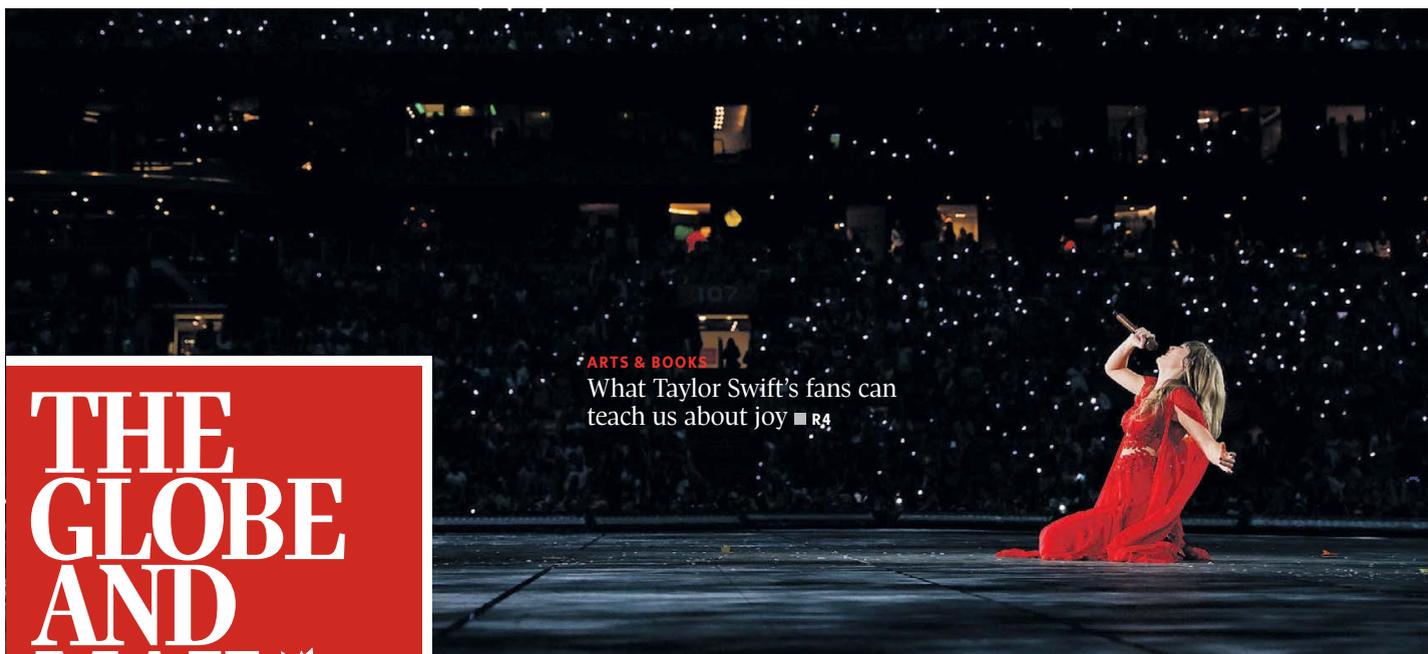




OPINION

# A pilgrimage, and a reminder to never forget

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ARTS & BOOKS

What Taylor Swift's fans can teach us about joy ■ R4

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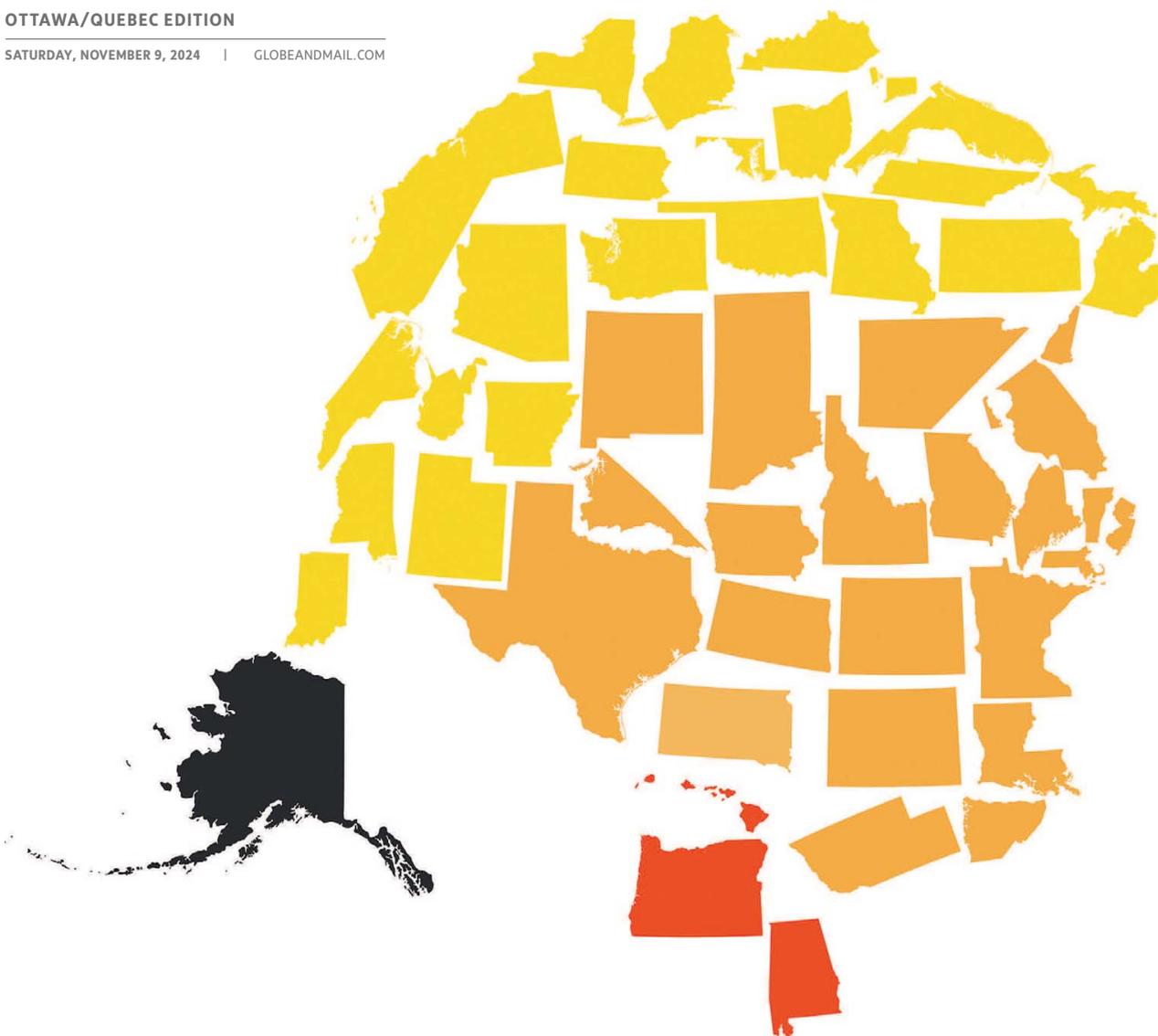


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NEWS

Inflation fuelled nationwide revolt against status quo ■ A10

NEWS

Six words set Ukraine, Israel on edge ■ A14

FOLIO

Visiting Springfield, the election's accidental main character ■ A12-13

OPINION

Sometimes the people get it wrong ■ 02

REPORT ON BUSINESS

What's in store for Canada? ■ B7

NEWS

## SIKH AND HINDU TENSIONS BOIL OVER IN BRAMPTON

■ A4

NEWS

Frank Stronach to face two separate trials over sexual-assault charges ■ A16

REPORT ON BUSINESS

Alberta picks senior bureaucrat to lead AIMCo after ousting CEO, board ■ B1

SPORTS

## FLYING HIGH

### THE JETS ARE THE HOTTEST TEAM IN THE NHL

■ B16



SERGEI BELSKI/IMAGN IMAGES

PURSUIITS

MALL IS NOT LOST THE RESURGENCE OF RETAIL BRANDS ■ P1

PLUS

ONE POTATO, TWO POTATOES, THREE POTATOES, FOUR ■ P3

## SECRET CANADA

Explore our national database of freedom of information requests [SecretCanada.com](https://secretcanada.com)

### INSIDE THE WEEKEND GLOBE

|                  |          |
|------------------|----------|
| CATHAL KELLY     | A21, B16 |
| JOHN RAPLEY      | B2       |
| TONY KELLER      | B6       |
| GUS CARLSON      | B9       |
| ROBYN URBACK     | O11      |
| KONRAD YAKABUSKI | O11      |

|                    |        |
|--------------------|--------|
| CHRISTOPHER WATERS | P3     |
| JOHANNA SCHNELLER  | R3     |
| FOLIO              | A12-13 |
| WEATHER            | A22    |
| GLOBE INVESTOR     | B12    |
| SPORTS             | B16    |

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| COMICS              | B18 |
| EDITORIAL           | O10 |
| OBITUARIES          | O12 |
| CROSSWORD & PUZZLES | P10 |
| BRIDGE & HOROSCOPES | P11 |
| BESTSELLERS         | R7  |



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# GARRY KASPAROV BECOMES YOUNGEST CHESS WORLD CHAMPION

As a child growing up in the Soviet Union, Garry Kasparov had a piece of paper affixed to his bedroom wall that read, "If not you, who else?" It was to remind him to take ultimate responsibility for his life. From the moment he stunned his family by solving a newspaper chess problem at age 6, Mr. Kasparov seemed to be firmly in control. His prowess took him to the Young Pioneer Palace in his hometown of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, to fine-tune his game, earning him the title of Candidate Master by age 10 and admission to the Soviet school of chess.

At 12, he won the USSR's under-18 championship and a year later became the youngest to represent the Soviet Union at the world juniors. The title of Grand Master soon followed at 17, the year Mr. Kasparov won the under-20 world championship. His ascent brought him into the orbit of Anatoly Karpov, a fellow Soviet who had held the world title for a decade.

But after a titanic tussle – 120 games over four matches – a 22-year-old Mr. Kasparov became the youngest world champion in the sport's history. PAUL ATTFIELD (2022)

[ COLUMNISTS ]

J. KELLY NESTRUCK

OPINION



PAUL KERSHAW

OPINION



MARSHA LEDERMAN

OPINION



Despite its unevenness, So Long, Marianne offers honest attempt to understand Cohen ■ A20

Canadian millennials' income taxes are being squeezed by an aging population ■ B14

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# Special counsel calls to pause Trump case

Smith begins winding down prosecution in election interference case against the president-elect

**ADRIAN MORROW**  
U.S. CORRESPONDENT  
WASHINGTON

Special counsel Jack Smith has started winding down the federal prosecution of Donald Trump for trying to overturn the 2020 election, potentially closing the most serious of his criminal cases and validating his strategy of trying to delay proceedings until after the election.

Mr. Trump still faces sentencing in his New York hush-money trial later this month, along with a state-level prosecution in Georgia and two civil judgments against him. But with all of these cases in different states of appeal, it is increasingly possible that he may escape legal sanction as he begins his second term in the White House.

If he does, it would be a remarkable turnaround from the aftermath of Jan. 6, 2021, when both Congress and the judicial system seemed determined to hold him accountable.

Mr. Smith on Friday asked federal Judge Tanya Chutkan of Washington's district court to pause all filing deadlines in the case, to which she agreed. He said that he would file a further status report by Dec. 2. In a filing, he said he needed time to decide how to proceed since Mr. Trump won Tuesday's presidential election.

"The government respectfully requests that the court vacate the remaining deadlines in the pre-trial schedule to afford the government time to assess this unprecedented circumstance and determine the appropriate course going forward consistent with Department of Justice policy," he wrote.



Special counsel Jack Smith, seen in Washington in August, wrote in a filing on Friday that he needs time to assess the 'unprecedented circumstance' of Donald Trump's re-election. SAUL LOEB/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

The Department of Justice has had a legal opinion since the 1970s that sitting presidents should not be prosecuted for fear of paralyzing the functioning of the federal government. Unidentified department officials this week told U.S. media that, because of this policy, Mr. Smith is looking to wrap up both of his cases against Mr. Trump.

Mr. Smith is also prosecuting the former president in Florida for refusing to return classified documents after leaving office. A Trump-appointed judge on that case, Aileen Cannon, slowed proceedings down before ultimately throwing it out. Mr. Smith had appealed her ruling in a bid to have the prosecution restarted.

The president-elect is under indictment at the state level in Georgia for his efforts to reverse the 2020 election result there. But he and his co-defendants are trying to have that case tossed on the basis that the district attorney

who brought it, Fani Willis, had a relationship with the lead prosecutor, Nathan Wade.

The Department of Justice has had a legal opinion since the 1970s that sitting presidents should not be prosecuted for fear of paralyzing the functioning of the federal government.

Mr. Trump was convicted in May of 34 felonies for falsifying business documents related to a payment to porn star Stormy Daniels ahead of the 2016 election. The money was meant to buy her silence about a tryst she says she had with Mr. Trump. The former president is currently scheduled to be sentenced on Nov. 26 in Manhattan.

He is attempting to have the hush-money case thrown out on the basis of a Supreme Court ruling in July that conferred immunity on him for official actions taken as president. That ruling was only one of several things that have already helped Mr. Trump push off Mr. Smith's election case long enough to see it likely dropped.

Mr. Trump was impeached in January, 2021, over his efforts to overturn the election and for stoking the attack on the U.S. Capitol. At his trial in the Senate, seven Republicans joined all Democrats and independents to vote for convicting him, which would have barred Mr. Trump from holding office again.

But the vote fell short of the two-thirds necessary for conviction, in part because Republican Senate Leader Mitch McConnell, despite blaming Mr. Trump for the riot, said it was better for the court system to handle the case.

However, it took Attorney-General Merrick Garland 22 months to appoint Mr. Smith. The special counsel indicted Mr. Trump in the documents case the following June and in the election case in August. He attempted to have the former president brought swiftly to trial but Mr. Trump succeeded in having proceedings pushed back while he pursued a claim of presidential immunity.

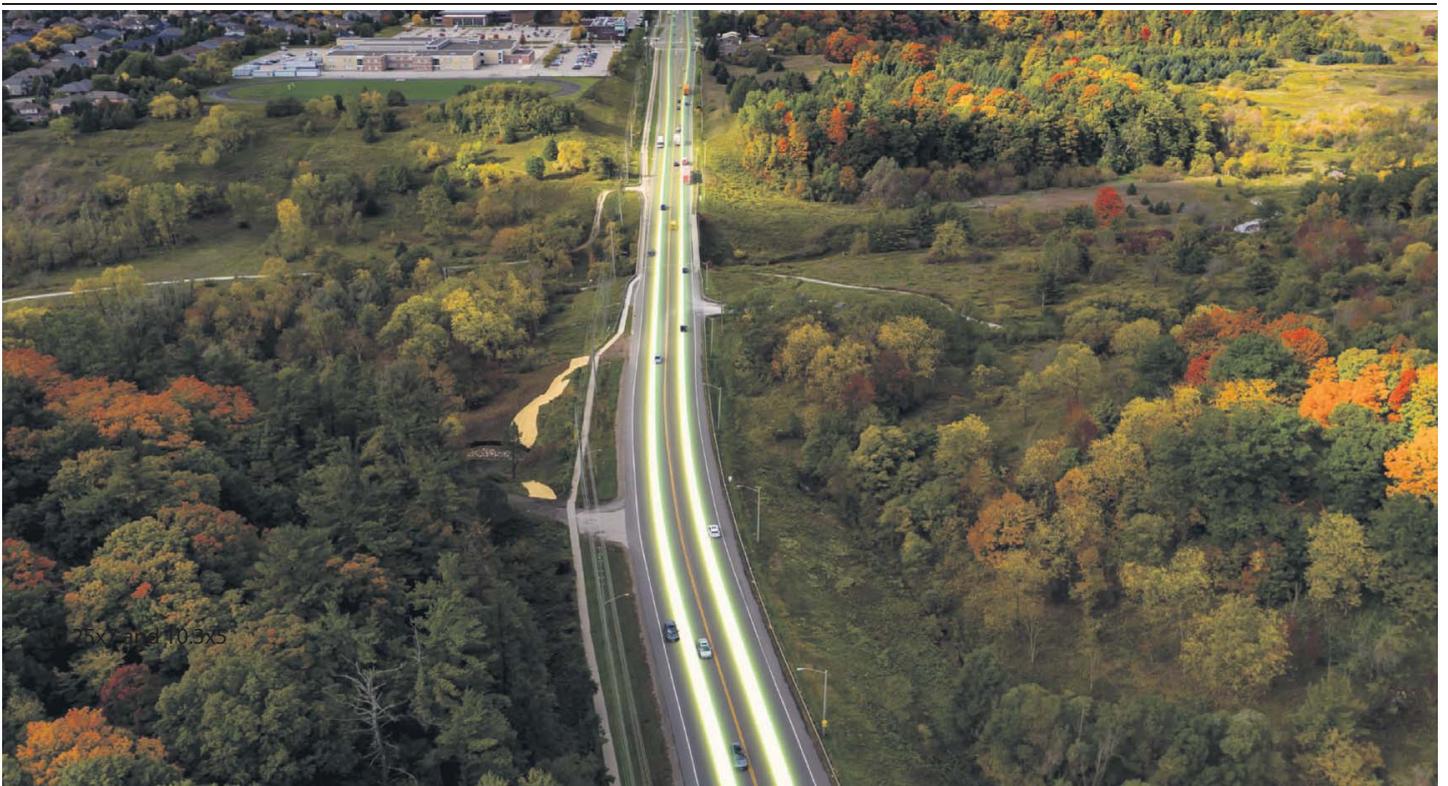
Ultimately, the Supreme Court's conservative majority found that presidents could only be tried on actions not taken as part of their official duties. Mr. Smith refilled the case, dropping from it Mr. Trump's efforts to put pressure on the Department of Justice to help him overturn the election after the court found this was part of his official duties.

In the new indictment, Mr. Smith argued Mr. Trump's other actions, such as putting pressure on state legislators and then-vice-president Mike Pence, were undertaken in his capacity as a presidential candidate and not as president. It was then up to Justice Chutkan to decide whether, given the court's ruling, the new indictment could proceed. The matter was still up in the air when Mr. Trump won the election this week.

Mr. Trump was widely expected to have the federal cases against himself dropped when he returned to office by appointing an attorney-general who would fire Mr. Smith and shut down the prosecution.

The former president himself has repeatedly threatened Mr. Smith and other judicial officials. In a radio interview last month, he said Mr. Smith should be deported or sent into exile. It was unclear where Mr. Trump intended that Mr. Smith, who is a U.S. citizen, should be sent.

"We should throw Jack Smith out with them, the mentally deranged people," Mr. Trump said. "Jack Smith should be considered mentally deranged and he should be thrown out of the country."



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# Sikh, Hindu communities on edge after violent conflicts

Anxious scenes unfolded at religious sites this week as the growing rift between Canada and India spilled into Toronto suburbs

GREG MERCER BRAMPTON, ONT.  
JILL MAHONEY MISSISSAUGA, ONT.  
COLIN FREEZE TORONTO

Young men clutching swords, baseball bats and pieces of lumber are standing guard outside a Sikh gurdwara near Toronto's Pearson Airport, their eyes scanning the perimeter for signs of trouble in the dark.

Prayers broadcasting from inside the temple mix with Punjabi music blaring from a pick-up truck parked nearby. The mood has been tense ever since the sun set.

"We have to be ready," said Daljit Singh Sekhon, president of the Sri Guru Singh Sabha Malton gurdwara in Mississauga, Ont., glancing at a bank of security cameras Tuesday.

Anxious scenes like this unfolded this week at temples in Brampton and nearby Mississauga as the growing rift between Canada and India spilled over into Canadian suburbs. Hindus and Sikhs, divided over a decades-long fight to carve out a sovereign nation in a northwest region of India, clashed in the streets, and some threatened a wave of sectarian violence rarely seen in this country.

The conflicts come just weeks after RCMP announced they had evidence of Indian officials' involvement in homicides, extortion and other violent crimes on Canadian soil, which led to Canada expelling six Indian diplomats, and India expelling six Canadian diplomats in retaliation. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government has repeatedly accused Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's representatives of engaging in covert campaigns to repress and kill Sikh activists living in Canada, including gunning down Hardeep Singh Nijjar in Surrey, B.C., last year.

It all boiled over this week in multiple Canadian communities, where out-of-control demonstrations by nationalist Hindus and Sikhs led to condemnation from politicians and forced municipal leaders to contemplate new bylaws that would ban protests at places of worship. In Surrey, three men were also arrested after violence broke out when hundreds of demonstrators showed up at a Hindu temple.

Sikh and Hindus live side-by-side in Brampton, an Ontario city of about 750,000 where one-quarter of the population is Sikh and one in five residents are Hindu. While tension over the goal to carve out a Sikh homeland in India called Khalistan has been around for a long time, this sort of violence between the two groups in Canada is uncommon.

And it has geopolitical undertones that highlight Canada's increasingly fraught relationship with India.

"Hindus have had enough," said Arvind Mishra, a 35-year-old IT consultant in Brampton who came to Canada from India about four years ago. "They're frustrated.



Members of the Sikh community patrol the Sri Guru Singh Sabha Gurdwara in Malton, Ont., on Tuesday with bats, sticks, swords and other defence weapons after the community was subject to violence from pro-India activists. CHRISTOPHER KATSAROV/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

They're agitated and they're very, very angry. We feel marginalized."

Mr. Mishra, who said he was inside Brampton's Hindu Sabha temple with his wife and nine-month-old daughter last Sunday when the fighting began outside with poles and fists, said Sikh demonstrators crossed a line by protesting at a religious site. He blames Ottawa for allowing pro-Khalistan rhetoric, which many Hindus see as support for terrorism, to go unchecked. With anger over the anti-Indian sentiment in the Khalistan movement building for years, it should be no surprise Hindus are pushing back, he said.

The Sikhs say their fight is not with Hindus, but with Indian government meddling in Canada. The Khalistani protesters claimed the event at the Hindu temple Sunday — where Indian consular staff were helping Indian immigrants apply for government pensions — was part of surveillance efforts to keep tabs on pro-Khalistan Sikhs. About 80 per cent of the 1,000 people inside the building at the time were Sikh, according to temple president Madhusudan Lama.

"This is not a religious battle. This is not a battle between Sikhs and Hindus," said Inderjeet Singh Gosal, an organizer of Sunday's demonstration outside the Hindu Sabha temple. "This wasn't an attempt to attack any place of worship. The reason we were there to protest was strictly against the Indian government officials."

Later that night, a mob of about 300 pro-India counter-protesters — some masked and armed with bats — converged on the nearby Malton gurdwara, known for its strong ties to the pro-Khalistan movement. The following night, riot police tried to contain a larger crowd of protesters, some draped in Indian flags, who took over the street in front of Hindu Sabha

temple and were seen kicking vehicles. Three men were arrested.

Relations between Canada and India have been strained since the killing of Mr. Nijjar, a leader in the pro-Khalistan movement, in June, 2023. Three months later, Mr. Trudeau stood in Parliament and alleged that agents of the India government were involved in the shooting.

Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre blamed Mr. Trudeau for sowing the divisions that led to the violent clashes in Brampton. Mr. Modi criticized what he called "cowardly attempts to intimidate our diplomats" in the deepening diplomatic row. Liberal MP Chandra Arya, who represents an Ottawa riding, said the protests show just how emboldened the Sikh sovereignty movement has become.

Many Hindus blame Sikh extremists, responsible for the Air India bombing that killed 329 people in 1985, for fuelling unrest back in India. Sikh activists, meanwhile, have never forgotten a violent crackdown on Sikhs in India in the 1980s, and have recently drawn New Delhi's ire by holding a referendum among Indian immigrants on Khalistan independence.

This week, that tension erupted in Brampton.

"Anytime you have anything where there's a threat or intimidation relating to a place of worship, that kind of hits a primal chord," said Dan Stanton, who was an intelligence officer in the Canadian Security Intelligence Service for 32 years.

Canada needs to be wary of growing radicalization on either side of the Khalistan issue, he said. Indian consular officials have become a "lightning rod from the Sikh community's perspective," he added, part of the reason the Peel Regional Police chief asked the Indian consulate to consider holding pension events at non-religious

sites. "Indian representation in Canada has been, of course, allegedly involved in murders and extrajudicial killings and arsons and that. So it's quite a tinderbox," Mr. Stanton said. "And then you just, when you have an incident at outside a religious institution ... it's almost like throwing a match."

Religious leaders on both sides have condemned the violence and say emotions are being inflamed by a handful of people. Among them, they say, is Ron Benarjee, a self-described "hardcore Hindu nationalist" known for inflammatory statements against Muslims. He appeared in a video recorded outside the Hindu temple Sunday night, calling on protesters to storm Sikh temples.

Mr. Benarjee, 57, was denounced by Brampton Mayor Patrick Brown for trying to encourage violence and was charged with promoting hate speech by Peel Regional Police. He could not be reached for comment.

Arrest warrants have also been issued for two other men, a 24-year-old from Kitchener and a 22-year-old, for their roles in the violence.

Meanwhile, Rajinder Parsad, a Hindu priest who was caught on camera telling the crowd "if anyone opposes us, we will kill them," was suspended from the Hindu Sabha temple, according to Mr. Lama. An off-duty Peel Regional Police officer who participated in the pro-Khalistan protest was also suspended.

Back at the Malton Gurdwara, one of the men standing guard said he never thought he would feel the need to protect his place of worship in Canada.

"I thought we'd left all that behind," said Prince Kler, a dispatcher at a trucking company. "But apparently not."

## Unions warn of cuts as deadline given for federal departments to find savings

BILL CURRY  
DEPUTY OTTAWA BUREAU CHIEF  
OTTAWA

Federal public-sector unions are warning of job and service cuts after Treasury Board President Anita Anand sent a letter to departments asking them to identify internal savings by Nov. 20 as part of a continuing review of federal spending.

Federal departments recently received individualized letters from Ms. Anand with specific targets for spending reductions. The Globe and Mail has obtained a copy of the letter's general wording but not the specific targets for each department.

Ms. Anand said in the letter that the government is following through on plans identified in the 2024 budget to find operating cost savings totaling \$4.2-billion over four years and \$1.3-billion each year after.

"These savings are expected to be drawn from operating budgets and through natural attrition to the greatest extent possible. This must be done without impacting programs and services that benefit Canadians and in a way that continues to support a diverse public service work force," Ms. Anand wrote in the Oct. 31 letter.

However, two union leaders told The Globe Friday that they received a very different message this week when they were briefed by government officials about the spending review plan.

Sharon DeSousa, national president of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, said the government's messaging seems to have shifted from initially relying on attrition to find labour

cost savings by leaving about 5,000 vacant positions unfilled. Instead, she said officials are now discussing cutting back on temporary workers and even moving ahead with work force adjustments to eliminate full-time positions.

"In the past, we were told this would be done by attrition," said Ms. DeSousa in an interview, adding that it was "very clear" from the Thursday briefing that the government is now looking at broader job cuts.

"It just makes no sense whatsoever, because there is actually a solution here: They just have to stop the contracting out of work to third-party organizations, which would be a cost savings."

The size of the federal public service reached 367,772 as of March 31, up 43 per cent from 257,034 in 2015 when the Liberals under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau first formed government.

Federal spending on outsourcing has also climbed sharply under the Liberals.

During that time, Canada's population increased by 15 per cent.

Jennifer Carr, president of the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, also took part in the Thursday afternoon briefing with officials.

Ms. Carr said she agrees with Ms. DeSousa that the government is now looking at job cuts, which she said will inevitably lead to reduced services for Canadians.

"We're really, really disappointed on behalf of all public-service workers," she said, adding that her organization is frustrated with the lack of detail provided by government officials as

to how the plan will roll out. "Any kind of attrition means there's going to be less people for the same amount of work. So we really want to know what programs they're cutting."

While the government has said it plans to save money by spending less on outsourcing, Ms. Carr said she is not seeing any evidence of that happening.

Ms. Anand's letter said the final details of the current spending review plan will be announced in early 2025 when the government's main estimates document is tabled in Parliament.

Myah Tomasi, press secretary to Ms. Anand, said in a statement that the focus remains on finding savings through attrition to the greatest extent possible.

"We understand that during this time, many Canadians, including public servants, may be struggling financially and the thought of losing their job can cause an immense amount of stress. That is why we have been very clear with all departments that to the best extent possible, they must focus on finding these savings without layoffs," she said.

Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland is expected to release a fall economic statement in the coming weeks.

The government has not yet released the final bottom-line figures for the fiscal year that ended on March 31.

Ms. Freeland had previously said she would keep the deficit for that year below \$40-billion, however Parliamentary Budget Officer Yves Giroux recently released a report saying the government likely failed to meet that target.

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# Drone scandal attributed to 'insufficient oversight'

Canada Soccer says spying was symptom of prior pattern of 'unacceptable culture' within national governing body

NANCY MACDONALD

Canada Soccer says it expects to share the findings of an independent review into the drone-spying scandal that overshadowed last summer's Paris Olympics within the next week.

The organization's CEO and general secretary, Kevin Blue, said in a news release on Friday that the investigation found the drone spying was "a symptom of a past pattern of an unacceptable culture and insufficient oversight within the national teams."

The statement said the organization would release conclusions from the investigation and what it planned to do in response. He said that response would be "thoughtful" and that Canada Soccer would move quickly.

Three Canada Soccer officials were sent home from the Games in July, after French police tracked a drone hovering over the practice of the New Zealand women's team. Operating the machine was a Canada Soccer analyst named Joey Lombardi, who was arrested, and later sent back to Canada with assistant coach Jasmine Mander, and later, head coach Bev Priestman.

The Globe and Mail reported on Friday that a year before the Paris Olympics, Jason



Canada Soccer head coach Bev Priestman was one of three officials sent home from the Paris Olympics in July after French police tracked a drone hovering over the practice of the competing New Zealand women's team. VAUGHN RIDLEY/GETTY IMAGES

deVos, who at the time was the interim general secretary of Canada Soccer, received a complaint from a staff member about colleagues allegedly being directed to spy on competitors.

In one instance, the materials show, Mr. deVos was told by the staffer that this instruction came from Ms. Mander, who at the time was a coach and analyst with the women's program.

The materials reviewed by The Globe show that the staffer told Mr. deVos that

the analysts felt as though they couldn't say no.

Mr. deVos, who left Canada Soccer in January to become an assistant coach of Toronto FC, a professional soccer club, did not respond to e-mailed requests for comment.

In July, Canada Soccer announced that it was launching an internal review into the matter headed by Toronto employment lawyer Sonia Regenbogen. The investigation is examining the program's "historical

culture of competitive ethics."

In response to questions from The Globe about the 2023 complaint to Mr. deVos, a lawyer for Ms. Mander said: "The allegations made by others to you about Ms. Mander's involvement in various attempts to obtain surveillance of opponents are not accurate." The lawyer, Dean Crawford, said Ms. Mander is still employed by Canada Soccer and has been told by the organization not to discuss anything related to the scandal.

Four other current and former staffers with Canada Soccer detailed in interviews with The Globe what they allege had become an accepted practice at the taxpayer-funded organization: The program dispatched staff to gather surveillance on competitors at closed-door practices and scrimmages for the purposes of gathering intelligence on their game plans. The Globe is not identifying the sources because they feared professional repercussions for speaking out about the alleged practice.

Two of the sources showed The Globe text messages from colleagues asking them to locate the practice sites of Canada's competitors while teams were staying in foreign locales; another source alleged they were asked by Ms. Mander but they refused; three sources said the need to gather such intelligence was aired in a meeting they attended.

A spokesperson for Canada Soccer declined to comment on these allegations. "Canada Soccer will provide updates on this work, as they are available," said the spokesperson, Paulo Senra.

## PENTAGON FLIPS BAN ON WEAPONS REPAIR IN UKRAINE TO HELP IN FIGHT AGAINST RUSSIA

In its final months, President Joe Biden's administration has decided to allow U.S. defence contractors to work in Ukraine to maintain and repair Pentagon-provided weaponry, U.S. officials told Reuters on Friday, in a significant policy shift that aims to aid Kyiv's fight against Russia.

A U.S. official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the contractors would be small in number and located far from the front lines. They will not be engaged in combat.

They will help ensure U.S.-provided equipment "can be rapidly repaired when damaged and be provided maintenance as needed," the official said.

Since Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, the United States has given Kyiv tens of billions of dollars in weaponry. But Kyiv either had to move U.S.-provided weaponry out of the country for heavy repair or rely on video-conferencing and other creative solutions to fix those systems inside the country.

The restrictions in the past

have sometimes slowed down repairs and proven increasingly difficult as the U.S. has provided Kyiv with more complicated systems, like F-16 fighter jets and Patriot air defences, officials say.

A lot of equipment in the country is not being used because it is damaged, a second U.S. official told Reuters.

The move is the latest easing of restrictions by Mr. Biden's administration, which has sought to help Ukraine defend itself against Moscow's 2½-year

old invasion without becoming directly engaged against nuclear-armed Russia.

A third U.S. official said the decision would move the Pentagon in line with the U.S. State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development, which already have U.S. contractors in Ukraine. The official added that no U.S. troops would be required to defend contractors in Ukraine, and that issues like safety and risk mitigation would be the responsibility of those companies entering into

contracts with the Pentagon.

Some U.S. defence contractors have already gone to Ukraine in small numbers in the past, servicing weapons that weren't being provided by the Pentagon, the official said.

Given there are already a "wide array of American companies" in Ukraine fulfilling contracts for the Ukrainian government, there would not be a substantial increase in U.S. company employees working on the ground, the first official said. REUTERS



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# Marineland water quality 'acceptable', Ontario says

Province's response comes after most recent whale death renews calls to explain what is happening at the park

LIAM CASEY

Three weeks after the death of another beluga whale at Marineland, the Ontario government is speaking publicly about its continuing investigation of the park, saying water troubles are under control after a recent investment.

The province's chief animal welfare inspector told The Canadian Press that to her understanding, marine mammal deaths at the tourist destination in Niagara Falls, Ont., have not been related to water quality.

That's despite the fact the water did not meet the standard of care until recently, Melanie Milczynski said in a rare interview.

She offered the first glimpse inside the government's four-year-long probe of Marineland, the only place in Canada where whales are still in captivity.

Five belugas have died at the park in the past year and 17 have died since late 2019, government records show. Three other belugas sold to a Connecticut aquarium in 2021 have since died.

Kiska, the country's last remaining killer whale in captivity, died in April, 2023. One dolphin, one harbour seal, one grey seal, two sea lions and two Magellanic penguins have also died at the park in the past five years.

The most recent whale death has prompted renewed calls from opposition politicians for the province to explain what is happening, with the leader of the Ontario NDP saying the park should be shut down entirely.

Marineland did not answer questions about the animal deaths, and instead twice responded to recent queries with accusations that journalism published by The Canadian Press was driven by its reporter's "personal animal rights beliefs and activism."

The park has previously said that the animal deaths are part of the cycle of life, and defended its treatment of the animals. It has also said that water has nothing to do with the deaths.

The province's "pro-active team" of inspectors, which is a specialized unit of 10 inspectors who examine zoos and aquariums, test Marineland's water weekly, Ms. Milczynski said.

They have visited the park 205 times since the province took over animal welfare enforcement from the Ontario Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 2020, she said.

She said Marineland also tests its water regularly and the results match those of the government, which show a "significant improvement" in quality.

Ms. Milczynski said that at one point in time, the park did not meet the standards for water quality. She did not specify when that was.

In 2020, Animal Welfare Services launched an investigation into the park. The following year, it declared that all marine mammals in the park were in distress because of poor water quality and ordered Marineland to fix the issue. Marineland appealed the order while denying its animals were in distress, but later dropped that appeal.

Ms. Milczynski said she does not know



Beluga whales are seen swimming in a tank at Marineland in Niagara Falls, Ont., last year. Records show five belugas have died at the park in the past year and 17 have died since late 2019. CHRIS YOUNG/THE CANADIAN PRESS

what the rationale behind that order was at the time, but the marine mammal deaths do not appear to be related to the water problems at the park.

"From the information that I was given, I don't believe so," said Ms. Milczynski, who became chief animal welfare inspector in March.

She said "the standards are being met" when it comes to water quality.

"It really is a full-time job to monitor the quality of water in a drinking water system that the municipality provides, in a swimming pool that's open to the public and then similarly with the facilities that are at Marineland," Ms. Milczynski said.

"They've invested in some significant technology that will help them do that, and we've been working with them and learning from them what that technology does. And because of that it's within the acceptable limits, but because it's a new system, we want to have the confidence that the system is going to do what it's supposed to do every day."

The Ministry of the Solicitor General, which oversees the animal welfare inspectorate, said 32 orders have been issued since 2020, and four of them are currently open.

An order related to water quality, or "life support systems" as Ms. Milczynski called it, remains open.

A second open order calls for proper record-keeping on "the treatment" of marine mammals, which the park is working on, Ms. Milczynski said.

She said Marineland knows the cause of death of the animals but the province is not at liberty to discuss its findings.

Asked for details about what caused the most recent deaths, Marineland said it would no longer communicate with a reporter from The Canadian Press.

"A fair disclosure of your personal animal rights beliefs and activism is entirely lacking from your stories," the park said in an e-mail.

"You have consistently displayed an inability to professionally 'report,' instead advancing inferences and false allegations in aid of your personal views. You have consistently failed to report known facts or make necessary inquiries if doing so does not advance your 'position.' This may be effective for your 'purposes,' but it leaves the public misinformed and uninformed. It is not reporting."

The park went on to suggest that questions from The Canadian Press "appear to relate solely to ticking a 'box' to say you inquired."

"We do not expect you will print any of this," it said.

In March, Marineland responded to questions about the deaths of two belugas that month. They said both died due to stomach torsion and it was "not possible to operate on beluga whales to correct that issue."

"Because Marineland's population of whales is the largest in the world, greater than all in North America, health issues typical to the population happen here," said a written statement from Marineland at the time.

"All the whales are under constant weekly supervision and oversight by the government regulator and cared for daily by in-house vets and numerous external consultants. The reality is that all animals eventually die from one cause or another whether in the wild or captivity."

News of the latest beluga death prompted calls from opposition leaders and animal rights activists for the province to do more at the park.

"It's disgraceful. They should have shut this place down years ago," said New Democrat Leader Marit Stiles.

"I think the government should be taking action and I can assure everyone that if - when - we form government, we will."

Liberal Leader Bonnie Crombie said the government needs to be held accountable "This is a constant theme with this provincial government that there is no ac-

countability because there is no transparency in anything they do," Ms. Crombie said.

"Let's have some transparency. What is the plan to ensure these beautiful mammals are being cared for properly and that they're not dying?"

In the summer of 2023, a Canadian Press reporter and photographer visited Marineland. Staff said there were 37 belugas in the park at the time. Shortly after the visit, Marineland banned the reporter from its property.

After the deaths over the past year, it is believed that 32 belugas remain. Drone footage shot by advocacy group Urgent-Seas showed 32 belugas at the park in mid-October.

Recent footage the organization published on social media shows one of the whales being transported by a crane and rejecting fish from a trainer.

"As soon as you need to start physically intervening to feed the animal, the situation is dire," said the group's co-founder Phil Demers, a former trainer at the park. He said he believes the whale is ill.

Marineland said in early 2023 that it was looking for a new owner, and has not said what it will do with the remaining animals once the park is sold. This past summer, the park was open for just two months, instead of a usual five-month run, with few animals on display.

Owner Marie Holer died last month. At the time, the park said a succession plan had been put in place, but it did not offer details.

Ontario has plans to turn the Niagara region into a "Las Vegas of the north." The provincial Tourism Minister has said the park is not necessarily part of its vision.

"Whatever it is the government is doing here now, it's not working," said Mr. Demers.

"Are they just waiting for all the whales to die?"

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# Racialized people overrepresented in police stops

Data from Quebec City show Black, Arab people stopped at higher rates in street and traffic checks

FRÉDÉRIK-XAVIER D. PLANTE

New data from Quebec City police show that Black, Arab and, to a lesser extent, Latino people are overrepresented in police stops, a recurring pattern across North America. Researchers and advocates say this is evidence of racial profiling, which the force denies. The data, obtained by The Globe and Mail through an access to information request, break down by race the 4,567 stops done by Quebec City police between Jan. 1, 2023, and July 13, 2024.

They include street checks and arbitrary traffic stops conducted under a Highway Safety Code provision invalidated by the Quebec Superior Court in a landmark 2022 racial profiling case. Police continued to use the provision pending appeal by the Quebec government, but the Court of Appeal confirmed the lower court ruling in October. Street checks occur when police ask individuals to provide ID or other information without detaining or arresting them.

White people were under-represented in police stops, making up 83.1 per cent of stops, compared with 90.6 per cent of the Quebec City population, according to the 2021 census.

Black people represented 7.8 per cent of the stops, almost double their share in the Quebec City population, which was 4.1 per cent. Arab people represented 3.1 per cent of the stops, while they accounted for only 1.8 per cent of the city's population.

Latinos, who make up 1.6 per cent of the population in Quebec City, were also overrepresented in police stops, with 2.3 per cent.

Quebec's human-rights commission recommended in 2011 that police departments collect and publish data on the race of individuals during police actions, but in a 2020 follow-up report, noted that none had done so.

Last January, the Ministry of Public Security said 12 of the province's 30 municipal forces had implemented the collection of racial data. The Globe sent access to information requests to each one, but most initially did not respond or said the data did not exist or were incomplete, forcing the news organization to appeal to the access to information commission. Data have since been trickling in.

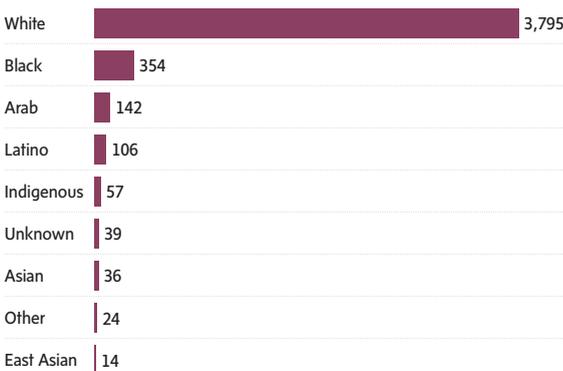
Aly Ndiaye (also known as Webster), a 44-year-old hip-hop artist and historian who grew up in Quebec City, said he's been subjected to dozens of arbitrary police stops in his life, both on foot and while driving.



Aly Ndiaye, a hip-hop artist and historian also known as Webster, grew up in Quebec City. He says he's been subjected to dozens of arbitrary police stops in his life, both on foot and while driving. RENAUD PHILIPPE/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

### Police stops in Quebec City

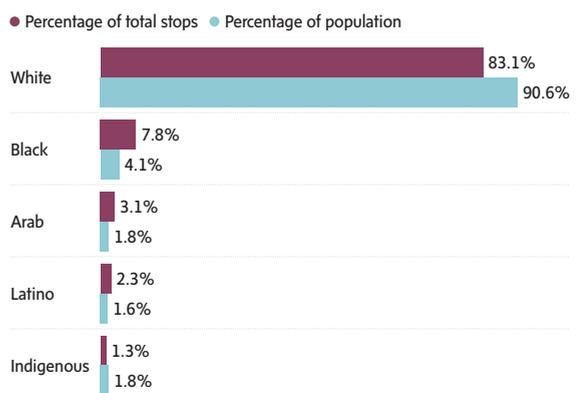
Total stops by ethnicity, Jan. 1, 2023 to July 13, 2024



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: QUEBEC CITY POLICE; STATISTICS CANADA'S 2021 CENSUS

### Visible minorities stopped at higher rates

Quebec City police stops as...



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: QUEBEC CITY POLICE; STATISTICS CANADA'S 2021 CENSUS

"Once, it happened three times in the span of two days," said Mr. Ndiaye, who is Black.

Tired of the pointless questioning, he learned the relevant provisions of the Code of Penal Procedure, which says that "a person may refuse to give his name and address or further information" to a peace officer "so long as he is not informed of the offence alleged against him."

"As a teenager, it's like, well, this is one of the realities of living in Quebec City. Being Black, you know that you're going to get pulled over by the police, that's for sure," Mr. Ndiaye said.

Maxim Fortin, a spokesperson for the Quebec City section of the League of Rights and Freedoms (LDL, in French), a civil-rights advocacy group, was not surprised by the pattern, which he said is a result of racial profiling by police. "In Quebec City, as in many

cities in North America and Europe, racialized people, particularly Black people, are more targeted by police checks," he said in an e-mail.

Earlier this year, The Globe found similar results in Longueuil, a large Montreal suburb that was ordered to collect and publish race-based data on police stops in a 2020 court judgment.

Sandra Dion, a spokesperson for the Quebec City police, said police stops aim to prevent crime and cannot be based on a discriminatory motive. "There is therefore no question of racial profiling in these police stops, but rather of criminal profiling," she said.

Victor Armony, a sociologist at Université du Québec à Montréal who studied racial profiling by police in Montreal and Repentigny, another suburb, said "it has

been amply demonstrated that the explanation for these disparities does not lie in a supposed increased criminality among racialized groups."

In reports prepared for the Montreal police service and published in 2019 and 2023, Prof. Armony and colleagues found that, based on arrest data, criminality could not explain how much more minorities were subject to police stops.

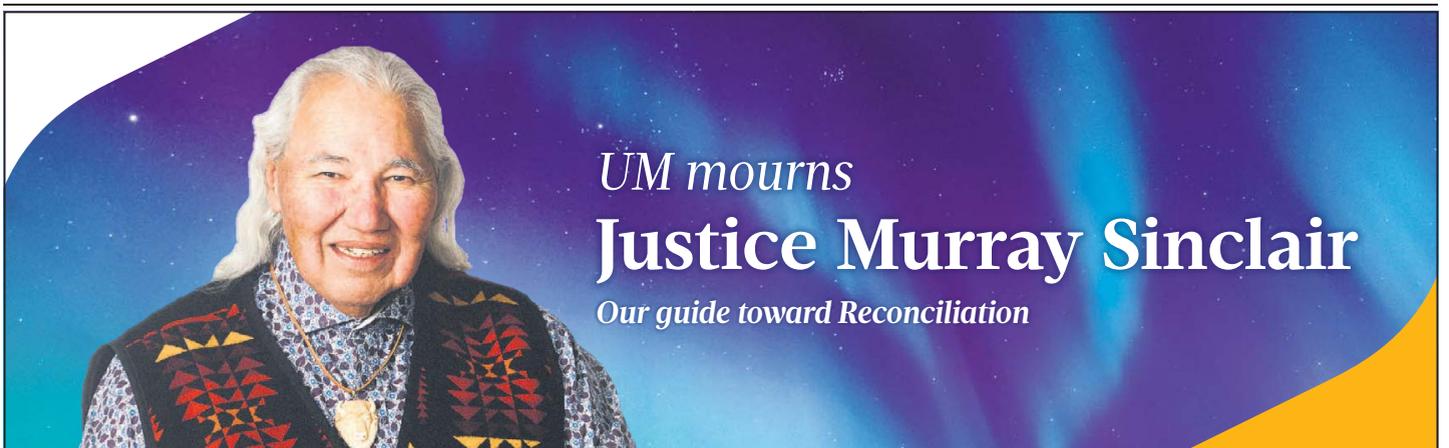
The explanation for the discrepancy, he said, then lies in a defect with police stops. These are based on the discretionary judgment of the police officer, which is "very susceptible to conscious and unconscious bias," Prof. Armony said in an e-mail.

Ms. Dion, of the Quebec City police, offered a different explanation: comparing race-based data for police stops in 2023-24

with the 2021 census is misleading, she said, because of the high levels of immigration in Quebec since then.

Massimiliano Mulone, a criminologist at the University of Montreal who worked with Prof. Armony on racial profiling, said in an interview that this was unlikely to change the results significantly. Prof. Mulone said a similar objection was raised when they studied racial profiling in Repentigny - their 2021 report used data from the 2016 census - so they increased the local share of the Black population in the analysis. This diminished, but did not erase, the observed bias.

The province welcomed nearly 370,000 immigrants, most of them temporary, in 2022 and 2023. There is no available breakdown of their race or location within the province yet.



**Mazina Giizhik (the One Who Speaks of Pictures in the Sky), the Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair, passed on November 4. The University of Manitoba (UM) community is mourning his loss along with the rest of the country.**

The Honourable Sinclair received a UM law degree in 1979 and an honorary doctorate in 2002, where he made the case for why Canada needed to create the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He has been part of the UM community for decades, and UM is proud to have been part of his story.

Sinclair was a teacher, a changemaker, a guide who fought for Indigenous rights, and he inspired us all to do better. He led some of Canada's toughest conversations with care. His legacy is woven throughout the country, including on our campus, where the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation continues his work in building a more just and inclusive future.

Sinclair gave Canadians a path to Reconciliation, and the UM community is committed to walking it and upholding his legacy.





Firefighter Joshua White inspects the site of a home destroyed by the Mountain Fire in Camarillo, Calif., on Friday. LOREN ELLIOTT/NYT

## Wind-whipped California wildfire destroys more than 130 structures

As Santa Ana gusts ease, crews make progress against blaze that rapidly grew to cover 83 square kilometres

CHRISTOPHER WEBER  
NOAH BERGER CAMARILLO, CALIF.

Southern California firefighters made progress against a wildfire that has destroyed 132 structures, mostly homes, and that was fanned by fierce wind gusts that began easing Friday, allowing some people to return to sort through the charred remains of their homes.

Maryanne Belote returned to her hillside neighbourhood in Camarillo, a city northwest of Los Angeles, after making a harrowing escape with her cat, her dog and her horses as the blaze raged in the area. The only thing standing was a rock wall she built.

"If I hadn't gotten the horses, I would have been devastated. But I have my family and I have my animals, so I'm okay. I will rebuild," she said standing outside the remains of her home of 50 years while her dog stayed in her car.

The Mountain Fire started Wednesday morning in Ventura County and had grown to about 83 square kilometres. It was 7-per-cent contained Friday morning.

Some 10,000 people remained under evacuation orders Friday morning as the

fire continued to threaten about 3,500 structures in suburban neighbourhoods, ranches and agricultural areas around Camarillo in Ventura County.

At least 88 additional structures were damaged in addition to the 132 destroyed. Officials did not specify whether they had been burned or affected by water or smoke damage. The cause of the fire has not been determined.

Ten people suffered smoke inhalation or other non-life-threatening injuries, Ventura County Sheriff James Fryhoff said.

Crews working in steep terrain with support from water-dropping helicopters were focusing on protecting homes on hillsides along the fire's northeast edge near the city of Santa Paula, home to more than 30,000 people, county fire officials said.

Officials in several Southern California counties urged residents to be on watch for fast-spreading blazes, power outages and downed trees during the latest round of notorious Santa Ana winds.

Santa Anas are dry, warm and gusty northeast winds that blow from the interior of Southern California toward the coast and offshore, moving in the opposite direction of the normal onshore flow that carries moist air from the Pacific. They typically occur during the fall months and continue through winter and into early spring.

The red-flag warnings, indicating conditions for high fire danger, expired in

most of the area Thursday, except in the Santa Susana Mountains where the warnings expired Friday morning when winds began diminishing.

The Santa Anas are expected to return early to mid-week next week, said Ariel Cohen, a National Weather Service's meteorologist in Oxnard, Calif.

An air quality alert for harmful fine particle pollution was in effect from Friday morning until Saturday afternoon due to smoke from the wildfires.

More than a dozen school districts and campuses in Ventura County were closed Friday due to the effects of the fires, according to the county's Office of Education.

The Mountain Fire was burning in a region that has seen some of California's most destructive fires over the years. The fire swiftly grew from less than 1.3 square kilometres to more than 41 square kilometres in little more than five hours on Wednesday.

Governor Gavin Newsom proclaimed a state of emergency in Ventura County on Thursday. The wildfires burned in the same areas of other recent destructive infernos, including the 2018 Woolsey Fire, which killed three people and destroyed 1,600 homes near Los Angeles, and the 2017 Thomas Fire, which burned more than a thousand homes and other structures in Ventura and Santa Barbara counties.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

## Prince William says it's been a 'brutal' year for his family

DANICA KIRKA LONDON

Prince William has described the past year as "brutal" following cancer diagnoses for his wife and father. "Honestly, it's been dreadful," he said.

Speaking to reporters on Thursday as he closed out a four-day trip to South Africa, the Prince of Wales described 2024 as being probably "the hardest year in my life."

He added: "So, trying to get through everything else and keep everything on track has been really difficult."

"But I'm so proud of my wife, I'm proud of my father, for handling the things that they have done. But from a personal family point of view, it's been, yeah, it's been brutal."

King Charles III was diagnosed with an undisclosed form of cancer in February, forcing the monarch to step away from public appearances for two months as he focused on his treatment and recovery. Catherine, the Princess of Wales, announced her own cancer diagnosis a few weeks later and is slowly returning to public duties after completing a course of chemotherapy.

In a video released in September, Catherine described her illness as "incredibly tough for us as a family." William's comments in South Africa marked the first time he has discussed his own feelings in detail.

Buckingham Palace announced on Friday that the Princess of Wales and the King would both take part in the national commemoration of Remembrance Day in central London on Sunday, to honour those who died during the world wars and all the conflicts that have followed.

Prince William was in South Africa to announce the winners of his annual Earthshot competition, which is designed to inspire entrepreneurs and inventors to come up with new ways to combat climate change and other environmental problems. He also attended a meeting sponsored by his United for Wildlife charity.

The work has provided a welcome distraction in an otherwise difficult year.

"It's more a case of just crack on and you've got to keep going," William said. "I enjoy my work, and I enjoy pacing myself and keeping sure that I have got time for my family, too."

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# Canada's emissions cap short-sighted and punitive

■ Believe it or not, I agree with federal Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault. Announcing his updated emissions cap regulations this week, he bragged that “no other major oil and gas producer is doing what we’re doing.” He is right.

But it’s not because countries like Norway and the United States aren’t as “visionary” as our federal government believes itself to be. No, other oil and gas producing countries aren’t implementing an emissions cap because they understand the incredible importance of the oil and gas sector to their economies and they’re too smart to shoot themselves in the foot.

Minister Guilbeault appears to be focused on emissions reduction at the cost of anything else. This short-sighted targeting of one of Canada’s most productive sectors will only hurt Canadians and our economy.

The legislation also doesn’t address global emissions. Even if Canadian energy production goes to zero, global demand for oil and gas will continue to grow. People who rely on it will simply buy it from somewhere else. Canada will export jobs and prosperity to those countries, and our lives will become less affordable. All this at a time when most countries are moderating their net zero ambitions as they realize the crippling cost and practical impossibility of replacing oil and gas in the near term with renewables and battery technology.

While this legislation is billed as an emissions cap, let’s be clear about its true intentions. This is another addition to an already packed policy agenda of new rules – the clean fuel standard, clean electricity regulations and methane regulations – it will have the spin-off effect of shutting in production in the world’s fourth-largest oil and gas producing nation.

If we are producing less oil and gas, then we are exporting less. That will have a negative impact on our economy in general, while specifically affecting the purchasing power of every Canadian. The revenues generated by selling our products beyond Canada’s borders is by far the largest single contributor to our trade balance, in turn supporting the value of our dollar, which is already at its lowest level against the U.S. dollar in more than three years. As economists will tell you, slashing how much we export leads to paying more for items we import – from food to electronics to clothing.

Canada already has an affordability problem – exacerbated by weak productivity growth and falling gross domestic product per capita. It should be of deep concern to all Canadians that Canada has become the second least productive

nation in the G7, and we’re moving in the wrong direction, compared with our OECD peers. If Minister Guilbeault has his way, the federal government will further hobble one of its most productive sectors, rather than working with us to increase our already significant contributions to Canadians.

These overlapping policies – which are all stick, no carrot – result in more bureaucracy and paralysis for companies looking to make long-term, multi-decade and multi-billion-dollar investment decisions. If forced to decide between building money-losing projects or investing for a better return elsewhere, investors will take their capital out of Canada.

On the flip side, what are the other oil and gas producing countries, the ones not implementing an emissions cap, doing? They are working with industry to incentivize emissions reduction. They understand that the cost of these initiatives require government support to keep the sector competitive and contributing to their economies. Just one example is the United States with its simple carbon sequestration incentive, the *Inflation Reduction Act*, and I invite you to look at how well that economy is doing.

Canada is missing an opportunity to promote regulation that would drive our economy and improve the lives of Canadians. The oil sands companies that make up Pathways Alliance, including Cenovus, have been working tirelessly with both the provincial and federal governments for the past several years to find an equitable funding mechanism to move forward with major emissions reduction initiatives once the necessary support is in place. The federal government’s Investment Tax Credit has been a good start but, given its design and limitations, will cover only a fraction of the industry’s capital and operating costs of implementing carbon reduction.

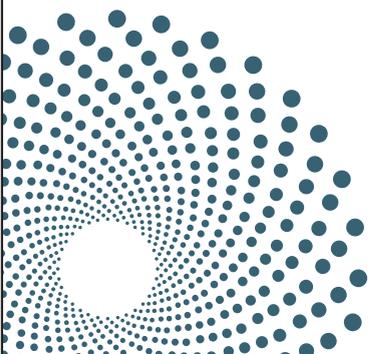
This emissions cap isn’t necessary. Minister Guilbeault and the Government of Canada need to re-think their position on this legislation and instead work with industry to invest in realistic emissions reduction policy, including a timeline that makes sense for all.

If they can recognize the importance of keeping Canada competitive, productive and affordable, that would be something else I could agree with the Minister on.



**ALEX POURBAIX**

*Executive Chair, Cenovus Energy*



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# Inflation frustration lingers into ballot booth

With the cost of living soaring and faith in the Democrats dwindling, some wonder if anyone could have stood a chance against Trump

**NATHAN VANDERKLIPPE**  
INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT  
ATLANTA

Donald Trump did not eke out a win this week. He staged a historic White House comeback, a national rebuke of the Democratic presidential campaign.

Kamala Harris raised more than US\$1-billion and spent much of it on political ads. Yet national vote tallies show Mr. Trump ahead by millions of votes. Ms. Harris has not won a single one of the seven battleground states, where Democrats thought they stood a chance.

From rust belt to sun belt, Americans of all types joined in a loss of faith in the Democratic Party. Even in liberal strongholds such as New York, large new numbers of voters looked at their options and chose Mr. Trump.

It was a nationwide revolt by an unhappy electorate, the Democratic bleeding so extensive that in the aftermath some began to wonder if anyone could have stood against Mr. Trump.

"I don't even think if you slotted in Barack Obama right now that we would have won this election," said Mike Nellis, a Democratic strategist and fundraiser who was a co-organizer of White Dudes for Harris.

"People are not buying what we're selling."

Maybe, some Democrats have said, President Joe Biden doomed his party by remaining in office long past the moment when Americans began to question his fitness. Maybe the country remains too stained by misogyny to countenance a female president. Maybe Ms. Harris should have run a less conventional campaign. Maybe Democrats should have courted Elon Musk, the billionaire who spent more than US\$118-million trying to get Mr. Trump elected.

For voters, though, a more mundane set of considerations seems to have proved far more persuasive. When Mr. Trump was president, milk was nearly 25 per cent cheaper than today. White bread sold for a third less. Gasoline was priced 20 per cent lower. Every trip during the months-long election campaign – to a grocery store, to vacation, to work – brought a fresh reminder.

In other words: Maybe it's the inflation, stupid.

"It's been an awful four years," said Matt Mcgee, 54, a small-business owner in Georgia. Everyone, he said, has grown sick of "the high prices on everything. The future did not look bright for the rest of us, to be honest."

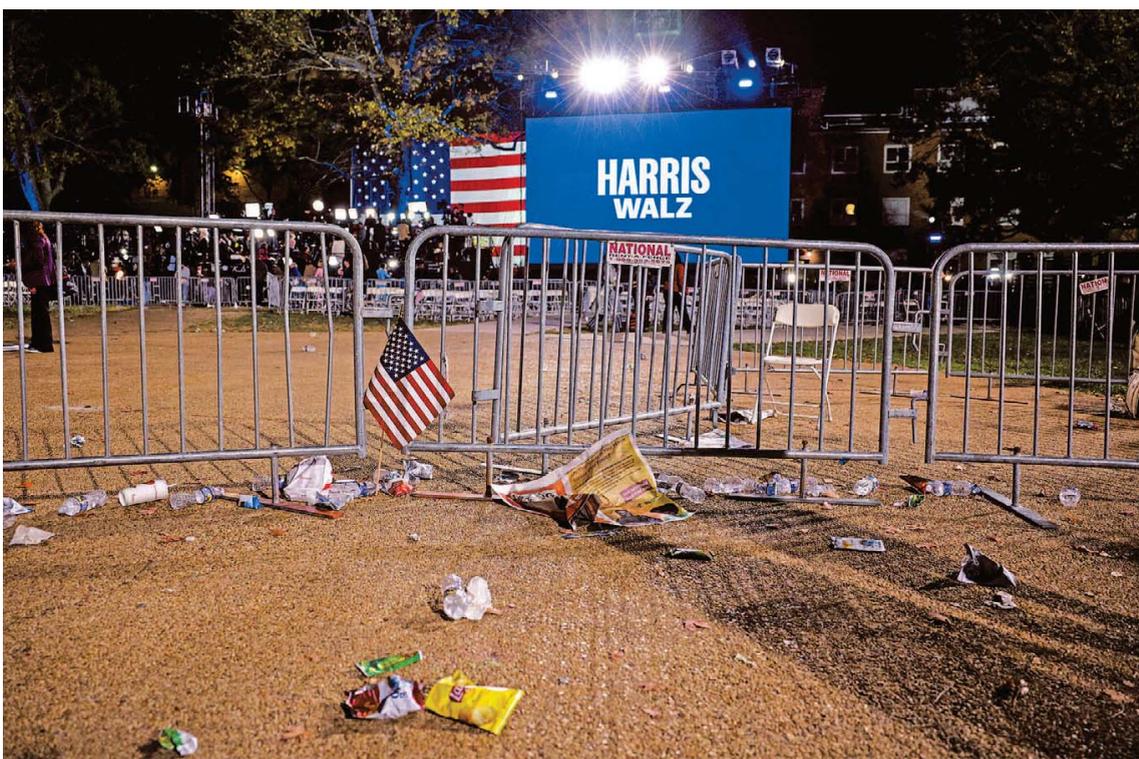
Polls in the weeks prior to the election showed that the economy outranked other issues as the most important consideration for voters, the majority of whom saw Mr. Trump as a more capable caretaker of the country's financial future.

"In an economic crisis, the party in power gets blamed for it, even if it's not their fault," Mr. Nellis said. Incumbents around the world, he added, "are getting brutalized because people are upset about a global inflationary crisis that really is a consequence of the pandemic."

In democracies around the world, this electoral rout has paid little heed to political stripe. In Britain, the governing Conservatives were trounced by Labour. In France, Emmanuel Macron's centrist alliance lost considerable ground to other coalitions. Japan's ruling Liberal Democrats forfeited its coalition majority. India's nationalist Prime Minister Narendra Modi, too, was reduced to a parliamentary minority.

Across the U.S., meanwhile, restive voters marked ballots in ways that defy easy partisan explanation. Montanans, as just one example, chose to codify abortion access while also voting in overwhelming numbers for Mr. Trump, whose Supreme Court nominees were responsible for ending abortion access for many Americans.

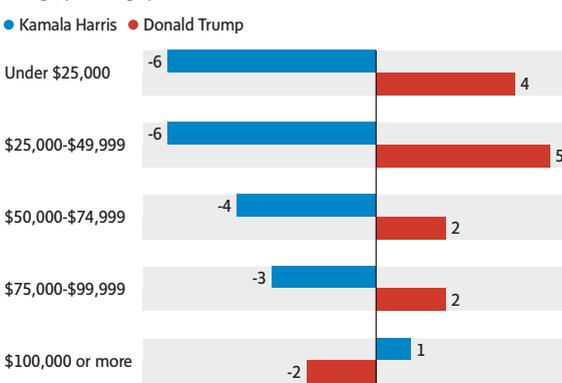
The election gave room for deep wells of grievance and displeasure to churn to the surface. Large numbers of Arab Americans voted against Democrats as a show of opposition to the party's support for Israel. Elsewhere, voters acted in condemnation of



While Democrats believed they stood a chance in the seven battleground states, Kamala Harris has not won a single one of them. She performed best among households whose income exceeds US\$100,000, but lost several points among middle-income Americans. KEVIN MOHATT/REUTERS

## Voting by yearly total household income: 2024 vs. 2020

Change, percentage points



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: ASSOCIATED PRESS VOTECAST

the millions of migrants who entered the country illegally while Ms. Harris was Vice-President. Racial questions, too, once again rose to the fore with a Black woman running for president.

But the shifting allegiances that swung the election were also shaped by public miseries, economic and otherwise, that cut across traditional demarcations of ethnicity and identity. Ms. Harris performed best among households whose income exceeds US\$100,000, sweeping up an even greater percentage of votes than Mr. Biden in 2020, according to voter surveys conducted by the Associated Press.

Among middle-income Americans, however, she lost several points, which accrued to Mr. Trump.

And among the poorest households, Ms. Harris lost fully six points of the vote that only four years ago went Democratic. Mr. Trump was lifted to victory by the strength of the country's financially weakest. His support came not just from those who stand outside the degree-holding and share-holding classes, but those who suffered the most from the past four years.

The poorest Americans experienced the highest coronavirus death rates. Rising prices visited the greatest indignity on those with the least capacity to cope.

"Inflation is poisonous for everybody. But it's especially poisonous for lower-income folks," said Fred Bergsten, the founding director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

Disadvantaged Americans had already felt "really rejected in economic terms, leading to a broader alienation from society and therefore desire to kick the rascals out."

The most basic measures of U.S. life have long been governed by profound disparities. The poorest Americans can expect to live nearly 15 fewer years than the wealthiest.

Then came COVID-19, which killed 1.2 million Americans – nearly double the number dead in battle across the country's entire history – and dealt a deep wound to the national psyche.

"There's this grief that people feel but can't deal with, and you don't know who to blame," said Shana Kushner Gadarian, a political psychologist at Syracuse University and author of *Pandemic Politics: The Deadly Toll of Partisanship in the Age of COVID*.

As the virus abated, prices soared.

It was not merely financially painful. It was a bad omen. People might not have understood the reasons, but they sensed "that if things were under control, we probably wouldn't have inflation. So something has gone wrong," said Carola Binder, a University of Texas at Austin economist who wrote the book *Shock Values: Prices and Inflation in American Democracy*.

The feeling lingered into the ballot booth.

"We had this really memorable bad experience. And that just left a mark on people," she said.

More than any other candidate, Mr. Trump saw opportunity. He promised to end the "inflation nightmare," offering migrants as a scapegoat and himself as a solution. His pledges to end taxes on tips and overtime appealed to service and hourly workers. Profane and irreverent, he also embodied rejection of an establishment that Americans held responsible for the ugliness of recent years.

The most basic measures of U.S. life have long been governed by profound disparities. The poorest Americans can expect to live nearly 15 fewer years than the wealthiest.

What Ms. Harris offered, by contrast, was "lip service," said Jai Chabria, a Republican political strategist who is close to vice-president-elect JD Vance. "The Democrats gave check-the-box, paint-by-numbers answers, rather than actual empathy and solutions for the issues."

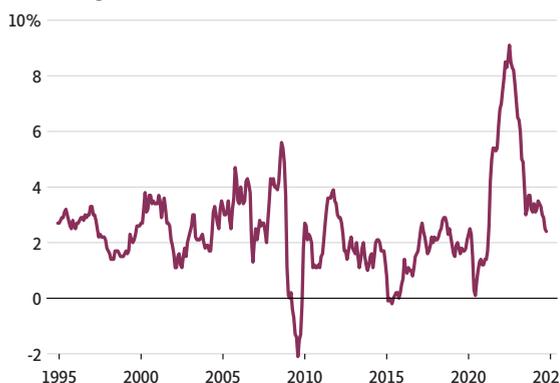
The Harris campaign and its allies, Mr. Chabria argued, failed by dwelling on Mr. Trump's demagogic tendencies and provocative comments at his rallies. It's about "language and the way in which you talk to people. They were fixed on issues that people don't care about," he said.

"The Democrats have become the party of the elite. Republicans have become the party of the working class and the middle class. That is absolutely a shift."

At the same time, those who cast votes for Mr. Trump did so at a time when things are, by many measures, actually going very well.

## U.S. inflation rate

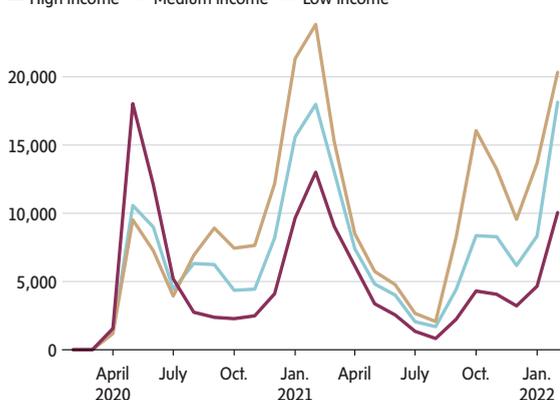
Annual change in Consumer Price Index



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

## COVID-19 deaths across high-, medium- and low-income counties in the U.S.

High income Medium income Low income



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: POORPEOPLES CAMPAIGN.ORG

beat inflation for nearly two years – and the lowest-paid workers are seeing raises twice as big, in percentage terms, as those making the most.

And Ms. Harris, rather than being insensitive to American malaise, promised additional relief, saying she would cut taxes for those who aren't millionaires, provide cash to first-time homebuyers and battle price gouging.

The notion that pocketbook issues might have driven voters away from the Democratic Party beggars the belief of some on the American left.

Had a white man run as a Democrat, would voters have been more receptive to his message that the economy was improving? "For me, that is ultimately the question," said Gwendolyn Wright, who helped to establish the Samuel Dubois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University.

Any answer is complicated by the fact that Mr. Biden was the Democratic candidate for much of the campaign, and by evidence that many Black, Hispanic and Asian voters shifted toward Mr. Trump.

William Darity, a Duke University scholar of racial inequality, dismissed that as irrelevant. Many Hispanics, for example, either identify as white "or, at a minimum, aspire to whiteness," he said.

The predominant vote for Mr. Trump "has been from white men and white women" – which he sees as an indication that race is fundamental to why a Black woman was trounced by a convicted white criminal.

"This election reveals what

America has long been."

Its aftermath has exposed ugly sentiment – in Ohio, Black students have received anonymous text messages saying they have "been selected to pick cotton at the nearest plantation" – and bred a new sense of vulnerability. Karen Race, a federal employee, e-mailed human resources this week asking if it would be wise to retire before Mr. Trump takes office, knowing he has pledged to fire large numbers of bureaucrats. Ms. Race, 62, is gay and worries that the coming cull will search out people like her.

"I'm devastated," she said. "I'm really seriously thinking about leaving the country. That is how scared I am."

Others are celebrating a president-elect they believe will save the stings of the recent past. Roberto Gonzalez, 52, points to the groceries he purchased this week in Atlanta: a quick run to grab lemons, oranges, cucumbers and a few slabs of a cheap cut of beef. "And this is \$75," he said.

"This inflation, it's just insane."

Economists have evaluated Mr. Trump's plans and concluded that they are more likely to stoke inflation than what Ms. Harris put forward.

But Mr. Gonzalez, who immigrated to the U.S. from the Dominican Republic 30 years ago, voted out of confidence that a businessman like Mr. Trump – even one with a rich history of bankruptcy – will steer the country toward greater safety and prosperity.



A crowd cheers as president-elect Donald Trump arrives to speak at a campaign rally on Tuesday in Grand Rapids, Mich. The manufacturing-heavy state saw many autoworkers support the Republican candidate. CARLOS OSORIO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

# Trump's promised golden era for industry still up for debate

The U.S. president-elect's planned tariffs, protectionist policies risk backlash

ADAM RADWANSKI  
CLIMATE POLICY COLUMNIST  
AND FEATURE WRITER  
DETROIT, MICH.

When Donald Trump rallied in the Detroit area, in the final days of his triumphant election campaign, dozens of men and women in "Autoworkers for Trump" T-shirts were his backdrop.

Handed the microphone by Mr. Trump, their leader — retired autoworker Brian Pannebaker — warned of factory jobs being outsourced to Mexico. And he painted the tariff-loving Republican nominee as the only person who could prevent it.

There was some dispute during the campaign about the group's claims to represent large numbers of United Auto Workers rank and file disgruntled by the union's endorsement of Kamala Harris.

But when the votes came in, they got the last laugh. Not only did Mr. Trump reclaim manufacturing-heavy Michigan, but, in a pattern repeated around the United States, he won large margins in the Detroit area's Macomb County, where blue-collar workers are clustered.

Alongside his campaign's hammering of the Democrats on inflation and immigration, Mr. Trump tapped into nostalgia for the days of plentiful, secure, well-paying jobs in traditional industries — promising a "Michigan miracle" of an auto sector restored to 20th-century glories, as part of a new golden era in manufacturing.

Even veterans of the organized-labour establishment acknowledge that it found purchase. Never mind that manufacturing jobs have actually gone up slightly under President Joe Biden's administration. Brian Rothenberg, a long-time UAW spokesperson who is now a political consultant, pointed to pervasive frustration over the perception that there are fewer opportunities than for past generations, made worse by anxiety around the bumpy transition to making electric vehicles.

What Mr. Trump promises is disruption of a different sort: a dramatic escalation of the protectionist economic strategy he began ushering his country toward during his first presidency.

That approach has been largely

maintained by Mr. Biden. He kept in place Mr. Trump's tariffs on imports such as steel and aluminum, and added new ones on EVs, batteries and solar panels.

But while those measures have mostly been targeted directly at China, Mr. Trump promised on the campaign trail to begin waging trade war against the rest of the world.

What exactly that could look like requires parsing through his rambling discussions of the subject during the campaign. But a few promises were running themes.

Most striking is a plan to impose tariffs of at least 10 per cent (sometimes he said 20 per cent) on nearly all imports from anywhere.

That would be accompanied by especially combative measures toward certain countries, such as a 25-per-cent tariff on all imports (and 100 per cent on cars) from Mexico.

While Canada is less the object of his attention, he promised to renegotiate the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement — the NAFTA replacement from his first presidency — with a more aggressive approach toward the auto sector.

The trade measures would be supplemented by other policies — including cutting the corporate tax rate from 21 per cent to 15 per cent, and creating low-tax and low-regulation economic zones on federal lands — explicitly aimed at getting companies to move overseas manufacturing to the U.S.

He will have some ready backing for all of this, and not just from workers.

"In our view, these things are good, in terms of a greater focus on industrial capacity in this country, and the effects that offshoring has had on communities," said Nick Iacovella, a vice-president with the Coalition for a Prosperous America — an alliance of hundreds of U.S. manufacturers who favour protectionism.

What Mr. Trump will have to grapple with, though, is how far he can go on tariffs, without contributing to anger over high prices that he exploited this fall.

Mr. Iacovella countered that tariffs' inflationary impacts are dramatically overstated by opponents who fail to account for domestic production replacing newly expensive foreign goods. But he acknowledged that some tariffs might require carve-outs, or gradual implementation, for domestic industry to catch up.

Gary Hufbauer, a former senior U.S. trade official and fellow at the free-

trade-oriented Peterson Institute for International Economics, echoed the latter assessment. While expanded production of relatively simple goods such as furniture and basic electronics could be set up fairly quickly, he said, the U.S. is nowhere near ready to replace more high-tech imports, with smartphone components an obvious example.

Partly because of that reality, Mr. Hufbauer suggested that Mr. Trump could use the mere threat of tariffs (without necessarily implementing them) to strong-arm multinational companies into investments in the U.S.

Hanging over that calculus is uncertainty about how Mr. Trump will use subsidies to boost domestic capacity.

Mr. Biden introduced the most expansive such policy in generations through the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which provides hundreds of billions of dollars in production tax credits for clean-energy goods such as EV batteries and solar panels. But while those are among the sectors that present the biggest challenges to U.S. industry in competing with China, Mr. Trump — a climate-change denier — has vowed to scrap what he can.

On that subject, there may be a gap between Mr. Trump's corporate and blue-collar allies.

Mr. Iacovella said Mr. Biden's subsidies are "smart industrial policy" that need to accompany protectionist trade policy. He predicted that "the IRA is like Obamacare" — a policy that Republicans publicly oppose, but will mostly keep in place.

However, among Mr. Trump's autoworker boosters in Michigan, the turbulent shift to EVs — which has seen production delays and in some cases temporary layoffs — is routinely invoked as evidence that workers are suffering from a failed attempt to force unpopular products onto consumers.

Mr. Rothenberg, the UAW veteran, suggested that while the EV shift will eventually happen, Mr. Trump was able to tap into unrest from trying to accelerate it beyond what the industry was seemingly ready for.

A danger now, he assessed, is further chaos if Mr. Trump removes policy supports and presses automakers to reverse course.

As with the rest of Mr. Trump's plans for manufacturing, the unknown is how much he's willing to risk backlash through economic reordering with unforeseeable outcomes, especially for Rust Belt voters who came out in droves for him this time.

## Canada-U.S. relations committee given new importance after presidential election

ROBERT FIFE  
MARIEKE WALSH OTTAWA

The first special cabinet committee meeting on Canada-U.S. relations focused on safeguarding the border and protecting bilateral trade with the coming Trump administration, Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland said Friday.

Ms. Freeland and Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly held a news conference after the meeting to assure Canadians that the government is ready to deal with president-elect Donald Trump, who campaigned on aggressive protectionist trade policies and a tough immigration agenda.

Unlike the last Trump election that caught the government off guard, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his team already have relationships in place with people in the president-elect's orbit, which two officials said have been carefully maintained.

Still Mr. Trump's election comeback is forcing some changes in Mr. Trudeau's government: What was until this week a defunct cabinet committee on Canada-U.S. relations is now viewed as the most important one.

Mr. Trudeau's travel was extended next week to ensure he attends two economic summits in South America, which became much higher priorities to ensure that he, his staff and cabinet ministers have as much opportunity as possible to meet with U.S. politicians and business leaders as well as other world leaders ahead of Mr. Trump's inauguration, according to the two officials.

The Globe is not identifying the officials who were not authorized to disclose the confidential deliberations.

They also said a cabinet shuffle, which was widely expected for next week, will be pushed back. The shuffle was spurred by four ministers announcing they will not seek re-election, but no date has been finalized, as the Prime Minister's Office weighs whether to make more significant changes to the cabinet.

Ms. Freeland told reporters she has spent much of the week reaching out to premiers and business leaders in major economic sectors and Ms. Joly said she has already been in touch "with many key influencers" on Mr. Trump's team and top U.S. senators.

Mr. Trump's decisive election victory and the Republicans gaining control in the Senate are expected to leave him with a clear path to press ahead with his campaign promises. Most concerning for Canada is his vow to impose a 10-per-cent tariff on imports, according to one of the government officials.

Pressed to detail what Canada's response would be, Ms. Freeland declined to say and insisted that the current trade relationship is "strong and mutually beneficial."

The Finance Minister said she has already had several discussions with Robert Lighthizer. He served as U.S. trade representative under Mr. Trump's first administration and is expected to do the same this time around. Mr. Lighthizer led the renegotiation of the trade pact between Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, and Mr. Trump has vowed to rewrite it again when it comes up for review in 2026.

Ms. Freeland said Canada won't sit back and accept higher tariffs without a fight. She noted that Canada imposed tariffs in 2018 when Mr. Trump brought in short-lived tariffs of 25 per cent on Canadian steel products and 10 per cent on Canadian aluminum products.

"What is important about that experience is that Canada and the United States agreed at the end of the day that it didn't make sense for our two countries to have those tariffs imposed," she said.

As well, Ms. Freeland said Stelco in Hamilton is now owned by U.S.-based Cleveland-Cliffs Inc., whose chairman Lourenco Goncalves is a major supporter of the president-elect. She said Mr. Goncalves told her Thursday he had "real confidence" that the trade relationship will not be in jeopardy.

Ms. Freeland added that Canada would pull back on its massive subsidies for electric-vehicle plants if the Trump administration cancels U.S. subsidies for that slice of the auto market. The government supports were introduced through President Joe Biden's Inflation Reduction Act.

Mr. Trump has also pledged to remove 11 million undocumented immigrants, posing a significant issue for Canada if many of these people flee north of the border.

Although Ms. Freeland would not provide details, she said Ottawa has a plan to protect the border and said the issue is a "central point of focus" for the government.

Vice-president-elect JD Vance has estimated about one million undocumented migrants could be removed from the U.S. annually. The American Immigration Council estimated it would take about a decade and cost nearly US\$1-trillion to remove all of these migrants.

Both Ms. Joly and Ms. Freeland were also pressed for Ottawa's response to Mr. Trump's expectation that Canada and other NATO allies spend 2 per cent of GDP on defence.

In July, the Prime Minister said Canada would hit the NATO target by 2032, but the new timeline was announced with no detailed plan or costing and came three months after his government released its revised defence policy that included no path to get to 2 per cent.

This year, Canada is expected to spend about 1.39 per cent of GDP on defence.

Ms. Joly would only say that Canada has tripled defence spending and will also unveil a new Arctic strategy that she expects will be appreciated by the coming Republican administration. She argued that Canada's approach to defence is a "win-win" for both countries.

However, Kelly Craft, the former U.S. ambassador to Canada under Mr. Trump, told CTV News this week that Ottawa needs to spend more on defence, and that 2032 was not a fast enough timeline.

## Details of thwarted Iranian murder-for-hire plan targeting Trump unsealed

ERIC TUCKER  
LARRY NEUMEISTER WASHINGTON

The U.S. Justice Department on Friday disclosed an Iranian murder-for-hire plot to kill Donald Trump, charging a man who said he had been tasked by a government official before this week's election with planning the assassination of the Republican president-elect.

Investigators learned of the plan to kill Mr. Trump from Farhad Shakeri, an accused Iranian government asset who spent time in American prisons for robbery and who authorities say maintains a web of criminal associates who participate in Tehran's assassination plots.

Mr. Shakeri told investigators that a contact in Iran's paramilitary Revolutionary Guard instructed him this past September to assemble a plan within seven days to surveil and ultimately

kill Mr. Trump, according to a criminal complaint unsealed in federal court in Manhattan.

The official was quoting by Mr. Shakeri as saying that "We have already spent a lot of money" and that "money's not an issue."

Mr. Shakeri told investigators the official told him that if he could not put together a plan within the seven-day timeframe, then the plot would be paused until after the election because the official assumed Mr. Trump would lose and that it would be easier to kill him then, the complaint said.

Mr. Shakeri is at large and remains in Iran.

Two other men who the authorities say were recruited to participate in other assassinations, including of a prominent Iranian-American journalist who has been targeted in murder-for-hire plots, were arrested Friday.

The plot, with the charges unsealed

just days after Mr. Trump's defeat of Democrat Kamala Harris, reflects what federal officials have described as continuing efforts by Iran to target U.S. government officials, including Mr. Trump, on U.S. soil.

Last summer, the Justice Department charged a Pakistani man with ties to Iran in a murder-for-hire plot targeting American officials.

Iranian operatives also conducted a hack-and-leak operation of e-mails belonging to Trump campaign associates in what officials have assessed was an effort to interfere in the presidential election.

Trump spokesperson Steven Cheung said the president-elect was aware of the assassination plot and nothing will deter him "from returning to the White House and restoring peace around the world."

ASSOCIATED PRESS

# Springfield shrugs off the spotlight

In an instant, the Ohio city was transformed from a real place full of real people – with actual problems, though not of the pet-eating kind – into cannon fodder

SHANNON PROUDFOOT

OPINION



SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

On Monday morning, the day before whatever was going to happen would happen, a work crew was out in balmy weather stringing up Christmas lights on the tidy trees in downtown Springfield, Ohio. Later, they installed Christmas tree sculptures in a drained fountain behind City Hall, next to the artificial skating rink.

A police SUV was parked on the sidewalk in front of the municipal building. Just across the street, security cameras kept watch from atop a telescoping pole.

A couple of blocks away, they were bringing out their dead at Mother Stewart's Brewery; it was closed on Mondays, and staff were packing up the Halloween decorations.

Lots of Springfielders give the same answer when you ask about their favourite place in town or what helped revitalize downtown: Mother Stewart's. Brothers Kevin and John Loftis opened it in 2016, having both returned to their hometown after a couple of decades doing other things in far-flung places.

"I feel like we had some modest momentum. I felt like it was already starting to build a little bit – and I don't just talk about downtown, but about everything," Kevin said of the city. "But it feels like every time we say that, we just get kicked in the nuts."

First it was the 2008 recession, then the pandemic. And then this fall, in the fetid hothouse of the presidential election, Springfield became an accidental main character in someone else's fever dream, when Donald Trump and JD Vance claimed that immigrants were eating the pets there.

This city, like the entire Rust Belt, had been in long and gradual decline. In recent years, it's attracted some new companies and breathed life back into a downtown that had become its own ghost, but there was a shortage of people to fill jobs.

Some Haitians arrived, and then many Haitians arrived. The best estimates are 12,000 to 15,000 in and around Springfield, which had 58,000 people to begin with.

Jobs were filled and businesses flourished. But schools and health care were stretched to the brink, housing got more expensive and harder to find, and there were steady complaints about driving safety.

And then on the first day of school last year, 11-year-old Aiden Clark was killed when his school bus flipped over. A driver in the opposing lane caused the accident by crossing the centre line; the driver was Haitian and driving without a licence.

The tragedy struck a match on the simmering tensions. Rumours bloomed, the way they do when frustrated people talk amongst themselves. The most salacious involved a missing cat who turned out not to be missing, and suspicions about geese in local parks.

Meanwhile, city leadership had written to state and federal officials asking for funding and raising concerns about the effect of border policies on cities such as Springfield.

Mr. Vance, then the Republican vice-presidential candidate, shoved these two things together in a tweet, and the next day on the debate stage, Mr. Trump proclaimed, "In Springfield, they are eating



It's the quintessential American city, right? And I don't mean that in a good version of quintessential, I mean that in a real version – it's the real America, right? What anyone loves or hates about America is Springfield.

KEVIN ROSE  
HISTORIAN WITH THE  
TURNER FOUNDATION

the dogs. The people that came in, they are eating the cats."

In an instant, the city was transformed from a real place full of real people – with real problems, though not of the pet-eating kind – into cannon fodder. The Trump-Vance lies focused all the free-floating political vitriol in the air and blasted it at Springfield, like sunlight passed through a magnifying glass.

Dozens of bomb threats shut down

schools, businesses and city buildings. The world's media descended, and so did white supremacists. City officials got death threats, the mayor declared a state of emergency and the governor sent in state troopers.

Springfield's city website now includes a special Immigration FAQs page. Among the questions are, "Why don't the immigrants work?" "Is there an entire wing of the hospital dedicated to Haitian women with HIV/AIDs?" and "Are Haitians being released after arrest because of the language barrier?"

The answers are patient and precise, but if it is possible for a government website to sound exhausted, this one does.

Larry Ricketts was on vacation in Yellowstone National Park with his wife recently, and when people heard he was from Springfield, they instantly asked about the pet-eating thing.

Driving from one end of Springfield to the other the day before the election, he quipped, "The biggest threat to cats and dogs here are the F-150s, Dodge Rams and Chevy Silverados."

The city's downtown is tiny but idyllic in that way only American cities of a certain size are. There are some crumbling and empty buildings, but everywhere are signs of a city hauling itself back to its feet, too: new restaurants and stores, two coffee shops and a bakery all as charming as a movie set, and a historic market building that houses a food hall and co-working space.

The old State Theater has opened back up as a bar, movie and live music venue, its marquee a nostalgic night light glowing over downtown. On election night, they'd

be showing a democracy double feature: *Napoleon Dynamite* and *The Manchurian Candidate*.

Huge, bright murals tell the story of the city's past, and lampposts and store windows are plastered with posters for an astonishing array of cultural events. MustardFest – a tribute to the city's past German immigration and the local mustard manufacturer Woeber's – includes wildly popular wiener dog races, but after the political lunacy earlier this fall, the quirky logo of a Dachshund in a hot dog bun required a hasty redesign.

If you follow Fountain Avenue north from downtown, you pass block after block of bucolic Christmas-card streets: deep lawns and big, stately old houses, each one different, all well-kept. This is where Mr. Ricketts and his wife settled when they retired to their hometown nearly a decade ago, after 25 years living in California.

"There's some real positive things that happen here in town," he said. "And this has really given us a black eye."

A brick and stucco house on a prominent corner had a sign on its lawn featuring a cat swatting a tiny red elephant off a ledge, with text above reading, "November 5, 2024." On the opposite side of the street, two large houses next to each other both featured Trump-Vance 2024 signs the size of billboards.

At the south end of Fountain Avenue, the houses are still big, but the lawns get shallower and many of the homes sag with neglect. This part of Springfield has long been home to less wealth and the city's Black population, and now it's also where a large proportion of the Haitians live.

# Border communities brace for migration crackdown

ANDREA WOO NOGALES, ARIZONA

To get to the U.S.-Mexico border through the Arizona community of Nogales, one passes residential neighbourhoods of distinctive, southwestern architecture – homes with low-pitched roofs, adobe bricks and stucco exteriors. Thrift stores and auto-body shops display mostly Spanish-language signage and the city's many art galleries and cultural celebrations reflect that the population of 20,000 is almost entirely Hispanic.

The sleepy atmosphere in this tight-knit community about 110 kilometres south of Tucson stands in stark contrast to the divide at the city's edge. At the border wall separating it from Mexico are coils of razor wire – six rows high, covering the entirety of the 20-foot wall at some stretches – installed by the U.S. military during Donald Trump's first presidency to ward off what he described in 2018 as an "invasion" by a migrant caravan from Central America.

Communities like Nogales are again in the spotlight with Mr. Trump's re-election, and his new promise to carry out what



A border wall separates the U.S. from Mexico in Nogales, Ariz. Coils of razor wire six rows high were installed by the military during Donald Trump's first presidency to ward off what he called an 'invasion' of migrants. ERNESTO BENAVIDES/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

would be the largest deportation operation in American history beginning on Day 1 of his return to office.

That pledge, which is also documented in the 2024 Republican platform, has raised concerns among immigrant-advocacy groups, human-rights organizations and policy analysts about the potential impact that even a partial implementation could have on families, the economy and the very fabric of the nation. Canada is already bracing for an influx of migrants from the U.S. as a result.

The issue is a potent one in Arizona, which shares a roughly 600-kilometre border with Mexico and is home to about 264,600 undocumented immigrants, or about 3.6 per cent of the state's population, according to the American Immigration Council, a non-profit advocacy group. Locals are deeply divided over how best to integrate this population, balancing the significant cultural and economic contributions they make with long-standing concerns over border security.

Along with Mr. Trump's election, Arizonans on Tuesday voted in favour of a ballot measure that would give state law enforcement and judges powers to arrest

A man walks through downtown Springfield, Ohio, in September. The city was thrust into the international spotlight when Donald Trump and JD Vance claimed that immigrants were eating pets there. JESSIE WARDARSKI/AP



A pickup truck with an image in support of Mr. Trump is seen on election day in Springfield, a city often portrayed as a typical American town in the media. MEGAN JELINGER/REUTERS



People vote in Springfield on Tuesday. The next day, Clark County results showed 64 per cent of Springfielders and their neighbours supported Mr. Trump. MEGAN JELINGER/REUTERS

weeks, and there's an open-mic segment where members of the public get three minutes to raise anything they want. They have to submit to a metal detector and bag search before entering the building now, and people must present ID to prove they live in Clark County, because the meetings became a furious outsider circus after the debate.

On Monday evening, Jacob Payen of the Haitian Community Alliance was there in a three-piece suit.

"Last time I was here, Mister Mayor, I was devastated, because there was a lot of complaints about Haitian immigrants," Mr. Payen said in his allotted three minutes. "But tonight, Mister Mayor, I have good news. We have heard all the complaints. We are taking actions."

They were developing a driving program and offering road safety tips on Haitian radio stations, he reported, and they'd set up a Creole hotline to help overcome language barriers with government agencies and police.

Mr. Payen was midway through his explanation of a magazine that would "help the residents to understand our culture, understand us as a people" when his time ran out.

On Tuesday morning, by the time the voting precinct at the non-denominational Central Christian Church opened, the line stretched to the back of the parking lot. Pastor Carl Ruby and his "cinnamon bun crew" toiled in the kitchen, baking up 360 giant pastries and ladling small lakes of icing onto them as a fundraiser.

Mr. Ruby has been one of the most outspoken advocates in town for the Haitian

community. The week before the election, he had sounded exhausted and deeply rattled by the intensity of it all, even though the hundreds of messages his church received had mostly been supportive.

"Almost 99 per cent were over-the-top positive. That shocked me, because I thought, 'Oh boy, we're gonna get all kinds of nasty voice messages left and e-mails and letters,'" he said. "And there's been a shocking absence of that."

People all over the city described a gradual turning down of the temperature lately, and by election day, Mr. Ruby seemed more at peace as he hustled in and out of the cinnamon-scented kitchen.

Half a dozen voters at this precinct that leans white and well-off expressed distaste over the lies that had been told about their city; all said they had voted for Mr. Trump.

Jennifer McFaddin said she had twice nearly been run off the road with her two kids in the car, and everything was getting too expensive, which she attributed to both inflation and demand from the newcomers in town. She disliked the more outlandish claims about Haitians, because there was no proof of it.

"I don't like living where it's the centre of attention," she said. Ms. McFaddin had voted Republican.

"I'm just trying to go for who I feel is more for us in general," she said.

Springfield has an appointed city manager who runs day-to-day operations, alongside an elected mayor and city commissioners. As mayor, Rob Rue gets paid \$15,000 a year, and his day job is owner of Littleton & Rue Funeral Home, which was his dad's before him.

The tasteful, cloistered stillness of the funeral home was bizarrely at odds with the crescendo of this seething election campaign, and also a calming weighted blanket for the soul because of it. Mr. Rue sat with an iced coffee from Winans, a local Ohio chain, in a softly lit room, the shelves to his left displaying urns and memorial jewellery.

He kept using the word "season" to describe the last few months, like a weather system had blown through. He laid out the escalating uproar – bomb threats emptying out buildings, a hate group showing up outside his house, his children named in threats – as though he was puzzling out his own reaction.

"Probably my personality doesn't understand the depth of some things, which may protect me a little bit," he said. "Maybe it's just occupational because I'm around people's trauma all the time – I mean, I didn't like what it was doing to my family."

Mr. Rue, a Republican, said there has been a clear economic upswing in the city, 2,000 new houses are in the works and developers have shown interest in building high-end properties. But the furor has scared others away.

"I'm okay to get the spotlight off of us," he said.

In contrast to the funeral home's hush, late in the afternoon on election day, Rose Goute Creole Restaurant was boisterous with music, its front windows plastered with images of the rice and beans, fried plantains and grilled meats served in enormous portions inside.

Vilès Dorsainvil sat at a table near the door, periodically interrupting himself to

say hello to the people who greeted him on their way to the takeout counter. He moved to Springfield four years ago; he left Haiti because his family worried he'd be a kidnapping target since he'd lived in Jamaica and people who have lived abroad are seen as rich.

While he tries to keep things "apolitical" because of his work as executive director of the Haitian Community Help & Support Center, he acknowledged that he worries about what Mr. Trump's vows of mass deportation will mean, or whether people will be more emboldened to yell obscenities out their car windows.

He wonders now if he was "naive" to think that leaders like Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance would apologize once they realized they'd made a mistake in what they said about Springfield's Haitians.

"I wouldn't see it as a weakness," Mr. Dorsainvil says.

Several hundred thousand dollars in donations have poured into his organization from people who wanted to offset the ugliness of the last few months. The centre just announced they bought a former Springfield fire station, where they plan to hold English and driving classes.

"Whether it is Republican or Democrat, I am more concerned about our foreign policy towards Haiti. Because I said to myself, I wouldn't have to answer this question if my country was okay," Mr. Dorsainvil said. "I would be home."

The day after the election, Clark County results showed that 64 per cent of Springfielders and their neighbours had supported Mr. Trump, an uptick of three points from 2020.

To Kevin Rose, a historian with the Turner Foundation – a family philanthropic organization devoted to the revitalization of the city – Springfield is accustomed to a strange spotlight because it has so often been treated not as a small city but as the small city.

Whenever someone goes looking for a typical American town to profile, Springfield is often where they focus, he says, because Ohio seems culturally and geographically neutral, and Springfield's size and postindustrial identity works as an avatar of Americana.

When Newsweek marked its 50th anniversary in 1982 with a lavish, novel-length project on one city, Springfield was the star. Over and over, Mr. Rose says, the city has been held aloft in journalism, surveys and studies as a city-sized skeleton key to unlock some fundamental understanding of American life.

"It's the quintessential American city, right? And I don't mean that in a good version of quintessential, I mean that in a real version – it's the real America, right?" Mr. Rose says. "What anyone loves or hates about America is Springfield."

Downtown, one of the most appealing destinations is Champion City Guide & Supply, which acts as both a visitor centre and purveyor of all manner of products featuring Springfield inside jokes.

There are posters done up like 1970s horror movies paying homage to "The curse of the Ferncliff fence," a section of cemetery fencing that keeps getting rammed by cars that skid out on a curve in the road. There are hoodies bearing the logo of Wren's, a long-gone department store, and prints of old seed catalogues from the 1920s, when Springfield was the Rose City that shipped beautiful fragility all over the country.

Then there are the items featuring a slogan from 1932, when the Great Depression was deepest and morale in Springfield was bleak, so the city held a rally centred on a bracing motto.

Several of these shirts and mugs perch in the front windows looking out onto the city where a scorching political spotlight was trained not so long ago, but where, on the day after the election, Springfield belonged to itself once again.

"Speak a good word for Springfield," the slogan goes. "Or say nothing."

and deport non-citizens entering at locations other than official ports.

In an April interview with Time magazine, the president-elect said his administration "will be using local law enforcement" for his deportation operation and suggested that there would be incentives for participating departments.

"Well, there's a possibility that some [police departments] won't want to participate, and they won't partake in the riches, you know," he told the magazine. He also said he would use the National Guard and other arms of the military.

But there remains widespread concern over whether such actions are feasible – or even legal.

In Santa Cruz County, which includes Nogales, Sheriff David Hathaway recalled Arizona's 2010 Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighbours Act, also known as SB 1070, which required immigrants to carry immigration documents and empowered local law enforcement to investigate and detain those suspected to be in violation, including at traffic stops.

Critics, including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), argued that it led to racial profiling. In 2012, the Supreme

Court struck down several provisions of the law on the grounds that it was the role of the federal government, and not states, to set immigration policy.

"Our demographic in Nogales is 95-per cent Hispanic," Mr. Hathaway said in an interview. "If I'm going to be going out there checking documents of everybody just because they speak Spanish, or they have a Hispanic last name, like Martinez, Hernandez, Rodriguez, or they have Hispanic physical characteristics, it would create a lot of animosity in the community. It would be ridiculous and un-American."

Now-former Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio, who disobeyed a 2011 court order to stop racially profiling and detaining innocent Latinos in his crusade against illegal immigration, was convicted of criminal contempt.

"That would be a predictable result of this," Mr. Hathaway said. Mr. Trump later pardoned Mr. Arpaio, calling him a patriot.

Reyna Montoya, founder of Aliento, a youth-led group based in Phoenix that advocates for undocumented and mixed-immigration-status families, said that her organization is thinking of those groups

and communities that may be torn apart by Mr. Trump's deportation plan and the passing of the local ballot measure.

"Sadly, in Arizona, we don't have to imagine how mass deportations will occur," she said in a statement. "During the SB 1070 years and former Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio, we saw police officers conducting immigration checkpoints outside of schools and churches. Nurses and doctors were forced to question patients' immigration status."

The ACLU has vowed to defend against the Trump administration's mass deportation plan and work with local jurisdictions to shield residents and state resources from what it called draconian policies.

The non-partisan American Immigration Council estimates that there are more than 13 million undocumented residents in the U.S. who face the possibility of removal. It calculated that the cost of a one-time mass-deportation operation would top US\$315-billion, which it called a highly conservative estimate and a practical impossibility because there is no way to do this without mass detention as an interim step.

However, a longer-term operation

aiming to arrest, detain, process and deport one million people a year would average out to US\$88-billion annually, for a total cost of about US\$968-billion over the course of more than a decade, the council says.

Joe Brusuelas, chief economist at consultancy RSM, said forced deportations in large numbers would likely result in a shortage of workers in construction, agriculture, leisure, hospitality, health care and manufacturing, and affect broad swaths of the U.S. economy.

"Essentially, if they remove labour from the U.S. economy with an unemployment rate currently at 4.1 per cent – that's already tight – you create the conditions for decline in unemployment, rising wages and a possible wage-price spiral, if it was sustained over time," he said.

A July, 2024, report from the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy found that undocumented immigrants paid US\$96.7-billion in federal, state and local taxes in 2022. Most of that, US\$59.4-billion, was paid to the federal government, while the remaining US\$37.3-billion was paid to state and local governments, the non-profit think tank found.

# Six enigmatic words have set world on edge

What does U.S. president-elect Donald Trump mean when he says 'I'm going to stop the wars'? Ukraine, Israel and many other countries are anxious to find out

**MARK MacKINNON**  
SENIOR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

Donald Trump has said little about the outside world since winning this week's U.S. presidential election, other than a single line in his victory speech promising "I'm going to stop the wars."

Those six words managed to hearten some of America's long-time rivals, particularly Moscow, while worrying many of its friends. Instead of seeing peace on the horizon, a world already in turmoil is bracing for another series of shocks.

In Ukraine, where worries about Mr. Trump's return are perhaps highest, there are fears that Mr. Trump plans to force a peace deal on Kyiv by cutting off the flow of U.S. military aid. In Russia, Vladimir Putin's Kremlin is hoping that Mr. Trump is planning to do exactly that. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky got an early taste of the new world order when, according to U.S. media reports, Mr. Trump added billionaire Elon Musk – a controversial figure in Ukraine over his reported contacts with Mr. Putin – to a post-election phone call.

In Israel, there are reports that Mr. Trump has signalled to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that his words mean he has 10 more weeks – until his Jan. 20 inauguration day – for Israeli troops to finish their operations in Gaza and Lebanon.

Other leaders may be wondering about Mr. Trump's definition of "war." For Iran, it was Mr. Trump, during his first term in office, who shoved the Middle East toward its current state of chaos by withdrawing from a key nuclear pact and ordering the assassination of a top Iranian general. The Communist Party of China, meanwhile, is bracing for what could be an unprecedented trade war after Mr. Trump promised 60-per-cent tariffs on all Chinese-made goods.

For countries like Canada, the "rules-based international order" cherished by the governing Liberals looks set to come under renewed attack. In his first term, Mr. Trump pulled the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement on fighting climate change and threatened to withdraw from the NATO military alliance as well.

The law – international or domestic – often seems irrelevant to Mr. Trump, who is set to become the first convicted felon to occupy the Oval Office. During his first term, he recognized Israel's illegal annexation of the Golan Heights, which were seized from Syria in a 1967 war, and ordered the 2020 assassination of Qassem Soleimani, the commander of Iran's feared Revolutionary Guards, an attack that a United Nations special rapporteur later found was unlawful and arbitrary.

The fact both Mr. Putin and Mr. Netanyahu have been accused of war crimes won't bother Mr. Trump, or prevent him from making deals with them. Canada's allegation that the Indian government is behind murders of Sikh activists on Canadian soil will also mean less to Mr. Trump than his warm relationship with Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

Of course, fears were equally high when Mr. Trump first came to office in 2017. His initial four-year stint, however, proved to be a period of relative calm before the storm that's followed with the wars in Ukraine and the Middle East. "We had no wars, for four years, we had no wars. Except we defeated ISIS," Mr. Trump said in his victory speech. "They said 'he will start a war.' I'm not going to start a war, I'm



**Above:** Doctors clean up debris after a nighttime attack by Russian Shahed drones on a medical clinic in Kyiv on Thursday. In Ukraine, there are fears Donald Trump plans to force a peace deal by cutting off the flow of U.S. military aid.

**Below:** Local residents look at a completely burned-out market in Kyiv after the attack by Russian drones.

PHOTOS BY OLGA IVASHCHENKO/THE GLOBE AND MAIL



going to stop the wars."

Mr. Trump's first team consisted of such national security and foreign policy stalwarts as James Mattis, H.R. McMaster and John Bolton, who were collectively regarded as having a restraining effect on Mr. Trump's actions. All later described their former boss as unfit for the top office.

Mr. Trump's new picks for secretary of state, secretary of defence and national security adviser will be closely watched by governments around the world.

In Israel – where Mr. Trump's election was cheered by billboards in Tel Aviv proclaiming "Congratulations Trump, Make Israel Great!" – expectations are high, at least on the political right. Mr. Netanyahu's orbit believes Mr. Trump will continue to support Israel's wars against Hamas and Hezbollah, as President Joe Biden has, though without the personal acrimony that had crept into the relationship between Mr. Biden and Mr. Netanyahu as the death toll in Gaza has risen into the tens of thousands.

On Wednesday, an anchor on Israel's Channel 12 asked Republican Party spokeswoman Elizabeth Pipko whether Mr. Trump's vow about ending wars meant that Israel had to wrap up its campaigns in Gaza and Lebanon. "I would say he expects them to end it by winning it, 100 per cent, that's how he always talks about

ending wars," Ms. Pipko replied.

A postelection analysis by the Institute for National Security Studies, which is part of Tel Aviv University, noted that Mr. Trump was calling for an end to the wars without outlining any kind of plan for what would happen afterward in Gaza and Lebanon. Even if the wars carry on past the inauguration, "Trump is unlikely to use U.S. military assistance to restrain Israel," the INSS concluded.

Other American allies are less sure of what lies ahead. In South Korea and Japan, there are fears that North Korea's nuclear-armed regime – which recently began sending troops to aid Russia's invasion of Ukraine – could escalate its military provocations in East Asia in an effort to get the Trump administration's attention and perhaps earn dictator Kim Jong Un another face-to-face meeting with the U.S. President.

Mr. Trump is also expected to return to calling on both Seoul and Tokyo to pay more for their own defence.

Mr. Trump's general dislike of paying for the defence of other countries makes his victory unwelcome news for most of the other 31 members of the NATO military bloc. During his first term, Mr. Trump reportedly favoured withdrawing from the alliance; Mr. Mattis and Mr. Bolton said they talked him out of it.

The president-elect said on the cam-

aign trail this year that he would encourage Russia "to do whatever the hell they want" to any NATO member that doesn't meet the alliance's guideline of spending at least 2 per cent of their gross domestic product on defence. Canada is among eight member nations that don't meet that target.

Europe's anxiety about what lies ahead was on display as soon as Mr. Trump's election victory became clear on Wednesday. "Good morning, Europe! Be ready to fight for yourself and your friends!" Marko Mihkelson, chair of the Estonian parliament's foreign affairs committee, wrote on X as the votes were still being counted. "Europe urgently needs to take more responsibility for its security," Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski wrote a few hours later. "The winds of history are blowing ever more strongly."

Those winds are whipping hardest in Kyiv, where the first hours and days after Mr. Trump's win saw more of the air-raid sirens and drone strikes that mark daily life in the Ukrainian capital. Meanwhile the Russian army continued its grinding advance forward in Ukraine's southeastern Dombas region.

That campaign is expected to accelerate ahead of Jan. 20, despite the onset of winter. Military experts believe Russia's new aim is to shape any future peace negotiations by seizing as much territory as possible before Mr. Trump's inauguration. On Thursday, Mr. Putin heaped praise on Mr. Trump – calling him "a courageous person" for how he handled himself during a July assassination attempt – and said he was ready to meet with the U.S. president-elect.

A frequently heard fear in Kyiv is that Mr. Trump, who views himself as the ultimate deal maker, will arrange another summit meeting with Mr. Putin – akin to their 2018 meeting in Helsinki – and seek the Russian leader's help to resolve multiple crises.

"Ukrainian diplomats have always feared the so-called big deal," said Vadym Prystaiko, a former Ukrainian foreign minister.

"The United States will reach agreement with Russia on many other things, like Gaza or Iran or North Korean non-proliferation – whatever they believe is very important at this moment – using us as the price: 'And you get Ukraine.'"

## Taiwan says it is confident Trump will not abandon the island

**STEVEN CHASE**  
SENIOR PARLIAMENTARY  
REPORTER  
TAIPEI, TAIWAN

Taiwan is confident U.S. president-elect Donald Trump will not abandon the Asian democracy to China because the United States is heavily reliant on the cutting-edge semi-conductor chips it supplies to American manufacturers.

Taiwan deputy foreign minister François Chihchung Wu said Friday this indispensable supply of cutting-edge microchips would be cut off if the People's Republic of China, which claims Taiwan as a breakaway province, ever seized the island.

"Mr. Trump wants to make America great again. I think without Taiwan, he cannot make America great again. He needs the semi-conductors made here," Mr. Wu said in an interview.

Taiwan produces more than 60 per cent of the world's semi-conductor chips and more than 90 per cent of the most advanced varieties, found at the heart of modern technology from smartphones to cars to medical devices.

For semi-conductor chips used in artificial intelligence, Taiwan is responsible for 100 per cent of the world's supply, Mr. Wu said.

Back in 2022, Mark Liu, then-chair of Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, warned that if the island were to fall to China, the chipmaking giant would be lost. An invasion would render every "TSMC factory non-operable," he told CNN in 2022.

Remarks Mr. Trump made during his 2024 presidential election campaign have raised doubts about his commitment to protect and defend Taiwan.

Incumbent President Joe Biden has four times said the United States would support Taiwan militarily if China invaded. In July, however, Mr. Trump told Bloomberg he "wouldn't feel too secure if I was [Taiwan]" and suggested the island should pay the United States protection money for its defence.

"We're no different than an insurance company," Mr. Trump said at the time," noting Taiwan is only about 110 kilometres from the People's Republic of China. "A slight advantage, and China's a massive piece of land, they could

just bombard it."

Taiwan's Mr. Wu said the island would put in orders for more American defence equipment, where necessary, including advanced military gear such as F-35 warplanes that has so far been off limits to Taipei.



Mr. Trump wants to make America great again. I think without Taiwan, he cannot make America great again. He needs the semi-conductors made here.

**FRANÇOIS CHIHCHUNG WU**  
DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER  
OF TAIWAN

Taipei has nearly doubled its annual military spending in the past eight years and there is already a backlog of more than US\$20-billion in U.S. military gear that Taiwan has ordered and is still awaiting.

"If Mr. Trump wants to sell us F-35s – most advanced weapons – I think Taiwan would be very wel-

coming," Mr. Wu said. "In the future if Mr. Trump wants Taiwan to buy new weapons to defend ourselves, I think it will be very welcome" in Taipei, he said.

Like most countries, including Canada, the United States does not have formal diplomatic ties with Taipei. The U.S., however, is Taipei's most important military ally.

Mr. Wu said he believes the United States under Mr. Trump would still act to protect U.S. national interests in the event of a conflict over Taiwan. This he ventured, would likely include semi-conductor chips for uses including artificial intelligence. "Without the advanced chips made in Taiwan, how can you assure the advance of AI in America?"

Taiwan's Foreign Ministry, in a Thursday report to Taiwanese legislators, has warned China may try to test the United States in the handover period with military exercises, cyberattacks or psychological warfare aimed at weakening the territory's "internal stability and unity." It said the government would be prepared for this.

"A peaceful transition between Biden to Trump is very important

for us," Mr. Wu said. He said Taiwan is afraid China might "take this opportunity to make some turbulence now in the Taiwan Strait."

Since 2018, China has staged more than 10 military exercises around Taiwan, in an effort to intimidate the self-governed island that Beijing wants to annex. The Chinese Communist Party, which has never ruled Taiwan, has not ruled out using force to take the territory. The U.S. military has repeatedly said it believes China aims to be ready to invade Taiwan by 2027.

Mr. Wu said Taiwan's strategy, including its rising military spending, can be described as a "not today" policy. He said the intention is to keep Chinese President Xi Jinping thinking, "every day when he wakes up that today is not the day to invade Taiwan."

Mr. Wu also thanked Canada for its latest expression of support. Canada's House of Commons on Wednesday passed a resolution rejecting a public relations campaign by the Chinese government that insists the United Nations voted to affirm Beijing's claim to Taiwan in 1971.

# Questions were meant to help man in Sudan: witness

Former CSIS agent says taking interest in jailed Canadian was meant to deter abuse

IAN BAILEY OTTAWA

Canada's intelligence service thought it was helping a Montreal man detained in Sudan by sending questions for the intelligence service in the northeast African country to ask him while he was in custody, a former senior agent says.

The former agent, testifying anonymously in Federal Court on Friday, was recalling 2003 events central to a \$27-million lawsuit that Abousfian Abdelrazik has launched against the federal government and former foreign affairs minister Lawrence Cannon.

Mr. Abdelrazik, a Canadian citizen since 1995, had returned to his native Sudan to see his ailing mother, and was taken into custody by officials of Sudan's intelligence agency.

Now 62, Mr. Abdelrazik is accusing the defendants of abandoning him in Sudan for six years – from 2003 to 2009 – which he says included detention and torture by Sudan's intelligence agency.

The witness, a director-general in the service in 2003, acknowledged Sudan did not have a strong record on human rights, saying, at one point. "We knew that Sudan



Abousfian Abdelrazik, a Canadian accusing Ottawa and a former foreign affairs minister of abandoning him in Sudan, heads to court on Oct. 30. ADRIAN WYLD/THE CANADIAN PRESS

didn't have a history, a good history of human rights, and were aware of that."

The witness, identified only as T, said that the thinking at the time of Mr. Abdelrazik's initial detention was that the questions about his activities in Canada and abroad, linked to suspicions he was in-

involved in Islamic extremism, could be positive for the detained Mr. Abdelrazik.

The witness explained that the Canadian government taking an interest in Mr. Abdelrazik might prevent abuse by Sudanese officials.

"If the government of Canada shows no interest in this citizen, the chances of abuse would be at a higher consideration," said the witness, speaking from a location outside the downtown courtroom.

Under questioning from Mr. Abdelrazik's lawyer, Paul Champ, the witness said CSIS did not check these assumptions with officials at consular affairs.

"No, it's a reflection we did at the inside, on the interior of our service," said the witness.

Under questioning from Mr. Champ, the witness testified that CSIS learned on Sept. 10, 2003, that Mr. Abdelrazik had been detained in Sudan during his visit, and eventually decided to send a series of questions for officials in the country to ask Mr. Abdelrazik.

The witness agreed that Mr. Abdelrazik had, in February, 2003, in Montreal declined to answer questions about Islamic extremism posed by CSIS agents, who turned up to ask him about the matter.

But the witness said that there was an assumption that Mr. Abdelrazik might be more disposed to answer questions while in Sudanese custody to facilitate a quicker return to Canada.

The witness was repeatedly questioned by Mr. Champ about the high risk of his client being abused given Sudan not signing on to the United Nations convention against torture, which came into effect in 1987.

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# 4 TIPS for SENIORS TO AVOID PHISHING SCAMS

In our increasingly digital world, the prevalence of phishing scams poses a significant risk, especially for seniors. These scams can take many forms, from deceptive emails to fraudulent phone calls, all designed to trick individuals into revealing personal information.

With a few simple strategies, you can effectively protect yourself. Here are four essential tips for what to do if you receive a phishing scam:

### 1. Stay Calm and Don't Engage

The first and most crucial step is to remain calm. Scammers often create a sense of urgency to provoke an immediate reaction. If you receive a suspicious email or message, take a moment to breathe and assess the situation. Do not reply, click on any links, or download attachments. Engaging with the scammer can lead to further complications.

### 2. Verify the Source

If the communication claims to be from a reputable organization, take the time to verify its authenticity. Do not use any contact information provided in the suspicious message. Instead, look up the official phone number or email address of the organization online. Contact them directly to confirm whether the message is legitimate. This step is essential in preventing the disclosure of personal information to scammers.



### 3. Report the Scam

Reporting phishing attempts is vital for raising awareness and protecting others. Most email providers have mechanisms for reporting phishing scams directly. Additionally, you can report the incident to local authorities or organizations like the *Competition Bureau Canada*. By doing so, you contribute to efforts aimed at combating these fraudulent activities.

### 4. Educate Yourself on Common Signs of Phishing

Understanding the common signs of phishing scams can empower you to recognize them more effectively. Look for red flags such as generic greetings (e.g., "Dear Customer" instead of your name), poor grammar or spelling errors, unusual requests for sensitive information (like passwords or Social Insurance Numbers), and urgent language that pressures you to act quickly. Familiarizing yourself with these indicators can help you spot potential scams before they become a problem.

Phishing scams can be unsettling, but with the right knowledge and tools, you can navigate these challenges confidently, protect yourself from fraud, and enjoy a safer online experience. Remember, when in doubt, reach out to a trusted family member or friend for assistance.



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*Disclaimer: This information is provided for general informational purposes only and should not be considered professional advice. Always consult with a qualified professional for specific concerns regarding online safety and security.*

Written in conjunction with Charlie Charalambous, VP of Information Technology at Amica Senior Lifestyles.



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# Stronach to face two separate criminal trials

Charges against former auto-parts magnate will be split up by region in which they were alleged to have taken place

ERIC ATKINS  
TAVIA GRANT

Former auto-parts magnate Frank Stronach will face two separate criminal trials for a total of 18 alleged offences against 13 victims.

Mr. Stronach's case will return to court on Nov. 25 and 29, Justice of the Peace Mangesh Duggal of the Ontario Court of Justice ruled on Friday. The dates of the trials have not been set.

Peel Regional Police charged Mr. Stronach, 92, in the summer with crimes that include rape, sexual assault and forcible confinement, alleged offences that date between 1977 and 2024. The identities of the complainants are protected by a court-ordered publication ban.

The charges have not been proven in court, and Mr. Stronach's lawyer, Leora Shemesh, has said he will fight them. In a court appearance on Monday, Ms. Shemesh said she and the Crown prosecutors' office agreed in pretrial discussions to separate the charges by the region in which they are alleged to have taken place, Toronto and York Region. She said the trials will be before judges in the Ontario Court of Justice, which does not have juries.

"The matter is being transferred out" of Peel Region, Crown Attorney Jelena Vlacic said in court on Friday. "There will be two proceedings."

Peel Police have declined to say why they – and not their counterparts in Toronto and York Region – led the investigation into Mr. Stronach. The trials are being moved in light of the large caseload at the Brampton courthouse, as well as in accordance with the legal principle that a person be tried in the area in which they are accused.

According to allegations in court documents, 13 offences against eight complainants took place in Toronto. Five offences involving five victims allegedly happened in York Region, which is north of Toronto and home to Mr. Stronach and many of his interests, including Magna, the auto-parts company he founded in the 1950s.

Christopher Hicks, a veteran Toronto criminal lawyer, said the large number of alleged offences would make a single trial difficult to run. "I think it would be unwieldy to do all these charges together," Mr. Hicks said. "The evidence on one count, it can only go to that count and not any other counts."

Criminal lawyer David Butt, who is not connected to the case, said there is no statute of limitations on sexual assault. This accounts for the serious nature of the offence and, he said, the length of time it can take for complainants to come forward.



Workers and volunteers fill boxes at Moisson Montreal food bank on Wednesday. According to UN data, prices of all food categories apart from meat were on the rise last month. GRAHAM HUGHES/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## UN says world food prices hit 18-month high in October as cost of most staples rose

PARIS

World food prices rose in October to an 18-month high as vegetable oils led increases seen in most food staples, United Nations data showed on Friday.

A price index compiled by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) to track the most globally traded food commodities increased to 127.4 points last month, up 2 per cent from a revised 124.9 points in September.

That put the index up 5.5 per cent from a year ago and marked its highest since April of 2023, though it was 20.5 per cent below a record from March of 2022 reached after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the data showed.

Prices of all categories rose apart from meat, with vegetable oils jumping more than 7 per cent from the previous month, supported by concerns over

palm-oil production, the FAO said.

The overall index extended gains from September when it had reached its highest since July of 2023 on the back of surging sugar prices.

Prices of all categories rose apart from meat, with vegetable oils jumping more than 7 per cent from the previous month.

Persisting concerns over the 2024-25 production outlook in Brazil supported a more moderate increase for sugar prices in October when they advanced 2.6 per cent, the FAO said.

Cereal prices edged up 0.8 per cent from September. Wheat rose amid concerns

over northern hemisphere planting conditions and after the introduction of an unofficial Russian export price floor, while corn was also higher, the FAO said.

Dairy prices rose nearly 2 per cent, supported by cheese and butter, which both faced strong demand and limited available supply, the agency said.

Overall meat prices edged down 0.3 per cent. Pork saw the sharpest decline while poultry ticked lower, in contrast to beef that rose on the back of increased international demand.

In a separate cereal report, the FAO trimmed its forecast for global cereal production in 2024 to 2.848 billion tonnes from 2.853 billion projected a month ago.

The revision left expected output down 0.4 per cent from the previous year but it remained the second-largest level on record.

REUTERS

THE GLOBE AND MAIL PRESENTS



# REPORT ON BUSINESS ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Risks and opportunities for the year ahead

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As Canadian businesses continue to weather the impacts of higher interest rates, inflation, and sluggish productivity, they will need sharp strategies to position for growth in 2025. The outcome of the 2024 U.S. election will also reshape Canadian industries, markets, and regulations. What are the most significant potential outcomes for business?

Join Report on Business magazine on November 26 to hear economic and industry leaders, institutional investors, policy experts and Globe and Mail journalists discuss the dominant forces shaping Canada's economy in 2025 and beyond.



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# Canadian TikTok creators say closure of local operations will hit them hard

ALEX NINO GHECIU

Even with 1.8 million followers on TikTok, Wallace Wong says he feels like he's been dealt a huge blow after the federal government directed the app to shut down its Canadian operations this week.

"It feels like we've lost some support and I'm [left] to fend for myself," says the Toronto-based chef who's become a viral sensation for his chopping skills.

"For such a big platform like TikTok to no longer have an office here, it feels like we've lost a vital line of communication – not just as creators, but also for the brand looking at how they can help creators here. It's a lose-lose."

Mr. Wong is one of several Canadian TikTok creators who worry that the closure of the platform's Canadian arm will erode their support system and limit their earning potential.

The federal government ordered the dissolution of TikTok's business in Canada on Wednesday, citing national security risks, but it stopped short of an outright ban on the app.

A TikTok spokesperson said the decision will result in the loss of hundreds of well-paying local jobs, adding that the platform intends to challenge the order in court.

Lifestyle and food content creator Mali Raja says the app's Canadian division helped local users with account optimization, resolving technical issues and landing sponsorships. She adds it frequently organized pop-up events and digital campaigns to spotlight local talent, and played a key role in connecting creators with brands.

"Now, we're taking a step back in terms of creators losing that outreach," she says.

Advertisers may also become reluctant to invest in content on the platform, says Michelle Nguyen, president and chief strategist of Toronto-based social media agency Super Duper. As a result, Canadian creators may see a decline in ad dollars, she says.

"I see brands getting worried about the amount of money they're putting towards their TikTok presence. I have concerns that they will be pulling back budget because they're being reminded of how precarious TikTok can be [in Canada]," she says.

Mr. Wong shares similar worries that the uncertainty surrounding TikTok could lead to a decrease in brand partnerships and sponsorships.

"It creates fear. For TikTok to not have an office here, it could signal to brands that 'Maybe we shouldn't put all our eggs in TikTok, maybe we should take away some of our budgeting and put it in other platforms, because we don't know how long it's going to be here.'"

TikTok comedian Neema Naz says the winding down of the platform's local offices feels especially "frustrating" because Canadian creators are already at a disadvantage. Canada is excluded from TikTok's Creator Rewards Program, which pays creators for their videos.

The Toronto native says that while some creators had hoped TikTok's Canadian presence would eventually lead to the implementation of a rewards program in the country, "I guess that's not an option any more."

Mr. Naz says the closure is symptomatic of a larger problem – a lack of support for Canadian artists.

"When an accountant or doctor or someone with a regular job is bored or sad or angry in their time off, they watch comedy. They watch content so they don't lose their minds. I feel like in Canada a lot of people don't value us as creators," he says.

"This is why we're heading to the U.S. on work visas with the hopes of staying there permanently, because they actually put more effort and funding into the arts."

New Brunswick creator Tom Hearn says elimination of TikTok's Canadian branch feels like another blow to "a dying arts scene in Canada."

"We have no star system in the country that we live in. Unless your last name is Levy, you're probably not going to get a TV show or a special," says the TikTok comedian.

"So TikTok has actually opened insane doors for me that would never have happened before. It's extremely important for comedians and artists."

That being said, Mr. Hearn says he'd be willing to get off of TikTok if it truly posed a national security threat. But he argues the government has been very vague about what the threat actually is.

"If the security of our nation is at risk because of this specific app, then plainly state what the issue is and do something to fix it. This doesn't feel like a solution," he says.

"If TikTok is a security breach, then let's ban it. If it's not, then let's let them have their employees."



China's President Xi Jinping is shown during an awards ceremony ahead of China's National Day in Beijing in September. ADEK BERRY/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

## A new book attempts to understand Xi Jinping's ideology

Kevin Rudd has studied the Chinese leader for years and is the only one of his biographers to have been in a room alone with him

JAMES GRIFFITHS  
ASIA CORRESPONDENT  
HONG KONG

Since becoming paramount leader of China, Xi Jinping has consolidated power like no Chinese leader since Mao Zedong, reaffirmed the party's leadership over all aspects of life and asserted an increasingly aggressive nationalism.

But few people have personal insight into his decision-making, with more and more policy set within a black box that has only grown increasingly opaque.

Yet, Mr. Xi is an incredibly prolific writer and speaker. He has authored dozens of books, while the party's premier ideological journal, *Seeking Truth*, is almost entirely filled with analyzing and explaining Xi Jinping Thought, the Chinese leader's signature ideology.

Much of this output is impenetrable to those not well-versed in Chinese Communist theory, and often mind-numbing even to those who are. This can make it tempting to dismiss.

But to ignore the importance of ideology in Mr. Xi's China is to disregard a huge tool for understanding the country and its leaders' decisions, argues Kevin Rudd, the former prime minister of Australia (and current ambassador to the U.S.) and author of the new book *On Xi Jinping: How Xi's Marxist Nationalism is Shaping China and the World*.

"Marxism-Leninism has always been a complex ideological

framework not to be entered into lightly," Mr. Rudd said in an interview, speaking in his personal rather than ambassadorial capacity. "But it is important to the CCP system, and whatever we think of the value of this methodology, if the Chinese system pays so much attention to it, we need to start paying more attention to it."

Mr. Rudd said Western policy-makers focused on China should follow the lead of party members, who are "trained in how to read changes in the ideological line" by parsing various speeches and other pronouncements.

Through a detailed study of Mr. Xi's output – begun as a doctoral study at Oxford University – Mr. Rudd has written "the most comprehensive analysis of Xi to date – one that will set the bar for future studies of Xi's governing philosophy," in the words of reviewer Jude Blanchette, another esteemed scholar of the CCP, who notes Mr. Rudd is also the only one of Mr. Xi's various biographers "to have spent time alone with his subject, as he did when Xi visited Canberra in 2010, when Rudd was serving as Prime Minister."

While acknowledging that reading Chinese theory often requires "putting on a hair shirt," Mr. Rudd argues it is important to understand what the party is saying to itself – and to the world – in order to avoid "grand cultural generalizations often generated by those who have never studied a word of Chinese in their lives."

"If you look during the Mao Zedong period, the body of scholarship right across Western Sinology was large and deep," he said, focusing on intricacies such as understanding "the differences between Chinese and Soviet Marxism."

Ideology arguably was less important under Mao's reform-minded successor Deng Xiaoping, and especially the technocrats that followed him, Jiang Ze-

min and Hu Jintao, but it has come roaring back under Mr. Xi. Mr. Rudd identifies the Chinese leader as moving his country toward the Marxist left economically, reimplementing tight Leninist control of the party and state, and advocating a right-wing nationalist foreign policy.

The West, Mr. Rudd said, is often guilty of "projectionism," attempting to understand China by "what we would do in the same circumstances."

Mr. Rudd gave as an example Chinese policy toward the Global South, which is often framed in the West in terms of the Belt and Road Initiative or the recent expansion of BRICS as a simple play for political influence or attempt to secure resources. But this ignores the reams of texts on Mr. Xi's "Global Civilization Initiative" and other policies, which demonstrate a "theoretical dimension to this as well."

"There is a body of work which is seeking to develop a new Marxism for the 21st century for the Global South," Mr. Rudd said. "This is not just a totalizing Chinese global strategy, but there's also a totalizing Chinese ideological world view underpinning that strategy."

In his book, Mr. Rudd quotes a 2022 speech by Mr. Xi in which he said a "sound strategy is to be executed through proper tactics, which are dictated by the former and serve the former."

"They are in dialectical relationship," Mr. Xi said, "in which the strategy stays consistent while the tactics can be flexible."

It is that strategy that can be better understood by trying to understand Mr. Xi's ideology, Mr. Rudd argues. Failing to do so – focusing only on tactics, which might change by the year – deprives the West of insight and leaves policy-makers "looking through a glass darkly" when it comes to their relationship with the world's second superpower.

### SELF-DESCRIBED NAZI JAILED IN AUSTRALIA FOR PERFORMING OUTLAWED SALUTE

MELBOURNE A self-described Nazi became the first person in Australia to be sentenced to prison for performing an outlawed salute when he was ordered by a magistrate on Friday to spend one month behind bars.

Jacob Hersant, 25, is also the first person in Victoria state to be convicted of performing the Nazi salute. The gesture has been outlawed nationwide since he committed the offense.

He was convicted in the Melbourne Magistrates Court last month of performing the

salute before news cameras outside the Victoria County Court on Oct. 27, 2023. Mr. Hersant had just avoided a prison sentence on a conviction for causing violent disorder. Performing a Nazi salute had been outlawed by the state parliament days earlier.

Magistrate Brett Sonnet allowed Mr. Hersant to remain free on bail after he was convicted until Friday, when he was sentenced to one month in prison.

He faced a potential maximum sentence of 12 months in

prison plus a 24,000 Australian dollar (\$16,025) fine.

Mr. Hersant's lawyer, Tim Smartt, said the sentence would be appealed and he would apply for bail in a higher court pending an appeal hearing. Mr. Smartt said Mr. Hersant should not be jailed for a non-violent act.

"It's not justified sending a 25-year-old to prison. That is wrong," Mr. Smartt told the magistrate.

Mr. Sonnet said a prison sentence was appropriate. ASSOCIATED PRESS

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# Explorers eye submersible to photograph found ship

Shipwreck hunters gathered in Ottawa to celebrate discovery of Shackleton's last ship, Quest

MARIE WOOLF OTTAWA

Explorers who found the wreck of Sir Ernest Shackleton's last ship off the coast of Labrador are now considering sending a submersible with a shipwreck expert on board to get a close look at Quest and bring back photos.

The Canadian-led team is preparing to create a 3-D photographic "twin" of Quest and to survey the shipwreck site — where masts and other debris scattered as it went down — in the second phase of the expedition planned for spring.

This week, shipwreck hunters from around the world gathered in Ottawa to celebrate the discovery of Quest. At the annual dinner at the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, commemorative medals were awarded to the team that found the wreck in June.

Among the guests was Mensun Bound, the renowned maritime archeologist who in 2022 discovered the wreck of the Endurance, the ship Shackleton was forced to abandon before it was crushed by ice during a perilous Antarctic voyage in 1915.

Exchanging tips on shipwreck hunting in Ottawa, Mr. Bound advised John Geiger, who led the Quest expedition, to not give out Quest's precise location.

The expedition to find Quest was beset by technical difficulties, including with the winch on the search vessel that had to be repaired on land. Mr. Bound recommended that Mr. Geiger, on the next expedition, bring spares of equipment in case one breaks down and halts the entire trip.

Mr. Bound's 2019 expedition to find the Endurance was thwarted by problems with the autonomous underwater vehicle. But he returned and found the ship in 2022, coming back with spectacular 3-D images of the wreck that had been trapped in the ice for over a century.

Mr. Geiger, chief executive of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, said he plans to use the same technology, created by a Canadian company, that took the 3-D images of the Endurance to film Quest. He said he is look-



Explorers John Geiger, left, and Mensun Bound hold a statue of Sir Ernest Shackleton at the Royal Canadian Geographical Society in Ottawa on Monday. In 2022, Mr. Bound discovered the wreck of Endurance, and Mr. Geiger led the expedition that found Quest.

BLAIR GABLE/  
THE GLOBE AND MAIL

ing into sending down either an autonomous underwater vehicle tethered to his search vessel or a submarine to allow a person to look closely at Quest and film it and the wreck site. At a depth of 390 metres, he said it would be unsafe to send divers down.

"The goal is to create a digital twin of Quest, just in the way it was done for Endurance. The pictures literally go right round," he said. "There's going to be a spectacular array of imagery that's collected."

Quest was discovered intact in June on the seabed by an international search team, including seasoned shipwreck hunter David Mearns, using sonar.

In an interview from England on Friday, Mr. Mearns said if the team decides to send down a human-occupied submersible to go to take a close look at Quest he would operate it himself.

"A submersible gives us a different kind of advantage, because it allows an observer right on the sea bed. When you're on the site at 390 metres, it gives you a different appreciation. Even the best three-dimensional camera cannot replace the three-dimensional ability of your own eye," he said.

He said getting a glimpse of Quest's name plate would be particularly poignant, as Shackleton renamed the ship before it headed out to sea for his final voyage.

"I've been very fortunate in my career to have found and discovered and documented many, many shipwrecks. This one is very unique because of its history, because of its importance to Canada, to Canada's story," he said.

Shackleton's last voyage aboard Quest left London in 1921 amid great fanfare and was seen off by King George V with crowds lining the Thames. Shackleton had bought the vessel for a planned voyage to the Canadian Arctic but had to cancel it after the Canadian government at the time pulled its support.

He instead headed south on a mapping voyage to the Antarctic in what became the Shackleton-Rowett Expedition. But during the 1922 voyage, Shackleton died in his cabin of a heart attack at age 47, while Quest was anchored off the South Atlantic island of South Georgia, where his grave still lies.

Quest was stripped after the expedition and reverted to its

former role as a Norwegian sealing ship. It sank in the Labrador Sea during a sealing expedition in 1962.

After months of painstaking research to find its likely final location, using historical maps, logs, records and photographs, Mr. Geiger's team found the vessel after five days at sea using sonar.

Mr. Geiger said there was huge international interest in the Canadian team's endeavours and this month he gave the keynote speech at the annual Shackleton dinner at Dulwich College in London, where Shackleton went to school.

"Endurance is the story that everyone knows so well, that is so iconic. It's what built Shackleton's reputation. Without Endurance we wouldn't be talking about Shackleton," he said. "But Quest is just a piece of that puzzle and it's the end of Shackleton. This is where he died, and it's also where the Heroic Age died. So it's very symbolically important."

Mr. Bound and Mr. Geiger said they are planning to commission models of both of Shackleton's ships from an expert maritime model maker.

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# A painterly yet political vision of the world

American artist Firelei Baez's first Canadian solo exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery reinvents using folklore, fantasy and science fiction

HADANI DITMARS

REVIEW

The American painter Firelei Baez's first Canadian solo exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG) contains multitudes. It's an Afro-futurist vision that re-forms the canon even as it pays homage; a painterly yet political expression that reinvents colonial maps and architecture – infusing them with powerful colour and vivacity; and an historical study of the Atlantic basin reimagined through the lens of folklore, fantasy and science fiction.

But the exhibition featuring more than two dozen paintings (some more than 20 feet in length), drawings and sculptural installations, is also a celebration of beauty. The show, which opened last weekend and runs through March, 2025, is Baez's first mid-career survey.

"For a long time in the art world," says VAG's Director of Curatorial Programs Eva Respini, who arrived here in 2023 from the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston (where the exhibition first opened in April), "beauty was a dirty word." It was especially pejorative in a gendered context, she notes.

To drink in Baez's large tableaux in the flesh at the Vancouver Art Gallery – and to gaze at the fine detail, lush colours, studied brush strokes and "Rorschach" style unconscious images fusing animal, vegetable and human – is a nourishing feast for the senses.

In an age of artificial intelligence, there is something comforting in her analog honouring of the tactile qualities of paint and a return to an art form whose golden age was in the 18th century – even as she blows apart ideologies of the same era.

Even if the subject is inspired by horror – such as her installation named after Detroit techno duo Drexciya whose Afrofuturist concept albums from the 1990s and 2000s imagined a utopian underwater world populated by the descendants of pregnant slaves thrown overboard during journeys through the Middle Passage – the result is aesthetically pleasing.

A Drexciya chronocommons (*To win the war you fought it sideways*) is one of the exhibition's highlights and effectively functions as the fourth sibling of three "portal" paintings spaced throughout the show.

Perforated blue tarp (a material often used for shelter following natural disasters, particularly in Haiti and the Dominican Republic where the artist's family is from) allows filtered light to illuminate a womb-like underwater grotto.

Images of Marie-Louise Coidavid – the last Queen of Haiti – and her two daughters act as guardians of a sacred, transformative space. As the viewer exits through a birth canal-like corridor, they become part of the experience.

The other "portal" paintings include two



Firelei Baez's exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery is a mid-career survey that features over two dozen paintings, drawings and sculptural installations. It runs through March, 2025. PHOTOS BY HADANI DITMARS/ THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Entering into Baez's work, it's hard to tell where the portals end and the art begins.

similar looking 2019 works called respectively *Adjusting the Moon* (*The right to non-imperative clarity*): Waning and *Adjusting the Moon* (*The right to non-imperative clarity*): Waxing. Featuring a black body framed in a colonial-style archway concentrically radiating brightly-coloured shafts of light, they channel an Afrofuturist Vitruvian man.

But perhaps the real initial portal is an installation first created for the Perez Museum in Miami called (and yes, Baez's poetic titles speak to her voracious literary appetites) *once we have torn shit down, we will inevitably see more and more differently and*

feel a new sense of wanting and being and becoming.

Located in the gallery's entrance atrium, where Marie Khouri's stylized Arabic calligraphy sculptures once stood, the work reads like an architectural ruin. Embodying commingling layers of 19th-century William Morris-style wallpaper motifs and traditional West African indigo designs, the work is inspired by the ruins of the Sans-Souci Palace – one of the first buildings constructed after the Haitian Revolution. Its tactile, textural nature is enhanced by explicit instructions to touch its surface.

Indeed, entering into Baez's work, it's hard to tell where the portals end and the art begins. Everything is an invitation to access a shape-shifting reimagined world, where women's body parts emerge from colonial maps and a myriad of influences from Persian miniatures to Caribbean mythologies challenge conventional notions of time, space and dominance.

The 2020 work *Temple of Time* explodes European history marked by classical columns with a sun-like sphere radiating Technicolor beams, celebrating the simultaneity of past, present and future.

A painting that could be a self-portrait suggests a meeting between Octavia Butler and Lewis Carroll. A black female figure with a face of flowers lies down in reverie reading a book by the Afrofuturist writer who has so influenced Baez. This is surely Firelei in Wonderland.

Baez's wall size installation *Man Without a Country* (*aka anthropophagist wading in the Artibonite River*) (2014–15), is an encyclopedic, phantasmagorical kind of book art, employing 225 pages sourced from late 19th century texts on the history of Hispaniola – the Caribbean island that is divided between the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

The pages are used as supports for drawings depicting magical creatures and maps of fantastical landscapes born of Caribbean mythology and the artist's imagination – fusing folkloric motifs with academic writing. It is an historical diorama for our times.

Fused onto the grand neo-classical architecture of the gallery's Georgia Street façade, a site specific banner installation by Baez manages to simultaneously embrace, challenge and transcend the legacy of the building that was once a provincial courthouse.

*Truth was the bridge (or an emancipatory healing)* (2024) features a *ciguapa* – a legendary Dominican wild woman who consumes men as prey and is a recurring symbol of female power in Baez's work. Perched over a map on the left panel, while a tidal wave on the right crashes towards the centre, the work is an invitation to re-imagine colonial histories for future generations.

"Vancouver," Baez tells The Globe of her inspiration for the banner, "has this other sense of time. This is epic water space – closer to Japan than Europe. It's a place of potentiality. The waters of the Pacific hold the whole world together."

While Baez's sources are normally from the Atlantic basin, says Respini, her work is about "a reorientation of the Americas." This has resonance locally, she notes, and "introduces Vancouver to a larger conversation."

Special to The Globe and Mail

## What So Long, Marianne got right about Cohen's relationship with his muse

J. KELLY NESTRUCK

TELEVISION



There were moments where I felt passionately in love with the show and breathlessly awaited our weekly rendezvous.

This was particularly the case in the early days of our courtship. I was heads over heels during the initial episodes set on the Greek island of Hydra – and shot on location in its famously golden light, which made co-stars Alex Wolff and Thea Sofie Loch Naess seem like they were, indeed, in a

love story for the ages.

The depiction of the expat community of artists that congregated on Hydra in the 1960s made *So Long, Marianne* feel like a high-end ensemble drama.

After Marianne escaped her abusive marriage to the cheating Norwegian writer Axel Jensen (Jonas Strand Gravli), father to her son, Axel Jr., Leonard's courtship of the single mother and the first bloom of their affair was put

in contrast with the tortured open marriage of Australian novelists Charmain Clift (Anna Torv) and George Johnston (Noah Taylor).

But then there were the parts of *So Long, Marianne* that gave me "the ick" – an expression for a sudden turn-off popularized by Netflix's *Nobody Wants This*, another show about a relationship between a Jewish man and a gentle woman.

The writing got iffy in the fourth episode; Wolff and Naess's performances suddenly felt contrived and shallow, respectively. Was this a show I wanted to commit to for the long run?

I took a break; I thought it would be best if I saw other TV dramas for a bit.

But something had seduced me enough to return.

The most off-putting scenes came later on another island, Manhattan, as Cohen pivoted to singer-songwriter in search of fortune and maybe fame.

Lou Reed and Andy Warhol seemed as if they'd stepped out of a *Saturday Night Live* sketch – and then there was the uncouth decision to show the sex act between Janis Joplin and Leonard that is described in his song *Chelsea Hotel #2*. It was hard to square these crass caricatures with the deeply human characters met on Hydra.

In between the highs and lows, there were *So Long, Marianne*'s scenes set on a third island: Montreal. These were shot in black and white until Marianne showed up with Axel Jr. in response to Leonard's famous telegram – "Have house, all I need is my woman and her son" – and his hometown burst into colour.

Swedish actor Peter Stormare sounded nothing like the Canadian poet Irving Layton, but he nailed the energy of a toxic artistic mentor who offers encouragement to a young man professionally, but steers him wrong personally.

In the Montreal sequences, cameos were done the right way – with Suzanne Verdal, the subject of Leonard's song *Suzanne*, simply dancing at a party, for instance.

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# Don't blame Taylor Swift for her triumphal middlebrow march around the Earth

We are all at fault for the enormous vacant space in cultural history the phenomenon represents

CATHAL KELLY

OPINION



It helps to remember that it isn't Taylor Swift's fault she's this famous.

Like everyone else in the music business, she records albums, she tours them and, in between, she absorbs as much attention as she can manage. On a scale of musical impact, Swift is somewhere north of Barry Manilow and south of Elton John. She's a less interesting Diana Ross, or a Madonna with better business instincts.

She's not to blame. It's us. We're at fault for the enormous vacant space in cultural history she represents.

The consensus is what tips you off. In a time defined by division, everyone can agree that Taylor Swift is fine. Left, right, the restive working class, rich-kid revolutionaries – none of them are going to turn the dial when *All Too Well* comes on.

Fine has its place. Every movie that will be nominated for a best picture Oscar this year will be fine.

But fine should not be on a triumphal march around the Earth, rattling local economies and renaming the infrastructure as it passes. Swift has outgrown the natural boundaries her creative output should occupy. She is swamping the new, the weird and the potentially better than fine.

Six nights in Toronto is another portent of mediocrity. Perhaps your first reaction upon hearing it was, "Rhinestone Jesus is coming for a week of shows? Is it possible we've arrived?" Sadly, no – it's that we have a high tolerance for schmaltz and decent air transfer options.

Forty-odd years ago, the Clash played what was then the O'Keefe Centre. It did not go smoothly. The next day, their road manager, Vinyl Cosmo, was in the auditorium assessing the damage. Cameras caught him on stage counting broken seats: "One, two, three, four ... 16." We're not talking rickety modern Ikea jobs. These were metal-shelled captain's chairs, bolted to concrete and torn out nonetheless. "Sixteen rock'n'roll fans in North America," Cosmo said, with more than a hint of curled lip. But whatever its faults as a music town, Toronto then had a little edge.

Now, Toronto is the gig you play when you couldn't find a decent place to stay in Newark. Swift knows she will find her people here. The ones willing to fork out six months rent for three hours of entertainment for the whole family. She will be – and there can be no higher aspiration for an artist these days – accepted.

Information about her has become inescapable, as happens anywhere Swift travels. She's in every section of the newspaper, all of the time. She hasn't set foot here yet and I am no longer aware of anyone else in the city.

No artist has ever experienced this kind of totalizing coverage. Not the Beatles, not no one. As usual, blame the internet. Swift racks up views like no contemporary artist ever has. Hence this es-



Taylor Swift, shown performing in Los Angeles in August, brings her much-anticipated Eras Tour to Toronto for six performances at the Rogers Centre starting on Thursday. CHRIS PIZZELLO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

say, and thousands like it.

Popularity isn't a stain on an artistic record. At least, that's what people keep saying, which doesn't make it any less wrong.

Popular is good for business. Unpopular is good for art. We've lost track of the distinction.

Contemporary music long ago ran out of ideas. Swiftism represents something more ambitious – the point at which we begin to actively reject them.

She is the first artist to rerecord several albums, and have all those former No. 1s go No. 1 again. We've stopped moving in circles so that we can stop moving altogether.

Swift's natural constituency is the same as any other pop musical act's – kids. She is a charismatic presence who talks about unserious things on a teenage level. You are meant to like this stuff when you're 15, Twenty is stretching it. By 25, it's nostalgia, or should be.

A year-old Morning Consult survey broke down the demographics of Swift fans. Nearly half of them are millennials. One in five are Gen Xers. Nearly a full quarter – 23 per cent – are boomers. Which is not to say young people don't like Swift, but that too many old people do.

All the grown-ups who refuse to leave childhood spaces have already ruined fashion, movies and a wild night out. Now they're tearing down music, using love of Taylor Swift as the jackhammer.

I used to work with a smart guy who would say, "There are no guilty pleasures. Only pleasures." Which is true, unless all of your pleasures should make you feel a little guilty.

Some of what you absorb should not be for everyone. I'm not talking smut. I'm talking things that are difficult. One must occasionally engage in matters that require effort, and provide no succour. Read some Roberto Bolaño. That'll make you feel terrible and/or confused, but in a useful way.

Unfortunately, effort is out. A looping cycle of anxiety and comfort are in. We're all snuggled up at home, rueing where things are headed, self-soothing while history happens around us. What's the soundtrack to that feeling? A 40,000-person singalong to *Bad Blood*. The banality of the song is sanctified by the ease with which anyone can memorize the chorus.

Six nights in Toronto is another portent of mediocrity. Perhaps your first reaction upon hearing it was, "Rhinestone Jesus is coming for a week of shows? Is it possible we've arrived?" Sadly, no – it's that we have a high tolerance for schmaltz and decent air transfer options.

Financial Times' columnist Janan Ganesh calls this "the middlebrow trap" – believing that cultural junk can be redeemed as long as it was thrifted. Its fans are the same people who have bought the conceit that *Succession* "is what Shakespeare would be writing now instead of *King Lear*."

Swift and her contemporaries aren't middlebrow masquerading as highbrow. They're something worse. They're middlebrow done up like lowbrow.

Lowbrow isn't trying to teach you anything or Make A Big Point. It's stupid fun. Swift is instead a homeschooling singalong. Today a billionaire is going to remind you that you have no excuse not to love yourself. You're going to *learn* something here, whether you'd like to or not.

The hegemonic influence of her increasingly-difficult-to-tell-apart oeuvre represents lassitude

and a lack of vitality. She is whatever they were playing in Rome that summer the Visigoths toured Italy.

Again – not Swift's fault. How could she know that she'd make some perfectly decent modern folk music – the sort Gillian Welch has been doing for years, and better, but no one cares because she doesn't date actors – and that the whole world would start gathering around her like the oracle at Nashville.

One thing to be said for her catalogue: It is suited to its time and place. People will always associate her chipper, almost-self-aware hits in contrast with the numbing political moment. She's to Trumpism what Bob Dylan was to the excesses of the sixties – its unwilling spokesperson.

While in other moments of exciting disorder, the Western world has had brutalist opera or hip hop to groove it to the barricades. Now they've got Taylor's Version and maybe they'll just stay in this weekend. It's getting scary out there.

The important thing is that you not let the end of civilization 2.0 harsh your vibe. Previous generations believed progress must be won in blood. Today, we engage in that combat via Ticketmaster. Others had their beliefs. We have our buying power.

To be there when Swift shows up on Thursday proves that you were of your time. You danced like no one was watching (while filming yourself so that everyone you know could watch). You knew the holy words. You sang them along with all the other middle-aged converts.

If there were another option out there, it'd be a little sad and kind of funny, but not in the ha-ha way. But there isn't. It's wall-to-wall pop without length, breadth or depth.

Is this what socialized democracy was always headed toward – church without the guilt? A place where coolness counts against you? I guess so.

Meanwhile, somewhere out there, away from this grubby mercantilism, something new is brewing. You and I don't know about it. That's a good thing, because we'd ruin it. We'd get out our cultural whittling knife and mainstream it until it was smooth, unthreatening and easy to scale. Then we'd send it on tour.

Whatever it is, it won't be Western. Or, at least, not part of the Western tradition. For now, that one has run its course. It needs to leech some power from elsewhere.

Jackie Brenston and his Delta Cats recorded *Rocket 88* in 1951. Most people agree that is the start of rock 'n' roll. As far as the musical arts go, pop music is the youngest of the siblings, and the most beloved. It's been on a steady upward march since the fifties, redefining, re-redefining and re-redefining how we communicate.

There was at some point bound to be a creative collapse. This is it. It's rolling through town now.

But the momentum built up over years is such that we're cresting the peak. In lieu of a disturbing, protean music to represent the dissatisfaction felt by every side of the current politics, we've gone all in on the shopping mall soundtrack.

Don't try saying you don't get the whole thing with Taylor Swift, or that she's okay, but not for you. It's not going to work. Unlike with Michael Jackson or the Backstreet Boys, it is no longer possible to define yourself in opposition to the era's most talked about artist. Nobody's doing anything different. Nobody who's even thinking of trying can catch any momentum.

Taylor Swift isn't to blame for that, but she's the current cause. As life gets too much for many – as if it wasn't always thus – she is the single, authoritative act who provides the idea-free binge everyone can get lost in.

## Cohen: The series is an attempt to reckon with a major Canadian cultural figure

FROM A20

And it was a thrill, for McGill University grads at least, to watch a scene actually shot inside Leacock 132 – the site of a reading from the newly published succès de scandale *Beautiful Losers*.

In the brutalist corridors outside that lecture hall, Layton delivers one of the most amusing meta lines of the show: "You're too clever for our beloved CBC."

So *Long, Marianne* was, of course, co-commissioned by Bell Media's Crave, not the public broadcaster.

For all its unevenness, the series is at least an attempt to honestly reckon with who this major Canadian cultural figure was – and the conservative/bohemian contraction at the heart of him. "If Leonard sometimes ap-

peared to court domesticity, he also ran from it," is how biographer Sylvie Simmons summarized it.

Since Canada prefers to consume stories of its heritage in minutes, naturally it took a European to put together an eight-part series. Oystein Karlsen – showrunner of the Canada-Norwegian-Greek co-production – made a valiant attempt to balance the story of an internationally beloved male artist on the rise with that of the woman who remains best known as his "muse."

But a better title for the show would have been Leonard's original one for his song that immortalized their relationship: *Come On, Marianne!* By the fifth episode, it's clear that what she wants – a life with Leonard and more children with him – is not

what he wants and you just want to yell that at her.

It's hard to think of a more damning scene than the one where Marianne has had a miscarriage in Montreal – and Leonard shows up at her bedside and starts complaining about not having won a Governor-General's Literary Award. (Oystein could have made it doubly damning by showing him, later, turning down the GG when he eventually won it.)

It might have been more satisfying to end things after one more episode – but there were three more to go, and many more trips back and forth to Hydra. That ultimately makes *So Long, Marianne* true to the kind of exhausting on-and-off relationship it depicts, however. I was glad when it was over; I was sorry when it was over



Alex Wolff, right, plays Leonard Cohen in Crave's *So Long, Marianne*, a series about the Canadian icon and his muse Marianne Ihlen, played by Thea Sofie Loch Næss. NIKOS-NIKOLOPOULOS/ CRAVE

# Jordan timelines meant to speed up justice also halt hundreds of criminal cases across Canada

Since the beginning of last year, more than 400 cases countrywide have been dismissed, stayed or withdrawn as a result of challenges: statistics

DARRYL GREER

When police turned up at Melanie Hatton's home in Kelowna, B.C., in November, 2021, she says they found her in the bathroom covered in blood, with her then-husband Jeffrey Maclean standing over her "in an aggressive manner."

She describes a gruesome scene in a court filing, with blood from her head wound allegedly smeared on Mr. Maclean's mouth from his whispering in her ear. The filing in a civil lawsuit against Mr. Maclean says he told a 911 operator his wife was "bleeding like a pig."

Ms. Hatton said police and prosecutors told her that the criminal case against Mr. Maclean in B.C. Supreme Court would be a "slam dunk," and he was charged with assault causing bodily harm and resisting arrest.

But the case was thrown out in August, 2023 - not for a lack of evidence, but because the Crown took too long to bring it to trial under a set of strict timelines that have reshaped the way criminal cases are handled since a landmark 2016 ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Supporters say the so-called Jordan ruling has sped up proceedings and strengthened Charter rights for prompt justice.

But the legacy of Jordan is mixed, and some victims say the time limits work in criminals' favour. Eight years into the rules, cases continue to collapse because the time limits are breached, although these represent a small fraction of all cases.

A review of statistics provided by provinces and territories shows that since the beginning of last year, more than 400 criminal cases countrywide have been dismissed, stayed or withdrawn as a result of Jordan challenges.

Among the defendants were some accused of sexual assault, child exploitation, fraud and drug trafficking; murder cases have also been thrown out in previous years.

The case against Mr. Maclean was among those dropped.



Cait Alexander, founder of End Violence Everywhere, appears as a witness at a House of Commons standing committee on the Status of Women in Ottawa in October. SEAN KILPATRICK/THE CANADIAN PRESS

Ms. Hatton said she was thrown into "an absolute pit of despair and shame" after the case was thrown out.

Prosecutors blamed factors including COVID-19 and the availability of Mr. Maclean's lawyer for the delays and the failure of the case.

Ms. Hatton thought otherwise, and sent a one-line e-mail to the Crown prosecutor.

"I said, 'This is on you,'" said Ms. Hatton, who now lives in Ontario with the couple's two children.

None of the allegations in Ms. Hatton's civil suit against Mr. Maclean have been proven or tested in court, and in his response, Mr. Maclean "denies each and every allegation."

The Jordan ruling imposed "a presumptive ceiling" of 18 months between charge and the actual or anticipated end of a trial in provincial court, and 30 months in superior courts.

Barring "exceptional circumstances," exceeding those limits was deemed by the country's top court to breach the Canadian Charter, which requires that criminal defendants "be tried within a reasonable time."

Exactly how long "reasonable" meant was unclear until the high court's ruling in R. v. Jordan.

The case would upend criminal law practice countrywide, but B.C. lawyer Tony Paisana, who was involved in the trial, didn't know just how significant it

would be at the time.

"Looking back, it's certainly difficult to say that we, any of us, really expected this to come out the way that it did and how revolutionary it was going to be," he said in an interview.

The case started modestly enough in December, 2008, with the arrest of an alleged drug dealer named Barrett Jordan in Langley, B.C., along with a number of others who police accused of running a "dial-a-dope" operation.

It took more than four years from Mr. Jordan being charged to the end of his original trial.

He unsuccessfully argued that his Charter rights to a timely trial had been breached in both the B.C. Supreme Court and Court of Appeal before it ended up in the Supreme Court of Canada.

Mr. Paisana and colleagues Eric Gottardi and Richard Peck argued that the right to a timely trial went back hundreds of years, quoting the 1215 Magna Carta in their submissions.

Mr. Paisana said the high court's decision in Jordan "completely achieved its intended objective, which was to speed up criminal trials."

"And to have various judicial participants, that being the judge, the Crown, the defence, the accused, everyone start paying attention to the timeliness of trials," he said.

"It was a chronic problem that existed in our system and Jordan

was what we call in the law a 'clarion call' to change the culture that surrounded criminal trials."

He said cases were stayed for unreasonable delays before this case, but Jordan established new thresholds.

"There's just a greater confidence in the justice system when things are resolved more quickly," he said. "I think it's a net positive effect that the judgments had. It's not without its controversy, but nothing that we do without its controversy, frankly."

The debate over Jordan was reignited in B.C. this summer, after a case was dismissed against a man accused of molesting a six-year-old.

Premier David Eby said at the time it was owing to a "perfect storm" of delays, and that "not one case should be dismissed this way."

The Jordan deadlines, he said, had been "very restrictive" and "devastating in other provinces."

Among at least 409 Jordan challenges that ended cases across Canada since the start of last year were 26 in B.C., involving allegations ranging from fraud, to theft, drug and weapons offences and sexual assault.

"Every case that is judicially stayed due to delay is a concern. Victims and the public expect to see cases determined on their merits and not dismissed because of unreasonable delay," the B.C. Ministry of Attorney-General

said in a statement.

"We have taken this issue seriously and invested in transforming processes and increasing resources to prevent judicial stays," the statement said.

In Mr. Maclean's case, the B.C. Supreme Court found in August, 2023, that his trial had been set "well beyond the Jordan limits," through no fault of the defence, nor any delay caused by COVID-19 interruptions of court operations.

"If the Crown had not failed in its disclosure obligations," the judge wrote, "the matter would have likely concluded within the Jordan limits."

Former Toronto resident Cait Alexander, a Canadian model and actress now living in Los Angeles, founded the group End Violence Everywhere after an abusive relationship nearly ended her life, alleging her ex-partner brutally beat her with a wooden rolling pin in July, 2021.

Multiple charges were stayed because delays, and Ms. Alexander said she felt "disgusting" after having received assurances from prosecutors that the case would go ahead.

She said the only consequence against her ex-boyfriend - who was originally charged with assault causing bodily harm, uttering threats, obstruction and other offences - was a peace bond, and she left the country in fear of her safety.

Ms. Alexander testified before the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women this past July, recounting stories of survivors including Ms. Hatton, whose experience she called "harrowingly similar" to her own.

In her testimony, Ms. Alexander told members of the committee that the "government doesn't care" about survivors and victims of intimate partner violence.

"We, as Canadians, have Charter rights that are essentially a 'get out of jail free' card for criminals, but what about survivors' rights? Why are our Charter rights never accounted for?" she testified.

Like Ms. Hatton, she's suing her ex-boyfriend because it's "the only form of legal justice I have left," she told the committee.

Ms. Alexander testified to the committee again last week, telling members that Jordan timelines shouldn't apply in cases of sexual assault or intimate partner violence.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

## WORLD FORECAST

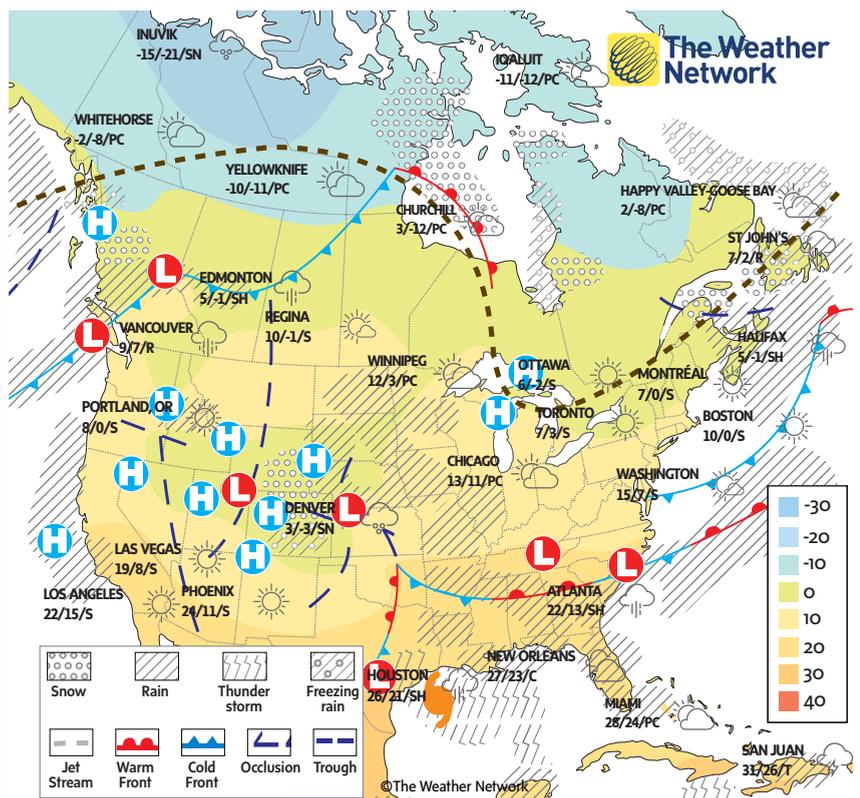
Table with 4 columns: City, Today, Tomorrow, Monday. Lists weather forecasts for cities like Amsterdam, Athens, Bangkok, Beijing, Berlin, Brussels, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Jerusalem, Las Vegas, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Miami, Moscow, New Delhi, New York, Nice, Orlando, Paris, Phoenix, Rome, San Francisco, Seoul, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Washington.

## LEGEND

Legend for weather symbols: Cloudy, Fog, Freezing Rain, Haze, Not Available, Partly Cloudy, Rain, Rain/Snow, Sun, Snow, Snow Flurries, Showers, Thunderstorms, Windy.

## NATIONAL FORECAST

Table with 4 columns: City, Today, Tomorrow, Monday. Lists weather forecasts for Canadian cities like Banff, Barrie, Brandon, Calgary, Charlottetown, Chicoutimi, Churchill, Corner Brook, Cornwall, Edmonton, Halifax, Hamilton, Huntsville, Iqaluit, Jasper, Kelowna, Kingston, London, Montreal, Niagara Falls, North Bay, Ottawa, Prince George, Peterborough, Quebec, Regina, Saskatoon, Saucy Ste Marie, Saint John, Sept-les, St. John's, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Toronto, Val-d'Or, Vancouver, Victoria, Whistler, Winnipeg, Yellowknife.



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# Dozens of monkeys on run from South Carolina lab

Forty-three rhesus macaques made a break for it Wednesday after an employee didn't fully lock a door as she fed them, officials said

JEFFREY COLLINS  
DYLAN LOVAN  
BEN FINLEY COLUMBIA, S.C.

Forty-three monkeys bred for medical research that escaped a compound in South Carolina have been spotted in the woods near the site and workers are using food to try to recapture them, authorities said Friday.

The Rhesus macaques made a break for it Wednesday after an employee at the Alpha Genesis facility in Yemassee didn't fully lock a door as she fed and checked on them, officials said.

"They are very social monkeys and they travel in groups, so when the first couple go out the door the others tend to just follow right along," Alpha Genesis chief executive officer Greg Westergaard told CBS News.

Mr. Westergaard said his main goal is to have the monkeys returned safely with no other problems. "I think they are having an adventure," he said.

The monkeys on Friday were exploring the outer fence of the Alpha Genesis compound and are cooing at the monkeys inside, police said in a statement.

"The primates are exhibiting calm and playful behaviour, which is a positive indication," the police statement said, adding company workers are closely watching the monkeys while keeping their distance as they work to safely recapture them.

The monkeys are about the size of a cat. They are all females weighing about three kilograms.

Alpha Genesis, federal health officials and police all said the monkeys pose no risk to public health. The facility breeds the monkeys to sell to medical and



Rhesus macaques on Friday were seen exploring the outer fence of the Alpha Genesis compound in Yemassee, S.C., and cooing at the monkeys inside, police said in a statement. JOHN RAOUX/AP

other researchers.

"They are not infected with any disease whatsoever. They are harmless and a little skittish," Yemassee Police Chief Gregory Alexander said Thursday.

Authorities still recommend that people who live near the compound shut their windows and doors and call 911 if they see the monkeys. Approaching them could make them more skittish and harder to capture, officials said.

Eve Cooper, a biology professor at the University of Colorado Boulder who has studied rhesus macaques, said the animals have the potential to be dangerous and urged people to keep their distance.

Rhesus macaques monkeys can be aggressive. And some carry the herpes B virus, which can be fatal to humans, Prof. Cooper said.

However, Alpha Genesis states on its website that it specializes in pathogen-free primates. Prof. Cooper noted that there are pathogen-free populations of rhesus macaques that have been

quarantined and tested.

"I would give them a wide berth," Prof. Cooper said. "They're unpredictable animals. And they can behave quite aggressively when they're afraid."

Alpha Genesis provides primates for research worldwide at its compound about 80 kilometres northeast of Savannah, Ga., according to its website.

Locally, it is known as "the monkey farm." And there is more amusement than panic around Yemassee and its population of about 1,100 just off Interstate 95 about 3 km from Auldbrass Plantation, a Frank Lloyd Wright house designed in the 1930s.

There have been escapes before, but the monkeys haven't caused problems, said William McCoy, who owns Lowcountry Horology, a clock and watch repair shop.

"They normally come home because that's where the food is," he said.

Mr. McCoy has lived in Yemassee for about two years and while he plans to stay away from the monkeys, he has his own light-

hearted plan to get them back.

"I'm stocking up bananas, maybe they'll show up," Mr. McCoy said.

The Alpha Genesis compound is regularly inspected by federal officials.

In 2018, the U.S. Department of Agriculture fined Alpha Genesis US\$12,600 in part after officials said 26 primates escaped from the Yemassee facility in 2014 and an additional 19 got out in 2016.

The company's fine was also issued because of individual monkey escapes as well as the killing of one monkey by others when it was placed in the wrong social group, according to a report from the USDA.

The group Stop Animal Exploitation Now sent a letter Thursday to the USDA asking the agency to immediately send an inspector to the Alpha Genesis facility, conduct a thorough investigation and treat them as a repeated violator. The group was involved in the 2018 fine against the company.

"The clear carelessness which

allowed these 40 monkeys to escape endangered not only the safety of the animals, but also put the residents of South Carolina at risk," wrote Michael Budkie, executive director of the group.

The USDA, which has inspected the compound 10 times since 2020, didn't immediately respond to the letter.

The facility's most recent federal inspection in May showed there were about 6,700 primates on site and no issues.

In a 2022 review, federal veterinarians reported two animals died when their fingers were trapped in structures and they were exposed to harsh weather. They also found cages weren't adequately secure. Inspectors said criminal charges, civil penalties or other sanctions could follow if the problems weren't fixed.

Since then, Alpha Genesis has undergone six inspections with minor problems reported only once.

In January, 2023, the USDA said temperatures were out of the 7.2-to-29.5 C required range at some of the compound's monkey cages. The inspection found mouldy food in one bin, sharp edges on a gate that could cut an animal and sludge, food waste, used medical supplies, mechanical equipment, and general construction debris on the grounds.

Supporters of medical research involving non-human primates said they are critical to life-saving medical advances such as creating vaccines against COVID-19 because of their similarities to people. Keeping a domestic supply of the animals is critical to prevent shortages for U.S. researchers.

Humans have been using the rhesus macaque for scientific research since the late 1800s. Scientists believe that rhesus macaques and humans split from a common ancestor about 25 million years ago and share about 93 per cent of the same DNA.

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*Martin Daniel interiors*

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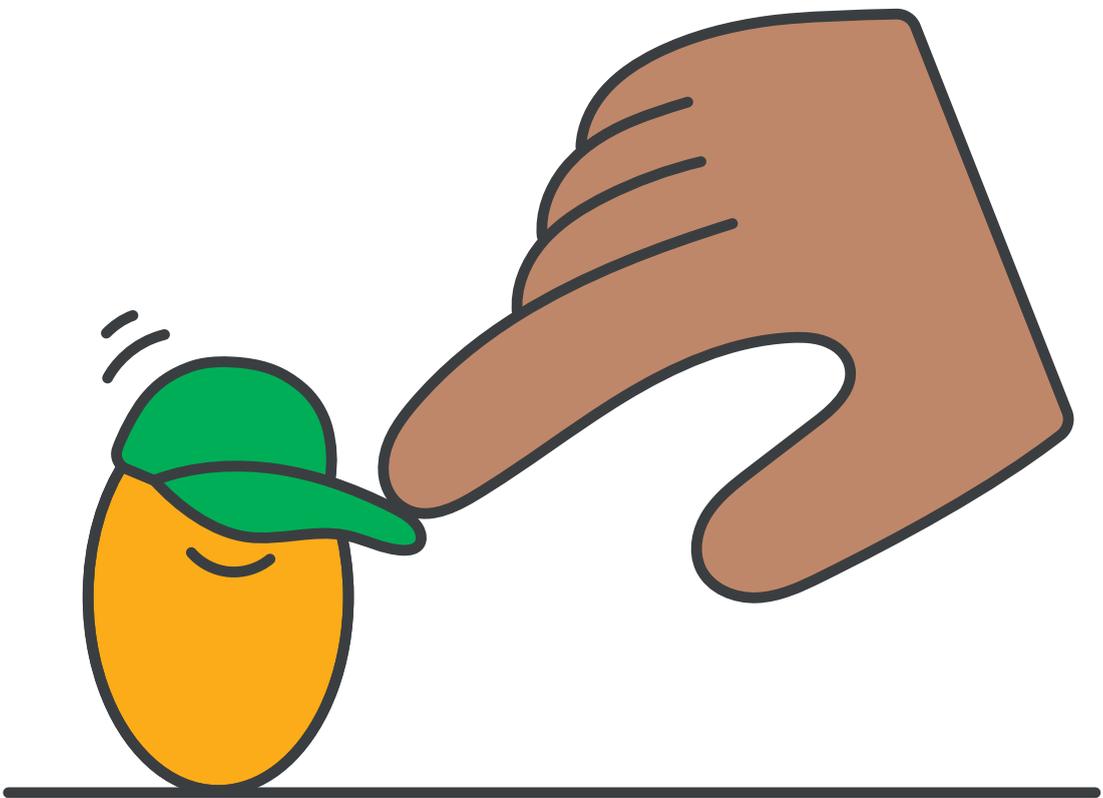
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# Weak October hiring keeps unemployment rate at 6.5% ■ B2

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COVER STORY

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**Rendell/Kirby** A failure to diversify exports leaves Canada uniquely exposed to a U.S.-led trade war ■ B7

**Rapley** Enjoy the economic boom that Trump will unleash. It may not be here for long ■ B2

**Shufelt** How an inflation crisis reshaped the U.S. political landscape ■ B12

**Berman** The outlook for renewable energy might not be as dire as some investors fear ■ B12

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## Bell's U.S. ambitions started with thwarted bid for Frontier

ANDREW WILLIS  
IRENE GALEA

On Monday, Bell Canada parent **BCE Inc.** surprised investors and triggered a sell-off in its stock by launching a U.S. expansion strategy anchored on the \$5-billion acquisition of high-speed internet provider Ziplify Fiber.

But, since then, it's become clear Bell had far loftier ambitions in the rapidly growing U.S. sector. Executives at the Montreal-based telecom spent six months pursuing a supersized prize, Dallas-based Frontier Communications Parent Inc.

In the final round of the auction for Frontier in early September, Verizon Communications Inc. topped Bell and won the company with a US\$20-billion offer, according to regulatory filings and four sources familiar with the transaction. The Globe and Mail agreed not to name the sources because they are not permitted to speak for the companies.

■ BELL, B10

### MARKETS

|                |              |               |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| ▼ S&P/TSX      | 24,759.40    | -86.53        |
| ▲ DOW          | 43,988.99    | +259.65       |
| ▲ S&P 500      | 5,995.54     | +22.44        |
| ▲ NASDAQ       | 19,286.78    | +17.32        |
| ▼ DOLLAR       | 71.88/1.3913 | -0.24/+0.0047 |
| ▼ GOLD (oz.)   | US\$2,694.80 | -11.00        |
| ▼ OIL (WTI)    | US\$70.38    | -1.98         |
| ▼ GCAN (10-YR) | 3.18%        | -0.03         |

### COMPANIES

|                                |       |     |
|--------------------------------|-------|-----|
| BCE                            | ..... | B13 |
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| SUPERIOR PLUS                  | ..... | B13 |
| TELUS                          | ..... | B11 |
| TESLA                          | ..... | B13 |
| TRULIEVE CANNABIS              | ..... | B13 |
| TRUMP MEDIA & TECHNOLOGY GROUP | ..... | B13 |

## Alberta names senior bureaucrat Gilmour to lead AIMCo

JAMES BRADSHAW  
CARRIE TAIT

Alberta's government appointed a long-time provincial bureaucrat to lead its \$169-billion public-sector pension fund, choosing a trusted official to steer the arm's-length investment manager after ousting its top leaders en masse.

The province's most senior public servant, Ray Gilmour, will lead Alberta Investment Management Corp. as interim chief executive officer. The province dismissed AIMCo's 10-member board as well as previous CEO Evan Siddall and other senior executives on Thursday.

The provincial government said it plans to "reset the investment corporation's focus" and to restore confidence in its leadership, citing rising costs as a trigger for the changes. It described Mr. Gilmour as a steady hand to keep the pension fund on course until a new board is in place.

■ AIMCO, B8

## SPORTS

**HOCKEY** Tampa Bay shows the value of changing top players, Cathal Kelly writes ■ B16

**FOOTBALL** Regina Rams looking for another upset victory in Vanier Cup playoffs ■ B17

**SOCCER** Winger Tajon Buchanan back with Canada after recovering from broken leg ■ B18

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# Supporting artists through microgrants

Koyama Provides has distributed more than \$700,000 to emerging talent across the world

PAUL WALDIE

PITCHING IN

**The organizer:** Annie Koyama

**The pitch:** Founding Koyama Provides

**The reason:** To provide microgrants to artists

Annie Koyama will never forget the day doctors told her she was going to die.

It was back in 2005. She'd been sent home with a brain aneurysm and given a couple of months to live. But she insisted that doctors try a novel surgery.

"I had a risky surgery, and I survived it," Ms. Koyama, 70, recalled from her home in Toronto.

She'd been working as a documentary filmmaker at the time, but after she recovered from the operation she wanted to support emerging artists. With that in mind, she launched Koyama



Annie Koyama, 70, says she is 'trying to fill the gaps' for up-and-coming artists by offering them small grants between \$1,500 and \$5,000. She picks each recipient herself. GALIT RODAN/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Press in 2007, which specialized in graphic novels and alternative comics. In addition to running the business, Ms. Koyama used the money she'd made from some shrewd investments to pro-

vide small grants to up-and-coming illustrators.

"That sort of grew and I never stopped doing that. But I didn't talk about it for a long time because I didn't want to take

away anything from publicizing the books that we made," she said.

She closed the publishing business four years ago but continued offering the grants. "I wanted to

make it a more formal thing. So I just changed the name from Koyama Press to Koyama Provides."

Since then she's been providing small amounts – usually between \$1,500 and \$5,000 – to artists in Canada, the United States, Britain and the Caribbean. "What I'm doing is trying to fill the gaps," she said. "I know how hard it is."

So far she has distributed more than 150 grants worth around \$700,000 in total.

Ms. Koyama decides on each recipient herself and funds everything from her savings. "I don't do any fundraising," she said. "I call them microgrants."

She has no criteria beyond supporting people she believes have talent and there are no rules about how the money is spent. Some artists have used the grants to publish books, cover travel costs, buy supplies, pay rent or even to cover health care costs and child care.

She hopes to set an example and encourage others who have the means to do something similar. "It's incredibly rewarding. It's not a lot of money, but it can go far," she said.

pwaldie@globeandmail.com

## Enjoy the economic boom under Trump, because it may not be here for long

JOHN RAPLEY

OPINION

Author and academic who divides his time among London, Johannesburg and Ottawa. His books include *Why Empires Fall* (Yale University Press, 2023) and *Twilight of the Money Gods* (Simon and Schuster, 2017).

Hold onto your hats, the economy of a second Trump presidency could get wild – and not necessarily in a good way.

After winning the U.S. election this week, Mr. Trump will be impatient to make the tax cuts implemented during his first administration permanent, while lifting regulations in the financial, energy and technology sectors. That will boost corporate profits and provide a further injection of stimulus to the economy.

Meanwhile, tariffs will support domestic manufacturers, who will be in a position to meet the higher wage demands that will probably result from the reduced labour supply that tighter borders will bring. Higher wages will, in turn, support overall demand, prolonging the American economic expansion. Already, in anticipation of this, the stock market leapt to record highs on Wednesday, as investors bought shares in companies they expect to thrive.

So the Trump presidency will probably begin with an economic bang. In the short term, this will probably be good for the Canadian economy, since it will stir demand for exports, not least because the strong U.S. dollar will make Canadian goods cheap south of the border. But look a bit further down the road, and the outlook starts to look less clear.

Canada may face a peculiar set of challenges when its trade deal with the U.S. and Mexico comes up for renewal in 2026, as Mr. Trump will no doubt push for a harder bargain. But by then, an even bigger challenge may have arisen in the cycle of the U.S. economy. That's because all of the measures to boost growth will also provoke inflation, which is already running above the Federal Reserve's target.

That rise in inflation was also anticipated in Wednesday's market action: Although stocks and crypto surged – the latter because Mr. Trump went out of his way during the campaign to appeal to the sector – bond prices fell. That's an indication that investors doubt the fiscal health of the government, and that has a big impact.

Falling bond prices translate into rising yields, which means the interest rate the U.S. government must pay on its debt is going up. When interest rates on the government's debt rise, they go up across the board.

Potentially worsening matters is that if Mr. Trump's tax cuts become permanent, the impact on the fiscal deficit will put the national debt on an even sharper upward path. The government

will be forced to sell even more bonds to cover its expenses, flooding a market in which investors will demand ever-higher returns.

The eventual rise in interest rates will be proportionate to the scale of the preceding economic boom. The longer the boom continues, and the more asset prices rise, the higher interest rates are likely to go. That will create problems outside the U.S., since rising interest rates stateside will drag them higher elsewhere. Canada has already experienced this impact, with yields on government bonds rising alongside those of the United States, running against the course of the Bank of Canada's easing policy.

That would eventually boomerang on the U.S. Higher interest rates will crimp economic recoveries, with European economies being especially vulnerable since they are already so weak. Continued economic sluggishness in its trade partners will thus limit demand for American exports, which will complicate Mr. Trump's aim to raise them.

Canada may face a peculiar set of challenges when its trade deal with the U.S. and Mexico comes up for renewal in 2026, as Donald Trump will no doubt push for a harder bargain.

Higher interest rates in the United States would eventually hamper growth there as well. With mortgage and credit-card rates rising, consumers will be forced to rein in their spending. Ultimately, a tipping point could come at which investors anticipate a slowdown and dump stocks, causing a market crash. Unless Mr. Trump moderates his stated plans once in office, the risk that this happens must be assumed. The question is whether the crash happens before or after Mr. Trump finishes his term.

But there is no question that this is the trajectory. A second Trump administration will be more coherent and focused than the first. Mr. Trump learned from his experience that time not to trust experts who were more committed to the institutions of the state than to him. This time around, he will fill his cabinet with loyalists who'll do his bidding. Then, with only one term in which to act, he'll move quickly.

Americans who voted for Mr. Trump often cited the high cost of living and mortgage rates as the reasons they turned on Democrats. The irony is the economy might get too much of a boost from Mr. Trump, which ultimately exacerbates both. The great American satirist H.L. Mencken once said that "democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want and deserve to get it good and hard." Americans may in due course find out that adage still holds.

## Weak hiring sees Canada's unemployment rate hold steady at 6.5% in October

NOJOU AL MALLEES OTTAWA

The Canadian job market posted another weak hiring month in October as employers added a modest 15,000 jobs, but economists say the results aren't bad enough to spark concerns at the Bank of Canada.

Statistics Canada's labour force survey on Friday said the unemployment rate held steady at 6.5 per cent.

Business, building and support services saw the largest gain in employment.

Meanwhile, finance, insurance, real estate, rental and leasing experienced the largest decline.

Brendon Bernard, a senior economist at hiring website Indeed, said October brought "more of the same" for the labour market.

"Employment eked out modest gains, once again swamped by still strong population growth. It's a familiar pattern: population has outpaced job growth in all but one month so far this year," Mr. Bernard wrote.

James Orlando, a director of economics at TD, said the federal government's immigration pullback will help the job market stabilize "with less labour force growth being able to match the demand growth from firms."

Many economists see weakness in the job market continuing in the short term, before the Bank of Canada's interest-rate cuts spark a rebound in economic activity next year.

The central bank lowered its policy rate by half a percentage point last month in response to falling inflation and weak economic growth. Its key interest rate now stands at 3.75 per cent, down from 5 per cent in June.

Governor Tiff Macklem said the next rate decision in December will depend on incoming economic data.

Mr. Orlando said there's no urgency for the central bank to cut faster, given the job figures suggest "the bottom isn't falling out of the economy."

"This argues for the Bank of Canada to move at a pretty measured pace," he said.

## TSX moves lower while Wall Street rides postelection wave to cap off positive week

ROSA SABA

Canada's main stock index moved lower Friday, weighed down by base metals and energy stocks as the price of oil fell, while U.S. markets cruised to close Wall Street's best week this year on a wave of postelection bets.

President-elect Donald Trump is perceived as being market-friendly and pro-business, said Kevin Burkett, portfolio manager at Victoria-based Burkett Asset Management.

That's why the biggest beneficiaries of this week's rally have been sectors or specific companies seen as benefiting from Mr. Trump's promised policies, he said.

"It's financials, it's energy, it's Tesla, and all of those are just continuing to run as people wrap their heads around four more years of Trump."

In New York, all three major indexes reached new heights. The Dow Jones industrial average was up 259.65 points at 43,988.99. The S&P 500 index was up 22.44 points at 5,995.54, while the Nasdaq composite was up 17.32 points at 19,286.78.

The S&P/TSX Composite Index closed down 86.53 points at 24,759.40.

While the short-term effect of Mr. Trump's election on the markets is clearly positive, Mr. Burkett said it's less clear what his effect will be over the medium term. Some of his promised policies, chief among them large tariff hikes that particularly target China, will likely be inflationary, he said.

That will make the U.S. Federal Reserve's job harder, he said. The central bank has been

The central bank's next interest-rate announcement will be on Dec. 11.

Despite continuing softness in the labour market, strong wage growth has raged on in Canada.

Average hourly wages in October grew 4.9 per cent from a year ago, reaching \$35.76.

"The job market isn't delivering for those out of work, but for those in stable employment, pay gains are looking healthy," Mr. Bernard said.

Friday's report also shed some light on the financial health of households.

According to StatCan, 28.8 per cent of Canadians aged 15 or older were living in a household that had difficulty meeting financial needs – such as food and housing – in the previous four weeks.

That was down from 33.1 per cent in October, 2023, and 35.5 per cent in October, 2022, but still above the 20.4-per-cent figure recorded in October, 2020.

Pandemic benefits in 2020 helped narrow income inequality, as lower-income households saw their after-tax income grow at a faster rate than others.

Inflation has fallen considerably over the last two years, declining from 6.9 per cent in October, 2022, to 1.6 per cent in September. Wage growth, on the other hand, has continued to grow rapidly.

Friday's report said people living in a rented home were also more likely to report difficulty meeting financial needs, with nearly four in 10 reporting that was the case.

That compares with just under a quarter of those living in an owned home by a household member.

Immigrants were also more likely to report facing financial strain last month, with about four out of 10 immigrants who landed in the past year doing so.

That compares with about three in 10 more established immigrants and one in four for people born in Canada.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

cutting its key rate after successfully tamping down inflation – cutting again on Thursday – but a resurgence in inflation could change its trajectory.

In Canada, where the economy is weaker and the central bank's cutting trajectory steeper, things could also get more complicated, Mr. Burkett said.

"Our economy really is so tied to the U.S. economy," he said.

If the loonie weakens against the U.S. dollar owing to Mr. Trump's policies, that will in turn be inflationary for Canada, Mr. Burkett said.

"I think you're going to start to see volatility coming into markets. You're going to see uncertainty around rate trajectory. And I think that could be a really interesting 2025," he said.

Canada's unemployment rate held at 6.5 per cent in October, largely supporting the Bank of Canada's current rate trajectory. The central bank's key rate is now at 3.75 per cent, down from 5 per cent in June.

The Canadian dollar traded for 71.88 US cents compared with 72.12 US cents on Thursday.

The December crude oil contract was down US\$1.98 at US\$70.38 a barrel and the December natural gas contract was down two US cents at US\$2.67 per mmbTU.

The December gold contract was down US\$11.00 at US\$2,694.80 an ounce and the December copper contract was down 12 US cents at US\$4.31 a pound.

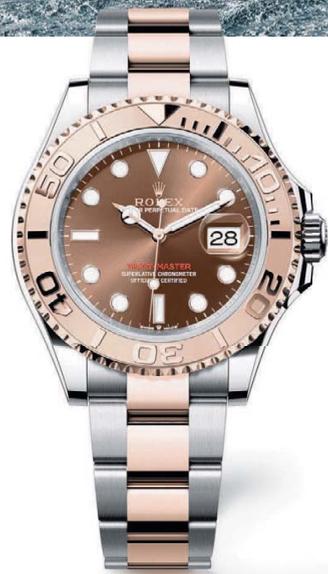
THE CANADIAN PRESS with reports from the Associated Press



## A CHALLENGE FOR THE AGES

The Rolex Sydney Hobart Yacht Race is a gruelling test of each competitor's physical and mental resilience. On 26 December each year, a diverse international fleet is led out of Sydney Harbour by the giant maxis and their professional crews, followed by smaller Corinthian craft. Ahead, a 628-nautical-mile (1,163 km) odyssey down this often wild stretch of Australia's east coast.

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[ CHINA ]

## Bear market

A man walks by stuffed pandas for sale in a store on Friday at a popular shopping area in Beijing

KEVIN FRAYER/GETTY IMAGES

# Dye & Durham tried to use competition probe to entrench leadership, documents show

SEAN SILCOFF  
TECHNOLOGY REPORTER

Dye & Durham Ltd. has twice attempted to use a Competition Bureau investigation into the company to entrench management and directors in the face of a governance challenge by an activist shareholder, documents filed with the Federal Court of Canada show.

In early September, D&D's outside lawyer, Emrys Davis of Bennett Jones, wrote to the bureau as it was drafting an order for the court compelling the Toronto legal software vendor to produce records and information to the bureau for its investigation into alleged trade restricting practices.

The bureau is investigating whether D&D refused to permit rival vendors of real estate transaction conveyancing software from establishing interoperability with its products, locking customers into product bundles and limiting their ability to export data if they switched to a competitor. The regulator says D&D's rivals have experienced hindered growth as a result. D&D has achieved a dominant market po-

sition through acquisitions, dramatically hiking prices and angering legal professionals who had little choice but to pass on higher fees to customers.

In the letter to bureau counsel Katherine Rydel, Mr. Davis requested the bureau extend the time in the draft order for D&D to comply to 90 days from 60, which it did.

But because activist hedge fund Engine Capital LP was seeking to replace three directors at a special meeting of shareholders, Mr. Davis made an additional request. Given the likely departure of senior executives should Engine succeed, the "loss of institutional knowledge could further delay Dye's compliance and frustrate the commissioner's ability to receive a timely response," he wrote. So he asked the bureau to insert a clause in the draft order that, to ensure compliance, "the respondent shall maintain its current directors or a majority thereof" until it complies with the order.

The embattled company has already sustained heavy high-level turnover. An organization chart in the court file shows eight of the 10 executives reporting directly to chief executive officer

Matt Proud have departed since the spring of 2022. If the bureau agreed and the court had accepted the request, it would have delayed changes to company leadership. The bureau didn't bite.

Then on Monday, Engine expanded its challenge, proposing to replace nearly the entire seven-person board at next month's annual meeting with a six-person slate and "rebuild a top-performing executive team."

A day later, just before a court hearing, Mr. Davis again wrote the bureau, asking that, given Engine's expanded threat, competition commissioner Matthew Boswell reconsider D&D's request "to include a term in the order that maintains management pending Dye's compliance with the order." He called the governance challenge "an extraordinary situation that demands management's near-complete attention" as D&D expects Mr. Proud and several other senior executives to lose their jobs if Engine succeeds. Maintaining the team and their institutional knowledge "is critical to Dye's ability to compile the necessary information to comply with this order," he wrote.

The last-ditch gambit failed

again. The court's order that day contained no such provision, meaning D&D is now fighting two time-sensitive battles simultaneously - to produce extensive records for a regulator that has been flexing newly granted legal powers while preparing for a showdown at its annual meeting on Dec. 17.

Engine managing partner Arnaud Ajdler said in an e-mail: "Under a competent CEO with a focus on operational excellence, none of these issues with the competition bureau would be occurring. Instead, we have a weak board and CEO that are trying to use their own mismanagement as an excuse to hold onto power." He blamed Mr. Proud and the board for a "broken culture" and said "they should not be trying to use regulatory intervention to avoid accountability" at the meeting. "Wholesale change is clearly needed to fix the company's culture and restore trust with its customers, employees and shareholders."

D&D spokesman Wojtek Dabrowski said in an e-mailed statement that Engine "is dramatically mischaracterizing the company's good faith effort to keep the bureau informed and

provide it with options to mitigate the impact" of the activist's campaign on the investigation, which, if successful, "would make it near impossible to comply" with the court order. He accused Engine of "reckless disregard" for the other stakeholders "in its relentless pursuit for control."

The latest turn adds to a tumultuous year for D&D, which since last fall has faced three other governance challenges, refinanced its high debt, cut staff and launched a strategic review that could lead to the company's sale. Other investors including ex-chairman Tyler Proud, brother of the CEO, have expressed discontent over its mounting debt, pace of acquisitions, board oversight over management and rich compensation to the CEO while its stock has remained at depressed levels.

News of the bureau's investigation sent D&D stock tumbling 12.5 per cent Thursday. It recovered less than half that drop Friday after the CEO said D&D was co-operating with the probe and didn't think it had done anything wrong. He speculated that if D&D was ultimately fined the penalty would be \$15-million or less.

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## Invitation for Applications Languages Commissioner

Applications are invited for the position of Languages Commissioner of Nunavut. This is a five-year, full-time statutory appointment.

The Languages Commissioner is an Independent Officer of the Legislative Assembly. The office-holder is appointed on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly, pursuant to the *Official Languages Act*. The position exercises a range of powers and responsibilities under the *Official Languages Act* and the *Inuit Language Protection Act*. Copies of the statutes are available at: [www.nunavutlegislation.ca](http://www.nunavutlegislation.ca).

The successful candidate will be an experienced senior manager who has a strong knowledge of official languages legislation, including national trends in the field of language rights. Professional experience must also include proven success in the areas of financial and human resources management. Candidates must be fluent in the Inuit Language and at least one other of Nunavut's official languages. This appointment is restricted to Nunavut Inuit.

A detailed *Position Profile* is available from the Office of the Legislative Assembly and may be downloaded from the Legislative Assembly's website at [www.assembly.nu.ca](http://www.assembly.nu.ca). Annual reports and other publications of the Office of the Languages Commissioner are available at: [www.langcom.nu.ca](http://www.langcom.nu.ca).

Applicants must clearly demonstrate how they meet the requirements and competencies set out in the *Position Profile*. The salary range for the position is \$157,970 to \$225,672 per annum. If the successful candidate is not a resident of Iqaluit at the time of appointment, relocation assistance will be provided. Subsidized staff housing is available. Applications will be accepted until 5:00pm (EST) on Friday, January 31, 2025. Please note that only candidates who are selected for an interview will be contacted.

Applications and inquiries should be directed to:

Secretary to the Management and Services Board  
Office of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut  
P.O. Box 1200, Iqaluit, NU, X0A 0H0  
Tel: (867) 975-5000 / Fax: (867) 975-5191  
Email: [submissions@assembly.nu.ca](mailto:submissions@assembly.nu.ca)



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# PREPARE TO ENTER TRUMPLAND

The former and future U.S. president is looking to extend his 2017 tax cuts, sees tariffs as a new revenue source, is a fan of deregulation, with immigration policy a wild card

TONY KELLER

OPINION



Cut the Taxes. Raise the Tariffs. Deport the Illegals. Deregulate Business. Run Up the Deficit.

None of those was a Donald Trump campaign slogan, but any one of them could have been. Take his economic platform and his many off-platform promises, boil them down to sharp declarative statements a la Pierre Poilievre and this is what you get.

Four big ideas the former and future U.S. president never stopped talking about, and one inevitable outcome he never mentioned.

What will be the economic consequences of Mr. Trump?

On Wednesday, stock and bond markets cast their first ballots on the next four years. Stocks went higher, as did long-term interest rates. The S&P 500 Index rose 2.5 per cent, the Nasdaq Composite was up 3 per cent and the small-cap Russell 2000 jumped by 5.8 per cent. At the same time, U.S. bonds sold off, with the benchmark 10-year U.S. Treasury bond yield (yields move inversely to price) up by 0.15 of a percentage point, its biggest one-day rise since the spring.

The markets are a kind of daily election. This is how investors voted on day one of the second Trump era.

The immediate postelection rise in equities likely reflects investors betting on a future of higher corporate profits powered by lower business taxes, and higher economic growth through additional deficit stimulus. The rise in bond yields appears to be largely driven by the same thing: a bet that if Washington runs bigger deficits and pumps trillions of extra borrowed dollars into an economy at full employment, that spells higher inflation and the inevitable response of higher interest rates – even though the U.S. Federal Reserve is today aiming for lower inflation and lower interest rates.

These stock and bond market moves start with the most conventionally Republican part of the Trump agenda: tax cuts.

Mr. Trump aims to extend his 2017 tax cuts (they expire in 2025), but on the campaign trail he also talked about making Social Security pensions tax-free, removing income tax on tips and overtime pay and lowering business tax rates.

It is unclear what tax changes Mr. Trump will send to Congress, or what it will pass. Republicans will hold a majority in the Senate for at least the next two years, but as of Friday morning it was not yet known whether there will be a GOP majority in the House of Representatives. Nor is it certain that all Republicans will always unquestioningly applaud an infinite expansion of the budget deficit.

And Mr. Trump's tax cuts mean larger deficits for a government whose budget shortfall is already unusually large. The non-partisan Congressional Budget Office puts this year's deficit at US\$1.9-trillion, or 7 per cent of gross domestic product. To put that in perspective, Canada's federal deficit this year is budgeted to be 1.4 per cent of GDP, falling to 0.6 per cent in the 2028-29 fiscal year.

The Committee for Responsible Federal Budget estimates that under Mr. Trump, the midpoint of his promises would deliver deficits of "9.7 per cent of GDP in 2035, with a range of 7.7 to 12.2 per cent of GDP in other scenarios – the highest levels reached outside of a war or recession."

The think tank also estimates the accompanying increase in the national debt will mean an additional US\$1-trillion in interest payments over the next decade.

Could Washington balance the budget, or at least reduce the size of the deficit, through spending cuts? Elon Musk – the world's wealthiest man, whose money and organization were vital to Mr. Trump's campaign – says that if the new president makes him the government efficiency czar, he can find US\$2-trillion in savings.

Is that possible? Not without breaking a lot of eggs, including ones Mr. Trump wants to protect.

Total federal spending last year was US\$6.8-trillion, and more than a third went to Social Security and Medicare (health care for seniors). Mr. Trump has promised to not cut those. Military spending plus veterans benefits consumed another US\$1.2-trillion. Interest on the federal debt was US\$882-billion.

The remaining federal budget is US\$2.7-trillion. Could Mr. Musk find US\$2-trillion in savings out of that? Don't hold your breath.

Which brings us to the incoming president's promises on trade.

Mr. Trump has often talked about imposing a 10-per-cent tariff (sometimes he's said 20 per cent) on all imports. He's also called for special tariffs on Chinese goods of 60 per cent or more.

A tariff, in plain English, is a tax on imports.

What's unclear is the extent to which Mr. Trump wants to use tariffs as a threat, to be traded away in



**Above: U.S. president-elect Donald Trump visits the country's southern border at Eagle Pass, Tex., in February. Mr. Trump's campaign has promised to 'begin the largest deportation program in American history.'**  
GO NAKAMURA/REUTERS

return for trade concessions from trading partners, versus the degree to which he sees tariffs as an end in themselves.

Robert Lighthizer, U.S. trade representative in the first Trump administration, wrote last year that tariffs should be used primarily as a tool to achieve "balanced trade," rather than to block trade. His one exception is China. Because that country is a dangerous military rival, Mr. Lighthizer argues that the United States needs to "begin the process of strategically decoupling our two economies," with high tariffs being the tool to do that job.

If the incoming administration follows the Lighthizer logic, then the chief target of U.S. tariff policy will be China. Though Canada should expect to be targeted in areas such as eggs and dairy, where our supply management system clearly restricts American competition.

But most of our economy and our trade relationship with the U.S. isn't like that. Set aside our largest export – oil and gas – and we import more from the U.S. than we export. A 10-per-cent tax on all U.S. imports from Canada would be profoundly counterproductive. In addition to hurting American businesses that export to Canada, the levy would raise the price of Canadian-derived gasoline for American consumers. It would also hamstring the integrated continental oil and gas market, where Canadian exports to the U.S. make possible American oil and gas exports to Europe and Asia.

It's difficult to see how messing with all that would be an economic or electoral winner for Republicans.

However, Mr. Trump has also talked about tariffs as a new revenue source, to pay for lower income taxes. If Congress were to raise tariffs so it could lower personal taxes, a future administration would find it politically challenging to reverse that.

If Mr. Trump follows through with a universal, 10-per-cent tariff on all imports, the resulting global trade war would harm economic growth and deliver a shot-term boost to inflation in the U.S. and beyond.

That potential for tariff-induced inflation is another reason why the market is pushing long-term interest rates higher. Higher interest rates push up the value of the U.S. dollar, as happened on Wednesday, and a stronger dollar makes imports cheaper and exports more expensive.

Mr. Trump could, of course, aim to short circuit

**Below: Cargo ships are loaded at Port Elizabeth, N.J. Mr. Trump has talked about imposing tariffs on all imports into the U.S.**  
MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS



that by trying to remove the independence of the U.S. Federal Reserve. He appointed current Fed chair Jerome Powell in 2018, but later broke convention by publicly and harshly criticizing him for not pushing interest rates lower.

There's fear of a future Federal Reserve that simply takes dictation from the Trump White House – a MAGA Fed. It doesn't seem to be a likely prospect, but to the extent it comes to pass, it would be an economic drag. Three economists at the Peterson Institute for International Economics recently estimated that a policy of revoking Fed independence would lower U.S. GDP by US\$304-billion by 2028.

They concluded that if the White House somehow forced the Fed to allow higher-than-potential economic growth, it would lead to additional economic activity, at least in the short term. But in the long run, it would spark higher inflation and cause investors to be more cautious about holding U.S. dollars. The result would be higher borrowing costs and less economic activity.

There remain two big but vague Trump promises, both with potentially huge implications for Canada: deregulation, especially on greenhouse-gas emissions, and immigration.

The terms "climate change" and "carbon emissions" appear nowhere in the Republican platform. It instead says that America will "DRILL, BABY, DRILL." And "Unleash American Energy" is the first commitment in the first chapter of platform promises.

"Under President Trump," it says, "the U.S. became the Number One Producer of Oil and Natural Gas in the World – and we will soon be again by lifting restrictions on American Energy Production and terminating the Socialist Green New Deal."

The U.S. is still the world's number 1 producer of oil, owing to a boom in production that started before the Trump administration. And though the Biden administration never passed a "Socialist Green New Deal," it did use the Inflation Reduction Act to bring in major subsidies for clean energy, electric vehicles and decarbonization. That's what the Trump administration intends to scale back.

It's unclear precisely what will be scaled back, or to what extent. Some of that may depend on what the Trump administration can get through Congress. There's also the question of the influence of Mr. Musk, who runs Tesla Inc., and whom Mr. Trump repeatedly praised in his victory speech.

But one thing that can be said with confidence is that the direction for U.S. business and environmental regulations is pointing lower, not higher. That applies particularly to oil and gas.

It makes this an especially inopportune moment for the Trudeau government to be planning an oil and gas sector emissions cap. This industry, Canada's biggest exporter, is one where the level of investment in Canada and the prices obtained by Canadian producers are closely tied to the U.S. market, and to costs, prices and regulations in the U.S.

Then there's Mr. Trump's immigration policy. For Canada, this could be the most challenging wild card.

Immigration is the issue that powered Mr. Trump to victory, and it has been central to his message since he entered politics. The Republican platform, like every Trump speech, promises two things: "secure the border" and "begin the largest deportation program in American history."

These are two distinct and separate policies – and the Biden administration has already gone a



After being subject to tariffs during Mr. Trump's first presidency, solar-panel maker Heliene of Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., moved its manufacturing to the U.S. WESTON HANDREN/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

long way to implementing the first.

In 2022 and 2023, more than five million people came to America, most by walking across the Mexican border and making an asylum claim, after which they were released into the country pending a refugee hearing years in the future. The numbers spiked after President Joe Biden rolled back Mr. Trump's harsh rules, but earlier this year, Mr. Biden was forced to reverse his reversal. The impact was large and swift. Last December, 192,000 people were apprehended and released by the Border Patrol at the southern border; by July, the number had fallen to just 12,000.

Mr. Trump can make Mr. Biden's emergency moves permanent by passing them into law, he can put on a show by building some very visible stretches of border wall, which he will hope Democrats will oppose – and then he can honestly claim that the border is now much more secure than under the first three years of Mr. Biden, as promised.

That leaves the pledge of mass deportations. The Pew Research Center estimates that the U.S. had 11 million unauthorized residents in 2022. There are also several million people who crossed the border in an irregular manner but who are legally in the country, pending a decision on their refugee claims.

If the Trump administration really means to deport many or most of these people, it won't be easy or cheap. Tracking them down, arresting them, putting them on planes, persuading their countries of origin to take them and holding them for months or years is a massively expensive and difficult proposition. In addition to the human cost, it would also cause economic dislocation by removing workers from a U.S. economy at close to full employment.

The administration could, however, choose to focus solely on the much smaller number of illegal residents with criminal records, removing them with great fanfare. A secure border, plus a promise of swift deportation for immigrants who commit crimes, would cause little economic disruption and would be politically popular.

It would also allow the U.S. to continue, and perhaps improve and expand, legal immigration. In his first term, Mr. Trump spoke about building an immigration system modelled after what Canada used to have, with scoring that gives priority to the admission of the highly-educated and highly-skilled. In an interview earlier this year, Mr. Trump even said he'd like to give permanent residency to every foreign student studying at an American university. (The U.S. has one million foreign students – relative to population, that's eight times fewer than this country.)

The challenge for Canada is that if the Trump administration decides on an aggressive policy of alien removal, or if non-citizens in the U.S. fear that such a policy is coming, many of them may choose to simply walk across the border into Canada. It could be a repeat of Roxham Road, on a potentially far larger scale.

Since 2023, Canada has an expanded Safe Third Country Agreement with the U.S., under which a foreigner in the U.S. who comes to Canada to make an asylum claim is supposed to be quickly returned to the U.S. But if hundreds of thousands of people that the Trump administration wants to deport decide to self-deport themselves to Canada, will the Trump administration follow the letter of the agreement and take them back?

The MAGA movement gets a lot of mileage out of "owning the Libs," and Mr. Trump could make great sport out of this situation. He could say that, while the Biden administration was marked by scenes of migrants flooding across the southern border on the nightly news, the Trump administration is delivering the opposite, namely scenes of illegal immigrants flooding out of the U.S. and across the northern border. Could a border crisis for Canada be played as a deportation triumph for Mr. Trump?

It might be a variation on Republican border-state governors busing migrants to Democratic strongholds such as New York – a move that not only owned the libs but upended U.S. politics, spurring some blue state voters to become more conservative and helping elect Mr. Trump.

Canada's refugee-claims system is already massively overloaded and backlogged, as is the system for removing failed claimants. Anyone making a refugee claim can expect to live in Canada for many years pending a decision, and possibly many more years, even indefinitely, after that.

To avoid an influx of people from the U.S., Canada is counting on a couple of conditions that may not hold for much longer. First, that if someone comes from the U.S. to make a refugee claim, we can send them back. And second, that there aren't very many people in the U.S. who would want to bypass the refugee process, sneak into Canada and become an illegal immigrant – even though it's relatively easy to walk into Canada at thousands of quiet spots from coast to coast.

What does Mr. Trump have in store for us? We are about to find out.

# The promise and peril of Canada's U.S.-centric trade strategy

With heavy reliance on U.S. exports, Trump tariffs could pose risk of recession

JASON KIRBY  
MARK RENDELL

In January of 2018, Donald Trump fired the opening volley in the trade wars that defined his first presidency, and Martin Pochtaruk's solar company was one of the earliest Canadian casualties.

That month, the United States slapped sky-high tariffs on all imports of solar energy equipment in a bid to slam the door on Chinese producers. But Mr. Pochtaruk's Heliene Inc., a maker of high-efficiency solar panels, also shipped 90 per cent of the products it manufactured in Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., south of the border, and the tariffs caused steep losses.

The message to Heliene's founder and chief executive officer was clear: "Move our manufacturing to the United States or die."

Today Heliene is still headquartered in the Northern Ontario city and does its research and development there, but it operates two production lines in Mountain Iron, Minn., with another opening soon in Minneapolis, which will bring its total U.S. manufacturing work force to 500 people. Tim Walz even referenced the company's U.S. investments in his home state during the vice-presidential debate against JD Vance.

"Trump has been very protectionist of U.S. manufacturing and I would expect he'll do even more," said Mr. Pochtaruk of Mr. Trump's impending return to the White House. "But this time we're on the right side of the border."

Heliene's journey reflects the anxiety gripping corporate Canada since Mr. Trump swept to victory promising an America-first trade agenda.

As a share of Canada's overall trade, the U.S. is more dominant than ever – buying roughly 77 per cent of Canada's merchandise exports in recent months, the highest level since 2007. If Mr. Trump follows through on his threat to impose a universal tariff of 10 per cent to 20 per cent on all imports it could weigh heavily on Canadian exports. Meanwhile, his promise to reopen the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) in 2026 could put a chill on business investment in Canada, given the uncertainty about access to the U.S. market.

However, other trade experts also see opportunities in the trade tumult for Canada to benefit within fortress North America. That is, if Ottawa plays its cards right and steps up on a range of issues important to Washington, from military spending, to migration, to cutting China out of electric vehicle and battery supply chains.

"It really is about how credible a partner we are, and nice words are not enough anymore," said Louise Blais, a former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations and consul-general in the southeastern U.S.

For now, the prevailing mood is dour. For good reason. Even 10-per-cent across-the-board tariffs would shrink Canada's economy by the equivalent of \$1,100 per person, according to analysis by University of Calgary economist Trevor Tombe.

"That's really the best-case scenario," said Prof. Tombe, since it doesn't account for the impact rising uncertainty would have on investment.

A permanent tariff "would almost surely mean a recession for Canada," he said.

Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland emphasized this week that Ottawa plans to rely heavily on the relationships it built with U.S. officials during the first Trump administration as it attempts to safeguard trade access to the U.S. To that end, there were conflicting media reports on Friday that Mr. Trump has asked Robert Lighthizer, his former U.S. trade representative and Ms. Freeland's counterpart during the renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, to step back into the role.

While some personnel will be sitting in the same seats as in 2018, the table itself has changed.

Mr. Trump's resounding victory – and likely Republican control over both houses of Congress –

has strengthened his hand, and experts expect him to move quickly to advance his protectionist agenda with executive orders. Canada's government, by contrast, is highly unpopular at home and long in the tooth. There's a good chance the Conservative Party, led by Pierre Poilievre, will be in power by the time the USMCA is formally reopened in 2026.

The world has also "fundamentally changed" over the past half-decade, and that will require Canada to approach the negotiations very differently, said Bill Morneau, Liberal finance minister from 2015 to 2020.

China's progress in advanced technologies, such as electric vehicles and batteries, has shocked the American political establishment. Washington now sees Beijing as a serious threat to U.S. economic supremacy. And a bipartisan consensus has emerged around the need for massive government intervention in the economy – through tariffs or subsidies – to revive U.S. manufacturing and to cut China out of crucial parts of the North American supply chain.

Other trade experts also see opportunities in the trade tumult for Canada to benefit within fortress North America. That is, if Ottawa plays its cards right and steps up on a range of issues important to Washington, from military spending, to migration, to cutting China out of electric vehicle and battery supply chains.

If Canada wants to succeed in any future trade negotiations, this needs to be front of mind, Mr. Morneau said.

"We need to think about how we are part of North American energy security, and we need to look at our defence spending to make sure that we are moving towards the NATO targets more rapidly," he said.

"We also need to think about how we can ensure that we are part of a North American technology sector that is critically important. So, from my perspective, I would question whether we really should be moving forward with the digital services tax at a time when we want to be working together with the United States on technology," he said, referring to Ottawa's tax on profits of large tech companies.

To a large degree, Canada has already thrown its lot in with the Americans, most recently announcing a 100-per-cent tariff on Chinese EVs and 25-per-cent tariffs on Chinese steel and aluminum.

It's a tricky situation – having to draw closer to a trade partner at a moment when their belief in trade is in question. But past attempts to diversify trade away from the U.S. have come up short.

It's not for want of trying. Canada has signed a series of free-trade agreements over the past decade, including a deal with Korea in 2014, the European Union in 2016 and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agree-

ment for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), covering 11 countries, in 2018.

In absolute terms, exports to Asia have grown at a healthy clip, said Jeff Nankivell, CEO of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. There are good opportunities for Canadian companies to expand in Southeast Asia and Japan, where agriculture tariffs are declining as part of the CPTPP, he said.

But other markets haven't shaped up the way evangelists of trade diversification had hoped. Companies are nervous to expand in China, given its tensions with the U.S., and the diplomatic spat between Canada and India over the killing of a Canadian citizen, allegedly by Indian agents, has "flattened the trajectory of what could have been possible," Mr. Nankivell said.

At the end of the day, global trade patterns are overwhelmingly determined by the size of and distance between trading partners, said Peter Morrow, an associate professor of economics at the University of Toronto who focuses on trade.

"You can't just have Canada wake up and decide that it's going to trade with England in similar quantities as it trades with the U.S. So, when you talk about diversifying away from the U.S., you're really fighting against very strong economic forces," he said.

Despite the risks posed by Mr. Trump, there are plenty of opportunities, said David Paterson, Ontario's representative in Washington. He said he's spent much of the past year meeting with Republican politicians in preparation for the possible return of Mr. Trump, and there is interest within the party in what Canada can bring to the table.

"If we get on the front foot, clear the deck, remove the [digital services tax], do our defence spending, stop transshipment from China, and show the Americans that those things are all possible, then we would be in a very favourable spot. And I wouldn't trade places with any country in the world in terms of being able to build business with the United States," Mr. Paterson said.

Reopening the USMCA could also provide an incentive for Ottawa to liberalize its agriculture sector by dismantling the supply management system that sets production quotas and prices for dairy farmers, Prof. Tombe said.

The program infuriated the first Trump administration but, in the end, U.S. negotiators abandoned the issue. That might not be the case this time around, and the federal government could offer to end supply management as a concession to get a better deal for Canada's economy – with the added benefit of lowering dairy prices for Canadians.

"It would be an amazing win-win," Prof. Tombe said.

For Heliene, the solar company, it wasn't only the push of tariffs that sparked its manufacturing shift south of the border. President Joe Biden's Inflation Reduction Act provided lucrative tax credit incentives the company tapped, ones which Canada has failed to match.

But the result is the same – America's win, Canada's loss.

"As a Canadian I'm upset because how do we bring investment to Canada," Mr. Pochtaruk said.

U.S. share of Canadian exports  
Rolling 12-month average



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA

# Groupe Dynamite files preliminary prospectus for IPO

Montreal-based owner of clothing stores Garage and Dynamite discloses that its net income and revenue have been growing in recent years

SUSAN KRASHINSKY ROBERTSON  
RETAILING REPORTER

Canadian fast-fashion retailer Groupe Dynamite Inc. has filed a preliminary prospectus for an initial public offering on the Toronto Stock Exchange.

The Montreal-based owner of women's clothing store chains Garage and Dynamite filed the documents with Canadian securities regulators on Thursday. The retailer disclosed that its revenue and net income have been growing in recent years, and noted in the prospectus that it

plans to further grow its store presence in the United States and to expand to international markets. It currently has 299 stores in the U.S. and Canada.

The number of shares and offering price for the IPO have yet to be announced.

The nearly 50-year-old company began with its first Garage store in the Place Versailles shopping mall in 1975, selling clothing and accessories. It launched Dynamite in 1983, to sell dressier fashions including office and party wear to slightly older shoppers. Garage became known for targeting a younger consumer with more casual styles.

Its owner and CEO, Andrew Lutfy, began working at the Place Versailles store in 1982 as a part-time stock clerk at the age of 18, worked his way up into management roles and acquired a minority stake in the business within a few years. By the early 2000s, Mr. Lutfy and related entities

Groupe Dynamite has been working on refining its store presence. Since early 2022, it has opened 45 new locations but also closed 48 over the same period, and renovated or relocated 15 more.

completed the acquisition of the entire company.

At first limited to the Quebec market, the company began opening stores across Canada in the 1990s, followed by a U.S. expansion in the late 2000s. It now has 185 stores in Canada and 114 in the U.S., across 37 states, as well as e-commerce operations.

The company currently employs roughly 6,000 people, ap-

proximately 70 per cent of them working part-time.

Groupe Dynamite was among the retailers hit hard by the COVID-19 pandemic, and sought creditor protection in 2020.

After its restructuring, sales and profits have grown in recent years. In its last full fiscal year, ended Feb. 3, 2024, Groupe Dynamite's revenue grew nearly 15 per cent to \$800.8-million, compared with \$697.4-million in the prior year. Net earnings grew to \$85.8-million, up from \$62.8-million the year before, according to the filing.

In the 12 months ending Aug. 3, the company had revenue of \$888.4-million and net earnings of \$127.8-million, according to the prospectus.

Groupe Dynamite has been working on refining its store presence. Since early 2022, it has opened 45 new locations but also closed 48 over the same period, and renovated or relocated 15

more.

The company is also planning to move further to international markets such as the United Kingdom, starting with e-commerce expansion followed by store openings.

Groupe Dynamite's business strategy focuses on quick turnover of the inventory in its stores, using an in-house design team to chase trends as they arise and "constantly creating exciting newness," according to the documents. The company develops roughly 1,800 new styles each year, the documents said. Most of its products are sourced from China, with additional sourcing from Bangladesh and Cambodia.

The offering is being led by Goldman Sachs Canada Inc., BMO Nesbitt Burns Inc., RBC Dominion Securities Inc. and TD Securities Inc. The company plans to list the shares under the symbol GRGD.

## AIMCo: Province expects to name a new board chair within 30 days

FROM B1

Mr. Gilmour resigned as the government's Deputy Minister of Executive Council to take the interim role at AIMCo.

The province's sudden decision to purge the top ranks of the country's sixth-largest pension fund stunned Canada's pension sector. AIMCo's mandate is to manage money on behalf of 17 pension, endowment, insurance and government clients in Alberta, including the province's \$23.4-billion Heritage Savings Trust Fund, independently of government.

But the government's choice of Mr. Gilmour – a veteran civil servant who has worked under several premiers – has raised questions about whether the distance that separates AIMCo from government is narrowing.

The province expects to name a new board chair within 30 days, and could make an announcement as soon as two weeks from now, after it rescinded the appointments of all of AIMCo's board members on Thursday. Nate Horner, the province's Minister of Finance, is AIMCo's sole director and board chair in the meantime, but said he will not make investment decisions or receive any pay for those roles.

"Ray has been the most trusted official in the province under three premiers. I have complete confidence in his ability to get costs at AIMCo under control and restore stability to the corporation," Mr. Horner said in a news release.

Mr. Gilmour joined Alberta's public service in 2007 and has served in multiple deputy minister positions, including Treasury Board and Finance, Infrastructure, and Municipal Affairs. He previously worked for the City of Medicine Hat as its commissioner for corporate services and spent 15 years in the banking industry, according to his government biography. He did not return a message seeking comment.

In a separate statement, AIMCo said it "remains committed to investing on behalf of its clients and the Albertans they serve and welcomes the appointment of Ray Gilmour" to his interim role.

The Globe and Mail first reported Mr. Gilmour's appointment on Friday.

Mr. Horner has singled out a sharp increase in AIMCo's costs,



Evan Siddall made major changes in his three years at Alberta Investment Management Corp., arriving amid upheaval after it lost \$2.1-billion at the start of the pandemic. JEFF MCINTOSH/THE CANADIAN PRESS

driven by third-party management fees and expanded staffing compared with five years ago, as the central factor in its decision to clean house. He said the increased expenditures haven't been matched by stronger investment performance.

"It's the trajectory on the costs," Mr. Horner said Thursday. "It seemed like it needed a reset."

AIMCo's costs have risen, sharply by some measures. Salary, wage and benefit costs rose 71 per cent to \$222-million from 2019 to 2023, as the number of employees climbed from 465 to 600, according to the province. AIMCo's cost ratio relative to its assets rose 29 per cent to 48 basis points – meaning it spent 48 cents for every \$100 of assets it manages. (100 basis points equal one percentage point).

But its overall costs and executive compensation are comparable to many of its large Canadian peers. The country's next-largest pension fund, Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement System (OMERS), had a cost ratio of 54 basis points last year, and 60 basis points the year before. The Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, which manages \$452-billion in assets, had a ratio of 59 basis points in 2023.

Mr. Siddall made just under \$4.6-million in direct compensa-



Ray Gilmour

tion in 2023, plus more than \$400,000 in pension benefits, other compensation, and a payout from a special award made in 2021, the year he became CEO. By comparison, OMERS CEO Blake Hutcheson, who oversees a fund with \$134-billion of assets, made nearly \$5.8-million in total compensation last year.

Prior to Thursday's dismissals, Alberta's government had not raised any special concerns about AIMCo's costs, or directed the pension fund manager to rein them in, according to three sources with knowledge of AIMCo's interactions with government.

Two of the sources said costs were not a point of contention when AIMCo had a budget review meeting with the province in

recent weeks.

One of those sources and a fourth source with knowledge of those discussions said the province had, at times, raised subtle questions about AIMCo's level of investment in the province. But the two sources said the pension fund manager's board was steadfast in focusing its investment decisions on its fiduciary duty to clients.

The Globe and Mail is not naming the sources because they are not authorized to discuss internal personnel decisions.

Mr. Siddall made major changes in his three years at AIMCo, after previously serving as CEO at Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. He arrived amid upheaval at AIMCo after it lost \$2.1-billion at the start of the pandemic on trading instruments that were hit hard when markets fluctuated wildly. An internal review found that the organization had a poor approach to risk management and weak oversight. He replaced most of its executive team, revamped risk management practices and technology systems, and opened new offices in New York and Singapore.

He did not respond to requests for comment.

Mr. Horner said he dismissed Mr. Siddall and three other executives. Those were AIMCo's chief

people, culture and engagement officer, its chief legal officer and its chief of staff and managing director, according to two of the sources.

At the end of June, AIMCo reported an average investment return of 8 per cent over the past four years, and 7.2 per cent over the past decade.

Some AIMCo clients have complained about costs. The Alberta Teachers' Retirement Fund said in a statement on Thursday that it has raised the issue "with both the Government of Alberta and with AIMCo."

However, CUPE Alberta said in a statement on Friday that the government's "unilateral changes to AIMCo's board without any consultation with public sector unions representing members ... shows a deep disregard for the fact that pension funds belong to Alberta workers and retirees, not the government."

Leaders from AIMCo's client pension plans met Friday with Alberta's deputy minister of finance, Katherine White, to discuss the changes.

It remains to be seen how the provincial government's plans for AIMCo will dovetail with its blueprint for making the province's vaunted, multibillion-dollar Heritage Savings Trust Fund.

In February, Premier Danielle Smith said the province likely had one last chance to grow its non-renewable resource revenues savings, and she would introduce a plan to grow the fund to between \$250-billion and \$400-billion by 2050. She reiterated this pledge last Saturday, in her keynote address to party members at the United Conservative Party's annual general meeting.

Ms. Smith, a fierce advocate for Alberta's oil and natural gas industry, said in June at a Calgary Chamber event she would look at using Heritage Fund assets more like a sovereign wealth fund, "to assist in de-risking projects that were finding it difficult to get financing."

On Thursday, alongside the order dismissing AIMCo's board, the province published an order approving "the incorporation of a Provincial corporation for the purpose of managing and investing all or a portion of Crown assets."

With reports from David Milstead and Kelly Cryderman.

### APPOINTMENT NOTICE

Beneva's  
**Christian Fournier**  
elected Board Chair of  
Insurance Bureau of Canada



IBC BAC

Insurance Bureau of Canada (IBC) is pleased to announce that its Board of Directors has elected Christian Fournier as its Chair. Mr. Fournier is Beneva's Executive Vice-President and Lead, Property and Casualty Insurance.

With a career in the insurance industry spanning over 30 years, Christian Fournier has been Beneva's Executive Vice-President and Lead of Property and Casualty Insurance since its creation in 2020. Prior to that, he was with La Capitale General Insurance since 2011 and most recently served as Senior Executive Vice-President and Chief Operating Officer.

As a Université Laval graduate and Fellow of the Canadian Institute of Actuaries and the Casualty Actuarial Society, he has held several strategic positions in the P&C insurance industry in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada. His in-depth knowledge of the industry, strategic thinking ability and accountability-based leadership have been vectors of success throughout his career.

Mr. Fournier has served on the board of IBC since 2018 and the board of Property and Casualty Insurance Compensation Corporation (PACICC) since 2020. In addition, he is also involved with various charitable organizations.

Established in 1964, IBC is the national industry association representing Canada's private home, auto and business insurers. Its member companies make up the vast majority of Canada's highly competitive P&C insurance market. As the leading advocate for Canada's private P&C insurers, IBC collaborates with governments, regulators and stakeholders to support a competitive environment for the P&C insurance industry to continue to help protect Canadians from the risks of today and tomorrow.

### PORT OF MONTREAL EMPLOYER SUBMITS 'FINAL' OFFER TO DOCKWORKERS, THREATENS LOCKOUT

MONTREAL The employers association at the Port of Montreal has issued the dockworkers' union a "final, comprehensive offer," threatening to lock out workers at 9 p.m. Sunday if a deal isn't reached.

On Friday morning, the union – Syndicat des débardeurs du port de Montreal – and the Maritime Employers Association spent two hours with a federal mediator without making progress.

The employers association says the new offer includes a 3-per-cent salary increase per year for four years and a 3.5-per-cent increase for the two subsequent years. It says the offer would bring the total average compensation package of a longshore worker at the Port of Montreal to more than \$200,000 a year at the end of the contract.

"The MEA agrees to this significant compensation increase in view of the availability required from its employees," it wrote Thursday evening in a news release.

The association added that it is asking longshore workers to provide at least one hour's notice when they will be absent from a shift to help reduce management issues "which have a major effect on daily operations."

Michel Murray, with the union that represents nearly 1,200 longshore workers, said Friday the latest offer including little more than "cosmetic changes."

The union launched a partial unlimited strike on Oct. 31, which has paralyzed two terminals that represent 40 per cent of the port's total container handling capacity. A complete strike on overtime, affecting the whole port, began on Oct. 10. THE CANADIAN PRESS

# Subway lawsuit shows marketers are out of touch

As the chain is accused of skimping on meat in its sandwiches, you start to wonder if advertisers have ever seen the retail processes and products

GUS CARLSON

OPINION



U.S.-based columnist for The Globe and Mail

If you are of a certain age, you may remember Wendy's iconic 1980s advertising slogan, "Where's the beef?" – a dig at rivals for skimping on the meat in their hamburgers that became a popular crack about anything that came up short of expectations.

Forty years later, the question is being asked again in a proposed class-action lawsuit filed in New York against Subway, claiming there isn't nearly as much meat in the sandwiches it sells at its restaurants compared with those depicted in its mar-

keting and advertising.

The lead complainant, Anna Tollison, said the Steak & Cheese sandwich she got from a store in Queens looked nothing like the one she ordered on the app. She took a photo of the US\$7.61 sandwich, which appeared to be mostly bread, with a paltry amount of meat inside.

Her suit, which is being held up as a stark example of inflationary gouging, contends that the product depicted on the app "contained well over 200 per cent more meat than what was in the actual sandwich" she received, and the company's advertising is "grossly misleading." Lawyers say it will likely be joined by thousands of other customers who feel the same way.

It's not the first time the Connecticut-based chain with 37,000 stores in 100 countries has been called out. In 2017, the CBC reported that Subway's chicken had only 50 per cent chicken DNA, which prompted the chain to dispute the findings and file a lawsuit that was eventually dismissed.

A few years ago, Ireland declared the sugar content in Subway bread was so high it violated

the country's health standards. More recently, a California lawsuit alleged the company's tuna salad contained things that weren't tuna at all. And there have been claims the chain's foot-long sandwiches are not, in fact, a foot long.

Whenever you see things like this, you wonder if marketing people ever get out of their brainstorming circles and actually go to see the products and retail processes for themselves.

Didn't one of them ever go to a Subway restaurant to try the product at the customer face? And didn't anyone ever say, hey, wait a minute, I think we have problem here? What we're saying to customers is not what we're giving them.

What makes these marketing flubs even more painful is that Subway has used the healthiness of its sandwiches – fresh ingredients, freshly made to order – a competitive differentiator from other fast-food options. A Subway sandwich is the healthier choice, the brand crows, especially compared with deep-fried, high-fat and high-calorie foods.

The chain even showcased the healthy value of its products in weight-loss regimes. Jared Fogle,

the face of Subway advertising from 2000-2015, claimed to have lost 245 pounds on a weight-reduction plan and credited his regular diet of Subway's products for helping him do it.

Subway is not alone. Burger King, for example, has come under fire for allegedly delivering Whoppers that weren't so whopping in terms of meat content. McDonald's and other chains have faced similar criticism calling out gaps between product marketing and reality.

Now, the elites will say, predictably, that people shouldn't be eating fast food anyway, so they get what they deserve. The reality is, not everyone can afford to shop at Whole Foods, especially those for whom stubborn inflation makes it difficult to make ends meet. For many people, fast food may be one of the few affordable choices.

Skeptics will look at the Subway suit and say it is simply another example of an increasingly litigious culture, where people will sue companies for anything – and lawyers will file even the most vacuous complaints if there's a buck to be made.

The consumer landscape is littered with mindless consumer

lawsuits. Just last month, for example, a JetBlue passenger sued the airline because she said her in-flight ice-cream sandwich was too cold and caused her tooth to crack.

In the race to the bottom of the sea of integrity, lawyers who file these claims and the marketers who prompt them are in a dead heat. For companies, it's the cost of doing business, and in most cases, any settlements reached with disgruntled customers are mere rounding errors on their balance sheets.

The real losers are the customers. Agree with their choices of food or not, they are entitled to a fair deal. If Subway advertising and app marketing leads you to believe the sandwich you ordered will have a certain amount of meat, you should get it, no matter how much or how little it costs.

Marketers need to understand that aside from how these shortfalls reflect on their own professional integrity, people are paying attention to this stuff – perhaps more closely than ever at a time of high prices. Like meat in Subway sandwiches, there needs to be a bigger helping of truth in advertising.



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## Bell: Interest in U.S. acquisitions was for internet network opportunities, CEO says

■ FROM B1

After Frontier was sold, Zply owner Searchlight Capital – which bought the business from Frontier in 2019 for \$2-billion – decided to put it up for auction and invited Bell to bid.

Investors reacted poorly this week to Bell's planned purchase of Zply, which owns fibre networks in four Northwestern U.S. states. Bell's stock price dropped by 9 per cent on Monday when the company announced the deal and said it would pause common-share dividend increases after hiking its payout for 16 consecutive years.

The frosty reception given to Bell's U.S. expansion plans and the scale of investment needed to keep pace with rivals such as Verizon – the second-largest U.S. telecom company – highlight the challenges Bell chief executive officer Mirko Bibic faces as he attempts to boost profits at a telecom with limited growth opportunities in its home market.

In an interview Nov. 3, Mr. Bibic said running fibre – the backbone of the digital economy – is Bell's competitive advantage. He said two years ago, as the company neared completion of a four-year, \$22-billion build out of its Canadian networks, Bell's executives and board began working on strategies to “lean into our fibre expertise.”

Over the past year, Mr. Bibic said Bell decided to look at U.S. acquisitions, in part because internet networks there are far less developed than Canada's. Only 50 per cent of American homes have access to fibre-based high-speed internet, versus 75-per cent market penetration in Canada. The U.S. telecom market also features a number of small regional players – Zply operates in Washington, Oregon, Montana and Idaho – Bell could buy, then boost profitability by speeding up fibre rollouts.

Before bidding for Zply, Bell looked at potential acquisitions of large and small U.S. telecom companies, in part to build its understanding of the sector, Mr. Bibic said. He declined to comment specifically on Bell's interest in Frontier.

In October, Frontier – Amer-



Bell projects that Zply's earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization will increase at an 11-per-cent annual clip, a rate that is hard to match in the domestic telecom industry. SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

ica's largest pure-play fibre provider – filed documents with U.S. regulators detailing the year-long sales process leading up to Verizon's takeover. While the document does not specifically name other contenders, it does identify five rival bidders as Party A through to Party E, and four sources said Bell is Party E.

Frontier's filings show activist fund manager Jana Partners LLC began a campaign to sell the company in the fall of 2023 and Mr. Bibic first reached out to Frontier chair John Stratton in February “regarding a potential strategic transaction.”

In June, Bell made a preliminary offer to acquire Frontier for between US\$34 and US\$37 a share, or between US\$8.5-billion and US\$9.2-billion, and take on the company's US\$11.5-billion in debt. The documents show Frontier agreed to let Bell contact a small number of institutional investors, such as pension funds, that would buy Bell stock to help finance the acquisition.

In the tight telecom world, one of the Frontier board members evaluating offers was Maryann Turke, former president of Bell Media.

As the high-stakes poker game played out over the summer, Frontier used interest from Bell and other bidders to successfully pressure Verizon into boosting its offer. In early August, Verizon said it would pay a maximum of US\$33 a share for the company. When Frontier demanded final bids ahead of the Labour Day weekend, Bell offered US\$35, while Verizon raised the stakes to US\$38.50 – valuing Frontier's debt and equity at US\$20-billion – and won the company.

Weeks after Frontier sold, Zply's owner, a Toronto-based private-equity fund, invited Bell and other potential buyers to bid on the company. Bell won Zply by paying a price equal to 14.3 times the company's earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization (EBITDA). In a report, analyst Maher Yaghi at Scotiabank said the acquisition is “an expensive way to acquire fibre.”

However, analysts Nick Del Deo and Craig Moffett at investment dealer MoffettNathanson LLC said based on the number of potential subscribers served – or “passed” as industry insiders say – “on an apples-to-apples basis,

the implied value per passing for Zply is almost identical to what Verizon agreed to pay for Frontier.”

This year, Zply will generate \$400-million in EBITDA. Bell projects the U.S. business's EBITDA will increase at an 11-per-cent annual clip, a growth rate that is hard to match in the domestic telecom industry.

Yet some experts have raised concerns about whether the company's plans have fully taken into account competition from fixed wireless, a form of internet service using a wireless connection that has gained popularity in the U.S. over the last two years.

While previously, the connection offered by fixed wireless was too slow to support more than just casual use, recent developments in 5G cellular technology have vastly improved the speed and quality it provides, according to Jason Buckweitz, an associate director of Columbia Business School's Institute for Telecommunications and Information Technology.

For the average user who surfs the internet, uses social media and streams television, fixed wireless “easily” provides ade-

quate speeds, and is more affordable than fibre, he said. That's why the country's largest players have been doubling down on the technology, reaching about 14 million Americans in the last two years.

In Seattle, Zply's largest urban coverage area, Verizon offers fixed wireless service for about US\$25 to those already on a wireless plan. Zply's fibre service starts at a US\$10 monthly promotional offer, but increases to US\$45 after the first year, he said.

Prof. Buckweitz said Verizon's acquisition of Frontier's fiber networks makes sense because of Frontier's range of business clients, which are less likely to switch to fixed wireless.

Meanwhile, Bell may be seeking to take advantage of U.S. federal funding. In 2022, the Biden administration announced US\$45-billion in capital expenditure support for businesses that develop affordable, high-speed internet in rural areas. According to Christopher Ali, a telecommunications professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Zply's footprint in rural areas make it a potential candidate for this funding.

However, those funds might now be at risk. U.S. president-elect Donald Trump has said he would undo funding deals made by the previous administration – although it's unclear whether he will keep this commitment, given that much of his supporter base is rural. Even if the funds remain in place, they come with strenuous regulatory demands.

“I wouldn't stake \$5-billion on hoping that that money's coming,” said Prof. Buckweitz.

Erik Bohlin, a professor and Ivey Chair in Telecommunications Economics with the University of Western Ontario, said he sees Bell's southward move as a statement about the slowing profitability of the Canadian market, and a desire for a less-regulated market environment.

He says Bell's recent disposition of its media assets in favour of an acquisition closer to its core business makes sense, given how few telecoms have been able to successfully maintain a profitable stake in the media business.

## China unveils \$1.93-trillion debt package to help local governments

KEVIN YAO  
ELLEN ZHANG BEIJING

China unveiled a 10-trillion yuan (\$1.93-trillion) debt package on Friday to ease local government financing strains and stabilize flagging economic growth, as it faces fresh pressure from the reelection of Donald Trump as U.S. president.

The measures confirm last week's Reuters report and mark a departure from the all-out stimulus strategies to revive growth China has deployed in

the past. They aim to repair municipal balance sheets as a longer-term objective, rather than directly inject money into the economy.

Finance Minister Lan Foan said more stimulus was coming, with some analysts saying Beijing may not want to fire all its weapons before Mr. Trump takes over officially in January.

In an apparent reaction to the U.S. election and the intensifying risks to trade, state media CCTV reported that China's cabinet on Friday approved expanding coverage of export credit insurance

and will step up support for trade firms.

But for now, those investors who speculated on a fiscal bazooka may be disappointed.

“I don't see anything that exceeds expectations,” said Huang Xuefeng, research director at Shanghai Anfang Private Fund Co. in Shanghai. “It's not huge if you look at the fiscal shortfalls.”

“The money is used to replace hidden debts, which means it doesn't create new work flows, so the support to growth is not that direct.”

Local governments, facing

high debt and falling revenues, have been cutting civil servants' pay and amassing debts with private-sector companies, choking money flows to the real economy and fanning deflationary pressures.

Their strains, stemming from a severe property crisis since 2021 which decimated revenues from residential land auctions to developers – a key source of funds for cities and provinces – had put China's 2024 growth target of roughly 5 per cent at risk.

China's longer-term outlook is further clouded by Mr. Trump's

threat of tariffs in excess of 60 per cent on all Chinese goods, which has rattled Chinese manufacturers and accelerated factory relocation to Southeast Asia and other regions.

Exporters say the tariffs will further shrink profits, hurting jobs, investment and growth in the process. They would also exacerbate China's industrial overcapacity and the deflationary pressures it fuels, analysts said.

The package, unveiled at the end of a week-long parliament meeting, included raising the local governments' debt quota by 6-trillion yuan (\$1.16-trillion) over the next three years, with the new funds to be used to repay “hidden debts.” It also gave municipalities the green light to use for the same purpose another 4-trillion yuan (\$775-billion) over five years in issuance that Beijing had already approved.

Beijing uses “hidden debt” to describe the loans, bonds and shadow credits of local government financing vehicles, or LGFVs.

Mr. Lan said those debts stood at 14.3-trillion yuan (\$2.7-trillion) at the end of 2023, which authorities planned to trim to 2.3-trillion yuan (\$446-billion) by 2028. The International Monetary Fund, however, estimates debts of LGFVs amounted to 60-trillion yuan (\$11.6-trillion) at the end of 2023, or 47.6 per cent of GDP.

Swapping hidden for official debt is expected to save 600-billion yuan (\$116-billion) in interest for local governments over five years.

Carlos Casanova, Asia senior economist at UBP, estimated China needed a debt package of 23-trillion yuan (\$4-trillion) to reduce the inventory of unsold homes and repay maturing LGFV debt.

The measures announced on Friday “are going to disappoint the market because China needs more essentially,” he said.

Mr. Lan also reiterated officials will issue policies to support state sector purchases of unsold apartments and reclaim undeveloped residential land from property developers, as well as replenish the capital of big state banks.

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Notice is hereby given, pursuant to the provisions of section 228 of the *Bank Act* (Canada), that National Bank of Canada (“NBC”) and Canadian Western Bank (“CWB”) (together, the “Applicants”) intend to make a joint application to the Minister of Finance for letters patent of amalgamation continuing the Applicants as one bank under the name “National Bank of Canada” in English and “Banque Nationale du Canada” in French. The head office of the amalgamated bank would be located in Montreal, Quebec. The application for letters patent of amalgamation is conditional on NBC receiving the required regulatory approvals for acquiring the shares of CWB (“Proposed Acquisition”).

The proposed amalgamation will take effect after the completion of the Proposed Acquisition. The effective date of the proposed amalgamation will be the date fixed by the letters patent of amalgamation. If the Proposed Acquisition is not completed, the Applicants will not amalgamate.

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REUTERS

# Telus reports higher profit and raises dividend

Company's net income rises 87% from last year as it experienced customer growth across various business lines

IRENE GALEA

Telus Corp. reported higher third-quarter profit and raised its dividend, despite competitive headwinds in the sector that put pressure on the telecom's new wireless subscriber numbers.

In its results released Friday, the company lowered telecom revenue growth guidance for 2024 to "slightly below" its expected range of 2 per cent to 4 per cent, citing an intensely competitive wireless market. Canada's mobile providers have offered aggressive promotional pricing to win customers this year – a trend that is likely to continue into the typically discounted holiday season.

Telus posted net income of \$257-million or 19 cents a share, up 87 per cent from last year as a result of customer growth across its various business lines, broad-based cost reduction efforts and better margins across its non-telecom businesses. (Last year's income was affected by higher restructuring and financing costs.) Operating revenue was \$5.1-billion, up 1.8 per cent.

Telus added net 130,000 wireless subscribers during the quarter, in line with analyst expectations but down 30,000 from last year. This compared with 102,000 for BCE Inc. and 194,000 at Rogers Communications Inc.

Average revenue per user (ARPU) was down by 3.4 per cent, similar to last quarter. Telus said this was because customers were signing up for plans with lower base rates. The company's churn rate – the measure of how many customers cancelled or did not renew subscriptions during the quarter – was also up, but less so than its competitors.



Telus added net 130,000 wireless subscribers during the third quarter, in line with analyst expectations but down 30,000 from last year. That compared with 102,000 for BCE Inc. and 194,000 at Rogers Communications Inc. JUSTIN TANG/THE CANADIAN PRESS

"In a tough operating environment and relative to peers, we view Q3/24 results that were in line to slightly better than forecast as the best of the bunch," said RBC Dominion Securities Inc. analyst Drew McReynolds. Telus shares closed up 79 cents at \$21.81 on the Toronto Stock Exchange Friday.

Overage and roaming revenues fell this quarter, another trend common across the industry, as subscribers are increasingly opting for plans with more or unlimited data.

"Overall, this was a relatively quiet update for [Telus], which will probably be welcomed by telecom investors given recent sector developments," said Des-

jardins analyst Jerome Dubreuil in a note to investors Thursday morning. In the past few weeks, Rogers raised \$7-billion in a structured equity deal to pay down debt and BCE Inc acquired a U.S. fibre internet company for US\$5-billion.

On a call with analysts, Telus chief executive officer Darren Entwistle said the company still sees "significant opportunities" in fibre and 5G revenue growth, as well as opportunities for the company to improve cost efficiency.

The company also announced it was raising its dividend by 3.4 per cent, which was expected by analysts. Investors may be sensitive to this hike, after news this

week that Bell Canada owner of BCE Inc. paused increases to its dividend for the first time in 16 years.

BCE's dividend is currently yielding about 10 per cent, while Telus's dividend yields about 7.7 per cent. Mr. Dubreuil said he considers Telus's payout ratio high, but that that should improve in future years as the company increases its free cash flow.

Meanwhile, revenues from Telus's health and agriculture segments were up 4 and 20 per cent, respectively, from last year.

Several years ago, Telus was expected to spin those businesses out with initial public offerings, but has not yet done so after the poor performance of its

Telus International spinout, whose stock has dropped nearly 90 per cent since pandemic highs.

Telus chief financial officer Doug French said in an interview Friday that the company is still strategizing around bringing in a partner or doing an initial public offering to help the businesses scale up. "We've had a lot of interest from third parties to date," Mr. French said. "There is definitely opportunity that would be in the next year or two."

Mr. Entwistle told analysts on the call the company has "prospective monetization opportunities" for partnerships, IPOs or a "combination of both" for these two business lines.

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# Ultimately, the Democrats paid the price for inflation

Consumers' angst over rising costs gave Trump an edge despite steady growth in the U.S. economy

TIM SHUFELT  
INVESTMENT REPORTER

OPINION

MARKET FORCES

Judging by the state of the U.S. economy, the Democrats should have coasted to victory this week.

Corporate America is thriving, growth is robust, unemployment is low and the stock market is booming. These are not the conditions that would normally have the masses frothing for change.

In fact, we've been led to believe that elections are about the economy above all else. Voters vote with their wallets, and so a dynamic economy should heavily favour the incumbent.

What's changed? Prices, that's what.

To the average American – or Canadian, for that matter – the macroeconomic indicators don't seem to jibe with their own lived economic experience. When you're paying 30 per cent more for food than you were before the pandemic, you may not care so much that gross domestic product grew by 2.8 per cent in the third quarter.

The inflation crisis is largely over from a policy perspective, but its legacy endures and is reshaping the political landscape.

Donald Trump was able to tap into a deep well of voter discontent over, among other things, consumer prices. On the campaign trail, he said he would make inflation "vanish completely" upon his return to the White House.

This will come as a shock to no one, but Mr. Trump's bravado does not always stand up to scrutiny. On this point, Mr. Trump's policies are no inflation remedy; in fact, they have the potential to reignite inflation, according to several prominent economists.

Inflation isn't dead yet. Not in the minds of the average consumer – and not as an economic force.

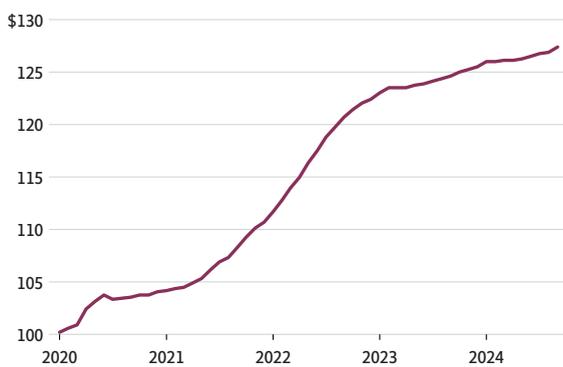
While households may curse its staying power, inflation is not entirely negative. It is generally a byproduct of a growing economy. As are rising wages, which have largely offset the rise in prices in the United States.

There is upside for investors, too, as a strong economy with moderate inflation is right in the stock market's sweet spot. In the 25 years up to the global financial crisis, U.S. inflation averaged 3.1 per cent. Over this time, the S&P 500 gained roughly 14 per cent a year on average.

Similar conditions have prevailed for nearly two years now, ever since runaway inflation began to subside. And look at what U.S. stocks have returned over that time – 27 per cent a year, after dividends. Accounting for the bite of inflation only knocks off a few percentage points.

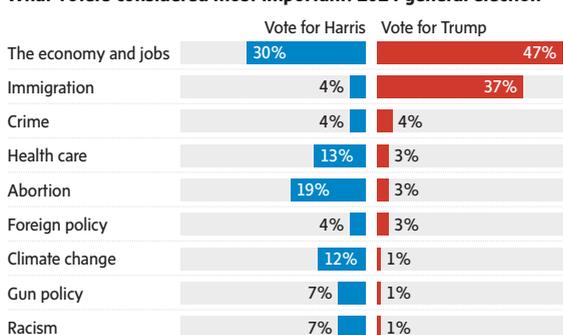
## The soaring cost of food in the United States

Monthly changes to the food index for all urban consumers, seasonally adjusted



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

## What voters considered most important: 2024 general election



THE GLOBE AND MAIL, SOURCE: AP VOTECAST

A strong stock market tends to make people feel better about the economy. It's called the "wealth effect" and it's well-grounded in research. People feel more financially secure. They spend more. All good things if you're an incumbent in an election year, at least in theory.

There is an enormous disconnect between the state of the economy and the American public's economic perceptions.

Mark Hulbert at MarketWatch has been arguing for months that the Dow Jones Industrial Average has a remarkable track record in predicting election outcomes. With a year-to-date gain of 11 per cent up to election day, the Dow's strength translated to a 70-per-cent chance of a Kamala Harris victory, according to his model.

The real economy gave off similar signals. In the postwar era, U.S. incumbents have only lost presidential elections during, or shortly after, recessions.

The U.S. economy is nowhere near a recession. Unemployment is at 4.1 per cent – very low by historical standards. Job creation has averaged 370,000 per month during President Joe Biden's term. GDP growth has averaged almost 3 per cent for more than two years.

"Guess what? We got the strongest economy in the world. The whole damn world," Mr. Biden said last week, sounding as though he was trying to convince voters of some obscure fact. And in a way, he was. There is an enormous

disconnect between the state of the economy and the American public's economic perceptions.

The U.S. Federal Reserve's latest annual survey of economic well-being of U.S. households showed that a huge majority believe the national economy is doing poorly.

Another poll conducted for The Guardian last May suggested that most Americans mistakenly believed the economy was in a recession. Half also believed unemployment was at a 50-year high and the stock market was falling.

Where is all this pessimism coming from? Inflation is a clear culprit. Exit polls from election day show that three-quarters of voters said inflation caused them hardship over the past year. The hardest-hit overwhelmingly supported Mr. Trump.

The irony is that, in doing so, those voters endorsed what may be an inflationary platform.

For starters, Mr. Trump loves tariffs. "To me, the most beautiful word in the dictionary is 'tariff,'" he said last month. He has threatened to impose a 60-per-cent tariff on goods from China and a blanket levy of 10 to 20 per cent on all other imports to the U.S., totalling roughly US\$3-trillion annually.

Tariffs are inherently inflationary because they largely flow through to the end consumer. Moody's Analytics has estimated that Mr. Trump's policies would add an average of 1 percentage point to inflation each year over the next two calendar years.

Mr. Trump insists that foreign producers will foot the bill for the tariffs. This claim is entirely divorced from reality. But that hardly seems to matter any more.

they may well occupy more space in your portfolio than you originally intended.

The right allocation to U.S. stocks varies widely, which tells you there's no one correct number. So let's look at how a few different investment products are weighting the U.S. market. We'll use balanced portfolios, with a rough mix of 60-per-cent stocks and 40-per-cent bonds, as a point of comparison.

The roboadvisor Justwealth's global balanced growth portfolio has an overall 28-per-cent portfolio weighting in U.S. stocks, while Wealthsimple's classic balanced portfolio has a U.S. equity weighting of 18.5 per cent.

Among asset allocation ETFs, the Vanguard Balanced ETF Portfolio (VBAL-T) has a 27.4-per-cent weighting in U.S. stocks, the iShares Core Balanced ETF Portfo-

lio (XBAL-T) has 28.4 per cent in U.S. stocks, the Fidelity All-in-One Balanced ETF (FBAL-NE) has 30 per cent and the TD Balanced ETF Portfolio (TBAL-T) has 25 per cent.

Among mutual funds, the Mawer Balanced Fund has a 15.3 per cent U.S. equity weighting, while the massive RBC Select Balanced Portfolio has 25 per cent.

It's tempting to let your winners run – why tamper with success? But markets that soar the most may fall the hardest. Rebalancing your U.S. exposure to get back to target levels protects you to some extent by rolling back any overexposure to that market.

Take whatever you remove from U.S. stocks and add it to whatever in your portfolio has fallen below your target. It seems a safe bet that this underrepresented asset is bonds.

# Renewable-energy stocks not necessarily a losing proposition under Trump

DAVID BERMAN

OPINION



DEEP DIVE

If you listen to U.S. political noise, Donald Trump's return to the White House looks like a very good reason to stay clear of renewable-energy stocks. Tune out the noise, though, and you may be surprised by what a bet on wind and solar might do.

Admittedly, after Mr. Trump's resounding victory in the U.S. presidential election this week, clean-energy stocks – already in the dumps – took a turn for the worse.

The iShares Global Clean Energy ETF, an exchange-traded fund that provides one-stop exposure to 101 stocks and acts as a decent barometer for the sector, sank 7.3 per cent on Wednesday. The selloff looks even worse when you consider that the S&P 500 soared on the same day.

Investors had good reason to be fearful. Mr. Trump has called climate change a hoax and has claimed that windmills cause cancer and kill whales. During his first term, he promoted fossil fuels and rolled back climate and environmental protections.

It's hard to believe his views will change much in his second term.

But the market's reaction during his first term tells a very different story. It suggests that investors would be wise to ignore the rhetoric and instead focus on the fundamental underpinnings of a sector that is bound to grow in the years ahead, no matter who occupies the White House.

"I'm not saying that the Trump administration is a great news for our industry," Michel Letellier, chief executive officer at Innergex Renewable Energy Inc., said during a conference call with analysts on Thursday.

"But I think that the U.S., as we've seen in the past, will survive this change of politics," he added.

He has a good reason to be calm.

During Mr. Trump's first term, from 2017 to 2021, renewables did considerably better than that: The iShares Global Clean Energy ETF soared 306 per cent, including dividends. It outperformed the S&P 500 by 223 percentage points over this four-year period.

Curiously, the rough patch for renewable energy stocks began during President Joe Biden's term, even though Mr. Biden confronted climate change with generous renewable energy subsidies included in his Inflation Reduction Act of 2022.

From 2021 through Tuesday's presidential election, the Clean Energy ETF fell 55 per cent and underperformed the S&P 500 by 112 percentage points.

The takeaway here isn't that Mr. Trump was good for renewable energy stocks and Mr. Biden was bad.

Rather, the sector was influenced by other factors – such as the direction of interest rates, the strength of the economy or the speed of constructing wind farms and solar installations.

Under Mr. Trump's first term, interest rates were exceptionally low. That gave renewable energy companies cheap access to capital to fund their ambitious growth plans.

What's more, investors became infatuated with the sector as the cost of producing electricity from renewables declined to levels that made solar and wind competitive with traditional energy sources, bolstering the economic incentive to going green.

During Mr. Biden's term, though, snarled supply chains contributed to construction delays and rising costs. High interest rates, which followed soaring inflation, hit companies in the renewables sector particularly hard. Any lingering investor interest in the sector vanished when the share prices of oil producers surged in 2022.

Political leanings, in other words, didn't matter much. Will they matter after Mr. Trump begins his second term?

Given the market's reaction to Mr. Trump's victory, investors aren't optimistic. If he repeals subsidies in the Inflation Reduction Act, some observers expect that the sector's profit margins will shrink.

"While wind and solar will continue to play an increasing role regardless of the administration, renewable energy stocks may not fair as well," Brett Castelli, an analyst at Morningstar, said in an e-mail.

Nonetheless, the sector has a few things going for it.

For one thing, interest rates are now falling from multi-year highs. The Federal Reserve cut its key rate by a quarter of a percentage point this week, after a half-point cut in September. Lower rates should ease funding costs for companies that rely on debt.

For another, renewables stocks are beaten up. The Clean Energy ETF is down more than 60 per cent from its high in 2021 and trading near four-year lows. This suggests that a lot of bad news is already priced in to the share prices of companies that, in some cases, have little exposure to the U.S. market.

Lastly, tying a renewables energy bet to the policies and rhetoric of U.S. presidents has been a losing bet for the past two administrations. Mr. Trump is unlikely to go green, but that might not matter.



Investor interest in renewable energy waned during Joe Biden's presidency as companies in the sector suffered the effects of high interest rates and soaring inflation. JEFF MCINTOSH/CP

# Finding a fit for U.S. holdings is still a key factor for a healthy portfolio

ROB CARRICK

OPINION



The U.S. election results demand some reflection about the United States and its place in the world, but not your investment portfolio.

A properly diversified portfolio includes significant exposure to U.S. stocks through all presidential administrations. And yet, now is an ideal time to assess your U.S. holdings to see if the fit is right.

The reason is the incredible recent performance of U.S. stocks, a phenomenon that can be summed up nicely in the 36.5-per-cent return for the S&P 500 for the 12 months to Oct. 31. U.S. stocks have outdone Canadian and international stocks, which means

# Linda looks to minimize taxes on her estate

Toronto mother of two with four grandchildren wants to pass as much along as possible

DIANNE MALEY

FINANCIAL FACELIFT

Linda is 81 years old, a recent widow who is well-fixed financially. She has a mortgage-free house in the Greater Toronto Area, two children and four grandchildren. “I have plenty of income to last me until I die,” Linda writes in an e-mail, but she would like to keep the taxes she pays on her estate to a minimum.

In addition to her government benefits of \$24,100 a year, Linda has a defined benefit pension that pays \$22,520 a year, not indexed to inflation. She draws the minimum from her registered retirement income fund (RRIF) each year, bringing her total income before tax to about \$98,000 a year. At that level, a portion of her OAS would be clawed back.

“I want to minimize the income tax that will be deducted from my RRIF, allowing me to leave as much as possible to my heirs,” Linda writes.

Linda lives modestly, spending about \$50,000 a year.

Her question: To save on estate tax, should she withdraw more than the annual minimum from her RRIF now even if it means more of her Old Age Security benefit will be clawed back?

We asked Warren MacKenzie, an independent financial planner in Toronto, to look at Linda’s situation. Mr. MacKenzie holds the chartered professional accountant designation.

## WHAT THE EXPERT SAYS

Linda wants to leave as much as possible to her heirs, and is on track to leave an estate of about \$4.3-million if she lives to 100, Mr. MacKenzie says. That would be the equivalent of about \$2.9-million in today’s purchasing power.

“Why wait until she dies before starting to help her children and grandchildren financially?” the planner asks. If Linda lives to be 100, her heirs may well say, “I don’t need this money now. I wish I could have received some help about 20 years ago.”

As well, Linda might get enjoyment from being involved in her community and financially supporting some cause that is important to her, Mr. MacKenzie says.

In 2025 Linda’s cash inflows will be about \$104,000 a year, made up of OAS \$9,400, CPP \$15,700, DB pension \$22,500, RRIF withdrawal of \$54,800 and about \$1,600 in dividends from her non-registered investment account.

Her outflows will consist of basic lifestyle spending of \$49,000 a year, income tax of \$24,000 and TFSA contribution of \$7,000. The surplus of about \$24,000 a year would be added to her non-registered account.

Linda, a do-it-yourself investor, has an asset mix of about 80 per



LAURA PROCTOR/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## CLIENT SITUATION

**The people:** Linda, 81, and her children and grandchildren.

**The problem:** How to keep estate taxes to a minimum. Should she withdraw more from her RRIF now even if it means more of her OAS will be clawed back?

**The plan:** Consider gifting some money to her heirs now, thus lowering the value of her estate. A smaller estate value will attract less in the way of income tax.

**Monthly after-tax cash flow:** \$6,460.

**Assets:** Bank account, guaranteed investment certificate \$12,650; RRIF stocks \$624,000; RRIF cash equivalent \$140,000; non-registered stocks \$52,000; non-registered cash equivalent \$27,000; TFSA \$290,000; resi-

dence \$1,600,000 Total: \$2.7-million.

**Estimated present value of DB pension:** \$450,000. That is what someone with no pension would have to save to generate the same income.

**Monthly outlays:** Property tax \$500; home insurance \$100; electricity \$205; heating \$185; garden \$80; transportation \$230; groceries \$225; clothing \$100; gifts, charity \$350; vacation, travel \$500; other discretionary \$200; dining, entertainment \$300; personal care \$225; sports, hobbies \$200; subscriptions \$75; cleaning person \$200; drugstore \$30; phones, TV, internet \$310; TFSA \$585. Total: \$4,600.

**Liabilities:** None.

“Why wait until she dies before starting to help her children and grandchildren financially?”

WARREN MACKENZIE  
FINANCIAL PLANNER

cent in stocks and 20 per cent in cash equivalents. “Given that Linda’s goal is to leave as large an estate as possible, and she could maintain her lifestyle even if her investment portfolios fell to zero, her higher-than-normal risk portfolio makes sense for her,” the planner says.

His forecast shows that if Linda reduced her gifting and charitable outflow, her CPP, OAS and defined benefit pension alone would be more than enough to maintain her lifestyle spending. If she ever needed expensive nursing-home care, she could sell her

house, now valued at \$1.6-million, to cover this cost.

Linda enjoys managing her investments so it makes sense for her to continue, Mr. MacKenzie says. She is planning to simplify her portfolio to reduce the number of stocks that she holds. “But she doesn’t know what rate of return she has earned over the past five years,” he says. The average Canadian equity exchange-traded fund has averaged about 10 per cent per annum over the past five years. “If Linda has not at least matched this return, she should consider moving to ETFs.”

All withdrawals from Linda’s RRIF will be fully taxable, so it would make sense for her to hold all of her interest-bearing investments in her RRIF and her capital-gains-producing investments in her non-registered account where she can take advantage of the lower capital-gains tax rate. She should continue to maximize her contribution to her TFSA.

Linda asks if, over the long term, she would pay less tax if she withdrew about \$40,000 more than the minimum RRIF withdrawal each year. “She realizes that she would pay tax of about 38 per cent on the additional RRIF withdrawal plus more of her OAS would be clawed back.”

If Linda’s RRIF was as large as it is now when she died, most of it would be taxed at the top marginal tax rate of 53.5 per cent,” Mr. MacKenzie says. That would mean about \$375,000 of income tax.

“There are two things Linda should consider,” the planner says. If she lives to be 100, most of her RRIF balance will have been used up by then, so only a small

amount will have to be taken into income and taxed at 53.5 per cent. Meanwhile, if she draws more from her RRIF now, she’ll pay more in income tax and have more of her OAS clawed back. So there would be little in the way of cash-flow benefit from doing so.

“If Linda could predict when she will die, she could calculate whether it makes sense to have more of her OAS clawed back now in order to end up with less of her RRIF taxed at 53.5 per cent in her estate,” Mr. MacKenzie says. “Given that she is in good health and expects to live for many more years, she should not plan to draw the extra \$40,000 a year.”

Linda has four grandchildren, all older than the age of 18. “She could give the grandchildren experience in managing money by giving each one \$8,000 annually to open a first home savings account,” the planner says. The maximum that can be put into a FHSA is \$40,000, deductible in the hands of the person who owns the FHSA. Any interest or gains on the money would grow free of tax.

If the grandchildren are not earning enough to benefit from the tax deduction, they could contribute the money to a tax-free savings account instead. Then later, when they are earning enough, they could withdraw the money from their TFSA and put it in a FHSA to get the tax deduction.

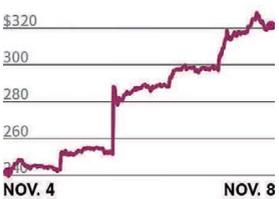
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Some details may be changed to protect the privacy of the persons profiled.

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## STARS AND DOGS JOHN HEINZL

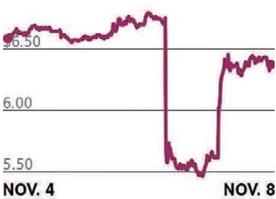
**TESLA INC.**  
PAST FIVE DAYS



SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **STAR** Can we have a cheer for Elon Musk? In a selfless move to rescue America from the woke-mind virus, pet-eating immigrants and other grave threats, the Tesla Inc. CEO threw his money behind Donald Trump, helping to put the convicted criminal and instigator of the Jan. 6 “day of love” back into the White House. A cynic might say that Mr. Musk, who has been angling for a job as chief government cost-cutter in Mr. Trump’s administration, will now expect to be rewarded with policies favourable to his struggling electric-car company. Judging by the rise in Tesla’s stock price, that’s exactly what shareholders are counting on, too.

**SUPERIOR PLUS CORP.**  
PAST FIVE DAYS

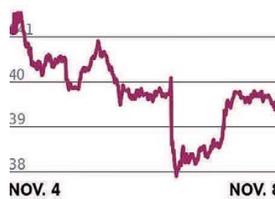


SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **DOG** Bad idea: Lighting a propane barbecue indoors to stay warm. Equally bad idea: Investing in propane distributor Superior Plus Corp. Already down sharply this year as quarterly earnings repeatedly missed estimates, the shares plunged again this week after the company slashed its dividend by 75 per cent and cut its full-year forecast for adjusted EBITDA (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization). In addition to warmer-than-normal temperatures, which have hurt sales to consumers with propane-burning furnaces, Superior is facing competitive pricing pressures at its Certarus subsidiary, which sells compressed natural gas to industrial users. All of which explains why Superior’s stock has delivered some decidedly inferior returns.

SPB (TSX), \$6.37, down 22 cents or 3.3% over week

**BCE INC.**  
PAST FIVE DAYS

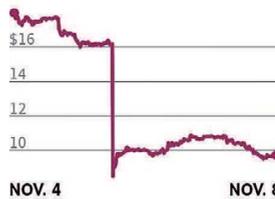


SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **DOG** There once was a company called BCE Which lost lots of money, for you and for me With its dividend stalled Its shareholders bawled: “We are widows and orphans, have some sympathy!”

BCE (TSX), \$39.49, down \$5.32 or 11.9% over week

**TRULIEVE CANNABIS CORP.**  
PAST FIVE DAYS



SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **DOG** Consuming cannabis can induce feelings of euphoria and relaxation. Investing in cannabis, on the other hand, often leads to anxiety and insomnia. The latest example is Trulieve Cannabis Corp., whose stock collapsed after voters in Florida rejected a constitutional amendment that would have legalized adult-use cannabis. Trulieve, which had spent more than US\$140-million on legalization efforts in the state, wasn’t the only victim this week. With similar ballot initiatives failing in North Dakota and South Dakota, the entire cannabis sector took a hit as prospects for the industry’s growth were dimmed. Investors could use a gummy and a shot of whiskey to soothe their nerves.

TRUL (CSE), \$9.72, down \$7.50 or 43.6% over week

**TRUMP MEDIA & TECHNOLOGY GROUP CORP.**  
PAST FIVE DAYS



SOURCE: BARCHART

■ **STAR** Postelection quiz! Match the letter next to each quotation with the number corresponding to the person who said it! a) “When you’re a star ... You can do anything.”; b) “Nobody has more respect for women than I do, nobody.”; c) “To get me, somebody would have to shoot through the fake news, and I don’t mind that so much, I don’t mind.”; d) “They’re poisoning the blood of our country.” 1) Disgraced Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein; 2) U.S. Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene; 3) Viktor Orban, Prime Minister of Hungary; 4) U.S. president-elect Donald Trump, whose election victory sent shares of his Trump Media & Technology Group sharply higher. (Answers: a-4, b-4, c-4, d-4)

DJT (Nasdaq), US\$31.91, up US\$1.35 or 4.4% over week

TSLS (Nasdaq), US\$321.22, up US\$72.24 or 29% over week

# ETFs – and interest rates – are not all created equal

As long-term bond yields have risen, their prices have fallen, which has affected the value of some bond funds

JOHN HEINZL

OPINION



INVESTOR CLINIC

**I understand that when interest rates go down, the value of fixed-income vehicles should go up. Well, interest rates have been going down, but the bond exchange-traded fund that I bought, the Harvest Premium Yield Treasury ETF (HPYT), has fallen in price. Can you explain?**

All interest rates are not the same. There are short-term rates, long-term rates, deposit rates, consumer borrowing rates, corporate borrowing rates, fixed mortgage rates, variable rates and – avoid this one if possible – the rate loan sharks charge to lend you money.

Not all of these rates move in lock-step with each other. Sometimes, they go in opposite directions, which is what appears to be happening in your case.

The U.S. Federal Reserve and the Bank of Canada have been cutting their policy interest rates, which are the overnight rates at which commercial banks borrow and lend their excess reserves to each other. When central banks cut their target for this rate, other short-term rates – such as variable mortgage rates, deposit savings rates and short-term bond yields – typically follow.

But here's the thing: The Harvest Premium Yield Treasury ETF does not invest in short-term bonds. Rather, it invests in ETFs that hold longer-dated U.S. government bonds. HPYT's largest holding is the iShares 20+ Year Treasury Bond ETF (TLT), which accounted for 68.9 per cent of HPYT's assets as of Sept. 30.

Even as short-term interest rates have dropped, the yields on longer-term bonds have gone up recently. They ticked up again this week, reflecting worries that president-elect Donald Trump's economic policies could reignite inflation. As I am writing this on Friday, the 30-year U.S. Treasury is yielding about 4.46 per cent, up from about 3.94 per cent in mid-September. As long-term bond yields have risen, their prices have fallen, which has hurt the value of HPYT.

Other factors that could affect HPYT's price include costs associated with currency hedging and the ETF's use of covered-call options on as much as 100 per cent of the portfolio to generate additional income.

**What are you planning to do with your shares of BCE Inc. (BCE) in light of this week's news about the company?**

On Monday, BCE announced that it is acquiring Zply Fiber, a fibre-internet provider in the U.S. Pacific Northwest, for about \$5-billion in cash and the assumption of about \$2-billion of debt. BCE said it plans to maintain its annualized dividend at the current level of \$3.99 for the year ending Dec. 31, 2025, and “intends to pause dividend growth until BCE's dividend payout and net debt leverage ratios are tracking towards our target policy ranges, subject to review annually by the BCE Board of Directors.”

Translation: Don't expect BCE's dividend to rise any time soon. The company's disappointing third-quarter results, which reflected intense price competition in the wireless space, further underscored the challenges it is facing.

Given that the company no longer meets the principal criterion for inclusion in my model Yield Hog Dividend Growth Portfolio, I have “sold” the portfolio's 115 BCE shares for proceeds of \$4,478.10. In a future column, I'll discuss how I am reinvesting the cash.

**I've owned SPDR S&P 500 ETF Trust (SPY) for nearly 20 years, and it has done very well. Recently I have been buying the Vanguard S&P 500 ETF (VOO) because I was more familiar with Vanguard. I realize these two exchange-traded funds are basically the same and their performance is virtually identical. Recently, however, I received correspondence from Vanguard that VOO may become “non-diversified” and that “the fund's performance may be hurt disproportionately by the poor performance of relatively few stocks, or even a single stock, and the fund's shares may experience significant fluctuations in value.” I am not familiar with diversified and non-diversified ETFs. Do you have any comment on why Vanguard has done this?**

Vanguard is simply acknowledging that the S&P 500 Index that VOO tracks has become highly concentrated in a handful of large companies and that the lack of diversification could affect the fund's performance.

In the note Vanguard sent to VOO unitholders, the company specifically flagged the information-technology sector as having a “significant portion of the fund's assets.” According to the latest portfolio update from Vanguard, the technology sector accounted for 31.7 per cent of the fund's assets, with Apple Inc. (AAPL), Microsoft Corp. (MSFT) and Nvidia Corp. (NVDA) each making up more than 5 per cent.

“Companies in the information technology sector could be affected by, among other things, overall economic conditions, short product cycles, rapid obsolescence of products, competition and government regulation. Sector risk is expected to be high for the fund,” Vanguard said.

Under the U.S. Investment Company Act of 1940, a fund qualifies as diversified if it has no more than 25 per cent of its total assets invested in companies that each account for more than 5 per cent of the fund. However, Vanguard said it recently amended VOO's prospectus such that “the fund will continue to track its target index even if the fund becomes nondiversified as a result of an index rebalance or market movement.”

In other words, despite the heavy concentration of tech stocks, it's business as usual for VOO.

The lack of diversification is not unique to VOO. Any ETF that tracks the S&P 500 has become less diversified after the massive run in tech stocks.

Bottom line: The tech sector has contributed to big gains for the index in recent years, but that momentum could go into reverse if technology stocks stumble. This isn't necessarily a reason to sell or trim your VOO or SPY holdings, unless you feel that they have become such a big portion of your portfolio that cutting back will help control your risk.

E-mail your questions to [jheinzl@globeandmail.com](mailto:jheinzl@globeandmail.com). I'm not able to respond personally to e-mails but I choose certain questions to answer in my column.

# New credit cards offer cashback on rent. But is it a worthwhile perk?

MARIYA POSTELNYAK

As the number of renters in Canada continues to climb – outpacing the rise in homeowners – credit-card issuers and fintechs are targeting this growing segment of the population with new perks.

This fall, KOHO began offering 0.25-per-cent returns with its new rent cashback program through its credit card. Meanwhile, Canadian fintech Chexy has allowed users to pay rent through their existing credit cards and reap cashback rewards since 2023.

In terms of accessibility, KOHO and Chexy keep the process straightforward for landlords.

Both charge the user's credit card and send the receiver (in this case, the landlord) an e-transfer, so nothing changes if that's how they normally accept rent payments. They also allow users to pay through preauthorized debit.

But it's important to consider whether the rewards of paying rent with credit justify the fees and how renters paying with e-transfers or cheques can truly benefit.

Money experts say the benefits can be substantial – and they go beyond financial savings alone. However, there are limitations on the rewards, and the fees aren't insignificant so it's vital to calculate how to offset these costs.

Chexy, for example, works by charging the user's credit card and then paying the landlord, but it costs users 1.75 per cent. This means they need to be using a credit card with a cashback rate of at least 2 per cent to make it worthwhile, said Cheryl Pinto, a Toronto-based personal finance coach at Wealth Works Solutions.

Scotiabank's Momentum Visa Infinite Card, for instance, offers 4 per cent on recurring bills. “With an average rent of \$2,000, you can look at making \$600 in cashback per year,” she said.

Card issuers like KOHO have additional fees to consider. Their cashback rent rewards are only available with their “Everything Plan,” which comes with a \$19 monthly fee, and the purchase of their tenant insurance. That's a steep \$228 a year. In addition, KOHO caps cashback rewards at \$3,000 in monthly rent payments.



ISTOCK PHOTO

Even a card like Scotiabank's Momentum Visa linked with Chexy is capped once users reach \$1,000 in cashback for the year. After that, the rate drops to 1 per cent.

Adrian Bar, a Toronto-based personal finance YouTuber who has invested in Chexy, said he's personally mitigated these issues by using his primary card for most of the year and switching once he hits the cap. “I stop using Scotiabank, and then switch over to the Amex or another card at 3 per cent or 2 per cent for the rest of the year,” he said. “In January, the numbers reset and I'd go back.”

Mr. Bar said he's able to save roughly \$750 a year on his monthly rent payments of \$2,200 by alternating between his Scotiabank Visa and Amex on Chexy.

But there are benefits to credit-card rent payments beyond cash rewards. Ryan Kurtz, a certified financial planner at Objective Financial Partners, said using a

credit card to pay rent can ensure you never miss a payment.

“If you were to have to pay rent a couple of days prior to when you get paid from work and you didn't have the money, you'll pay it like credit,” he said. “You'll get paid a couple days later and you can just pay off your balance.”

Of course, the risks with this arrangement are as big as the rewards. You're easily adding your biggest expense to your credit card every month.

“You don't want to be having to pay credit-card interest on your rent – that's huge,” Mr. Kurtz said.

With any credit-card rewards, Ms. Pinto urges renters to assess the “break-even” point – “how much you'd need to spend on the card annually to earn rewards that offset the fee.”

“If a card has a \$100 annual fee and offers 2-per-cent cashback, you'd need to spend at least \$5,000 annually to break even,” she said.

# Boomer bust: Millennials are shouldering a heavier tax burden to support a retiring older generation

PAUL KERSHAW

OPINION



Policy professor at the University of British Columbia and the 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.

The income taxes paid by Canadian millennials are being squeezed by population aging. The typical 35-year-old now pays approximately 20-per-cent to 40-per-cent more for boomers' healthy retirements than boomers paid as young people to support the smaller number of seniors in their day.

This extra tax burden will only get heavier in the years ahead as Ottawa enacts planned increases for Old Age Security (OAS) and the Canada Health Transfer, and provinces increase medical spending for their aging populations.

It is time to admit that Canada's plans for population aging run afoul of the “intergenerational golden rule.” As Statistic Canada's former assistant chief statistician, Michael Wolfson, famously wrote: “One generation, when it becomes old and frail, should not expect to be treated any better by its children than it treated its parents' generation in their old age.”

Unfortunately, this is exactly what is now expected of Gen X, millennials and Gen Z – because governments decades ago didn't plan adequately for boomers' retirement.

We can estimate how much bigger young people's tax burden is by examining federal and provincial income taxes owed by 35-year-olds in 2022 (the most recent data) compared with 1976. I use Statistics Canada's Social Policy Simulation Database to calculate taxes paid by individuals with identical incomes in both eras, after adjusting for inflation.

(Full results are available on the Generation Squeeze website.)

Income tax rates are generally lower now than half a century ago. A middle-earner in Ontario making \$54,000 in 2022 paid 15.2 per cent of that income in federal and provincial income taxes; back in 1976, they paid 17.6 per cent, or \$1,260 more. A high earner with \$240,000 in income pays 36.9 per cent today; in 1976, they paid 38.1 per cent, or \$2,800 more. Similar trends exist in other provinces.

The middle-earning millennial in Ontario pays \$276 more in income taxes each year toward healthy retirements than did boomers with comparable incomes in 1976 – a 28-per-cent increase. A high-earning young Ontarian pays an extra \$4,124 today – up 43 per cent.

Despite today's lower overall tax rates, millennials still contribute more income taxes to pay for retirees' medical care and OAS than young boomers paid to support the same programs for seniors in the 1970s.

This may seem counterintuitive, but the reason is simple: The percentage of Canada's population above the age of 65 increased to 19 per cent today from 8 per cent in 1976. Whereas 5 per cent of total government revenue was used to pay for seniors' medical care in 1976, 9.5 per cent was spent in 2022. The share of revenue allocated to OAS rose more modestly, but still increased to 5.9 per cent from 5.4 per cent.

These fiscal shifts reveal that “many hands made light work” half a century ago. In the 1970s, there were seven working-age Canadians to support every reti-

ree, thanks to the postwar baby boom. But as boomers began to retire, the share of working-age residents contributing tax dollars to these programs also began shrinking. Now there are just three per retiree. With fewer hands, the tax burden on each younger person grows heavier.

The middle-earning millennial in Ontario pays \$276 more in income taxes each year toward healthy retirements than did boomers with comparable incomes in 1976 – a 28-per-cent increase. A high-earning young Ontarian pays an extra \$4,124 today – up 43 per cent. Again, similar patterns exist in other provinces. And this tax bill will increase still further, as Canada approaches peak population aging in the years ahead.

Conversely, lower overall tax rates permit many retired boomers to contribute less in support of their offspring's generation than the parents of boomers paid on their behalf a half century ago.

These two trends help explain why undergraduate tuition is more expensive than when boomers were young (after adjusting for inflation), and why child care and housing receive a small fraction of new federal spending by comparison with OAS.

If we are to remedy this problem, governments must speak frankly with voters about the trade-offs between three options: changing taxes, reducing benefits for affluent boomers or increasing immigration to shore up Canada's working-age population.

Recent debate in Ottawa revealed the exact opposite. The Bloc Quebecois proposed OAS increases for rich and poor seniors alike, and Ottawa ratcheted down immigration targets – all without mention of the tax implications for the three younger Canadians who already pay more for every retired boomer.

This needs to change if Canada cares at all about intergenerational solidarity.

**S&P/TSX COMPOSITE INDEX**



**S&P 500**



**DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE**



**S&P GLOBAL 100 INDEX**



**S&P/TSX COMPOSITE INDEX STOCKS**

| LARGEST STOCKS BY MARKET CAPITALIZATION |        |         |       |          |          |                     |         |         |       |          |          |                     |        |         |       |          |          |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|---|--------|---------|-------|----------|----------|---------------------|---------|---------|-------|----------|----------|---------------------|--------|---------|-------|----------|----------|--------------------|--------|---------|-------|----------|----------|
|   | CLOSE  | NET CHG | % CHG | VOL 000s | YTD %CHG |                     | CLOSE   | NET CHG | % CHG | VOL 000s | YTD %CHG |                     | CLOSE  | NET CHG | % CHG | VOL 000s | YTD %CHG |                    | CLOSE  | NET CHG | % CHG | VOL 000s | YTD %CHG |
| AAV ADVANTAGE OIL                       | 9.00   | -0.06   | -0.66 | 189      | 5.51     | CCA COGECO COMMUN   | 72.13   | 0.63    | 0.88  | 60       | 21.53    | KEY KEYERA CORP     | 43.69  | -0.12   | -0.27 | 722      | 36.40    | RUS RUSSEL METALS  | 42.20  | -1.56   | -3.56 | 253      | -6.28    |
| AEM AGRICOLA EAGLE                      | 116.67 | -1.92   | -1.62 | 797      | 60.59    | CIGI COLLIERIES INT | 211.15  | 1.76    | 0.84  | 39       | 25.98    | KMP-UN KILLAM APA   | 18.40  | -0.02   | -0.11 | 307      | 2.45     | SSL SANDSTORM GOL  | 8.01   | -0.76   | -8.67 | 1400     | 20.27    |
| AC AIR CANADA                           | 22.54  | -0.60   | -2.59 | 4491     | 20.60    | CSU CONSTELLATION   | 4357.00 | -41.39  | -0.94 | 16       | 32.62    | KXS KINAXIS INC     | 169.28 | 1.31    | 0.78  | 39       | 13.83    | SAP SAPUTO INC     | 26.71  | -0.06   | -0.22 | 450      | -0.45    |
| AGI ALAMOS GOLD I                       | 26.96  | -0.42   | -1.53 | 619      | 51.29    | CRR-UN CROMBIE RE   | 14.72   | -0.15   | -1.01 | 225      | 6.67     | KIN KINROSS GOLD CO | 14.55  | -0.28   | -1.89 | 2595     | 81.42    | SEA SEABRIDGE GOL  | 23.35  | -0.71   | -2.95 | 47       | 45.39    |
| ASTL ALGOMA STEEL                       | 16.18  | -0.47   | -2.82 | 245      | 21.65    | DFL DEFINITY FINA   | 54.81   | -0.66   | -1.19 | 243      | 46.00    | LIF LABRADOR IRON   | 29.63  | -0.77   | -2.53 | 334      | -7.12    | SES SECURE ENERGY  | 16.86  | 0.09    | 0.54  | 853      | 78.79    |
| AON ALGONQUIN POW                       | 6.67   | 0.01    | 0.15  | 1909     | -20.22   | DML DENISON MINES   | 2.88    | 0.06    | 2.04  | 1915     | 24.14    | LB LAURENTIAN BARR  | 27.10  | 0.10    | 0.37  | 469      | -2.76    | SHOP SHOPIFY INC   | 121.25 | 2.57    | 2.17  | 2519     | 17.54    |
| ADL ALIMENTATION                        | 77.03  | 0.23    | 0.30  | 968      | -1.28    | DSG DESCARRES SYS   | 159.98  | 2.82    | 1.80  | 102      | 43.70    | LSPD LIGHTSPEED C   | 23.74  | 2.04    | 1.02  | 1004     | -14.67   | SIA SIENNA SENIOR  | 16.97  | -0.03   | -0.18 | 115      | 47.69    |
| ALP ALPHEUS LTD                         | 18.38  | -0.35   | -1.87 | 800      | -8.92    | DOL DOLLARAMA INC   | 15.00   | 1.61    | 1.08  | 574      | 58.13    | LNQ LINAMAR CORP    | 59.32  | 0.75    | 1.28  | 105      | -7.34    | SIL SILVERCREST M  | 14.33  | -0.07   | -0.49 | 293      | 64.90    |
| ALA ALUMINUM LTD                        | 33.49  | 0.17    | 0.51  | 394      | 20.38    | DIR-UN DREAM INDU   | 12.98   | -0.24   | -1.82 | 509      | -7.02    | L LOBLAW CO         | 185.51 | -0.33   | -0.18 | 334      | 44.61    | SRU-UN SMARTCENT   | 25.01  | -0.04   | -0.16 | 127      | 0.48     |
| ALF ALFALTA GROUP L                     | 56.61  | 2.49    | 4.60  | 321      | 34.34    | DPM DUNDEE PRECIO   | 13.04   | -0.21   | -1.58 | 587      | 53.77    | LUG LUNDIN GOLD I   | 32.67  | 0.76    | 2.38  | 308      | 97.52    | SOBO SOBOW BOW CO  | 32.86  | 0.11    | 0.34  | 809      | 9.53     |
| ARX ARC RESOURCES                       | 24.86  | -2.00   | -8.00 | 2362     | 29.85    | EQB EQB INC         | 107.50  | -0.67   | -0.62 | 53       | 23.24    | LUN LUNDIN MINING   | 13.89  | -0.56   | -3.88 | 2596     | 28.14    | TOY SPIN MASTER C  | 31.25  | 0.55    | 1.79  | 34       | -10.36   |
| ATZ ARTIZIA INC                         | 45.60  | 1.09    | 2.45  | 273      | 65.82    | EFM ELDORADO GOLD   | 23.15   | 0.05    | -0.22 | 274      | 34.59    | SII SPREX INC       | 60.18  | -0.45   | -0.74 | 45       | 34.09    | SSRM SSR MINING I  | 7.92   | 0.60    | 2.20  | 592      | -44.30   |
| ACO-X ATCO LTD CL                       | 47.70  | 0.22    | 0.46  | 179      | 23.35    | EDN ELEMENT FLEET   | 29.12   | 0.14    | 0.48  | 644      | 35.06    | STN STANTEC INC     | 112.16 | -5.19   | -4.42 | 419      | 5.43     | STLC STELCO HOLDI  | 68.14  | -0.28   | -0.41 | 3552     | 35.76    |
| ATH ATHABASCA OIL                       | 5.19   | -0.08   | -1.52 | 1541     | 24.46    | EMA EMERA INCORPO   | 50.19   | 0.47    | 0.95  | 1436     | -0.22    | SJ STELLA JONES I   | 72.37  | -1.89   | -2.55 | 358      | -6.16    | SVI STORAGEVAULT   | 4.13   | 0.01    | 0.24  | 712      | -21.03   |
| ATRL ATKINSREALIS                       | 69.19  | -0.70   | -1.00 | 539      | 62.19    | EMP-A EMPIRE COMP   | 41.14   | -0.76   | -1.81 | 366      | 17.38    | SUF SUN LIFE FINA   | 82.46  | -0.17   | -0.21 | 650      | 19.99    | SU SUNCOR ENERGY   | 54.48  | -0.41   | -0.75 | 3404     | 28.34    |
| ATA ATS CORP                            | 40.06  | -0.37   | -0.92 | 247      | -29.85   | ENB ENBRIDGE INC    | 58.93   | 0.12    | 0.20  | 9535     | 23.54    | TRP TC ENERGY COR   | 67.82  | -1.01   | -1.47 | 3535     | 43.87    | TH THORNTON REUTE  | 234.03 | 0.50    | 0.21  | 204      | 20.80    |
| AVS AYS GOLD AND                        | 17.11  | -0.49   | -2.78 | 349      | 76.21    | EFR ENERGY FUELS    | 8.80    | 0.02    | 0.23  | 404      | -7.37    | TLR TILRAY INC      | 2.09   | -0.04   | -1.88 | 1175     | -31.70   | TPZ TOPAZ ENERGY   | 27.89  | -0.25   | -0.89 | 236      | 43.91    |
| BTO B2GOLD CORP                         | 4.11   | -0.13   | -3.07 | 3594     | -1.91    | ENGH ENGHOUSE SYS   | 30.09   | -0.53   | -1.73 | 63       | -14.27   | TXE Torex GOLD RE   | 29.74  | -1.00   | -3.25 | 283      | 103.42   | TH TORONTO IND     | 118.65 | -0.57   | -0.48 | 191      | 2.20     |
| BCE BCE INC                             | 39.49  | 0.55    | 1.41  | 6254     | -24.31   | EQX EQUINOX GOLD    | 8.10    | 0.08    | 1.00  | 830      | 25.78    | TRH TORONTO IND     | 118.65 | -0.57   | -0.48 | 191      | 2.20     | TD TORONTO-DOMINI  | 78.91  | 0.17    | 0.22  | 4024     | -7.84    |
| BDGI BADGER INFRA                       | 37.55  | -0.95   | -2.47 | 77       | -7.76    | ERO ERO COPPER CO   | 24.13   | -0.81   | -3.25 | 335      | 15.18    | TOU TOURMALINE OI   | 62.29  | -0.87   | -1.38 | 1750     | 4.53     | TA TRANSALTA CORP  | 14.35  | -0.27   | -1.85 | 1297     | 30.22    |
| BMO BANK OF MONT                        | 129.30 | 0.09    | 0.07  | 1325     | -1.38    | EIF EXCHANGE INCO   | 55.87   | -0.02   | -0.04 | 130      | 23.88    | TCL-A TRANSCONTIN   | 17.16  | -0.33   | -1.89 | 67       | 25.26    | TPM TRIPLE FLAG    | 23.62  | -0.53   | -2.19 | 153      | 33.90    |
| BNS BANK OF NOVA                        | 75.05  | 0.05    | 0.07  | 1949     | 16.36    | FFH FAIRFAX FINAN   | 1835.68 | 14.25   | 0.78  | 31       | 50.16    | OR OSISKO GOLD RO   | 28.14  | -0.33   | -1.16 | 214      | 48.81    | TSU TRISURA GROUP  | 41.10  | -2.32   | -5.34 | 204      | -20.88   |
| ABX BARRICK GOLD                        | 25.62  | -0.01   | -0.04 | 3632     | 7.02     | FIL FIO MINING C    | 32.47   | -0.39   | -1.19 | 77       | 53.81    | PAAS PAN AMERICAN   | 31.49  | -0.94   | -2.90 | 689      | 45.58    | VRN VEREN INC      | 7.34   | -0.14   | -1.87 | 2947     | -20.13   |
| BHC BAUSCH HEALTH                       | 13.01  | -0.06   | -0.46 | 179      | 22.39    | FIT FINNING INTL    | 41.45   | -0.35   | -0.84 | 212      | 8.17     | POU PARAMOUNT RES   | 26.95  | 0.13    | 0.48  | 398      | 3.93     | VET VERMILION ENE  | 13.72  | -0.27   | -1.93 | 744      | -14.09   |
| BTE BAYTEX ENERGY                       | 4.15   | -0.16   | -3.71 | 4097     | -5.25    | FCR-UN FIRST CAPI   | 17.92   | -0.01   | -0.06 | 150      | 16.82    | PXT PAREX RESOURC   | 14.05  | -0.32   | -2.23 | 365      | -43.69   | WSP WSP GLOBAL IN  | 241.25 | -11.00  | -4.36 | 296      | 29.89    |
| BIR BIRCHCLIFF EN                       | 5.05   | -0.12   | -2.32 | 1309     | -12.63   | EMP-A EMPIRE COMP   | 9.02    | -0.36   | -3.84 | 774      | -11.22   | PSI PASON SYSTEMS   | 15.03  | 0.30    | 2.04  | 219      | -7.05    | WDO WESDOME GOLD   | 12.15  | -0.58   | -4.56 | 150      | 57.59    |
| BDT BIRD CONSTRUC                       | 29.08  | -0.47   | -1.59 | 160      | 101.94   | ENB ENBRIDGE INC    | 58.93   | 0.12    | 0.20  | 9535     | 23.54    | PLP PEMBINA PIPEL   | 57.00  | -0.13   | -0.23 | 1356     | 24.95    | WCP WHEATCAP RESO  | 90.23  | 0.95    | 1.06  | 626      | 38.03    |
| BEI-UN BOARDWALK                        | 3.25   | 0.04    | 1.25  | 2632     | -30.85   | FMV FIRST QUANTUM   | 261.67  | 1.73    | 0.67  | 61       | 21.91    | PEY PET VALU HOLD   | 25.84  | 0.47    | 1.85  | 57       | -10.22   | WPM WHEATCAP PRECI | 90.23  | 0.95    | 1.06  | 626      | 38.03    |
| BBB-B BOARDWARD                         | 97.95  | -1.02   | -1.03 | 341      | 84.08    | FSV FIRSTSERVICE    | 261.67  | 1.73    | 0.67  | 61       | 21.91    | PEY PET VALU HOLD   | 25.84  | 0.47    | 1.85  | 57       | -10.22   | WPC WHITCAP RESO   | 10.20  | -0.22   | -2.07 | 1950     | 17.25    |
| BLX BORALEX INC                         | 33.22  | -0.04   | -0.12 | 313      | -1.37    | FVI FORTUNA SILVE   | 6.66    | 0.00    | 0.00  | 711      | 30.59    | POW POWER CORP OF   | 46.57  | 0.12    | 0.26  | 883      | 22.91    | WPK WINPAK LTD     | 49.62  | 0.03    | 0.06  | 44       | 21.32    |
| BYD BYD GROUP SE                        | 217.42 | -2.71   | -1.23 | 77       | -21.93   | FTS FORTIS INC      | 61.47   | 0.68    | 1.12  | 1194     | 12.77    | PSK PRAIRIESKY RO   | 28.89  | -0.13   | -0.45 | 193      | 24.53    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
| BAM BAM BROOKFIELD                      | 78.49  | 0.98    | 1.26  | 444      | 47.48    | FWY FRANCO-NEVADA   | 170.39  | -4.83   | -2.76 | 416      | 16.09    | PD PRECISION DRIL   | 89.02  | -1.53   | -1.69 | 55       | 23.71    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
| BBU-UN BROOKFIELD                       | 35.00  | 1.64    | 4.92  | 54       | 27.97    | FXF FREEHOLD ROYA   | 13.74   | -0.10   | -0.72 | 445      | 0.37     | PBH PREMIUM BRAND   | 76.55  | 0.49    | 0.64  | 207      | -18.59   |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
| BM BROOKFIELD COR                       | 79.44  | -0.32   | -0.40 | 1209     | 49.46    | WN GEORGE WESTON    | 233.11  | -0.76   | -0.32 | 118      | 41.71    | PMZ-UN PRIMARIS R   | 15.94  | -0.11   | -0.69 | 136      | 15.51    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
| BP-UN BROOKFIELD                        | 47.64  | 0.17    | 0.36  | 309      | 14.08    | GFL GFL ENVIRONME   | 62.80   | -0.29   | -0.46 | 334      | 37.39    | PRM PRIMO WATER     | 33.57  | -0.32   | -0.94 | 13719    | 68.19    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
| BBP-UN BROOKFIELD                       | 36.83  | 0.55    | 1.52  | 317      | 5.80     | GEI GIBSON ENERGY   | 22.50   | -0.15   | -0.66 | 428      | 11.77    | ONEX ONEX CORP      | 111.12 | 2.37    | 2.18  | 342      | 20.09    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
| DDO BRP INC                             | 68.81  | 0.97    | 1.43  | 278      | -27.43   | GIL GILDAN ACTIVE   | 68.53   | 0.33    | 0.48  | 481      | 56.39    | OTEX OPEN TEXT CO   | 40.69  | -0.34   | -0.83 | 633      | -26.93   |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | GST GOESLY LTD      | 179.24  | -1.03   | -0.57 | 132      | 13.40    | OLA ORLA MINING L   | 6.59   | -0.10   | -1.49 | 180      | 52.55    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | GRV GRANITRE RE     | 76.05   | 0.66    | 0.88  | 58       | -0.30    | OR OSISKO GOLD RO   | 28.14  | -0.33   | -1.16 | 214      | 48.81    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | GWO GREAT-WEST LI   | 49.09   | 0.12    | 0.25  | 843      | 11.92    | PAAS PAN AMERICAN   | 31.49  | -0.94   | -2.90 | 689      | 45.58    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | HRX H&R REAL ES     | 10.70   | -0.12   | -1.11 | 607      | 8.08     | POU PARAMOUNT RES   | 26.95  | 0.13    | 0.48  | 398      | 3.93     |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | HWX HEADWATER EXP   | 6.85    | -0.22   | -3.11 | 781      | 9.06     | PXT PAREX RESOURC   | 14.05  | -0.32   | -2.23 | 365      | -43.69   |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | HBM HUDBAY MINERA   | 12.99   | -0.48   | -3.56 | 2301     | 78.19    | PSI PASON SYSTEMS   | 15.03  | 0.30    | 2.04  | 219      | -7.05    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | H HYDRO ONE LTD     | 44.61   | 0.15    | 0.34  | 463      | 12.37    | PLP PEMBINA PIPEL   | 57.00  | -0.13   | -0.23 | 1356     | 24.95    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | IAG IA FINANCIAL    | 127.99  | -2.40   | -1.84 | 263      | 41.69    | PET PET VALU HOLD   | 25.84  | 0.47    | 1.85  | 57       | -10.22   |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | IMG IAMGOLD CORP    | 7.89    | 0.50    | 6.77  | 2566     | 136.23   | PEY PET VALU HOLD   | 25.84  | 0.47    | 1.85  | 57       | -10.22   |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          | IMG IGM FINANCIAL   | 44.38   | 1.02    | 2.35  | 356      | 26.76    | POW POWER CORP OF   | 46.57  | 0.12    | 0.26  | 883      | 22.91    |                    |        |         |       |          |          |
|   |        |         |       |          |          |                     |         |         |       |          |          |                     |        |         |       |          |          |                    |        |         |       |          |          |

**SOCCER**  
Inter Milan winger Tajon Buchanan returns to Canada's soccer team after recovering from a broken leg ■ B18

**HOCKEY**  
Shea Weber, Pavel Datsyuk and Jeremy Roenick headline the Hockey Hall of Fame induction class ■ B24

[ HOCKEY ]



Kyle Connor of the Winnipeg Jets hits the ice before puck drop at the Canada Life Centre against the Toronto Maple Leafs on Oct. 28 in Winnipeg. Connor set a league record by scoring a goal in seven consecutive outings to start the season. JONATHAN KOZUB/NHLI VIA GETTY IMAGES

# The Jets are the NHL's hottest team, but still flying under the radar

Winnipeg has an elite scorer and the league's hottest goalie. And with a victory over the Stars on Saturday, the Jets would lay claim to the best start in NHL history

MARTY KLINKENBERG WINNIPEG

They are the best team in the NHL – on an extraordinary run – having won 13 of their first 14 games. But, outside of Winnipeg, there is not much in the way of conversation about the soaring Jets.

The same is true of their best player, Kyle Connor. He is an elite scorer but, because he plays in Manitoba rather than Manhattan, he may be the league's most underrated star.

He shrugs it off. "I've been asked about that a lot throughout my career," Connor said on Thursday as he stood in front of his dressing stall at Canada Life Centre. He has a mouse beneath his right eye from a dust-up last weekend with Tampa Bay's Nikita Kucherov. "I think it is mostly a function of playing in a small market."

"I'm not focused on that at all. I am just focused on what I can

control: the details and how I arrive at the rink. I am just trying to be the best teammate I can and do what I can do to help the team win."

With a victory over the Dallas Stars on Saturday, the Jets would improve to 14-1 and lay claim to the best start in NHL history. At this point, they have the league's best record, the most goals, the top power play and the best goalie in Connor Hellebuyck.

Last year's Vézina Trophy winner enters Saturday with a 10-1 mark, a .932 save percentage and a 1.91 goals-against average. He leads the NHL in each of those categories.

Who would have seen this coming? Certainly few outside the organization. Last season ended with a shattering 4-1 series loss to Colorado in the first round. The same fate was suffered the year before against Vegas.

"This all started in the summer," said Josh Morrissey, one of

Winnipeg's alternate captains. He is second in league scoring among defencemen this season with 16 points.

"We kind of challenged everyone to come in and be in better shape than they ever had been before, and to work on things they felt they needed to."

"Did I think we'd be sitting here at 13-1? Who knows. There is a lot of hockey left but so far, so good."

On Thursday night the Jets avenged last postseason's defeat when they beat the Avalanche 1-0. They didn't seem to go into that game carrying much of chip about last season's failure. They are Winnipeg personified. Nothing gaudy. They simply go about things quietly, almost to the point where people don't notice.

Winnipeg? It is famous for its ballet.

Connor was selected as the NHL's second star for October, during which the 27-year-old recorded a point in all 10 of the Jets'

games and set a league record by scoring a goal in seven consecutive outings to start the season.

He has cooled down a bit but has nine goals and 19 points through 14 games. His career highs are 47 goals and 93 points in 2021-22.

"I've been asked if this is the best I have ever played but I don't look at it that way," Connor said. "The things you really focus more on as a player are the chances you miss and the plays you don't make."

Connor is quiet and does everything he can to not draw attention to himself. But his teammates and coach notice the command he has on the ice.

"People don't see a lot of the simple plays he makes because he makes them at such a great pace," said Mark Scheifele, the veteran centre and alternate captain. "He has great tenacity. He's like a dog on a bone when he goes to get the puck."

■ JETS, B24

## Top teams making gutsy choices about whether to re-sign top players

CATHAL KELLY

OPINION



When Steven Stamkos chose to leave the Tampa Bay Lightning over the summer, he seemed to feel they had done him dirty.

"Fell short," was how he described negotiations with his former team. "Not by my trying, that's for sure."

Stamkos made it sound like he was being shoved out the door of a steel mill after 40 years, rather than moving to Parryville, USA to make 130 times the median wage.

Tampa kept it classy. In its public statements, it almost managed to make it sound as though it regretted how it had turned out.

When Stamkos and the Nashville Predators rolled back into town a few days ago, the Lightning made the night about him. Except for the game part of it. Tampa won.

A year ago, the book on the Lightning was that their time was over. They were still better than average, but all that meant is that it was going to take them ever longer to get back to contending. They hadn't won a playoff round in two years. They even lost to the Maple Leafs.

All the high-end talent they were still holding on to – Brayden Point, Nikita Kucherov, Andrei Vasilevskiy – was function-



Steven Stamkos, centre, joined the Nashville Predators after spending his whole NHL career with the Tampa Bay Lightning. The Predators are struggling, while the Lightning, who added Jake Guentzel, have six skaters in the top 40 scorers. NICK WASS/WIREIMAGE.COM

ally being wasted on a no-hoper.

Not any more. After returning worn-out Steven Stamkos and getting a younger, hungrier version, Jake Guentzel, the Lightning are a force again.

By swapping out one key spot, they managed to do subtraction and addition at the same time. Six Tampa skaters are currently in the top 40 in scoring.

This renewed vigour isn't translating

into a million wins, but the Lightning know better than anyone that the NHL regular season is meaningless. The important thing is how they look – alive again.

How're the Predators doing? Worst record in the league. You know they're alive because they twitch occasionally.

It could once be said that a team owed its players something. The Red Wings owed Gordie Howe. In his heyday, they

paid him about the same amount of money as a GP to make Michigan the hockey capital of the world. Some consideration was due when he began to flag.

These days, your salary is more than enough of a reward. Pros can't be mercenaries when they're in their prime, and then members of the family when they lose a step. It's one or the other.

In letting Stamkos go, the Lightning proved the 'Ronin' rule – whenever there is any doubt, there is no doubt.

I'm sure that in a perfect world they wanted Stamkos back. But at US\$8-million a year? Yeah, no. More important, the Lightning were not getting better with Stamkos on the team. They were getting worse. At any amount, he was the wrong choice.

Across the Florida peninsula, the Panthers had a similar decision to make – whether to give Sam Reinhart a raise.

Reinhart does not fit the stereotype of a cap-pressurizing free agent – he's a winger; he'd disappointed in Buffalo; he'd never scored more than 33 goals in a season before the last one, when he scored 57.

But when Reinhart was great, so was Florida. The Panthers re-signed him to an eight-year extension a few hours before he entered free agency.

Will that deal look good in seven or eight years' time? Almost certainly not. But it looks amazing right now. And now is when Florida is the early favourite to win another title.

■ KELLY, B24



Blue Bombers running back Brady Oliveira, centre, led the league in rushing with 1,353 yards off 239 carries, including three touchdowns. He also caught 57 passes for 476 yards with one TD. JOHN WOODS/THE CANADIAN PRESS

## Rivals to meet in West final as Bombers host Roughriders

Winnipeg defeated Saskatchewan in 2019 and 2021 to advance to the Grey Cup

JUDY OWEN WINNIPEG

Trevor Harris has a suggestion for CFL fans – buckle up for Saturday's West Division final. Saskatchewan's veteran quarterback believes the Roughriders and the Winnipeg Blue Bombers are equally hungry and motivated for a victory.

"[The Blue Bombers have] been to the Grey Cup the last two times and they haven't won it, so I think that their mind is they want to get back there and win it," Harris said Friday. "And they can't win the Grey Cup unless they win [Saturday]."

"And, shoot, I think we're about as hungry as you can get as a team. We're about as locked in and focused as you can get, so I think if you don't tune in [Saturday] and you're a CFL fan, I think your pulse is gone. It's going to be a heavyweight fight."

Saturday's contest between the Bombers (11-7) and Riders (9-8) doesn't have a runaway favourite, although Winnipeg will be buoyed by a fifth straight sellout crowd of 32,343 at Princess Auto Stadium.

Saskatchewan hosted the Bombers in mid-July and rang up a 19-9 victory, but Winnipeg clipped them 35-33 in Regina on Sept. 1 and 26-21 a week later at home.

Homegrown star running back Brady Oliveira will be key in Winnipeg's game plan.

Up for the CFL's most outstanding player and top Canadian awards this season, Oliveira led the league in rushing with 1,353 yards off 239 carries, including three touchdowns. He also caught 57 passes for 476 yards with one TD.

But playing Saskatchewan and its

### CALGARY PICKED AS HOST FOR 2026 GREY CUP

CALGARY The CFL says the Calgary Stampeders will hold the 113th Grey Cup in 2026. CFL commissioner Randy Ambrosie says he's thrilled the game will be returning to Calgary. He says it was where he won the championship as a player in 1993. The game is set for McMahon Stadium on Nov. 15, 2026. "We're looking forward to one of the great Grey Cup parties of all time," Ambrosie told a news conference Friday. It would be the sixth time the city has hosted, with the last in 2019. This season's Grey Cup is being played on Nov. 17 in Vancouver. Winnipeg is set to host the championship in 2025.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

top run defence hasn't provided many Oliveira highlights.

He only rushed for 49 yards in the first game, 42 in the second and 43 in the third.

"I'm going to continue to be who I've been every single game this entire season – consistent, physical and going out there and honouring my teammates," Oliveira said.

If Winnipeg is forced to go to an air attack, Saskatchewan defensive back Rolan Milligan Jr. is ready to help snatch away momentum.

He's the West Division's nominee for most outstanding defensive and special-teams player. He led the league with eight interceptions and added 10 pass knock-downs.

"Everybody knows the type of defence we are," said Milligan, whose group led the league with a plus-26 turnover ratio.

"Getting the ball is one of our big things. We couldn't do that the last time we played them and I think that played a big part in us losing that game."

Saskatchewan's run game counters

with the duo of A.J. Ouellette and Ryquell Armstead.

Both teams have overcome stretches of losses and key injuries, but rebounded in time for the playoffs.

Winnipeg opened the season with four straight losses and later enjoyed an eight-game win streak. The Blue Bombers won their regular-season finale to claim top spot in the division.

Saskatchewan went through a span that included six losses and one tie. However, the Roughriders won five of their past six games, including the West semi-final victory over the B.C. Lions.

"There's a lot of value in that," said Saskatchewan head coach Corey Mace. "There was a point in our situation that I knew we had something special, just seeing how the guys were reacting."

"No finger pointing. Everybody just wanted to put their head down and find a way to find a way."

If the Blue Bombers down Saskatchewan, they'll join elite CFL company. Only three teams in league history have advanced to five consecutive Grey Cup games.

"It's been a really special ride, for sure," Winnipeg quarterback Zach Collaros said. "Historically speaking that's really cool, but tomorrow is the focus."

When Winnipeg defeated the Roughriders in both the 2019 and '21 West finals, the club went on to capture a pair of national titles. The past two division final victories were against the B.C. Lions and were followed by Grey Cup losses.

"Staying at the top is always hard, because at the top you have a target on your back," Bombers defensive end Willie Jefferson said.

The game features this season's top two defences in yards allowed. Winnipeg allowed an average of 329 yards per game, 27 fewer than the Roughriders.

The Bombers have won their last eight games at home against Saskatchewan, including the 2021 West final.

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## Regina Rams looking for another upset victory in Hardy Cup

GREGORY STRONG

The Regina Rams looked destined for a last-place finish in the six-team Canada West football standings just two short weeks ago.

A pair of dramatic comeback wins now have them a victory away from a spot in the U Sports final four.

"I tell our players that you can't write a better script," said Rams coach Mark McConkey. "We were down, out, on life support and now we're in the Hardy Cup."

Playoff hopes looked faint in Regina's regular-season finale against the Alberta Golden Bears on Oct. 25. The Rams were down by 18 points in the third quarter before reeling off 25 unanswered points for the victory.

Regina claimed the fourth seed in the conference at 3-5, a slightly misleading record since three of those defeats were by three points or fewer.

Undaunted by the challenge of playing the top-seeded Manitoba Bisons on the road, Regina pulled off a 28-25 upset win last week. The Rams marched the length of the field late in the fourth quarter, with Nicholas Sirleaf's 16-yard touchdown catch with 19 seconds left capping a 101-yard drive.

The victory set up a date with provincial rival Saskatchewan for the confer-

ence title on Saturday. The Huskies, who split their two regular-season meetings with the Rams, advanced with a 38-33 win over British Columbia.

It will be the first time since 2002 that Regina and Saskatchewan have played for the Canada West crown.

"The players are pretty excited about it," McConkey said. "It's a big rivalry. There's a lot of respect there. But at the end of the day, they're not fans of us and we're not fans of them."

Two of the three other conference finals Saturday will also feature provincial rivals.

In Ontario, the undefeated Wilfrid Laurier Golden Hawks will entertain the Western Mustangs in the Yates Cup. In Quebec, the reigning Vanier Cup champion Montreal Carabins face the Laval Rouge et Or in the Dunsmore Cup.

The Atlantic conference's Loney Bowl pits unbeaten Bishop's against Saint Mary's.

The winning teams will advance to the national semi-finals on Nov. 16.

The Mustangs beat the Golden Hawks 29-14 last fall for their third straight Yates Cup victory. Laurier has home-field advantage this year and a full house is expected at University Stadium in Waterloo, Ont.

"They tend to play their best football in late October and into November," Laurier coach Michael Faulds said of the Mustangs. "We've got that identity as

well. We do have a great quarterback (6-foot-6 Taylor Elgersma) who can throw the ball and spread it out all over the field.

"But we also have a mindset that when we really need to, we can be tough and gritty and run the football as well. Western obviously has the history and the background of playing in this game but now we do as well."

Laurier closed the season just one ranking point behind the top-seeded Carabins, who like the Rouge et Or finished the campaign at 7-1. Montreal crushed the McGill Redbirds 42-3 last week while Laval topped the Concordia Stingers 41-18.

The Carabins beat visiting Laval 12-6 a year ago, but this time the Rouge et Or will host.

Bishop's, meanwhile, is coming off a 59-0 laugh over the Acadia Axemen. The Huskies held on for a 21-17 win over the St. Francis-Xavier X-Men in the other Atlantic semi-final.

Saturday's game will mark the first time that the Loney Bowl is contested at Coulter Field.

The winner will host the Ontario champion in the Uteck Bowl. The Quebec champion will visit the Canada West winner in the Mitchell Bowl.

The Vanier Cup will be played Nov. 23 at Kingston.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

## Flacco, Colts will try to rebound from rough performance when they face Bills

MICHAEL MAROT INDIANAPOLIS

Indianapolis Colts quarterback Joe Flacco took a long, honest look at last week's game tape and came to one conclusion.

He must play better – and so must the Colts' offence.

Midway through his first season in Indy, the 39-year-old Flacco has taken hold of the starting job and is now trying to figure out how to jump start the sluggish offence, which keeps struggling to stay on the field and sustain drives.

"It's never easy to look in the mirror after losses," Flacco said. "It's just the nature of this business and that's part of building a team, being able to actually face those challenges. We've had that challenge a couple times this year and we've done a good job [responding]. We've just got to continue to do that and trust our preparation is going to carry us into the game and allow us to play the way we want to."

It certainly won't be easy Sunday against Buffalo (7-2), a runaway leader in the AFC East, or with an offensive line that could again be starting multiple rookies.

This is certainly not where the Colts (4-5) expected to be – trying to rebound from back-to-back losses after moving back into the playoff picture with four wins in five games. Or naming Flacco the starter over second-year quarterback Anthony Richardson.

But the struggles have continued regardless of who's taking snaps. Richardson sat out last week when the Colts scored on a pick-six, settled for a field goal after another take-away without getting a first down and driving for one field goal. The Colts finished with just 227 yards in offence.

"I think we had a few third-and-mediums last week we didn't convert, but we've got to get back on track on third down," coach Shane Steichen said. "I think we were pretty efficient there early on in the season. The last two weeks haven't been up to our standards, so we've got to get back on track."

The Bills have their own offensive concerns.

While Josh Allen has been impressive, throwing 17 TD passes and only two interceptions, injuries could leave his receiving corps short-handed Sunday and the result could be giving James Cook a heavier workload on the ground against a Colts defence that has struggled all season to stop the run. Allen isn't fretting.

"It doesn't have to be pretty, but good teams find ways to win," Allen said. "We have a lot of guys in the locker room who don't care about the end result, don't care about the style points of it. They just want to make sure that we're finding ways to get it done."

The Colts are trying to figure out how to get there, too.

HAPPY RETURNS

The Bills welcomed back two familiar faces this week in defensive tackles Jordan Phillips and Quinton Jefferson to improve their run defence. Phillips is in his third stint with Buffalo, while Jefferson was with the Bills in 2020. Their familiarity with the defence should smooth the midseason transition, but coach Sean McDermott hasn't said whether either will play Sunday. Phillips spent seven weeks on Dallas' injured reserve list with an injured wrist. Jefferson was inactive the last five games with Cleveland. "It's like riding a bike, really," said Phillips, who wasn't listed on Buffalo's injury report. "They have a couple of new things I haven't went over, but I got them down today. So, it'll be okay."

ON THE RUN

One potential solution for Indy's offensive woes would be getting running back Jonathan Taylor more involved. Part of the problem has been continuity. While Taylor has battled an ankle injury throughout the season, the Colts also have been down multiple linemen this season, which will likely happen again this week with centre Ryan Kelly out. Right guard Will Fries already went down with what could be a season-ending lower leg injury. The solution? "We've got to be physical up front. That's where it starts," Steichen said. "What can get us going? Obviously, we want to create the explosives, but even the four- to five-yard runs, staying efficient in the run game is going to help."

BLITZ TIMING

McDermott prefers to have his defence apply pressure with its front-four while picking spots when to blitz. "To just blitz irresponsibly is in some ways irresponsible at times," McDermott said, before noting his philosophy might go against the teachings of his late mentor Jim Johnson in Philadelphia, who helped revolutionize the blitz. Buffalo ranks 21st in the NFL in sacks per passing play this year. The Bills have 21 sacks and are led by Greg Rousseau (4½) and Von Miller (three). The NFL's active sacks leader with 126½. Miller returned last week after serving a four-game NFL suspension for violating the league's personal conduct policy.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

# Buchanan back with Canadian men's soccer team

The 25-year-old from Brampton, Ont., underwent surgery in to repair fractured tibia

NEIL DAVIDSON

Inter Milan winger Tajon Buchanan, recovered from a broken leg suffered in training at this summer's Copa America, is back in Jesse Marsch's Canada squad for the CONCACAF Nations League quarter-final against Suriname.

The 25-year-old from Brampton, Ont., underwent surgery July 3 to repair a fractured tibia in Texas.

Canada, ranked 35th in the world, plays No. 136 Suriname on Nov. 15 in Paramaribo. The second leg of the aggregate series is four days later at Toronto's BMO Field.

There is also a return for veteran winger Junior Hoilett, who last played for Canada in June in a 4-0 loss to the Netherlands in Marsch's debut at the Canadian helm. The 34-year-old from Brampton, now with Scotland's Hibernian, has 15 goals in 63 senior appearances for Canada.

Midfielder Ismaël Koné, recovered from an ankle injury sustained on club duty with France's Marseille, also returns. He missed Canada's last three matches since the fourth-place Copa America loss to Uruguay in July.

But Canada will be without centre back Derek Cornelius, who exited Marseille's win Sunday over Nantes on a stretcher after suffering an apparent rib injury. And winger Liam Miller is out for the season after injuring his anterior cruciate ligament last month playing for England's Hull City.

The Canadian men will prepare for Suriname next week at a camp



Canada forward Tajon Buchanan, right, tries to intercept a pass during a game against Morocco at the Al Thumama Stadium in Doha, Qatar, in December, 2022. NATHAN DENETTE/THE CANADIAN PRESS

## CPL WANTS TO EXPAND BY TWO TEAMS IN 2026

CALGARY The Canadian Premier League intends to expand by two teams in 2026. CPL commissioner Mark Noonan says the league is in discussions with groups in Edmonton, Laval, Que., Kelowna, B.C., Kitchener, Waterloo and Windsor, Ont., Quebec City, Saskatoon and the Toronto area. The league currently consists of eight teams. On Saturday, Calvary FC will play against the Hamilton Forge for the CPL's Northern Star Cup.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. "We are looking forward to getting the group together again with the mindset that there is a trophy on the line," Marsch said in a statement. "We want to end 2024 the right way with two excellent performances against a competitive Suriname squad and continue building on our tremendous growth this past summer."

The quarter-final winners advance to the Nations League Finals at SoFi Stadium in Inglewood, Calif., with the two semi-finals scheduled for March 20 and the final and third-place playoff March 23, and qualify for the 2025 CONCACAF Gold Cup.

Thirteen of the 23 players on the Canadian roster are 25 or younger, with 19-year-old

defender Jamie Knight-Lebel, currently playing for England's Crewe Alexandra on loan from Bristol City, the youngest.

Bayern Munich star Alphonso Davies captains the side with Stephen Eustáquio, Jonathan Osorio, Richie Laryea, Alistair Johnston and Kamal Miller adding veteran support.

Jonathan David, Cyle Larin and Theo Bair are joined in attack by Minnesota United's Tani Oluwaseyi.

Niko Sigur, a 21-year-old midfielder with Croatia's Hadjuk Split, continues in the squad after making his debut in the September friendly against Mexico.

Suriname made it to the Nations League quarter-finals by finishing second to Costa Rica in

Group A of the Nations League, ahead of No. 104 Guatemala, No. 161 Guyana and unranked Martinique and Guadeloupe.

"A good team," Osorio said of Suriname. "These games are always tricky and they're not easy at all. Suriname is a [former] Dutch colony and they'll have Dutch players playing at high levels."

"They won't be someone we overlook at all," added the Toronto FC captain, who has 81 Canada caps to his credit.

Located on the northeast coast of South America between Guyana and French Guiana, Suriname was granted independence in 1975 by the Netherlands.

Canada has faced Suriname twice before, both in World Cup qualifying play, winning 4-0 in suburban Chicago in June, 2021, and 2-1 in Mexico City in October, 1977.

The Canadian men, along with Mexico, the United States and Panama, received a bye into the final eight of the CONCACAF Nations League.

Canada, No. 2 in the CONCACAF rankings, drew Suriname as the best-placed runner-up from League A play.

Canada lost to Jamaica in last year's Nations League quarter-final, ousted on the away-goals rule after the series ended in a 4-4 draw. The Canadians lost 2-0 to the U.S. in the final of the 2022-23 tournament and finished fifth in 2019-20.

Canada defeated Panama 2-1 last time out, in an Oct. 15 friendly in Toronto.

Goalkeepers Maxime Crépeau and Jonathan Sirois, defenders Joel Waterman, Laryea and Miller and Osorio took part in a precamp this week in Toronto for North America-based players.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

## NHL

### EASTERN CONFERENCE

#### ATLANTIC DIVISION

| GP        | W  | L  | OTL | GF | GA | Pt |    |
|-----------|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| Florida   | 14 | 10 | 3   | 1  | 54 | 43 | 21 |
| Toronto   | 14 | 7  | 5   | 2  | 43 | 39 | 16 |
| Tampa Bay | 14 | 7  | 6   | 1  | 49 | 45 | 15 |
| Boston    | 15 | 7  | 7   | 1  | 38 | 49 | 15 |
| Detroit   | 12 | 6  | 5   | 1  | 33 | 36 | 13 |
| Buffalo   | 14 | 6  | 7   | 1  | 47 | 44 | 13 |
| Ottawa    | 13 | 6  | 7   | 0  | 45 | 42 | 12 |
| Montreal  | 14 | 4  | 8   | 2  | 38 | 58 | 10 |

#### METROPOLITAN DIVISION

| GP             | W  | L  | OTL | GF | GA | Pt |    |
|----------------|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| Carolina       | 12 | 10 | 2   | 0  | 50 | 28 | 20 |
| New Jersey     | 16 | 9  | 5   | 2  | 58 | 45 | 20 |
| Washington     | 12 | 9  | 3   | 0  | 49 | 35 | 18 |
| N.Y. Rangers   | 12 | 8  | 3   | 1  | 45 | 30 | 17 |
| N.Y. Islanders | 14 | 6  | 6   | 2  | 36 | 42 | 14 |
| Columbus       | 12 | 5  | 5   | 2  | 40 | 40 | 12 |
| Pittsburgh     | 15 | 5  | 8   | 2  | 42 | 59 | 12 |
| Philadelphia   | 14 | 5  | 8   | 1  | 37 | 51 | 11 |

### WESTERN CONFERENCE

#### CENTRAL DIVISION

| GP        | W  | L  | OTL | GF | GA | Pt |    |
|-----------|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| Winnipeg  | 14 | 13 | 1   | 0  | 63 | 30 | 26 |
| Minnesota | 13 | 9  | 2   | 2  | 47 | 35 | 20 |
| Dallas    | 12 | 8  | 4   | 0  | 38 | 28 | 16 |
| Utah      | 14 | 6  | 5   | 3  | 41 | 47 | 15 |
| St. Louis | 14 | 7  | 7   | 0  | 37 | 44 | 14 |
| Colorado  | 14 | 6  | 8   | 0  | 46 | 52 | 12 |
| Chicago   | 15 | 5  | 9   | 1  | 39 | 48 | 11 |
| Nashville | 14 | 4  | 9   | 1  | 33 | 50 | 9  |

#### PACIFIC DIVISION

| GP          | W  | L | OTL | GF | GA | Pt |    |
|-------------|----|---|-----|----|----|----|----|
| Vegas       | 13 | 9 | 3   | 1  | 58 | 39 | 19 |
| Los Angeles | 15 | 8 | 4   | 3  | 49 | 45 | 19 |
| Vancouver   | 12 | 7 | 2   | 3  | 39 | 36 | 17 |
| Calgary     | 14 | 7 | 5   | 2  | 41 | 44 | 16 |
| Edmonton    | 14 | 6 | 7   | 1  | 33 | 43 | 13 |
| Seattle     | 14 | 5 | 8   | 1  | 40 | 45 | 11 |
| Anaheim     | 12 | 4 | 6   | 2  | 25 | 36 | 10 |
| San Jose    | 15 | 4 | 9   | 2  | 36 | 56 | 10 |

### Friday

Detroit at Toronto  
Pittsburgh at Washington  
Minnesota at Anaheim  
Vegas at Seattle

### Thursday

Buffalo 6 N.Y. Rangers 1  
Boston 4 Calgary 3 (OT)  
New Jersey 5 Montreal 3  
N.Y. Islanders 4 Ottawa 2  
Florida 6 Nashville 2  
Carolina 5 Pittsburgh 1  
Philadelphia 2 Tampa Bay 1  
Dallas 3 Chicago 1  
Winnipeg 1 Colorado 0  
Utah 4 St. Louis 2  
Minnesota 5 San Jose 2  
Vancouver 4 Los Angeles 2

### Saturday — All Times Eastern

Calgary at Buffalo, 1 p.m.  
Dallas at Winnipeg, 3 p.m.  
Philadelphia at Florida, 6 p.m.  
Montreal at Toronto, 7 p.m.  
N.Y. Rangers at Detroit, 7 p.m.  
Ottawa at Boston, 7 p.m.  
Washington at St. Louis, 7 p.m.  
New Jersey at N.Y. Islanders, 7:30 p.m.  
Utah at Nashville, 8 p.m.  
Carolina at Colorado, 9 p.m.  
Columbus at Los Angeles, 9 p.m.  
Edmonton at Vancouver, 10 p.m.

### CPL PLAYOFFS

#### CHAMPIONSHIP

Saturday — All Times Eastern  
Hamilton (1) at Calgary (2), 3 p.m.

## NFL

### AMERICAN CONFERENCE

|               | W | L | T | Pct   | PF  | PA  |
|---------------|---|---|---|-------|-----|-----|
| <b>EAST</b>   |   |   |   |       |     |     |
| Buffalo       | 7 | 2 | 0 | .778  | 260 | 173 |
| N.Y. Jets     | 3 | 6 | 0 | .333  | 171 | 183 |
| Miami         | 2 | 6 | 0 | .250  | 124 | 187 |
| New England   | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222  | 141 | 217 |
| <b>SOUTH</b>  |   |   |   |       |     |     |
| Houston       | 6 | 3 | 0 | .667  | 201 | 200 |
| Indianapolis  | 4 | 5 | 0 | .444  | 188 | 193 |
| Tennessee     | 2 | 6 | 0 | .250  | 140 | 213 |
| Jacksonville  | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222  | 195 | 252 |
| <b>NORTH</b>  |   |   |   |       |     |     |
| Pittsburgh    | 6 | 2 | 0 | .750  | 187 | 119 |
| Baltimore     | 7 | 3 | 0 | .700  | 318 | 253 |
| Cincinnati    | 4 | 6 | 0 | .400  | 270 | 262 |
| Cleveland     | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222  | 148 | 213 |
| <b>WEST</b>   |   |   |   |       |     |     |
| Kansas City   | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 | 203 | 147 |
| L.A. Chargers | 5 | 3 | 0 | .625  | 159 | 101 |
| Denver        | 5 | 4 | 0 | .556  | 183 | 161 |
| Las Vegas     | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222  | 168 | 251 |

### NATIONAL CONFERENCE

|               | W | L | T | Pct  | PF  | PA  |
|---------------|---|---|---|------|-----|-----|
| <b>EAST</b>   |   |   |   |      |     |     |
| Washington    | 7 | 2 | 0 | .778 | 263 | 189 |
| Philadelphia  | 6 | 2 | 0 | .750 | 199 | 155 |
| Dallas        | 3 | 5 | 0 | .375 | 171 | 225 |
| N.Y. Giants   | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222 | 139 | 202 |
| <b>SOUTH</b>  |   |   |   |      |     |     |
| Atlanta       | 6 | 3 | 0 | .667 | 221 | 216 |
| Tampa Bay     | 4 | 5 | 0 | .444 | 259 | 243 |
| Carolina      | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222 | 147 | 293 |
| New Orleans   | 2 | 7 | 0 | .222 | 207 | 229 |
| <b>NORTH</b>  |   |   |   |      |     |     |
| Detroit       | 7 | 1 | 0 | .875 | 258 | 148 |
| Minnesota     | 6 | 2 | 0 | .750 | 209 | 150 |
| Green Bay     | 6 | 3 | 0 | .667 | 230 | 194 |
| Chicago       | 4 | 4 | 0 | .500 | 172 | 148 |
| <b>WEST</b>   |   |   |   |      |     |     |
| Arizona       | 5 | 4 | 0 | .556 | 207 | 214 |
| L.A. Rams     | 4 | 4 | 0 | .500 | 170 | 194 |
| San Francisco | 4 | 4 | 0 | .500 | 210 | 182 |
| Seattle       | 4 | 5 | 0 | .444 | 210 | 221 |

### WEEK 10

Byes: Cleveland, Las Vegas, Green Bay, Seattle

### Thursday

Baltimore 35 Cincinnati 34  
Sunday — All Times Eastern  
N.Y. Giants vs. Carolina (at Munich, Germany), 9:30 a.m.  
Atlanta at New Orleans, 1 p.m.  
Buffalo at Indianapolis, 1 p.m.  
Denver at Kansas City, 1 p.m.  
Minnesota at Jacksonville, 1 p.m.  
New England at Chicago, 1 p.m.  
Pittsburgh at Washington, 1 p.m.  
San Francisco at Tampa Bay, 1 p.m.  
Tennessee at L.A. Chargers, 4:05 p.m.  
N.Y. Jets at Arizona, 4:25 p.m.  
Philadelphia at Dallas, 4:25 p.m.  
Detroit at Houston, 8:20 p.m.

### Monday

Miami at L.A. Rams, 8:15 p.m.

### CFL PLAYOFFS

#### DIVISION FINALS

Saturday — All Times Eastern  
Eastern Conference  
Toronto (2) at Montreal (1), 3 p.m.  
Western Conference  
Saskatchewan (2) at Winnipeg (1), 6:30 p.m.

## NBA

### EASTERN CONFERENCE

|              | W | L | Pct   | GB    |
|--------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Cleveland    | 9 | 0 | 1.000 | —     |
| Boston       | 7 | 2 | .778  | 2     |
| Indiana      | 4 | 4 | .500  | 4 1/2 |
| Brooklyn     | 4 | 4 | .500  | 4 1/2 |
| Atlanta      | 4 | 5 | .444  | 5     |
| New York     | 3 | 4 | .429  | 5     |
| Miami        | 3 | 4 | .429  | 5     |
| Charlotte    | 3 | 5 | .375  | 5 1/2 |
| Chicago      | 3 | 6 | .333  | 6     |
| Orlando      | 3 | 6 | .333  | 6     |
| Washington   | 2 | 4 | .333  | 5 1/2 |
| Detroit      | 3 | 6 | .333  | 6     |
| Milwaukee    | 2 | 6 | .250  | 6 1/2 |
| Toronto      | 2 | 7 | .222  | 7     |
| Philadelphia | 1 | 6 | .143  | 7     |

### WESTERN CONFERENCE

|               | W | L | Pct  | GB    |
|---------------|---|---|------|-------|
| Phoenix       | 7 | 1 | .875 | —     |
| Oklahoma City | 7 | 1 | .875 | —     |
| Golden State  | 7 | 1 | .875 | —     |
| Houston       | 5 | 3 | .625 | 2     |
| Dallas        | 5 | 3 | .625 | 2     |
| Minnesota     | 5 | 3 | .625 | 2     |
| Sacramento    | 5 | 3 | .625 | 2     |
| Denver        | 5 | 3 | .625 | 2     |
| Memphis       | 5 | 4 | .556 | 2 1/2 |
| L.A. Lakers   | 4 | 4 | .500 | 3     |
| L.A. Clippers | 4 | 4 | .500 | 3     |
| San Antonio   | 4 | 5 | .444 | 3 1/2 |
| Portland      | 3 | 6 | .333 | 4     |
| New Orleans   | 3 | 6 | .333 | 4     |
| Utah          | 1 | 7 | .125 | 6 1/2 |

### Friday

Atlanta at Detroit  
Indiana at Charlotte  
New Orleans at Orlando  
Brooklyn at Boston  
Golden State at Cleveland  
Milwaukee at New York  
Phoenix at Dallas  
Houston at Oklahoma City  
Washington at Memphis  
Miami at Denver  
Portland at Minnesota  
L.A. Clippers at Sacramento  
Philadelphia at L.A. Lakers

### Thursday

Minnesota 135 Chicago 119  
San Antonio 118 Portland 105  
Milwaukee 123 Utah 100  
Saturday — All Times Eastern  
Utah at San Antonio, 5 p.m.  
Brooklyn at Cleveland, 7:30 p.m.  
Chicago at Atlanta, 7:30 p.m.  
Toronto at L.A. Clippers, 10:30 p.m.

### U SPORTS FOOTBALL

#### PLAYOFFS

Saturday — All Times Eastern  
AUS CHAMPIONSHIP  
Loney Bowl  
Saint Mary's (3) at Bishop's (1), 2 p.m.  
REOQ CHAMPIONSHIP  
Dunsmore Cup  
Montreal (2) at Laval (1), 12 p.m.  
OUA CHAMPIONSHIP  
Yates Cup  
Western (2) at Wilfrid Laurier (1), 1 p.m.

### CANADA WEST CHAMPIONSHIP

Hardy Cup  
Regina (4) at Saskatchewan (2), 2 p.m.

## TELEVISION

### SATURDAY (ALL TIMES EASTERN)

#### AUTO SPORTS

NASCAR Xfinity Championship, 7 p.m., TSN 5

#### BASKETBALL

NBA: Utah at San Antonio, 5 p.m., NBA TV  
NBA: Brooklyn at Cleveland, 7:30 p.m., NBA TV  
NBA: Toronto at L.A. Clippers, 10:30 p.m., TSN 1, 4, 5; 5:30 p.m., TSN 3

#### CURLING

Grand Slam: Canadian Open, Women's Quarterfinal, 2 p.m., SN 1, 3:30 p.m., SN O, E, W, P  
Grand Slam: Canadian Open, Men's Quarterfinal, 6 p.m., SN 1  
Grand Slam: Canadian Open, Men's and Women's Semifinals, 10 p.m., SN 1

## BIRTH AND DEATH NOTICES

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## BIRTHS

## SHARPE-HUTTON

Alex (Top-O) and Victoria are delighted to announce the birth of their daughter, Joni Kit Sharpe Hutton, born on September 4, 2024 at 5:54pm in Fernie, BC. A sister for Arnica. Proud grandparents are Sally Stewart and Michael Sharpe of Toronto, Ontario and Dr. Virginia MacLennan and Al Hutton of Pickering, Ontario. Special thanks to Aura-Taina Turcasso and the wonderful staff at the Elk Valley Hospital.

## SOLSBERG/STURROCK

To Mariel and Blair, a son, Ruari Saber Austin Sturrock, October 10, 2024, Shawanigan Lake, BC. Grandparents Elizabeth Austin and Lauri Solsberg, West Vancouver, Paul Sturrock, Cornwall, England, Barbara Sturrock, Dundee, Scotland.

## DEATHS



## RUSSELL BRAKE

Russell Ivor Pelham Brake, 96, passed away peacefully at his home in Oakville, Ontario, on November 2, 2024. Predeceased by his wife, Barbara Brake (nee Crehan), he will be sorely missed by his children, David and Michael and Michael's wife Lisa; and his grandchildren, Adrien and Emmeline, and Ben and Owen.

Russell was born September 15, 1928, and grew up an only child in London, Ontario. He was the first of his family to attend university, getting a degree in economics at Western University. His father, Ivor, was a Lt.-Col. in the Canadian Fusiliers and Russell became a Captain in the same regiment while at university. He met and later married Barbara in 1962 and was a devoted husband for over 50 years, living with and supporting her to the end of her life. Russell had a long and successful career in investment banking. He started with Bay Street firm A E Ames and moved with them to New York and London, UK, in the '60s and early '70s before returning to Toronto to bring up his family. In 1988, Russell and Barbara moved to Oakville and quickly became a key part of the local community. They enjoyed hosting parties in their beautiful home and shared their love of sports including tennis and golf with friends. Russ also loved travel, photography and jazz, and passed on his love of music to the next generation. In their final years, Russell and Barbara were selflessly supported by his wonderful caregiver, Alice Galasi and her son, Lexclue Ducusin.

His ashes are buried beside those of Barbara in the memorial gardens of St. Jude's Church, Oakville. Friends and family will gather at the Oakville Club (56 Water Street, Oakville) for a Celebration of Life on Sunday, January 5th, at 2 p.m. To contact the family with messages of condolence or pictures and memories to share, please share them via oakviewfuneral.ca or directly to davidbrake@gmail.com. Donations in his memory may be made to the Heart and Stroke Foundation.

## Celebrate a life

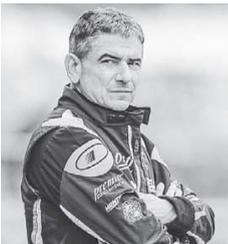
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## DEATHS

STEVEN MARK BARBAN  
1964 – 2024

It is with profound sadness that the family of Steven Mark Barban shares the news of his sudden passing on Wednesday, October 30, 2024, at the age of 59. Born on October 31, 1964, in Sault Ste. Marie, Steve was predeceased by his Italian-Canadian parents, Rena and Giorgio; and is survived by his wife, Krista; children, Tyler (Kelley) and Tori; brothers, Gastone (Jane) and Dennis (Karen); in-laws, Terrence and Kirsten Kavanagh, Trish and JJ Hochrein, Kaleigh Kavanagh and David Rozon; and nieces and nephews, Alicia, Kimberly, Ashley, Matthew and Griffin.

A graduate of Carleton University, Steve's leadership journey began as President of the Carleton University Residence Association. He went on to build a remarkable career as an entrepreneur, establishing Gentry Capital, a leading investment firm in Ottawa, and making his mark as a successful restaurateur and real estate investor with ventures in Ontario, Québec, and TCI.

Steve was a remarkable individual, a soft-spoken gentleman, and an accomplished businessman. Whether leading his team and clients at Gentry Capital with vision and commitment, fulfilling his dream of owning a hockey team and ultimately winning the CCHL Championship with his Navan Grads, or stepping up and giving back as a pillar in his community and beyond, he approached it with immense integrity and dedication. He was fiercely passionate about everything he did and held himself to the highest standards, only ever trying to outdo himself.

Above all, Steve was immeasurably proud of his role as father and husband. To say he lit up at any mention of their accomplishments is an understatement. His competitive spirit was in full throttle every time he hit the track for Point Karting/Montebello Motorsports with his teammate Tyler, while his lighthearted side was evident when he spent cherished time with Tori. He loved passing on his wisdom, leading by example, and watching them thrive.

He reveled in his time spent in the Turks, sand in his toes and a beer in hand with his best friend, Krista, and his Bob's Bar crew. On the ice, on the track, abroad, or by the lake, Steve beamed with the pride of knowing he had achieved so many of his goals.

To know Steve was a privilege. He was kind, genuine, and funny. He lived life to the fullest and had so much life left to live, so much happiness yet to experience and much more to add to the legacy he leaves behind.

Family and friends are invited to pay their respects on Monday, November 11th, from 2-4 p.m. and 7-9 p.m. at Heritage Funeral Complex, 1250 Trim Road, Orleans, ON. A funeral service will be held Tuesday, November 12th, at 11 a.m. in the Heritage Funeral Complex Chapel, followed by a reception, and a private interment. In lieu of flowers, please consider donating to the Ottawa Hospital Heart Institute Foundation: <https://foundation.ottawaheart.ca/give/>

## IN MEMORIAM

DAVID ALAN FAIRGRIEVE  
1947 – 2021

Loved and Remembered.  
Cathie Percival and the Fairgrieve Family.

## In Loving Memory



## DAVID GRANT FRAYER, Q.C.

Thank you for this beautiful life, for always taking care of me and for giving me the strength it would take to live without you. I miss you every single day. I'll do my best until we meet again. I love you. – Jane

## DEATHS



## THOMAS BURTON

Thomas John Burton, 76, passed away October 21, 2024, surrounded by loved ones at the Kensington Hospice, Toronto.

Thomas is survived by his sister, Suzanne; nephew, Jeff; and niece, Emma, and her children.

Thomas was born in Hamilton and graduated from the University of Toronto with a degree in Forestry. For a few years he was an owner of a fine dining restaurant in London Ontario. After moving to Toronto, he worked for 28 years for the Management Board of the Ontario Cabinet. Later, he worked on a contract basis as a project manager restructuring the Ontario health care system.

After retirement, he followed his first passion by devoting six days each week to making the gardens at his condo spectacular. He also served on his condo board for 18 years, with 15 of those as president.

Besides gardening, Tom's great love was the Opera. He was the Vice President of the Wagner Society and attended all the COC offered, many, several times.

In memory of Thomas, donations to Princess Margaret Melanoma Research would be appreciated.

A Celebration of Life will be held Friday, November 15, 2024, at 2:00 p.m. in the ballroom of the St. Regis Hotel, 325 Bay St., Toronto.



## JACQUELINE DENISE CICCARELLI

It is with the deepest of sadness that we announce the passing of Jacquie (Reaume) Ciccarelli who died unexpectedly on October 30, 2024, at the age of 39. She was the beloved wife of Rob Ciccarelli and the most perfect mom to her children, Ben and Mara. She will be lovingly remembered by her parents, Dennis and Michelle Reaume. She will be forever missed by her sister, Melissa (Jamie) Lee, niece (Mickayla) and nephew (Cameron). Never forgotten by her father and mother-in-law, Robert and Anna Ciccarelli and her sister-in-law, Kara (Dave) Hayes along with her niece (Molly) and nephew (Leo).

You only had to interact with Jacquie once to see that she was someone special. Her positivity was infectious, her energy was boundless, and her ability to make all those around her feel loved was unmatched. She was an engineer that was committed to her work and had limitless potential. Her friendships were many yet strong and long-lasting. Her commitment and dedication to her family was genuine and affectionate.

Jacquie loved live music and travel. She was an avid and excellent runner. She was truly selfless. Jacquie loved to find a good coffee shop. Making plans for dinner or drinks with friends and family was a consistent priority. She was good at making people feel comfortable and welcome. She sincerely loved to help people. She remembered people's birthdays. She lived her life making the most of what is important. But most of all, Jacquie loved being a mom. The loss of Jacquie from our lives is something that will be forever unexplainable, but her best qualities, for which there are many, already live on in her children.

In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to the Canadian Cancer Society in her honour. The funeral will take place at Mt. Pleasant Cemetery and a Celebration of Life will follow in the coming months.

## DEATHS

LINDA CAROLYN BEATON  
(née Evans)  
July 9, 1936 – November 1, 2024

Linda passed peacefully on November 1, 2024, at McCormick Home in London, Ontario, with the love of her family surrounding her. Linda had bravely faced Parkinson's Disease for 35 years with exceptional courage, hope and determination — only succumbing to its afflictions when it was time for her journey to continue in another realm.

Linda was the beloved wife of Dr. W. Douglas Beaton; and the cherished mother of their four children, Douglas (Sarah), Lesley (John), Heather (Martin), Iain (Jennifer). She was the loving grandmother of 10 grandchildren: Jack, Dan, Abby; Harrison, Graham, Campbell; Jeremy, James; Kate and Kim. She was the dear sister of Janet Clarke and her husband Peter; and the sister-in-law of the late Campbell and Mary Beaton.

Linda was born on July 9, 1936, in Toronto, Ontario, to Dr. and Mrs. James D. Evans. She grew up in Lawrence Park where she attended Havergal College and Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute. She graduated from Victoria College at the University of Toronto in 1958, earning a Bachelor of Arts in Household Science. Ever sporty, she played on the Victoria College baseball, basketball and volleyball teams and was crowned ping pong champion in 1957. Her serve was unreturnable!

Linda met her husband, Doug, in their Grade 11 Latin class. Linda was beautiful, intelligent, classy, and also fun and athletic. She had dark brown eyes and a bright smile. Doug was smitten and he pursued Linda at a Valentine's Day Party in 1953. His charm and humour prevailed and their high school courtship turned into a loving marriage of 64 years. They were married in Toronto in 1960, after Doug's graduation from Dentistry at the University of Toronto. As newlyweds, they moved to Gowganda and Temagami in Northern Ontario, where they lived and worked in a Canadian Junior Red Cross dental trailer. After an adventurous year, they moved back to Toronto where Doug opened his dental practice in Lawrence Park, and they started their family. After 10 years in Toronto, and with two young children and a baby, they moved to Winnipeg, Manitoba, where Doug attended the Graduate Orthodontic Program at the University of Manitoba. Upon graduation in 1973, Linda and Doug moved to London, Ontario, where Doug set up a successful orthodontic practice and they welcomed their fourth child.

Linda had a calm and dignified presence, and was a solid foundation for her family. She was quiet in nature, authentic, independent, had a good sense of humour, and when she spoke it had meaning. Her constant strength, support and loyalty created a loving and fun family life in which her husband and children flourished. She was very proud of them.

Linda loved time with family including: March Break trips to Florida, Christmas holiday ski trips, cottaging in Grand Bend and later in Muskoka, and summer travelling.

Linda's interests were wide: reading, art, jazz music, enjoying nature, wildflowers, bird watching (goldfinches, cardinals and hummingbirds were favourites), knitting, quilting, crocheting, needlepoint, embroidery, macrame, sewing, baking, antiquing, taking courses and selling her wares at the Grand Bend flea market to further her entrepreneurial spirit, cross-country skiing, golfing, tennis, biking, skating, playing games, crossword puzzles, euchre, and always winning at cribbage.

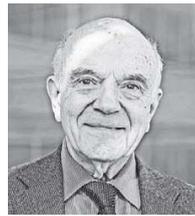
She found particular fulfillment by volunteering at The London Regional Art Gallery, Meals on Wheels, Metropolitan United Church, and Victoria and University Hospitals.

Linda was modest and she never took her life for granted. She did not shy away from hard work and she was a constant inspiration to her family. Although her life was challenging the last number of years, her optimism and hope never faded. She always faced her future with grace. She was a remarkable woman and her family will love her forever.

Linda's family appreciates and gives thanks to the entire team at McCormick Home for their excellent care and support.

A private family service will be held at a future date.

In lieu of flowers, donations to the Parkinson Society Southwestern Ontario or McCormick Care Foundation would be appreciated. Please visit [www.HarrisFuneralHome.ca](http://www.HarrisFuneralHome.ca) for further information.



## DR. LUIGI CASELLA

It is with great sorrow that we announce the passing of Dr. Luigi Casella, who left us peacefully on November 2, 2024, at Michael Garron Hospital, aged 94. He was a beloved husband, father, grandfather, brother and uncle – who was known to his friends and loved ones as Gino. A cardiologist at St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto for more than 50 years, Dr. Casella was greatly loved by his many patients, colleagues and medical students. He took great joy in teaching, transmitting his enthusiasm to all around him, and winning countless teaching awards. In 2008, he co-founded the teaching website <https://ecgmadesimple.ca/> which is used internationally as a teaching resource. The "Dr. Luigi Casella Award in Cardiology" was established at the University of Toronto in 2023 as a grant to cardiology residents.

Born in Portici (Naples, Italy) on May 20, 1930, he was the eldest of eight children born to esteemed agriculture professor Domenico Casella and devoted homemaker Emilia Romano. He studied medicine at the University of Naples, and after an internship and residency in New York City, he emigrated to Toronto, joining St. Michael's Hospital as a resident in 1959.

He married social worker Margaret Elizabeth Headrick in 1962 and was heartbroken at her passing in 2021. They had a nearly 60-year marriage, sharing a love of cooking, world-wide travels and weekends at their country 'Schoolhouse' on Irish Lake near Flesherton, Ontario. He will be greatly missed by his daughter Emilia, son John, daughter-in-law Lamthong (Bon), and grand-daughters Vanessa, Madilyn and Sabreena. His sisters Anna and Maria mourn him in Italy, along with his many nieces and nephews who knew him as Zio Gino.

A funeral service will be held at 10 a.m. on November 11, 2024, at the Mt. Pleasant Funeral Centre, with visitation starting at 9 a.m. Address: 375 Mount Pleasant Road (east side), Toronto.

In lieu of flowers, please consider a donation to the Dr. Luigi Casella Award in Cardiology at the following link: <https://uoft.me/Casella>

Donors giving online will receive a tax receipt via email. Family and friends can also donate over the phone by calling 416-978-0811

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### DEATHS



**JOSEPH R. D'CRUZ**  
June 19, 1941 – November 5, 2024

Joseph ("Joe") D'Cruz, Professor Emeritus, died peacefully at home surrounded by his family. He is lovingly remembered by his wife of 50 years, Filomena; sons Jason (Shadi), Andrew (Jessica), and Geoffrey (Danielle); grandchildren Cyrus, Sara, Freya, Ines, Ruby, and Niko; and brother Ken (Patricia).

A son of Goan parents, Joe was born in Karachi in 1941, when it was still British India. After putting himself through university, he began his career with a leading Pakistani consultancy — but he always set his sights on the world beyond. In 1974, just a week after marrying Filomena, he moved with her to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he pursued a doctorate at Harvard Business School. Upon graduation, Joe began a distinguished, nearly forty-year career as a professor at the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management, and later became Director of its Global Executive MBA program, mentoring countless students. An expert on strategy, he could often be found on Canadian television, opining on the latest business news. His work as a consultant brought him to all continents save Antarctica. He established and directed Rotman's Health Leadership program, training leaders of the hospital systems that would one day care for him.

Joe paired ambition and drive with kindness and generosity. He was a big-hearted, loving father, supportive of his sons in all their pursuits. And he was a kind and gentle husband, devoted to Filomena and the close-knit family they built together, including six grandchildren, all of whom will miss their Avó Joe. His peripatetic nature, enthusiasm for novel technology, pursuit of the spiciest foods, and passion for the uncharted will be fondly remembered.

A funeral for Joe will be held 10:00 a.m. on November 11th at St. Basil's Catholic Parish, 50 St. Joseph Street, Toronto, with a private family burial to follow. In lieu of flowers, please consider a donation to Médecins Sans Frontières or SPRINT Senior Care. Condolences may be forwarded through [www.humphreymiles.com](http://www.humphreymiles.com)

*Humphrey Funeral Home*  
*1300 Miles Neubiggiging Chapel*  
416-487-4523



**GERALD DECLUTE**  
"Gerry"

It is with broken hearts that we share the news that Gerald "Gerry" DeClute passed away peacefully, on November 3, 2024, at the age of 83. He will be dearly remembered by his loving wife of 37 years, Dorothy; four children, Rochelle DeClute (Patrick Devine), Rick DeClute (Kelly Cook), Alicia Thurston (Mike Holownych) and Ford Thurston (Sarah Stemmler); 11 grandchildren, Ryan, Tyler, Janine, Patrick, Keisha, Keighen, Makaela, Emalee, Taylor, Lex and Olivia; four great-grandchildren, Finn, Leo, Jack, and Noah; his sisters-in-law, June Haynes and Joan Sutton; brother-in-law, Don George; and many nieces and nephews. Gerry was predeceased by his son, Randy; his brother, Warren DeClute; his sister, Dorthea DeClute; and his brothers-in-law, Milton Fice, Dave Haynes and Bob Sutton.

Gerry was much loved and appreciated by his family, friends, and business associates. His greatest attribute was his kind, generous and fun-loving nature that permeated all aspects of his life.

As a young adult he and his brother Warren had a passion for building and racing stock cars, and renovating houses as they supported their mom in her real estate endeavours. Having grown up and lived in the East end for his entire life, Gerry valued his community, and was an integral part of it. He generously supported Beaches minor league teams, schools, Community Centre 55, Beaches Lions Club and Michael Garron Hospital where he was born and 83 years later passed away. His love of rugby and ongoing support of the Balmy Beach Club is legendary and has spanned over 50 years. He will be deeply missed at the Balmy Beach Club by his buddies who still gather to "tell lies" and raise a glass to one another.

He enjoyed a wonderful 43-year career as a Real Estate Broker in the East end of Toronto, particularly the Beach. The love of real estate and his passion for it was shared with his wife, Dorothy. In his many years in retirement, it was always delightful for him and Dorothy to see past clients who would greet him, often recalling and sharing stories of his caring and professional service. It is easy to understand why Rochelle, Rick and Ford were attracted to and have the same passion for their careers in real estate.

Gerry lived life well. He embraced every opportunity to share time with his family and friends. He could always be counted on for keeping spirits light with his humour and sharp wit.

He enjoyed being on the Captain's Committee and golfing at Scarboro Golf & Country Club, and travelling with his golfing buddies whenever possible. As a family, they shared 30 years of fabulous skiing at Holimont, abundant après ski time in Ellicottville, NY, and more recently, 12 years vacationing in the sunshine at Heritage Oaks Golf & Country Club in Sarasota, Florida. Dorothy and Gerry travelled to many parts of the world, including Australia, New Zealand, Europe, Asia and most of the US. The memories of all these special times together will sustain Dorothy and the family when they are missing him.

Gerry loved his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and was very proud of them. He will always be that special Grampa Ger who stood by Gigi's side as her husband, best friend and partner.

The family would like to thank the compassionate and capable caregivers at Providence Villa Adult Day program where Gerry attended for the past 20 months. A very heartfelt thanks to the incredible nurses, doctors and staff at Michael Garron Hospital for their loving care. In lieu of flowers, please share a random act of kindness/donate in Gerry's name to Providence Villa Adult Day Program by visiting [gerrydeclute.stmichaelsfoundation.com](http://gerrydeclute.stmichaelsfoundation.com).

A Celebration of Life will be held for Gerry on Thursday, December 5, 2024, from 2-5 p.m. at the Balmy Beach Club.

### DEATHS



**DR. DAVID GILLEN**

Dr. David Gillen, Emeritus Professor at the Sauder School of Business, University of British Columbia, passed away on October 31, 2024, at the age of 77, following a courageous battle with a severe blood infection contracted while sailing on Georgian Bay.

David's remarkable journey began in St. Catharines, Ontario, where he grew up with his parents, Dr. Charles and Joan Gillen, brother Paul, and sister Margaret. Summers at the family cottage on Lake Temagami ignited his passions for sailing, flying and adventure, and fostered a self-reliant spirit that would be a driving force throughout his life.

He studied at the University of New Brunswick, where he met his former wife, Ann Marie, and welcomed their daughter, Andraya. He earned his PhD from the University of Toronto, launching an academic career that took the family across North America. It began at the University of Alberta, where his son, Andrew, was born, then continued on to Waterloo, where he taught at Wilfrid Laurier for many years and later to California at UC Berkeley. Living in Ontario, David shared his love of flight with Andrew when they flew together in his self-built Piper Super Cub, creating unforgettable memories in the skies.

After his separation, David's consulting work brought him to Germany, where he found deep love and lifelong devotion in his wife, Heidi, an airport marketing executive. Together they moved to Vancouver, where their love took off like a plane. Destined for the skies, David accepted the position of YVR Professor of Transportation Policy at the Sauder School of Business, University of British Columbia, and the directorship of Sauder's Centre for Transportation Studies. He served a term as a chair of the division as a way to give back to the institution he held in such high regard. He also was the chair of The Green Shipping project, funded by SSHRC. Recently, he accepted a board position with BC Rail, looking forward to making a direct impact, and was awarded the R.S. Day Outstanding Contribution Trophy, celebrating his dedication to excellence and innovation in the field.

David was a world-renowned expert in aviation and logistics, whose extensive publications shaped academic research and policy in Canada and internationally. Known for his strong work ethic, he consumed numerous international newspapers before sunrise, always staying at the forefront of industry developments. David's legacy is also deeply felt in his personal life. He passed on his athleticism to his grandchildren, Boston and Harley, of whom he was immensely proud, and his scientific mind and love for teaching to his daughter Andraya and son Andrew. Sailing the Great Lakes was a cherished tradition, allowing him to enjoy the water, tinker on the boat and reconnect with his siblings Margie and Paul. Many happy summers were spent sailing and making memories with Heidi, Andrew and Lindsey.

He held a profound belief in the power of education as the ultimate investment — portable and forever untaxed. A mentor and guide to many, he shared his wisdom and fostered the potential in others. He thought of himself as "a simple academic", but his pioneering work led to global collaborations and opportunities that shaped the industry and created lasting solutions. While travel brought excitement and discovery, he was equally content riding his bike every day to the university.

He is survived by his beloved wife, Heidi; his daughter, Andraya (Randy) and grandchildren Boston and Harley; his son, Andrew (Lindsey); his sister Margaret (David); his brother Paul (Susan); and a worldwide network of remarkable colleagues, friends, and students. His wisdom, curiosity, and profound belief in human potential live on in those he inspired. A celebration of his life will take place in the spring of 2025.

## Honour a loved one

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### DEATHS

**MARJORIE ELIZABETH GOODFELLOW**  
1938 – 2024

Died in her home in Sherbrooke, Quebec, on October 26, 2024, at the age of 86.

Born and raised in Sherbrooke, Marjorie was the only child of the late Edgar M. Goodfellow and the late Annie Jean McElrea. An eager young student, Marjorie persuaded her parents to let her start school early, which was not a problem with a one-room country schoolhouse down the road from where she grew up, lived most of her life, and died.

She graduated from Bishop's University (History Honours) and McGill University (Library Science). She worked briefly in Ottawa in the library of Citizenship and Immigration Canada before taking positions in Montreal, the last in the library of Sir George Williams University.

After the death of her father in 1971, Marjorie returned to Sherbrooke to manage family properties. She remained active in the library world for several years as a library consultant. In the later years of her working life, she did genealogical research for clients as well as on her own family history, publishing and speaking on those topics.

A founding member and early president of Townshippers' Association, Marjorie wrote and delivered briefs to the provincial and federal governments and spoke to media provincially and nationally on the status of the English-speaking minority in Quebec society. Health care being a vital aspect of daily life in a minority community, it became one of her major interests. Marjorie was publicly elected to the board of directors of the Sherbrooke university hospital system, known as the CHUS then the CUSE—the fifth largest medical centre in Quebec—serving in the volunteer capacity for 13 years. As well, the Quebec government chose her to represent the Eastern Townships on a provincial committee—the Comité provincial pour la prestation de services de santé et de services sociaux en langue anglaise—to advise the minister of health on service issues in the English-speaking community. Committee members chose her as their president, and she served in that capacity for two extended terms.

Marjorie's interest in history was not omitted from her volunteer commitments. She was on the board of the Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke for many terms and had a long-term interest in the Eastern Townships Resource Centre, where she served in many capacities. She spoke, published, and was interviewed on local history. She did not neglect her Bishop's University alma mater, serving on its corporation for two terms.

Marjorie enjoyed travel and visited many foreign lands, including Turkey and Iceland as the most exotic. She returned to Scotland, England, and France many times. It was her regret that travel by air became too taxing for her ageing body. She attended concerts and theatre with pleasure. However, reading was her most frequent leisure activity.

Marjorie had many cousins who will miss her. Her friends and colleagues were also precious to her. In lieu of a funeral, Marjorie asked that a private social event be held so that she could say farewell to them all, in absentia. It will be held at Bishop's University, Cleghorn Room, from 1:30 to 4 p.m. on November 23, with memories shared at 2:30 p.m.

If desired, donations to the following causes in her memory would have pleased Marjorie:

- Université de Sherbrooke foundation to support the work of Dr. François Lamontagne or that of Dr. David Fortin,
- A special fund to create a chair of English Quebec Studies, or
- Bishop's University Foundation.

Services entrusted to the Steve L. Elkas Funeral Home, 4230 Bertrand-Fabi, Sherbrooke, QC, J1N 1X8, 819-565-1155, [www.steveelkas.com](http://www.steveelkas.com).

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## DEATHS



**HEATHER JEAN HOCKIN**

Heather Jean (Mitchell) Hockin passed away peacefully on October 24, 2024 in Huntsville, Ontario surrounded by her loving family at 81 years. She was predeceased by her husband, David and sister, Gladys and will be greatly missed by her children, John (Lisa) and Carrie (Jeff) Watt, brother-in-law, Tom (Mary), granddaughters, (Haley, Annie, Audrey, Meredith, Emily, Sophie), nephews and nieces.

Heather was born in London, Ontario to Jim and Jean (Topping) Mitchell. At London Central, she excelled in academics, baton and tap dancing. Heather was one of two women in her class to graduate from the Ivey Business School where she met her life-long love David. Upon graduation, she earned a coveted position with London Life as their first computer programmer. Heather pioneered coding with vacuum tube computers and ensured we had a first generation SuperPet personal computer in our home.

After initiating the computer program at Blythwood Public School, she was sought out by Branksome Hall School to lead their computer program. Heather was a natural, patient teacher and enjoyed nurturing young girls over fifteen years at Branksome. Heather was always front row celebrating the interests and development of her kids and grandkids. She braved cold hockey arenas and a trek to Malaysia to support John and Carrie. She shared with her granddaughters her intense love of reading, passion for the arts and keen intellect. Heather, with her sister Gladys, brought a love of games to all family gatherings and championed our Olympics from Georgian Bay to Lake of Bays.

We are grateful for the warm communities found in South Portage, Panther Woods (Florida) and Huntsville after over thirty years living in Toronto. Heather served as President of the Huntsville Probus League, Treasurer of Deerhurst Lakeside, volunteered with the Hospital Auxiliary and brought trivia nights to Dwight public library. She shared many bridge games, book clubs, golf games and laughs with many great friends.

A Celebration of Life service will be held at Trinity United Church, 33 Main St E., Huntsville on Monday, November 25, 2024 at 11 a.m. with reception to follow.

In lieu of flowers, memorial donations may be made to Algonquin Grace Hospice Huntsville or Huntsville Hospital Foundation. Our family wishes to thank her caregivers and medical professionals at Huntsville Hospital, Hope home care, Royal Victoria hospital and Huntsville Hospice for their thoughtful care and kindness. www.mitchellfuneralhome.ca

## In your thoughts

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## DEATHS

### EDWARD WILLIAM HOLOWCHUK 1945-2024

Passed away on October 30, 2024 after enduring many health challenges due to myelofibrosis - a rare bone marrow cancer. Ed is survived by his loving wife, Elizabeth Ann (nee Bird). He was predeceased by his parents William and Victoria (Staglish) Holowchuk.

Ed was a gifted athlete and excelled in many sports thanks to the athletic programs available through the Merrifon (now part of St. Catharines) Athletic Assn. His most notable accomplishments include playing Forward for the Western Mustangs Varsity Hockey Team, lifeguarding at the Lions Community Pool in Merrifon, and playing Centre Field for the Ontario Senior Hardball team in the Canadian Championship held in BC.

Ed was also a passionate golfer. He enjoyed membership at both Barrie Country Club (35+ years), and at Beacon Hall Golf Club in Aurora for more than 20 years. He managed to score five holes-in-one with this much time on the course!

After obtaining a Bachelor of Arts (Economics) and a Bachelor of Education at the University of Western Ontario, Ed taught Business courses and coached Basketball at Barrie North Collegiate for ten years. In 1984, Ed took a calculated risk and changed careers to become an Investment Advisor. "Steady Eddie" was well regarded by both his clients and his professional peers in this capacity.

In addition to being a Big Brother, Ed gave back to his community as a member and Past-President of the Barrie Kiwanis Club. He also served on Barrie Country Club's Board of Directors for 2 terms.

Ed and Ann married later in life but made the most of their 30 years together. Ann felt it was her responsibility to broaden Ed's horizons off the golf course. They enjoyed several European hiking holidays, many great concerts at Koerner Hall, not to mention some memorable wine-tasting dinners. Both lives were enriched through these shared adventures.

Ed bore his illness without complaint. He was the beneficiary of excellent medical care for more than 22 years. His journey was made easier thanks to the expertise of Dr. Florence Wong (Toronto General Hospital) who continues to treat her patients and their spouses as individuals. Dr. Vikas Gupta (Princess Margaret) was also a supportive clinician.

According to his wishes, Ed has been cremated and there will be no funeral service. In remembering Ed, please play a round of golf, enjoy a glass of vintage Bordeaux, or make a rewarding stock pick. He enjoyed all three!



**BARBARA SHARON KELLN**

Barbara Sharon Kelln, born on June 12, 1963, passed away on October 22, 2024. A proud grandmother to Madison and Owen, they brought her immense joy. Barbara is remembered by her daughter, Ashley; and son-in-law, Sami, who hold her memory close.

Predeceased by her father, Larry Kelln, Barbara is survived by her mother, Sharon; her brother, Bradley; and sister-in-law, Susan; and their children, Amanda and Taylor, remembering her always. She shared a partnership with Peter den Ouden, who brought companionship to her life. Barbara also had a close bond with her cousin, Sharon, creating many memories, especially during their vacations together.

Barbara was known for hosting memorable gatherings with friends, family, and colleagues, filling her beautiful backyard with celebration during birthdays, Christmas, and summer get-togethers.

A celebration of her life will be held November 27th at Donna Child Fine Art Gallery in her honour. Kindly RSVP at <https://bit.ly/3YTeWES> or directly with the family.

## DEATHS

### LARRY MICHAEL LAJEUNESSE July 11, 1958 October 29, 2024

Peacefully, after a valiant struggle with Progressive Supranuclear Palsy. Deeply cherished husband of Katherine Ridout. Keenly missed by his siblings, Darlene and Ken; his in-laws, Brian, Rowena, Gord and Jane; and his Lajeunesse and Ridout nieces and nephews. Predeceased by his parents, Richard and Helen (Liptok) Lajeunesse.

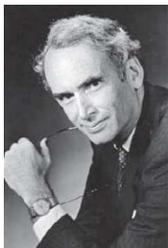
For over three decades, Larry was an inspirational and innovative teacher and coach and highly respected colleague at London Central Secondary School and Upper Canada College. During the last months of his life, he received expert and tender care from the staff in the LSSE unit at Sunnybrook Hospital.

A celebration of life will be held on November 19th from 5-7 p.m. at Upper Canada College, 200 Lonsdale Road. If desired, memorial donations may be made to the Larry Lajeunesse Prize in Economics ([host.nxt.blackbaud.com/donor-form/?svcid=renxt&formId=c62b0cb7-7850-4486-a401-c5bb78e347dd&envid=p-jQCnyX\\_gzU2AEqIM6VG4LA&zone=can](https://host.nxt.blackbaud.com/donor-form/?svcid=renxt&formId=c62b0cb7-7850-4486-a401-c5bb78e347dd&envid=p-jQCnyX_gzU2AEqIM6VG4LA&zone=can)) or JAZZ FM ([jazz.fm/donate/](https://jazz.fm/donate/)).

## DEATHS

### MARY GRACE MCCLYMONT

Mary Grace McClymont, beloved mother of Laurel and Megan Williams, passed away in Toronto on October 22, 2024. Born July 4, 1934, in Cheltenham, England, Mary immigrated to Canada and eventually settled in Toronto. Mary was predeceased by her brothers, David and Robin McClymont (Cheltenham, UK). She will be greatly missed by her daughters, sons-in-law, Cynick Young and Kevin Gustafson; her grandchildren, Ronin and Rebecca Williams-Young, and Rebecca and Rhys Gustafson; and her Cheltenham family.



**JOHN D. MCKELLAR**  
October 28, 1933  
November 5, 2024

John McKellar died peacefully, on November 5th, surrounded by his loving family.

He is survived by Kay, his wife of 67 years; sons, Dave (Cathy Ross) and Don (Lindsay Allikas); daughter, Barb (Dave Shaw); granddaughters, Ruby and Fiona; sister, Mary Tracy; and sister-in-law, Olga McKellar, and their respective families. Family was key for John and he loved the big gatherings, the summers spent together on their Georgian Bay island and travel with loved ones to foreign lands.

John graduated from Allenby Public School, North Toronto Collegiate, the University of Toronto and Osgoode Hall Law School, which led to a 62-year career at the firm now known as WeirFoulds LLP, where he was chairman for thirteen years. He served as director for numerous corporations including CHUM, SportsNet Inc and Netstar Communications. But he was probably best known to the many performing artists and arts groups that he advised, counseled and supported. He was Chairman of the Young Centre for the Performing Arts, the Toronto Arts Council, the Ontario Cultural Attractions Fund, president of the Arts and Letters Club and a director of the Canada Council for the Arts. He sat on many other boards, including the Crest Theatre, Theatre Toronto, the Tarragon Theatre and Toronto Arts Productions. He produced shows in Toronto and at the Manitoba Theatre Centre, the National Arts Centre and the Kennedy Center in Washington, DC. He became a Member of the Order of Canada in 1996, received the Edmund C. Bovey Award for Business in the Arts in 2011 and a Governor General's Performing Arts Award in 2016 (the Ramon John Hnatyshyn Award for Voluntarism) for his life of service and leadership in the Arts. In his spare time, he was a devoted husband, a loving father and a wonderful man.

A celebration of his life will be held on November 25th at 2:00 p.m. at Eglinton St. George's United Church, 35 Lytton Boulevard, Toronto.

In lieu of flowers, please send donations to the Toronto Arts Foundation in honour of John D. McKellar.

**Morley Bedford.ca**  
Online Guest Book and Condolences

## DEATHS



**MARY ELIZABETH MCNAIR**  
"Liz"  
(née White)

Mom passed away peacefully, with her family by her side on November 7, 2024, at the age of 97. Born on November 3, 1927, Liz lived a long, fulfilling life marked by devotion to her family. Liz was predeceased by her loving husband, William Alexander McNair (Bill), who passed away in 2002; and her sisters, Dorothy Davis and Helen White. She leaves behind a loving family: Merrilyn Mulqueen (Stuart), Andrew McNair (Debbie) and Kathryn Nicholson (Corey); grandchildren Jennifer Mulqueen (Mike), Caitlin Mulqueen (Michael), T.K. McNair (Sophie), Liam McNair, Avery McNair, Drew McNair, Alex Fraser (Kevin) and Robin Nicholson (Kris) and great-grandchildren Audrey, Hazel, Jamieson, and Harrison. Mary Liz attended Branksome Hall, where she formed lifelong friendships and a strong foundation for her future. After marrying Bill in 1950, they lived in Stratford and Edmonton before settling in Toronto to raise their three children. Following retirement, Bill and Liz moved to Caledon and spent their winters in Bradenton Florida. Liz, or Lizzy, as her grandchildren called her, will be remembered for her gentle spirit, kindness, honesty and the loving care she provided to her family. She was a cherished matriarch whose legacy of love and resilience and the importance of family will continue to live on through her descendants. In lieu of flowers, contributions can be made to a charity of your choice. Burial will be private with a celebration of life to be held at a later date.

**Morley Bedford.ca**  
Online Guest Book and Condolences

## FUNERAL SERVICES

*Est'd. 1879*

**D'CRUZ, Joseph R.**  
Mass Monday, 10 a.m.  
St. Basil's Catholic Parish

**HARPER, James (Jim)**  
Celebration of Life  
Saturday, 11 a.m.

**WARLING, Elizabeth Norma**  
Celebration of Life  
Saturday, November 16, 1 p.m.

**WELLNER, Gordon William**  
Celebration of Life  
Summer 2025  
Fortune, PEI

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*A.W. Miles - Newbigging Chapel*  
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**FRIDAY**  
BENDAYAN, Charlotte - Service in New Jersey.  
WUNCH, Florence - 12:00 Chapel.  
PISANO, Judy - 2:00 Chapel.

**SUNDAY**  
SMITH, Perry - 2:00 Chapel.  
BAKER, Roger Brian - 2:00 Pardes Shalom Cemetery.

**SHIVA**  
SOLWAY, Joan - 535 Woburn Avenue.  
SILVER, Michael - 355 St. Clair Ave. West, #1806.  
WUNCH, Florence - 244 Burbank Drive.

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## DEATHS



**KATHERINE ANN MILLMAN**  
March 13, 1946  
November 1, 2024

It is with great sadness that we announce the passing of the heart and soul of our family, Katherine Ann Millman... beloved wife, loving mother, "Nanny" to ten grandchildren, businesswoman, Blue Jays and Maple Leafs fan, lover of nature and animals, and beloved, loyal friend.

Kathy passed away peacefully at home, surrounded by her family, on November 1, 2024 — All Saints' Day, a poignant and special symbol of Kathy's true being.

Born March 13, 1946, in London, Ontario, to the late Francis Palmer Leahy and Margaret Ann Elizabeth (Blay), Kathy is survived by her devoted husband of 55 years, John; son, David (Maureen); daughter, Kate (Bob); son, Jonathan (Erin); son, Robert (Marissa); and grandchildren, Bobby, Lily, Eloise (Kate's children); Pippa, Emmie, Peter (Jonathan's children); and Abby, Holden, Nora, and Franklin (Robert's children).

After receiving her early education in London, Kathy graduated near the top of her class in physiotherapy at the University of Toronto. She became a skilled physiotherapist who loved working with children. Early in her career, while working at Children's Hospital in London, Ontario, she caught the eye of a young medical student, John Millman, who knew within days that he wanted to marry her.

Dr. John and Kathy were married in 1969, and shortly afterward moved to Guelph, Ontario, to begin their family story. As a mother, she poured her attention, efforts, and affection into creating a happy home and a wonderful family life — supporting their four children in all aspects of their lives, careers, and adventures.

Kathy inherited her keen business acumen from her father, Frank Leahy, which allowed her to successfully serve for over 30 years as VP of Finance at WellServe Healthcare Management, a medical services company she founded with her husband, John. Kathy was the foundation of that business, loved by all its 60+ employees, many of whom remained with the company for decades.

Kathy spent her retirement years between two places she adored, Corwin Farm, and their beautiful cottage on the sandy shores of Lake Huron in Southampton, Ontario, typically surrounded by family and friends. She also enjoyed many adventures with John and friends.

Kathy was a beautiful human being who exemplified kindness, empathy, and grace. She brought happiness to so many throughout her life, approaching every day with a warm smile and a friendly hello to everyone she encountered. She will be deeply missed by her family, a close group of dear friends (including the Bon Appetit Culinary Group), and her beloved poodle, Sadie.

There will be a funeral celebration for Kathy on November 25, 2024, at 2 p.m. at St. John's Anglican Church in Elora, Ontario. Reception to follow.

If desired, donations can be made in memory of Kathy to the charity of your choice or to the Children's Aid Foundation of Canada. Online condolences and arrangements can be made at [www.gilbertmacintyreandson.com](http://www.gilbertmacintyreandson.com).

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### DEATHS



**RICHARD RIDOUT OSLER**

Born in Toronto on the first day of summer in June 1951, Richard left this world ready for his next great adventure, on October 26, 2024, filled with peace and joy, surrounded by his beloved family. The most precious thing to Richard were his wife, Somae; his children and their partners: Reed (Matthew) and granddaughter, Eowyn; Alex (Heather, stepdaughters, Amira and Odessa), Tella (Molly), Libby (August) and his former wives, Catherine and Susan, beloved mothers to his children. Also with Richard in spirit were his three treasured siblings, Vicky (Paul), Campbell (Joanne) and Lawton (Martha).

Richard's legacy of friendship extended around the world and included former business colleagues, those working in recovery, fellow board members, artists, poets, writers, restaurant waiters and ticket takers. His delight and curiosity in people mirrored the unassailable curiosity he demonstrated in every aspect of his life.

Richard's early life in Ontario was populated by the stories of a family closely tied to the history of Canada, and in the case of his great-uncle, Sir William Osler, the history of modern medicine. His Ridout family came to Canada in the late 1700's and the Osler family in 1837, both families leaving their mark in Canadian politics, business, law, the church and society in general.

Richard's career(s) were as varied as all other aspects of his life. Though he graduated from Queen's University with an Honors degree in English, with the exception of his financial acumen, he was self-taught in his other endeavors.

In 1975 he joined the Financial Post newspaper in Toronto as a public-company analyst then as a journalist (Insurance Editor) and opened the Calgary Bureau in 1978. From 1980 to 1991 he worked in various financial investment companies then in 1991 formed his own money management company, Aequanimitas Inc., (1991-2013). Aequanimitas (even-minded) was the motto on Sir William Osler's coat of arms. His firm specialized in investing the new generation of oil and gas companies emerging in Calgary at the time.

From 1981 to 1990, he was a regular panelist on the weekly "Business Column" part of the national cross-country Morningside program hosted by Peter Gzowski on CBC Radio 1.

Though he would downplay the role he played during his business career, the instinct he had to connect people, thematic throughout his life, was evident in the significant impact he had on many in the business community.

Richard inherited the art of quiet giving and philanthropy from his father, with his reach felt by non-profits and various boards including Island Pacific School, Brentwood College School and British Columbia Government House Foundation (for which he received the King Charles III Coronation Medal in 2024).

Following his retirement from the world of business, Richard was able to pursue his passion for poetry full time. In true Richard fashion, he travelled the world learning his craft. Being a poet and facilitating writing retreats led Richard to the most fulfilling work of his life when for sixteen years he worked as a poetry therapist at several residential addiction recovery and mental health healing centers, in Western Canada including: The Orchard, on Bowen Island and The Cedars, Cobble Hill, Homewood Ravensview, Victoria and The Healing Institute at Forbidden Plateau in Courtenay.

Richard published three collections of his poetry, but after being diagnosed with stage 4 cancer, he considered one of the greatest gifts of his life, to be able to publish his final poetry collection, What Holiness Will I Bring, together with his editor and friend Micheline Maylor and Frontenac House. It is perhaps most telling of who he was, that Richard left us within hours of attending an online launch of the book, to a group of poets gathered in Honeymoon Bay.

We might imagine him now, holding the book, laughing that famous laugh, while standing on a chair full of characteristic and infectious exuberance, and shouting: Write! Write a song, write a poem, write your life.

The family would like to thank each person on every medical team who supported them so incredibly on this journey, the friends who travelled from across the globe to visit and the entire staff of Cowichan Hospice House.

In lieu of flowers, the family asks that you donate to a favourite charity or community organization, perform an act of kindness, or simply read a poem that brings you comfort.

We will celebrate Richard's life at 1 p.m. PT on November 30th at the Dogwood Auditorium, Royal Roads University, 2005 Sooke Road, Victoria, BC. If you'd like a livestream link, please write to us at: serviceforrichard@gmail.com

### DR. WARREN OLANOW

October 25, 2024

Beloved father of Edward, James, Alessandra and Andrew. Devoted husband of Mariana (zl), cherished son of Max (Pitt) & Betty Olanow (zl) and brother to Joel Olanow (zl). Adored nephew of Evelyn & Milton Wolfe (zl) and Etta and Sam Collins (zl), and a larger-than-life cousin to many.

Warren was born in Toronto. He graduated from the University of Toronto, Faculty of Medicine, and then pursued advanced training in Internal Medicine and Neurology at various centres in the United States.

He moved on to serve on the faculties of McGill University, Duke University and the University of South Florida before becoming the Henry P. and Georgette Goldschmidt Professor and chairman of the Department of Neurology and professor in the Department of Neuroscience at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York City. He also served as the Chief of the Neurology Service at the Mount Sinai Hospital.

He was a world-renowned neurologist and leading researcher in Parkinson's Disease, contributing significantly to progress in Parkinson's disease research and treatment.

He is fondly remembered and will be deeply missed by his extended family in Toronto.

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### DEATHS



**MICHAEL RUSE**

Michael Escott Ruse was born June 21, 1940, in Birmingham, England, and died the morning of November 1, 2024; he was an intellectual titan. After completing his undergraduate degree at the University of Bristol, he moved to Canada to complete a master's degree at McMaster University. During the expansion of Ontario's university system in the 1960s, he obtained a faculty position at the fledgling University of Guelph. During a year-long leave, he returned to the University of Bristol to complete a PhD in the nascent field of philosophy of biology, placing him among the field's founders. He often remarked that it was during this year that he discovered that he was a talented writer. The first of his over 70 books, which cover a wide variety of topics – many translated in other languages – was *The Philosophy of Biology*, which became a foundational treatise in the field. He founded the first journal in the field *Biology and Philosophy* and was a founding member of the International Society for the History, Philosophy and Social Studies of Biology. He was a leading expert on Victorian science and society and Darwinian evolution. In 2000, he accepted a position as Lucyle T. Werkmeister Professor of Philosophy, and the Director of the History and Philosophy of Science Program at Florida State University. He was a Fellow of both the Royal Society of Canada (1986) and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The University of Bergen, McMaster University, the University of New Brunswick and University College London conferred on him honorary doctorates.

He frequently commented on his love for and gratitude to his wife, Lizzie (married February 16, 1985), and the joy that his five children, Nigel, Rebecca, Emily, Oliver and Edward; and seven grandchildren, Christian, Brayden, Sawyer, Ariel, Lucy, Anastasia and Alice brought him. He will be missed by them and the many others whose lives he enriched. Although he was a complicated and controversial person, he also was generous, kind and nurturing, in part due to his early upbringing in the Society of Friends (Quakers) – as he would let those around him know. His family, friends and the world have lost a giant.



**CAROL SLATER**  
(née Genser)

With great courage on Wednesday, November 6, 2024, surrounded by her family. Treasured daughter of the late Esther and the late Percy. Beloved wife of Ron for 69 years. Loving mother and mother-in-law of Charles and Dina Slater, Erin and Joe Battat, Adam and Kit, Claudia and the late David. Cherished grandmother of Zach, Robert and Hydi, Ben and Martha, Liam and Addison, Thom and Emeline, Max, Ilai, Emanuelle and Eli. Proud great-grandmother of Rafael, Lily, Maya, and Jojo. Special sister and sister-in-law of David and Joan Genser, Roberta and Mayer Lawee; and sister-in-law of Joel and Sheila Slater. Greatly missed by her nieces, nephews, family, friends and by all who knew her. The family would like to thank Drs. Shamy, Lipes, Chang, the doctors, nurses and staff at the Jewish General Hospital Palliative Care Unit as well as DeyDey, Linette and everyone who took such wonderful care of our Mom. Funeral service from Paperman & Sons, 3888 Jean Talon St. W., on Sunday, November 10th, at 9:30 a.m. Livestream available. Burial in Israel. Donations in her memory may be made to the "Carol and Ron Scholarship" c/o Mothers Matter Canada, 1(604) 676-8250.

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### DEATHS

#### JOAN MARIE TIMMINS

Joan Marie Timmins (nee Folinsbee) passed away peacefully at the age of 98, surrounded by loved ones, in Meaford, Ontario on November 4, 2024.

Joan was predeceased by her parents, Alice Creswicke and Maurice Folinsbee; and by her brothers, John Folinsbee (Joan) and David Folinsbee (Jean). She was the loving mother of Stephen, Julie, Gretchen (Marc Lacourcière), Rebecca (Craig Redman), and the late David Timmins. She was the proud grandmother of Jeffrey Timmins, Kevin and Daniel Rohn, Jean-Marc, Julie and Luc Lacourcière and Matthew and Margo Redman.

Joan grew up in Toronto attending St. Clements and Oakwood Collegiate. Her passion and talent for art appeared at an early age and after high school, and signing up for the Wrens towards the end of World War II, she attended the Ontario College of Art. Joan worked as a fashion illustrator in New York and, after marrying James (Jim) Timmins of Montreal, she continued to pursue a successful art career while at the same time raising five children. Joan showed her work at the Nancy Poole Gallery in Yorkville, the Confederation Gallery in Prince Edward Island and many other venues. She was a member of the Canadian Society of Watercolour Artists and won a number of prizes for her work.

After moving to Thornbury, Ontario, Joan continued her work as an artist as well as pursuing her interest in writing, ultimately self-publishing a number of books and essays. Sadly, Joan's vision declined in the final two years of her life, such that her painting was limited. She lived in her own home right until her death with the help of her family, especially her grandson, Matthew.

The family wishes to thank the doctors and staff at the Meaford Hospital for their incredible competence, support and sensitivity during the final days of Joan's life.

A celebration of Joan's life will be held during the Spring of 2025.



**JAMES WEBB**

Jim Webb beloved father (Tim, JoAnn Totzke), father-in-law (Steve Totzke, Claudia Webb) grandfather (Olivia, Simon, Ben, Henry, Hannah, Owen), brother (Barb Wood) and friend, passed away peacefully on October 31, 2024 at the age of 84. Born on March 28, 1940 in Toronto Jim was known for his unwavering kindness, generosity, and dedication to his family and community.

Jim grew up in Mimico and was a natural athlete. "Hinky" as he was known, played in the first professional lacrosse league in the country and then his charisma got him into TV broadcasting as a play-by-play commentator for the games.

From there it was an easy transition to the media world, starting his incredibly successful career at the Toronto Telegram, followed by a role as media executive at Paul Mulvihill Ltd. Next, as general manager at Maclean Hunter he oversaw the launch of CHYM radio in Kitchener-Waterloo, still the largest most successful station in the region. Finally, he landed at Rogers Media back in Toronto where to his great joy he was able to work with both his son and daughter at the same time.

Jim was an ardent golfer and a member at Westmount Golf Club for over forty years where his short game was legendary! Always a stylish dresser, some of his favourite things were talking politics (he had opinions) and the Toronto Blue Jays, as well as cooking and karaoke of course.

Above all else Jim had a huge heart and would do anything to be there for his family and large group of friends, the people in his life who looked to him for advice and support. He loved being with his grandchildren and hearing about all of their adventures. A big thanks for those that were there to help him in the last few months, he will be deeply missed, but his spirit will live on in the hearts of those who loved him.

A celebration of life will be held at Westmount Golf Club from 1 p.m. - 4 p.m. on November 24th.

### DEATHS



**MARGARET EVELYN WHITTAKER**  
1927 – 2024

With deep sorrow I announce the death of my beloved mother, Margaret Whittaker, in the loving company of family at Christie Gardens in Toronto on November 4, 2024.

The middle of three children, Margaret was born about five miles from Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland, England. With a scholarship to Queen Elizabeth Grammar School for Girls, Margaret began her lifelong quest for learning. Years later that quest took her to York University where she obtained her B.A. (Hons), M.A. and completed the course work for a PhD. This led to a late-in-life career at York teaching Humanities and English.

In 1945 she met her future husband, John, then a medical student at Edinburgh University. This was the beginning of a remarkable love story. Married in 1947, with daughter Carolyn (born 1948) and son Frank (born 1950), they immigrated to Canada in 1952 to work for the Grenfell Mission in Labrador and Northern Newfoundland. The mission provided free medical services to the people in remote "outposts". It was a rugged life but, as the son of missionaries in India, John was in his element. And Margaret supported him in every way including a stint as den mother at the dormitory where the children of fishermen would be dropped off for nine months of school, where she taught as well.

When John developed an incurable neurological condition, they had to leave that challenging but rewarding life. After stops in Nova Scotia and parts of Ontario, they arrived in Toronto in the mid-sixties, where, as Margaret used to say, "our caravan rested". As children my sister and I were aware that this caravan was filled with abundant and evident love.

Predeceased by John (1981) and by her daughter, Carolyn (2014), Margaret is survived by her son, Frank (Erna); four grandchildren, Michael Symonds, John Whittaker (Mandy), Tony Whittaker (Jenna), and Sarah Boyle (Chris); six great-grandchildren, Aurienne, Sam, Audrey, Nora, Layne and Leah.

At her request, Margaret's cremation service was private. A Celebration of Life will be held on Sunday, January 19, 2025 at 2 p.m. at The Arts and Letters Club of Toronto, 14 Elm Street.

If so wished, a donation in Margaret's memory may be made to the Dr. John Whittaker Memorial Cerebral Palsy Award, c/o Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital, 150 Kilgour Road, Toronto M4G 1R8 or to a charity of your choice.

Margaret and her family extend their thanks to the staff of Christie Gardens for many years of comfort. Special thanks also to Dr. Jean Mamoreo for her compassionate end-of-life care.

"She who was the heart, And hinge of all our learning, And our loves." - Wordsworth

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### DEATHS



**GORDON WILLIAM WELLNER**

Gordon Wellner passed away peacefully at Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre, Toronto, on Thursday, October 31, 2024, in his 97th year. He was predeceased by his beloved wife Gail Elizabeth Wellner (nee Johnston). Loving father to Thomas (Mary) and Andrew (Janice). Proud and caring grandfather to Nicholas, Anna, Riley and Benjamin, along with many treasured nieces and nephews and extended family. He leaves behind many friends in PEI, Toronto, and Florida. Appreciation goes out to the staff of the Claremont Retirement Residence in Toronto, ON where he received kindness and support the last six years and his care companion, Tim Sellers, who shared a love of crossword puzzles. They had many laughs together. A thank you is extended to the staff at Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre who provided excellent care and compassion during his final week of life.

Gordon was born in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. He attended West Kent School where he was active in numerous sports including hockey and football. Gordon also attended Prince of Wales College. After working in the public service for several years Gordon found his calling was Sales. He was an entrepreneur and had his own business on Prince Edward Island called REA FAC Agencies. There he was a valued supplier of specialized construction and engineering equipment to a variety of clients.

Gordon was a retired reservist in the Military and ended his active career as a Lieutenant Colonel of the Prince Edward Island Regiment. Gordon was also an aid to the Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island, the Honorable George McKay, and one of his proudest moments was ushering Queen Elizabeth II around Government House during one of her visits to P.E.I. He was an active sportsman who coached hockey and loved to play tennis and golf. Gordon also loved music and singing; one of his favorites was "What a Wonderful World". He and his teacher Mark Haines did numerous engagements at a variety of community settings in Fortune over the years and recorded together.

In the summer of 2025, there will be a Celebration of Life at the Bay Fortune, United Church in Fortune, Prince Edward Island. In Gordon's memory, donations can be made to the Kirk of St. James in Charlottetown Prince Edward Island, where he was an active member all his life. Condolences may be forwarded through [www.humphreymiles.com](http://www.humphreymiles.com).

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*N.W. Miles Newbigging Chapel*  
416-487-4523



**ERIC GORDON WILLIS**

CPA, CMA, in his 91st year.

Loving husband of "Marnie" Myrtle E. (Murphy) for 68 years. Father of Tom (Heather) of Oakville, Joe of Meaford, and Patricia of Kamloops, B.C. Proud grandfather of Luke Takeuchi, Rachel (Sekhar Bhattacharya), Midori Takeuchi and Mark Takeuchi of Vancouver and Laura of University of Guelph (OVC). Great-grandfather of Nora Bhattacharya of Vancouver.

Predeceased by his parents, George Vernon Smith Willis and Mary Melissa Willis (Coverdale) of East Flamborough. Predeceased by his brother, Murray in 2004; sister-in law, Norma in 2019; his sister, Verna West in 2004; and brother-in-law, William West in 2005.

Eric had been a lifelong member of St. James United Church in Waterdown. He was a lifelong employee of Reid Press and its successor companies, retiring in December 1992.

Eric was an avid volunteer during his life. During his early working years he coached minor league baseball in Waterdown. After retirement, volunteering took a different direction with Wesley Urban Ministries, The Canadian Cancer Society and CEO assignments in Ghana, West Africa, and fly-in assignments to Kasabonika Lake First Nations in N.W. Ontario.

Eric was president of Rotary Club of Waterdown and a Paul Harris Fellow.

As per Eric's request, cremation has taken place. A visitation was held on Thursday, November 7, 2024. Burial and graveside service at a later date.

Donations to Ian Anderson House Hospice or your charity of choice would be appreciated in lieu of flowers.

Please sign the Tribute Wall at [kitchingsteepeandludwig.com](http://kitchingsteepeandludwig.com)



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### DEATHS



**MARY ANN WRIGHT**  
(née Langmuir)  
April 8, 1936  
November 1, 2024

After a brief illness Mary passed away peacefully at home surrounded by family members. Born in Niagara Falls, New York and raised in Niagara Falls, Ontario, Mary was the third child of her beloved parents, Bryant and Alice Langmuir. She was loved and cherished by her husband and best friend, David Fleming Wright, with whom she enjoyed sixty-four years of marriage. Her brother, Bryant Langmuir, and sister, Alice Langmuir Sweet predeceased her, as did brothers-in-law, Waldo Sweet and Bernard Koster. She leaves her sister, Noni Langmuir Koster as well as sister-in-law, Lyndy Wright Heggie.

Mary was devoted to her son, David Langmuir Wright (Marjorie Ferguson Wright) and daughter, Alexandra Elling (Richard David). She also was the adored grandmother, "Fanny" of Isabella and Christina Elling. Twelve nieces and nephews benefited from her kindness, wisdom and enduring sense of responsibility (although, alas, three predeceased her).

After boarding school and junior college in the United States, Mary graduated from the University of Western Ontario with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1957. Thereafter she enjoyed a brief career in Market Research with Procter and Gamble when she wasn't busy riding her horse. Like many women of her generation, she retired early to devote herself to raising two children and supporting David's career. She did, however, enjoy a stint as a real estate agent in the 1970s and 80s. Bridge, travel, skiing, sailing aboard the two Sericas and winning a mixed tennis championship with son, David, at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club counted as some of Mary's favourite leisure activities.

Ever the consummate and down-to-earth hostess, Mary, along with David, welcomed friends and family to their beautiful Toronto home on numerous occasions for the forty years they resided there, after which retiring to Collingwood, Ontario in 2000. There she oversaw the design of another gorgeous home while also pursuing leisure and volunteer activities, notably taking a turn as president of the local PROBUS Chapter. A voracious reader and consumer of thought-provoking media and entertainment, Mary was possessed of a sharp mind and wry wit.

It will be remembered that a certain friendly green pea fight waged at her elegant Christmas luncheon table and, indeed, a whoopee cushion inadvertently sat upon by an unsuspecting but playful grandmother at the Christmas dinner table didn't phase her. No – she took it all cheerfully in stride.

Friends and family members are invited to a Celebration of Life on Wednesday, November 13th, 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. at the Fawcett Funeral Home, 82 Pine Street, Collingwood, Ontario, L9Y 2N7. For those unable to attend in person, the link will be posted at [www.fawcettfuneralhomes.com](http://www.fawcettfuneralhomes.com) where tributes will be made at 2:00 p.m. Mary's online Book of Memories also can be found on the website.

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## Sports in brief

### DABROWSKI, ROUTLIFE INTO WTA DOUBLES FINAL

RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA Ottawa's Gabriela Dabrowski and Erin Routliffe of New Zealand are through to the doubles final at the WTA Finals after a 7-6 (7), 6-1 victory over Nicole Melichar-Martinez of the United States and Australia's Ellen Perez in semi-final action Friday. The second seeds then cruised through the second set, winning match point on serve when Melichar-Martinez couldn't handle Routliffe's shot. Dabrowski and Routliffe wrapped up the match in 1 hour 32 minutes. Dabrowski and Routliffe will face Katerina Siniakova and Taylor Townsend in the final on Saturday.

It's a rematch of this year's Wimbledon final, which the Czech and American team won 7-6 (5), 7-6 (1). Dabrowski is aiming to become the first Canadian to win a WTA Finals title. "[I've] been in the WTA Finals a bunch of times, but semi-finals was my best result with Erin last year in Cancun," said the 32-year-old Dabrowski, who is competing in the end-of-year doubles tournament for the sixth time. "So to go one round further is super exciting. In the later part of my career as well, it's really special. To do it together, with the vibe we've got, is really amazing."

Elsewhere, Coco Gauff defeated top-ranked Aryna Sabalenka 7-6 (4), 6-3 and set up a showdown with Olympic champion Zheng Qinwen in the final of the WTA Finals on Friday. Zheng earlier defeated Wimbledon champion Barbora Krejčíková 6-3, 7-5 to book her place in Saturday's final.

THE CANADIAN PRESS, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

### SHAPOVALOV ADVANCES TO FINAL AT BELGRADE OPEN

BELGRADE, SERBIA Canadian Denis Shapovalov advanced to the final of the Belgrade Open with a dominant 6-2, 6-1 win over Jiri Lehecka of Czechia on Friday. The 25-year-old from Richmond Hill, Ont., ranked 78th in the world, will face No. 156 Hamad Medjedovic of Serbia in Saturday's final. It will be Shapovalov's seventh career singles final, with his only title coming at the Stockholm Open in 2019.

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### STURMAY THUMPS CAREY AT GRAND SLAM OF CURLING

NISKU, ALTA. Edmonton's Selena Sturmey kept her playoff hopes afloat at the Grand Slam of Curling's Co-op Canadian Open with an 8-1 win over Winnipeg's Chelsea Carey on Friday. Sturmey finished the group stage at 2-2 after opening with two losses and remains in contention for a playoff spot, depending on the results of the final women's draw later Friday. The top eight teams from the men's and women's competitions advance to the quarter-finals.

In other results, Italy's Stefania Constantini improved to 3-1 and qualified for the playoffs with a 7-4 win over Switzerland's Xenia Schwaller (1-3), who was eliminated. South Korea's Team Eun-jung Kim (3-1) is also through to the quarter-finals after a 9-4 win over Kerri Einarson of Gimli, Man., (2-2).

The final two men's draws were also scheduled for later Friday. The quarter-finals and semi-finals are Saturday and the finals are Sunday.

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### CANADA RAVENS TO FACE U.S. HAWKS IN RUGBY LEAGUE CUP QUALIFIER

Fresh from an 80-0 drubbing of the U.S. Pioneers developmental squad, the Canada Ravens look to take a step closer to the 2026 Women's Rugby League World Cup with a win Saturday over the full American team in Jacksonville, Fla.

The 16th-ranked U.S. Hawks progressed to Saturday's final at the University of North Florida with a 42-0 victory over No. 23 Jamaica on Wednesday. Eighth-ranked Canada was originally slated to face No. 12 Brazil in semi-final play but the South American side pulled out due to financial reasons.

As the top-ranked side, Canada was given a bye to the final in Brazil's absence, with a warm-up match Wednesday against the U.S. Pioneers. Canada beat Brazil 22-16 when they met at the last World Cup in November, 2022. Saturday's winner will represent the region in next year's inaugural

2025 World Series against No. 10 Ireland (Europe), No. 18 Nigeria (Middle East Africa) and No. 26 Fiji (Asia Pacific), likely in October-November. The World Series winner will complete the eight-team World Cup field in 2026 in Australia and Papua New Guinea, which already includes No. 1 Australia, No. 2 New Zealand, No. 3 England, No. 4 France, No. 5 Papua New Guinea, No. 7 Wales and No. 24 Samoa. Rugby league is the lesser-known rugby code, played 13-a-side instead of rugby union's 15-a-side.

It's a physical game with powerful forwards and elusive backs each offering their own kind of threat.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

### ROGERS CENTRE TO HOST WWE'S ELIMINATION CHAMBER

The WWE is returning to Toronto's Rogers Centre for the first time in more than two decades.

The professional wrestling promoter says it will hold its Elimination Chamber premium live event at the downtown ballpark on March 1.

This is WWE's first event in Rogers Centre since WrestleMania 18 in 2002, which featured the "Icon vs. Icon" match between Dwayne (The Rock) Johnson and Hulk Hogan.

Rogers Centre also hosted WrestleMania VI in 1990 that saw Hogan face The Ultimate Warrior in a winner-take-all match between the Intercontinental Champion and WWF Champion.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

### PRESTON MATTINGLY PROMOTED TO PHILLIES GM

PHILADELPHIA Preston Mattingly, a son of former star first baseman and manager Don Mattingly, was promoted to general manager of the Philadelphia Phillies on Friday under president of baseball operations Dave Dombrowski. Sam Fuld, the GM since December, 2020, is studying for his Master of Business Administration degree at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and will become the team's president of business operations when he receives his degree in May, 2026.

Fuld will oversee business operations departments after his graduation and until then will share GM duties with Mattingly.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

### BOONE TO RETURN AS YANKEES MANAGER

NEW YORK Aaron Boone will return for an eighth season as New York Yankees manager after the team exercised his 2025 option on Friday. Boone has led the Yankees to a 603-429 record, three AL East titles and one pennant.

New York reached the World Series this year for the first time since 2009, losing to the Los Angeles Dodgers in five games. Boone is the third Yankees manager to lead the team to the postseason in six of his first seven years after Casey Stengel and Joe Torre.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

### PAUL WARING SHOOTS 61 IN ABU DHABI

ABU DHABI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES Paul Waring hit the shot of his life to complete a career-low 11-under 61 in the second round of the Abu Dhabi Championship on Friday and establish a five-stroke lead heading into the weekend of the European tour's first playoff event.

The European tour confirmed to the Associated Press that it is the lowest 36-hole score to par in the tour's history. Waring opened with a 64 on Thursday.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

### TOTTENHAM FACES SANCTIONS FOR FANS' HOMOPHOBIC CHANTS

LONDON Tottenham faces sanctions from the English Football Association over homophobic chants by Spurs fans at a Premier League match earlier this season. The chanting took place during Tottenham's 3-0 victory over Manchester United at Old Trafford on Sept. 29.

The FA charged Spurs with rules breaches because teams are required to ensure that their fans don't use offensive chants or behave in an "improper, offensive, abusive, indecent, or insulting way with either an express or implied reference to sexual orientation."

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



[ LEAFS VS. RED WINGS ]

## Battle of the bodies

Matthew Knies of the Maple Leafs and Moritz Seider of the Red Wings' battle for space in front of Detroit goaltender Cam Talbot as he looks to make a save during Friday's game in Toronto. Earlier in the day, the Leafs placed Auston Matthews on the injured reserve list. For Paul Attfield's game story, visit [GLOBESPORTS.COM](https://www.globesports.com)

FRANK GUNN/THE CANADIAN PRESS

# Weber still dreams of playing as he prepares to enter HHOFF

The defenceman wishes he was still playing, but joining Pavel Datsyuk, Jeremy Roenick and others will be 'special'

JOSHUA CLIPPERTON

Shea Weber's passion still burns bright. Instead of lacing up his skates and trying to help his team make a play-off push, the former defenceman and captain of the Montreal Canadiens has been polishing a speech.

Weber is set to be inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame as part of the 2024 class on Monday alongside Pavel Datsyuk, Jeremy Roenick, Natalie Darwitz and Krissy Wendell-Pohl in the player category. David Poile and Colin Campbell will go in as builders.

"I miss it every day," Weber, whose career ended prematurely because of injury, said Friday after this year's honourees received their rings. "Fortunate I get to get on the ice a lot with the kids, but I definitely miss it."

The 39-year-old has been unable to play since helping drag Montreal to the 2021 Stanley Cup final.

Weber, who had a booming shot and an unassuming demeanour, knew Game 5 against the Tampa Bay Lightning that July would likely be his last.

"Kind of saw it coming," Weber said. "It made it that much more emotional and tough to digest."

He finished with 224 goals and 589 points in 1,038 games with the Canadiens and Nashville Predators. The hard-nosed blueliner from Sicamous, B.C., added 42 points (18 goals, 24 assists) in 97 playoff contests.

Datsyuk, 46, put up 314 goals and 918 points in 953 games across 14 NHL seasons with the Detroit Red Wings. He added 113 points (42 goals, 71 assists) in 157 playoff contests that included Stanley Cup victories in 2002 and 2008.



Krissy Wendell-Pohl, left, Shea Weber, Jeremy Roenick, Pavel Datsyuk and Natalie Darwitz show off their rings to celebrate their induction into the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto on Friday. CHRISTOPHER KATSAROV/THE CANADIAN PRESS

The Russian centre with silky-smooth hands was a four-time Lady Byng Trophy winner and the NHL's most gentlemanly player and took home the Selke Trophy as top defensive forward on three occasions.

Datsyuk, who played five seasons in the KHL after leaving Detroit in 2016, represented his country at five straight Olympics, capturing gold in 2018 and bronze in 2002.

"It means for me, a lot," he said of getting inducted. "Lots of people helped me."

Roenick, 54, registered 513 goals and 1,216 points in 1,363 games over 20 seasons with the Chicago Blackhawks, Phoenix Coyotes, Philadelphia Flyers, Los Angeles Kings and San Jose Sharks.

The winger from Boston with a colourful personality and fearless mentality chipped in 122 points (53 goals, 69 assists) in 154 playoff contests.

Wendell-Pohl, 43, represented the United States at two Olympics, winning silver in 2002 and bronze in 2006. The forward from

Brooklyn Park, Minn., also captured six medals at the world championships, and was the first American woman to lead her country to gold at the tournament as captain in 2005.

Darwitz, 41, represented the U.S. at the 2002, 2006 and 2010 Games, winning two silver medals and a bronze. The forward out of St. Paul, Minn., also represented her country at eight world championships, topping the podium in 2005, 2008 and 2009.

Campbell, 71, has been involved in hockey for more than a half-century as a player, coach and, for the last 25 years, as a senior executive vice-president across various NHL departments.

Weber, meanwhile, still thinks about playing.

"A little bit less as the years go on," he said. "It definitely lessens as you go, but I miss it. Miss it a lot."

THE CANADIAN PRESS

## Kelly: Leafs need to ask if they're getting better as a team

FROM B16

That's the best guide for whether to re-sign your own player – if you're moving backward, change. If you've got forward momentum, stay as you are.

The Vancouver Canucks gave Elias Pettersson an eight-year, US\$93-million deal six months ago. Pettersson is in that 'should be great' range – a centre, still young (25), was a monster early in his career. But he wasn't getting better lately, and neither were the Canucks.

This season, Pettersson looks like a man who plays hockey as a condition of his bail. He'll have one good game, get his chit signed and then disappear for four nights.

If the Canucks are heading into Leafs' territory – a hypothetically great team that doesn't translate into reality – the Pettersson extension will be the signing that defines that.

It doesn't take a genius to figure out why teams sign guys they know intimately despite their doubts – fear.

As a GM, you can't just let a Stamkos go. You have to replace him with a Guentzel. That's hard work and, if it goes wrong, that's all on you.

It's easier to re-sign your own guy and say, 'Everyone knows how much he brings to the table', even if all the guy does is eat. The important thing is that you can get everyone to agree that you made the correct call, even though it turned out incorrectly.

Pettersson is in that 'should be great' range – a centre, still young, was a monster early in his career. But he wasn't getting better lately, and neither were the Canucks.

It's common in the NHL to see executives praising the roster calls of their direct competitors, often unprompted. You won't find this tendency in baseball or football. It's pervasive in hockey because everyone wants the same protection for their own timid decision making when the time comes.

This is the prism through which the Leafs' decision with Mitch Marner can be viewed. Are they Stamkos'ing, Reinhart'ing or Pettersson'ing?

Marner's had a good start. He's a lock to make Team Canada for the 4 Nations Face-Off in February. Around March, odds are he'll be looking like a top-10 or top-20 player in the league.

But are the Leafs getting better? Does anyone doubt they will start getting better if they give Marner the giganto contract he is expecting? Beyond considerations of individual talent, is the Leafs' mix right? Because this is their last chance to change it.

If there's any doubt about any of that, then there you go. The Leafs should know what they have to do. Not just pass on Marner, but replace him with someone (or maybe two someones) better suited to their needs.

But because Toronto is Toronto and not Tampa or Florida – winners of three of the past five championships – one has some concerns the gutsy choice will ever supersede the easy one.

## Jets: Winnipeg is 'finding ways to get in' and 'stay in' games

FROM B16

Scott Arniel, Winnipeg's first-year coach, goes on and on when asked about Connor's skill. Arniel previously was a head coach in Columbus and an associate or assistant coach with the Jets, the New York Rangers and the Washington Capitals.

"He is a goal scorer," Arniel said. "He is not afraid to get inside and has great ability to find open space. I have coached some real good goal scorers over my years and he is in the top five in the way the puck comes off his stick. He is as fast as anybody."

"He has the demeanour where he wants to score a goal on every shift. He is in attack mode all of the time."

The Jets' start, of course, is unsustainable. But they have piled up 26 of a possible 28 points. Those will come in handy when they go on an inevitable skid. Two points count the same in November as they do in April.

"We are finding ways to get in games, to stay in games and get the outcome that we need," Arniel said. "You go into every game hoping and planning to win but it doesn't always work out. We are real happy and real excited about what's happened, but we still have 70-odd games or whatever to play."

The Jets are also battling history, not in a hopeless Maple Leafs kind of way, but there are skeptics. On a flight to Winnipeg this week, a fan was asked what she thought about the red-hot start.

Fewer than 13,000 spectators attended each of the Jets' home games this week in an arena that seats 15,004.

"We've seen all of this before," she mused. "Talk to me in April."

Connor understands. "It's not something that happens over-



Winnipeg Jets goaltender Connor Hellebuyck makes a save against the Calgary Flames during a game last month at the Scotiabank Saddledome in Calgary. Hellebuyck is off to a 10-1 start this season. SERGEI BELSKI/USA TODAY SPORTS

night," he said. "It is something that we have worked on for years. That's been the main focus: How can we get better as a group and improve. We know we have a championship team here."

"It's not always a straight line to the top. You've got to learn, you've got to develop. You're kind of seeing that."

Jeff Baquiran has been a season-ticket holder in Winnipeg since 2011, when the Atlanta Flames relocated. With the exception of contests played without fans during the pandemic, he has attended 541 of 543 of Jets' home games.

Even he has been taken aback by their performance this season.

"If you told me the Jets would go 13-1

over the first 14 games, I would have said, 'I'd like to have whatever it is you are smoking,'" Baquiran said. "It's a shock, but it's a good shock."

A senior laboratory technologist, he has a large collection of game-worn jerseys, bobbleheads and a room full of Jets' knick-knacks.

"I started off with one jersey that I bought on an impulse, one turned into 10, and 10 turned into 20. Now, if I were to count I must have 35 to 40 in my closet."

His seat is in the last row of the arena, up by the organist. But he never sits. He stands for entire games.

"The cushion is still in mint condition," he said.

# TRUMP COUNTRY



## TRUMP REDUX: GLOBE COLUMNISTS ON THE U.S. ELECTION

- ANDREW COYNE** It's not polite to say this, but: The people are not always right ■ 02
- DOUG SAUNDERS** Canada must help fill the America-sized hole in the free world ■ 03
- ROBYN URBACK** Joe Biden let Donald Trump back into the White House ■ 011
- MARSHA LEDERMAN** What Trump's victory could mean for women in the U.S. ■ 011
- KONRAD YAKBUSKI** Democrats need to take a long, hard look at why Americans chose Trump ■ 011

Supporters of U.S. president-elect Donald Trump celebrate his win Tuesday at the Palm Beach Convention Center in Florida. CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

## BOOK OF MYSTERY

Almost 80 years after the end of the Second World War, a small piece of a lost soldier's life finds its way back to Japan

MICHAEL DOUGHERTY

OPINION

Writer based in Whitehorse

In the spring of 1945, Master Sergeant Jack Dougherty was flying his Stinson L-5 loaded with empty plasma bottles along the coast of Burma. His small two-seat aircraft was nicknamed the "Flying Jeep" for its versatility. In the days before helicopters, this lightweight, treated cotton, plywood and metal tubing plane possessed amazing short takeoff and landing capabilities that made it invaluable in the Burma

campaign. Dougherty's 127th Liaison Squadron of L-5s supported front-line troops as air ambulances and by performing reconnaissance, as well as providing critical resupply and personnel movement.

On that day, the airspace was supposedly clear of any enemy activity for his return flight to his base at Akyab, Burma (now Sittwe, Myanmar), from a front-line airstrip hacked out of the jungle. A sudden gust of wind buffeted his plane. This caused a side-ward motion that swung his L-5's tail out. This brief, chance blast of air allowed him to catch sight of a much faster Japanese A6M Zero fighter approaching with its flaps

and wheels down. The enemy pilot wanted to slow his plane as much as possible for an anticipated shot at a close, fatal range.

Jack immediately rolled his L-5 over and dropped it sharply toward the waters of the Bay of Bengal. His unarmed L-5 pulled up from the dive, belly upward, just a few feet above the waves. This show of his total vulnerability and submission must have impressed the Zero's pilot. Whether motivated by an ancient warrior code or simply fed up with the war's slaughter, the Japanese pilot disengaged. Jack's life was spared by this act of mercy.

A fluke of nature together with Jack's quick thinking kept him fly-

ing. His service record would eventually include missions such as taking Edwina Mountbatten, Countess Mountbatten of Burma, and other notables, such as the journalist Fred Friendly, to the front, and carrying stretcher-bound wounded combatants from the front lines to hospitals in the rear. He also co-piloted C-47s over the "Hump" (the Himalayas) on supply runs from India into China while damaged L-5s from his squadron were being repaired after a typhoon destroyed his air base. For his military service, his decorations included the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with Oak Leaf clusters.

Toward the war's end in Au-

gust, 1945, the 127th Liaison Squadron left India and was ordered to move into position in the Philippines in preparation for the invasion of Japan. The horrific atomic-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki made an invasion unnecessary. Jack and his unit made it home in early 1946.

Over the next 33 years, he would father seven children with his wife Katy, build a business, and work countless hours providing for them. His leather flight jacket and uniform were tucked away in a cedar closet. These were objects of curiosity for his children, coming out occasionally for Halloween or school plays.

■ BOOKLET, 08

**KRISTY KIRKUP**  
What I'll remember most about Murray Sinclair ■ 05

**KELLEY KORBIN**  
MAID can be much more than a medical procedure ■ 05

**SHAGHAYEGH MORADIANEJAD**  
Yazidi women's tales of tears are etched in their skin ■ 06-7

**BENJAMIN HERTWIG**  
I served in Afghanistan. Here's why I skip Remembrance Day ■ 08

# Sometimes the people get it wrong

A growing body of research shows voters aren't motivated by rational considerations, but factors such as social identity and partisan loyalty

ANDREW COYNE

OPINION



Landslide, some call it. A sweeping victory – or, if you are so disposed, a stunning defeat. What could it all mean?

But wait a minute. Before we delve too deeply into the Meaning of It All, let's be clear: To call this week's presidential election a landslide, or even a significant majority, is complete nonsense, an artifact of two well-known distortions in how the U.S. counts the votes.

One is the Electoral College, or more particularly the winner-take-all system most states use to award electors to the candidates. In the three most hotly contested states – Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania – the margin of victory averaged 1.1 percentage points, or fewer than 244,000 votes between them.

With a combined 44 Electoral College votes, these states, in turn, made up the margin of victory in the election. As it happens, Donald Trump won all three. Had Kamala Harris won them – had a total of 122,000 voters in the three knife-edge states gone the other way – the headlines the day after would have been Harris Wins rather than Trump Wins, and we would all be having a very different conversation.

The other distortion is temporal: the disjunction between the speed with which the votes are counted – glacial, in some states – and the speed with which pundits weigh in with their assessments of the results.

Based on the returns available in the first day or two after the election, you would have said there was a big swing to the Republicans. Mr. Trump beat Ms. Harris by more than three percentage points, or a little over 4.5 million votes, having lost to Joe Biden by four percentage points in 2020.

As of this writing, however, there are still roughly 12 million votes to be counted, in six western states: California, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Arizona and Utah. Assuming the remaining votes are distributed in roughly the same proportion as those counted to date, I calculate that Ms. Harris stands to gain another 6.5 million votes, to Mr. Trump's five million. That narrows the gap to roughly three million votes, or just two percentage points: 50 to 48.

Not exactly a landslide. In fact, it's among the narrowest popular-vote wins in U.S. presidential history. Of 60 presidential elections held since 1788, the winner had a wider margin of victory in 47. Even in the Electoral College,

where Mr. Trump won 312 to 226, his 58-per-cent majority is in the bottom third.

But never mind. Mr. Trump won, with fully three percentage points more of the popular vote than he got in 2020. True, that was more as a result of the failure of Democratic voters to turn out than any great surge in support for Mr. Trump – when all the votes are counted, Ms. Harris will have received nearly seven million fewer votes than Mr. Biden got last time – but still, a win's a win.

And by now, we know exactly what it all means, thanks to the heroic efforts of a thousand paid opinionators working to tight deadlines. Why, it's as plain as day. Clearly, it was all Ms. Harris's fault. She was too strident, too soft, too Black, too female. But then, it was really Mr. Biden's fault, for sticking around too long.

It's because the Democrats tacked too far to the right, forsaking the working-class voters that are the party's strength. Or rather, it's because they tacked too far to the left, alienating moderate voters with their endless moralizing about identity politics.

No, that's not it. It's because of the economy: Sure, the overall numbers are good, but individual voters weren't feeling it. Sorry, did I say the economy? I meant it was Mr. Biden's stance on the Middle East, which leaned too heavily in favour of Israel and cost Ms. Harris votes among Arab Americans. That is to say, it was his *weakness* in defence of Israel, which cost her the Jewish vote.

Well, you get the idea. What all of these analyses have in common is that the opinions they attribute to the voters – or at least those voters, a minority by all accounts, who were open to persuasion on any basis whatever, and not simply locked in from the start – just happen to coincide, in every case, with the opinion of the speaker.

It's a well-known phenomenon. It even has a name: the Pundit's Fallacy, an instance of a broader habit of thought known as motivated reasoning. As in: The policy stance that I, A. Pundit, prefer a party should take, ideologically, also happens to be the stance that is most advantageous, politically.

If you're a Democrat, and your own thinking leans to the left, you'll tend to urge the party to move to the left – not because that's your pet philosophy, heavens no, but strictly in the interests of its electoral success. Conversely, if you lean more to the right, you'll find, if you search your heart, that the winning strategy for the party is really to move to the right.

If, then, the party fails electorally, it can only be because it did not move far enough to the left.

The Biden administration made its share of mistakes; Kamala Harris has her flaws; the American economy could be performing better (though quite honestly it's hard to see how); identity politics has a lot to answer for. But the notion that any of these, or all of them, represent such a dire threat, such an emergency, as to justify a 'remedy' such as Donald Trump – there is no other word for this but irrational.

Or right, as the case may be.

You can see this tendency at work equally in the many instant analyses of why Trump voters voted as they did. If you despise liberal elites, or "woke" cultural warriors, or [your preferred object of loathing here], then your analysis will lean heavily on the theory that it was all because voters also despise the same people or things.

If, likewise, you think the problem with America is that there is too much crime, or that taxes are too high, you will find the seeds of Mr. Trump's victory in these. I have read deep, nuanced think-pieces on the average Trump voter's deeply nuanced views about the importance of entrepreneurial dynamism, or the virtues of free speech, or the importance of the merit principle, and in every case discovered, to my astonishment, that these also reflected the thinking of the writer.

I don't say these analyses are entirely without merit. Probably some Democratic voters were left cold by the Harris campaign's lack of meaty left-wing policy proposals, or were turned off by the Biden administration's conduct of foreign policy. Probably some Republican voters were excited by Mr. Trump's supposed plan to replace the income tax with an across-the-board tariff.

It's the extension of this to "the voters" – of either party, let alone the electorate as a whole – that strikes me as dodgy. Or rather, no: it's the assumption that most voters are primarily motivated by ra-

tional or even explicable considerations that's wrong – the idea that they vote for a candidate or party based on a reasoned appraisal of what the candidate can do for them, or what's best for the country, or anything related to cause and effect.

The evidence against this has been accumulating for some years, in books such as *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies*, by Bryan Caplan, and *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*, by Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels. Their research shows voters are more likely to make decisions based on factors such as social identity or partisan loyalty, as filtered through an assortment of prejudices and cognitive biases.

That was true of democracies generally – and long before the advent of social media, state-based disinformation campaigns and other mechanisms by which large sections of the populace across the democratic world have been driven, not to put too fine a point on it, mad.

But now apply that to the chaos of contemporary America, with its ingrained partisan identities (nearly half the country's voters are formally registered as supporters of one party or the other) and entrenched social divisions. Particularly toxic are those centred on education, expertise and knowledge – in brief, whether anyone knows anything, least of all the folks who are supposed to; whether facts matter, or can be established with any certainty, or even just agreed upon, or whether everyone is entitled to their own facts.

In particular, apply it to Trump voters. This is not a comment about Republicans, or conservatives, or populists. It is a comment about the type of voter who is drawn to Mr. Trump: who is willing or eager to mark their ballot for someone as manifestly, palpably, incontrovertibly unfit for public office, not only in his own character and abilities, but for what he represents, including his attacks on the rule of law, basic freedoms and democracy itself.

To persist in the belief, nevertheless, that he is an appropriate or wise choice for president, requires a culpable error, of one sort or another: either an astonishing ignorance, nine years after he entered the political arena, of the things he has done and said; or an irrational disbelief, in the face of all the evidence, that he means it; or an amoral apathy, so long as he annoys the right people and keeps the Democrats out; or, in the worst case, active approval.

Don't get me wrong. There are rational or at least explicable reasons why a voter might be ticked off at the Democrats, whether for

any of the reasons listed above, or simply because they happen to be in office at a time, postpandemic, postinflation, when voters everywhere are furious with incumbents. An analysis by the Financial Times finds that every governing party of a major democracy that has faced election this year, 10 in all, has suffered a decline in its share of the vote – the first time this has happened, ever, or at least since records were kept (that's going back to 1905).

But that is an entirely separate question from whether it is rational, in response, to vote for a candidate such as Mr. Trump. The Biden administration made its share of mistakes; Ms. Harris has her flaws; the American economy could be performing better (though quite honestly it's hard to see how); identity politics has a lot to answer for. But the notion that any of these, or all of them, represent such a dire threat, such an emergency, as to justify a "remedy" such as Mr. Trump – there is no other word for this but irrational.

It is not polite to say this. The notion that "the people are always right" is a staple of democratic discourse. And there is much truth in this. Indeed, I have often been forced to acknowledge it myself – the issue in which I had been so heavily invested, the factors that I had felt sure really ought to decide this or that election, proved, in the fullness of time, not to be of such overwhelming importance as all that, at least when set beside all the many other issues and considerations that combine, by some extraordinary alchemy, to produce a vote.

The average voter, busy as they are with the regular distractions of life, may take a broader and I dare say better view of things than the full-time pundit, too caught up in the day-to-day minutiae of politics. But it is not necessarily true, always and everywhere. Indeed, it *can't* be true for all voters – in any election, the abiding wisdom of the majority must be set against what is presumably the abject folly of the minority.

Who's to say we must necessarily pay homage to the former, just because they slightly outnumber the latter? Sometimes the people – some of the people at any rate – get it wrong. Especially the people who say the reason they voted for Donald Trump is that he is a "man of God," or will "get tough with Russia," or "cares about people like me."

It is expected of politicians, especially losing politicians, that they must nevertheless grit their teeth and mouth the words, "The people are always right." But such pieties are not required of columnists.



Supporters of president-elect Donald Trump cheer together as they arrive at his election watch party in West Palm Beach, Fla., on Tuesday. SCOTT MCINTYRE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

# WITH TRUMP'S WIN, A NEW WORLD EMERGES

While no one can yet say quite what it will look like, **Andrew Preston** writes, one thing is for sure: the long era of an American-led liberal internationalism is over

## OPINION

Andrew Preston is a professor of American history at the University of Cambridge.

Donald Trump is guilty of a lot of political hyperbole but he was absolutely right when he declared in his victory speech that he led one of the most consequential political movements in American history. He was also correct in claiming that his victory is unprecedented. Added together, it leaves him with a clear mandate to enact his agenda.

This will mean big changes for the United States, but what does it mean for the rest of the world?

Aside from the Democrats gathering in Washington for a victory party that never happened, the biggest losers of the election are U.S. allies in Kyiv, Taipei, Seoul and Brussels, who will now fear the removal of the American security umbrella. Other allies, in Brussels and Frankfurt but also in Mexico City and, yes, Ottawa, are in for uncertain economic times as Mr. Trump has vowed to impose steep tariffs. As any Canadian can tell you, there is no love lost in international trade, even between the closest of friends, and other trade partners are about to find out just how brutal that logic can be. A new round of Trump tariffs will be even worse for adversaries, particularly China.

In the Middle East, Tehran should now be extremely

worried. When Benjamin Netanyahu calls Mr. Trump's victory the greatest-ever political comeback, you know something historic has happened, and the two are closer kindred spirits than ever before. With no countervailing pressure from Washington to de-escalate, Israel will feel unleashed, and its next attack will aim to set Iran's nuclear program back for decades, if not forever. Voters who wanted to punish Kamala Harris for the Biden administration's support of Israel are about to find out just how much worse it can get for the Palestinians.

One of America's closest allies, Britain, is actually in a decent position to weather the coming storm for the simple reason that its economy is already weak and doesn't have much more to lose. In this sense, the colossal mistake of leaving the European Union means that Britain has already absorbed the kind of trade shocks others will feel in the coming years. If Britain's anemic post-Brexit economy is any indicator, the rest of the world is in for some hard times.

Anyone worried about climate change should be even more worried. Tackling the climate crisis requires global solutions, but if the U.S. abandons its effort, and if doing so results in even faster economic growth, then others will be tempted to follow suit. Societies will only tolerate sacrifice over prosperity if others do likewise.

After Israel, the biggest foreign

Donald Trump isn't an ideological politician; his goal is always to maximize the immediate wants and needs of his country, his family and himself. In pursuing these ultimate goals, he's intensely transactional. So if Mr. Trump is to pull back from Ukraine, perhaps even Europe, he'll expect something in return.

winner of the U.S. election is Russia. U.S.-Russian relations will never be smooth, no matter who occupies the White House, but Vladimir Putin stands to benefit from a U.S. withdrawal of military aid to Ukraine, sagging American support for NATO, and the probable lifting of Western sanctions, which simply won't work without U.S. backing.

But Mr. Trump isn't an ideological politician; his goal is always to maximize the immediate wants and needs of his country, his family and himself. In pursuing these ultimate goals, he's intensely transactional. So if Mr. Trump is to pull back from Ukraine, perhaps even Europe, he'll

expect something in return.

Mr. Trump's love of a deal – sometimes purely for the sake of the art of a deal – could mean that the next four years will be unexpectedly peaceful. It should surprise nobody if Mr. Trump tries to strike a grand bargain with allies and adversaries alike. He tried this with Kim Jong-Un in three stunningly unpredictable summit meetings, and though they failed it was audacious for Mr. Trump even to try. His basic architecture for a settlement in the Middle East was based on a deal between Israel and the Gulf states, eventually extending to Saudi Arabia. The same was initially true for China as well: It's easy to forget, after years of sanctions and sabre-rattling, that Mr. Trump actually tried to come to terms with Beijing, even inviting Xi Jinping to visit Mar-a-Lago in 2017.

Thus a second term for Mr. Trump might actually look a lot like the statecraft of Richard Nixon, which led to the opening to China and détente with the Soviet Union, or Ronald Reagan, which resulted in the peaceful end of the Cold War. Mr. Trump is more than capable of an abrupt diplomatic pivot like these even – especially – if it catches everyone else off guard.

But there are three caveats here. First, both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Reagan had strategic and ideological principles to guide them that were larger than their own self-interest. Second, peace came at a high price: a wider, bloodier

war in Southeast Asia under Mr. Nixon, and military tensions that almost resulted in World War III under Mr. Reagan. Without principles to guide his way, an initial phase of escalating tensions could end up running well ahead of Mr. Trump and tip the world into another great-power war. And third, even successful deals will inevitably result in losers as well as winners: Ukraine most obviously, but a deal with China could come at the expense of Taiwanese security.

The larger point here is that nobody knows what Mr. Trump will do in the world – at this stage, maybe not even Mr. Trump himself.

However, one thing is certain: Whether it's war or peace, the long era of an American-led liberal internationalism is over. From Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush, most U.S. presidents built and maintained an order based on liberal values and the ever-increasing flow of people, goods, capital and ideas. The self-defeating wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya showed the limits of the U.S. military power that undergirded and enforced the liberal order. Even more damagingly, the forever wars weakened the legitimacy, not least among Americans themselves, that the liberal order needed to survive. Joe Biden tried to repair the damage, but his moment has passed. With Mr. Trump's victory, a new world is emerging, though nobody yet knows what it will look like.



Then-U.S. president Donald Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping attend a bilateral meeting during the Group of 20 leaders summit in Osaka, Japan, in 2019. KEVIN LAMARQUE/REUTERS

## Three steps to replace a U.S.-sized hole in the free world

### DOUG SAUNDERS

#### OPINION



We are in the midst of a kind of cold war, one that pits free societies against a growing bloc of authoritarian and ultra-nationalistic regimes that have rejected many of the values of democracy and pluralism.

What makes this one different is that the United States is no longer always on our side.

American voters made this clear when they chose a president who spent his campaign exuberantly endorsing, and being embraced by, authoritarian figures such as Viktor Orban of Hungary, Vladimir Putin of Russia and Narendra Modi of India. Donald Trump has promised to withdraw from, or dramatically reduce the U.S. role in, the alliances that bond the world's democracies on crucial missions of climate change, trade and defence. He has surrounded himself with extreme figures who seem determined to carry out

this realignment.

Countries such as Canada will need to work with our democratic allies to fill the America-sized hole in the free world, and prevent any further erosion, through military or political attacks, of the democratic sphere.

If we are to survive this era with our values and freedoms intact, we need to take several actions.

■ **Get our own houses in order.** On election night, I was struck by the words of Stefan Kornelius, foreign editor of the Munich newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: "If Donald Trump is elected president, the world and Europe will need stable governments, reliability, and exemplary rules and laws above all." He was horrified that Germany's coalition government had begun collapsing that very day, with the ill-timed withdrawal of one of its parties.

We will not make it through the Trump era if our own governments lack legitimacy. Our governments need to be more stable, and more popular, than theirs. German Chancellor Olaf Scholz proposed allowing a confidence vote on Jan. 15. He should take

the advice of opposition leaders and pull the trigger immediately, so a new, consensus-minded coalition is in place early in 2025.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau should do the same. He and his Liberal-led minority government are very unpopular, as any administration would be after nine years in office. Everyone knows there will be a new government, with a stronger mandate, at some point during the Trump term. If the Prime Minister wants to serve Canada best, he will trigger an election during 2024, so the uncertainty and domestic animosity are over before the most challenging times begin. We cannot be fighting ourselves when we face a larger global battle of historic proportions.

■ **Be more united than they are.** These elections are likely to replace liberal or social-democratic parties with conservatives. There will be a temptation, among Canada's and Britain's Conservative parties, Germany's Christian Democrats and other voices on the moderate right to act as if they are better equipped to appease Mr. Trump through imitation or flattery.

This is a fallacy. During his first term, Mr. Trump was even more brutal and unco-operative toward reasonable-minded conservatives such as Germany's Angela Merkel or Britain's Theresa May than he was toward liberals. As a conservative leader, you are not going to become a "Trump whistler," shy of abandoning your own party's core values and joining the autocrats.

On this, the moderate parties of left and right must be united. Liberals may abhor and condemn the domestic policies of Conservatives, but they can and should come together, as they did when Mr. Trump attacked North American free trade during his first term, on the need to protect the vulnerable elements of the democratic world: Ukraine and other European countries under physical attack, the Paris climate pact, the international trade and arms-control orders under political attack, and allies facing the misinformation-fuelled rise of extremist forces within their borders.

■ **Accept that this will be expensive.** Doing this will involve replacing big U.S. slices of the

spending pie. Democracies, including Canada, will need to double their spending on aid and arms to Ukraine, and do so very quickly. This is more important than our own defence, though that, at least in Canada, also needs to be bolstered to strengthen our collective defence alliance.

This is no time for austerity – even though current interest rates and public-debt levels might make it seem otherwise. Mr. Trump and his bloc will be driving up public debt dramatically to satisfy their key (mainly well-off) constituencies.

Democratic pluralism promises a better and more equal life, and we will lose this battle if we cannot visibly deliver on that promise. The otherwise sensible fiscal restraint currently being practised by Canada's and Britain's governments, and the debt-limiting constitutional amendment in Germany, need to come to an end, at least for the opening years of this unprecedented challenge. If we are going to win this cold war, we need to show the world that we are indeed better than they are.

# Taking control of our relationship with Trump

Canada needs to come forward with a plan that identifies where our national interests converge and where we can deepen the relationship for our mutual benefit

EDWARD GREENSPON  
JANICE GROSS STEIN  
DREW FAGAN

## OPINION

Edward Greenspon is the president and CEO of the Public Policy Forum and a former editor-in-chief of The Globe and Mail.

Janice Gross Stein is the Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management and the founding director of the Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy at the University of Toronto.

Drew Fagan is a professor at the Munk School and a former assistant deputy minister for foreign policy.

Take a deep breath, Canada. Focus on the opportunities, not on your worst fears.

Yes, on Jan. 20, 2025, Donald Trump will return to the White House. Yes, expect him once again to be willful, arbitrary and transactional. No, our goose is not cooked.

Kelly Craft, his former ambassador to Canada, told an Ottawa audience last month that Mr. Trump is going to get what he wants. “People need to buckle up and get ready,” she warned. It’s the wrong metaphor. Rather than being in reactive mode, as we were in the USMCA negotiations, Canada needs to take control of the steering wheel. We need to come forward with a plan that identifies where our national interests converge and where we can deepen the relationship, including trade but not just trade, for our mutual benefit.

“I think we’ve lost sight of the fact that we’re supposed to be partners, not just trading partners,” Gordon Giffin, a former Clinton administration ambassador to Canada, said in endorsing a more ambitious model of cooperation.

In the tradition of NORAD and the 1965 Auto Pact, Canada and the Trump-led United States have the opportunity to do big things together in the interests of our shared continent and as friends in a divided and dangerous world.

After a year of consultations with about 150 experts for the Public Policy Forum and Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy’s Matter More project, we are convinced Canada holds winning cards and now needs to focus on the most impactful ones. And, as Kirsten Hillman, Canada’s ambassador in Washington, has said, we should be playing our hand with the confidence of a country that has many of the answers to the problems that others face.

The geopolitical tensions rippling across the world are producing significant new opportunities for Canada. There is a new opening to take the lead on Arctic security. We are also the best alternative to China and Russia when it comes to potash, uranium, critical minerals and natural gas. Japan, for example, plans to use Canadian liquefied natural gas to replace the 9 per cent of its gas coming from Russia next year. And if nativist U.S. immigration policies bar the door to global talent, Canada is conveniently only a hop, skip and jump away.

AUKUS – the defence partnership between Australia, Britain and the U.S. – became a symbol to many of Canada’s fading relevance when we were excluded three years ago. The group now is seeking to deepen collaboration on advanced technologies, including AI.

Interestingly, the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative U.S. think tank, is promoting Canadian membership. Why? Because of Canada’s “world-leading expertise” in AI, counterhypersonic missiles and cyber; our vast deposits of such defence-related critical minerals as cobalt, nickel and vanadium; and our “access to and knowledge of the Arctic.”

The endorsement comes with a caveat, though. “Of course, for American conservatives, the success and appeal of all this depends very much on Canada’s willingness to finally get serious about its overall level of defense spending.”

In other words, we matter – but we need to matter more.

Everyone except Canadians seems to recognize that geopolitical circumstances have opened new doors. In the nearly three years since Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, Canada has become a popular destination for world leaders. Their messages have been consistent: Help us, your friends in the world, with energy security, critical minerals, defence, AI.

We have successes to celebrate. In 2022, Canada’s Cameco Inc. worked with Ukraine to convert the country’s nuclear plants away from Russian-enriched uranium. Little was said by our leaders about how Saskatchewan uranium kept the lights on there. Canadians might be interested to know that Cameco is the largest supplier of uranium to the United States and the world’s largest non-state-owned producer.

Donald Trump knows, as he demonstrated in his first term. While he imposed tariffs on Canadian aluminum and steel, he rejected a recommendation from his commerce secretary to do the same on uranium. Mr. Trump understood his country needed what Canada had to offer. It falls to us to put more such examples in the window.

In the tradition of NORAD and the 1965 Auto Pact, Canada and the Trump-led United States have the opportunity to do big things together in the interests of our shared continent and as friends in a divided and dangerous world.

We have amazing stories to tell. In Saskatchewan, BHP Billiton is building a mine that will turn out 20 times more potash than all U.S. sites combined. In Bromont, Que., IBM operates a semi-conductor assembly and testing facility that has become part of a “reshored” supply chain centred in New York State. Montreal-based CAE trains every U.S. Air Force aviation candidate on its flight simulators. MDA Space in Brampton, Ont., is the only non-American company allowed to operate a satellite tracking system with the United States Space Command. With 10 per cent of the world’s top-tier AI researchers, the second largest in the world, Canada is well-positioned to matter in the most important general-purpose technology of our age.

In energy, the U.S. gets 60 per cent of its oil imports from Canada, and judging from Mr. Trump’s continued support of the Keystone XL pipeline, this doesn’t displease the president-elect. Canadian companies control two of the world’s leading nuclear technologies (Candu and Westinghouse), and Ontario Power Generation is pressing ahead with one of North America’s first small modular reactors.

The most immediate threat Donald Trump poses to Canada is his determination to enact indiscriminate, across-the-board tariffs of 10 per cent to 20 per cent on imports. After that, we will have to contend with a review of the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA) scheduled for 2026.

Mr. Trump, as his aides will remind you, loves two things above all: tariffs and negotiating. Canada’s task now is to shift his attention from the former to the latter through a select collection of sectoral and security pacts. Some might consider bargaining with a Trump-led United States to be ill-timed at best, immoral at worst. But the classic counterbalancing

options – a massive sales push to China and India, or rapidly growing Canada’s population – are simply not on the table.

Others argue, with some reason, that pro-actively entering into smaller negotiations is dangerous with a winner-take-all mindset like Mr. Trump’s. But it certainly is no more perilous than waiting for the hammer to fall unilaterally. “If we sit back and wait for it, then I think we will get hit pretty hard and won’t have much of an avenue to win,” Steve Verheul, Canada’s top negotiator on CUSMA, said on a recent episode of the WONK podcast.

Canada’s best approach, given Mr. Trump’s incomprehension of the concept of a win-win, is to quickly forge relationships with the new team, right up to the president, and move forward with a set of strategic proposals that transcend transactional bargaining. The focus should be on doing things together in areas where we can clearly help them, and sometimes where only we can help.

What we imagine is far more ambitious than a trade agreement, while also laying a solid foundation for CUSMA negotiations. In keeping with geopolitical pressures, it combines security, economy and technology and “continentalizes” (co-investment, co-procurement, co-production) a limited number of joint activities.

Our modern “Auto Pact 2.0” includes Arctic security, critical minerals, energy and advanced technologies.

## ARCTIC SECURITY

The United States is increasingly attentive to the security of the North but is stretched thin elsewhere. By increasing our spending in our Arctic, we help other Arctic powers also in the alliance. That is why NATO has offered to count our defence spending in the region as part of our contribution to NATO and toward the 2-per-cent target. Mr. Giffin believes it would play well “if some of the policy thinkers in Washington could go to bed at night and say, ‘The Canadians have that!’”

## CRITICAL MINERALS

Critical minerals are the closest thing Canada has to the type of bargaining chip crude oil represented in the original 1989 free trade agreement. China controls 87 per cent of the processing of the minerals essential to both the energy transition and modern defence systems. That stranglehold poses a serious strategic problem for the United States and its friends. Canada is as well-positioned as anyone to loosen the grip – if, that is, we can actually finance, extract, develop and process our critical minerals. We

have already co-invested with the U.S. Defense Production Act Investment Office in three smaller projects. Building on those partnerships would serve as our best force multiplier with the Trump White House. In exchange for supply guarantees, Canada will need its allies to participate in financing such a large and risky undertaking.

## ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

While Republicans are unmoved by the climate crisis, they are fixated on energy security and affordability. They worry about the vulnerability of their electricity grid and their access to uranium. At the same time, Canadian crude helps keep down politically sensitive gasoline prices and we are constantly moving natural gas along north-south corridors. This might be the sector most easily exempted from tariffs.

## ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

Technology has always been a key determinant in the strategic positioning of countries; as much as anything, control over supply chains and international standards are at the core of the U.S.-China rivalry. It is all hands on deck as the U.S. seeks to reshore production – and Canada has helpful hands, particularly on AI research, space surveillance and semi-conductor packaging. Restrictive U.S. immigration policies would position us well as a locale for talent.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Trump waxed poetic about tariffs being “the most beautiful word in the dictionary.” His affection for them has been a consistent theme of his public life. He hopes a combination of tariffs on foreign goods and lower taxes on U.S. corporations will draw more manufacturers back to the United States. He’s unlikely to face much pushback from Congress or the public, for whom tariffs are also popular.

The best Canada can do to deter him is to pursue a strategy that confers even more significant wins – such as guaranteed access to critical minerals and a faster move to NATO’s 2-per-cent defence-spending target.

With the election behind us, Canada’s main mission now lies in marshalling our confidence to make bold policy decisions at home that enable us to become a more valuable “friend” to our biggest partner and the other friends we have in common. No one else has as much of what they need as we do.

So take another deep breath, Canada. It’s game on, and we possess the assets to matter more to the United States.

tariff, system of customs duties on exports or imports, but usually on imports. The purpose of a tariff may be to provide revenue, or it may be levied for the protection of domestic industries against foreign competition. Protective tariffs are opposed by advocates of free trade. See also FREE TRADE and PROTECTION. See F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States* (8th ed., 1931); R. A. Hodgson, *An Introduction to International Trade and Tariffs* (1932); A. R. Upgren, *Reciprocal Trade Agreements* (1937).

Tariff Commission, United States. Established (1916) by act of the U.S. Congress. The Hawley-Cumber Tariff Act of 1922 empowered the commission to suggest to the President such adjustments of tariff rates—within a range of 5 per cent upward or downward—as its investigations should prove to be desirable. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930 provided for a reorganization of the U.S. Tariff Commission and reinvested it substantially with all its previous powers. The U.S. Tariff Commission, consisting of six members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for terms of six years, was given additional responsibilities by New Deal legislation and played a cardinal role in the advising on tariff legislation after the passage (1934) of the Trade Agree-

Tarn (tärn), department (298,117), S France, in the Tarn river. Albi is on the Tarn river, 233 mi. long. Tarn, a tributary of the Garonne, and is joined to the Garonne by the Tarn river (tärn); pop. 1,000. Language: Occitan.

# LONG TALKS AND TOMATO SANDWICHES

Murray Sinclair built bridges with people he had no reason to trust and remained hopeful that we can, and must, do better, **Kristy Kirkup** writes

## OPINION

Kristy Kirkup is a reporter for The Globe and Mail based in Ottawa.

Nearly a decade ago, on my first day working at the national wire service, I was given an important assignment: cover the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report.

The stakes were high and my stomach was in knots. I could not mess this up.

After the report came out, I recall reporters having a chance to speak to chairman Murray Sinclair — who spent six years hearing the horrors of residential schools — after a closing ceremony held at Rideau Hall. There, small hearts had been placed in the ground.

Looking back, I remember feeling the seriousness of his presence. He carefully listened to questions and was deliberate in his responses.

The following year, he was named to the Senate. I knew he intended on doing the job for five years. One of my central beats was to cover the Indigenous affairs file. And so, boldly, I decided to make it my mission to earn his trust while he was in Ottawa.

I called Mr. Sinclair's office and asked to take him to lunch in the Parliamentary Dining Room in Centre Block.

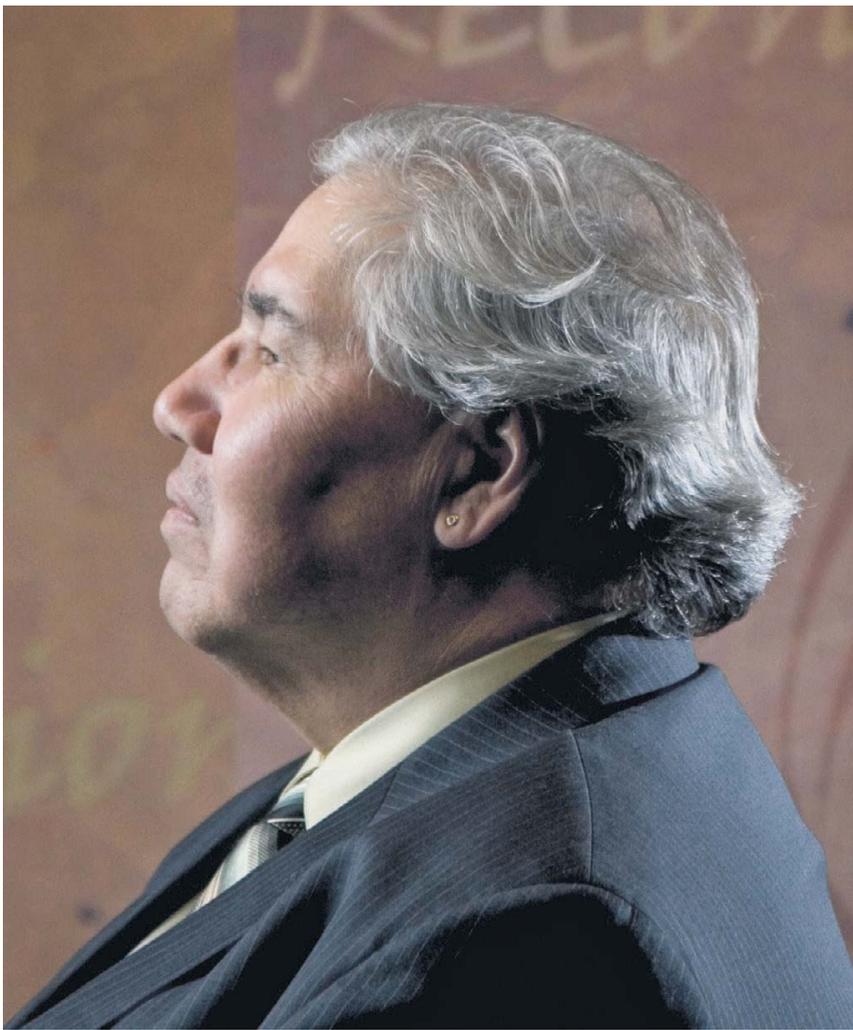
There, we talked about how the media had failed Indigenous people, including in their coverage of residential schools. I told him I wanted to do better, that I was keen to listen and that I wanted to cover his work and Indigenous affairs with trust, professionalism and respect.

I guess he believed me, because that is exactly what we did.

Over the years, despite his busy schedule, Mr. Sinclair accepted my requests for interviews, although they took some creativity to arrange. We normally would have to connect over lunch hour given the other duties that he was juggling, including in the Red Chamber.

Through his executive assistant, Natasha Entwistle, I learned he liked toasted tomato sandwiches and iced tea. And so I'd show up with the sandwiches and a recorder, and we'd talk about very traumatic topics together over lunch, including the fallout from abuse suffered by residential-school survivors. It was a bit surreal.

At one point, while I was cov-



ering a difficult series of stories about sexual abuse involving Indigenous children, he looked at me and told me to take care of myself. I thought I was going to cry.

How was my mental well-being even on his radar? Looking back now, I know why: He could not turn off his compassion.

The last time I visited him in his Senate office, we met mid-afternoon. I wrongfully assumed that he'd eaten by that point and so arrived empty-handed. He genuinely was so disappointed that I didn't bring a sandwich. Still, he did the interview, albeit starving.

After he retired from the Senate in January, 2021, interviews continued, including on topics such as First Nations child wel-

How was my mental well-being even on his radar? Looking back now, I know why: He could not turn off his compassion.

As chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Murray Sinclair, pictured in 2009, spent six years listening to stories of the horrors of residential schools. PETER POWER/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

fare. That November, he was tapped to facilitate talks to see parties reach a deal on compensation for First Nations children who were unnecessarily taken in to the child-welfare system.

But he never really let me live down the time that I forgot his sandwich.

His health, meantime, was deteriorating. And so, earlier this year, I boarded a flight to see him in Winnipeg, where he was in assisted living with his wife Katherine.

I knew if I showed up without food, it would be game over (okay, he would have made fun of me).

On short notice, he agreed to go to a provincial justice summit in the morning at the request of Manitoba Premier Wab Kinew, a

long-time family friend. I was scrambling to think of how to cover that event and grab food without a vehicle.

I turned to Uber Eats and ordered some bannock from Shelly's in Winnipeg, an Indigenous bistro. A driver in a small vehicle showed up at the assisted-living home with a big brown bag. Mr. Sinclair was pleased about the bannock, and jokingly told a staff member that it was a big bag of marijuana.

He then introduced me to small songbirds that he had befriended inside the home and told me about sitting near their cage and doing crosswords from The New York Times and The Washington Post.

He then sat down for the interview, with the big bag of bannock placed right beside his chair. Before we began, he asked to see pictures of my two children.

We inevitably talked about some heavy stuff: the state of his health, the stage of life that he was in, the issue of denialism of residential schools, his views on white supremacy and how he still spoke by phone to survivors.

He then went with photographer Shannon Vanraes and me to Selkirk, Man., where he grew up, and showed us places of significance. We visited a local high school where there is a mural of him on the wall. I could tell that he was exhausted by all of this, but he did it anyway.

There was an underlying tension that day: He didn't want to slow down but his health was dictating otherwise.

When I got out of the vehicle when we arrived back in Winnipeg, we said goodbye. I knew that would be the last time that I saw him.

When the story was published in The Globe and Mail, he teased me for not including a reference to his affection for toasted tomatoes.

After he died on Monday, The Globe's coverage of his death included a reference to his favourite sandwich. I can hear him laughing about it. And at his public funeral in Winnipeg on Sunday, I suspect others will reflect on his quirky sense of humour.

I think that's maybe what I will remember the most: Murray built bridges with people he had no reason to trust and remained hopeful that we can, and must, do better.

And seriously, take it from me: Don't forget the sandwich.

## How we can make MAID meaningful

### KELLEY KORBIN

#### OPINION

Palliative-care and MAID Family Support Society volunteer. She holds a bachelor's degree in cultural anthropology and a master's in journalism, and is writing a reported memoir of her father's last days titled *Exit Stage Rite: Lessons for a Brand-New Way of Dying*.

My father's assisted death was anything but routine.

The night before he died, perched in a hospital bed that had been wheeled to the head of our table, he presided over his final Friday night dinner. He didn't eat much, but he savoured the attention of his wife, children and beloved grandkids. Then he let me beat him in an arm wrestle — the first time he let me win at anything. These were just two of the moments we celebrated in the ticking days and hours between Dad's terminal diagnosis and his final breath.

And yet, reading the news about medical assistance in dying in Canada might lead you to believe the country's permissive legislation and high uptake have led to a medical conveyor belt that performs the procedure like a factory assembly line.

Undoubtedly such coverage will be exacerbated by Quebec's announcement that it will allow people who have serious and incurable illnesses such as Alzheimer's disease (but still have capacity) to make advance requests to access MAID at a later date. The Quebec government has said that it will no longer wait for the federal government

to amend the Criminal Code, and is now granting such requests.

It is true that Canada has some of the most progressive assisted-dying laws in the world. It's also true that since MAID was legalized in 2016, Canadians have adopted the practice on a trajectory so steep that at least two provinces now record more assisted deaths per capita than any jurisdiction in the world; in 2022, the last year for which federal figures are available, MAID accounted for 6.6 per cent of all deaths in Quebec, while in British Columbia, the rate was 5.5 per cent. (A recent provincial report pegs the second-quarter rate in B.C. at more than 8 per cent.)

Given the patchwork of rules and regulations across the globe, it is virtually impossible to make jurisdiction-to-jurisdiction comparisons. Nevertheless, for perspective, in the Netherlands, where MAID has been legal for more than two decades, a little more than 5 per cent of deaths are medically assisted. Meanwhile, California — a state with a population similar to Canada and that also legalized assisted dying in 2016 — recorded 15 times fewer assisted deaths than its northern neighbour in 2022 (853 versus 13,241).

But the stories of the nearly 50,000 Canadians who have made considered and thoughtful decisions about how to end their lives — including my father — are buried when we focus on these cold statistics and contentious legal and ethical narratives. They distract from the way that MAID can be made meaningful, and how that can actually lead to better outcomes for grieving loved ones.

It is estimated that nine peo-

ple are bereaved for every death; in my father's case, that number was 11. We joined the nearly half a million Canadians who have been touched by this new way of dying. And, like many of those families, we were not prepared for the surreal experience of knowing in advance precisely the number of days and hours we had left with our person.

MAID is performed by doctors and nurse practitioners. But a small but growing body of research suggests that, by adding ritual and ceremony — what University of Victoria researcher Rosanne Beuthin calls “enacting MAID as a ceremony” — it can be much more than a medical procedure. Celebrating a “parade of lasts” seems to slow time and help mourners digest grief and loss, and can improve bereavement outcomes for family and friends.

Applying for MAID can be a laborious process for family members, involving complicated logistics. When my father decided on MAID we had to source and complete forms, find a witness and schedule appointments with two medical professionals who would independently assess his eligibility. Then came the most daunting logistical and existential hurdle of all: helping Dad choose a date and time.

Through all these practicalities, we never really stopped to consider what the moment of his death would — or, more to the point, could — look like.

Fortunately, our MAID process landed my mother and me in our rabbi's office — ostensibly to purchase a plot, but with an ulterior motive: to pre-emptively gauge the rabbi's thoughts on assisted death. The rabbi met our

disclosure with kindness and offered to “be there” with us. Although we have never been a particularly religious family, we took him up on his offer. What we couldn't have known then was that his prescriptive liturgy and careful choreography would give each of us the space to be fully present. The medical procedure became a sacred rite of passage.

Rites of passage are ceremonies that transition us from one social role to another: Children become teenagers; students become graduates; daughters become orphans. However, unlike births, weddings or even funerals, we don't have centuries of history to guide us in how to mark MAID events.

Thanks to our rabbi's presence, I was able to suspend my roles as mother, sister, wife and general family-dance-step caller to be the one and only thing I needed to be in that moment: a daughter telling her father *I love you, thank you, goodbye*.

When the compassionate and professional nurse practitioner who provided MAID encouraged us to “come closer” at the moment of his death, each of us put a hand on Dad. With our free hands, we supported one another. We were a Celtic knot of love, holding on and letting go for the eight slow minutes it took my father to become an ancestor.

I don't know what my grief might have been like if we hadn't added ritual to his last hours. What I do know is that although I miss and mourn my father, when I think about the way he died, I am overcome with gratitude and a sense of grace.

Adding ceremony to MAID can be as simple and secular as light-

ing a candle or playing a favourite song. Alternatively, it can be as elaborate as a full-scale celebration of life while the person is alive, complete with champagne, caviar and a slide show. Through my role as a volunteer with the MAID Family Support Society, a non-profit that provides peer support for people helping a loved one through MAID, I have heard the most magnificent stories: One family painted a pine casket together, while in another family, a dying woman asked her daughter-in-law to post the news of her demise on Facebook 12 hours early, just to be able to reveal in what people said in response to her passing, while she was still here.

I've also spoken to people who were unprepared for their person's MAID death. Some continue to experience lingering, complicated grief. Many tell me they weren't ready; they say, “It happened so fast.” If we hadn't considered the ceremonial aspect of my father's MAID death, I may have found myself in a similar situation.

Yes, the numbers say it all: In Canada, MAID is not rare or exceptional, and it is no longer, as The Wall Street Journal recently described it, “an experiment.” It is a legitimate health care option and part of the fabric of Canada's end-of-life care. So let's try to look beyond the numbers and at the stories instead — stories of how assisted death has been a gift for sick and suffering people who want to control their exit. It's time to give family members the tools to help them usher their loved ones to peaceful deaths, while simultaneously easing their grief and preparing themselves for their new roles.



Media, 17, tattooed 'Baba,' meaning 'father,' on her arm; she does not know whether her father is dead or alive.



In captivity, Hediye, born in 1991, sewed the names of her sister, brother, husband and son onto some cloth that she hid from the militants. Since she escaped and made her way to a Yazidi camp, this cloth is her only piece of property left from those dark days.



Almas, 21, made a heart tattoo in captivity; the militants forced her to add the phrase 'God is great,' but she distorted that once she was free.



Sakin, a Yazidi woman born in 1964, used ash and milk to inscribe her hand with the names of her oldest son and husband, who disappeared after an Islamic State attack.



Hazar Khalaf, 40, has not seen son Easr or husband Xero since the Islamic State attacked their home. Their names on her hand are a reminder of their absence.

# Ash, milk and tears

Ten years ago, as the Islamic State ransacked Iraq and Syria, Yazidi women used makeshift tattoos to honour loved ones and defy their captors. Photographer **Shaghayegh Moradiannejad** shows us how their marks tell the story of what they have endured and lost



The Islamic State's attacks against Yazidis – a Kurdish-speaking ethnic group with its own monotheistic religion – first centred on the Iraqi city of Sinjar. Aliyeh, 18, was captured there and tattooed its Kurdish name, Shangal, on her right hand.



Soad, born in 1998, made tattoos with a mixture of blood, ash and milk. Originally, they included her still-missing sister's name, a heart and the word 'love.' Her captors told her that last phrase was haram – forbidden – before they burned it off with acid.



On one arm, 35-year-old Layla has the names of sons Adnan and Osman; her husband, Kero, is on the other arm, as is the date – Aug. 8, 2014 – when the Islamic State attacked their city. Adnan escaped captivity and found his mother in a refugee camp. Neither one knows where Osman or Kero are.



Hediyeh, 30, left, and Shahnaz, 27, each used ash and breast milk to put their husbands' names on their hands. Neither woman knows where their spouses went.



#### OPINION

Shaghayegh Moradianejad is a photographer and women's-rights activist based in Vancouver.

The Yazidis are an ethnic and religious minority group from northern Iraq. They have faced centuries of persecution because of their beliefs, but their darkest chapter began in August, 2014, when the Islamic State launched a genocidal campaign against them. As the Islamic State swept through the area around Sinjar and other Yazidi homelands, 200,000 people were displaced, thousands were

killed, and women and children were taken captive, enduring unimaginable abuse. In June, 2016, the United Nations officially recognized these atrocities against the Yazidi community as genocide.

In the aftermath, many Yazidi women marked their trauma on their own bodies with tattoos, created using a mixture of ash – the only resource they had during the winter as they burned wood to keep warm.

Without proper tools, they used anything sharp they could find to scratch their skin, along with their blood and breast milk, to make the tattoos. These makeshift tattoos carry deep personal significance – names of loved ones lost, prisoner numbers assigned by ISIS, or dates marking captivity and loss. Each tattoo is a scarred remembrance, a refusal to let the atrocities be forgotten, and a testament to survival.

Today, though these women have escaped the Islamic State's physical grip, they continue to live in psychological captivity, marked by loss and the challenge of rebuilding. Many live in UN camps or Khalsa Aid camps in the Kurdistan region near Duhok in northern Iraq. I hope this photo series, *Ash Milk*, brings attention to their enduring strength, the silent stories etched in their skin, and the resilience of a people determined to heal.

# Booklet: This small piece of a lost soldier's life might give his family comfort

FROM 01

Jack also had a box that held odds and ends from his military days, such as the plug-in radio crystal from his plane, the only tangible remaining physical link to his L-5. Among other items was a booklet in Japanese with rice-paper notes in it. At rare times, an inquisitive child would examine it while rummaging in the box. Somehow, we came to believe it was a "prayer" book. How had my father gotten it and why did he keep it? This remained a mystery to us.

Now, nearly 80 years after Jack's war ended, the booklet, which has survived many moves, made it to my desk in Whitehorse, Yukon. Again, chance would intervene. I serve on the board of Yukon Cares, a community-based refugee support group here in the Yukon. Fumihiro Torigai, former head of the Japanese Canadian Association of Yukon, sits on the Yukon Cares board as well. For some reason, while sorting through my files I came across the "prayer" booklet again just before a Yukon Cares meeting, which prompted me to tell Fumi about it.

Fumi asked to see it. He informed me that it was not a prayer book but rather a book used by a young soldier in his preparations to become an army officer. The important discovery, though, was that it included the name of the soldier and some personal notes.

We had a name, Kameji Wakuta. Fumi contacted the Japan Bereaved Family Association in Tokyo. This organization deals with matters concerning Japanese soldiers and sailors who died or went missing in action. Once informed, they immediately sought out information on this young soldier. It took months, but they discovered that he came from the Kyoto Prefecture. Furthermore, the official word was

Fumi asked to see the book. He informed me that it was not a prayer book but rather a book used by a young soldier in his preparations to become an army officer.

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that he had been killed in battle in Burma on Jan. 12, 1945.

Given the brutal nature of jungle warfare it is not inconceivable that this would have been the sum total of the information that the family had ever received about their loved one. Had Kameji Wakuta been involved in the earlier Japanese offensive in the spring of 1944 that saw their forces invade northeastern India? The Japanese targeted Imphal, the capital of the state of Manipur in northeastern India. The British National Army Museum has named the little-known Battles of Imphal and Kohima as Britain's greatest battle of all time. This gruelling campaign, which some historians label the Stalingrad of the East,

marked a turning point of the Second World War in this part of the world.

After the Allied victory there, the Japanese were forced to retreat. They were being relentlessly pushed back into Burma. My father was part of this offensive when his incident over the Bay of Bengal occurred. One of the tasks my father had during this campaign was flying the wounded back to medical care in the rear. Had this young Japanese soldier, thought to have been killed in action, actually been wounded and captured alive in January, 1945? The 127th Liaison Squadron would also occasionally take captured Japanese soldiers back for intelligence interrogation. Had this been where my father's path crossed with his?

Had Kameji's booklet fallen out of his uniform, or had it been purposefully discarded in Jack's L-5 while he was being evacuated? Is this how my father came to have Kameji's booklet? Why did he keep it? We will never know.

What we do know is that the Kyoto Prefectural Bereaved Families Association has found Kameji Wakuta's family. The booklet has made the long trip to Kyoto and will be in their hands by this Remembrance Day. This small, tangible piece of a lost soldier's life might provide one family with some comfort and solace.

In a note sent along to the Wakuta family with the booklet, our family wrote, "It is with heartfelt sympathy that we return these documents to your family. Our father bore the burden of the war, physically and mentally, for the rest of his life. He died in 1979." Hopefully they are now both at peace.

The wounds of war last. This reminds us all that striving for peace should be our priority now as much as 80 years ago.

## I served in Afghanistan. Here's why I've stopped going to Nov. 11 ceremonies

BENJAMIN HERTWIG

OPINION

Author of the novel *Juiceboxers*

The year is 2002, and I am standing behind a podium in my high-school gymnasium. A teacher whose name I can no longer remember has asked me to recite *In Flanders Fields* for the school Remembrance Day ceremony. I am wearing the uniform of a soldier, a dress uniform to be specific, the same style that my father had worn when he served, the same dark green cloth that he found a decade later in a black garbage bag at the back of a closet.

This is perhaps the first poem I have ever read out loud. I have no experience with cadence or modulation or enjambment, but I am not thinking about the words or the act of reading at all. I do not care about John McCrae or where poppies blow and certainly do not know whether the eponymous field is in France or Belgium or Germany. I remember little about the reading beyond changing into and out of the uniform in an empty classroom, a symbolic transition from civilian to soldier that felt, at 17, like one of the most important things I had ever done. Even then, I knew that I was playing a role, reading a script. I am a performative substitute for the dead and am most happy to oblige, as long as my classmates think I look cool in my uniform.

A few days pass, and I am in my uniform again, drinking rum and Cokes with my fellow soldiers at the Junior Ranks Mess in Edmonton, then eventually at the bar. Somebody has peed in a glass under the table, and the glass is spilled, but the transgression is quickly forgiven. Remembrance Day is the soldier's Christmas, after all: a sanctified day of celebration, a free chance to get drunk on Whyte Avenue, which I happily did, even at the age of 17. What exactly I was supposed to be remembering was never perfectly apparent to me then, and remains so to this day.

I cannot remember the last official Remembrance Day ceremony I attended. The closest, perhaps, is when I've been asked to read war poetry during school visits, which sometimes take place around Remembrance Day. I've read to children in kindergarten, and I've read to inmates in prison. I've probably done well over a hundred readings, but often find myself thinking about an assembly reading I was asked to give at a wealthy school in Vancouver. The organizer requested war poems and a brief talk, and some of his students would recite well-known poetry alongside my lesser-known work — the standard fare of John McCrae and Wilfred Owen. In the minutes before it began, he became increasingly irritated as a few younger boys warmed their hands over the ceremonial candles.

"Do you know what those candles represent?" the teacher asked. "You're putting your hand over a dead soldier right now. Not the time or place."

The students apologized, though he continued berating them until the Bluetooth speakers started malfunctioning, at which point he stormed off in search of a technological solution, while the students returned to playing with the dead-soldier candles — to *kokeln*, as they say in German.

What do I mean by *kokeln*? Throughout my childhood, whenever the children were messing around with candles at the dinner table, specifically, or with any kind of fire, in general, my Opa would loudly proclaim the following: *Wer kokelt pischt ins Bett*. They who play with fire piss the bed. My Opa, a veteran of the Second World War, had sayings for every occasion, and more than a few of them originated within the military. *Fünf Minuten vor der Zeit/ist des Soldaten Pünktlichkeit*, for example. Five minutes before the time/Is the soldier's punctuality. As a child, I found his sayings funny. I hadn't pissed the bed for many years and had no intention of doing so ever again. Consider me surprised, then, when I woke one morning after flying out of Afghanistan in my grandparents' house with a wet bed.

What had happened? In Afghanistan I had played with fire-arms; I had fired a rifle. Admittedly, this context was not what my Opa was talking about when he warned against those who play with fire, but I did piss myself nevertheless. I wasn't intoxicated and had no medical explanation for what happened — just a mixture of fear and revulsion and a wet set of heavy linen sheets. Here I was, a 25-year-old man and a combat veteran, and I could no longer control my bladder. I hadn't pissed myself during a firefight or during either of the suicide bombings I witnessed, so why now, in my grandparents' guest bed? The bed-wetting happened twice more in the coming months, then stopped. The fear of wetting the bed, however, remained for a long time. For the greater part of a year, I avoided sleeping over at anyone's house, and in the coming years I stopped going to Remembrance Day ceremonies altogether. I had been to more than enough.

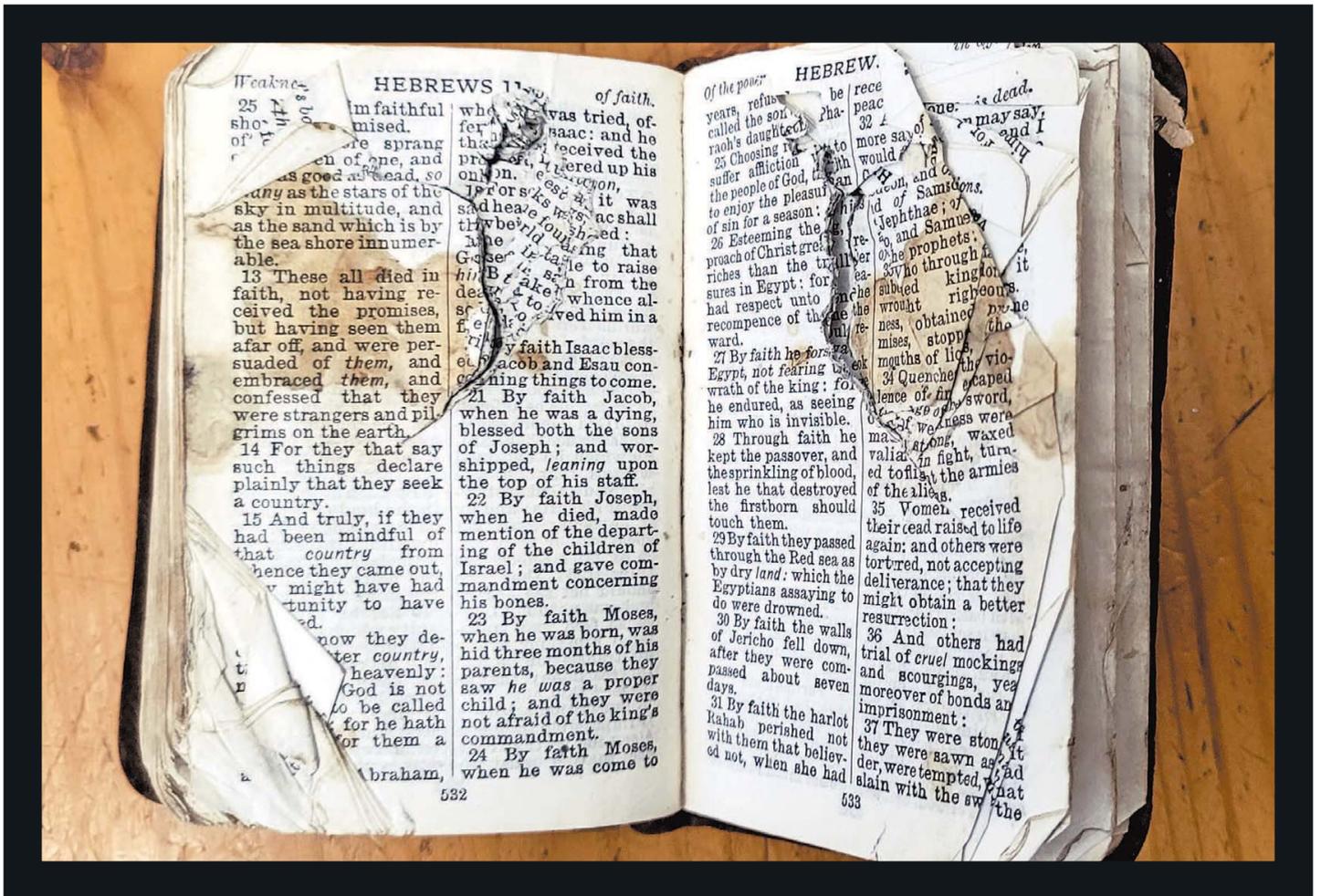
I have a photo of myself as a child wearing my dad's dress uniform. The jacket drapes over my shoulders and falls luxuriously at my feet. I am standing in front of the mirror in my parents' bedroom, ensconced within the secure boundaries of my childhood home. The uniform smells like my father: *Azzaro Pour Homme*. The uniform feels safe because my father feels safe, and one day I will wear a uniform of my own. This too is an extension of the culture of war. Years later I wrote about the experience of burying a man from my platoon in small-town Alberta. I was wearing the dress uniform I had draped over my shoulders as a child, except this time the uniform no longer was a source of comfort. The uniform became an extension of my own anger at the banal futility of the War on Terror. A contained narrative that started with the burial of a man from my platoon ended with a discarded uniform in the back of a closet. I had not memorialized anything other than my anger. The picture no longer felt safe because the world did not feel safe. The soldiers I had seen die did so in their uniforms and were buried in the same. One of my foundational myths, the importance of the uniform, had been overturned. Not wanting to ever wear a uniform again, I still found myself asking the following: How do we appropriately remember the dead?

The only memorial I desire any more is this: a large red room, similar in affect to the room in which the fictional Jane Eyre is locked, but much larger. Big enough to contain a life-size portrait of the face of every soldier and civilian who has died in whatever happens to be Canada's most recent war. In this red room, the light will never go out, and the eyes of the dead stare out forever — from the floor, the ceiling, from each of the four walls. Every politician who proposes war as a foreign-policy solution must spend a week in this room alone. No beds, no chairs, no clothing, no music, nothing to hide behind. Just a bare, red light bulb above and eyes on the wall, watching the motions of the living. Perhaps the dead will have something to say.



Author Michael Dougherty holds the Japanese booklet his father, a U.S. military pilot, brought home after the Second World War. At right is Fumihiro Torigai, who identified the booklet and helped Mr. Dougherty to eventually return it to the family of the Japanese soldier to whom it had belonged. MICHAEL DOUGHERTY

The soldiers I had seen die did so in their uniforms and were buried in the same. One of my foundational myths, the importance of the uniform, had been overturned.



This pocket New Testament was given to the author's great-uncle, Cecil Mather Telfer, in Edmonton in 1916. It wound up saving his life in 1917 when he was struck in the chest by shrapnel while carrying the Bible in his breast pocket. He later returned to the front and died on Aug. 30, 1918, during the Hundred Days Offensive. CHRISTOPHER WHITE

# Did my ancestors die in vain?

Three of my great-uncles died after fighting in the First World War, **Christopher White** writes. A century later, I embarked on a pilgrimage to France and Belgium to answer this question

## OPINION

Christopher White is a writer based in Hamilton.

"It was here," our guide said, "across that field where he fell."

I stared out over the green farm field, trying to imagine it as it would have been in 1918. A field in northern France filled with shell craters, the pounding roar of artillery and gunfire, Canadian soldiers advancing under heavy fire from the retreating German army.

"He" was my great-uncle, Private Cecil Mather Telfer, aged 27, who died on Aug. 30, 1918, during the massive Hundred Days Offensive that ended the First World War. He was not the only member of my family to be killed that month. His brother Eric, only 20, had died two days earlier, not far from where Cecil Mather fell in Arras, France. Their brother Andrew also did not survive the war, dying in Greece on Nov. 18, a week after the Armistice. My family's casualties continued to mount after the guns went silent; their mother, Annie, died in January of 1919 from what can only have been a broken heart over the loss of three of her sons.

We had come to France and Belgium on a pilgrimage to find my great-uncles and discover what happened to them, and also for my wife to find where her grandfather, William Hedderwick, fought and was wounded. (A miracle story, he survived having a ball of shrapnel enter one cheek and exit the other during the horrific battle at Passchendaele.) With every graveyard, memorial and battlefield we visited, I was haunted by one question: "Did they suffer and die in vain?"

In order to find an answer we hired a private guide for four days: Vic Piuk, a British former print journalist who has lived in France for the past 25 years. He has written three books on the First World War and served as our own personal Wikipedia. His deep knowledge brought us face-to-face with the truth of the brothers' fate.

The weather the day we went to the Vimy Memorial was as if it had been ordered for a documentary — misty with light rain and low clouds. Vimy looks from a distance like something from a Tolkien fantasy: A white marble base spreads out across the land, supporting two massive white marble plinths with statues on top and within it. The monument is absolutely huge and the grief in the eyes of the statues

touches your very soul. It almost overwhelmed us. In every direction engraved upon the memorial were the names of 11,285 missing Canadian soldiers.

I started searching and there, on the base of the memorial, I found the names I was looking for: C. M. Telfer, E. Telfer. There are moments in life that affect you forever and this was one of mine. As the rain came down, I asked Vic and my spouse Wendy for a moment alone. I traced my great-uncles' names with my fingers and thought about the stories they never got to tell and the lives they never got to lead and of the other names etched into the monument — name after name after name of unfinished stories. I promised Eric and Cecil Mather Telfer that I would not forget them — that I would keep their names alive for my grandchildren, so that what they endured will never be forgotten.

Eric and Cecil Mather emigrated to Canada in 1904 after my great-grandfather came to visit the country. Not long after arriving in Alberta, he sent a telegram to my great-grandmother in England: "Sell everything and come, this is the land for the boys." Annie Telfer did just that, packing up and moving from a house in London to a log cabin near Westlock, Alta., where they homesteaded and my great-grandfather became a Methodist circuit preacher.

In 1916, the two brothers, aged 19 and 25, joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force and were sent to France. Of the two, Eric seemed to have the most difficult time. His medical records show four instances of "debility" — a catch-all diagnosis that included shell shock, or what we now know as PTSD. The same month he was killed, he was also charged with being away from his billet without permission and not carrying his helmet or gas mask. To me it looks like a bewildered soldier in shock, simply walking around dazed and confused. It is clear from his records that his combat experience from 1916 to 1918 broke him, and that he should not have been anywhere near that battlefield in late August, 1918.

For Cecil Mather it was different. I have the pocket-size New Testament that was given to him in 1916 by Edmonton's Central Methodist Church. It was inscribed: "May God bless you and keep you." It certainly looked like God was watching out for him in 1917 when that book saved his life. A piece of shrapnel hit his breast pocket over his heart — right where he kept the Bible. You can see where the shrapnel tore into the book, and

All of my life I've seen pictures of First World War graveyards, but to walk through them in person is a completely different experience. They contain row after row of well-tended graves, all identically landscaped to remind visitors of an English country garden. In every cemetery I went to, I spotted graves identified with a maple leaf that indicated an unidentified Canadian soldier.

not into his chest. He was sent to a hospital in England to recover. It should have been a remarkable story that he told to his children and grandchildren, but it was not to be. For while the Bible was able to save him from a piece of shrapnel, it was not able to save him from what was most likely a German shell that found him on that late August afternoon after he'd returned to the front to fight.

All of my life I've seen pictures of First World War graveyards, but to walk through them in person is a completely different experience. They contain row after row of well-tended graves, all identically landscaped to remind visitors of an English country garden. In every cemetery I went to, I spotted graves identified with a maple leaf that indicated an unidentified Canadian soldier.

Each gravestone bears the inscription "A Soldier of the Great War" and then, below it, "Known Unto God." The British writer Rudyard Kipling penned those words and was instrumental in the creation of these graveyards. He lost a son whose eyesight was so bad he should never have been allowed to fight, but Kipling pulled all the strings he had to "help" enlist his son, who didn't even survive his first battle.

What I didn't understand, until I was there myself, was that 50 per cent of those killed were either never identified or never found. So instead, in every cemetery, there are memorial walls, with rows and rows of the names of the fallen. And those names included Cecil Mather and Eric, whose bodies are lost to history. By examining the battlefield diaries of their units, Vic found the graveyard where Eric's commanding officer, Lieutenant Alfred Thomas Bird, was buried, and so it's the likeliest place that Eric and his older brother might have ended up.

The Vis-En-Artois British Cemetery sits in Hautcourt, France. The entrance is marked by a large stone cross and the rows of graves are framed at the back by a Romanesque memorial wall with multiple columns. We found the cemetery directory and walked the rows until we found Bird's grave stone. Close to him, side by side, were the two graves of unidentified Canadian soldiers. Shading them was a mountain ash tree full of berries, identical to the one in my own backyard, so we chose them as the graves of Eric and Cecil Mather. We put stones on top to signify that someone had been there, a tradition I learned from my

Jewish sister-in-law, and two small bunches of mountain ash berries signifying our family connection. It was a beautiful sunny day and I felt the peace and connection that I was seeking.

My own two grandfathers fought and survived the war and lived long, rich lives, as did my wife Wendy's grandfather, who recovered from his facial injuries. But, even after returning home from Europe, I am still left with that question: Did they suffer and die in vain? The answer for me is both no and yes. No, because had the war been lost, the Central Powers of Europe were planning on keeping northern France and all of Belgium, and the warlords who governed those nations would no doubt have demanded their own reparations and harsh conditions as they did in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Russia. The equivalent demanded of the Allies would surely have set the stage for another war, in exactly the same way that the Treaty of Versailles did in triggering the events that led to the Second World War. In that sense, the answer is also yes, because their deaths showed humanity's inability to avoid a calamity that was so very preventable — a lesson that we need to recognize in our own chaotic time.

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow/Between the crosses, row on row."

I was standing in the front-line field hospital outside of Ypres in Belgium where John McCrae wrote those words. Originally the aid station was a series of wood-framed caves dug into a small hill; later in the war it was reinforced with cement and remains today as it did then.

The rooms are small, dark and dank. It is hard to imagine surgeries happening there and the immense suffering that took place within. I walked up to the spot where McCrae wrote the poem and saw a late summer field in front of me. That poem, which I have known since my childhood, spoke to me in a new way. In my mind's eye I saw my great-uncles; young men caught in a massive conflagration unlike anything that had been experienced before in human history. As I remembered and treasured their all-too-short lives, one of the final lines of the poem came to me:

"To you from failing hands we throw/the torch; be yours to hold it high."

I made them another promise then and there: that I would not drop the torch for which they gave their all.

# EDITORIAL

ANDREW SAUNDERS  
PRESIDENT AND CEO

DAVID WALMSLEY  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures - Junius

## Murray Sinclair has passed the torch to us all

The lives of great people can be too easily reduced to a list of their accomplishments, even if those accomplishments are as groundbreaking and important to Canada as those of Murray Sinclair.

Mr. Sinclair was one of the first Indigenous lawyers in Canada and was named Manitoba's first Indigenous judge in 1988. He led two critical public inquiries in Manitoba, one into Indigenous people's experiences with the province's justice system and the other into the deaths of 12 babies at a Winnipeg hospital. He went on to become the chief commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in 2009. He was named to the Senate in 2016, sitting in the upper chamber until 2021 and somehow finding the time and energy to also be lead investigator for a report into systemic racism in the Thunder Bay Police Services Board.

But the legacy of Mr. Sinclair, who died on Monday, isn't reflected in his deeds alone. There is so much more to the man born on St. Peter's Indian Reserve in Manitoba in 1951.

Through the example of his life and work, he was the living embodiment of one of the greatest challenges facing Canada - reconciliation. And through the strength of his extraordinary character, he became the conscience of a country wrestling with its ugly past.

Mr. Sinclair was raised by his grandparents in a manner that taught him how to combine traditional teachings with the institutions of non-Indigenous Canada, the Roman Catholic Church in particular. As a young lawyer, he faced discrimination from judges who looked down from the bench and assumed he was the accused. His work on the two public inquiries in Manitoba showed him how Indigenous people suffered at the hands of systemic racism, building in him a determination to fix those wrongs.

His subsequent work on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission exposed the horrors of residential schools. But instead of using those findings as a cudgel, he wisely turned them into an opportunity for the country to heal.

"We see Mr. Sinclair's brilliance in the fact that he took a process which could have been very divisive and could have split Canadians apart, and instead he used it as a tool to forge calls to action to bring all of us together for the future of this great country," Manitoba Premier Wab Kinew said this week.

Mr. Sinclair insisted reconciliation would take time, perhaps as long as two generations, and that education was the best way out of what he called "this mess." He urged Canadians to learn from each other. He told anyone who would listen to love even those who do not love them back.

Those who saw Mr. Sinclair speak said he did so with an authority and wisdom that commanded attention. It was a voice that carried over to his many social media postings, such as those on life and grief that were being widely shared this week.

His baritone voice could also turn to thunder when he was confronted with prejudice, such as when someone would ask him why Indigenous people didn't just get over the crime of residential schools and move on.

"My answer has always been, Why can't you always remember this?" he said. "This is about memorializing people who have been victims of a great wrong. Why don't you tell the United States to get over 9/11? Why don't you tell this country to get over all the veterans who died in the Second World War, instead of honouring them once a year?"

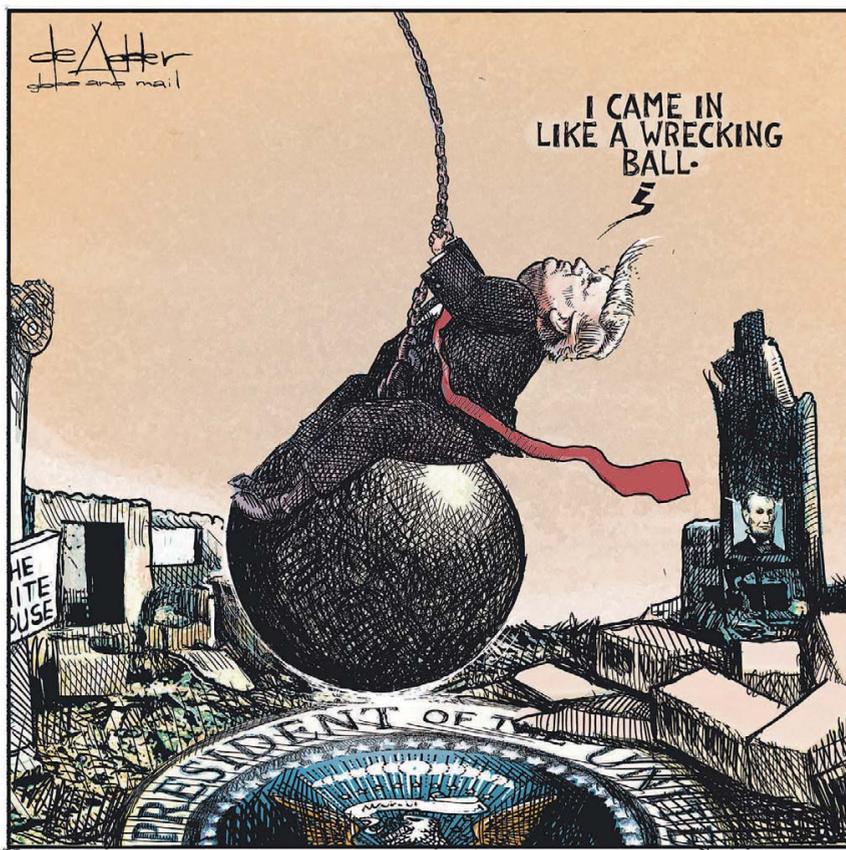
As Mr. Kinew said this week, "He showed us that there is no reconciliation without truth."

It was thanks to Mr. Sinclair's lifelong fight for truth and justice that Canada now has an annual National Day for Truth and Reconciliation, one of the commission's 94 calls to action. There is also a direct link between the commission's efforts and Pope Francis's 2022 apology for the church's involvement in the "deplorable evil" of residential schools.

But true reconciliation will only be achieved when Indigenous people have the same opportunities as everyone else. There has been progress, but many First Nations, Métis and Inuit people are still far behind the general population. There is still much inequality and prejudice to overcome.

Too often, too, politicians use the word "reconciliation" as a prop, without living up to the responsibility that Mr. Sinclair imbued it with.

With his passing, Canadians must honour his legacy by continuing his work until the job is done, with patience, love and resolve.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### KEEP IN MIND

Re "The psychology of being American: The death of the rational economic actor" (Report on Business, Nov. 4): The insights of the founders of depth psychology, Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, have not been widely integrated into our contemporary societies.

Their concepts include a central claim that much of what we experience emerges in us absent conscious intent, and drives our actions without our exercise of considered choice. Lacking this insight, we frequently find the behaviour of ourselves and others inexplicable. These instinctive and habitual aspects of our psychology determine much of our lives, often to our detriment.

Jung is one of the great humanists who has provided pathways to a better human society with his insights on human consciousness.

■ Paul Shaker  
Professor emeritus, Simon Fraser University; Port Moody, B.C.

### POLITICS OF WAR

Re "Escalating a war to elect a U.S. president: Is this the Netanyahu strategy?" (Opinion, Nov. 2): A Globe and Mail columnist calls out the Israeli-Hamas war for the deceit I have seen it become. I no longer view it as a struggle for defence and punishment, but an exercise in the maintenance in power of one man: Benjamin Netanyahu.

Those with some knowledge of history would recognize this as the oft-used modus operandi of Mr. Netanyahu to get his way. I believe he has become one of the most dangerous men in the world, where a slight miscalculation may ignite a much larger conflagration than that presently destroying tens of thousands of lives.

The horror, the "unspeakable" horror.

■ Robert Swain Kingston

I believe it has been Hamas, Hezbollah and Iran who have created the war on multiple fronts that Israel is facing.

This is neither a mystery to Benjamin Netanyahu's government nor a strategy. Various international military experts have opined that Iran and its proxies have continuously negated any peace proposals agreed to by Israel, including those to bring home hostages still held by Hamas.

Most Israelis support the goals of their government in defeating Iran and its proxies to secure lasting peace and the return of hostages. Israel has followed Joe Biden's advice regarding its recent retribution by not attacking energy or nuclear facilities. Israel has recently agreed to move back from Lebanon's southern area to near the Lebanon-Israel border.

None of this indicates to me that Israel has planned its defence based on the U.S. election results.

■ Yehudi Hy Freedman Victoria

War or peace, like the tango, requires a partner. Israel alone cannot pursue a peace plan without Hamas, Hezbollah and Iran all wanting the same.

"Top leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah have been killed," but the missiles and threats have not stopped. If Israel stopped fighting today, is there anyone who doesn't know what would happen?

■ Grace Polsky Toronto

### FULLEST POSSIBLE USE

Re "The whole notion that AI will overtake humanity relies on a false premise" (Opinion, Nov. 2): It is proposed that intelligence cannot be measured in any meaningful way, that it is somewhat of a cultural concept and that artificial intelligence will be unable to capture it, because it is uniquely human. As much as I would like to think that human intellect and creativity are unique, I would not vote against artificial general intelligence.

I suggest watching the movie 2001: A Space Odyssey, viewed by audiences in 1968 as science fiction. Yet much of the technology envisioned exists today, even better than was fantasized.

I see no evidence that this well-articulated opinion could be written by current AI, but will we be able to disable HAL when it exceeds us? Should we?

■ Larry Stefan Vancouver

### FOR REAL

Re "Trust, an essential building block of survival and community, is faltering" (Opinion, Nov. 2): Trust also involves "authenticity," what philosopher Martin Buber calls the I-Thou relationship with others: a spiritual kind of trusting, a "relatedness" that involves nothing less than the human soul, focusing on a soul-to-soul sense of oneness.

Without this, one's relationship to and with the world becomes an I-It relationship, whereby the individual simply objectifies and classifies the world at large and the people in it, overlooking the individual entirely.

Only when we relate authentically can we trust or be trusted.

■ S. K. Riggs Guelph, Ont.

### STAY TUNED

Re "Just watch" (Letters, Nov. 2): The chair of the CBC board is interested in asking those who watched the 2024 Olympics what would be lost if the CBC was no longer.

The CBC has not always been the purveyor of the Olympic

Games on television. I am old enough to remember CTV winning the media rights bid in 1988. And then later there was the Canadian media consortium.

To answer his question, the International Olympic Committee would lose as there would be fewer bidders for rights in Canada. Canadians would merely watch the network that wins the bid, CBC or otherwise.

■ Jason New Foothills County, Alta.

It was good to see the chair of the CBC board refer to coverage of the Olympics and shows on television, CBC Gem and other platforms. I agree that the CBC is of critical importance to Canadians, giving us opportunities to hear from people across the country in a wide range of contexts.

The CBC is about much more than the news, including funds for Canadian content creation on TV, radio and online; outstanding music programming with incredibly knowledgeable hosts in a range of genres; current event and science programs; interviews with artists, authors, doctors, scientists, athletes and other professionals.

I am sure there are things I have left out. It would be devastating to lose this national treasure.

■ Jennie Ucar Toronto

### ALL AGES

Re "Fall mysteries roundup: Nine edge-of-your-seat reads for chilly dark evenings" (Arts & Books, Nov. 2): "I nearly skipped this excellent book because the info stressed Ryan's young-adult credentials," says the reviewer about *The Treasure Hunters Club*, award-winning author Tom Ryan's new mystery for adult readers.

Having "young-adult credentials" didn't hurt Cherie Dimaline at all - you know, the author whose Governor-General's Literary Award-winning YA novel *The Marrow Thieves* was included in CBC's Canada Reads and stayed on The Globe's bestseller list for about five years?

Can reviewers and readers please drop this assumption that YA books are not suitable for adult readers? Some of the most heartfelt feedback I've received as an author of YA books came from adult readers.

Maybe because we were all teens once. Or maybe because good writing is good writing.

The reviewer is right: Mr. Ryan's new mystery is an excellent book - and so are his YA novels.

■ Jean Mills Author, Guelph, 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

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# Joe Biden deserves much of the blame

The President wanted to be remembered for beating Trump. But then he refused to hand over the keys

ROBYN  
URBACK

OPINION



Nearly every speaker at the Democratic National Convention in August spent at least a few moments fluffing the ego of President Joe Biden. Mr. Biden, they gushed, was a true patriot: his decision to step aside and let Vice-President Kamala Harris run at the top of the ticket was putting country before self, America's future above his own pride.

What they didn't mention is that Mr. Biden's selflessness was preceded by a prolonged period of selfishness, during which the President both changed his mind about how long he'd serve and lied to the American people to preserve his image and political ambitions.

When Mr. Biden was running for president in 2020, he implied

(though did not say explicitly – at least not in public) that he would not seek a second term in office, referring to himself as a “bridge” and a “transition candidate” who would make way for the leaders of the next generation. He appeared to go back on that roughly a year into his presidency, when he told reporters he planned to run for re-election in 2024. As Mr. Biden's cognitive decline became more apparent, the party went to great lengths to cover up what was obvious to those behind the scenes, blaming “right-wing propaganda” for stoking concerns about the President's mental fitness. Special Counsel Robert Hur's February report described Mr. Biden as “a sympathetic, well-meaning, elderly man with a poor memory” and “diminished faculties”; the White House brushed it off.

Mr. Biden's disastrous debate against Donald Trump in June made his decline undeniable, and yet the party still tried to deny it: he was under the weather, he had a “slow start,” or in Mr. Biden's own words, a “bad night.” Mr. Biden clung to his nomination like an octogenarian clinging to his car keys after his family tries to take away his licence. When he finally yielded the floor, it was largely too late.

Had Mr. Biden followed through and only served one term, or even if he had agreed to step aside earlier (say, when Mr. Hur disclosed that the President couldn't remember which years he served as vice-president), there would have been time for a primary race – one that ostensibly would have seen a robust exchange of big ideas, arguments and platforms.

**Kamala Harris did always have the option of throwing her boss under the bus and running on a message of change, but to repudiate the Biden agenda would've been to repudiate her own.**

The candidates would not have been expected to carry the baggage of the Biden administration, as Ms. Harris was during this campaign, and would have been given much more leeway to set out a “change” agenda, which is particularly important in a global climate where populations are largely rejecting incumbent governments. And to state the obvious: an actual primary

race might have produced a better candidate.

But there simply wasn't time in the 107 days Mr. Biden left his party to fight Mr. Trump for control of the White House. Ms. Harris, thus, was tasked with running Schrödinger's campaign: one of the incumbent and of change at the same time. And she couldn't do it. When asked during her appearance on the talk show *The View* what she would have done differently from Mr. Biden over the last four years, Ms. Harris replied, “there is not a thing that comes to mind.” That was the wrong answer when, according to polling throughout and after the campaign, issues such as inflation and immigration were top of voters' minds.

The Democrats did offer a few morsels to try to address Americans' economic anxieties (an enhanced child tax credit, for example) and frustrations over immigration (reviving the bipartisan border bill), but it was a forgettable, uninspiring platform that didn't give Americans much to vote for, only something to vote against.

Ms. Harris did always have the option of throwing her boss under the bus and running on a message of change, but to repu-

date the Biden agenda would've been to repudiate her own. She's the Vice-President after all; voters who are upset about the price of groceries hold her partly responsible.

The handicap with which Mr. Biden burdened his party wasn't the sole reason for Ms. Harris's loss, obviously.

Plenty of things went right for the Republicans – and wrong for the Democrats – for Mr. Trump to again find his way to the White House. But the Democrats nevertheless would have had a much better shot if Mr. Biden had vacated the ticket before a groundswell of voices essentially forced him out – only after he and his inner circle deceived the American public, and after a primary race would have been possible.

At the DNC, former president Barack Obama declared that “History will remember Joe Biden as an outstanding president who defended democracy at a moment of great danger.” That was a generous prediction during an optimistic time. With hindsight, history will likely remember him as an obstinate old man who refused to step aside until it was much too late, yielding to another moment of great danger.

## The election hurts more when viewed through an unbroken glass ceiling

MARSHA  
LEDERMAN

OPINION



The glass ceiling remains intact and women's reproductive rights are still in peril. To be a woman in America right now ... man.

Young women in the crowd wept as Kamala Harris delivered her fine concession speech on Wednesday, where she said she would not concede the fight that fuelled her campaign: “For freedom, for opportunity, for fairness, and the dignity of all people.” It was an uplifting, heartfelt speech-cum-pep talk, meant to provide some light in this uncertain moment. “Only when it is dark enough can you see the stars,” she said.

Compare that to Donald Trump's drunk-uncle-at-a-wedding-esque ramble, when he went on about watching Elon Musk's rocket and brought random people to the microphone, including UFC president Dana White, who spoke about karma, and thanked podcasters *Bussin' With The Boys* and Joe Rogan, another crass, far-right, axe-grinding conspiracy-theory-flirting hero of the manosphere. Meanwhile, RFK Jr. may be in charge of women's health – everyone's health – and he's crackers. The bros are moving into the White House, and women (and reasonable men) of America will have to steel themselves.

In one post-mortem, a CNN pundit suggested where Ms. Harris's campaign went wrong: all you heard about was joy and abortion, he said. The glass screen of my TV somehow remained intact, despite tempting projectiles close at hand. Instead, I was just another old woman



At a bar in Detroit, patrons watch Vice-President Kamala Harris, the Democratic presidential nominee, deliver her concession speech on Wednesday. EMILY ELCONIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

yelling at the clouds.

In her speech, Ms. Harris said she will never stop fighting for a future “where the women of America have the freedom to make decisions about their own body and not have their government telling them what to do.”

The restrictions in the U.S. since the Supreme Court struck down *Roe v. Wade* do not just affect a woman's right to terminate an unwanted (or unviable) pregnancy – although that is of critical importance. Also at stake is women's reproductive care – which is women's health care, period.

One of the scariest days of my life was the afternoon I started spotting, while pregnant. I was

able to go to a hospital and be cared for by nurses and physicians. Imagine the terror of finding blood in your underwear and worrying about your fetus, only to have medical staff forced, by government decree, to turn you away, afraid of landing in jail themselves. This could be a dystopian novel. But it is reality in some U.S. states, and it's going to get worse.

“Actually, Project 2025 is the agenda,” right-wing commentator Matt Walsh posted after Mr. Trump's win. The 900-page conservative manifesto, which Mr. Trump tried to distance himself from during the campaign, calls for banning abortion pills and using Big Tech to Big Brother

abortion access, among other draconian measures.

I heard a news report the morning after the election suggesting that voters didn't know who Kamala Harris was or what she stood for. (To them, I might suggest: do a little reading.) But people certainly know who Mr. Trump is and what he stands for – and they still voted for that. He stands for misogyny, racism, nastiness, narcissism, division, lies and crimes. For, “they're eating the dogs ... they're eating the cats.” For grab 'em by the part of her body that men want to control. For the felon who essentially called his worthy opponent stupid, lazy and a “sleazebag.” (One might view this as project-

ing.)

In the face of this, how to remain in the fight with kindness and respect, as Ms. Harris urged? For women – knowing not just that men overwhelmingly voted for that, but many women did, too. Why? Because of the porous border they think Mr. Trump is going to fix with a snap of his little fingers? Because of their grocery bills? Because things are worse than they were four years ago? Have they perhaps heard of the COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting global impacts? That was not Joe Biden's fault, nor Ms. Harris's.

Do people just believe what they want to believe? Or are people just that gullible? So wholly self-interested?

Sorry, I'm despairing right now. A lot of women are. A colleague covering the election told me about women openly crying in a U.S. bathroom Tuesday night, as the results rolled in. There were tears in my house, too.

In 2016, it was a shock when Hillary Clinton lost to Mr. Trump. So many of us had been expecting the historic moment of a first female U.S. president. That bit of potential history felt important, but less so this time. Because now we know, we really know, what Mr. Trump is about. We lived through four years of the chaos, and this time will be worse, with no checks and balances that come with needing to win another term. As he said in that speech, “America has given us an unprecedented and powerful mandate.”

I'm looking, reaching for those stars Ms. Harris talked about. And the hopefulness of her words. “Don't you ever listen when anyone tells you something is impossible because it has never been done before.”

## Note to Democrats: Less finger-pointing, more soul-searching

KONRAD  
YAKUBSKI

OPINION



If there is one constant in American politics, it is that the losing party in any election typically fails to internalize the lessons of its defeat, while the winner tends to exaggerate the meaning of the mandate voters have given it. This time is unlikely to be any different.

American voters may have delivered an emphatic verdict this week on the Democratic Party's overindulgence in identity politics and lack of focus on working-class concerns. But that does not mean they want economic autarky or unchecked Republican rule.

After taking all seven of the most hotly contested battleground states and winning the popular vote, president-elect Donald Trump insisted voters had handed him an “unprecedented and powerful mandate.” But he will have the shortest political honeymoon on record if he misinterprets his victory as a licence

to indulge his worst instincts.

Still, Democrats should not count on Trump 2.0 being enough of a train wreck to revive their own fortunes. They need to take a long hard look at why so many Americans chose Mr. Trump over Kamala Harris, despite everything they dislike about him. They need to admit that he spoke more directly – and, well, honestly – to their concerns than she did.

Yet, in the aftermath of their party's meltdown at the polls, too many Democrats have chosen to point fingers at voters and each other rather than look in the mirror. Too many have sought to blame Ms. Harris's loss on racism and sexism rather than admit the role that the candidate's indecipherable word salads, flat-footedness in interviews and scarcely credible pivot to the political centre played in her defeat.

“Democrats need to be mature, and they need to be honest. And they need to say, ‘Yes, there is misogyny, but it's not just misogyny from white men,’” MSNBC host Joe Scarborough insisted on Wednesday. “It's misogyny from

Hispanic men, it's misogyny from Black men ... who do not want a woman leading them.”

Mr. Trump's inroads among minority male voters – he beat Ms. Harris 55 per cent to 43 per cent among Latino men and increased his support among Black men to 21 per cent – had more to do with their perception of the Republican nominee as a “businessman” focused on the economy than any latent or overt sexism on their part. It was not Ms. Harris's gender that bothered them, but rather her past political life as a champion of the progressive left.

Within hours of the polls closing – as a red wave washed over the Blue Wall states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin that had been the focus of Ms. Harris's campaign strategy – her defenders were already blaming her loss on an enfeebled President Joe Biden's “arrogance” and refusal to withdraw from the presidential race earlier.

A White House aide pushed back against such criticism, even suggesting that Democrats would have had a better election result

had Mr. Biden remained at the top of the ticket. “Twice our party leaders, in 2016 and 2024, pushed aside Biden for someone who would generate more enthusiasm and twice we lost,” the aide told CNN.

Bernie Sanders came closer to getting it right. “It should come as no great surprise that a Democratic Party which has abandoned working-class people would find that the working class has abandoned them,” the Vermont Senator said in a Wednesday statement.

He could have added that the party that once ruled the U.S. Rust Belt thanks to its relentless focus on worker rights and kitchen-table concerns, and on good jobs and good pensions, somehow lost its moorings and became the party of safe spaces and trigger warnings, of gender-neutral pronouns and bathrooms, of open borders and defund the police, of critical race theory and reparations, of #MeToo and DEI, of wokeism and AOC, of illiberal liberals and cancel culture, of electric-vehicle mandates and bicycle lanes – of essentially everything

that interests urban progressives, but which average Americans consider eccentric, self-indulgent and foreign to their everyday lives.

A stronger Democratic candidate than Ms. Harris – one with experience in swing-state politics rather than a California progressive who had not won a contested primary – might have been able to overcome the deep well of dissatisfaction toward the party's drift into identity politics and the righteous tone of its talking heads to beat Mr. Trump. Perhaps not.

Still, as the race for the 2028 presidential nomination begins, Democrats need to re-examine their priorities. Mr. Trump's base of MAGA zealots, white working-class voters and (now) minority men is a narrow one by historical standards. Millions of non-MAGA Americans nevertheless voted for Mr. Trump because they could not put their faith in a somewhat mysterious Democratic candidate who insisted her “values” had not changed, even though she claimed to no longer advocate most of the progressive policies she once stood for.

JOHN LITTLE

ARTIST, 96

# MONTREAL PAINTER HAD AN AFFECTION FOR CITYSCAPES

He was interested in preserving the original architecture and character of cities, and many of his paintings depict working-class neighbourhoods now being gentrified



John Little's *Manufacturer's Street, Pointe St. Charles*. He loved to paint the area's streets. JOHN LITTLE/ALAN KLINKHOFF GALLERY

FRED LANGAN

John Little, who died in Montreal on Oct. 29 at the age of 96, was a painter best known for his city scenes, in particular of his native Montreal along with Quebec City and New York. Many of his paintings are of working-class neighbourhoods now being gentrified. He came to dislike the way the centres of cities, especially Montreal, were bulldozed for expressways and high rises.

"If we knock down all our old buildings and neighbourhoods, we'll become a people without a past," Mr. Little said in one of the few interviews he gave in his long life, in this case to Maclean's magazine in 1961. "My motto is new plumbing for old buildings. I don't mean to preserve everything but there is so much in this city worth preserving."

His street scenes reflected his concern about ruining the character of urban landscapes. "I often refer to John as the Jane Jacobs of Canadian art," said Alan Klinkhoff, who owns galleries in Montreal and Toronto that represented Mr. Little.

"He is the absolutely premier Canadian city painter; he spent 65 years chronicling the Canadian downtown," added Mr. Klinkhoff, whose father, the late gallerist Walter Klinkhoff, represented Mr. Little starting in the 1960s.

Mr. Little was a shy man, not an obsessive recluse, but someone who stuck to his art. He did speak to a lot of sportswriters, though, because he was a big sports fan who once lived near the Montreal Forum, home of the Montreal Canadiens.

John Geoffrey Caruthers Little was born in Montreal on Feb. 20, 1928. His father, Harold, was an architect and his mother, Eileen (née Craig), a homemaker. At first the family lived in an apartment on Décarie Boulevard, long before it became an expressway. They later moved to the posh inner suburb of the Town of Mount Royal, where John went to school.

He discovered his artistic talent at an early age, and also his love of the cityscape. He would often skip school and go downtown to cabarets and theatres in places far grittier than the well-groomed lawns of the Town of Mount Royal. He quit school at 16 and his father encouraged him to study art if he wasn't going to graduate from high school.

At first, he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts. "They practiced strict classical drawing. He found that so constricting. He wanted to draw hockey players and streets," Mr. Klinkhoff wrote in his gallery's book on Mr. Little.

Next Mr. Little studied under Arthur Lismer at the Art Association of Montreal (now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts), and then in 1947 Mr. Little went to New York.

"I spent most of my time roaming around N.Y., going to the Art Students League now and then," Mr. Little recalled. "My real fun was going around New York with my sketchbook, the fish market, the subway."



Mr. Little discovered his artistic talent at an early age. He dropped out of school at 16 and was encouraged to study art. COURTESY OF ALAN KLINKHOFF GALLERY

In 1948 he landed a job as an illustrator for the popular syndicated cartoon strip *Bruce Gentry*, by Ray Bailey. There was a lot of competition for jobs like that, so it showed his artistic talent had matured. At the time he thought he would be an illustrator, not a painter.

The next year he was mugged by "a couple of Bleecker Street Boys," as he described them. He spent some time in the hospital, then was shipped back to Montreal "with my tail between my legs."

Back in Montreal he worked as a draftsman for his father's architectural firm. Then he went to Nova Scotia with a friend, Jack Gray, who also went on to become a successful painter. On that trip he met and fell in love with Lorraine McMahon; they were married in Pence, N.S., in May, 1952.

Around this time, Mr. Little decided to paint full-time. Ms. Little worked in a clerical job to support them, though she ended up being his very effective business manager. In 1952, he sold a painting for \$300 through Watson Art Galleries. At the same time he started doing covers for Maclean's, also for \$300 (equivalent to \$3,427 today, accord-

ing to the Bank of Canada's Inflation Calculator).

"If the original Maclean's cover [artwork] were available in the art market today it would probably go for \$20,000," Mr. Klinkhoff said.

The couple's apartment on Tupper Street in downtown Montreal was just a short walk from the Montreal Forum and Mr. Little would often sneak in to watch the Canadiens practice. It was the era of Rocket Richard and Boom-Boom Geoffrion. The sports-crazy Mr. Little was in heaven.

When the Littles moved into a coach house on Lincoln Street, their neighbours were the Mosher family, including young Terry Mosher, who would later be known for his editorial cartoons, signed "Aislin." Terry would hang around Mr. Little's studio and watch and learn. Mr. Little became Terry's official godfather when the boy was baptised at the age of 9 in a downtown Anglican church. The two remained lifelong friends.

"He inspired me more than anyone else," Mr. Mosher said. "He captured so much of working-class Montreal in his paintings. I believe he is one of Canada's greatest painters, but then I am a little biased."

In November, 1957, Watson Art Galleries held an exhibition of Mr. Little's paintings. It was favourably reviewed by the Montreal Gazette: "His figures have animation, there is a convincing sense of movement in the crowds and the impression of traffic congestion in the narrow streets is capably conveyed."

Along with the streets of Pointe St. Charles, Mr. Little loved Sherbrooke Street and painted it often. He described it as: "one of the few really graceful streets in Canada. It was once like a giant banquet table with rich food and rare wines."

Mr. Little and others thought Sherbrooke Street was ruined by the illegal demolition of the Van Horne Mansion and McGill University destroying the Prince of Wales Terrace, a row of elegant 19th-century townhouses, which he painted before they were replaced by a dull modern block.

Though he made a good living as a painter, Mr. Little was not rich.

"He was not a talented salesman," Mr. Mosher said.

For one thing, he liked to keep the price of his paintings low enough so that ordinary people could buy them. Though his wife once suggested putting prices up slightly to make room for other artists at the lower end of the market.

"John and Lorraine Little have never sought costly distractions and never been financially ambitious. He always offered his paintings at prices that were arguably inexpensive compared to his peers," Mr. Klinkhoff wrote.

Mr. Little stopped painting about seven years ago. His wife, Lorraine, died in 2016. He leaves his two sons, Brian and Roger.

Special to The Globe and Mail



Mr. Little's *Escaliers Tournet, Pointe St. Charles, Montreal (1969)*. COURTESY OF ALAN KLINKHOFF GALLERY



Mr. Little's *Les jeunes joueurs et leur patinoire rue Maria, St. Henri, Montreal (1970)*. COURTESY OF ALAN KLINKHOFF GALLERY



**FOOD**  
Ghee is having a moment in the spotlight ■ P8



**TRAVEL**  
A road trip to Nazareth, Pa., with a sentimental mission ■ P9

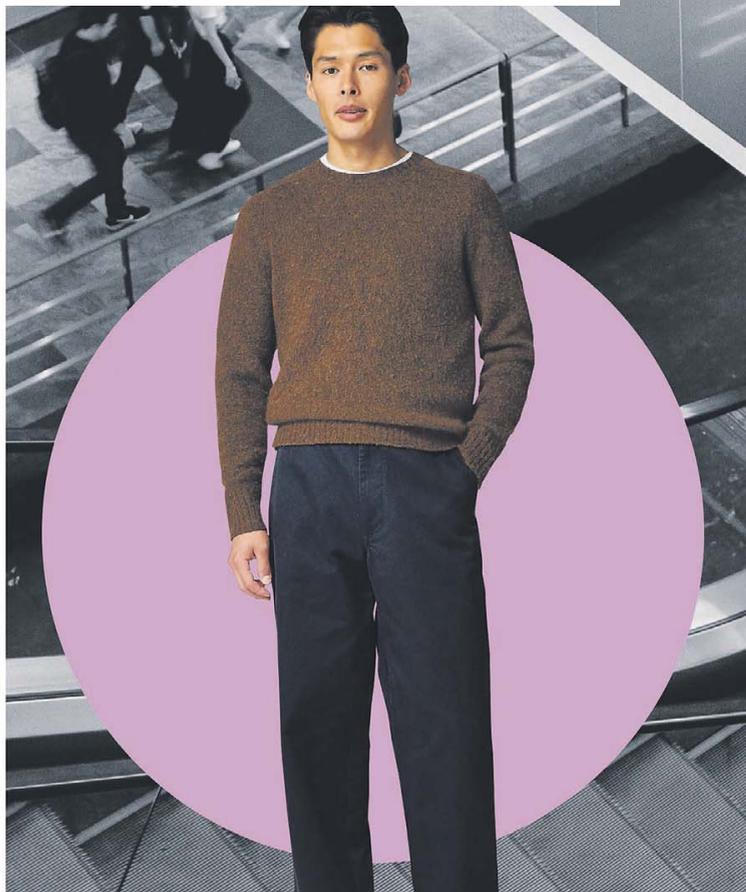


**SHOPPING**  
How to find the right work bag, from totes to backpacks ■ P11



## ATTENTION MALL SHOPPERS

After a decade of decline, retail brands are once again hitting the style – and budget – mark, **Josh Greenblatt** reports



**T**wo years ago, persuaded by the frenzied online chatter, I ordered a pair of black Giant Fit Chinos from J.Crew. Cut loose from a sturdy cotton twill with sewn cuffs at the hems, the trousers were a new version of a 1990s archival style that was updated by Brendon Babenzien, the cult streetwear designer tapped to sprinkle his skater prep sensibility into the struggling retailer's men's offering. He did, and it worked. "WE HAVE COME TO A COMPLETELY NEW MOMENT IN THE HISTORY OF PANTS," enthused the fashion writer Rachel Tashjian on X. "The totally enormous 'giant-fit' J.Crew chinos, created by the very brand that ushered in the tyranny of way-too-tight men's pants, are SOLD OUT." The pants went viral on TikTok and were effusively endorsed by Esquire and GQ, which, by my count, publishes a pro-J.Crew piece every three weeks. In 2022, a brand rep told (who else but) GQ that the chinos were a surprise bestseller. By that point, wide pants had been popular among men's wear enthusiasts, who scoured thrift stores for vintage Ralph Lauren chinos or designer sale racks for contemporary options less than \$500. Finally, they could buy them at the mall for the reasonable price of \$144.

Still, I had to see for myself. "My chinos have arrived," I texted a friend. The verdict? "Impeccable fit."

■ STYLE, P4

From top left: Banana Republic's latest looks are runway-inspired with a friendlier price tag; while attending a Bulgari jewellery event last May, Anne Hathaway debuted a Gap poplin shirtdress, which instantly sold out; the popular Giant Fit Chinos from J.Crew have received viral praise and reviews on TikTok. ELISABETTA VILLA/GETTY IMAGES FOR BULGARI (HATHAWAY); UNSPLASH (BACKGROUND)

Where to find Puzzles & Horoscopes | Crosswords, Sudoku and KenKen ■ P10 | Bridge, Horoscopes and last Saturday's solutions ■ P11

# Checkout diaries

This avid hunter shops for ingredients that pair well with the wild game he catches to feed his family

DANIEL REALE-CHIN

**M**ichael Caufin had his first experience hunting as a 13-year-old adolescent when he and his 12-year-old cousin joined their fathers' hunting group at the Hullett Provincial Wildlife Area, about two hours west from where he grew up in Vaughan, Ont.

"The most important lesson I got from my father was the element of safety. You have to respect the gun and the fact that it's a weapon," he says.

Hunting has been a long-standing tradition in Caufin's family. Geese, wild turkey and deer have become some of his favourite game to hunt. Over the years, hunting has become not only a sport he enjoys – it's also a means to feed his family of five, including himself and his wife, Melissa, both 37 years old, and their three young children.

In October, he went hunting in Ontario with his son in tow. It was an opportunity for Caufin to pass this tradition on to his children. He also wants them to respect the animals and appreciate where their food comes from.

"It's a sobering moment to catch something," he says.

At any given moment, the family has a variety of game meat in the freezer. Melissa often turns moose, venison and wild turkey into meatballs, sausages and ground meat ready to be prepared.

"It's such an organic form of meat and it really does change your perspective on where meat and food comes from," she says.

"It's also changed the way we grocery shop, since we're always looking for fruits, vegetables and pickled ingredients that complement the game flavour of those meats."

Here is how the Caufins shop for groceries.

**HOW WE SAVE MONEY:** We buy items in bulk at Costco. It helps that we have a large stand-up freezer where we can store everything.

**HOW WE SPLURGE:** We splurge on ingredients like coarse sea salt, which we grind in our salt mill, and good maple syrup to drizzle on sides like acorn squash and carrots. We use both as finishing ingredients for our dishes, and find that the taste and quality is better than table salt or corn syrup.

**THE HARDEST SHOPPING HABIT TO KEEP UP:** Melissa works as a nurse in diabetes care, so we always try to follow the balanced-plate method, which recommends a quarter-plate of protein, a quarter-plate of whole grains and half a plate of fruits and vegetables. It's difficult to prepare fresh vegetables and make them taste good so that we get enough at every meal.

**HOW WE'VE CHANGED OUR EATING HABITS RECENTLY:** The switch to organic meats is new for us, and something we began doing a few years back. Neither of us grew up on organic meats (besides the hunted meat). The change came from a couple of documentaries, specifically Netflix's *Poisoned*, and we feel there's a lower risk of being exposed to antibiotics.

Special to The Globe and Mail

This interview has been edited and condensed.



ILLUSTRATION BY KAT FRICK MILLER/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## WHAT'S IN MY CART

**Smoked herring tin – Brunswick – \$2.49:** Our kids enjoy the taste of this as a snack. We usually eat it on bread or with crackers or as part of a charcuterie board. It's a good source of protein, vitamin D and omega 3.

**Manchego cheese – Don Alonso – \$21.99:** We really enjoy this cheese. It has an intense, zesty taste, so it complements

the taste of game meat such as venison, or even the smoked herring.

**Sourdough boule – Pane Fresco – \$5.95:** This is a bit of a splurge, but it's our favourite bread, which we eat with most meals. We buy a bunch anytime we make it to Fortinos and freeze it.

**Giardiniera – Aurora – \$4.99:** Giardiniera, a pickled mix of hot

peppers, carrots, celery, cauliflower and other vegetables, is something we both grew up eating. It's popular in Italian homes, and something our grandmothers made at home. We buy it now, since it's easier. It complements most dishes well, and the acidity complements the richness and taste of some of the meats we eat such as moose and venison.

**Chianti red wine – Ruffino – \$16.95:**

Red wine is a staple in some of our cooking. We typically make large batches of stew with carrots, celery, onion, garden tomato, fresh thyme and moose. It's a nice way to cook the meat and keep it tender. Our rule with cooking with wine is to always buy a wine that you'd choose to drink after.

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# Sip and savour

A selection of robust, older vintages for any occasion leading up to the festive season

CHRISTOPHER WATERS

WATERS ON WINE



New releases from wineries and liquor stores tend to be more serious as we get deeper into the year. Selection turns toward more robust wines and older vintages, with visions of holiday parties dancing in our heads.

That doesn't mean you need to trade out a favourite refreshing white for a red wine with concentration and complexity. As always, shop for styles of wine you know you'll appreciate, but know that you have options to try something different.

The nine wines recommended here check a lot of boxes. They are richer expressions that suit the cooler weather. Their crowd-pleasing nature makes them suitable for entertaining, perfect for anyone looking to shop ahead. They are styles that are enjoyable to sip and savour or serve with a meal.

Red wines rule the roost this week, which wasn't an intentional act. There were just more samples in recent tastings, including some long-standing favourite red blends from Italy and France.

The Bastide Miraflores and Tessellae labels come from Domaine Lafage, a seventh-generation operation in the South of France that has an extensive range of old vineyards to draw from. Meanwhile, Passimeto Rosso is produced by the Pasqua family, which is preparing to celebrate its 100th anniversary producing wine in Italy's Veneto region.

Canadian wineries often unveil some of their finest selections leading up to the festive season. The timing allows reserve wines time to age in barrel and bottle before release. It also helps increase cash flow as they prepare to pay for the grapes harvested for wines made in the 2024 vintage.

Special to The Globe and Mail

## BOTTLES TO TRY

**BACHELDER WISMER-WINGFIELD CHARDONNAY 2022 (CANADA)**

**SCORE: 95 PRICE: \$60**  
Niagara winemaker Thomas Bachelder launched his own label in 2009, establishing contracts with grape growers such as the Saunders and Wismer families since he didn't own land. This serious and focused chardonnay comes from Wismer-Wingfield vineyard in Vineland, a site that's responsible for Bachelder's most structured and expressive wines, a personality that really shines in this 2022 chardonnay. This is concentrated and complex with ripe and zesty fruit flavour accentuated by toffee and sesame notes. Drink now-2034. Available direct, bacheldermiagara.com.

**BASTIDE MIRAFLORES SYRAH OLD VINES GRENACHE 2021 (FRANCE)**

**SCORE: 89 PRICE: \$19.95**  
This old vine red blend from Roussillon successfully captures the juicy, floral and flavourful personalities of syrah and grenache. Made in a rich, ripe and harmonious style, this combines liqueur-like fruit flavours with savoury notes. Big and boozy. (14.5-per-cent abv), this is a wine made for cold nights and hearty dishes. Drink now. Available at the above price in Ontario, \$26.99 in British Columbia, various prices in Alberta, \$29.20 in New Brunswick.

**BORDÓN GRAN RESERVA 2013 (SPAIN)**

**SCORE: 92 PRICE: \$27.95**  
Bordón was established as Bodegas Franco-Espanolas in 1890, after phylloxera destroyed vineyards in France and winemakers moved to Rioja. The name changed in the 1960s, but a traditional winemaking philosophy remains. This developed and complex tempranillo blend was aged in American oak barrels for two years and in bottle prior to release. Eleven years on, this is refreshing and refined, well-balanced with red fruit, spice and leather notes. Drink now-2028. Available at the above price in Ontario, various prices in Alberta, \$29.65 in Quebec.

**EN TERRE CABERNET FRANC 2022 (CANADA)**

**SCORE: 90 PRICE: \$39**  
En Terre is a new Okanagan label from winemaker Nadine Kinwig and Terravista Vineyards owners, Eric and Dallas Thor. The opening lineup included a riesling, a brut sparkling wine and this cabernet franc, from Storm Haven Vineyard in Okanagan Falls. The style is ripe and savoury, with red berry and cherry fruit mingling with sage, earth and oak-derived spice. Bright acidity and chewy tannins provide structure and potential for aging. Drink now-2030. Available direct, terravistavineyards.com.

**LOUIS LATOUR CHARDONNAY BOURGOGNE 2022 (FRANCE)**

**SCORE: 90 PRICE: \$25.95**  
Louis Latour takes advan-

tage of its extensive array of chardonnay vines spread across Burgundy to produce this rich and refreshing white wine. A blend of tank and barrel fermented wines, this has a pleasant creamy texture with a nicely balanced mix of apple, lemon and honey flavours. Drink now-2028. Available at the above price in Ontario, \$34.99 in British Columbia, various prices in Alberta, \$35.99 in Manitoba, \$24.75 in Quebec, \$40.19 in New Brunswick, \$35.19 in Nova Scotia.

**STONELEIGH LATITUDE SAUVIGNON BLANC 2023 (NEW ZEALAND)**

**SCORE: 91 PRICE: \$23.95**  
Stoneleigh's Latitude label offers a step up in intensity and texture from its entry level Marlborough sauvignon blanc. The typical tropical fruit, melon and grapefruit notes are conveyed as part of a ripe and refreshing white wine that's easy to appreciate. Drink now-2027. Available at the above price in Ontario, \$23.99 in British Columbia (\$21.99 until Nov. 23), various prices in Alberta, \$28.29 in Manitoba, \$29.99 in New Brunswick, \$27.49 in Prince Edward Island, \$30.71 in Newfoundland.

**SUSANA BALBO CRÍOS MALBEC 2022 (ARGENTINA)**

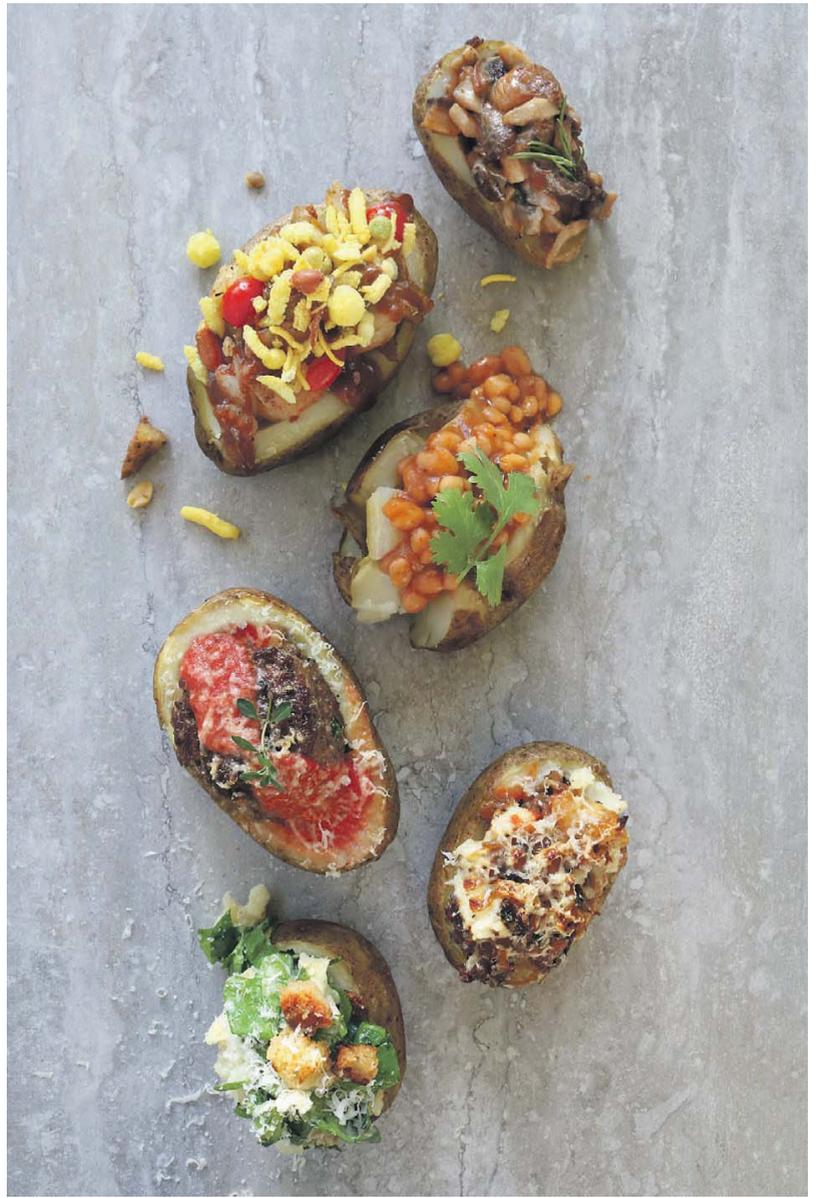
**SCORE: 89 PRICE: \$17.95**  
This fresh and flavourful malbec comes from vineyards in Mendoza's Uco Valley. Made in a ripe and complex style, this offers blackberry, cherry and currant flavours with warm spice, black olive and dark chocolate notes. Nicely balanced with a supple texture, this is ready to enjoy on its own or with a meal. Drink now-2027. Available at the above price in Ontario, various prices in British Columbia and Alberta.

**TESELLAE OLD VINES GRENACHE/SYRAH/MOURVÈDRE 2021 (FRANCE)**

**SCORE: 90 PRICE: \$19.95**  
This red blend from Roussillon in the south of France combines grenache, syrah and mourvèdre from vines planted more than 50 years ago. A complex and powerful (14.5-per-cent abv) red, this delivers a mix of fresh dark fruit, kirsch and herbal (rosemary, thyme) notes as part of its concentrated character. Drink now. Available at the above price in Ontario, various prices in British Columbia and Alberta.

**PASQUA PASSIMETO ROSSO IGT 2021 (ITALY)**

**SCORE: 87 PRICE: \$14.95**  
This juicy and complex red wine from the Veneto region is a blend of merlot, corvina and Croatina grapes, which were dried for four weeks prior to fermentation. Air drying concentrates the sugar and contributes richer flavours to the finished wine. Expect a satisfying mix of cherry and berry flavours with peppery spice notes that are enjoyable sipped solo or consumed with a meal. Drink now. Available at the above price in Ontario, \$19.99 in British Columbia, various prices in Alberta, \$20.66 in Nova Scotia.



JULIE VAN ROSENDAAL/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## HOW WE EAT

# A flight of fancy

After a flight of devilled eggs went viral this summer, this new take on potatoes is a fun way to serve spuds to a crowd

JULIE VAN ROSENDAAL

There's something thrilling about being presented with a flight of things – a lineup of beers or wines, or even devilled eggs, as became a thing on TikTok earlier this summer, to taste your way through.

Ordering a flight generally happens when you're out with friends – it conjures the image of a social atmosphere, and requires a strategic approach: Do you start at one end and work your way through? Or go dark to light? A flight generates conversation about preferred flavours, textures and aromas, which is fascinating because we all experience taste and flavour differently.

While it can be costly to do beer/wine/spirit-based flights at home, it's perfect to do with food. Devilled eggs are fitting as they tend to show up at social gatherings, perfectly portioned so you and your guests can taste several – offering several flavour combinations somehow makes it more acceptable to down half a dozen on your own. Try straying from the usual mayo and paprika and mash the yolks with ingredients you like, perhaps some caramelized onions or kimchi, and adding contrast on top in the form of crushed chips, mustard sprouts or chili crisp. (Alice Choi, known on TikTok as Hip Foodie Mom, posted about devilled egg flights back in 2022, but as social-media trends tend to go, their popularity surged again earlier this summer.)

Stuffed baked potatoes work well, too, and can be a fun, affordable way to feed friends, or just clean out your fridge. Leftovers in any form, in any quantity, can be resurrected with the help of a humble potato. I'm a particular fan of saucy curries and stews, particularly when there isn't enough for a meal on its own. A potato can also be called into service when you have wrinkly veggies to sauté, or bits of leftover salad. (Mashing some leftover Caesar salad into some warm baked potato is delicious – truly.)

I like to call them jacket potatoes, a U.K. term for a baked potato, which is believed to have originated in Peru. Whatever you call them, the first step is the baking: wash your potatoes and rub with any kind of fat – vegetable oil or butter – and sprinkle with salt, if you like. Potato skins are delicious and nutrient-dense (it contains much of the potato's fibre, potassium and vitamin C), and not something to be discarded after eating the innards.

One of the many appealing things about a baked potato is they take up very little oven space, so you can tuck them in, directly on the oven rack, around whatever else you happen to be baking. Or bake up to a few at a time in an air fryer, which is really just a tiny convection oven. Smaller russet or Yukon Gold potatoes are ideal if you're turning them into a flight.

Once they're crispy on the outside, fluffy within, you can stab them down the middle with a fork to split open and smother with saucy beans or stews or curries. Or slice a bit off the top, spoon out the innards and mash them with butter and caramelized onions, mushrooms, leftover roasted squash or anything else you can scrounge from your fridge, then top with grated Parm or other appropriate cheese and give it another minute or two in the oven to help it melt.

You can also spoon out the cooked potato and sauté it. I've done this with chaat masala along with a few frozen peas, then piled it back into the potato shell and topped it with a bit of diced tomato, sev or Bombay mix and coriander and/or tamarind chutney.

## STUFFED OR TWICE-BAKED JACKET POTATOES

Small russet or Yukon Gold potatoes to feed as many as you like

Bake potatoes at around 350 F for 30 minutes for smaller potatoes to an hour for larger ones, depending on the size and shape of your potato. Add any combination of toppings such as those below and shown here.

**MUSHROOM:** Sauté chopped or sliced mushrooms in butter, oil or ghee, with garlic and/or finely chopped rosemary or anything else you like. Once golden, finish with a pour of cream, if you like, and mash into the scooped-out potato innards with salt and pepper. Return to the potato and top with some grated Parm or other cheese, if desired, and return to the oven or run under the broiler for a minute or two to melt.

**FRENCH ONION SOUP:** Thinly slice and caramelize onions in oil, butter or ghee until dark golden, seasoning with a bit of salt adding a sprig of thyme and/or a splash of optional balsamic vinegar at the end. Mash into scooped-out baked potato innards, return to the potato shell, top with grated Gruyère or other intensely flavoured cheese, such as extra-old cheddar or Parmesan, and return to the oven or run under the broiler to melt.

**ALOO CHAAT:** Spoon the innards out of a baked potato and sauté it in chunks in oil, butter or ghee, along with a few frozen peas, sprinkling with chaat masala and salt. Return to the potato shell and top with some finely chopped tomato (I use a cherry tomato or two per potato), some purple onion or shallot, and some sev or Bombay mix. Serve with tamarind and/or coriander chutney.

**TADKA BEAN:** Heat cumin seeds, mustard seed, turmeric and garam masala – or your favourite curry spice blend – in oil or ghee, along with a bit of chopped jalapeño or other chili, if you like. Add a can of baked beans and warm them through, then spoon over a split baked potato. As an option, top with cilantro.

**CAESAR:** Start with leftover Caesar salad, or finely shred romaine lettuce and toss with your choice of dressing and some grated Parmesan cheese. Mash into scooped-out baked potato innards and return to the potato, top with more Parm and perhaps a few croutons, if you have them.

Special to The Globe and Mail



From left to right: American designer Zac Posen was announced as creative director at Gap Inc. early this year, and is leading fresh ideas for the Gap, Old Navy and Banana Republic; Banana Republic's Vida bag was a viral sensation that helped revive the brand and boost sales; Abercrombie CEO Fran Horowitz is redefining the retailer as inclusive and cool; Gen Z pop star and actor Troye Sivan featured in an ad for the Gap; a capsule collection from J.Crew designed in partnership with designer Maryam Nassir Zadeh; J.Crew's Giant fit chinos were ushered in by creative director Brendon Babenzien, who was hired to bring his streetwear aesthetic to the brand.  
MARIO SORRENTI (ZAC POSEN); DAN MARTENSEN (GAP TROYE SIVAN); DOMINIK BINDL/GETTY IMAGES (FRAN HOROWITZ)

## Style: New creative visions, smart leadership and social-media buzz have helped mall retailers reclaim the spotlight

FROM P1

After a decade of decline, mall brands are making a comeback. J.Crew is opening curated men's and women's stores in its native Manhattan. Sales are soaring at Abercrombie, hitting US\$2.2-billion last year. With star designer Zac Posen now as creative director, the ever-beleaguered Gap is slowly righting course after years of baffling collaborations, stale marketing and a stubborn commitment to elastane (old habits die hard). They may never return to their former glory, but thanks to smart leadership and fresh creative vision, these stalwarts have once again nailed the alchemy between product and marketing, luring shoppers with quality clothes at affordable prices.

Following stints as chief brand officer at Rebecca Minkoff and Mansur Gavriel, Ana Andjelic — a three-time Forbes Most Entrepreneurial CMO winner — joined Banana Republic in that role in 2021 to help reinvent and reposition the troubled brand. The seasoned strategy executive started by connecting disjointed dots, syncing marketing, design and merchandising to deliver a cohesive brand vision. "The clothing design came from the same place as the brand: imagined worlds," says Andjelic. "What do you wear when you go to XYZ?" The result was a focused collection of travel-inspired pieces communicated through compelling imagery and brand campaigns — and a TikTok viral tote bag. Between 2021 and 2022, sales grew 24 per cent. "I think that's a that's a highlight of my career," says Andjelic. (She left BR in September of 2022 to join Esprit as global chief brand officer.)

Perhaps the most surprising — and successful — comeback of all is Abercrombie. A decade ago, a mountain of troubling allegations ended the brand's authoritarian reign as the racist Regina George of retail. Suddenly, billboards of shirtless white teens playing tackle football at the country club felt as jarringly anachronistic as a Gen Z queen bee trying to enforce the social hierarchy and dress codes George dictated

in the movie *Mean Girls* — especially when the brand's CEO faced allegations of every flavour of discrimination and, most recently, sex crimes.

Even at mall brands, "you need to invest in creativity," says the journalist Lauren Sherman, who writes *Line Sheet*, Puck's fashion newsletter. "It's not just about money. It's about giving a creative person an opportunity to take risks."

At Abercrombie, those people are CEO Fran Horowitz, chief product officer Corey Robinson and chief marketing officer Carey Collins Krug. Under their savvy, unproblematic leadership, the brand shed its provocative WASPy all-American image for one that's more inclusive and approachably cool. "Today's Abercrombie has replaced that fantasy with a humble practicality, offering a reasonably priced uniform for the TikTok-adjacent life where every outfit is familiar but unidentifiable, minimalist but just trendy enough," reports Chantal Fernandez in *The Cut* in a wide-ranging feature on Abercrombie's resurrection.

Abercrombie's pants have almost become cult items — and TikTok-viral hits — among style-conscious millennial and Gen Z shoppers. The brand's range of well-made, size-inclusive denim styles are best-sellers for women, while wide-leg pants do big business on the men's side. Most styles are priced at \$98, give or take \$10 on either side. The rebrand has earned back the trust — and dollars — of consumers, and won back the press.

Kate Black, the author of *Big Mall*, a book chronicling the social history of malls and shopping, is one such fan of Abercrombie's vast array of denim styles, which includes cuts for extra-tall customers and the bestselling Curve Love fit, designed to reduce the waist gap. Solving real women's problems with good design makes Abercrombie "a practical place to shop," Black says. But she admits that, for her, wearing Abercrombie at 30 and seeing these mall brands recapture their cool satisfies "a sense of wish fulfilment, like I'm achieving this latent dream that I had from

when I was a teenager" about feeling included by a brand — an institution, really — built on exclusion.

But Black theorizes that there's a more fundamental reason why we're shopping at the altars of our teenagehood — perhaps it's as much about what the brand's represent as the experience of the mall itself. Black sees the mall as "our last town square" where despite the forces pulling us apart (such as our phones or social media or political polarization), "most will have this core social experience that we can't help but be drawn to."

Still, fashion is fickle and consumers are capricious; even the hottest brands eventually cool. Take Banana Republic, for example. In May, the CEO departed about eight months after the brand released an ill-fated home collection and reported flat second-quarter sales. For any brand to maintain momentum in the market, Andjelic says that "you need to shock the culture for a minute, it's an important part to hit to ignite that spark. But if you want to cause a fire, you need unrelenting focus and discipline quarter after quarter."

J.Crew, however, is causing a fire, in large part thanks to CEO Libby Wadle, who took the top job after 16 years at the brand. Wadle had the insight to hire Babenzien on the men's side and Olympia Gayot — who worked under Jenna Lyons during her vaunted tenure at the brand — to lead the women's collections. (When Lyons joined the cast of *The Real Housewives of New York*, her famous wardrobe drew the jealousy and ire of her fellow housewives.) Wadle "instinctively knows what J.Crew is and is not," notes Andjelic, "and that's incredibly important."

J.Crew has restored its position as a beacon of modern American prep, ditching the sequin-festooned, capital-F fashion pieces shoppers didn't actually want to buy — at least not from J.Crew. As a private company that doesn't disclose much financial data, it's hard to track how J.Crew's buzz translates to sales. Last year, I popped into the store in a Florida mall to see Babenzien's collection in person, only to step

into a sartorial time warp to 2014 — no giant chinos here. Meanwhile, the brand is opening dedicated men's and women's stores in downtown Manhattan that will stock pieces from the collections that will appeal to downtown Manhattanites and those who aspire to dress like them, such as giant fit chinos, oversized Oxford shirts and smart cable-knit sweaters.

This merchandising strategy suggests that J.Crew believes that New Yorkers define all-American style differently than suburban Floridians, but it has to try to speak to both. But its marketing proves the brand understands the power of speaking to a niche audience, such as having the Strokes play its 40th birthday party last year, or re-releasing its iconic print catalogue. The men's campaigns feature indie-cool artists and directors such as painter Sam McKinniss and director Mike Mills. And this summer, Gayot collaborated with the cult New York designer Maryam Nassir Zadeh on a capsule collection that amplified MNZ's vintage-inspired, ineffably cool aesthetic — for the masses.

It's not far-fetched to say that even two years ago, shoppers had few reliable options to find the perfect cashmere sweater, broken-in denim or simple summer dress. It felt like any retailer making clothes assumed people wanted fashion — that is, diluted runway ideas — not stylish, practical clothes for real life. So there's good reason for the swell of excitement around these revivals beyond nostalgia. "Luxury prices have gotten so insane, and I can't afford a Miu Miu dress," says Emilia Petrarca, a former fashion writer at *The Cut* who pens the popular style Substack *Shop Rat*. The J.Crew x MNZ collaboration offers a middle ground that the market was missing. "It feels like it has a point of view, and it feels high fashion, but I can actually add to my cart."

For me, that means adding a boxy crew-neck sweater from Abercrombie to my cart — and leaving the Miu Miu one in my wish list.

Special to The Globe and Mail



Anna Sui and John Fluevog. PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY THE GLOBE AND MAIL. SOURCE: JOHN FLUEVOG

OFF DUTY WITH

## John Fluevog and Anna Sui

As the fashion industry chases new trends, these designers are staying true to themselves

FIGURE VALDESOLA

One of the most viewed TikTok videos of renowned fashion designer Anna Sui's work isn't about her latest collection. In fact, the video dates back to her spring runway show in 1994.

Nineties it-girls Kate Moss, Tish Goff, Jenny Shimizu and musician Donovan Leitch sidled down the runway in kicky plaid minis and knit beanies and knee socks and Peter Pan collared shirts; Sofia Coppola, Matt Dillon and Anthony Kiedis sat front row; and the show's closing act was a triumvirate of supermodel star power (Linda Evangelista, Naomi Campbell and Christy Turlington) in sparkly sheer white baby-doll dresses and pastel-dyed faux fur. It was all peak 1990s, a decade that continues to resurface on fashion mood boards.

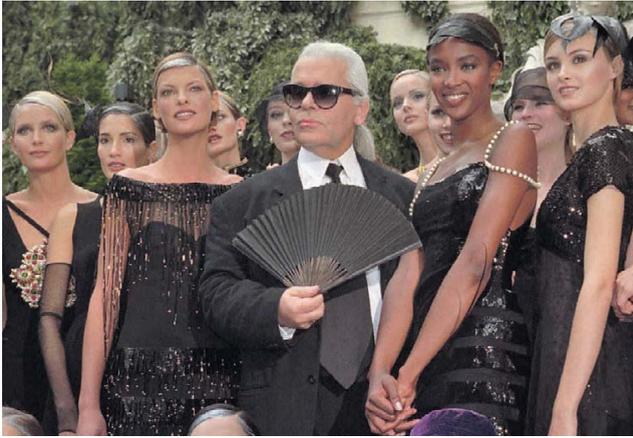
It was also a decade when Sui met and started collaborating with Vancouver-born shoe designer John Fluevog. Their first, of what would be many collaborations, was the Munster shoe, a platform with a sharply angled hourglass-shaped heel that made its debut on Sui's runway in 1992, and was promptly embraced by fans such as Lady Miss Kier (of Deee-Lite) and Madonna.

The pair could teach a masterclass in longevity having survived and thrived for decades in an industry constantly chasing what's new, by staying consistent and true to their own, often outlier, always deeply quirky visions of style. Both Sui and Fluevog have seemingly built a devoted following by not following the traditional dictates of fashion. At a time when many of our decisions, sartorial and otherwise, are defined by the algorithm, that feels like a truly radical notion.

CONTINUED ON P5

# What's behind the luxury slowdown?

Canadian insiders say the fashion industry should recapture the magic of the past to move forward.  
**Bernadette Morra reports**



Newness drives the fashion business, along with the focused creative energy of designers such as Valentino, above, and Karl Lagerfeld, left, which is missing from today's industry landscape.  
PIERRE VERDY/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES (ABOVE); LIONEL CIRONNEAU/ASSOCIATED PRESS (LEFT)

The biggest news in the fashion world recently was not a viral runway moment or what Taylor Swift wore to dinner with Travis Kelce. It was that luxury market leader LVMH, which owns some of world's hottest labels including Louis Vuitton, Dior and Loewe, reported third-quarter sales in its fashion and leather goods division were down 5 per cent from the previous quarter. A week later, French luxury group Kering, which owns Gucci, Saint Laurent, Balenciaga and Alexander McQueen, announced a 16-per cent decline in the same period. Hardest hit was Gucci, where year-over-year sales fell 25 per cent.

A 5-per-cent drop for LVMH may not sound like much, but the abrupt decrease comes after years of momentum in a division that accounts for half the group's revenue. And the drop hit at the exact same time LVMH was heavily marketing its brands through a €150-million (\$224.7-million) Olympic sponsorship. Given that LVMH typically outperforms its competitors, luxury fashion executives everywhere are worried that a recession-calibre downturn is already in the works.

There are a number of reasons for the slump, including consumers who have tighter budgets owing to inflation or who are shifting their postlockdown spending to wellness and travel. China, where splurging for European designer labels has softened along with the economy, has also had an impact.

Stimulating desire with exciting design innovations could be one way to help counter the global slowdown in luxury spending. But geographical differences might be making the situation too complex for a simple solution.

The uncertainty has also resulted in a musical chairs-like game of creative directors exiting and/or relocating to other designer brands. Hedi Slimane, formerly of Dior Homme and Saint Laurent, has departed Celine and Michael Rider, who left Ralph Lauren in May, has stepped into his shoes. Sarah Burton, who crafted Kate Middleton's wedding dress while at Alexander McQueen, has been freshly installed at Givenchy. Kim Jones has left Fendi, where he was artistic director, to fully concentrate on his other gig, artistic director of Dior men's wear. If the industry and fan chatter are correct, Jonathan Anderson might jump from Loewe to Dior women's wear and John Galliano may move from Maison Margiela back to his namesake brand, owned by LVMH.

Working under these creative directors are robust design teams, the prime evidence being the strong collections the Chanel atelier has produced since Karl Lagerfeld's successor Virginie Viard left in May. But even the most coveted designer

label needs a leader who can deliver creativity, buzz and ultimately profits, which explains why executives hope a change at the top will reverse declining sales.

"Shareholders are not happy and there's this panic mode," observes Todd Lynn, a designer from Smiths Falls, Ont., who studied at the lauded Central Saint Martins in London before launching his own label in 2006. Lynn's rock 'n' roll vibe appeals to the likes of Bono, Mick Jagger and Marilyn Manson and he created all the costumes for PJ Harvey's recent North American tour. He is also an associate professor of fashion design and communications at Kingston University London, where he counsels young talents to consider staying independent and offering great design at a somewhat affordable price point.

He, and the rest of the fashion world, have watched as luxury houses increased prices on clothes and accessories to dizzying heights over the past several years. "The cost of things is astronomical right now and people aren't stupid," Lynn says. News sources both big and small have been pulling back the curtain on the industry. In September, the Business of Fashion reported on an Italian probe linking luxury labels to labour exploitation, and Tiktokker Volkan Yilmaz has amassed more than one million followers by ripping apart designer bags to critique their quality and question markups of 10 times or more.

With a spending slowdown comes excess inventory, and the cost of warehousing unsold products also gets factored into the bottom line, which could be contributing to the upward pressure on prices. "That means that you're not just paying for the product you're buying," Lynn believes. "You're also paying for the product that you're not buying."

"They're not thinking long term. They're thinking next quarter, next quarter, next quarter," says designer Patrick Cox, who was born in Edmonton, and also studied in London, specializing in footwear. At his peak in the 1990s, his iconic Wannabe loafer sold a million pairs a year. He feels the current designer turnover "is just switching racehorses. But it's like a relay race – switch, switch, switch."

The problem, he feels, is that fashion has been taken over by accountants. "Before that it was the designer's boyfriend or sister or brother that was the CEO," he explains, citing Yves Saint Laurent and Pierre Bergé, Marc Jacobs and Robert Duffy, Valentino and Giancarlo Giammetti as examples. "They had a vision and took the business as far as they could with licensing. Then the supergroups – Prada Group, LVMH and Gucci Group (now Kering), arrived in the 1990s and changed everything. It was all about debt and leveraging, and I was very innocently part of that

generation."

Cox was rocking back then with around £100-million in sales, stores in New York, London and Paris and zero investment. The temptation to grow was hard to resist. His first group of investors didn't work out. "But they had me spending on a level that I never would have agreed to with my own funds. All of a sudden, we needed an investor." A subsequent partner turned hostile and stopped paying factories, staff and magazines where Cox was advertising. "It just got worse and worse and then I was hit by a car in London, on Feb. 2, 2007. I spent several months in hospital and when I got back to work, my desk was a foot deep of bad news."

Cox walked away and within months the company fell apart. He tried to rebuild under a new label but couldn't make a go of it. "I was suicidal because I justified my existence by my turnover," he says.

His best friends – Elton John, David Furnish and Elizabeth Hurley – sent him to rehab for depression, and when he returned to his home in Ibiza, a friend of a friend introduced him to 5-MeO-DMT, a psychedelic from the glands of a Sonoran Desert toad. The experience proved to be life altering. "It was a rebirth," he says. Now, he is a "toad facilitator," sitting with others while they smoke it. He also has a line of sustainably produced clothing called Doors of Perception, with cartoonish embroideries of eyes, mushrooms and, yes, toads. "I do everything myself, invoicing, packing, dropping off at DHL," he describes. "It's like it used to be in the eighties, when I loved my career."

Cautionary tales of burnout are not lost on the younger generation of talent. "I've been talking to fashion students in Berlin, London and Paris, and it's such a capitalist machine they are asking, 'do I even want to be part of this?'" says Nan Devitt Tremblay, who has been screening her documentary, *Carton d'Invitation* in Toronto, Montreal and Europe.

The film contrasts Devitt Tremblay's home and work life during her years as FashionTelevision's go-to Paris reporter when host Jeanne Beker wasn't on the scene. In pulling together the film, she reconnected with behind-the-scenes talents such as Frederic Tremblay, a Quebec native who spent a decade as senior design director at Marc Jacobs and Sophie Theallet, who is now living in Montreal and was Az-zedine Alaïa's right hand for 10 years. Their stories were so compelling, Devitt Tremblay now shares them in a podcast series, also called *Carton d'Invitation*.

"It takes a village to put on a show," Devitt Tremblay declares in one podcast episode. "Every season, you source fabric, you work on prints and silhouette, you buy vintage, you find images that you get inspired

## Meet the industry experts



**NAN DEVITT TREMBLAY**  
Director of the fashion documentary *Carton d'Invitation*, which reveals her view of the industry while working for FashionTelevision from 1986 to 1998. She also hosts a podcast of the same name.



**PATRICK COX**  
Canadian-British shoe designer who created the iconic leather loafer, the Wannabe, during the 1990s, and designed footwear for Vivienne Westwood, John Galliano and Lanvin.  
DANIEL SCHAEFER



**TODD LYNN**  
Associate professor of fashion design and communications at Kingston University London and head of his namesake brand, Todd Lynn, which dressed clients including Bono and Mick Jagger.  
WARREN WEERTMAN

by. It's a very, very laborious process."

Devitt Tremblay, who was a CBC reporter in Toronto before moving to Paris in 1986, also provides an intriguing picture of how things used to be, before public companies such as LVMH and Kering started snapping up designer labels and putting pressure on designers to produce more collections, and revenue.

"I talked to Peter O'Brien, who was at Rochas for 10 years, and he laughs about how the clothes weren't selling but nobody cared that much because the fragrance was, and the owners were fine with the status quo," Devitt Tremblay says. "Can you imagine how long somebody whose clothes weren't selling would last today?"

Devitt Tremblay dates the designer turnover trend to the mid-1990s when Hubert de Givenchy retired – death or retirement being the only way a designer left their house back then. John Galliano took over for four collections, then was moved to Dior and replaced by Alexander McQueen. "From what I heard, poor old M. de Givenchy wasn't happy with either of those choices," Devitt Tremblay recalls. "But it was also an infusion of life. So maybe that's what people are searching for now too."

Newness is, of course, what drives the fashion business. And so fashion enthusiasts are waiting to see what magic the current creative director chess moves produce. But even if they bring the sizzle needed to entice people to spend, will that be enough to satisfy stockholders?

"Exponential growth is impossible," Lynn says. "These big luxury brands can't grow forever. Not unless they start selling to another planet."

Special to The Globe and Mail

### ■ FROM P4

#### Do you remember how you two met?

**ANNA:** We were trying to figure it out. I think it was through a mutual friend. We met and just clicked. I was planning a fashion show [spring 1992] and John ended up doing these amazing hand-carved wooden clogs for me. He carved every pair that season and we did the uppers in my fabric.

**JOHN:** And we also introduced the Munster heel, which was an instant hit with so many people. Other designers at that point weren't really focusing at all on footwear and we were able to take Anna's themes and fabrics and make shoes especially for her. The matching head-to-toe was a big statement at the time.

#### The nineties were a definitive moment for both of you.

**ANNA:** It was the beginning of globalization and there was a lot of talk about New York taking over from Europe as the centre of fashion, which was really exciting. It was a turning point for a lot of people. Music went alternative, movies went alternative and so did fashion.

#### The nineties, and even Y2K, revival is in full swing. Why do you think that era is resonating?

**ANNA:** Everything is so corporate now and manufactured and influencers and audiences are paid. Back then it was just very natural, and when you talk to younger generations, they can't believe it.

**JOHN:** Fashion was a community, and I had my tribe among the people that shopped at my store and that I would see walking around New York.

#### How have you both been able to maintain such distinct creative visions in a sea of sameness?

**ANNA:** I don't know if it's a good or a bad thing but we have both always remained independent and never got bought by a bigger corporation. That allowed us to be really creative for many, many years and it still allows us to do that. And of course we have schedules to keep but I think that once you get under that corporate umbrella you have to follow rules.

**JOHN:** It's so true. I've never had a boss in my life. I've never had anybody tell me I couldn't do this or I couldn't do that and I think An-

na's the same way. I do things because I feel like doing it, not because they're going to produce 'x' amount of dollars. It's our individualism that makes us who we are and we need to cherish it and hang onto it and not just follow every little trend that comes along.

#### There's always been a real sense of playfulness and joy to your work. It looks like you're still having fun with all of it.

**ANNA:** Growing and expanding your business is much more difficult now because it's such a different time. That part isn't as fun because you have to be more strategic, whereas before, it all just kind of happened. But we still love what we do. It's what we both feel like we were born to do. It's a natural thing.

**JOHN:** I echo that. And I'd also add that I even still love seeing new products, new samples that I've designed when they come in. I open up the box and it still feels so exciting. I've been doing this for 55 years, whatever this is, and I still get off on it, which is great.

#### The heightened interest in vintage has reignited interest in both of your older work. Do you feel like

#### people are looking at vintage differently or wearing it differently?

**ANNA:** I think it's a different objective. Vintage is a holy grail. People now have a specific idea of what they want; like I want that blue blouse from 1996 that I saw in that music video. They have an exact thing that they want and the quest is how to get it. When we were shopping vintage at a younger age it was about discovering things, now it's a mission.

#### The butterfly motif that shows up in your latest collaboration is a remake of a design from the 1990s. Have you both been plumbing your archives for inspiration?

**ANNA:** For me it's my nieces. They are all in their 20s and every holiday they end up coming to dinner wearing their mom's clothes. And I'm always like, where did you find that? Oh, in the back of my mom's closet, they say. So my nieces have been requesting that we redo these butterfly boots that we had done in pastel colours back in the 1990s. When I was working on my resort collection I realized that it would be really great to do them in denim.

**JOHN:** I don't mind revisiting

things because they were good back then and they can be good now. I like to think that the pieces that I do are just good on their own and always will be because they have their own sensibility, their own energy.

#### You may not be chasing trends but you've certainly courted the interest of Gen Z.

**ANNA:** I think they're drawn to the authenticity and the realness and the fact that we aren't doing a manufactured thing. In the nineties, we were coming out of the eighties and all that power dressing and a corporate feeling. The music changed and it wasn't the big record labels any more; from heavy metal that was all manufactured to really authentic bands from smaller towns. I think that stuff is all very romanticized now and people love that authenticity again.

#### I hope that authenticity wins out over the algorithm!

**JOHN:** Wouldn't that be the dream, right?

Special to The Globe and Mail

This interview has been edited and condensed.

# And now, a toast!

UHN Grand Cru Culinary Wine Festival celebrates 20 years of wining, dining and giving

**T**oronto's hottest fundraising event of the year, UHN's Grand Cru Culinary Wine Festival, presented by HBNG Charitable Foundation, just celebrated a milestone anniversary – and there are more reasons than ever to celebrate.

Since its inception in 2005, the prestigious event has raised more than \$170-million in support of medical research and innovation at University Health Network (UHN). That accomplishment has earned the festival the distinction as the top fundraising food and wine festival in the world.

"Philanthropy plays a pivotal role in funding medical innovation," says Todd Halpern, UHN trustee and UHN Foundation board member, who founded the event two decades ago. "It is thanks to our donors that major medical advancements at UHN are within reach."

The three-day event brings together top chefs and international wine producers with medical experts, business leaders and philanthropists.

#### Top chefs and wine producers unite

On the culinary arts side, participants included Chef Jamie Kennedy and international Michelin-star chefs Daniel Boulud, Michel Troisgros, Gilles Goujon and Stefano Secchi, alongside elite vintners such as Petrus, Marchesi Antinori and Champagne Barons de Rothschild.

This year's festival kicked off with a live auction and tasting event at Enercare Centre, featuring wines produced by vineyards considered to be the very best for their soil, climate and altitude. The Wine and Dine Experience on the final night featured a series of 19 private dinners held at homes across the city. The exclusive dinners feature multicourse menus curated by world-class chefs and paired with the finest wines selected by international vintners.

Hosts welcomed a lively mix of guests of leading UHN clinicians and researchers, and high-level business executives and philanthropists, all there to support trailblazing innovation that has made UHN Canada's No. 1 hospital and the No. 1 publicly funded hospital in the world.

#### Transforming the patient experience

With the support of partners such as UHN Foundation, robust advances in health care are unfolding, including the construction of a \$1.1-billion surgical tower at Toronto Western Hospital, slated for completion in 2028. The new building will increase provincial bed capacity and elevate patient experience with 82 beds and 20 state-of-the-art operating rooms, and include robotics and artificial intelligence.

Funds raised from this year's Grand Cru – an incredible \$38-million – supported the tower, and included a \$30-million gift from John and Rosella D'Angelo, Giuseppe and Lidia Maio and Claudio and Gina Memme, in partnership with HBNG Charitable Foundation.

UHN Foundation CEO Julie Quenneville sees Grand Cru's 20-year legacy as a testament to the leadership of Todd Halpern, the dedication of sponsors and volunteers – and the power of philanthropy.

"When we are united, we have the power to unlock new discoveries that will save lives," she says. "We can change the world of health care."

UHN is widely recognized for its dedication to innovation, topping Canada's Top 40 Research Hospitals from Research Infosource Inc. every year since the list began in 2011. In the 2023 fiscal year alone, UHN's research budget totalled \$539-million.

Its many accomplishments have not only had a profound effect on patient health but have also shaped the future of health care in Canada and around the world.

World firsts at UHN include developing the Toronto Ex Vivo Lung Perfusion System, at UHN's Ajmera Transplant Centre, which

helped double the number of lung transplants performed at UHN and is now used in global clinical practice.

#### A hospital of firsts

It has also established a long track record for firsts in Canada: it pioneered the use of remote deep brain stimulation technology to treat Parkinson's disease and is home to the largest neuromodulation program in the country at its Krembil Brain Institute. The hospital also made headlines in 2023 when it introduced Canada's first hospital-based chief AI scientist role.

As a key partner in health care education, UHN is Canada's leading robotic surgery training ground using state-of-the-art telepresence and telesimulation. Robotics allow patients, who would normally have lengthier surgeries and longer, more painful recoveries, to go home with minimal scars and fewer days in hospital.

“

It is thanks to our donors that major medical advancements at UHN are within reach.

#### Todd Halpern

Founder, UHN Grand Cru Culinary Wine Festival

"This is a magical time with respect to the robotics program," notes Dr. Thomas Forbes, surgeon-in-chief at UHN's Sprott Department of Surgery. "We're advancing the number of robots significantly and bringing in the most modern and up-to-date platforms."

UHN's commitment to advancing technology is also demonstrated at the Peter Munk Cardiac Centre, with its Medly remote-monitoring program. Medly provides those who are living with heart failure self-care guidance and access to their care team through smartphones. Medly has helped reduce hospitalization for patients enrolled in the program by 50 per cent.

It's also home to Canada's largest multidisciplinary arthritis hub – the Schroeder Arthritis Institute – where, thanks to donor support, osteoarthritis biomarkers were discovered. This holds the potential to diagnose arthritis earlier and lead to early interventions – a game-changer for the leading cause of disability in Canada.

"Health care is important to absolutely everyone," says Quenneville. "We are all affected. The medical breakthroughs that are happening here have an impact on the entire world."

UHN's past, present and future accomplishments are worthy of celebration.

"True to our Canadian roots, UHN has tended to be modest about our achievements, quietly going about the business of caring for our country's sickest patients while relentlessly pursuing discovery and innovation," says Dr. Kevin Smith, president and CEO of UHN.

"We should all be proud that Canada is having such a profound impact on medicine worldwide, and that we are demonstrating that it's possible to provide excellence in care to all patients."

And with the Grand Cru event providing much-needed funds, that legacy will continue.



1. Ellen Halpern and Todd Halpern, Grand Cru founder.  
2. Dr. Thomas Forbes, surgeon-in-chief at UHN's Sprott Department of Surgery.  
3. From left: Chefs Michel Troisgros, Daniel Boulud, Stefano Secchi and Gilles Goujon.  
4. Dr. Kevin Smith, president and CEO, UHN at this year's Grand Cru live auction event.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY ERNESTO DI STEFANO



Over the past 20 years, UHN's Grand Cru Culinary Wine Festival has...

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**100**  
private dinner hosts

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**115** top chefs

Worked with  
**100**  
wine producers from  
around the world

Wined and dined  
**11,000** guests

UHN is Canada  
and the #1 pub  
hospital in the v





's #1 hospital  
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world

**\$539M** in research funding



**10** sites **41,000** staff, learners and volunteers

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capital project

**15**  
storeys

**20**  
operating rooms

**82**  
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# In praise of ghee

If you think it's clarified butter, think again, Aman Dosanj writes

Growing up in a multigenerational South Asian household in the diaspora, a shelf-stable butter-derived cooking fat commonly called “ghee” was one of the backbones of our cooking. A jar of the homemade stuff, which has been in our cultural cuisine for millennia, was at arm's reach for everything from tempering spices to slathering *garam garam* (freshly made, hot) rotis for an after-school snack.

Now, the ancient golden-coloured superfood is making a splash on social media and entering non-desi homes at such a rapid rate that the North American butter and ghee market value is expected to reach more than US\$32-billion by 2029, more than double its worth in 2024.

For many in the diaspora, it is mind-boggling to see its rise, as I have a soft spot for the ingredient (which is also known as “ghyo” or “ney,” depending on where you're from and what dialect you speak at home). And I'm not the only one.

“That act of making ghyo is so personal to me. It adds a layer of care to what I'm making,” said Surrey, B.C.-based Raj Thandhi, founder of lifestyle blog Pink Chai. “It feels and tastes like home to me.”

What makes ghee so special?

The process of making it involves gently simmering butter to evaporate the water and caramelize the milk solids, adding this beautiful, toasty caramel-y nuttiness to its flavour profile: “What's left behind is not only the fat, but you've also got fat-soluble amino acids and proteins that didn't precipitate out,” says Nik Sharma, the bestselling author behind *The Flavor Equation: The Science of Great Cooking Explained + More Than 100 Essential Recipes and Veg-Table: Recipes, Techniques + Plant Science for Big-Flavored, Vegetable-Focused Meals* and *The Flavor Files* Substack newsletter.

As the James Beard Award nominee breaks down the science, he shares some of its many advantages. For example, when frying an egg in olive oil, it generally sticks in a cast iron or stainless-steel pan.

“Butter or ghee will never stick because of the amino acids and proteins present in dairy fats that bind to the metal surface of the pan, so the egg slides off much more easily,” Sharma added.

Unlike butter, ghee is lactose- and casein-free, can last for months at room temperature, and has a high smoke point of about 485 F, which is perfect for basting melt-in-your-mouth kebabs, crafting the crispiest of dosas and even deep-frying.

Here's the thing: In our culture, the golden-coloured ingredient isn't reserved for culinary preparations. Oozing with natural fatty acids, nourishing vitamins A, D, E and K and skin-soothing properties, South Asian *bibis* (or elders) have used the pantry staple as part of ancient Ayurvedic wellness rituals and everyday beauty regimens for centuries.

“It is a fuel. It is medicine. It is a cosmetic thing. It is a food. It is a spiritual and cultural connection point,” said Vreshni Naga, co-founder of Vresh Foods (a ghee purveyor in Calgary). “And then there's this whole other world when you dive into its nutritional and functional benefits.”

Over the years, that superfood narrative shifted, prompting many South Asian households to choose refined vegetable oil, which are stripped of any sort of goodness, over ghee because voices outside the community claimed it was not good for them, their cholesterol or heart health. But it was not as though

people were eating a whole tub of the stuff. “From a health perspective, my mom always says, ‘Use less, but use a good quality ingredient!’ And that is always ghyo in my house,” said Thandhi.

“We grew up being told that eating ghyo is how you will be healthy, build your bones and muscle,” she added. “There's always this conversation about why brown people have so much milk in their carts. There was negativity about how much dairy we eat, but all of a sudden, everybody's really into ghyo. The idea that people vilify an ingredient is just as strange as people will put one ingredient on a pedestal. There's a lack of a middle ground and a holistic approach to using things.”

Naga echoed similar sentiments. “Western communities have cherry-picked aspects of Indian cuisine or culture – things like yoga or turmeric – and then they become the chosen ones that will become popular.” Nowadays, Naga speaks to a growing community of South Asian entrepreneurs taking pride in what they do and showcasing our cuisine's value without diluting what makes it unique. That, in turn, is helping to debunk some of the misinformation out there.

Part of the confusion concerns how a cost-effective variation – made using anhydrous milk fat or butter oil – has been labelled. “If you ask me, it's not really ghee,” states Naga, who crafts his ‘OG Ghee’ using 100-per-cent Canadian butter. “If you read the ingredients of a lot of those brands, it won't say butter; it'll say milk fat.”

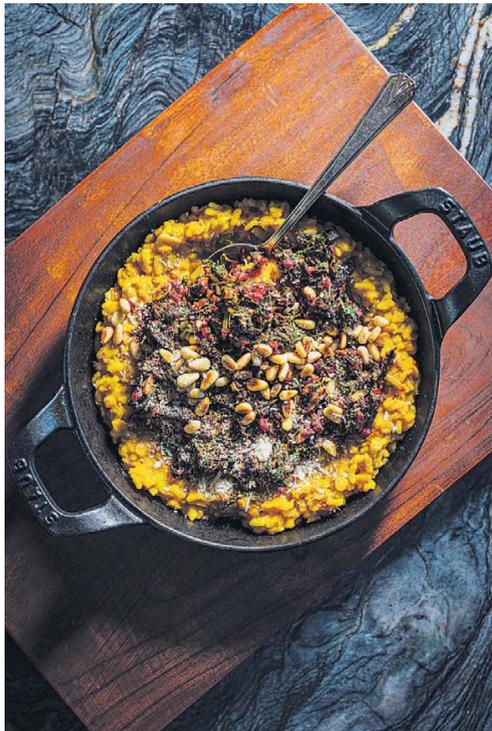
Sharma, a Mumbai-raised, L.A.-based food scientist, also raises concerns about simply calling it clarified butter. “It's a form of clarified butter if you go by European standards, but it's not butter. Butter has water, and it's an emulsion; this isn't an emulsion. So, trying hard to fit ghee into a Western framework is not helpful. We should just say, ‘This is ghee. It comes from butter – or it's derived from butter through caramelization’ – and leave it at that. We don't do this for chili crisp; why are we doing it for Indian food?”

Whether tossing steamy pasta, searing steaks or crafting lush popcorn, Naga believes ghee fits very well into North American culinary habits. For instance, you can pop corn kernels directly in the fat without fearing it'll burn.

Thandhi and Sharma, on the other hand, like to show off those delicate, sweet aromas that can sometimes get lost when cooking with fragrant spices. “My husband is from the American South, so a lot of their recipes will use lard or Crisco to get that flaky, tender pie crust,” said Sharma, who reaches for ghee instead. “It's just pure fat, which helps create a flaky texture. We've seen that in parathas, right? We're replicating that. It requires a bit of manipulation – I'm adjusting the ratios – but the fact that I can get that flavour speaks volumes.”

We, as a community, come from a long lineage of descendants whose love language involves feeding people, so it was never about gatekeeping this sacred ingredient but finally giving it the respect it deserves. With its resurgence in both desi and non-desi households, it's only a matter of time before this ingenious self-stable apocalypse food becomes the MVP in kitchens across Canada. Let's hope it's here to stay.

Special to The Globe and Mail



NIK SHARMA

## RISOTTO

I find it fascinating when I notice how similar dishes are prepared in different parts of the world. Take Indian khichdi and Italian risotto, for example: Both rely on the use of starch in rice to create a luxuriously creamy texture, and both fall into the comfort-food category. This risotto is a representation of both those dishes through the incorporation of ghee, lentils and turmeric used in khichdi, while using the Arborio rice, stock and Parmesan that are more common in risotto.

- 4 tbsp ghee, extra-virgin olive oil, or unsalted butter
- 4 garlic cloves, half thinly sliced, half grated
- 1 tsp ground turmeric, divided
- 1 cup (200 g) Arborio rice, rinsed and drained
- ½ cup (100 g) red lentils, rinsed and drained
- 1 tbsp plus 2 tsp fresh lemon juice
- 1 tsp cumin seeds
- 1 tsp ground black pepper
- 1 tsp red pepper flakes such as Aleppo, Maras, or Urfa
- 1 lb (455 g) beet greens and tender stems, chopped from 2 to 3 bunches of beets. (Can substitute for other green leaves like chard, collards, and even kale.)
- ¼ up (15 g) grated Parmesan and 2 tbsp toasted pine nuts

### MASTER MUSHROOM VEGETABLE STOCK:

- 3 oz (85g) dried shiitake mushrooms
- 1 large onion or 4 shallots (about 10½ oz; 300 g), thinly sliced
- 1 large leek, white part only (about 9¼ oz; 275 g), thinly sliced
- 1 lb (455 g) carrots, diced
- 2 large celery stalks (about 6 oz; 170 g), thinly sliced
- 1 tbsp white or yellow miso paste

Crush and place dried shiitake mushrooms and 6 cups (1.4 L) water at 158 F (70 C) in a large heatproof mixing bowl or measuring cup and let sit for 30 minutes. Squeeze the mushrooms to release as much liquid as possible and discard the mushrooms. This is the mushroom “tea.” Heat a large Dutch oven, stockpot, or large, deep saucepan over medium heat. Do not add water or oil; we're going to use the liquid from the vegetables to braise and brown them. Add to the pot the onion and leek. Cover and cook, stirring occasionally to prevent burning, until the vegetables turn light brown, 6 to 8 minutes. Add carrots and celery.

Cover and cook dry, stirring often and lowering the heat as necessary to avoid scorching, until the vegetables are tender and lightly browned, 30 to 45 minutes. If the onions start to burn, add 1 to 2 tbsp water. Stir in the mushroom tea, scraping the bottom of the pot to loosen any sticking vegetables. Add miso paste. Increase the heat to high and bring to a boil. Remove from the heat and let sit for 30 minutes. Line a fine mesh sieve with a layer of cheesecloth and set it over a large bowl. Strain the liquid through the cheesecloth and gently squeeze the solids in the cloth to extract as much liquid as possible.

In a medium saucepan over medium-high heat, bring to a simmer 5 cups (1.2 L) Master Mushroom Vegetable Stock. Lower the heat to keep the stock warm. You might end up not using all the stock.

Prepare the risotto by heating ghee in a large saucepan over medium heat. When hot, add sliced garlic and ½ tsp turmeric. Sauté until fragrant, 30 to 45 seconds. Stir in rice and lentils.

Fold to coat with oil, about 1 minute. Stir in 1 cup (240 ml) of the stock. Continue to stir until the rice absorbs most of the liquid. Continue to add ½ cup (120 ml) of stock at a time, stirring each addition until the liquid is all absorbed. Repeat until the rice and lentils are tender, 20 to 25 minutes. You will need about 4 cups (945 ml) of the warmed stock. Remove the saucepan from the heat and stir in 1 tbsp lemon juice. Prepare the beet greens. In a large cast-iron or stainless-steel skillet over medium high heat, warm ghee. Add grated garlic cloves, cumin seeds, black pepper, red pepper flakes and remaining ½ tsp turmeric. Sauté until fragrant, 30 to 45 seconds.

Fold in, a handful at a time, beet greens and stems until the leaves completely wilt and the stems become tender. Add 1 to 2 tbsp water if the pan seems too dry and the spices start to scorch.

Stir in 2 tsp lemon juice. Taste and season with additional lemon juice as desired and fine sea salt.

If the risotto becomes firm on cooling, loosen it by stirring in ½ cup (120 ml) or more of the warmed stock as needed. To serve, top the risotto with the cooked beet greens. Garnish with Parmesan and pine nuts. Leftovers can be stored in an airtight container for up to 3 days. Add 1 to 2 tbsp water to help loosen the risotto before reheating.

*Veg-Table: Recipes, Techniques + Plant Science for Big Flavored, Vegetable-Focused Meals* by Nik Sharma. © 2023. Published by Chronicle Books.



### NIK SHARMA'S TIPS FOR MAKING GHEE:

**INGREDIENTS:** “I don't do the cream method like my mother used to; I just buy unsalted butter. I like European-style butter because it's high in fat. You get a slightly larger yield, so there is more bang for my buck.”

**PATIENCE:** “I usually make it in a stainless-steel saucepan over a really low heat; don't fiddle with it. I don't even skim the milk solids sometimes. I honestly don't have the time to sit at the stove and skim – those are milk solids anyway. They'll come down to the bottom, turn brown and add more flavour, so it's fine.”

**STRAINING:** “Don't use a tea strainer because something always goes through. Invest in a good cheesecloth and make a large batch – it could last a year. Strain, and then make sure the bottle is completely clean and dry. If there are a few drops of water, it will go rancid faster.”

**STORAGE:** “Stick whatever you're not using in the refrigerator. Never store it in the light – whether sunlight or light in the house – and keep it away from the stove. I keep it in the pantry in a clear glass bottle.”



AZIZ DHAMANI



Hotel Bethlehem is a 1922 Beaux-Arts building in the heritage district of Bethlehem, Pa. DISCOVER LEHIGH VALLEY PENNSYLVANIA

## A sentimental journey

My husband left behind his poems, his paintings and his most precious belonging, a Martin 000-28 guitar in need of repair. So began a road trip to Nazareth, Pa., **Kate Taylor** writes

*I pulled in to Nazareth  
Was feeling 'bout half past dead  
I just need someplace  
Where I can lay my head  
"Hey, mister, can you tell me  
Where a man might find a bed?"  
He just grinned and shook my hand  
"No" was all he said.  
From The Weight  
by Robbie Robertson*

To avoid being caught without a bed in the small Pennsylvania town of Nazareth at the end of a long road trip, we booked rooms in nearby Bethlehem, a larger place with nice hotels. It was devout Moravian immigrants in the 18th century who gave these towns their biblical names. Since those days, Nazareth and Bethlehem have been immortalized in pop songs and made famous by their best exports: guitars and steel.

The towns set in the green hills of eastern Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley, about 90 minutes west of Philadelphia, not only offer colonial heritage but also reminders of the industries that blossomed there in the 19th century. The steel mills in Bethlehem stopped production in the 1990s but today the towering furnaces have been turned into a public park, entertainment venue and art centre. Meanwhile, up the road in Nazareth, they are still making musical instruments by hand at the Martin Guitar Factory, in operation since 1833.

Our mother-and-son road trip was a sentimental journey with the guitar factory as our ultimate destination. When he died last January, my husband left us his poems, his paintings and his most precious belonging, a Martin 000-28. He had bought it about 20 years before and played it often. A good guitar ages well, its sound growing richer with regular use, and increasingly it was my son who played the 000-28 daily on the understanding it would soon be his. A few months after his father's death, he opened the case and was devastated to discover a crack in the guitar's binding. Had we not been scrupulous enough with the humidifier? No Toronto music shop would do: The cherished Martin had to go home to Nazareth, Pa., for repairs.

But before we could head to Nazareth, I became distracted by the history of the area, enjoying Bethlehem's cobblestone heritage district. A self-guided walking tour features 18th-century stone buildings including a waterworks, tannery and dormitories as well as the log structure that was the first community centre and now houses a historical museum. This year, Bethlehem was added to the UNESCO World Heritage list alongside Moravian sites in Europe in a rare transnational designation.

Pacifists and community-minded Moravians belonged to an early Protestant sect founded in what is now Czechia, and arrived in colonial America in the 18th



The writer's husband, left, and her son, playing the Martin 000-28, in 2020. KATE TAYLOR/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

century, establishing Bethlehem in 1741. Today, there are about one million Moravians in the world, but only 60,000 in the U.S. and Canada.

Their town, however, is best remembered for what happened next: Iron production came to Bethlehem in 1857 and evolved into a booming steel industry. Bethlehem Steel could boast it built the Golden Gate Bridge, the Empire State Building and the U.S. Navy's fleet during the Second World War.

The steel industry struggled in the 1980s and production halted in Bethlehem in 1995. Seeking a solution for the massive brown-field site left behind, the town launched a project to save the "stacks," the giant furnaces where the steel was forged.

Today, no visitor to the area should miss the SteelStacks, which opened in 2015. Stairs lead up several storeys to a walkway built along the track that was once used to move materials in rail carts. Like a mini version of New York's High Line, the Hoover-Mason Trestle allows visitors to see these industrial cathedrals up close. Didactic panels explain how steel is made and recount the history of the immigrants who earned their living doing that hot and dangerous work.

Also on the site, the National Museum of Industrial History offers displays about multiple industries including propane, silk and textiles as well as iron and steel.

If all the hard labour is now gone, it is not forgotten: On the final panel that speculates Bethlehem management lost its touch in the era of the mini mill, my son spotted a second sentence scratched out with a key.

luthier, immigrated to the United States in 1833, settling in Nazareth because it reminded him of home. The location has changed a few times but today's factory is still making guitars by hand.

There, we joined a tour group to watch the long process, from the selection of appropriate woods to the construction, gluing and polishing of the body and the tricky attachment of the neck. Some aspects have been mechanized – a robotic arm does an initial polish before a human steps in – but detail and care are crucial to a reputation built on the guitars' remarkable tone.

Our tour guide also pointed out the repair department, where several dozen guitar cases sat waiting. We were told it would be six or eight weeks to get an estimate on what needed to be done on our guitar, and some months for the repairs to be completed. After a 700-kilometre trip, there didn't seem to be much choice but to hand it over and wait.

The factory is still owned by Martin's descendants and a small museum follows both company and cultural history: Hank Williams, Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Judy Collins, James Taylor and Kurt Cobain all played Martin Guitars.

For decades, fans speculated about the implication of Robertson's song *The Weight*, recorded with The Band in 1968. Was Nazareth a biblical reference?

In his 2016 memoir, the Canadian singer confirmed the lyrics had come to him after he looked in the sound hole of his guitar and saw these words: C.F. Martin & Co. Inc./Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

We left our inheritance in safe hands and a storied place, climbed back in the car and headed north.

### IF YOU GO

Tours of the Martin Guitar factory are offered Monday to Friday and have to be booked in advance at [martinguitar.com](http://martinguitar.com).

The Hoover-Mason Trestle at SteelStacks is a public park but sometimes closed due to special events. See [steelstacks.org](http://steelstacks.org)

The National Museum of Industrial History offers tours of the stacks, sometimes led by former steelworkers, on Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays. Tickets can be purchased online at [nmih.org](http://nmih.org)

There are lots of chain hotels on the outskirts of Bethlehem and in nearby Allentown. In Bethlehem, the more elegant options are Hotel Bethlehem, a 1922 Beaux-Arts building in the heritage district and a member of the Historic Hotels of America, or the smaller Wilbur Mansion.

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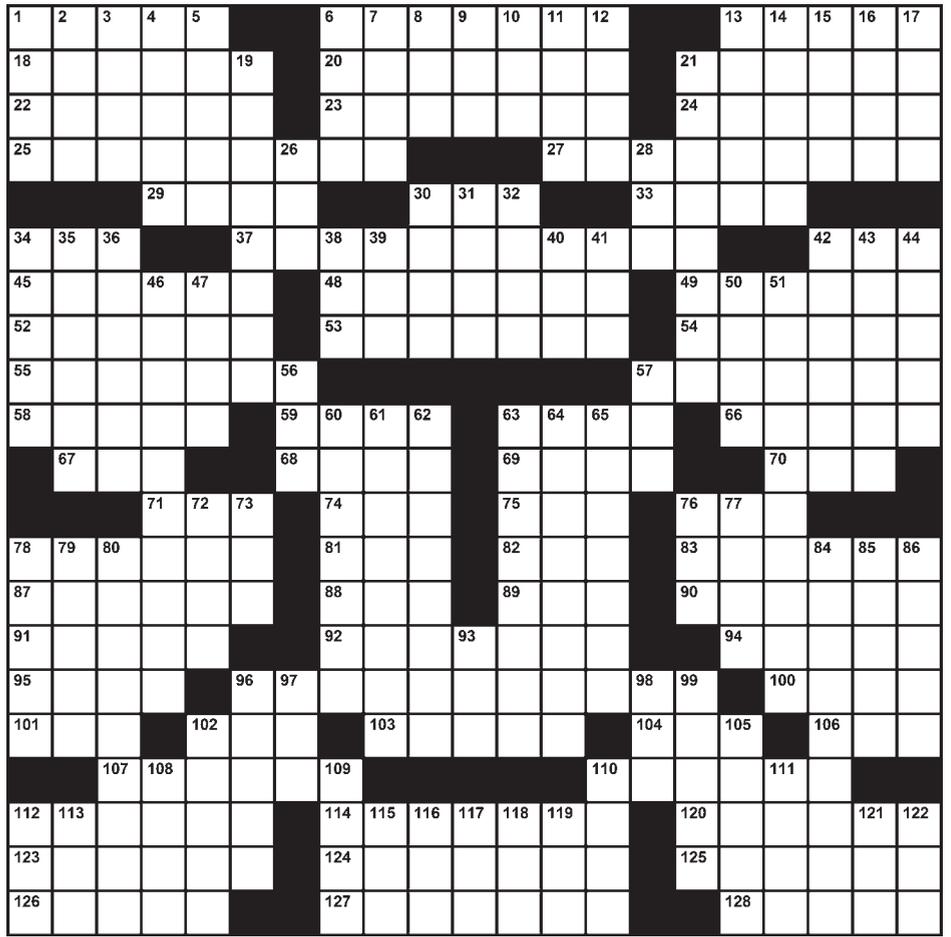
\*\*Includes air from Vancouver & Toronto. Fares in CAD per person are based on double occupancy. Savings are per couple and included in the advertised price. Government taxes, fees, and gratuities are extra. Additional fees will apply to a single supplement. The advertised price of \$5,699 applies to April 10, 2025. All offers, rates & tours are subject to change & availability at the time of booking. Certain restrictions apply. Explore World Journeys Inc. reserves the right to correct errors & omissions. BPCPA #73057.

**SATURDAY CROSSWORD**  
CRAWLING BACK  
BY ADAM SIMPSON,  
EDITED BY JEFF CHEN

- ACROSS**
- 1 Taken \_\_\_\_ (shocked)
  - 6 D&D spellcaster
  - 13 Heist kin
  - 18 On the throne
  - 20 Glacial hue
  - 21 Academic division
  - 22 Geneticist Mendel
  - 23 Final course
  - 24 Unwilling
  - 25 \*Frank beetle?
  - 27 \*Relaxed beetle?
  - 29 "Frozen" sister
  - 30 "When will you get here?" (Abbr.)
  - 33 Surrealist Magritte \_\_\_\_ glance
  - 37 \*Twin beetle?
  - 42 Ms. \_\_\_\_-Man
  - 45 Printed art copies
  - 48 Canonized
  - 49 California viewpoint that translates to "The Bull"
  - 52 Pitbull, for one
  - 53 Hoards
  - 54 Pilferer
  - 55 Beginnings
  - 57 "Gilligan's Island" castaway
  - 58 Fancy boat
  - 59 Tomato type
  - 63 Lump on a snowman's face
  - 66 It might have an introduction, body and conclusion
  - 67 Droop
  - 68 Base's opposite
  - 69 " \_\_\_\_! The Herald Angels Sing"
  - 70 Utterances of realization
  - 71 Co. famous for making waves?
  - 74 Symbol in the 75-Across logo
  - 75 T-Mobile competitor
  - 76 Hole-punching tool
  - 78 "Very tasty!"
  - 81 "Montero" singer
  - 82 Lil \_\_\_\_ X
  - 83 Slugger's stat
  - 84 Game show phrase involving a suitcase
  - 87 Cirri, e.g.
  - 88 " \_\_\_\_ Poetica"
  - 89 Co. concerned with collections
  - 90 Academy Award winner DeBose
  - 91 Letter-shaped skirt
  - 92 Lake bordering Jordan
  - 94 Hornets' hives

- 95 Care
- 96 1960s rock frenzy ... or when sounded out another way, what you might feel while solving this puzzle?
- 100 Some bourbons
- 101 Dowel on a board
- 102 Sports \_\_\_\_
- 103 Lieu
- 104 Gridiron org.
- 106 General of Chinese cuisine
- 107 Takes the wheel
- 110 Pod of cephalopods
- 112 Grow up
- 114 Fingertip-to-fingertip length
- 120 Digitally approves
- 123 Deleted
- 124 Home decor purveyor
- 125 Go over again
- 126 Friendly (with)
- 127 Electrical impulse site
- 128 Residents of Belgrade

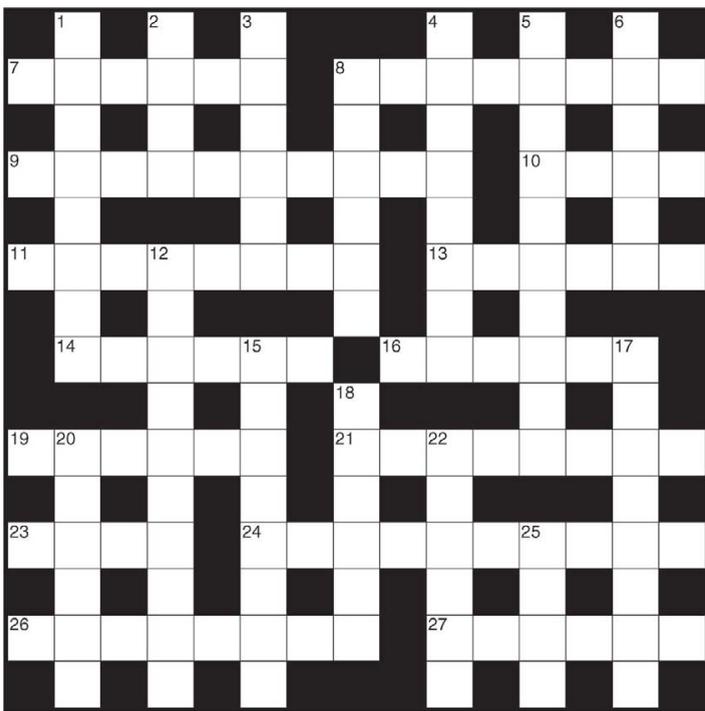
- DOWN**
- 1 Ben Affleck film of 2012
  - 2 Guttural response
  - 3 Sheltered from wind, on a ship
  - 4 Health care and insurance provider
  - 5 Understood
  - 6 Off-target, like some football passes
  - 7 Taiwanese computer company
  - 8 Low- \_\_\_\_ image
  - 9 Abbr. on some American dumbbells
  - 10 Cry at a futbol game
  - 11 Elbow bend at the gym
  - 12 Low-carb diet, familiarly
  - 13 Web of witches
  - 14 "Skyfall" singer
  - 15 Untainted
  - 16 "Frozen" sister
  - 17 Coral ecosystem
  - 19 Mama's boy's boy?
  - 21 "Grazing in the Grass" trumpeter Hugh
  - 26 East Asian doctrine
  - 28 Tolkien baddie
  - 30 Director Kazan
  - 31 Second place in math?
  - 32 Parts of a play
  - 34 Hard metal band?
  - 35 Headwear for princesses
  - 36 Notorious New York prison
  - 38 Team with the most 2024 Paris Olympics gymnastics medals
  - 39 Comic book exclamation
  - 40 "Foundation" actor
  - Pace



- 41 "Are you all old enough to be in this bar?" (Abbr.)
- 42 K compound used in fertilizer
- 43 Stadia
- 44 Silly, like a dad joke
- 46 \*Delirious beetle?
- 47 "Got you covered!"
- 50 Backstory
- 51 \*Miniature beetle?
- 56 Woman, in Oaxaca (Abbr.)
- 57 Noted dream weaver, briefly?
- 60 Anthem with the lyric "The True North strong and free!"
- 61 Mosque towers
- 62 Helps cure?
- 63 Stage presence
- 64 Loaf made from cereal grains
- 65 Word describing handmade goods
- 72 Script a command
- 73 Sales pitches, in a way
- 76 Santa \_\_\_\_ winds
- 77 Ragged
- 78 Scalawag
- 79 Fundamental skateboard trick
- 80 \*Active beetle?
- 84 \*Carefree beetle?
- 85 Throws in poker chips
- 86 Spun rope
- 93 The Kiki \_\_\_\_ Band
- 96 Create offspring
- 97 It holds a hammer and an anvil
- 98 Gap \_\_\_\_ (retailer)
- 99 Cyndi Lauper's "Time \_\_\_\_ Time"
- 102 Basque cap
- 105 Misplaces
- 108 Bum
- 109 Slices logs
- 110 "I'll get this round"
- 111 Method of warp travel for Mario
- 112 Used Zoom, say
- 113 "Hereditary" director
- 115 She finds Luke in "Star Wars: The Force Awakens"
- 116 Web portal for Windows
- 117 RR stop
- 118 Type of rally
- 119 Ice bucket challenge cause, for short
- 121 Apprehend
- 122 Lines on a city map (Abbr.)

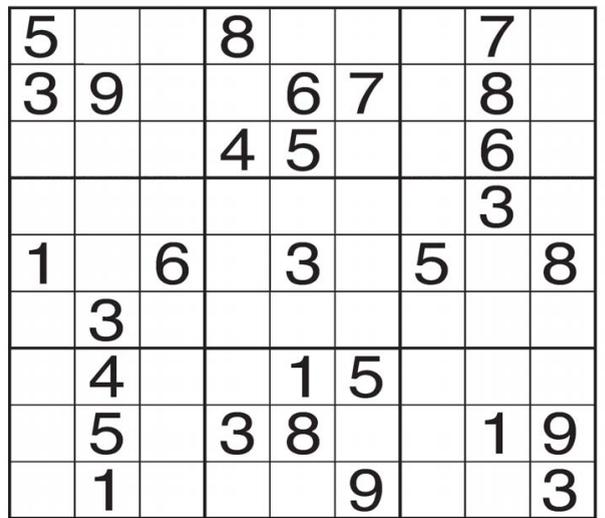
**SOLUTIONS** This Saturday's crossword answers will be in next week's section | Last Saturday's crossword, KenKen and Sudoku solutions in today's Pursuits section

**CRYPTIC CROSSWORD** BY FRASER SIMPSON



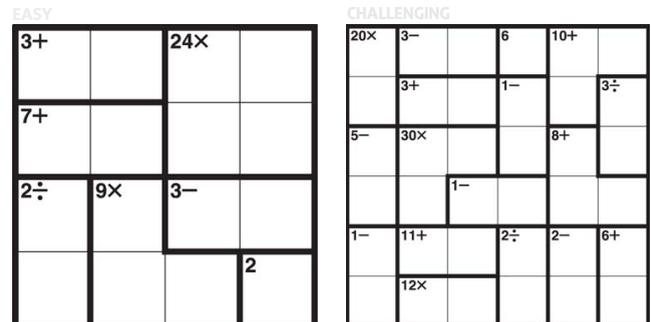
- ACROSS**
- 7 Domestic character after a hike (2,4)
  - 8 Shimmery, like horses in South Dakota (8)
  - 9 Savvy doctor writes using recurring characters (10)
  - 10 I love starting on teaser with a hint (4)
  - 11 What's inside fleece camping shelters (8)
  - 13 Georgia, with enthusiasm, taking a long look (6)
  - 14 Southeast river showing evidence of decline (6)
  - 16 You and I breathe hard, returning moist towelette (3-3)
  - 19 Won't open things picked up in a certain game (6)
  - 21 Suspect fine rain is connected to corrosion (8)
  - 23 Selection of authorized Marvel superhero (4)
  - 24 As Spooner might say, Connor owed a commitment to integrity (6,4)
  - 26 Exotic dancer finally seduces canoeist (8)
  - 27 Maroon hair (6)
- DOWN**
- 1 Lawsuits covering university sales (8)
  - 2 Shaking rear, dromedary made an appearance (4)
  - 3 Son of Poseidon, 6000 pounds? (6)
  - 4 Spy catches Caine Mutiny captain cleaning tool (8)
  - 5 Horse food from Italy in the hold of an ocean vessel (10)
  - 6 Racy message discussing church groundskeeper (6)
  - 8 Gave confirmation: soda is bad (4,2)
  - 12 Famous actor seen at the back in free city tours (4,6)
  - 15 Despaired potholes must be fixed (4,4)
  - 17 Step one: Study a city in California (8)
  - 18 Key change in form (1,5)
  - 20 Panama, e.g., raised that creature on one island (6)
  - 22 Crush acorn or butternut, for two (6)
  - 25 Snappish mutt that's close (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 W(EAR TH)IN, 5 CHASED (*chaste* hom.), 10 BA + BAR, 11 SCHEMATI + C (*a chemist* anag.), 12 PAT + RIOT, 13 P(RED)AWN, 14 BAD HABIT (*had Babbitt* spoonerism), 16 F(L)AKE, 19 USE UP (*Louis Pasteur - tailors* anag.), 21 BL(EN)DING, 24 P + I VOTED, 26 SUB + LIME, 27 SP(RINK + L)ER (*reps* rev.), 28 QUITO (*kefo* hom.), 29 SEE + SAW, 30 ASSES + SOR(e)
- DOWN**  
1 WE + B + A + PP, 2 (b)ARBI(TRAT)E (*tart* rev.), 3 TARN-ISH (*pun*), 4 I + NSET (*sent* anag.), 6 HIMSELF (anag.), 7 SUTRA (*art + us* rev.), 8 DE(CAN)TER, 9 CHI(POT)LE, 15 BA(BY DO)LL (*body* anag.), 17 ANNUITIES (anag.), 18 OUTPOSTS (letter bank), 20 PETUNIA (anag.), 22 DUB + (f)JUQUE (*bud* rev.), 23 D(E)TOUR (*Tudor* anag.), 25 VERNE (hidden), 26 SO(R)ITS

SHOPPING GUIDE

# Work bags

Truc Nguyen asks a pro for tips on picking a piece that will last

Hybrid work arrangements have been gaining ground since early 2022, according to Statistics Canada. For many of us, that means toting our laptops and work essentials back and forth between our homes and the office every week, if not daily.

Finding the right work bag – one that looks good, fits a laptop and maybe a packed lunch, and is durable and comfortable enough for regular commutes – can be tough. Jean-Philippe Robert, head of product and CEO of Montreal-based accessories label Want Les Essentiels, says that “a bag is really personal and the comfort of every bag is also very personal, depending on your height and your body shape.”

To start, you want to find something that will protect your back. “You’ve got to make sure that the weight of the strap is fairly well distributed on your back,” Robert says. Details such as the length of the handles or straps will also affect how a bag feels, depending on whether you are going to primarily wear it crossbody or on your shoulder, or just hold it in your hand. “Having an adjustable strap is essential,” Robert says. “Everyone wears it differently.” He says that a four-centimetre-wide strap is standard for larger or heavier bags, whereas strap widths can vary for lighter bags that carry less.

Robert suggests narrowing down the options by really thinking about what you will be using the bag for, and trying on your top picks in person, if possible. For example, a laptop pocket is a must-have feature for many hybrid workers, whereas frequent travellers might look for a secure passport pocket. “It’s all in how the pockets are placed on the bag, the different volumes,” he says. “So [look for] pockets, but maybe not too many pockets so you don’t get lost in your bag.”

Finally, the look and material of the bag are also important considerations. A synthetic-leather bag, for example, will typically be more affordable than leather options. However, a leather bag will “age better” and gain “a natural patina” over time, Robert says. “A leather bag, if well taken care of, can last for many, many years, over 20, 25, 30 years.”

When it comes to maintaining your musculoskeletal health, the Canadian Chiropractic Association suggests using a backpack with padded straps. And when carrying a heavy tote or a satchel for extended periods, remember to alternate hands and shoulders to avoid overtaxing one side.

Special to The Globe and Mail

## SIX BUYS TO TRY

Considering how often you’ll wear it and the constant loads it will carry, it’s worth investing in a bag that you’ll want to use for years to come



Designed for travel but also great for everyday wear, this tote bag by Vancouver’s Monos is made with a scratch-resistant synthetic leather and features a 14-inch laptop compartment and a number of interior and exterior pockets. It also comes with a two-year limited warranty. Monos Metro tote, \$285 through ca.monos.com



Currently on sale, this sleek backpack is made in Canada using a pebbled-grain leather from a tannery near Venice, Italy. It’ll fit a 13-inch laptop and the one-inch-wide shoulder straps are adjustable. Roots Chelsea Pack 2.0 Cervino backpack, \$328 through roots.com



This synthetic-leather tote from Toronto-based Ela has a zipper closure to keep your items secure on the go. It’s roomy enough for a 16-inch laptop, and there are two exterior pockets for quick access to things such as your keys and cellphone. Ela Pocket tote, \$188 through elahandbags.com



The Kaslo backpack from Vancouver-based Herschel, made from postconsumer water bottles, is available in two sizes and a variety of stylish colours. The 20 L Daypack includes a lined, 15/16-inch laptop sleeve, padded shoulder straps and a number of compartments and pockets for things such as wireless earbuds and a water bottle. Herschel Kaslo Daypack, \$150 through herschel.ca



This fashionable tote, made with a textured Italian leather, can hold a 13-inch laptop. There’s a zip-top closure and multiple interior compartments. Banana Republic Italian leather Portfolio tote, \$340 through bananarepublic.gap.com



A classic style from Want Les Essentiels, the O’Hare bag is available in Italian leather as well as materials such as nylon and cotton canvas. It can be held as a top-handle bag or worn crossbody, and will fit a 15-inch laptop. Want Les Essentiels O’Hare organic-cotton canvas tote, \$545 through wantlessestentiels.com

HOROSCOPES SALLY BROMPTON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2024

### IF TODAY IS YOUR BIRTHDAY

Financial matters will figure prominently this year and if you need to make a quick buck you should be able to find a way. You must, however, make sure you play the money game within the rules. Don’t give your rivals a reason to attack you.



**ARIES MARCH 21 – APRIL 20**  
You may have to dig a little to get at the truth this weekend but the effort will be worth it. Someone you have dealings with on a professional level is being less than honest with you about their intentions. Find out what they are up to.

**TAURUS APRIL 21 – MAY 21**  
You may not be the sort to scare easily but you would not be human if what you are expected to do this weekend does not send a thrill of fear up your backbone. Still, the best things in life are those worth fighting for, so get to it!

**GEMINI MAY 22 – JUNE 21**  
If you are not much in the mood for work over the next 48 hours that’s quite all right. You have pushed yourself hard in recent weeks and deserve a break. Make sure it is the kind of break that rests your mind as well as your body.

**CANCER JUNE 22 – JULY 23**  
You need to understand that just because someone occupies a position of authority does not mean they know what they are talking about. If what a senior

colleague tells you sounds like nonsense then you must treat it as such. Trust your instincts.

**LEO JULY 24 – AUG. 23**  
It should be obvious by now that a friend or workmate is wasting your time and you need to sideline them so you can get on with the serious things that need to be done. Deal only with people whose drive and determination match your own.

**VIRGO AUG. 24 – SEPT. 23**  
Put whatever has been bothering you in recent days out of your mind and focus only on what makes you glad to be alive. You can be a little too gloomy at times and need to balance that with regular periods of fun and games and laughter.

**LIBRA SEPT. 24 – OCT. 23**  
The fact that you have been finding it hard to get along with certain people of late is of no real importance. What matters is that you deal with them with the same degree of fairness as you do everyone else. You cannot afford to play favourites.

**SCORPIO OCT. 24 – NOV. 22**  
Face the fact that if there is something you want to get done this weekend

you will have to do it yourself. For some reason even your closest friends seem reluctant to make an effort to help you. They will regret it when you win big on your own.

**SAGITTARIUS NOV. 23 – DEC. 21**  
If you allow other people to set the rules this weekend they will undoubtedly bend them to suit their own purposes. Make it clear that you are not going to play their game and that if they stand in your way you won’t be playing with them again!

**CAPRICORN DEC. 22 – JAN. 20**  
You may be tempted to end a partnership that has worked well in the past but which is now a drain on your resources but think carefully before you do. The planets indicate there is still life in the old connection. Give it some extra time.

**AQUARIUS JAN. 21 – FEB. 19**  
If you get through the next 48 hours without losing your temper it will be little short of a miracle. The attitude of certain individuals has been driving you mad for weeks now and you’ve just about had enough. Just don’t go to extremes!

**PISCES FEB. 20 – MAR. 20**  
The weekend is likely to be busier than you anticipated, so hopefully you haven’t made any hard and fast plans and, if you have, they will have to be changed. Luckily, Pisces is one of the more adaptable members of the zodiac, so go with the flow.

Discover more about yourself at [sallybrompton.com](http://sallybrompton.com)

[LAST SATURDAY’S ANSWERS]

CROSSWORD

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
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SUDOKU

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| 3 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 1 |
| 7 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 4 |
| 4 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| 5 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 9 |
| 2 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 5 |
| 9 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 3 |
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FRIDAY’S CONCISE ACROSS: 1 FOUR-BY-FOUR 8 SHIMMER 9 EXTOL 10 DEEP 11 HEATHROW 13 BICKER 15 MONDAY 17 SYLLABUS 18 OVAL 21 DROLL 22 UNSCREW 23 STEP BY STEP DOWN: 2 OVINE 3 ROMP 4 YORKER 5 OVERTOOK 6 RETIRED 7 BLOW-BY-BLOW 8 SIDE BY SIDE 12 DE GAULLE 14 CALLOUS 16 SUBURB 19 VERSE 20 ISIS

FRIDAY’S CRYPTIC ACROSS: 1 PASSPORT 5 SCAM 9 ROUTE 10 SCORNER 11 INTELLECTUAL 13 ARABIC 15 CARESS 17 EXTRA-VAGANCE 20 TRICEPS 21 TIARA 22 CALM 23 VERY WELL DOWN: 1 PERU 2 SPURN 3 PREMEDITATED 4 RASHLY 6 CENSURE 7 MORALISE 8 NON-CHALANTLY 12 MAJESTIC 14 ANTHILL 16 LASSIE 18 CEASE 19 RAIL

BRIDGE BY STEVE BECKER SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2024

South dealer. Both sides vulnerable.

The bidding:  
 South West North East  
 2[C]\* 2[D] Pass Pass  
 2[S] 3[C] Pass Pass  
 3[H] 4[C] 4[S] 5[C]  
 6[S]  
 \*strong, artificial  
 Opening Lead – king of diamonds.

**NORTH**  
 ♠ J 10 8 4  
 ♥ 10 9 6  
 ♦ J 9 5  
 ♣ J 8 5

**WEST**  
 ♠ —  
 ♥ 4  
 ♦ K Q 10 8 6 2  
 ♣ A Q 10 7 6 3

**EAST**  
 ♠ Q 9 5  
 ♥ Q 7 5  
 ♦ 7 4 3  
 ♣ K 9 4 2

**SOUTH**  
 ♠ A K 7 6 3 2  
 ♥ A K J 8 3 2  
 ♦ A  
 ♣ —

The play most likely to succeed in a given set of circumstances is generally referred to as the percentage play. Anyone who subscribes consistently to per centage plays is bound to do well in the long run even though the per centage play might occasionally fail.

Consider this deal where South is in six spades, which appears ironclad at the start. But when he cashes the ace of spades at trick two, West shows out, and complications set in.

South has no immediate entry to dummy for a spade finesse, and he also has a potential heart

loser to worry about. So the question is, what is the best way to try to escape the loss of two tricks?

The actual declarer failed very quickly. After playing the ace of spades, he cashed the A-K of hearts and so had to go down one.

It is true that after cashing one top heart, South could have played the king and another spade to establish a trump entry that would allow him to lead a heart from dummy later and finesse. However, this line of play would fail if West had started with the Q-x of hearts.

The proper line of play – the per centage play – would have succeeded. At trick three, declarer should lead a low heart to the nine! East wins, but whatever he returns, South has a heart entry to dummy for the marked spade finesse.

The bidding tells declarer that West is very likely to have a 6-5 or 6-6 distribution. It follows, therefore, that he cannot have as many as three hearts. Once this is established, it becomes clear that a low heart play at trick three is virtually certain to secure the contract.

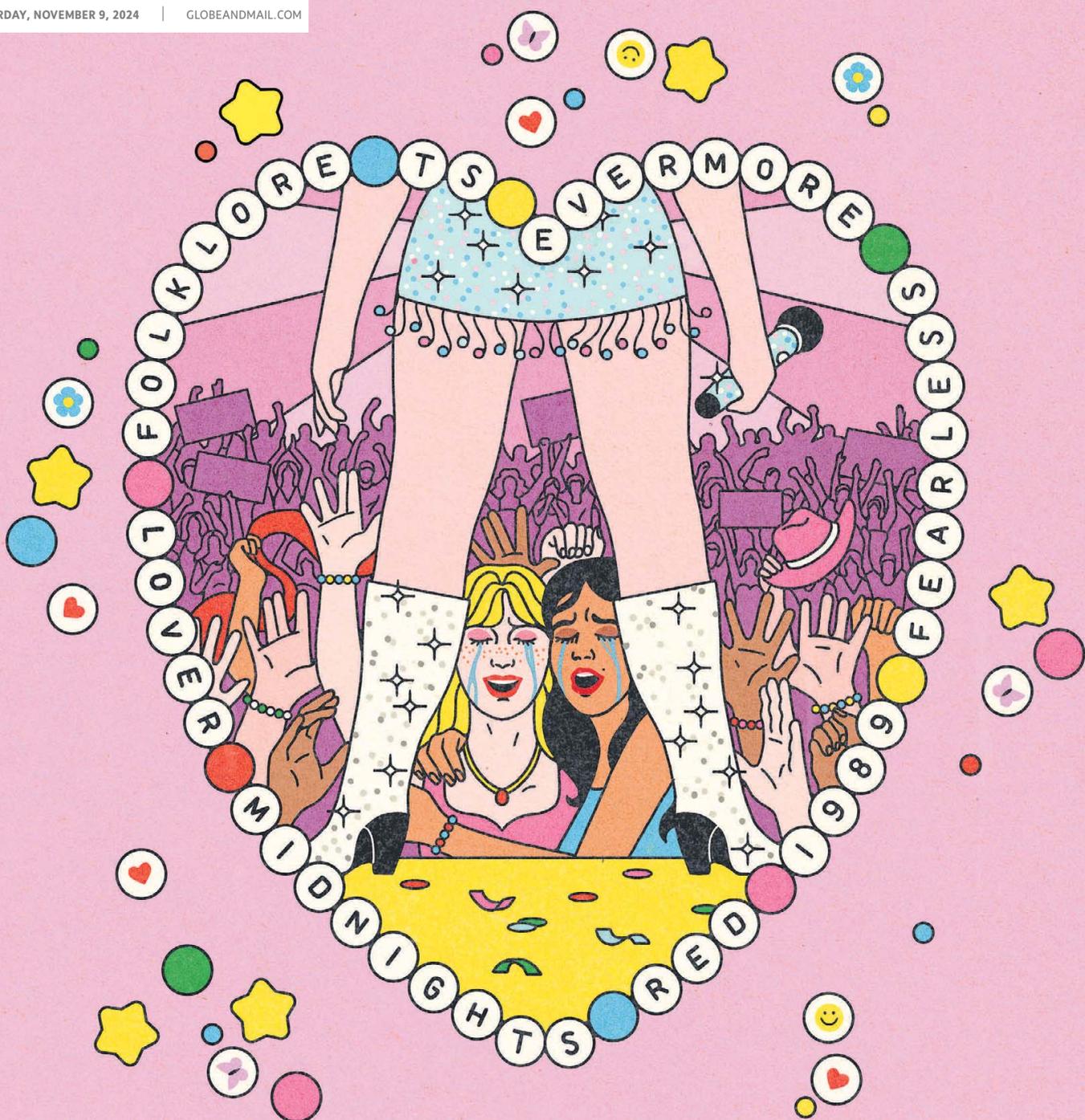
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# Arts & Books

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## THE FEARLESS HAPPINESS OF SWIFTIEDOM

As scores of fans descend on Toronto for six sold-out shows, they're not just watching Taylor Swift perform. They're joyfully creating a community, **Erin Anderssen** writes ■ R4

+

The Eras Tour kept me going during my breast cancer treatment ■ R6

ILLUSTRATION BY NADA HAYEK

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## Five things to watch this weekend

The Penguin waddles to an end on Crave while Citadel: Honey Bunny hops on Prime Video

J. KELLY NESTRUCK

### The Penguin

Crave

The season finale of this small-screen spinoff of *The Batman* lands Sunday – so finish it off or get your binge on. It seemed strange to hire Colin Farrell for the lead, then bury him in prosthetics and have him tuck away that mischievous Irish accent. But his unique waddle as Gotham gangster Oz Cobb, a.k.a. the Penguin, is worth whatever he was paid. His gangling gait is as hypnotic and rhythmically relaxing to watch as a Newton's cradle pendulum – those balls clicking back and forth on your desk – no matter what violent chaos surrounds him. Sure, on one level, there's no better illustration of our declining culture than the trajectory from the premiere of HBO's masterpiece mob drama *The Sopranos* in 1999 to this near comic-book spoof of it on the same network a quarter-century later. But *The Penguin* does have its own pleasures, such as seeing off-Broadway legend Deirdre O'Connell sink her teeth into the mad mother Livia Soprano-esque role.

### Cheaters

CBC Gem

This snappily paced British comedy about infidelity begins in Finland where Josh (Joshua McGuire) and Fola (Susan Wokoma) share a night of passion after being stranded because of a snow-cancelled flight. Josh, nervous and then immediately plagued with guilt, is cheating on a girlfriend who recently cheated on him; Fola, confident and seemingly not bothered, is cheating on her husband. The two arrive home in London – one taking the bus, the other a black cab – only to discover that they are new neighbours. It's a farcical set-up but the humour is humanistic – and characters, cheaters and cheated upon both for all classes, empathetic thanks to excellent ensemble acting. If the pilot feels like three episodes in one, that's because it is; *Cheaters* originally aired as a short-form comedy in 10-minute chunks.

### Yellowstone

Paramount+

Taylor Sheridan's wildly popular western series – *Dallas* meets *The Godfather* on a family ranch in



Susan Wokoma, left, plays Fola and Jack Fox is Zack in the British comedy *Cheaters*, which is now available to stream on CBC Gem.



Colin Farrell plays the titular character in *The Penguin*, a series that centres on the Batman villain. The season finale arrives on Sunday.

Montana – saddles up for the second part of its final, fifth season on Sunday. This comes two years after the first part appeared (a strike-related delay) and after a much-publicized parting of ways with star Kevin Costner. But none of this has dampened the enthusiasm of *Yellowstoners* – with hopes that Costner's John Dutton might actually return raised by his character's appearance in the trailer. How will it all end? By not fully ending of course – a spinoff called *The Madison* starring Michelle Pfeiffer

and Canadian Patrick J. Adams is on its way.

### Citadel: Honey Bunny

Prime Video

The Amazon-owned streamer's own universe of spy shows began with 2023's overly glossy *Citadel*, a near record-setting US\$300-million American series executive produced by the Russo Brothers. It introduced the titular good-spy league fighting against evil-spy counterparts at Manticore – and currently sits with a 51-per-cent rating on Rotten Tomatoes. The subtitled spinoffs being produced internationally and somewhat independently are faring better with critics, however. *Citadel: Diana*, an Italian series from earlier this fall featuring a protagonist with an absurdly asymmetrical haircut, had a smaller budget but more flavour: stylish, futuristic, euro-



The Netflix docuseries *Investigation Alien* follows veteran Las Vegas journalist George Knapp as he explores the phenomenon of UFOs.

trashy. *Citadel: Honey Bunny*, an Indian series, is even more immediately inviting, a retro romp set in 1992 and 2000 in which a Bollywood stunt man and struggling actress moonlight in espionage. The human stakes are clear right off the mark – young girl in peril; her name will be familiar to *Citadel* fans – and the CGI-light action nicely staged, starting with a memorable motorcycle chase in Mumbai. Most importantly, directors Raj & DK and co-writer Sita R. Menon have infused their chapter with a genuine sense of humour, not just spies saying snappy things before shooting other spies in the head.

### Investigation Alien

Netflix

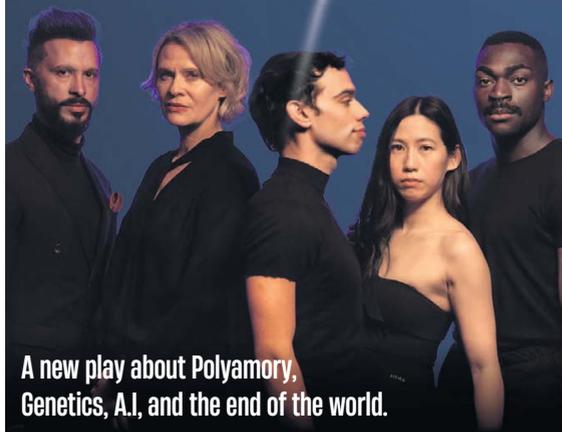
Back in the 1990s, the conspiracy theories that seeped into American mainstream TV were mostly benign ones about extraterres-

trials. This new throwback docuseries is hosted by George Knapp, the veteran Las Vegas journalist who helped Area 51 become the most famous secret base in the world with his 1989 reporting, and it consciously courts nostalgia for that earlier era's alien infotainment with retro cyberpunk-styled graphics and a soundtrack with echoes of Mark Snow's *X-Files* theme song. The context has changed, however: We're living in the aftermath of the New York Times 2017 expose of the Pentagon's Advanced Aerospace Threat Identification program that made interest in unidentified anomalous phenomenon acceptable again. That's what we call UFOs now, by the way: UAPS. Update your language and simultaneously relive memories of staying up late to listen to *Coast to Coast AM* with the first episode about good old-fashioned cattle mutilation.

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# Hugh Grant finally plays the character he's been relishing

The British actor stars as a deceptive academic in horror thriller *Heretic*, which is quite different from the rom-com roles that made him famous

JOHANNA SCHNELLER

BIGGER PICTURE



Hugh Grant is playing to type in *Heretic*, the new horror thriller written and directed by Scott Beck and Bryan Woods. His Mr. Reed – a deceptively dusty Scottish academic in a cardigan and drugstore glasses, who lures and then traps two young women missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into a deadly existential debate – is the kind of character Grant has been relishing for the past dozen years: a man whose intelligence and charm have curdled into self-loathing for how easy it is to feign it, and disdain for anyone who falls for it.

"I was never very comfortable with sunshine, warmth," Grant, 64, said about the romantic comedies that made him famous, during an interview at the Toronto International Film Festival in September. "I respected very much Richard Curtis's writing" in *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, *Notting Hill*, *Bridget Jones's Diary* and *Love Actually*. "Particularly the fact that the comedy was all a way of coping with pain."

"But the characters I played in those films were him, and his extreme niceness," Grant continues. "He's virtually a saint. He's about to get a special Oscar for being a saint, saving Africa." (On Nov. 17, Curtis, the co-founder of Comic Relief UK and USA, will receive the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for his 40 years and US\$2-billion worth of fundraising.) "That is not me at all. They were not characters I was particularly comfortable playing."

Indeed, I interviewed Grant for *Premiere* magazine's October, 2003, cover. His arrest for soliciting a prostitute in L.A. was behind him; *Love Actually* was about to come out, and though he made me laugh steadily, he was palpably itchy. He admitted that in any conversation, part of him was always thinking, "How can I get away?" And I remember, as I inserted a new tape into my analog recorder, the edge of panic in his voice: "But you've already flipped a tape, how much longer do we have?"

On this September day, Grant radiates a more sincere vibe. "Was I miserable when you interviewed me back then?" he asks with a small moue. "I'm happier now." Married since 2018 to Anna Eberstein, a Swedish television producer, he has three children with her and two from a former relationship. He looks hale as hell in a sharp suit, his laugh lines become him and his hair remains splendid.

After playing a cannibal in *Cloud Atlas* (2012) – "I ate Tom Hanks," he says, giddily – Grant hasn't done a romantic lead again, opting instead for characters caustic (*Paddington 2*, *Wonka*), clammy (*A Very English Scandal*), creepy (*The Undoing*). He's aware that *Heretic* isn't an easy sell – the horror is a Trojan horse, an excuse to dissect ideas about the manipulations of organized religion, what Reed calls "things you believe just because someone asked you to believe them." So sell he does.

"Reed and I had an awful lot in common," Grant says. "He's able to bewitch a bit. But the girls" – the missionaries played by Chloe East (*The Fabelmans*) and Sophie Thatcher (*Yellowjackets*), both of whom, coincidentally, were raised LDS – "quite quickly realize he's not what he seems. I'm sure that's me. I remember my teachers saying, 'Who is the real Hugh Grant? We think you might be a bit insincere.' I'm using some of that psychosis." His grin is a flashbulb, momentarily blinding.

Grant grew up in west London, the son of a carpet-salesman father and a schoolteacher mother; his older brother, James, is an investment banker in New York. As youngsters the Grants went to church, "but very quickly my brother and I said, 'This is bollocks.'" Hugh recalls. "Then, rather touchingly, my father, who had been a churchgoer all his life, said, 'You're absolutely right, it is bollocks.' And he stopped going." (Grant's mother died in 2001.)

Together, the family began reading Richard Dawkins, the



evolutionary biologist and outspoken atheist. "Then my father started sending Dawkins to all my very religious aunts, who were horrified," Grant says. "So we've been quite devout atheists for some time."

This is Hugh Grant, however; he has to throw some mischief into our 15 minutes. (And some real estate. We conducted our 2003 interview in a Kensington, London, flat he'd bought "after a boozy lunch," and later sold without ever moving in. He still owns another flat there, which he rents, and a splendid home near Holland Park. He also owns homes in "a little medieval village" in France; and in Torekov, Sweden, a fishing village that's become chichi.)

"But my views may be changing," Grant muses. "As death approaches, I notice that on bad days, there's something comforting about the church in my village in France. I think Saint Lawrence is going to help me. It's completely illogical, but I may be giving up on rationality a bit. Rationality, too, is limiting."

Before he dies, Grant says, he wants to write a screenplay of his own: "I have a lot of ideas. I think it would be my salvation. Funnily enough, the *Bridget Jones* thing I just did" – *Bridget Jones: Mad About the Boy*, due out Valentine's Day 2025, in which he reprises his role as the devilish Daniel Cleaver – "I rewrote completely my bit of it, and I loved doing it. Though it puts a lot more pressure on the performance. You can't blame the writer. And I'm really protective of the jokes."

By contrast, Grant calls *Heretic*'s 30-day shoot last October "intense, shattering. In most films, you're in different locations, there are party days with tons of extras, new costumes, new actors. This was the same three people going to the same bleak, almost deserted industrial estate outside Vancouver. We never saw the sun. And we didn't have trailers, we had offices. Air conditioned, slightly dark offices."



Top: From left, Chloe East, Hugh Grant and Sophie Thatcher star in *Heretic*, which centres on a Scottish academic who lures and traps two female missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into a deadly existential debate.

Above: While filming *Heretic* in Vancouver, Grant took 'long, lonely walks' in Stanley Park, where he sensed some 'strange energy.' REBECCA CABAGE/INVISION/AP

On breaks, he'd take "long, lonely walks in Stanley Park. My only friend was a seal. He'd pop his little bald head up and I'd wave. I miss him, actually. I might send him a postcard."

He's doing his best to still it, but a telltale dimple keeps jumping in his cheek. Irreverent Grant is back, and he's holding forth: "I'm very interested in Stanley Park. I think there's some strange energy there. I kept getting a weird, fuzzy head every time I walked in the same place, a

promontory sticking out into the sea quite near some totem poles. I did! I used to despise people who believed in energies and all that. But my house in Sweden is also on a promontory, and I get a dizzy head there, too."

I suggest it may be simple agoraphobia. Grant disagrees. "I think I'm very delicate and sensitive," he says, flashing one final grin. "And fascinating." No argument there.

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Right and below: Taylor Swift fans sing and dance on Nov. 2 during a party dedicated to the pop star's music at Ottawa's Bronson Centre. PHOTOS BY KAJA TIRRUL/ THE GLOBE AND MAIL



Top: Swifties show off their friendship bracelets, which they usually trade at Eras Tour stops and other Swift-themed events. Above: Dance nights offer the kind of joyful synchronicity that has been bringing humans together throughout history.

## It's nice to have a friend – just ask the global community of happy Swifties

Three-hundred female voices swell like a choir over the music, every lyric crisp and certain. On stage, an energetic DJ plays one mash-up after another, while clips of Taylor Swift flash by on a large screen behind him. A fan “ambassador” dressed in a homemade version of Swift’s snaky, gold bodysuit leads the crowd in concert chants. “Where are you going, Taylor?” they call on cue. “I’m going out tonight,” Swift sings back.

This is the church of Taylor Swift on a Saturday night at Ottawa’s Bronson Centre. Compliments abound. Friendship bracelets are swapped, often with a hug, between strangers. During *Fearless*, a song Swift has said is about the “fearlessness of falling in love,” hundreds of raised hands make the shape of a heart. The dance hall, awash in sequins, practically hums with feminine positivity.

“It’s like everybody is on ecstasy,” said Aviva Gluss, a 39-year-old change management analyst who has attended four Swift dance parties. “But it’s really just the Taylor high.”

If Swiftiedom were a country, it might arguably be the happiest place on Earth. As Taylor herself has noted in a song or two, Swifties have their share of bad behaviour and blind spots. But they’ve also created something that the science of happiness says is essential for the good life: a safe space for joy, personal connection and meaning.

Next Thursday, Canada becomes the beating heart of Swiftie heaven, when the singer finally arrives in Toronto for six sold-out concerts. An estimated 300,000 fans will travel from across the country and beyond to see Tay Tay – as she is lovingly called – sing for 3½ hours through at least 10 studio albums with about 16 costume changes. By the time the tour ends in Vancouver in early December, Swift will have played 149 shows in 53 cities around the world for more than four million people.

The concerts – and the dance nights – offer the kind of joyful synchronicity that has

been bringing humans together throughout history. Last summer, about 50,000 people who couldn’t get tickets for the Eras concert in Munich gathered on a hill overlooking the stadium to watch it for free – an event Swift declared “magical.” In Scotland, Swifties danced with such wild abandon at the Edinburgh concert they set off the city’s earthquake monitors.

Sharing a Taylor Swift devotion has bonded families together, and created enduring friendships – the most important happiness intervention of all. In a further boost to well-being, Swifties have closed what psychologists call the “liking gap.” People are often reluctant to talk to strangers because they believe the other person isn’t interested. Yet studies consistently show these small moments of connection make both sides happier, and communities stronger. Swifties demonstrate no such reticence; those friendship bracelets are the ideal stranger-ingratiator.

Even without direct contact, Swiftie happiness is contagious, according to research out of the Centre for Wellbeing, Welfare and Happiness at the Stockholm School of Economics.

In a recent study, researchers measured the happiness of Stockholm residents one month before and after Swift’s Eras concert in May, as well as one week before and after. They found that during those concert-adjacent weeks, people reported higher levels of happiness, felt a greater sense of community and expressed more willingness to help others. The people who had scored tickets to the concert were, naturally, the happiest. But, on average, even those who didn’t attend were found to have experienced a mood boost.

The researchers called this “Happyflation.” Basically, Swiftie love sparked a city-wide game of pass the positive energy. As the lead researcher, Micael Dahlen, said in a press release, “people’s joy and happiness can spread to others in multiple steps.”

As a group, Swifties have studied lyrics

like academics, organized politically and facilitated acts of kindness. Even so, their fandom – like so many before it – is often deemed frivolous and possibly pathological. (In the 19th century, doctors would have diagnosed Swifties with mania.) The hate always seems especially harsh for a certain kind of fan. The football player weeping over his team’s defeat? He’s invested. The Swiftie who can recite the bridge to *Cruel Summer*? How silly.

But fandoms haven’t existed forever just because they’re fun. Gayle Stever, a psychologist at Empire State University of New York who has been studying fans for more than three decades, argues that these communities make most members more social, more altruistic, more introspective – and more happy. She meets fans who have travelled widely and made lifelong friends in other countries, all because they really, really like Josh Groban or *The Hobbit*.

“Our passions,” she says, “are what keeps life from being boring.”

At the Bronson Centre on Saturday night, Hayley Coulas, 23, is dancing on stage, channelling Swift’s 1989 era in a blond wig, sunglasses and shiny skirt, and clearly basking in the applause. This is something, she says, that pre-Swiftie Hayley would never have done.

In an interview, Coulas, who’s studying to be a teacher, recites the Swift lyric that means the most to her: “When you are young, they assume you know nothing.” That someone like Swift could also feel underestimated, “gave me more confidence in myself,” she says. “For me, it’s her ability to be herself. She is not afraid to be goofy.”

In interviews, Swifties such as Gluss describe the music as therapy – a way to brighten a bleak day. They talk about growing up with the songs; Allie Leask McGoe, a 25-year-old executive assistant and singer-songwriter, and the fan in the gold bodysuit at the Ottawa dance, refers to Swift,

who is 34, as the “big sister” who offered advice as she navigated her teens.

They deep dive into her lyrics like philosophers: how Swift reflects on her past and future self, the challenges of loving someone, the influence of her social sphere. Her past boyfriends may feature prominently, but these aren’t just “break-up songs,” fans say, insulted at the suggestion. They explore the human condition, especially from a female perspective.

Swifties see the singer as honest and willing to be vulnerable, so when she speaks, they listen. By talking about her own body-image challenges, Swift positively influenced how her fans felt about themselves and their attitudes around healthy eating, found a study published in August by dietitians at the University of Vermont. After the pop star endorsed Kamala Harris for U.S. president in September, more than 400,000 people visited the voter-registration site, [vote.gov](http://vote.gov).

Joni Renick, a 43-year-old vice-president at a business advisory company, and a Canadian now living in Utah, started to follow Swift 10 years ago, after her 1989 album. She’s seen the pop star perform live eight times. “To hear everybody screaming their hearts out to an empowering song like *Shake It Off* – we all need that in our lives.”

Swift’s music and the example she sets, “gives me the courage to be more me in my everyday life,” says Renick, who, like the singer, qualifies for the title “childless cat lady” – a personification that turned political when then-Republican vice-presidential candidate JD Vance used it to lament the kind of women that were running the country.

Recently, Renick has been sporting her “cats don’t vote, but their moms do” T-shirt around her staunchly Republican neighbourhood, an act of defiance she credits to Swift’s influence. Swifties highlight the superstar’s feminism, business savvy, work ethic and kindness. When it comes to a female role model, what’s not to love about that?



**Above:** Toronto students make bracelets to recruit donors for Tay It Forward, a fundraiser organized by Swiftie Heidi Van Schaik that has raised \$26,000 for Food Banks Canada.

**Left:** Shaylen Preble, 13, left, and best friend Edie Gauntlett are seen in the former's Swift-themed bedroom. PHOTOS BY CHRISTIE VUONG/ THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## As Taylor Swift enters her Toronto era with six sold-out concerts, her fans can teach us a thing or two about fostering a safe space for joy, personal connection and meaning, **Erin Anderssen** writes

In her bedroom in Toronto, Shaylen Preble, 13, sits with her mom, Lara McBride, showcasing her Swiftie merch during a Zoom interview. This includes a throw pillow showing the pop star in every one of her “eras,” a well-preserved People magazine with Swift on the cover and a framed poster of the singer’s lyrical affirmation: “It’s okay, life is a tough crowd,” Taylor advises. “You gotta step into the daylight and let it go.”

From the closet, Shaylen’s mom produces a sequin dress and furry purple jacket, a near-replica of the outfit Swift wears when performing *Lavender Haze*. It’s an option for the Eras concert, although Shaylen remains undecided; she prefers dark and moody Taylor.

At her mom’s prompting, she darts off screen and returns holding a portrait-style picture: Swift with a halo, stylized like Jesus. Shaylen’s grin make clear that she’s in on the joke.

On the other hand, being a Swiftie is a defining quality of her life so far. “It’s the soundtrack of our relationship,” says her mom. There’s the Taylor that played when McBride was pregnant, the songs that Shaylen loved at the age of 3, the hours spent dancing in the living room. (Her father is also a fan.) Shaylen and her mom play live-streams of Eras concerts in the background at home. With her best friend, the teen studies the lyrics for hidden meanings and tracks Swift’s every move.

“If I’m ever going through a situation in life, there’s probably a Taylor Swift song about it,” Shaylen says. Her favourite is a contemplative deep cut titled *Maroon*, because “it makes you feel everything.”

But to paraphrase Taylor herself, even heaven is breakable if you’re not careful.

Shaylen and her fellow Swifties have what psychologists call a parasocial relationship with Taylor Swift: They know a lot about her, while she doesn’t know them. We all have these kind of connections; elections are decided by them.

But some researchers point out that these one-sided ties, like any relationship taken too far, can distract from other social circles and, in extreme cases, blur the line between admiration and obsession.

Powerful fandoms can also become mob-like and insular. As disillusioned Swifties lament on Reddit, for example, only the truly brave would dare criticize the environmental toll of Tay Tay’s puddle-hopping private jets, or question the ability of a white billionaire to speak with authority about race and privilege.

Swifties are far from the worst fandom out there when it comes to showing an ugly side – the past few years have shown us all what rage-filled fans look like – but they’ve not always used their prominence online for the kindness they espouse. In 2020, when Swift asked fans to support her regaining ownership of her masters from Scooter Braun, some interpreted her request as licence to send death threats to the record executive and his family – an action, which aside from being criminal, clearly runs contrary to the Swiftie ethos. The trolling of Swift’s ex-boyfriends has become so aggressive that last year on stage in Minneapolis, she explicitly asked fans to be kind and gentle online.

But is this behaviour specific to fans? Or, as Stever, the psychologist, asks: “Is that just what happens on social media when people have a certain amount of anonymity and access to somebody famous?”

As writer Holly Swinyard observes in her new book *A History of Fans and Fandom*, “we can’t seem to escape the urge to put our passions on a pedestal.” But adulation from afar, as Swinyard writes, is an insufficient definition. Talk to enough Swifties, and you quickly learn: Only a hater would underestimate them.

For each Eras concert, Swifties will often co-ordinate a project meant as a thank you to Swift. They’ve lit up their phones in a certain colour and created a landscape of glowing balloons for a particular song. In Canada, for the sixth and last concert in Toronto, Heidi Van Schaik, 44, a manager for an international non-profit, had a different idea: Tay It Forward, a fundraiser for Food Banks Canada that has collected \$26,000 and counting. (At Shaylen’s school, the students are now making friendship bracelets as an enticement for donors.)

Van Schaik is a serious Swiftie who has raised three members of the fandom’s next generation. Even her husband is a Swiftie, because if you live with four of them, you may as well join them. The family takes turns writing inspiring lyrics on the bathroom mirror in erasable marker and only Swift’s songs are allowed to be played in Van Schaik’s car. It’s all fun, she says, and brings her closer to her daughters. But she wants her devotion to achieve something.

Charity beyond their own needs, Stever says, has been a goal of every fandom she’s studied and a key part of why people remain members. Doing good deeds improves our sense of well-being, according to a 2023 research paper by the World Happiness Report, and happier people tend to be more altruistic.

On the making-a-difference scale, the Swifties appear to have unprecedented potential. Has any other fandom been so global, vocal and massive, so coveted by some politicians (while feared by others) and so extremely savvy online?

Last year, Swift issued a challenge: If fans could solve 33 million online puzzles, they could see a secret song list. They cracked every one in less than a day. As fans like to say: Swifties could end world hunger if they put their minds to it.

The fandom had already shown its strength after a breakdown on the Ticketmaster website meant many Swifties missed out on face-value Eras tickets. The protest was so fierce that the United States Department of Justice, along with 30 states, eventually sued the ticket company for creating an unlawful monopoly.

“They could become a powerful force in politics,” says Erin Rossiter, a political scientist at the University of Notre Dame, who studied how Swifties were still advocating for customer rights many months later, including co-ordinating an international effort to help fans get legitimate concert tickets.

Swifties have helped other Swifties by contributing to GoFundMe campaigns for fans affected by natural disasters or illness. In January, a fan created Swift Steps, a virtual support group for Swifties struggling with addiction; it now has meetings several times a week.

They’ve also demonstrated a nimble generosity for other causes. Last Friday, a Swiftie named Tess Bohne promoted a QR code on her TikTok livestream of an Eras show and raised more than US\$30,000 for victims of domestic violence; on Saturday, she raised thousands more for flood victims in Spain.

Swifties clearly see their fandom as more than putting a pop star on a pedestal. And if Swiftie status truly means thinking deeply about your place in the world, practising happiness and sharing it with strangers and learning to raise your voice when necessary – qualities the world surely needs – then what next?

“We are being called to something bigger,” Van Schaik says hopefully. “To make the world, or our little corner of it, a little more joyful.”



ILLUSTRATION BY NADA HAYEK

## In his new book, Rob Sheffield examines Taylor Swift's career and dominance in pop music

The Rolling Stone writer finds it fascinating that the superstar has constantly reinvented her sound and changed the industry for young women

BRAD WHEELER

Taylor Swift plays six sold-out stadium shows this month at Toronto's Rogers Centre and three more at Vancouver's BC Place in early December. If you're wondering how the *Shake It Off* superstar got to this place in the music world and why it matters, *Heartbreak is the National Anthem*, the cracking new book from veteran Rolling Stone writer Rob Sheffield, is an analysis of the unprecedented Swift situation. Sheffield spoke to The Globe and Mail from New York.

**Taylor Swift is issuing her own book, *Taylor Swift: The Eras Tour Book*. What were you thinking, releasing a Swift book in the same month that she is?**

I didn't know she would be doing that, but I knew there would be something. One of the things about writing a book about Taylor Swift is that so much was going to be changing by the time the book came out.

**That she's self-publishing her book and releasing it exclusively through Target stores is definitely on brand for her.**

Very much so. She's controlling what she can control, whether it's connecting with her fans or re-recording all her albums.

**Your book is an analysis of Swift's career, but it's also a personal account to a degree. Was it a given that you would put yourself in the book?**

That's the way I wrote my last couple of books, *On Bowie* and *Dreaming the Beatles*. All three of these artists are huge figures in pop music. Listening to, say, the Beatles, there's the public aspect. You go to the supermarket, you hear *Hey Jude*. You're doing your laundry and you hear *Blackbird*. But then you have a song that you love, that you hear something in it that nobody has ever heard.

**Mine would be *Baby You're a Rich Man*.**

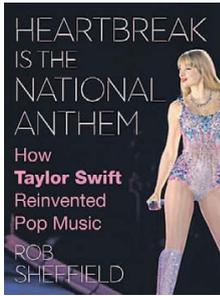
For me it's *Martha My Dear*. When I listen to it, I think, why isn't this song more popular? With Taylor Swift, it's the same thing — there are songs that you hear everywhere. You go to a wedding, you're going to hear *Love Story*. You just are. If you go to a party or a club, you will hear *Blank Space*. But there are also all these songs that have personal appeal.

**Swift fans are renowned for brushing aside the hits for deep cuts.**

Right. Something like *Long Live* was never a hit, but for me it is one of the absolutely most amazing Taylor Swift songs. So, being a fan of Bowie or the Beatles or Taylor Swift, you have your own personal relationship with the music. That's something I wanted to capture with all three of those artists.

**It occurs to me that my favourite Beatles books are *Growing Up With the Beatles* and *The Man Who Gave the Beatles Away*. Both are by authors who are in the story.**

The Nicholas Schaffner book, *The Beatles Forever*, is one of my favourites. Everybody knows the story of the Beatles, but finding



your own place in that story is something that we all do as Beatles fans. It's the same with Taylor Swift. Being a fan means you have your own relationship with a very public artist.

**The difference is that you actually know Swift a little. You casually mention that you've listened to some of her new albums in her apartment, albeit when she wasn't there. How does that happen?**

For security reasons, she is always looking for ways to make sure the albums don't get leaked. And for the most part, they don't get leaked. It's the only place she knows for a fact there won't be any microphones. So, I first heard *1989* on her couch.

**I first heard Pearl Jam's *Backspacer* in a Universal Music rep's car during a torrential rainstorm. I can't imagine that's how Eddie Vedder imagined his work being debuted.**

That's so perfect. I love that.

**You describe Swift as fascinating, deeply weird and mysterious. Is she that, compared with an Elvis or a Michael Jackson?**

I don't mean fascinating or weird in a personal way. To me, the music is where the weirdness is. When she released *Fearless*, she was a country-pop ingenue. She could have kept doing that forever. And then she came up with *Red*, a rock-pop hybrid. She could have kept making that for the rest of her career. So, it was very strange to hear the follow-up, *1989*, on her couch. This synth-pop, new age album, directly inspired by the music of the eighties. It's been a bizarre run. She's never made the same album twice in a row.

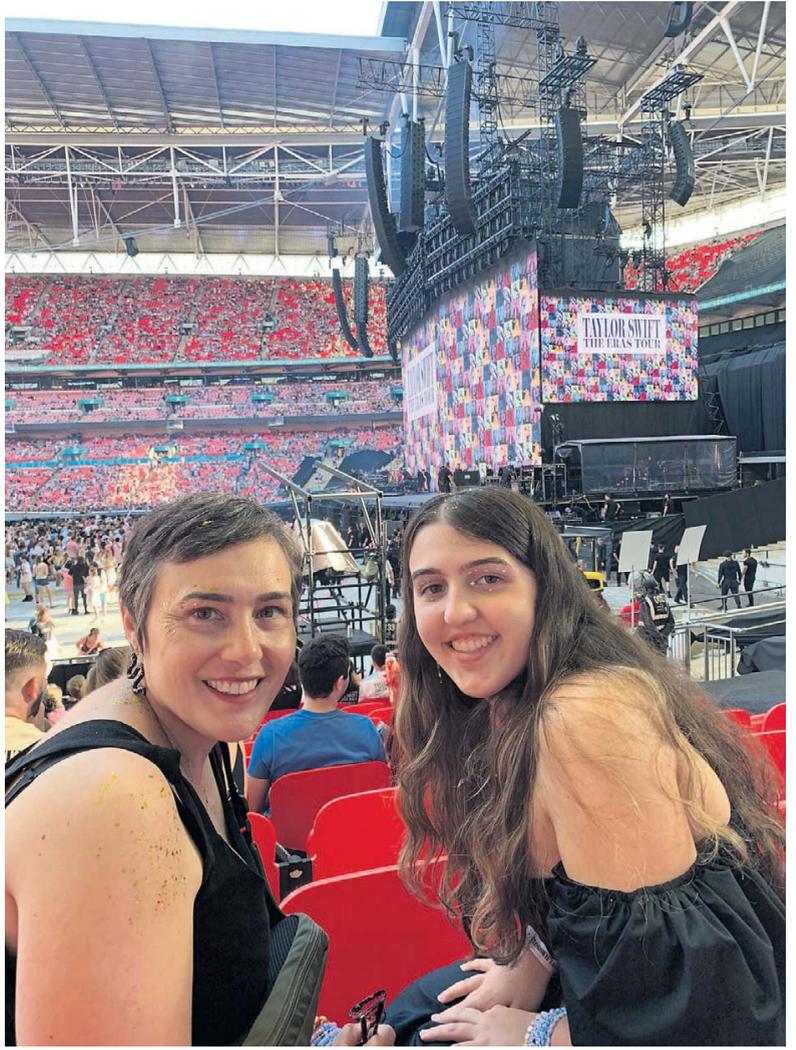
**She's also changed the world when it comes to making room for young female pop stars who write their own songs. It's a big part of your book, and a big part of what she's accomplished.**

Absolutely. If you remember when she started, the fact that she was a girl with a guitar writing her own songs about her own life was a novelty. It's almost like, here's a dog that can juggle. And now, all these years later, that's what pop music is.

**It's the story of 2024, really.**

Yes. Olivia Rodrigo, Sabrina Carpenter, Chappell Roan, Billie Eilish, Gracie Abrams, these are artists different than Taylor Swift, and different from each other in many ways, but all young women writing their own songs about their own lives. Britney never did that. She had her albums written by male producers — Svengalis. That just isn't going to fly any more, not after Taylor Swift.

This interview has been edited and condensed.



Angela Pacienza, left, and her daughter Olivia Chezzi visited London this year to attend one of Taylor Swift's Eras Tour shows at Wembley Stadium. ANGELA PACIENZA/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## The Eras Tour gave me the escape I needed during breast cancer treatment

Chemotherapy made it impossible to focus but I found refuge in following Swift's concerts, **Angela Pacienza** writes. My dream came true this summer when I finally got to attend a show in London

It was during rounds of vein-burning chemotherapy I decided I wanted this one, seemingly impossible escapade: to attend one of Taylor Swift's Eras Tour shows.

I was diagnosed with breast cancer in February, 2023, just as the Eras Tour was about to kick off. My chemotherapy treatments started in June of that year.

Every two weeks, I would arrive at the hospital and be handed a pager, like the kind you get at busy restaurants that lights up and vibrates when your table is ready.

When mine buzzed, I traded my waiting room chair for a bed with an IV stand. Then, I sat for hours waiting for the IV drip to deliver its last drop and the metallic tinge on my tongue to cease.

I'm an avid reader, but I had chemo-induced cognitive impairment, a.k.a. chemo brain, which made it impossible to focus. I'd listen to an audiobook and snooze a little. Mostly I'd scroll Instagram. I'd stop on posts about the Eras Tour.

I was riveted by the narrative unfolding. The fans. The outfits. The setlist. The surprise songs. The ticket prices. The concerts in the rain. That time a fly flew into Swift's mouth while she was at the piano. I wanted to be in that happy crowd.

I scrolled through Swiftie accounts trying to figure out how fan codes worked and which cities I could sign up for. I registered for more than a dozen including New York, Paris, Amsterdam, London and Milan. I'd then make a Google doc for each city with places to stay, museums to visit and restaurants I wanted to try. It kept my brain busy, requiring only short spurts of happy concentration.

I became obsessed with the Eras Tour. It was pure delight, completely void of negativity and the hopelessness I felt being in the hospital. Swift's fandom became a refuge.

But not being able to attend stung. It was another disappointment in my year of missing out.

My February diagnosis led to a mastectomy in April (I followed Taylor's Atlanta show from bed) which led to the discovery of a secondary cancer site in my lymph nodes (Nashville show) which led to four months of chemo from June to September (Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Denver, Seattle and many more).

Fall plans included a secondary surgery to remove the cancerous lymph nodes. I'd close 2023 with 15 rounds of radiation in December. A third, and final, surgery for breast reconstruction, would be scheduled for fall 2024.

I was bitter. The cancer had robbed me of a summer with my teenagers. A family trip to Italy, already postponed once by the pandemic and rescheduled for 2023, had to be cancelled yet again.

Cancer speeds up time, and I felt important moments with the kids were slipping away, particularly my Grade 11 daughter, who was already making plans for her dorm room at university. Trying to snag Eras tickets for the summer of 2024, which was safely months after my treatment was scheduled to end,

seemed like a way to slow down time and catch up to life.

Like many hopeful fans, I lost a lottery permitting me to buy tickets to a number of concerts. Desperate, I put out a call to far-flung cousins and friends.

Sarah, a friend living in the U.K. whom I'd met at a women's leadership program in 2018, came through with "a friend of a friend" in her mom's group who wasn't going to use her allotment of four tickets. I got two, at face value. I cried. I was more excited than my daughter.

The concert was a year out but having the trip planned so far in advance kept me focused on kicking cancer's ass. It also gave my daughter and me something to talk about that was not cancer.

A year later, we packed our friendship bracelets, tubes of glitter and the snake earrings that went with our *Reputation* era outfits and left for London.

It was pure joy, beginning from the airport line where I proudly told the customs agent why we were headed to London.

Watching my daughter easily navigate the tube showed me how grown up she was. Taking it to Wembley Stadium the night of our show, we picked up fellow fans along the way. Everyone gave each other a knowing glance or openly gushed about their outfits.

Upon exiting Wembley Stadium station, we saw fans making fast friends as they swapped bracelets. A woman stopped us, flashing us a Ziploc bag filled with bracelets and asked if we wanted to trade. One woman wore a giant white skirt and held a sign that read: "I've got blank space, sign your favourite song." My daughter signed it "Dress" as I took photos. We made friends in the bathroom lineup.

There was no judgment. Fandom was unapologetic. Our adoration of Swift impenetrable. Swift-inspired outfits were praised. There was instant kinship.

The Wembley staff were joyous and welcoming despite facing 92,000 people. Security guards traded bracelets, took pictures of fans and high-fived Swifties. When we went to fill our water bottles, the staff didn't want us to miss the opening act so took them to fill from a staff-only fountain behind closed doors.

I wanted to live in this world forever, my heart happy and full.



ILLUSTRATION BY NADA HAYEK

### Canada's Aviation Book of the Year!

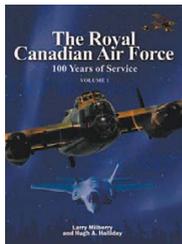
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# Nicholas Sparks wants to make readers feel

Love and sadness are ‘two sides of the same coin’ for the bestselling author, who says his novels will always end with a sense of hope

SARAH LAING

When American novelist Nicholas Sparks sat down to write his latest book, he began with a single mental image: an old man, hurt in the forest, with his dog standing over him.

“I didn’t know who he was, why he was hurt, what’s up with the dog,” says Sparks, who played with several different answers to these questions in the off-page prep he always does before setting down a single word. “I have to know certain things about the character heading into the story – their age, their general history, where are they mentally, emotionally, physically at this point,” he says. “I have to know the beginning, the middle, the end, and four or five plot-turning points in the story. Then I begin to write, and some of the details come out in the course of writing.”

In time, this became *Counting Miracles*, the 23rd in Sparks’s unbroken line of internationally bestselling novels. He’s had the sort of success – more than 115 million copies sold, translated into over 50 languages, multiple blockbuster film adaptations – that means he’s really not being immodest or churlish when he replies, “No, not really,” when asked if he feels like any of his many books hasn’t quite got the attention it deserved.

For Sparks, being a “bestselling author” means as much to him as any of the other ways you might describe him: a man, resident of North Carolina, father of five.

“Early on, before *The Notebook* was published, hitting the bestseller list was my hope, but I can’t say it was my expectation,” says Sparks in reference to his wildly popular first novel, published in 1996 after he received a million-dollar advance for the romantic saga. “It’s a hope, but less for the title and more for what it implies, that there are many people out there reading the novel that I have written. And that’s



important to me, in the same way that the films are important to me.”

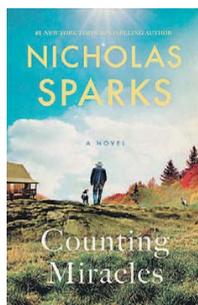
As he points out, a relatively low number of Americans (15 per cent by his reckoning) read one book a year, but many more will watch a movie. “That’s great, because I write a story because I think it’s worthy of being enjoyed,” Sparks says, before adding that “while it reads very efficiently on the surface, a lot goes into a work of fiction like mine.”

The Globe and Mail spoke with Sparks about how his latest story evolved, the legacy of *The Notebook* and why he’s proud to write tear-jerkers.

**Spoiler alert, but did you know when you started writing that Jasper, the old man in the forest who lost his whole family in a terrible tragedy, wouldn’t end up being as alone in the world as he thought? That Tanner [a man passing through town] would turn out to be his grandson?**

I knew that was coming from the moment I started writing, of course. And I knew some elements of Tanner’s character, which were drawn from my cousin Todd, who served in the military. He was in the early stages of the Afghan war, he finished his service in 2005 and went to college to become a social worker with the idea of working with veterans. As I talked to him over the

**Nicholas Sparks says his latest novel, *Counting Miracles*, is a story about grief and ‘finding where you belong in the world.’**  
MIKE BELLEME/NYT



past 20 years, a lot of his buddies he fought with have committed suicide in the aftermath. I wanted to speak to that. How does one handle life when a number of the people you’re close to commit suicide?

**That’s mirrored in Jasper’s story, where he’s lost so many of the people that were close to him. Were you exploring that idea from two sides?**

That’s one of the themes – how does one process grief? I’m someone who lost my mother, my father, my younger sister in a seven-

year span beginning when I was 23. What I learned in losing those I was close to is that there’s no rule book, there’s no guide book, and people process grief in different ways. I have a brother, and he became very ‘live for the moment’ in the aftermath of these deaths. I became just, ‘Put your foot down and work,’ because I had children, and I had to make sure they’d be okay if anything happens to me.

**It’s interesting that you bring up grief, because for many people your books are tremendously cathartic. If there’s a word that gets attached to a Nicholas Sparks book, it’s ‘tear-jerker.’ Your material makes people cry! Are you okay with that?**

I try to write a novel that makes people feel, and I believe that love and sadness are two sides of the same coin. You can’t have one without the other, because no one lives forever. One-hundred per cent of love stories – whether that’s your partner, your parents, your siblings, your dog – they all come to an end. The greater the love, the greater the loss.

**Even though you’ve gone on to tremendous success, your first book, *The Notebook*, is still your biggest book. Do you feel like you’re chasing that?**

It’s my most well-known work, and it’s probably the work I’ll be known for in the long run. It’s

probably the largest-selling of my work. But, in my mind, I don’t know that it’s my best work. I think *Counting Miracles* is pretty strong. I’ve been on quite a roll recently – *The Wish* is pretty strong, *Every Breath* is pretty strong. All of those were a lot more technically challenging as a writer to put together than *The Notebook* was. I have a sense of pride about all those novels as well. *Counting Miracles*, in some ways, is a modern retelling of the Book of Job, and *The Wish* is a bit of a Christmas story, something I’ve never done before. I tend to think that each and every novel I’ve written is the maximum capacity of my ability at that moment in time, and I write for that reason.

**How do you feel when people call your books ‘romances’?**

I would agree that there are romantic elements in my novels, but I don’t think I would characterize *Counting Miracles* as a romance novel, or *The Wish*, or *Safe Haven*. They have other themes that override the romantic slant of things. *Counting Miracles* is a story about grief, about finding where you belong in the world and, oh yeah, there are some romantic elements in the story.

**Do you think your audience would forgive you if you wrote a book that was devoid of even a breath of romance?**

No! And I’m okay with that. The neat thing about the world in which I work is that I’m allowed to explore elements of other genres. For instance, in *Safe Haven* you had love and the supernatural. In *See Me*, you had love and danger. I can incorporate a number of other things in the work that take advantage of the best things in other genres.

**So we’re never getting a Nicholas Sparks book that doesn’t have, if not a happy ending, a hopeful ending?**

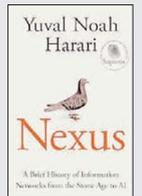
My novels end with a sense of hope, and part of that is learned. As I said, I pretty much lost my family when I was in my 20s, and it was hard. For those who are still around, life goes on and we have to make the best of it – and that’s possible.

Special to The Globe and Mail

## WHAT I’M READING

In *Nexus: A Brief History of Information Networks from the Stone Age to AI*, historian Yuval Noah Harari examines the doomsday scenarios projected by computer futurists. Will artificial intelligence erase millions of jobs? Yes. Should we be worried that industrial-scale electronic surveillance will continue to erode privacy? Yes again. Is any of this new or have we been heading this way since the pharaohs? Not new. With *Nexus*, Harari delivers a sociological polemic that’s peppered with humour, and he begs us – begs us! – not to make the same mistakes again. *Globe reader Myles Kesten, Toronto*

Share your book recommendations via e-mail at [lpingue@globeandmail.com](mailto:lpingue@globeandmail.com) and see more at [tgam.ca/staff-books](http://tgam.ca/staff-books)



## BESTSELLERS

The Grey Wolf, the latest mystery in Canadian Louise Penny’s Armand Gamache series, tops the fiction lists

| HARDCOVER FICTION |  |           | HARDCOVER NON-FICTION |   |           | CANADIAN FICTION |  |           | CANADIAN NON-FICTION |   |           |
|-------------------|--|-----------|-----------------------|---|-----------|------------------|--|-----------|----------------------|---|-----------|
| THIS WEEK         | CANADIAN AUTHOR  | LAST WEEK | THIS WEEK             | CANADIAN AUTHOR   | LAST WEEK | THIS WEEK        | LAST WEEK  | THIS WEEK | LAST WEEK            | THIS WEEK   | LAST WEEK |
| 1                 | * THE GREY WOLF by Louise Penny (Minotaur Books). \$40               | –         | 1                     | * REVENGE OF THE TIPPING POINT by Malcolm Gladwell (Little, Brown & Co.). \$41                  | 5         | 1                | THE GREY WOLF by Louise Penny (Minotaur Books). \$40                         | –         | 1                    | REVENGE OF THE TIPPING POINT by Malcolm Gladwell (Little, Brown & Co.). \$41                      | 2         |
| 2                 | HERE ONE MOMENT by Liane Moriarty (Doubleday Canada). \$38           | 5         | 2                     | * HOME AND AWAY by Mats Sundin and Amy Stuart (Simon & Schuster). \$39.99                       | 1         | 2                | PROOF by Beverley McLachlin (Simon & Schuster). \$24.99                      | 1         | 2                    | HOME AND AWAY by Mats Sundin and Amy Stuart (Simon & Schuster). \$39.99                           | 1         |
| 3                 | IN TOO DEEP by Lee Child and Andrew Child (Delacorte Press). \$39.99 | 1         | 3                     | WAR by Bob Woodward (Simon & Schuster). \$43  | 6         | 3                | THE LAST SECRET by Maia Caron (Doubleday Canada). \$25                       | 2         | 3                    | RECONCILING HISTORY by Jody Wilson-Raybould and Roshan Danesh (McClelland & Stewart). \$39.95     | –         |
| 4                 | THRONE OF SECRETS by Kerri Maniscalco (Little, Brown & Co.). \$38    | –         | 4                     | FRAMED by John Grisham and Jim McCloskey (Doubleday). \$39.95                                   | 3         | 4                | WHEN THE WORLD FELL SILENT by Donna Jones Alward (One More Chapter). \$25.99 | 3         | 4                    | TAYLOR SWIFT STYLE by Sarah Chapelle (St. Martin’s Griffin). \$47                                 | 3         |
| 5                 | THE WAITING by Michael Connelly (Little, Brown and Co.). \$39        | 2         | 5                     | FROM HERE TO THE GREAT UNKNOWN by Lisa Marie Presley and Riley Keough (Random House). \$42      | 7         | 5                | THE MISTLETOE MYSTERY by Nita Prose (Viking). \$28                           | 5         | 5                    | LAUGH MORE by Debbie Travis (Random House Canada). \$36   | 4         |
| 6                 | THE BLUE HOUR by Paula Hawkins (Doubleday Canada). \$37              | –         | 6                     | NEXUS by Yuval Noah Harari (Signal). \$45   | 8         | 6                | THE QUEEN by Nick Cutter (Gallery Books). \$36.99                            | –         | 6                    | THIS IS OUR LIFE by the Tragically Hip (Genesis Publications). \$79.95                            | 5         |
| 7                 | INTERMEZZO by Sally Rooney (Knopf Canada). \$38                      | 4         | 7                     | * RECONCILING HISTORY by Jody Wilson-Raybould and Roshan Danesh (McClelland & Stewart). \$39.95 | –         | 7                | LOOKING FOR JANE by Heather Marshall (Simon & Schuster). \$14.99             | –         | 7                    | HOCKEY RANTS AND RAVES by Steve “Dangle” Glynn (Harper Collins Canada). \$34.99                   | 9         |
| 8                 | COUNTING MIRACLES by Nicholas Sparks (Doubleday Canada). \$37        | 6         | 8                     | PATRIOT by Alexei Navalny (Knopf). \$48   | 2         | 8                | BUTCHER AND BLACKBIRD by Brynne Weaver (Zando). \$23.99                      | 4         | 8                    | DREAMER by Nazem Kadri (Viking). \$36   | 8         |
| 9                 | BLOOD OVER BRIGHT HAVEN by M. L. Wang (Del Ray). \$39.99             | –         | 9                     | BROTHERS by Alex Van Halen (Harper). \$39.50  | 4         | 9                | THE HOLIDAY HONEYMOON SWITCH by Julia McKay (Viking). \$22.95                | –         | 9                    | THE KNOWING by Tanya Talaga (Harper Collins Canada). \$39.99                                      | 6         |
| 10                | IRON FLAME by Rebecca Yarros (Red Tower Books). \$39.99              | 8         | 10                    | * TAYLOR SWIFT STYLE by Sarah Chapelle (St. Martin’s Griffin). \$47                             | 9         | 10               | THE BRIDGE KINGDOM by Danielle L. Jensen (Del Ray). \$24.95                  | 6         | 10                   | WHO WE ARE by Murray Sinclair, Sara Sinclair and Niigaan Sinclair (McClelland & Stewart). \$39.95 | –         |

FOR COMPLETE BESTSELLER COVERAGE, VISIT [TGM.CA/BESTSELLERS](http://TGM.CA/BESTSELLERS)  
The bestseller list is compiled by The Globe and Mail using sales figures provided by BookNet Canada’s national sales tracking service, BNC SalesData. The Canadian Fiction and Non-Fiction bestseller lists, and the Canadian Specialty Books list, are compiled for The Globe and Mail by BookNet Canada.

On November 8, beauty industry insiders came together at the Westin Harbour Castle in Toronto to celebrate the Beauty's Best Awards. For 22 years, this event has highlighted the best new products of the year, the teams who launched them, and top advisors, trainers, and sales reps behind the counter at drugstores and department stores across the country.

For more on the Beauty's Best Awards, and to watch the event in full, visit [Cosmeticsmag.com](https://www.cosmeticsmag.com), and for behind-the-scenes action check out @cosmeticsmag and #bbawards2024 on Instagram and Twitter.

## PRODUCT WINNERS

|   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
|    |               |    |    |
| <b>MEN'S FRAGRANCE LAUNCH</b>   | <b>WOMEN'S LUXURY FRAGRANCE LAUNCH</b>   | <b>WOMEN'S FULL-MARKET FRAGRANCE LAUNCH</b>   | <b>LUXE SKINCARE</b>  |
| <b>GIVENCHY</b><br>Gentleman Society<br>[LVMH Fragrance Brands Canada]              | <b>CREED</b><br>Carmina<br>[Holt Renfrew]  | <b>CAROLINA HERRERA</b><br>Good Girl Blush<br>[Puig]                                | <b>LA PRAIRIE</b><br>Platinum Haute-Rejuvenation Mask<br>[Holt Renfrew]               |
|    |               |    |    |
| <b>PRESTIGE SKINCARE</b>  | <b>FULL-MARKET SKINCARE</b>  | <b>DERM SKINCARE</b>  | <b>CLEAN BEAUTY</b>   |
| <b>LANCÔME</b><br>Rénergie Triple Serum<br>[L'Oréal Canada]                         | <b>ESTÉE LAUDER</b> Revitalizing Supreme+ Youth Power Crème<br>[Estée Lauder Companies Canada] | <b>NEOSTRATA</b><br>Enlighten 15% Vitamin C + PHA Serum [Kenvue   NEOSTRATA]        | <b>SVR</b><br>Ampoule C Anti-Ox<br>[Prestilux Inc.]                                   |
|  |             |  |  |
| <b>PRESTIGE MAKEUP: LIPS/EYES/FACE</b>  | <b>FULL-MARKET MAKEUP: LIPS/EYES/FACE</b>  | <b>SUN/BODY CARE</b>  | <b>HAIR CARE</b>  |
| <b>HERMÈS</b><br>Le Regard<br>[Hermès Canada]                                       | <b>DIOR</b><br>Forever Skin Correct Concealer<br>[Dior]  | <b>FUNCTIONALAB</b><br>Mineral Sunscreen SPF 50 Tinted<br>[Sosen Inc.]              | <b>VICHY</b><br>Dercos Energy+ Fortifying Shampoo<br>[Vichy]                          |




**BEST TECHNOLOGY**

**XCITE TECH**  
JetPeel

**SHOPPERS DRUG MART**  
BeautyNOW




**I RECOMMEND AWARD OF THE YEAR**

**CLINIQUE**  
Almost Lipstick  
[Estée Lauder Companies Canada]

## PEOPLE WINNERS

- Drug Store Team**  
SHOPPERS DRUG MART,  
New Glasgow, NS  
BARB JACKSON'S TEAM
- Department or Specialty Store Team**  
HOLT RENFREW - LA PRAIRIE  
Vancouver, BC  
CHRIS CHOUINARD'S TEAM
- Community Spirit Award Individual**  
LIDA GENERALI
- Community Spirit Award Corporate**  
MARY KAY
- Lifetime Achievement Award**  
ODETTE NEWTON
- Rookie of the Year**  
PARNIA MOHAMMADKHANI
- Dermo Cosmetic Expert**  
CELESTE SCHIEDA
- Peer/Vendor/Retailer Nominated**  
AYSHA AKAR
- Manager/Team Lead**  
JESSICA WHITE
- Fragrance Advisor**  
SHELLY RADUNSKA
- Trainer of the Year**  
JANET ENTWISTLE
- Sales Representative**  
EMMA DANS














### BEAUTY ICON WINNER

**PATRICIA CLARE**  
NEOSTRATA

Patricia Clare has made a remarkable impact on the skin care and beauty industry in Canada. From early beginnings as a make-up artist to her current role as a nationally recognized, award-winning trainer, Pat has spent her entire career mentoring peers and colleagues, training both internal and external audiences, and influencing brand and product development. No matter the task at hand, Pat will get it done and is authentically herself along the way. Her refreshingly positive and outgoing personality is infectious to those around her and anyone who has had the pleasure of getting to know her is better for it. Pat's passion for skin care represents everything that the NEOSTRATA brand stands for, and in many ways, she has shaped the NEOSTRATA brand. Her influence behind the scenes has propelled some of the brand's most beloved products and shaped the go to market communications and strategies at a global level. Pat's larger than life personality has welcomed (and continues to welcome) thousands of people into the Canadian skin care community. She takes pride in her work and is consistently commended for her ability to inspire those around her. Patricia is kind, generous & humble – always putting others first.