its closure in 2006. Following a full restoration and adaptive reuse construction, the Power Station reopened in 2021, allowing the public to explore the facility and learn about its history.

new self-guided bilingual audio tour that perfectly complements guests' exploration of the impressive facility.

Included with admission, the audio tour includes interviews with former power station employees and detailed information about hydropower production, offering a rich and culturally significant experience inside Niagara's cathedral of power.

After you explore the Generator Hall, visitors can take an elevator 180 feet below ground to a 2,200-foot-long fully accessible tunnel that was excavated back in 1901 with just dynamite, pickaxes and shovels.

And when you get to the end? You're rewarded with a breathtaking panoramic view of the Falls.

New this year, visitors can explore even more of the Power Station after dark. Beginning the May long weekend, the Tunnel will be fully kitted out for nighttime visits: LED lighting, archival images projected on the walls, plus music and sound effects.

"And then you come around a curve... and there's this light at the end of the tunnel," says Sauer.

"And that light is the Falls. They're illuminated at night. It's awe-inspiring. I'm excited to show our guests the Falls from a vantage point that they've never seen before."

Sauer adds that if there are fireworks that evening, it's a great spot to take in the show, too.

And if you want to experience the Power Station in both light and dark, Niagara Parks offers a Power Pass that gives you access to the attraction during both times of day.

Don't think exploring a century-old power station is your thing? Sauer says the attraction seems to appeal to a wide variety of people: architecture and history buffs, fans of hydropower generation, visitors looking for something fun and different to do in Niagara Falls, among others.

"I've talked to many people that

walk in that are surprised they've enjoyed it as much as they have."

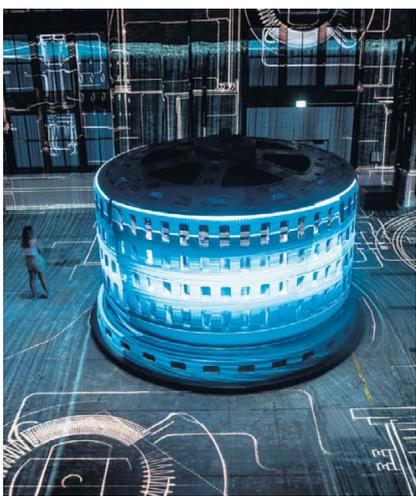
If you're visiting in Niagara's peak season during the summer, Sauer says the attraction is special for another reason.

"Temperature wise, it's cool on a hot summer day. It drops 15 degrees," she says. "And it's not as busy as some of the other areas of the Falls. So, if you are trying to get away from the hustle and bustle, it's a nice calming place to go and visit."

“

And then you come around a curve... and there's this light at the end of the tunnel.

Missy Sauer,
Director of Retail and Attractions, Niagara Parks

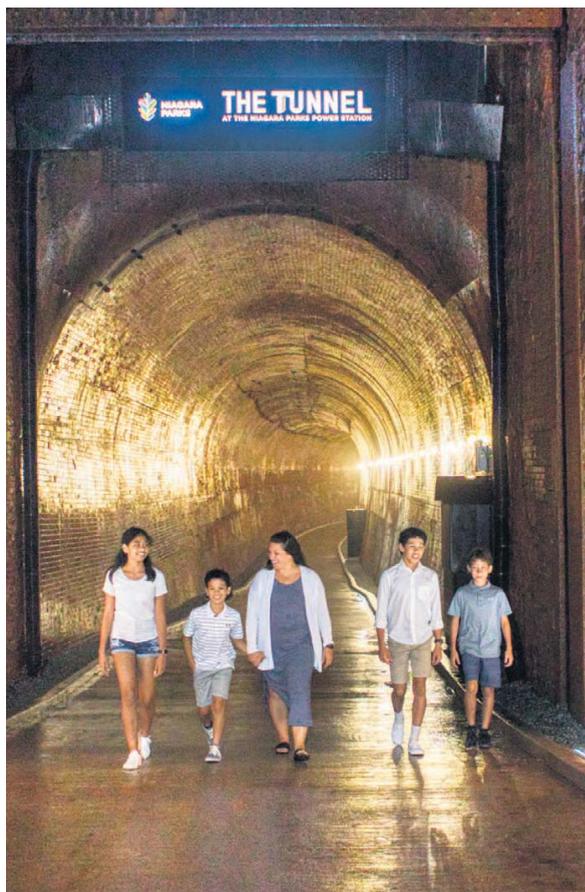


Guests can enjoy all-new multimedia storytelling, including flexible screenings of the immersive sound and light show *Currents*. SUPPLIED

"[[It's] an example of adaptive reuse of a retired power station that we opened up as an attraction," says Missy Sauer, Director of Retail and Attractions for Niagara Parks and former site manager of the Niagara Parks Power Station.

These days, the Power Station's main hall is a 60,000-square-foot museum that features a mix of interactive exhibits, artifacts, archival images and information about the building's history.

Launching this spring is a brand-



The attraction is aimed at a variety of people, from families to architecture and history buffs. SUPPLIED

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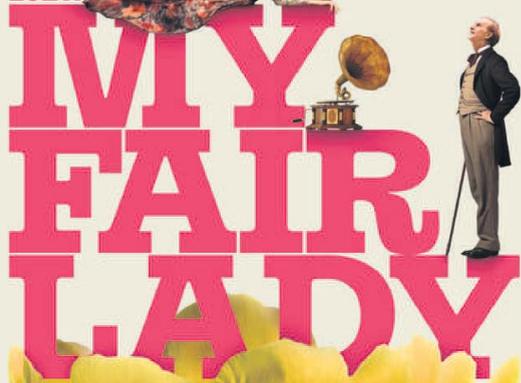


SUMMER CULTURE PREVIEW

Your best bets for theatre, movies, music and more ■ R6

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Kristi Frank and Tom Rooney

Five things to watch this weekend

Celebrate next week's Canadian Screen Awards with these nominees

BARRY HERTZ

The Nature of Love

CRAVE

With this year's Canadian Screen Week kicking off May 28, culminating in the Canadian Screen Awards Gala broadcast on the CBC May 31, there is no better time to highlight some of the great CSA-nominated films that (like so many homegrown productions) have flown completely under the radar. While there is a better-than-good chance that readers of this column will be familiar with Matt Johnson's excellent comedy *BlackBerry* (which is up for a record-setting 17 awards, including best picture, and likely to take home the bulk of the evening's hardware), there are a wealth of other nominated productions that deserve your time, too. Starting with *The Nature of Love*, Quebec director Monia Chokri's romantic comedy that made its debut at Cannes last year sporting the far better French-language title *Simple comme Sylvain*. An opposites-attract tale that isn't afraid to get into the messy details of a relationship, Chokri's film – up for four CSAs, including best original screenplay – is a confident, sexy heartbreaker.

Red Rooms

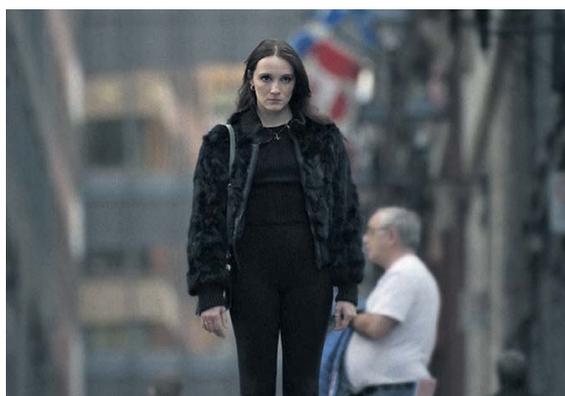
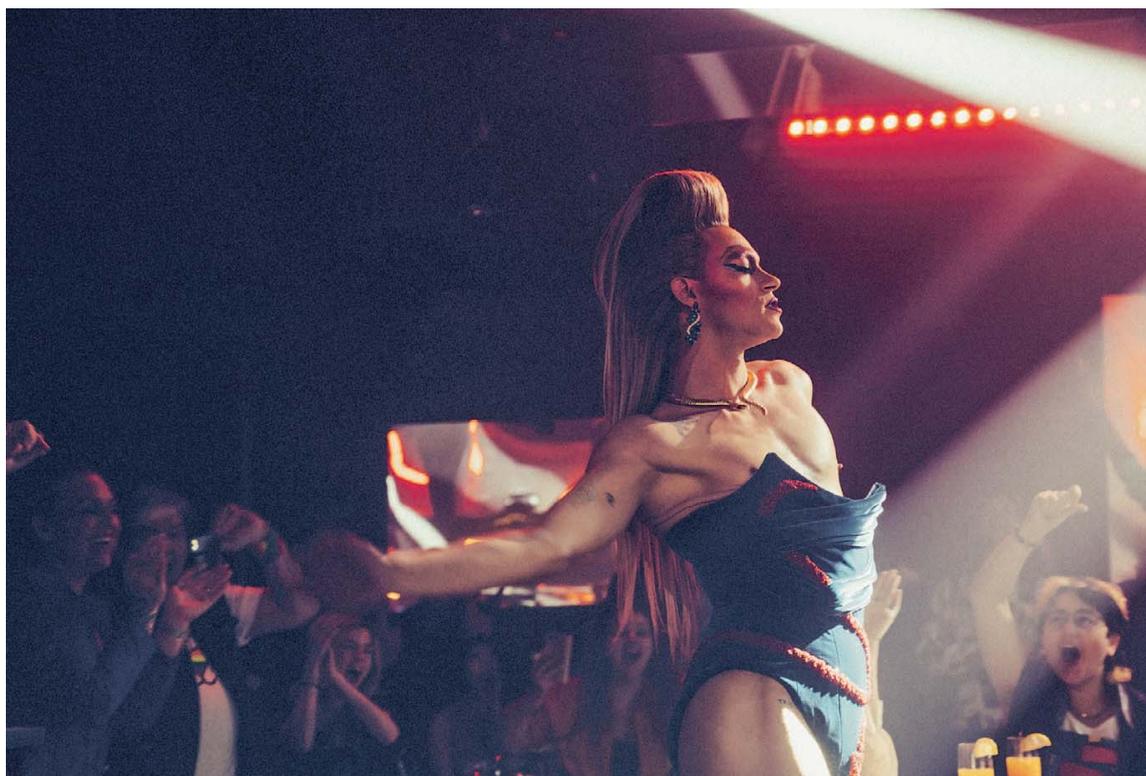
CRAVE

Draped underneath a thick layer of dread, Pascal Plante's follow-up to his Cannes-certified drama *Nadia, Butterfly* is a tremendously effective thriller that gets under your skin. Following two young women's very different obsessions with a Paul Bernardo-like serial killer (Maxwell McCabe-Lokos, perfectly cast as a creep without the actor needing to say a word of dialogue), *Red Rooms* mixes the modern folklore of the internet with the pulse-pounding tension of a classic whodunit. CSA nominee Juliette Gariépy, playing the more mysterious of the two women who are drawn to a Montreal murder trial, delivers a knockout performance, accenting her character's ambiguity with the hardest of edges.

Solo

CRAVE

Just as drag shows are getting unjustly lobbed into the culture war, Sophie Dupuis's drama *Solo* turns the spotlight away from any political red herrings and toward the people whose creativity helps the artistic scene flourish. Following Simon (Théodore Pellerin), a young Montrealer who is the star of his local drag club, the drama balances small moments of quiet intimacy with bright and loud bursts of onstage energy. Neither epic in ambition nor so small that it shrinks from the screen, *Solo* – which is nominated for four CSAs, including best picture – arrives as an impressive addition to Dupuis's filmography after the crime drama *Chien de garde* and the mining-rescue thriller *Souterrain*. Perhaps even more than that, though, it further proves to English Canada – and the world,



Clockwise from top: Sophie Dupuis's drama *Solo*; *Ru*, Charles-Olivier Michaud's adaptation of Kim Thuy's bestselling memoir; Monia Chokri's romantic comedy *The Nature of Love*; Jeremy Larter's *Who's Yer Father?*; *Red Rooms*, Pascal Plante's follow-up to *Nadia, Butterfly*.

hopefully – just what a fiercely talented chameleon Pellerin can be.

Who's Yer Father?

PARAMOUNT+

The highest-grossing Canadian film to ever open in Charlotte-town, Jeremy Larter's Prince Edward Island comedy is a true from-the-ground-up success story. Following a bumbling private investigator (Chris Locke) as he aims to crack a series of crimes – with at least one run-in with crustacean-trafficking crooks – *Who's Yer Father?* balances just the right amount of local colour with crowd-pleasing humour to create

something singularly Canadian. Up for three CSAs, including Susan Kent in the performance in a leading role (comedy) category, Larter's film proves that the Canadian film industry isn't (wholly) geographically bound between Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

Ru

ON-DEMAND, INCLUDING APPLE TV, AMAZON, GOOGLE PLAY

Charles-Olivier Michaud's adaptation of Kim Thuy's bestselling memoir, up for nine CSAs, has a big heart, and bigger ambitions. Rich in period detail and techni-

cally slick – a few shots will make you wonder just how large Michaud's budget was – *Ru* follows one Vietnamese family's daily pressures as they adjust to their new lives in rural Quebec. Told primarily through the perspective of 10-year-old Tinh (Chloé Djangji, projecting a believable sense of wide-eyed intimidation), Michaud's film feels both tender and just tough enough. Featuring strong supporting performances from Chantal Thuy (as Tinh's mother) and Karine Vanasse (as a Granby resident eager to give the refugees as soft a landing as possible), *Ru* serves as the best Welcome to Canada ad that Ottawa could hope for.





Alice Munro portrait © Derek Shapton

1931-2024

Alice Munro

“One foot in front of the other gets you
where you’re going, but it’s the detours
that make the journey worth it.”

— Alice Munro



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For Tonya Williams, change is about baby steps

The Reelworld founder will be honoured as a changemaker at the Canadian Screen Awards, though she feels that breaking barriers is her default setting

JOHANNA SCHNELLER

■ BIGGER PICTURE



Tonya Williams, the Canadian actor and founder of Reelworld, which she grew from a film festival into a phenomenon, recently unearthed a document from 1987. That's the year she moved to Los Angeles after stints on the children's show *Polka Dot Door* and the CTV sitcom *Check It Out!*. The document is a list of colleagues she met at auditions and get-togethers.

Two things make this a Tonya Williams story. First, the names on that list! Lisa Bonet, already on *The Cosby Show*. Patrick Breen, the character actor (*Galaxy Quest*). Todd Field, the actor (*Eyes Wide Shut*) and director (*Tár*). And second, merely making these contacts wasn't enough for Williams — she helped form them into a theatre group. Every Sunday they'd meet in someone's apartment to perform plays.

"Classes were expensive, so we created our own," she says. She also organized a group of actors to convince casting directors to hire Black people for roles that weren't written as Black.

Now 65, Williams will receive the Changemaker Award at next week's Canadian Screen Awards for her work with Reelworld, which she launched in 2000 as a festival to showcase the work of racially diverse filmmakers, then expanded into a host of professional development initiatives, including the Reelworld Training Lab for producers and writers; the Reelworld Hollywood Connector; the Reelworld Black Entrepreneurs Program; and Access Reelworld, Canada's largest database for racially diverse talent. But as honoured as she is to receive the Changemaker, for Williams it's akin to winning the Breather Award for breathing. Making change is her default setting.

"If you're born Black, you're automatically an activist," she says. "It's a given that I'm a changemaker — I'm just doing survival."

We meet at her Toronto home (she lives mostly in L.A.), a pleasingly unmodern Victorian decorated with colourful landscapes painted by her mother. Williams is leaving tonight for Cannes, to lead a Reelworld schmooze campaign, and she hasn't packed yet. She's an unapologetic introvert — when people say, "It's your birthday, I'm going to take you to lunch," she thinks, "A real treat would be a gift card so I can order in by myself." But today's assignment is Talk, so Williams talks, for nearly two hours.

Growing up in Jamaica and England, she consumed art with intensity, watching films and playing albums on repeat. At the age of 7, when a waiter in an upscale London restaurant told her they didn't serve ham sandwiches, Williams calmly asked him to bring her ham and bread. "I wasn't being sassy," she says now. "I just thought, 'How can you not know how to make a



Canadian actor Tonya Williams launched Reelworld in 2000 as a festival to showcase the work of racially diverse filmmakers. It has since expanded into a host of professional development initiatives for those in the industry. ALAN WEISSMAN

ham sandwich?" At 11, when her family immigrated to Canada via ship, she helped herself to the lobster buffet; only years later did she learn she'd crashed First Class.

"I took a lesson from that," Williams says. "Let someone stop you. Don't stop yourself. If the sign says, 'No women allowed,' well, note to self: Let's get women in there."

In Oshawa, Ont., Williams's schoolmates were primarily white. Her mother, a registered nurse and midwife, and her father, a lawyer and judge (who'd transferred to McGill from Tennessee after city bus riders berated him for not sitting in the back), would often tell her, "What your friends can do, you can't do," Williams recalls. "We knew it was unfair. But we also knew that unfair isn't the reason not to move forward. Unfair means, I need to learn the rules, then navigate around them to get where I need to go."

In high school, she acted in plays and commercials; when she moved to Toronto to study at Ryerson University (now Toron-

to Metropolitan), her mother bought the house we're sitting in. Williams served as landlady, collecting rent, paying bills, filing taxes. "That was my mother's idea of how to train a child."

“I kept thinking about when, as a little kid, I asked my dad why there wasn't a Black Barbie. He said, 'Because the world is waiting for you to build the factory.' I didn't want to start Reelworld — I had to.

TONYA WILLIAMS

Two breaks launched her career: She won Miss Black Ontario, sponsored by her hair salon, Azan's, then landed a national commercial for milk that put her milk-mustached face on billboards. "The Black and South Asian communities, who were seeing no images of themselves, wanted their daughters to meet me," she says. "It confirmed the idea my parents raised me with: What you do affects your entire Black community."

In L.A., however, most of her auditions were for street junkies or illiterate single mothers. She'd go, but she'd speak in her everyday voice. "I didn't want those roles," Williams says. "I wanted to play women who didn't perpetuate dehumanizing stereotypes. I stubbornly thought if I kept auditioning my way, I might open someone's mind to how else Black people can be."

It worked. After auditioning to play runaway teen Drucilla Winters on the soap opera *The Young and the Restless*, she got a callback — to play Drucilla's sister Olivia, a doctor. She stayed for 19 seasons.

William Bell, the Y&R producer who also created *Another World* and *The Bold and the Beautiful*, "had no intention of creating Olivia until he saw me," Williams says. "But he could see change coming, and soap operas were the perfect venue because you're in people's homes every day." Her fan mail went from "Get off my show!" to "Please come to our city." Williams advocated for more diverse hires behind the scenes, too.

Reelworld "began with me trying to get other festivals to be more inclusive when they didn't want to be," Williams says. "TIFF had the Planet Africa platform, but that was for Black people from everywhere except Canada. I kept thinking about when, as a little kid, I asked my dad why there wasn't a Black Barbie. He said, 'Because the world is waiting for you to build the factory.' I didn't want to start Reelworld — I had to."

After 24 years, Williams is ready to stop rising at 5 a.m. L.A. time and working well past 5 p.m. Toronto time; her latest plan is a two-year ebb away from Reelworld. But she'll continue advocating for change — the right kind. "I understand that if you're in your 20s now, change is not happening fast enough," she says. "But lasting change takes time. I'd rather take baby steps forward than big, performative steps, promoting people of colour before they've built relationships and can call in favours, which sets them up to fail."

Personally, Williams provides the kind of opportunities that often go unseen: She'll leave a key under the mat at her L.A. home if someone needs to crash on her couch. (Clement Virgo, Damon D'Oliveira and Gloria Reuben have been there.) Her e-mail and cell aren't secret. She'll call an agent to boost an aspiring writer.

Just do not — repeat, do not — come to her to complain. "If you hear yourself blaming someone or something, that is not the conversation to have with me," she says, citing a first-time playwright who called her in tears because the theatre company changed her text, and she wasn't sure she could write again.

"If you are broken by that, this is not the industry for you," Williams says. "You worked on this for five years? You should have made 10 other things at the same time. They want to make this man a woman, or this woman a chair? Go right ahead. Welcome to Monday in our business!"

Williams knows she can be impatient. She's your boss, not your mom. She cultivates associates, not friends. She chose to not have a spouse or children, to keep her time her own. She says what she thinks. But for Reelworld, she feels big emotions: pride, hope, love. "When I leave," she says, "I want the whole industry to take it under its wing, to realize it's their responsibility to keep it going, because it brings value to everyone."

"Bill Bell didn't hire me on Y&R because it was a 'good' thing to do," she sums up. "Creating a Black family brought a bigger audience. There's an underserved audience out there, and Canada can serve it. It's in your best interest. You're not helping diverse people. We're helping you."

Special to The Globe and Mail

Why are procedurals good for cop shows, but not architecture?

DAVE LeBLANC

■ ARCHITOURIST



Imagine settling down for the evening and switching on your favourite home and lifestyle channel.

A new program, made by Canadians, takes viewers to Mulmur, Ont., where crews have just poured the foundation for a new residence; the Costa family cheers as their architect pops the Champagne cork.

Then, viewers are whizzed over to Toronto's Parkdale neighbourhood, where the transformation of a Victorian mansion from a seedy rooming house to a modern multiplex apartment building is almost complete.

Meanwhile, in Guelph, Ont., architect Samir assures his clients that the red brick he's chosen for their very modern house — they want fiber cement panels like the one down the street — has great pedigree.

At that point, a little history lesson about Modernist brick buildings by famous architects such as Louis Kahn, Eero Saarinen and Frank Lloyd Wright fills the screen.

Sound good? While loosely based on the U.K.'s *Grand Designs* — 24 smash seasons are available on CBC Gem — it's an imaginary television show. And one you're not likely to see in Canada, says executive producer Carolyn Meland of HeartHat Entertainment (recently nominated at the Banff World Media Festival for *Bollywood*).

"Process shows are a hard sell in the TV landscape as broadcasters simply don't get excited by them," she says. "They don't feel they draw eyeballs; and while they may like the idea of covering the design process from beginning to end, they prefer it in small doses."

North American shows are all sizzle and no steak; if a viewer learns anything in 47 minutes, it's quite by accident. Here, archi-



Without proper resources, York University associate professor Mark Hayward says it's next to impossible to get an architecture 'procedural' like the U.K.'s *Grand Designs* made in Canada.

teature and design programs require a quick payoff vis-à-vis the before-and-after room reveal, or a race against the clock, or other game-show shenanigans to keep the audience engaged. The creative process, sadly, would just slow things down.

Good slower-moving procedurals are yet enough for cop shows. Is that audience smarter?

"I certainly wouldn't say that people are too stupid," says York University department of communication studies associate professor Mark Hayward, "but I do think that it would work against a set of established expectations about genre as they've evolved." It's Hayward's opinion that, while 30 or 40 years ago lifestyle/architecture programs contained documentary-type content and unravelled at a more relaxed pace, the two genres "really do exist in different universes now." Meaning play-it-safe broadcasters place documentaries

in one silo and real estate shows in the other, and never the twain shall meet.

But they once did. When HGTV Canada launched in 1997, it featured a gentle little process show about party planning, *Savoir Fair* with Nik Manojlovich (where Sarah Richardson worked as a set decorator before pitching her own show), and, more than a decade before that, CityTV's *Fashion Television* — which also featured architecture — was kicking sartorial butt in the ratings. Host Jeanne Beker says creator Jay Levine saw architecture "as an important field of design." But unless you approach it in "an upbeat way" it can be "a kind of dry subject matter."

"Not long ago I was rewatching the 25th anniversary special of *Fashion Television*, and of course one section featured the architecture stories over the years," continues Ms. Beker, "and all of a sudden the pace changed, and it was just not as com-

elling, it just wasn't as sexy." She was stumped. When "architects themselves are such colourful characters" who deal with multimillion budgets, this type of programming should work, she says.

It should, especially on the CBC or TVO where more cerebral BBC shows have always played well. But, says Hayward, while broadly structured like the BBC, the CBC "has never played the same dominant role as the main broadcaster with multiple channels." So, without those same fatty resources "to be able to pull together both a research team that's doing historical documentary with another team that can be out in the field shooting," it's next to impossible to get an architecture "procedural" like *Grand Designs* made here.

Yet, even in the much larger U.S. market, where specialty channels such as Smithsonian or History should be airing programs that inform us about how we live and why we build in certain ways, programmers play it safe and give us fighting Vikings or the Second World War ad nauseam.

I have a little experience with why this may be. In 2014-15, I hosted 20 episodes of an iChannel show, *Where Cool Came From*, which traced how things such as coffee, sneakers or even Modernist architecture, became cool. While somewhat high concept, the unwritten rule seemed to be this: Get money from the Canada Media Fund but make the show in such a way that it'll sell to a big U.S. broadcaster after it airs in Canada (so they'll hopefully foot the bill for more episodes).

This means the content must appeal to both soccer moms in Des Moines, Iowa, and elitists in New York.

"I think broadcasters and commissioners have a tough job — they are in the business of creating hits," says Meland. "It's not easy to take chances on different kinds of shows when you can be laid off for making mistakes ... and the fallout of that is there are less champions for programs that may be great and interesting."

Beauty and history meet in June Clark exhibit

Toronto artist's work at Power Plant explores contemporary themes, such as identity within the Black diaspora, from a personal perspective

KATE TAYLOR

REVIEW



VISUAL ARTS

To record a year she was spending in Paris, Toronto artist June Clark would go every Thursday to a photo booth and take a picture of herself. Later, she mounted each photo on an enlarged copy of a page from her diary.

The entries would sometimes comment on the photo - "DO I ever look like my mother!?" - or note moods, frustration with work, social events or the anniversary of a still-fresh marriage. It was as though Clark needed to move to a different city to see herself and those around her.

The project from 2004 and 2005 eventually became *42 Thursdays in Paris*, a series of works-on-paper included in the Power Plant art gallery's current survey of Clark's career.

Clark was born in Harlem, N.Y., in 1941 and moved to Canada in 1968 as the then-wife of a draft dodger. It was in Toronto that she started photography and eventually became an artist. Yet much of her work of recent years looks back to Harlem, to ancestors, to the place and people she left behind.

She is in her 80s now, so Witness, the Power Plant's survey of her work from the 1990s to the present, is belated to say the least - and very welcome. You can get a small taste of her earliest work at the Museum of Contemporary Art these days, where the GTA24 show includes her photography of multicultural Toronto in the 1970s.

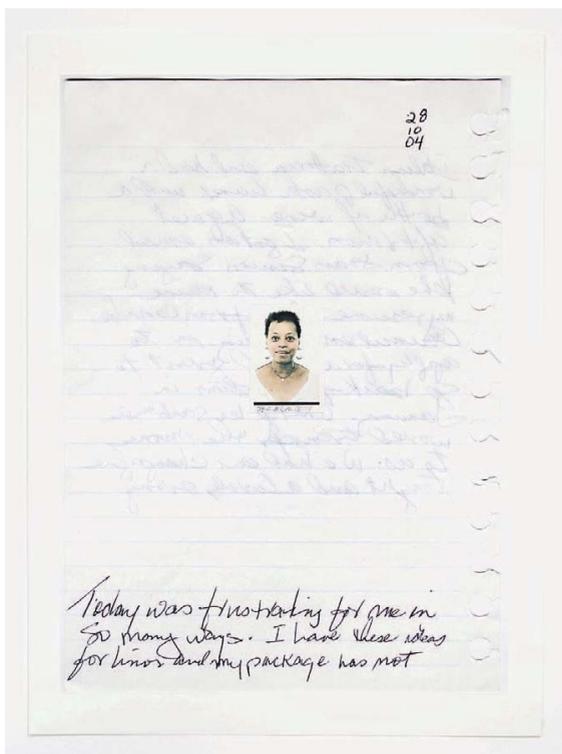
If the 1970s work was straightforwardly documentary, what is showing at the Power Plant reflects the blossoming of her career, featuring art that is often photo-based but sculptural as Clark progressed into making assemblages that included found objects. She works with contemporary themes, such as identity within the Black diaspora, from a deeply personal perspective, using memory, family and nostalgia as leitmotifs to create work that is both pleasingly material and hauntingly elegiac.

The first section of the show includes *Family Secrets*, from 1992, a series of 18 cigar boxes holding objects that evoke people from the artist's past. We don't know the characters but the effect is achingly poignant: little boxes holding a fabric doll or a child's book, a wishbone, some keys and the heel of a shoe, shells, coins and the tiny bones of a bird. One is filled with multiple copies of one photo of a family group cropped out and layered on top of each other to create a little crowd, as though there weren't quite enough of these people - or memories of these people - to go around.

In the next room, there is a circle of low chairs made from old washboards, a series called *Keepers* that Clark has been making since 2003. Each one is covered in a different fabric and bears photos or objects referring



June Clark's Harlem Quilt, 1997, features photographs of the neighbourhood printed on scraps of fabric. HENRY CHAN JR./THE POWER PLANT



Clockwise from above: *42 Thursdays in Paris*, 2004; *Dirge*, 2003; *Family Secrets*, 1992. DEAN TOMLINSON/COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND DANIEL FARIA GALLERY (ABOVE); LF DOCUMENTATION/COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND DANIEL FARIA GALLERY (ABOVE RIGHT); HENRY CHAN JR./THE POWER PLANT



to different friends or relatives, creating a prayer circle of ancestors and intimates. That's an evocation of specific people.

On the other hand, Clark's assemblages, in a series titled *The Perseverance Suite*, hint at the group identity marked by the memory of enslavement, the years of hard labour and the recurring resilience. These themes are introduced outside the big white gallery, with a single piece sitting spot in a darkened corner in the adjacent space: a coil of old rusty chain.

Inside the gallery, there's a trowel with wishbones sprinkled with brick dust and a copper pot covered with the heads of two pitchforks, creating what looks like a trap or cage. *American Gothic* features a pitchfork and a

spade, topped with decorative Depression-era glassware. *Treks* is grippingly simple, a series of rusting railway spikes, with a few pieces of dangling chain, that climb up the gallery's white wall. The work's formal arrangement is arresting while its materials are an oblique reference to Harriet Tubman's work helping escaped slaves.

In 1996, Clark did return to live in Harlem briefly as an artist-in-residence at the Studio Museum. The centrepiece of the first half of the Power Plant show is *Harlem Quilt*, a room lit with strings of light bulbs, each one hanging over a scrap of fabric on which a photograph of the neighbourhood has been printed. Streetscapes and scenes with people, sometimes illegible be-

cause of the darkness or patterning of the fabric, form a touching tribute to a community, installed in a shrine-like atmosphere.

Clark's disappointment with American society and history are not front and centre in these quiet works. A show at the Art Gallery of Ontario devoted to a suite of nine pieces based on the American flag is more overt, carrying a denunciation of the way the civil-rights promises of the 1950s and 1960s have been betrayed. Sometimes these are downright obvious. There is a draped flag sewn to a framed piece of paper using embroidery thread that spells out the word "irony." Other flags are in shreds and an audio track features Clark's grandchildren pledging allegiance, repeating the prom-

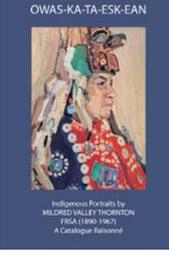
ise of "liberty and justice for all" just as she did back in the 1950s. But what is notable about the flags, which were made as early as 1991 and as recently as last year, is their powerful material presence and raw beauty, including the stars and stripes fashioned from rusting bits of flattened metal.

Clark came of age in that era when feminists coined the phrase "the personal is political" and her autobiographical oeuvre reflects that philosophy. Yet if these political gestures are affecting and effective, it is because of their deep artistry.

Witness continues at the Power Plant to Aug. 11. June Clark: Unrequited Love continues at the Art Gallery of Ontario to Jan. 5.

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2024 SUMMER CULTURE GUIDE

MOVIES

Promising films that may save theatres from a cruel summer

BARRY HERTZ

Cue Taylor Swift and slap on the sunscreen: This is going to be a cruel summer for movie theatres.

Thanks to the after-effects of last year's dual industry strikes, the busiest movie-going season of the year is facing a dearth of new releases, including the big-budget blockbusters whose revenues tend to keep the studio lights on. With no Barbenheimer-type phenomenon in sight, and only one sure-thing superhero movie on the horizon, analysts are expecting the May-to-September corridor to deliver just US\$3-billion in box office revenue, a 25-per-cent dip from a typical prepandemic summer tally.

But don't start drowning yourself in pity popcorn quite yet, as there are at least a handful of intriguing releases that might not only overperform financially, but actually deliver the perfect hot-weather entertainment this melting planet so desperately needs. Below are the 10 most promising summer movie bets – including two films that should by all accounts be big-screen smashes, but may not get the chance to save our cinemas.

FURIOSA: A MAD MAX SAGA

After delivering the best action movie ever made with *Mad Max: Fury Road* – this fact is indisputable, at least in these pages – director George Miller rewinds the postapocalyptic clock with this prequel. Following the younger days of Charlize Theron's *Fury Road* heroine (played here by Anya Taylor-Joy), *Furiosa* promises all manner of flame-throwing, gear-gnashing, bone-crunching chaos. And it looks like Chris Hemsworth is back to having fun as the villain, after having to grin and bear it through the last *Thor* film. *In theatres now*

HIT MAN

Richard Linklater's latest was one of the biggest hits to come out of last fall's film festival circuit, a wonderful distillation of the director's twin sensibilities: slacker-accented hangout comedy (*Dazed and Confused*, *Everybody Wants Some!!*) and searing romance (the *Before ...* trilogy). Headlined by Glen Powell in what feels like the actor's third or fourth star-making role over the past 12 months, *Hit Man* follows the sly, sexy antics of an undercover police officer whose allegiances begin to blur after falling for the revenge-hungry woman (Adria

Arjona) he's supposed to be entrapping. Despite featuring at least two stand-up-and-cheer moments that play wonderfully with sold-out crowds, *Hit Man* will be seen by most audiences at home on Netflix ... except in Canada, where the film's theatrical rights are held by local distributor VVS. Someone at Tourism Canada should mount a campaign luring American moviegoers now. *In theatres now*

BAD BOYS: RIDE OR DIE

If nothing else, the existence of a fourth *Bad Boys* film – depressingly not titled *Bad Boys 4 Life*, as producers foolishly wasted the “for life” subtitle on the third movie – confirms the reality of the American Dream. Where else but the U.S.A. can you be awarded a megablockbuster payday after physically assaulting a fellow member of your industry in front of millions of people? Yes, Will Smith is back doing his admittedly entertaining cocky-cop thing here, alongside the more neurotic stylings of Martin Lawrence and tons and tons of firearms. Alas, director Michael Bay is sitting this one out again (his second *Bad Boys* film is a genuine masterpiece of cinematic mayhem), but co-directors Adil El Arbi and Bilall Fallah are back after having helmed the third outing. Whatcha gonna do? *June 7*

INSIDE OUT 2

The Pixar machine has been a fidgety one lately, from the sorta-successful but hardly beloved *Elemental* to a rash of mostly worthy releases that had the misfortune of opening during the pandemic, their legacies forever entwined with the branding of “direct to Disney+.” But hopes are almost astronomically high for this decade-later sequel to one of Pixar's greatest achievements. Not everyone from the original 2015 film is back – and it is hard to imagine the world of *Inside Out* minus the comedic stylings of Mindy Kaling and Bill Hader – but early buzz suggests there's still more than enough grey matter powering the Pixar brain trust behind this one. *June 14*

A QUIET PLACE: DAY ONE

The jury is still out – or, I guess, shushed – as to whether audiences truly need to know every single detail of the alien invasion at the centre of John Krasinski's smash-hit franchise. Perhaps I'll bite my tongue after seeing how director Michael Sarnoski (last seen leading Nicolas Cage to



ILLUSTRATIONS BY HAYDEN MAYNARD

late-stage career redemption in *Pig*) handles the shhhhhhenanigans as he traces the start of the high-concept apocalypse. Spread the word, but not too loudly. *June 28*

BEVERLY HILLS COP: AXEL F

It is unclear who, aside from Eddie Murphy's estate planners, has been begging for a fourth entry in the *Beverly Hills Cop* franchise. Yet anything that nudges the actor closer to his raw comedic roots has to be welcome news. After all, long-time (and long-disappointed) Murphy fans can only take so many lame-duck Prime Video efforts such as *Candy Cane Lane* and *Coming 2 America*. Judging by the money that Netflix is pouring into this decades-later sequel – practically every member of the original film is back, with new additions including Joseph Gordon-Levitt and Kevin Bacon – there has to be something promising here. Maybe even enough that the theatre-allergic streaming giant will kick the potential crowd-pleaser onto the big screen for a week or two before releasing it to its subscribers. *July 3*

TWISTERS

With bonus points for the clever-enough title – and curiosity piqued thanks to the involvement of *Minari* director Lee Isaac Chung of all filmmakers – *Twisters* might just touch down and become the surprise of the summer. Supposedly Helen Hunt-free, this stand-alone sequel follows a new group of supersmart, supersexy tornado-chasers as they attempt to avoid getting sucked up into the sky, cow-style. The cast is certainly first rate, including Glen Powell (again!), Daisy Edgar-Jones, Anthony Ramos and Maura Tierney. *July 19*

DEADPOOL & WOLVERINE

Likely the biggest hit of the summer – even if it is rated R, in the traditional *Deadpool* style – this superhero team-up will likely either revive the creatively and financially stalled Marvel Cinematic Universe, or put

one more adamantium claw in the coffin of the genre. Oh, who am I kidding: This Ryan Reynolds-Hugh Jackman adventure feels like the surest of sure things, a zeitgeist-dominating juggernaut that is destined to rule the summer, if not the entire year. And, if we want to be generous, it's quasi-Canadian, given that it stars Vancouver's proudest son Reynolds, is directed by Montreal's Shawn Levy and features the most famous Canuck superhero of all time, Wolverine. *July 26*

TRAP

Destined to be one of the great Toronto-but-not-Toronto movies, M. Night Shyamalan's new thriller – seemingly set in the filmmaker's hometown of Philly but shot in TO and arriving with a trailer littered with local landmarks – *Trap* could turn out to be preposterous or preposterously entertaining. The film lays one of its twists on the table early: A father (Josh Hartnett) attends a pop-star concert along with his young daughter only to realize that the entire event is a sting operation led by police looking for a serial killer ... who happens to be our leading man! Surely some other turn is lurking underneath the set-up. *Aug. 9*

ALIEN: ROMULUS

Jettisoning the mythos-heavy prequels by Ridley Scott, this new lean and mean *Alien* instalment seems to go back to the franchise's horror roots. Directed by Fede Álvarez, who grossed audiences out with his *Evil Dead* remake, *Alien: Romulus* follows another band of foolish space colonists (led by *Priscilla* star Cailee Spaeny) who come face to face-hugger with those pesky xenomorphs. Much chest-bursting presumably ensues. Maybe Disney, which inherited the *Alien* franchise after absorbing 20th Century Fox a few years ago, should've subtitled this one *Alien: Inside Out* instead, just to maximize the crossover appeal from its Pixar division. The summer is saved! *Aug. 16*



Furiosa: A Mad Max Saga.



Inside Out 2.



Beverly Hills Cop: Axel F.



Alien: Romulus.

THEATRE



There are plenty of productions to catch outside of Stratford

J. KELLY NESTRUCK

Looking for outside-the-box theatre off the beaten path this summer? Try these companies and festivals from British Columbia to Newfoundland.

BLYTH FESTIVAL

Blyth, Ont., June 12 to Sept. 7

This influential new-work theatre company in Blyth, Ont., less than an hour's drive from Stratford, is celebrating its 50th anniversary. Run by artistic director Gil Garrett, this rural festival grew rather than shrunk its footprint during the pandemic: It now

produces both indoors at the 500-seat Blyth Memorial Hall and at an outdoor amphitheatre built in 2021 called the Harvest Stage. This summer, *The Farm Show: Then and Now*, an update of the legendary Theatre Passe Muraille play that led to the birth of festival, will revisit Clinton County's famous theatrical history, while *The Trials of Maggie Pollock*, veteran playwright Beverley Cooper's new show about the last woman in Canada to be convicted of witchcraft, shines a light on a little-known bit of local history. Though Blyth shows are often hyper-local in subject matter, that hasn't stopped them from being produced across the country afterward. (Sophia Fabbilli's *Liars at a Funeral* and Mark Crawford's *The New Canadian Curling Club* are a couple

of recent much-produced hits that originated here.)

CARAVAN FARM THEATRE

Near Armstrong, B.C., July 9 to Aug. 5

A visit to this 46-year-old theatre company that operates on an 80-acre farm just outside Armstrong – a little more than an hour's drive from either Kamloops or Kelowna – is on many Canadian theatregoers' bucket list. This year, artistic director Estelle Shook directs *The Bear and The Proposal: An Okanagan Wedding Party*, her adaptation of two stories by Anton Chekhov, relocated to the Okanagan circa the 1800s. The acting company features seasoned veterans from some of the biggest stages in the country including Kevin Bundy, Sheldon Elter and Jani Lauzon.

FESTIVAL TRANSAMÉRIQUES

Montreal, to June 5

The absence of Just for Laughs (which is experiencing financial difficulties) will be felt this summer in Montreal. But the city's great festival season goes on, kicking off with this avant-garde dance and theatre event that is now both cool and conscientious as run by co-artistic directors Martine Dennewald and Jessie Mill. Tiago Rodrigues, the current director of France's Festival d'Avignon, is the big European star visiting, with a large-scale production of a provocative play titled *Catarina and the Beauty of Killing Fascists* (presented in Portuguese with English and French surtitles). Meanwhile, *I Am From Reykjavik*, by Manchester-based poet and performer Sonia Hughes, sees the artist build a series of small houses in public spaces starting with Parc La Fontaine. (Hughes brings the same piece to Luminato Festival Toronto from June 7-12.)

PERCHANCE THEATRE

Conception Harbour, N.L., June 29 to August TBD

This professional outdoor classics company moved from one community to another

last year and is now setting up its stage – think Shakespeare's Globe meets a sailing ship – behind a convent in Conception Harbour, 45 minutes outside St. John's. *High Steel* – Mary Walsh, Ron Hynes and Rick Boland's 1984 show about the Newfoundlanders who helped build the Empire State Building and the World Trade Center in New York – is back on the bill, while artistic director Danielle Irvine is helming a new *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with Walsh's CODCO co-star Andy Jones as Bottom. Top-shelf directors Richard Rose and Jillian Keiley also have shows in the season.

RAINBOW STAGE

Winnipeg, June through August

After 70 years of operation, Winnipeg's summer musical theatre at the covered amphitheatre in Kildonan Park is premiering its first original musical. Set in Winnipeg, *Ma-Buhay!* (June 27 to July 14) – written by Joseph Seville with Joshua Caldo – takes place during a televised Filipino singing competition. Hometown hero Andrea Macasaet, who originated the role of Anne Boleyn in the Broadway production of *Six: The Musical*, returns to lead the cast of this pop musical, which also features Ma-Anne Dionisio, who famously played Kim in the original Canadian production of *Miss Saigon*.

SOULPEPPER

Toronto, June to August

Do you know what it means to miss New Orleans? Torontonians can sample the tastes of the city without travelling to Louisiana by visiting Soulpepper. First, a revival of director Weyni Mengesha's award-winning production of *A Streetcar Named Desire* hits the boards from June 12 to July 7; Mac Fyfe and Amy Rutherford reprise the roles of Stanley and Blanche in Tennessee Williams's classic for the first time since the pandemic squashed the production's plans to tour. Then, as a chaser, *The Big Easy: Music of New Orleans*, a new concert created by Beau Dixon, runs from Aug. 1-11.

TELEVISION

Escape the heat with these series and events

J. KELLY NESTRUCK

During the precious warm months in Canada, the great outdoors and canoe rides beckon – but sometimes, if we're being honest, so, too, does the small screen and a bit of air-conditioned couch slouching. Fortunately, the days of June-to-August reruns are long gone in the streaming era. Here are seven series and events worth staying in for.

THE BIG CIGAR

Apple TV+

André Holland plays Huey P. Newton in this miniseries about the Black Panther's escape to Cuba from the United States aided by movie producer Bert Schneider. Based on a true story, the show is inspired by a Playboy article by Joshua Bearman – who also wrote a Wired article about a film-assisted escape that was the inspiration for the 2012 movie *Argo*. Don Cheadle directs the first two episodes.



STAR WARS: THE ACOLYTE

Disney+, premieres June 4

If you get nervous when you hear the words "Star Wars" in the vicinity of the word "prequel," you may be skeptical about a series set in the High Republic era hundreds of years before *The Phantom Menace* (a.k.a. Episode 1). But the lightsaber buzz is strong for this mystery thriller that introduces *Squid Game*'s Lee Jung-jae and *The Matrix*'s Carrie-Anne Moss as Jedi masters a longer time ago in a galaxy far, far away.



HOUSE OF THE DRAGON, SEASON 2

HBO/Crave, premieres June 16

For those who haven't got enough of pointless bloody conflicts in the real world, the popular *Games of Thrones* prequel is back, promising to plunge viewers into the Targaryen civil war – a period also known as the Dance of the Dragons in George R.R. Martin historiography. The series' prompt return is thanks to it starring Matt Smith, Olivia Cooke and lots of other members of British actors' unions who were allowed to shoot during last year's Hollywood strikes.



ORPHAN BLACK: ECHOES

AMC/AMC+, premieres June 23

This sci-fi/fantasy spinoff of the Canadian series that made Tatiana Maslany a star is set 37 years after the end of *Orphan Black*. Rather than trying to clone the original premise, new showrunner Anna Fishko is taking the concept in a different direction, with star Krysten Ritter (*Jessica Jones*) playing just one of what seems like several DNA doppelgängers at different ages played by other actors – or so the trailer suggests.

THE BEAR, SEASON 3

Disney+, releases June 27

The much-lauded Chicago-set restaurant workplace drama – or, if you're a Golden Globes voter, "comedy or musical" – returns to pull at your heart strings while making you salivate like one of Pavlov's dogs. While Canadians had to endure frustratingly slow service in terms of getting Season 2 of *The Bear*, this third dose of the Jeremy Allen White and Ayo Edebiri hit will land on Disney+ in Canada at the same time it does on Hulu in the United States. Happy Canada Day!

SAUSAGE PARTY: FOODTOPIA

Prime Video, premieres July 11

Globe and Mail film critic Barry Hertz didn't hold back in his review of the 2016 R-rated animated film *Sausage Party* – calling it "the most delirious movie to come out of a major studio in decades, perhaps ever." This spinoff miniseries will see many of the original movie's voice actors return to their roles as sentient snacks – including Canucks Seth Rogen and Michael Cera as a couple of sausages.

PARIS 2024 OLYMPIC GAMES

CBC/CBC Gem/TSN/Sportsnet, July 26 to Aug. 11

Canada's public broadcaster and its partner networks are going big on the Olympics – on the old-fashioned clickety-click channels, on the CBC Gem streaming service and on a bespoke CBC Paris app designed for Android and iOS devices. Between 12 p.m. and 6 p.m. ET, Bell Paris Prime Live will be hosted by Scott Russell, who has covered 16 Olympic Games and is on the advisory panel for the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport. He will be joined by Julie Stewart-Binks, who is covering an Olympic Games for the third time.



MUSIC RELEASES

Ten anticipated albums for every kind of listener

JOSH O'KANE
BRAD WHEELER

Get your song of the summer guesses ready: Here are The Globe's most anticipated releases of the season.

KAIKA KATER, STRANGE MEDICINE
Free Dirt Records, out now

It seems like just yesterday that Kaika Kater was a banjo-playing upstart newly signed to Smithsonian Folkways Recordings. Suddenly the Montreal-born Grenadian-Canadian has become an important folk-circuit mainstay. On her first album in five years, she collaborates with Taj Mahal, Aoife O'Donovan and Allison Russell. *Strange Medicine* is a hypnotic adventure in roots-music storytelling.

BRAD WHEELER



OLD MAN LUEDECKE, SHE TOLD ME WHERE TO GO
Outside Music, out now

The great Canadian songwriter Chris Luedecke rode out the pandemic as a deckhand on a scallop boat. Now the Toronto-born Nova Scotian is back on dry land, but without the Appalachian-styled banjo that had long accompanied his wry lyricism. On *She Told Me Where to Go*, Old Man Luedecke has abandoned his signature pluck for blues, country, pseudo funk and the kind of inventive soft rock associated with the album's producer, Afie (Bahamas) Jurvanen. B.W.



PAUL WELLER, 66
Polydor, out now

The latest single from the Surrey-born Modfather is *Rise Up Singing*, three minutes and two seconds of string-laden spirituality – "So glad I opened my eyes" – and sixties soul-crooning. It's taken from the former Style Council star's forthcoming album, named for his age. Collaborators on his 17th solo record include Noel Gallagher, Richard Hawley and Primal Scream's Bobby Gillespie. B.W.

PAUL McCARTNEY AND WINGS, ONE HAND CLAPPING
Universal, June 14

In the summer of 1974, with the album *Band on the Run* riding high on the charts thanks to singles *Jet* and the instant-classic title song, Paul McCartney and his revamped Wings laid down live-in-the-studio tracks over four days at the famed facilities at 3 Abbey Rd., London. Scattered tracks have been released previously, but now, 50 years later, the full thing finally sees the light of day. Of particular interest are McCartney solo performances recorded in the yard behind the studio. Among them are the Beatles' *Blackbird* (recently covered by Beyoncé) and the previously unreleased song *Blackpool*, along with takes on Eddie Cochran's *Twenty Flight Rock* and Buddy Holly's *Peggy Sue*. B.W.



CHARLI XCX, BRAT
Atlantic, June 7

Charli XCX has risen over the past decade and a half from London club kid to avant-pop's biggest mainstream flagbearer. The songs of *Brat* turn her singular perspective to her club roots, with songs such as *Von Dutch* transporting listeners to the feeling of the 2000s, while *Club Classics* minces no words in establishing the music of her collaborators, and herself, as foundational texts. JOSH O'KANE

KAYTRANADA, TIMELESS
RCA, June 7

Last November, the Haitian-Canadian producer Kaytranada posted a simple message on X: "album. finito." Just this past week, he made good on his tease: *Timeless* is out June 7. His third solo record follows up on the bouncy beats of last year's portmanteau collaboration with the Portland rapper Aminé, *Kaytraminé*. Kaytranada has already dropped eminently listenable singles with Rochelle Jordan and Chanel Tres – and has promised a collaboration with Childish Gambino, the musical alter-ego of Donald Glover. JOK

BODYSYNC, NUTTY
Buddies Inc., June 28

Hamilton-via-Halifax electronic producer Ryan Hemsworth is teaming up with American producer Giraffage for their sophomore record as Bodysync in June – promising to bestow, well, a sense of nuttiness to the dance music of their youth. They've cited bands as sonically diverse as Daft Punk and the Vengabos as inspirations for *Nutty*. On *Rock It*, their earworm of a lead single, you really can hear the Vengabus coming. JOK

LAUGHING, BECAUSE IT'S TRUE
Celluloid Lunch, June 28

In the broad rock subgenre of power pop, Canada has tended to pump out a disproportionate number of "supergroups." (See: Trans-Canada Highwaymen, TUNS, Anyway Gang, any other band that Sloan's Chris Murphy joins in his spare time.) The latest is *Laughing*, formed in Montreal during the pandemic and featuring members of Nap Eyes, Monomyth, Fountain and Human Music. Lead single *Bruised* is a banger, but your personal feel-good jangly hit of the summer could be found anywhere among the 11 tracks. JOK

CASSANDRA JENKINS, MY LIGHT, MY DESTROYER
Dead Oceans, July 12

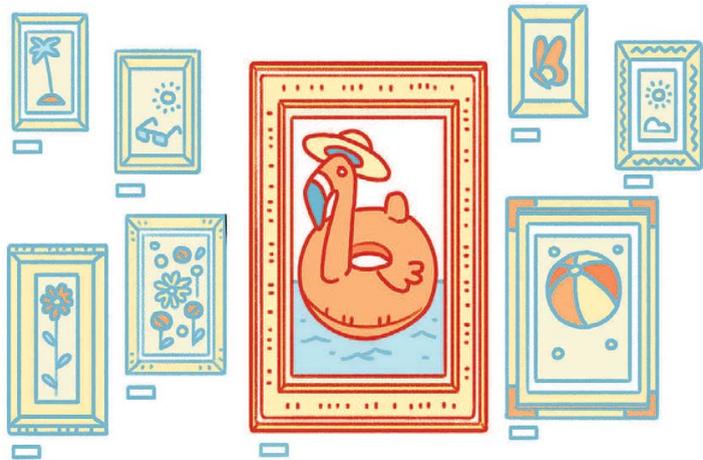
With *My Light, My Destroyer*, Jenkins is reaching into the deep cupboard of sophisticated pop to frame her observational songs. Lead single *Only One* takes listeners further into the sonic territory of Scottish art-pop band the Blue Nile, with a level of execution not seen since Destroyer's mid-career pivot, *Kaputt*. And like Destroyer bandleader Dan Bejar, Jenkins cleverly undoes her own sonic warmth in verse: "Sea sick dawn / Come to tear off another page / Blink my eyes open / Punch the clock in the face." JOK

SNOTTY NOSE REZ KIDS, RED FUTURE
Sony Music Canada, Sept. 13

The major-label debut album from the acclaimed hip-hop duo from the Haisla Nation in British Columbia isn't out until the end of the summer, but the titular lead single promises a more luxurious soundscape than their previous releases. Lyrically, Indigenous futurism remains the theme. B.W.



2024 SUMMER CULTURE GUIDE



ILLUSTRATIONS BY HAYDEN MAYNARD

VISUAL ARTS

These exhibits offer everything from escapism to immersion

KATE TAYLOR

The classic hot-weather blockbuster art exhibition feels like something of an endangered species these days. Instead, this summer Canada's public art galleries and museums are offering a wide range of intellectual, artistic and sensory experiences.

If it's some aesthetic escapism you are after, or maybe a bit of nostalgia, try these.



Jerry Hall and Antonio Lopez by Norman Parkinson. NORMAN PARKINSON/ICONIC IMAGES

On now at Montreal's McCord Stewart Museum is Norman Parkinson: Always in Style, a survey of work from the 1930s to the 1980s by the British fashion photographer known for his long association with Vogue and for shooting such celebrities as Audrey Hepburn, Jerry Hall, David Bowie and Jane Birkin. *To Sept. 2.*

Or, in the Toronto area, head to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection in Kleinburg for River of Dreams: Impressionism on the St. Lawrence. The show features Quebec landscapes and city scenes from the late 19th and early 20th century. *From June 22 to Jan. 13.*

But perhaps you are longing to be transported more completely to another world.

Sonia Boyce's *Feeling Her Way*, at the PHI Foundation in Montreal, is a visual and sonic feast featuring video, sculpture, wallpaper and an unprecedented collaboration between four Black female vocal soloists: Poppy Ajudha, Jacqui Dankworth, Sofia Jernberg and Tanita Tikaram. The piece won the top prize for the British pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2022 and will also be seen in Toronto at the Art Gallery of Ontario in September. *To Sept. 8 in Montreal; from Sept. 19 in Toronto.*

Or check out Earth: An Immersive Journey at the Royal Ontario Museum, which uses high-definition projections, scent diffusions and spatial audio to evoke different natural habitats. *From June 1*

Enough immersion already! For some visual quiet, try these.

Rembrandt: Etchings from the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, at Quebec's Musée national des beaux-arts, features 80 works from a Rotterdam collection by the famed Dutch artist who revolutionized the art of etching. *To Sept. 2*

And, in a bit of counterintuitive programming, the Vancouver Art Gallery offers a show dedicated to the monochromatic. *Black and White and Everything In*



Gathie Falk, 30 Grapefruit, 1970. TREVOR MILLS/VANCOUVER ART GALLERY

Between: A Monochrome Journey includes works by 75 different artists, international and Canadian, modernist and contemporary. *From June 9 to Nov. 3*

Looking for evidence the art museum is finally giving female artists their due? There's lots.

The expat Canadian painter Helen McNicoll – who died at the young age of 35, cutting short an interesting career – gets another look at the Musée national des beaux-arts in Quebec with Helen McNicoll: An Impressionist Journey. *From June 20 to Jan. 5*

The Art Gallery of Ontario is showing more than 270 pieces of art, textiles, ceramics and silverware in Making Her Mark: A History of Women Artists in Europe 1400-1800. But note this massive exhibition closes soon. *To July 1.*



Judith Leyster, Self-Portrait, circa 1630. COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON

In her series of self-portraits *Anti-Icon: Apokalypsis*, at the Polygon Gallery in Vancouver, U.S. photographer Martine Gutierrez questions identity, gender and culture by personifying iconic figures in history. *From July 12 to Sept. 29*

Meanwhile, the Beaverbrook Art Gallery in Fredericton is mounting a show entitled Canadian Women Modernists that includes such artists as Pegi Nicol MacLeod, Marcella Maltais, Marian Dale Scott and Florence Wyle. *To July 28*

Or want to see Indigenous art in the spotlight?

Omalluq: Pictures from my Life at the Winnipeg Art Gallery features drawings that the Kinngait artist, better known as a carver, executed in the last two years of her life. *To March 30*

Shelley Niro: 500 Year Itch is the first major retrospective exhibition of the Mohawk artist, featuring four decades' worth of video, photography, painting and multimedia work. The show closes in Hamilton at the end of the month before beginning a national tour. *To May 26 in Hamilton; at the National Gallery of Canada June 21 to Aug. 25*

True Tribal: Contemporary Expressions of Ancestral Tattoo Practices at the Museum of Vancouver examines 30 years' worth of modern artistic engagement with traditional skin-marking, from the Maori to the Mi'kmaq. *Now on view*

But maybe you prefer some Eurocentric history. These are closest you will get to the old-school blockbuster.

The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts is welcoming the best of Flemish art by such painters as Hans Memling, Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. The exhibition, drawn from the collection of the Phoebus Foundation in Antwerp, Belgium, is entitled Saints, Sinners, Lovers and Fools: 300 Years of Flemish Masterworks. *From June 8 to Oct. 20*

And the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau has imported First Royals of Europe, a show of ancient precious metals from southeastern Europe. Its 700 rare artifacts date back as far as the Neolithic Age and include copper axes and bronze swords, plus silver and gold jewellery. *To Jan. 19*

LIVE MUSIC

Concerts and festivals you won't want to miss

JOSH O'KANE
BRAD WHEELER

NOURISHED BY TIME

Under the moniker Nourished by Time, Baltimore singer-producer Marcus Brown has spent the past few years steadily releasing music that dances around the constraints of traditional R&B. The result, most wonderfully fleshed out on last year's *Erotic Probiotic 2*, is profoundly fun. With three Canadian stops on his first headlining tour – Bar Le Ritz in Montreal on June 14; the Baby G in Toronto on June 16; and Fox Cabaret in Vancouver on June 24 – it's a chance to get in on the ground floor with an artist whose creativity suggests we'll be hearing him for years. *JOSH O'KANE*

GREEN DAY WITH SMASHING PUMPKINS, RANCID AND THE LINDA LINDAS

The Saviors Tour, which hits Toronto's Rogers Centre on Aug. 1, has something to offer any aging nineties-rock fan with several hundred bucks to spare. Green Day, the goofy progenitors of pop-punk's entry into the mainstream, will be performing all of 1994's *Dookie* and 2004's *American Idiot*. For the more self-serious crowd, the Smashing Pumpkins will surely keep Torontonians swaying listlessly. (That's a *Simpsons* joke.) Rancid offers something in-between: a more serious brand of punk that will absolutely be out of place in a stadium but will no doubt be extremely fun. *JOK*

ALVVAYS, WINTERSLEEP, AYSANABEE, MOTHERHOOD AND LOVEOVER

If you want an enthusiastic show, find a band or crowd of Maritimers. I have almost accidentally elbowed a sitting New Brunswick premier who was in the crowd at an indie-rock concert in Fredericton; I have seen a sold-out room full of Germans chant the words of *Weighty Ghost* back at Nova Scotia's Wintersleep in Cologne. When that band joins forces with fellow regional heroes Alvvays – who've received similar global acclaim in recent years – to headline the first night of Area 506 in Saint John on Aug. 2, you'll find a crowd and musical match made in heaven. *JOK*

WAXAHATCHEE WITH WOODS

Waxahatchee's Katie Crutchfield has been releasing endlessly listenable music since 2012. In a few years, she may have reason to go on an eras tour: After traversing the worlds of alt-rock and bedroom folk, the Alabamian's pandemic-era pivot to country resulted in a well-earned audience surge. Waxahatchee's live show has become well-honed and thrilling; Vancouverites should snatch up tickets to this Aug. 16 show now, if only for the harmonies on *Right Back to It* alone. *JOK*

METALLICA

Metal's most celebrated thrashers have found a way to share more of their catalogue with each city they play: by holding two concerts over three days – this year's only Canadian dates are Aug. 23 and 25 at the Commonwealth Stadium in Edmonton – with no overlapping setlists. Sure, the M72 World Tour's structure means either shelling out for two concerts or risking not hearing *Master of Puppets* or *Enter Sandman*. But the megafans who treat themselves to both shows will hear far more Metallica than they'd get in one marathon three-hour show. And look: Now that stadium rock's foremost speed demons, Lars Ulrich and Kirk Hammett, are in their 60s, they probably need an extra night's rest after a show. *JOK*

OUT OF THIS WORLD TOUR – THE MISSY ELLIOTT EXPERIENCE

After first entering the Billboard Hot 100 chart with *Sock It 2 Me* in 1997, the American rapper Missy Elliott has been regularly socking it to us ever since. One thing the four-time Grammy winner has not done, however, is headline her own tour. This blank spot on her résumé will be rectified with a North American jaunt that stops at Vancouver's Rogers Arena (July 4), Montreal's Bell Centre (Aug. 17) and Toronto's Scotiabank Arena (Aug. 19 and 20). Tour co-stars are long-time collaborators Busta Rhymes, Ciara and Timbaland. *BRAD WHEELER*

ELISAPIE, AT FESTIVAL D'ÉTÉ DE QUÉBEC

"There are so many energies," Inuk singer-songwriter Elisapie told *The Globe and Mail* way back in 2010. "Isometimes wonder, where do I go?" Last year, she visited the past to record *Inuktitut*, 10 ethereal and emotional interpretations of the pop hits and classic-rock staples of her youth, such as Blondie's *Heart of Glass* and Metallica's *The Unforgiven*, all sang in the Inuktitut language. Look for Quebec's Elisapie to shine at an eclectically curated Quebec festival (July 4 to 14) that boasts everyone from Post Malone to Motley Crue and Karkwa to Kansas. *B.W.*

CANMORE FOLK MUSIC FESTIVAL

Music meets mountains at Alberta's long-running folk festival, Aug. 3-5. Talent includes Lido Pimienta, Boy Golden and his Church of Better Daze, Dan Mangan, Elisapie, Jeremy Dutcher and more. Country-rock icons Blue Rodeo finishes the three days in August with a performance of its classic 1993 album, *Five Days in July*. *B.W.*

SAMMY HAGAR'S THE BEST OF ALL WORLDS TOUR

With all apologies to Pink, anybody can start a party. Sammy Hagar, the 76-year-old classic-rock hero and tequila entrepreneur, finishes them. The singer-guitarist joins Michael Anthony, Joe Satriani and Jason Bonham to celebrate a solo career plus time spent with late-stage Van Halen and the supergroup Chickenfoot (with Anthony and Satriani). The lone Canadian date is Toronto's Budweiser Stage on July 31. *B.W.*

NEIL YOUNG AND CRAZY HORSE'S LOVE EARTH TOUR

At the age of 78, rock troubadour Neil Young hits the road for the first fully fledged tour with his band Crazy Horse in a decade. A recently released live album recorded at a private gig at Toronto's Rivoli club advertises the group's ornery grunge-rock emissions. Canadian destinations this summer are Toronto, Ottawa, London, Ont., Winnipeg, Calgary and, for two nights (July 22 and 23), Burnaby, B.C. *B.W.*



The good and bad of Trudeau's political leadership

New must-reads from Stephen Maher and Paul Wells dive into PM's legacy

JOHN IBBITSON

BOOK REVIEWS

The Prince: The Turbulent Reign of Justin Trudeau
BY STEPHEN MAHER (SIMON AND SCHUSTER, 385 PAGES)

Justin Trudeau on the Ropes: Governing in Troubled Times
BY PAUL WELLS (SUTHERLAND QUARTERLY, 96 PAGES)

Although the next scheduled federal election is almost a year-and-a-half away, two journalists who cover and comment on Canadian politics believe they've seen enough to render a verdict on Justin Trudeau's Liberal government. That verdict is stern.

In *The Prince*, Stephen Maher chronicles a Prime Minister who arrived in office in November, 2015, filled with ambition and high hopes, and whose first years in government were marked by important achievements.

But those gains were ultimately eclipsed by a series of unwelcome events, some of them imposed upon the Liberals, some of them self-inflicted, exhausting the government.

More than eight years in, "it is difficult to have confidence that Justin Trudeau has the right answers, the right team, and the right ideas to tackle Canada's problems," he concludes.

While Maher delivers a full-length treatment of the Prime Minister and his government that is both comprehensive and insightful, Paul Wells offers an extended, meditative essay on Trudeau as a man and a politician. Though only 96 pages, *Trudeau on the Ropes* is one of the finest things he has ever written.

"For all his pedigree and physical grace the work of politics has never come easily for him," Wells says of the Prime Minister. Though the eldest son of Pierre Trudeau is both intelligent and charming, "his judgment is often terrible. He has not surrounded himself with great talent; in fact, he has discovered a real gift for chasing talent away."

When the young, charismatic Trudeau and his gender-balanced cabinet first arrived at Rideau Hall, they were supplanting Stephen Harper's dour Conservatives and charged with launching reforms on multiple fronts.

The first years were filled with accomplishment: the medical-assistance-in-dying legislation, the law that decriminalized cannabis, trade agreements with European and Pacific nations, a major boost to child care, a new emphasis on mental health, genuine efforts to improve relations with and services for First Nations, and a commitment to bend the curve on carbon emissions.

Hidden in all that activity were features of the Prime Minister and his government that would begin to undermine its operations once the stress and challenges began to build. The first, Maher believes, lay rooted in Trudeau's aversion to meeting with his colleagues.

"Trudeau, who gets energy from glad-handing in a crowd, is by nature introverted and gets drained by one-on-one meetings," Maher believes. He dislikes sustained interaction with individuals and small groups, and so he outsourced cabinet and caucus relations to trusted confidants.

Although Trudeau proclaimed on his first day of office that "government by cabinet is back," in fact, it wasn't. Instead, a tight cabal in the Prime Minister's Office controlled decision-making, which led to endless logjams and delays – the government's second quality.

"Insiders complain that everything gets jammed in Trudeau's office, so nothing gets done except for the top items that can be handled effectively by the small team of talented, hard-working staffers who are trusted by the boss," Maher reveals.

This led to the third quality. After an initial flurry of activity in the early years, the Liberals became largely reactive, whether it was to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Chinese government's detention of the two Michaels or the growing housing shortage.

That shift, Maher believes, was rooted in a specific event: revelations by *The Globe and Mail* in February, 2019, that the Prime Minister and his senior aides had pressed then attorney-general Jody Wilson-Raybould to arrange a plea deal for the engineering firm SNC-Lavalin, which was facing fraud and corruption charges.

The damage from that scandal was incalculable: A Prime Minister dedicated to defending the rights of women and Indigenous people accepted the resignation of two women cabinet ministers, one of them the first Indigenous attorney-general of Canada. Gerald Butts, Trudeau's closest confidant, resigned as principal secretary. Public confidence in the government was shaken and has never fully recovered.

"For the rest of the Trudeau era, the government was reactive," Maher writes, "dealing successfully with crises but never again managing to seize the agenda."

Wells focuses less on this legislation or that scandal, and more on how the strengths and flaws of Trudeau's character have shaped his administration. The Prime Minister, he believes, sees himself as a perpetual underdog, the boxer who wasn't expected to prevail in his match with burly Patrick Brazeau, but who sent the senator to the mat.

"I am told that Trudeau keeps the boxing match in his head as a reference, a model," Wells writes. "Every time he's in trouble, he thinks, *I've been in trouble before and they were wrong to count me out.*"

That seems like a plausible explanation for the Prime Minister's seemingly perverse determination to remain in office and face Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre in the next election, despite his government's deep unpopularity.

At its best, Maher's book provides a fly-on-the-wall accounting of the events that marked the Trudeau years, such as the tense negotiations surrounding the renewal of the North American free trade agreement, which Donald Trump as president had threatened to scrap.

Maher also explores insightfully Trudeau's sense of entitlement, made manifest in controversial and politically damaging family vacations to Aga Khan's private island, Tofino, B.C., and a Jamaican resort.

"He has a blind spot about his vacations and won't be denied," Maher concludes. "After foreign trips have done so much damage to his brand, his



Stephen Maher's *The Prince* chronicles Justin Trudeau's achievements and failures, while Paul Wells's *Justin Trudeau on the Ropes* focuses more on how the strengths and flaws of the Prime Minister's character have shaped his administration.

insistence on carrying on this way seems perverse."

There were far more serious lapses. Canada's global reputation deteriorated from "Canada is back" to estrangement from allies and adversaries alike, courtesy of missteps by the Prime Minister and the lack of any coherent foreign or defence policy.

Maher also cites the willingness of the Trudeau government to sacrifice the economy of the resource sector and the Prairie provinces on the altar of fighting climate change.

He quotes Robert Asselin, a former University of Ottawa professor who was initially a strong supporter of, and aide within, the government.

Asselin judges the Trudeau government on foreign policy, the economy and national unity: "I think on these three fronts – and I accept there were challenges that he could not control – but I think the

country is worse off."

The late Brian Mulroney, former Progressive Conservative prime minister, is more generous, citing Trudeau's resurrection of the Liberal Party from near-extinction to government.

"He handled the pandemic, with the premiers, well, he did the negotiation with NAFTA well. Those are the big-ticket items," Mulroney told Maher.

For Wells, the rot in the Trudeau regime began at its head, with a political leader who preferred the glitz of the jazzy announcement over the grind of implementing policy, and who quickly sidelined anyone who disagreed with him.

When the government's early popularity began to falter, Trudeau chose to stoke political polarization: "He didn't cause the polarization of Canadian politics, but he noticed it, acted on it, and nudged it along." In the 2021 federal election, it defined his campaign.

And when that election failed to deliver the majority he sought, he engineered one by convincing NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh to support his government until 2025 through a confidence-and-supply agreement.

"There is something about Trudeau that can spot an easy mark," Wells writes, in what may be the cruelest sentence in the book.

Stephen Maher has delivered a thoroughly researched and fair-minded accounting of Justin Trudeau's accomplishments and failings. If journalism is the first draft of history, *The Prince* is a convincing second draft.

Paul Wells delivers a beautifully written and devastating critique of Trudeau's mind and methods, as much a psychological as a political analysis.

Both works are required reading.

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A dramatic telling of pre-Confederation history

With *Crosses in the Sky*, Mark Bourrie offers a new perspective on Jean de Brébeuf and the impact of French Jesuits' colonizing efforts

CHARLOTTE GRAY

BOOK REVIEW

Crosses in the Sky: Jean de Brébeuf and the Destruction of Huronia
BY MARK BOURRIE
(BIBLIOSIAS, 440 PAGES)

Mark Bourrie writes Canadian history for a generation raised on gotcha journalism, *Game of Thrones* and the board game *Settlers of Catan*. After producing bestselling biographies of the fur trader Pierre Radisson and one-time Globe owner George McCullagh, his latest subject is Rev. Jean de Brébeuf – the French priest who spent a quarter of a century as a missionary in early 17th-century New France, before being scalded, burned, cut, dismembered and eviscerated. But Bourrie is also telling a bigger story: the impact of the colonizing efforts of French Jesuits, or Black Robes as they were known, on Indigenous peoples. In this fresh look at those events, the author gives a new perspective on a crucial period of pre-Confederation history that, he argues, has hitherto been smothered with mythology.

Gone are the standard tropes of missionaries as well-meaning if misguided explorers; in Bourrie's account, the Jesuits who arrived in North America in the early 17th century were invaders – the Roman Catholic Church's arrogant shock troops. Most came from wealthy, sometimes noble French families: Some were “the kind of adventure-seeking, privileged young men who, today, work for aid organisations doing voluntourism in interesting, dangerous places before applying to law school.” The Samuel Champlain who emerges from these pages is not a benevolent, brave explorer who treated Indigenous people with respect, but a ruth-

less schemer. “The Father of New France's biographers have always been sympathetic cheerleaders, but he was hated by many of the people who knew him best.”

And yes, Jean de Brébeuf underwent a ghastly martyrdom, but this “big, troubled man ... nursing deep feelings of insecurity” was perhaps schizophrenic and certainly had a masochistic hunger to be martyred. Moreover, he and his colleagues had watched Hurons, Iroquois and other peoples mete out on each other the same cruel tortures as he would undergo.

Bourrie has a knack of contextualizing facts with punchy modern comparisons. In 1608, Quebec's French garrison, “the entire population of New France ... was smaller than the staff of a suburban Home Depot store.”

Do eye-catching comparisons and a delicious irony make “good” history? In this case, absolutely, because Bourrie is a rigorous researcher. He may have a 21st-century sensibility, but his work is securely grounded in primary sources, new archeological finds and site visits, plus groundbreaking scholarship by Georges Sioui, Bruce Trigger and others. In particular, he has paid careful attention to the 72 volumes of *Jesuit Relations*, the chronicles of Jesuit missions in New France to which Jean de Brébeuf was a major contributor.

The *Relations* were always intended as propaganda, geared to raising funds and justifying Jesuit activities. By the time they were printed and sold in the streets of Paris, Brébeuf's dispatches had been shaped into “thrilling copy,” in Bourrie's words, about danger, ritual torture and misery. Well-off Parisians “followed the stories of their endangered priests in a sort of seventeenth century game show where contestants were eliminated for real.” Brébeuf, who mastered several Indigenous languages, did not despise the different peoples he met, although many of his brethren did. He described in detail many aspects of Indigenous life – medicine, food, health care, farming practices, sexuality, social behaviours, death rites, beliefs. Bourrie has used these descriptions to build a portrait of well-developed societies living in harmony with their

“This is the story of the collision of two worlds. One was drenched in the blood of religious strife and sought to spread its version of truth to the world. The other was trying to cope with wrenching technological changes, pandemics, and the existential threat of encroaching European colonialism.”

MARK BOURRIE
FROM *CROSSES IN THE SKY: JEAN DE BRÉBEUF AND THE DESTRUCTION OF HURONIA*

environment (although not with each other).

However, it was intellectually impossible for Jean de Brébeuf to recognize that the Hurons, among whom he lived, had a cohesive civilization of their own, and were not thirsting for a new way of looking at the world. He could not see beyond the rigid 17th-century Roman Catholic view developed in a Europe torn apart in religious struggles, that, if they wanted to save their souls, the Indigenous peoples of North America must abandon their own rituals, accept baptism into the Christian faith, and submit to the church's rules and dogma. Unless they did this, the priests told them, they would burn in hell. No matter that there were no words for “sin,” “resurrection” or “hell” in their languages.

“This is the story,” writes Bourrie, “of the collision of two worlds. One was drenched in the blood of religious strife and sought to spread its version of truth to the world. The other was trying to cope with wrenching technological changes, pandemics, and the existential threat of encroaching European colonialism.”

Born into a family of minor nobles in Normandy, Jean de Brébeuf entered the Jesuit order in 1622, when he was 26. Five years later, he was sent to New France. He spent most of the next quarter-century in the Great Lakes country, a period during which most of its people would be captured, torn away from their families, reduced to refugee status or would die. The region in which he preached was known as Huronia, where a confederacy of Iroquoian people was living between Lake Couchiching and Georgian Bay. The great fur-trade rivals of the Hurons were the Algonquins and the Iroquois, who lived on Huronia's eastern flank and with whom the Hurons were continually at war.

In 1636 a wave of smallpox, spread by French fur traders, reached Huronia; it would kill at least 10 per cent of the Huron population. In a contest of sweat lodges and incantations versus masses and baptisms, a famous Huron healer named Tonne-raouanont proved more successful than Jean de Brébeuf in curing the sick. (Perhaps not surprising,

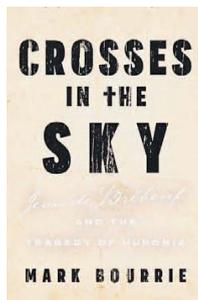
since many of the Jesuit baptisms were deathbed affairs, and most of the converted died within 24 hours.) The Huron became increasingly hostile to the missionaries in their midst, whom they blamed for the carnage. By 1638, Jesuit superiors in France could see that the Huronia mission was a failure. After a quarter of a century of efforts, there were only about 30 converts in the region, and most didn't practise their faith. The Jesuit authorities replaced Brébeuf as head of mission with a more authoritarian priest, Rev. Jerome Lalemant, and Brébeuf was sent off to distant small communities. Soon, writes Bourrie, “the stress of six years of Huron hostility caused Brébeuf to lose his mind.” He started having visions.

By the mid-1640s, Huronia was doomed, not by black-robed priests disrupting traditional practices, but by the epidemics and guns that Europeans had brought to the continent. As Iroquois aggression became more deadly and the Huron population shrank, Brébeuf could see that the end was coming. But this simply accelerated his yearning for martyrdom. Bourrie spares no gruesome detail in his descriptions of Iroquois slaughter and Brébeuf's agonizing end.

Bourrie knows how to tell a great story; *Crosses in the Sky* is dramatic and enthralling. But the author also reminds today's readers that the efforts of Brébeuf and his colleagues to “do good” had terrible consequences. Jesuit assumptions of superiority rippled down the years, and “generated outrages like residential schools and Canadian laws that stripped Indigenous people of their political rights, ... took their land base and even banned their dances and ceremonies.”

Bourrie has done more than any other Canadian historian writing for a general audience to disinter the root causes of degenerating settler-Indigenous relations and disrupted Indigenous societies in the 400 years since Brébeuf's death. And he has done it with attention-grabbing panache. *Crosses in the Sky* is reliable history and would make a stirring movie.

Special to The Globe and Mail

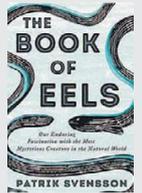


WHAT I'M READING

I wouldn't normally pick up anything about slimy and slithery creatures, but this odd little book was a gift. What a pleasant surprise it was. *The Book of Eels* by Patrik Svensson hooked me with its father-son story about time spent fishing together, contemplating the life of eels they found in the river. What follows is a deep dive into the mysterious history of these creatures. I had no idea that scientists and philosophers such as Freud and Aristotle were obsessed with the creature, specifically its life cycle; it's a mystery that continues to this day as scientists have yet to figure out how eels mate.

Angela Pacienza, executive editor

Share your book recommendations via e-mail at lpingue@globeandmail.com and see more at tgam.ca/staff-books



BESTSELLERS

Christina Lauren's new romance, *The Paradise Problem*, makes it debut at No. 2 on the fiction list

HARDCOVER FICTION

THIS WEEK	CANADIAN AUTHOR	LAST WEEK
1	★ THIS SUMMER WILL BE DIFFERENT by Carley Fortune (Viking). \$24.95	
2	THE PARADISE PROBLEM by Christina Lauren (Gallery Books). \$24.99	
3	FUNNY STORY by Emily Henry (Berkley). \$39	
4	THINK TWICE by Harlan Coben (Grand Central Publishing). \$39	
5	THE WOMEN by Kristin Hannah (St. Martin's Press). \$40	
6	IRON FLAME by Rebecca Yarros (Red Tower Books). \$39.99	
7	FOURTH WING by Rebecca Yarros (Red Tower Books). \$34.99	
8	★ I WILL RUIN YOU by Linwood Barclay (William Morrow Paperbacks). \$25.99	
9	JUST FOR THE SUMMER by Abby Jimenez (Forever). \$23.99	
10	THE 24TH HOUR by James Patterson and Maxine Paetro (Little Brown & Co.). \$39	

HARDCOVER NON-FICTION

THIS WEEK	CANADIAN AUTHOR	LAST WEEK
1	THE ANXIOUS GENERATION by Jonathan Haidt (Penguin Press). \$39.99	1
2	THE NEW MENOPAUSE by Mary Claire Haver (Rodale Books). \$37.99	2
3	GOOD ENERGY by Casey Means and Calley Means (Avery). \$42	3
4	★ CLOSER TOGETHER by Sophie Grégoire Trudeau (Random House Canada). \$40	4
5	YOU NEVER KNOW by Tom Selleck and Ellis Henican (Dey Street Books). \$36.99	5
6	THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY GARDEN by Huw Richards and Sam Cooper (DK). \$28.99	6
7	THE SITUATION ROOM by George Stephanopoulos and Lisa Dickey (Grand Central Publishing). \$45	7
8	REBEL GIRL by Kathleen Hanna (Ecco). \$36.99	8
9	THE DEMON OF UNREST by Erik Larson (Crown). \$48	9
10	★ FIRE WEATHER by John Vaillant (Vintage Canada). \$25	10

CANADIAN FICTION

THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
1	THIS SUMMER WILL BE DIFFERENT by Carley Fortune (Viking). \$24.95
2	THE DIXON RULE by Elle Kennedy (Bloom Books). \$26.99
3	COLLIDE by Bal Khabra (Viking). \$24.95
4	I WILL RUIN YOU by Linwood Barclay (William Morrow Paperbacks). \$25.99
5	THE SECRET KEEPER by Genevieve Graham (Simon & Schuster). \$24.99
6	EVERY TIME I GO ON VACATION, SOMEONE DIES by Catherine Mack (Minotaur Books). \$24.99
7	SOMEONE SAW SOMETHING by Rick Mofina (MIRA). \$23.99
8	MEET ME AT THE LAKE by Carley Fortune (Penguin Canada). \$12.99
9	A MAN DOWNSTAIRS by Nicole Lundrigan (Viking). \$24.95
10	BUTCHER AND BLACKBIRD by Brynne Weaver (Zando). \$23.99

CANADIAN NON-FICTION

THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
1	CLOSER TOGETHER by Sophie Grégoire Trudeau (Random House Canada). \$40
2	MY DAY WITH THE CUP by Jim Lang (Simon & Schuster). \$25
3	FIRE WEATHER by John Vaillant (Vintage Canada). \$25
4	A MAP OF THE NEW NORMAL by Jeff Rubin (Allen Lane). \$36
5	OUTLIVE by Peter Attia and Bill Gifford (Harmony). \$42
6	WHEN THE BODY SAYS NO by Gabor Maté (Vintage Canada). \$24
7	THE MYTH OF NORMAL by Gabor Maté and Daniel Maté (Knopf Canada). \$39.95
8	THE HEART OF A SUPERFAN by Nav Bhatia and Tamara Baluja (Doubleday Canada). \$36.95
9	HEALTH FOR ALL by Jane Philpott (Signal). \$34.95
10	HOLD ON TO YOUR KIDS by Gordon Neufeld and Gabor Maté (Vintage Canada). \$26.95

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