

ArriveCan contractors failed audits for Indigenous program

After-the-fact reviews find Coradix, Dalian didn't meet ownership criteria for procurement policy

BILL CURRY OTTAWA
MAHIMA SINGH
TOM CARDOSO TORONTO

Two staffing companies hired to work on the federal government's ArriveCan app have failed a group of audits, which found they did not meet the criteria of a program that gave their joint venture preferential access to a dozen government contracts as an Indigenous business.

The audit findings against the two companies, Coradix Technology Consulting Ltd. and Dalian Enterprises, could have broader implications for a host of other

joint ventures that compete for more than \$1.6-billion worth of federal contract work the government directs annually toward Indigenous businesses.

The Assembly of First Nations, Indigenous business leaders and a former auditor have warned there is widespread abuse of the program through shell companies and the minister responsible has called for an external review of the entire program.

Coradix and Dalian featured prominently throughout months of parliamentary hearings into cost overruns on ArriveCan, a pandemic-era app for cross-border travellers that was built for nearly \$60-million and has raised questions about the bil-

lions Ottawa spends on outsourcing.

Dalian, which is Indigenous-owned and had two full-time employees as of 2023, shared an office with the much larger Coradix, which is not Indigenous, and employed about 40 people that same year. The two have often partnered in a joint venture, which is allowed under the rules of Ottawa's Procurement Strategy for Indigenous Business (PSIB) so long as the Indigenous business retains majority ownership and control, and provided the Indigenous partners or subcontractors are performing one-third of the work or "content."

■ AUDITS, A7

Ottawa names ex-Mountie as fentanyl czar in bid to satisfy U.S. demands

STEVEN CHASE
SENIOR PARLIAMENTARY REPORTER
OTTAWA

The federal government has appointed former RCMP deputy commissioner Kevin Brosseau to be Canada's fentanyl czar, as Ottawa seeks to demonstrate to the United States that it is working hard to disrupt illegal production and distribution of the deadly opioid.

While Mr. Brosseau has little national profile, he served as deputy national security and intelligence adviser to the Prime Minister until his appointment to the newly created position.

A fentanyl czar was one of several border-control measures Prime Minister Justin Trudeau promised Donald Trump on Feb. 3 to avert across-the-board tariffs the U.S. President had threatened to impose on Canada this month. Those levies were delayed for 30 days, until early March, "to see whether or not a final Economic deal with Canada can be structured," Mr. Trump said in a social-media post last week, though none of the measures promised by Ottawa were related to economic matters.

Mr. Trump, despite evidence to the contrary, has said illegal migration and the smuggling of fentanyl from Canada constitute part of "a grave threat" to the United States. Canadian officials have pointed to U.S. customs and border-patrol data showing that activity originating in Canada is only a tiny fraction of the same illicit traffic from Mexico into American territory – but to no avail.

The Prime Minister in negotiations last week with Mr. Trump committed to creating the czar position, designating drug cartels as terrorist organizations and implementing an already-announced \$1.3-billion in new border-security measures, including Black Hawk helicopters.

Mr. Brosseau's appointment Tuesday came as Canada's premiers descended on Washington to lobby U.S. officials against punishing new tariffs.

■ CZAR, A4

[WESTMINSTER]



SIMPLY FETCHING

Freddie, an English springer spaniel, competes alongside handler Robin Novack at the Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show in New York on Tuesday. Freddie won the show's sporting event. JULIA DEMAREE NIKHINSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Online classes offer educational, social lifeline in conflict zones

DAVE MCGINN
EDUCATION REPORTER

Once a week, Sarah Marshall, a high-school biology teacher who lives just north of Nanaimo, B.C., would log on to Zoom for a class unlike any she had taught before.

Her students ranged in age from 7 to 16. Almost all of them were in Ukraine, although some joined her virtual classroom from Turkey and other places they had been sent to live after Russia invaded their country in February, 2022.

"When I was teaching online, there were kids that were literally logging in online

from a bomb shelter," said Ms. Marshall, who volunteered her services in the summer of 2022 through a Canadian organization called Classrooms Without Walls.

Its online teaching program for students in conflict areas has helped educate more than 50,000 Ukrainian children since its launch in 2022, and it has expanded to include programs in Afghanistan and Myanmar.

The volunteer teachers – there are 39 this winter semester – log in from Canada, the United States, Afghanistan, France, Australia, Indonesia, Ukraine, Thailand, China, Dubai and Britain, among other countries. Their classes range from math for children of elementary-school age on up to a hu-

man-rights course taught by Stephen Rosenbaum, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law.

The organization also runs a program that enables students to earn the General Education Development diploma, a high-school equivalent. It offers classes in English, math and other subjects for those who are not yet ready for the GED, as well as a range of other courses, such as yoga and art. All courses are conducted in English.

When schools are destroyed by war or access is denied because of conflict, finding alternative ways to educate children is essential, Classrooms Without Walls founder David Falconer said.

■ EDUCATION, A7

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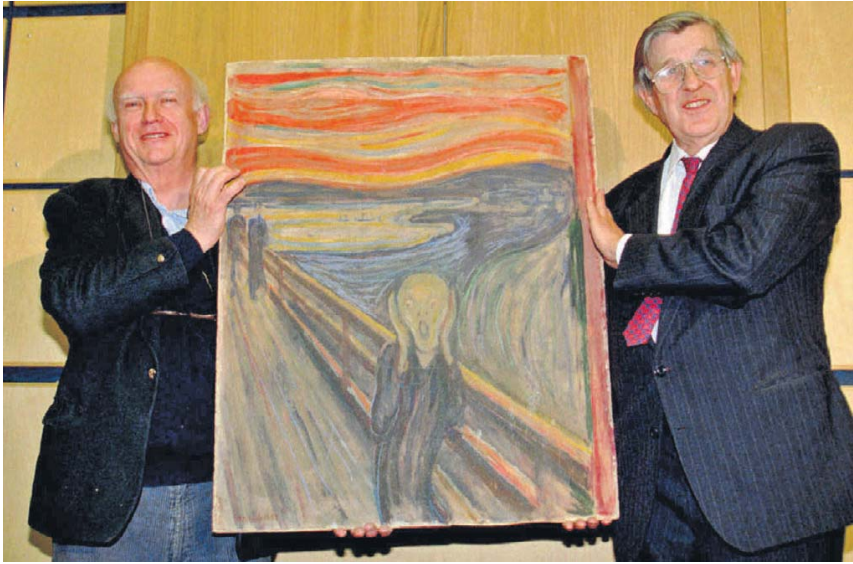
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MOMENT IN TIME

FEB. 12, 1994 | FROM THE ARCHIVES



Curator Leif Plather, left, and Knut Berg, director of the National Gallery in Oslo, show off *The Scream* by Edvard Munch in May, 1994, recovered nearly four months after it was stolen. ALEKSANDER NORDAHL/AP

MUNCH'S THE SCREAM STOLEN FROM ART GALLERY IN OSLO

All eyes were on Lillehammer on Feb. 12, 1994, as Norway opened the Winter Olympics. Profiting from the distraction, two thieves broke into the National Gallery in Oslo and carted off *The Scream* by Edvard Munch, leaving a note saying, “Thanks for the bad security.” The 1893 tempera painting was recovered unharmed in May when detectives posed as potential buyers. Four men were convicted of the theft in 1996. Another version was stolen in 2004 from Oslo’s Munch Museum and soon recovered with minor damage. The painting, depicting a figure with a

skull-like head and gaping mouth in front of a blood-red sky, is perhaps the most famous image in Western art after the *Mona Lisa*. It is considered priceless and would be impossible to resell – most major art thefts are ransom attempts – although a third, pastel version sold for US\$120-million in 2012. Munch was inspired to paint the scene during a walk where a red sky filled him with anxiety. There’s a theory he was seeing the far-flung effects of the 1893 volcanic eruption at Krakatoa in Indonesia, but the painting is more largely interpreted as an expression of the angst of its age. KATE TAYLOR (2022)

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MICHAEL
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Ottawa needs to rethink its digital and cultural policy in light of U.S. tariff threats ■ B4

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SANDRA E. MARTIN, STANDARDS EDITOR, standardseditor@globeandmail.com

Thanks to metal detectors and patience, amateur treasure hunters unearth parts of British history

JILL LAWLESS LONDON

When Malcolm Weale saw the tiny, dirt-covered object he’d unearthed in an English field, he knew it was something special.

In his hand was a silver penny minted during the reign of Guthrum, a Viking commander who converted to Christianity and ruled eastern England in the ninth century as Athelstan II.

For Mr. Weale, finding the first silver coin minted by a Viking ruler in Britain was the pinnacle of decades of hunting with his metal detector in the fields and forests near his home in eastern England.

“I was shaking,” Mr. Weale said at the British Museum, where the coin was displayed Tuesday alongside other items unearthed by amateur history hunters in 2023 and 2024. “I knew that it was a life-changing, incredible, historical find.”

“I’d watched the series *Vikings* on Netflix, and about a week later I’ve got the Guthrum penny in my hand,” he said.

The thrill of finding fragments of history beneath our feet drives detectorists like 54-year-old Mr. Weale, who was introduced to the pastime at the age of 7 and “was hooked.”

His find was on show as the museum released its annual report on the Portable Antiquities Scheme, a government-funded project that records thousands of archaeological discoveries made by the public each year. The coin sat alongside a set of 3,000-year-old bronze metalworkers’ tools, a seventh-century gold and garnet necklace and a gold signet ring with an intriguing link to Queen Elizabeth I.

They have been officially classed as “treasure” by a coroner, meaning they will be independently valued and offered to local museums.

Discoveries by detectorists, as



Malcolm Weale is taking part in the British Museum’s annual showcase of treasures this year, after he found a silver penny minted during the reign of Guthrum, a Viking ruler in the ninth century. KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH/AP

well as beachcombers and mud-larkers – who search for items on riverbanks – shine new light into corners of British history. The necklace of glittering gold and garnet pendants found in Lincolnshire, central England, reveals the sophistication of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship, and is surprisingly global.

Archeologist Helen Geake, who serves as a “finds liaison officer” for the antiquities program, said that it was likely made in England – “English craftsmen were by far the best in Europe” – with garnets from Sri Lanka.

Andy Akroyd, 49, also struck gold when he was out metal detecting near his home in Bedfordshire, central England.

“When I first saw it, I thought ‘Oh it’s a coin.’ Then I saw it’s a ring, I was thinking 1980s, cheap sovereign ring,” Mr. Akroyd said.

It turned out to be a 16th-century signet ring engraved with a phoenix, a mythical bird symbolizing rebirth that was associated with Elizabeth I. Found in an area used as a royal hunting ground in Elizabethan times, it was likely worn, and lost, by one of the queen’s supporters.

“When you find it, your journey is just beginning,” Mr. Akroyd said. Then come the questions: “What is this, how is it here?”

When items are declared treasure, their value is split between the finder and the owner of the land where it was found. Detectorists occasionally strike it rich – last year, a hoard of 1,000-year-old coins found in southwest England sold for £4.3-million (about \$7.6-million). But the vast majority are in it for the thrill of discovery, not the money, Mr. Weale said.

Both he and Mr. Akroyd say that they will soon be back out tramping the fields, in the mud and – this is England, after all – the rain. They extol the mental-health benefits of the methodical, slow-paced hobby, popularized to a wider audience by the gentle BBC sitcom *Detectorists*.

Mr. Akroyd said that some days he just sits, watching hares leap and birds of prey soar in the sky.

“I lost my dad last year. I’ll have a chat to my dad when I’m out in the field. ‘Come on, Dad – what way now?’” Mr. Akroyd said. “He never finds me anything.”

ASSOCIATED PRESS

External party to conduct review of Alberta’s private surgical contracts

Health Minister says ‘people deserve to know what’s going on,’ but doesn’t specify who would manage probe

ALANNA SMITH
CARRIE TAIT

Alberta Health Minister Adriana LaGrange said Tuesday that the provincial health authority will use an external party to conduct its review of procurement and contracting practices for private surgical facilities and that the government intends to release its findings “as much as possible” to the public.

The Globe and Mail on Tuesday reported that Ms. LaGrange, in October, signed a directive stripping power from Alberta Health Services’ then-chief executive, Athana Mentzelopoulos. The directive transferred negotiating and approval authority tied to chartered surgical facilities (CSF) to her department from AHS.

Last week, The Globe reported on a series of allegations Ms. Mentzelopoulos’s lawyer made in a letter to AHS on Jan. 20, including that Premier Danielle Smith’s former chief-of-staff interfered in the procurement and contracting processes of AHS on behalf of private companies.

Auditor-General Doug Wylie has since said he has opened an examination into AHS and Health Ministry contracts and procurement processes, while AHS said Thursday it will be conducting its own internal probe. The RCMP has also said it is reviewing the allegations.

But in brief remarks to reporters in the legislature on Tuesday, Ms. LaGrange said the AHS review would be done by a third



Alberta Health Minister Adriana LaGrange says the province intends to release findings from the third-party review ‘as much as possible’ to the public. TODD KOROL/THE CANADIAN PRESS

party. She didn’t specify by who or what the parameters of the investigation would be.

“People deserve to know what’s going on and we want to make sure that happens,” Ms. LaGrange said ahead of a cabinet meeting.

Ms. LaGrange, in response to the allegations, said “it’s the reason we’re refocusing AHS. We know that there’s issues in AHS.”

Also on Tuesday, Tanya Fir, Minister of Arts, Culture and Status of Women, and Searle Turton, Minister of Children’s and Family Services, held a news conference, the first public appearance by cabinet members since the allegations surfaced.

Both ministers voiced their support for Ms. Smith.

“I appreciate the Premier’s decisive leadership with asking for the expedited review from the Auditor-General and look forward to seeing how that review works out,” Mr. Turton said.

The ministers sidestepped questions regarding whether they believe it is appropriate for Ms. LaGrange to remain in her role during the investigation and whether there are any internal calls for the Premier or Health Minister to step down. Mr. Turton said Ms. LaGrange will “have much more to say on this in the very near future.”

Ms. Mentzelopoulos’s letter alleged that she launched a series of investigations into problems she discovered at AHS and was dismissed two days before she was set to meet with the Auditor-General about her findings. She also said in the letter she is prepared to sue for wrongful dismissal.

The Premier has denied any wrongdoing.

On Monday, the new head of

AHS, who was installed after Ms. Smith terminated Ms. Mentzelopoulos and the entire board in January, called the executive changes “unsettling” as he addressed staff for the first time since the allegations surfaced.

Andre Tremblay replaced the seven-person AHS board as the sole administrator last month and is simultaneously serving as interim president of AHS and as deputy minister of the Ministry of Health. The Globe listened to a recording of the virtual town hall he held with physicians, staff and volunteers.

Mr. Tremblay was not asked about the allegations during the moderated question-and-answer session but did address changes in the organization’s executive leadership and how he will manage any conflicts of interest that arise from his multipronged role.

“There’s been changes at exec-

utive levels. I know those changes are unsettling,” he said. “I can only imagine how stressful that might actually be for folks that are just trying to do their jobs. What I can say is you have a very strong executive team right now.”

Ms. Smith’s government has twice removed the entire board of AHS and installed multiple leaders before Mr. Tremblay, who is overseeing the transition of AHS to a hospital-based service provider. Ms. Smith is dividing AHS into four separate organizations – focused independently on acute care, continuing care, primary care and mental health and addictions.

Mr. Tremblay told attendees of the town hall that the ethics commissioner is his “best professional friend” when asked about how he intends to manage any conflicts of interest. He said his “biggest challenge” is ensuring his two roles are differentiated enough and added that he has had to recuse himself from some meetings.

Mr. Tremblay said he is setting up regular meetings with Ethics Commissioner Shawn McLeod, a lawyer who once ran to become a United Conservative Party candidate and was appointed to the non-partisan position last May.

NDP Leader Naheed Nenshi, in a statement on Tuesday, said that the allegations have gone “from incredibly bad to even worse.” He renewed his call for Ms. LaGrange to step down during the investigations. “And if they want to resign, that should be on the table too,” he said.

CSFs are privately owned outfits that perform medical procedures at the expense of government, as part of the public health care system. The United Conservative Party government has been expanding their use, arguing that they are more efficient than relying on hospitals.

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Ford calls for tighter U.S.-Canada trade ties

Premiers from across the country arrive in Washington to meet lawmakers, business groups to prevent Trump tariffs

LAURA STONE
MARK RENDELL WASHINGTON

Ontario Premier Doug Ford advocated for a closer trade relationship between Canada and the United States as premiers from across the country arrived in Washington to meet with lawmakers and business groups in a bid to prevent punishing tariffs from U.S. President Donald Trump.

Mr. Ford, who is also campaigning for re-election as Progressive Conservative Leader, arrived in the U.S. capital Tuesday to meet with officials the day after Mr. Trump announced that 25-per-cent tariffs on all steel and aluminum imports, including from Canada, would begin March 12.

Meetings were planned all day Wednesday for the premiers visiting Washington, as well as a joint luncheon with the Canadian American Business Council. Mr. Ford is chair of the Council of the Federation, representing Canada's provincial and territorial leaders.

The premiers, along with federal ministers, have spent months advocating against tariffs since Mr. Trump first threatened 25-per-cent levies on all Canadian and Mexican goods, which were eventually put on pause until at least March. Mr. Ford's government spent tens of millions on U.S. advertising, and others, such as Alberta Premier Danielle Smith and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, travelled to Mar-a-Lago to press Mr. Trump personally, in a pre-emptive bid to avoid economic damage.

The Trump administration announced this week that it would reinstate the steel and aluminum levies put in place during Mr. Trump's first term, with a higher tariff on aluminum this time around. This could have a major impact on both industries, which rely on the U.S. as their primary market. Around half of the steel produced in Canada is currently



Ontario Premier Doug Ford speaks during an event hosted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington on Tuesday, where he promoted his idea of a 'Fortress Am-Can.' MARK SCHIEFELBEIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

sent south across the border, along with more than 90 per cent of the aluminum, with combined exports worth around \$35-billion last year.

Mr. Ford appeared at an event hosted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on Tuesday to promote his idea of a "Fortress Am-Can," which he bills as a renewed alliance between the U.S. and Canada, including an integrated energy and electricity grid. The audience of about 100 people included a sizable delegation of Canadian businesspeople and officials.

The Ontario Premier told the audience that the two countries need to be "very clear-eyed" about the risk of a North American trade war.

"It is totally unnecessary," he said.

"As the whole world is watching two closest friends about to wage an economic war against each other ... I'll tell you who's sitting back and laughing, is China."

He said he would be discussing retaliation against Mr. Trump's steel and aluminum tariffs with his provincial and federal counterparts. When asked whether Ontario was considering cancell-

ing its \$100-million contract with Elon Musk's company Starlink – which he already threatened to rip up – he said that "everything's on the table right now."

Mr. Ford's detour to D.C. during the provincial campaign, with an election date set for Feb. 27, has raised the ire of opposition parties in Ontario, who say the PC Leader is abandoning the province at a critical time and unfairly using his trip to campaign. Mr. Ford told reporters he travelled to Washington in his capacity as Ontario Premier. He said the PC Party is paying his expenses, as well as those of his political staff, which include a private chartered flight.

The Prime Minister said Tuesday that Canada will retaliate if the U.S. proceeds with what he called "entirely unjustified" tariffs on Canadian steel and aluminum. Mr. Trudeau, speaking to reporters during a visit to Paris, said it makes no sense to hike costs for Canadian steel and aluminum because they are key ingredients in vital American industries.

Neil Herrington, senior vice-president for the Americas department at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said that many U.S.

businesses are concerned about Mr. Trump's tariffs against Canada, particularly around aluminum.

Eric Miller, president of Rideau Potomac Strategy Group, a Washington-based consultancy, said that Canadian premiers are right to come to Washington to make their case, but he's doubtful it will do much to change Mr. Trump's mind.

"This is a case where, unfortunately, President Trump has to touch the hot stove before he realizes how valuable and integrated this relationship is and begins to take a different course," Mr. Miller said.

Mr. Ford also suggested speeding up the renegotiation of the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA), echoing comments from Quebec Premier François Legault. The treaty, which replaced NAFTA in 2020, is up for review next year, but Mr. Trump has ordered his team to start reviewing it right away.

"I think it's important, let's get a deal," Mr. Ford told reporters after his chamber event. "The only thing certain right now in both economies is uncertainty, and nothing scares companies more than uncertainty, and nothing

scares people more."

Saskatchewan Premier Scott Moe, who is also in Washington this week, said he supports an early renegotiation of CUSMA. But first, he said, there should be a federal election after the new Liberal leader is crowned on March 9.

"To renegotiate USMCA in the dying days of our current government would just not be fair to Canadians," he said, using the American term for the trade agreement.

Mr. Moe added that while he believes in countertariffs targeting specific U.S. products, he does not agree with dollar-for-dollar retaliation.

Manitoba Premier Wab Kinew said in an interview that the goal of the trip is to build connections with U.S. politicians to make the case for the value of an integrated North American economy.

"We got a window of time right now where we want to persuade the American administration that we shouldn't have these tariffs. ... For us in Manitoba, we're talking about hundreds of steelworkers working good jobs in a community like Selkirk," he said.

B.C. Premier David Eby has pointed out the extraordinary reliance of Americans on Canadian aluminum, including from Rio Tinto's smelter in Kitimat. The U.S. consumes around five million tonnes of aluminum every year and only produced 750,000 tonnes last year. Canada made up much of the difference, sending 3.1 million tonnes south across the border last year.

As part of the trip, Mr. Ford co-hosted a reception with Republican North Dakota Senator Kevin Cramer, one of Mr. Trump's allies. Mr. Ford also met with Representative Lisa McClain of Michigan and Congressman Rob Wittman of Virginia, both Republicans. His office said he also recently spoke with commerce secretary nominee Howard Lutnick and Secretary of the Interior Doug Burgum.

Mr. Ford's office confirmed that he flew on a chartered private flight early Tuesday morning. Campaign spokeswoman Ivana Yelich said the plane will also be used to travel to Ontario's north later this week and was previously used during the 2022 campaign.

With a report from Steven Chase

Czar: Ottawa ramps up fentanyl fight with Brosseau appointment

■ FROM A1

On Monday, Mr. Trump announced 25-per-cent tariffs on all steel and aluminum imports, including from Canada, that will come into effect on March 12.

Ottawa has not yet unveiled counter-tariffs, but Mr. Trudeau, speaking to reporters during a visit to Paris, said Canada will retaliate if the United States proceeds with what he called "entirely unjustified" tariffs on Canadian steel and aluminum.

In a statement on the new drug czar, which appeared to be directed at the U.S. government as much as Canada, Mr. Trudeau talked tough on fentanyl.

"Fentanyl is a lethal drug that must be eradicated from our communities," the Prime Minister said, adding that the appointment of Mr. Brosseau will "accelerate Canada's efforts to detect, disrupt and dismantle the fentanyl trade, in partnership with the United States."

The announcement from the Prime Minister's Office echoed comments employed by the Trump administration to describe the death toll and destruction caused by the highly addictive opioid, saying it has "torn apart communities and families across Canada and the United States." It added: "The scourge of fentanyl must be wiped from the face of the Earth, its production must be shut down, and its profiteers must be punished."

Mr. Brosseau served in the RCMP for more than 20 years, including as deputy commissioner and commanding officer for Manitoba.

"Recently, as deputy national security and intelligence adviser to the Prime Minister, Mr. Brosseau navigated Canada's most sensitive security challenges. His demonstrated expertise tackling drug trafficking, organized crime networks, and other national security threats will bring tremendous value to this position," the PMO said.

Goldy Hyder, president of the Business Council of Canada, welcomed the appointment. While on a visit to Washington, he said American officials are closely tracking Canada's action on fentanyl. "It's important that the United States sees Canada keep its commitment in this regard, as it should, in others, like NATO," he said, referring to defence spending targets set by

the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Jody Thomas, who has served as national security adviser to the prime minister as well as deputy minister of national defence and commissioner of the Canadian Coast Guard, has worked with Mr. Brosseau over the years. She called him the "perfect choice" for fentanyl czar and said it made sense to appoint someone who is still in government rather than bringing back someone who has already retired.

"He understands policing. He understands the provinces," she said of Mr. Brosseau. "He understands the federal system. So, he can work with the deputy minister of public safety. He can work with the Minister of Public Safety," Ms. Thomas said. She said Mr. Brosseau was well-respected in American law enforcement.

"I think that he is the right person to be able to bring provinces together, municipalities together, speak to the federal aspect of this and start to look at what we can do to stop this problem."

Ottawa is heaping a lot of expectations on this job. Public Safety Minister David McGuinty said Tuesday that as fentanyl czar Mr. Brosseau's remit will be broad.

"Between cities and provinces, as well as our international borders, this person will need to work with all levels of government, with credibility as a team player. Working closely with our American counterparts to disrupt and dismantle this illegal drug trade crossing our border, the fentanyl czar will need expertise in drug trafficking, organized crime networks, and other national security threats."

Mr. Trump's tariff threats, however, appear to be based on faulty data. The White House justified the now-delayed across-the-board levies against Canada by noting 43 pounds of fentanyl had been seized at the northern border last fiscal year, representing a "massive 2,050-per-cent increase" compared with the fiscal year prior, when two pounds of fentanyl was intercepted.

As The Globe and Mail recently reported, however, court records and interviews indicate that about one-third of this 43-pound tally was seized in July in Spokane, Wash., – more than 150 kilometres from the border with Canada – as part of an investigation that led to charges against three Mexican nationals. That bust has no known connection to Canada.

“

He understands policing. He understands the provinces. He understands the federal system. So, he can work with the deputy minister of public safety. He can work with the Minister of Public Safety. I think that he is the right person to be able to bring provinces together, municipalities together, speak to the federal aspect of this and start to look at what we can do to stop this problem.

JODY THOMAS
FORMER NATIONAL
SECURITY ADVISER

Pope rebukes Trump administration over migrant deportations

NICOLE WINFIELD ROME

Pope Francis issued a major rebuke Tuesday to the Trump administration's plans for mass deportations of migrants, warning that the forceful removal of people purely because of their illegal status deprives them of their inherent dignity and "will end badly."

The Pope took the remarkable step of addressing the U.S. migrant crackdown in a letter to U.S. bishops in which he appeared to take direct aim at Vice-President JD Vance's defence of the deportation program on theological grounds.

U.S. border czar Tom Homan immediately pushed back, noting that the Vatican is a city-state surrounded by walls and that the Pope should leave border enforcement to his office.

History's first Latin American pope has long made caring for migrants a priority of his pontificate, citing the biblical command to "welcome the stranger" in demanding that countries welcome, protect, promote and integrate those fleeing conflicts, poverty and climate disasters.

The Argentine Jesuit and President Donald Trump have long sparred over migration, including before Trump's first administration when the Pope in 2016 famously said anyone who builds a wall to keep out migrants was "not a Christian."

In the letter, the Pope said nations have the right to defend themselves and keep their communities safe from criminals.

"That said, the act of deporting people who in many cases have left their own land for reasons of extreme poverty, insecurity, exploitation, persecution or serious deterioration of the environment, damages the dignity of many men and women, and of entire families, and places them in a state of particular vulnerabil-

ity and defencelessness," he wrote.

Citing the Book of Exodus and Jesus Christ's own experience, the Pope affirmed the right of people to seek shelter and safety in other lands and described the deportation plan as a "major crisis" unfolding in the U.S.

Anyone schooled in Christianity "cannot fail to make a critical judgment and express its disagreement with any measure that tacitly or explicitly identifies the illegal status of some migrants with criminality," he said.

"What is built on the basis of force, and not on the truth about the equal dignity of every human being, begins badly and will end badly," he warned.

The president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Archbishop Timothy Broglio, responded with a letter of thanks to the Pope.

"With you, we pray that the U.S. government keep its prior commitments to help those in desperate need," Archbishop Broglio wrote.

"Boldly I ask for your continued prayers so that we may find the courage as a nation to build a more humane system of immigration, one that protects our communities while safeguarding the dignity of all."

White House press secretary Karoline Leavitt said last week that more than 8,000 people had been arrested in immigration enforcement actions since Mr. Trump took office Jan. 20. Some have been deported, others are being held in federal prisons and still others are being held at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba.

Mr. Vance, a Catholic convert, has defended the administration's America-first crackdown by citing a concept from medieval Catholic theology known in Latin as "ordo amoris."

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Canada Post to vet Liberal leadership voters

Move follows recent scrutiny over vulnerability of political parties to foreign interference

BILL CURRY
DEPUTY OTTAWA BUREAU CHIEF
OTTAWA

The Liberal Party plans to rely heavily on Canada Post to confirm the voters' identities in the leadership race to replace Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Before being allowed to cast a ballot, registered Liberals will have to verify their identity. Newly published rules say this can be done either through an in-person visit to a participating Canada Post office or by using Canada Post's Identity+ mobile app. The app scans ID documents such as a passport or driver's licence and requires users to photograph themselves as a way of confirming their identity.

The party released a six-page document this week that outlines the rules for verification ahead of the leadership vote, the results of which will be announced on March 9.

They say voters can cast their ballot online or by phone through an automated message. There will be no option to vote in person.

Voting is open to individuals who were listed as registered Liberals by the party as of the Jan. 27 cutoff date. Liberal Party rules allow people as young as 14 to register. Further, they must be a Canadian citizen, permanent resident or have status under the Indian Act. They also have to primarily reside in Canada and can't be a member of any other federal political party in the country.

The focus on confirming voter identity follows recent scrutiny about the vulnerability of political parties to foreign interference



New Liberal Party rules say voters can verify their identity either through an in-person visit to a participating Canada Post office or by using Canada Post's Identity+ mobile app. AMIR SALEHI/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

in their electoral processes.

However, Jamie Carroll, who was national director of the Liberal Party for a period in 2006 and 2007, said the involvement of Canada Post will likely discourage some registered Liberals from completing the process and casting a ballot.

Mr. Carroll said he welcomes the party's effort to take the risk of interference and validation seriously, but added that "They seem to have found the most awkward and least efficient possible way to do that."

He said some may find the process too cumbersome and not follow through, particularly younger people who may not have a driver's licence or passport to easily confirm their identities. And he said there are other online verification options, such as through Interac, that could have been used.

Mr. Carroll, who said he is supporting Mark Carney for the lead-

ership but is not actively campaigning for him, said he's heard concerns about the process from several of the leadership campaigns but they are reluctant to criticize the party.

"There's a concern among the campaigns that this is going to disenfranchise thousands, if not tens of thousands of potentially eligible voters," he said.

How Canada's federal political parties set rules for participation in party elections was a topic of scrutiny during hearings of the public inquiry into foreign interference, led by Justice Marie-Josée Hogue.

The inquiry heard testimony last year about the Liberal Party's membership rules and concerns that they opened the door to potential foreign interference.

On Friday, a government panel called the Security and Intelligence Threats to Elections Task Force issued a statement saying it had identified an information op-

eration with links to China targeting Liberal leadership candidate Chrystia Freeland. It said the operation involved more than 30 WeChat news accounts that shared content disparaging Ms. Freeland.

The three other candidates in the leadership race are former House leader Karina Gould and former Liberal MPs Frank Baylis and Ruby Dhalla.

Liberal Party spokesperson Parker Lund said in an e-mail that the party has created "the most secure and accessible voting process in Canadian history."

He said the Canada Post Identity+ app is trusted by businesses and governments across the country and that there are more than 6,000 participating Canada Post locations that will provide in-person verification.

"Our comprehensive ID requirements protect the integrity of the vote while ensuring registered Liberals, including young

Canadians, have a wide array of options available to verify their identity before they can cast a ballot," he said.

When asked how much the Liberals are paying Canada Post to provide this service, Mr. Lund said the party does not discuss the specifics of contracts.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Carney spoke with reporters in Regina Tuesday, where his comments mostly focused on how he would respond to tariff threats from the United States.

He said Canada should focus on reducing internal trade barriers and expanding trade with other markets. He also said he supports building major new infrastructure projects, including pipelines, trade corridors and port infrastructure, "for our new trading partners."

Ms. Freeland announced several economic policies Tuesday, including pledges on cutting the second income-tax bracket rate from 20.5 per cent to 19 per cent; eliminating the GST on new homes for first-time buyers; capping credit-card interest rates at 15 per cent; capping profit margins on essential groceries; and adding 100,000 more \$10-a-day childcare spaces.

The NDP criticized Ms. Freeland's announcement as a flip-flop, saying the Liberal government previously opposed NDP efforts to cap grocery prices.

The Liberal Party announced late last month that nearly 400,000 people are signed up as registered Liberals and will be eligible to vote in the leadership race, provided they go through the verification process.

The party said the number of registered Liberals nearly quadrupled since Mr. Trudeau announced his intention to resign on Jan. 6.

The rules released this week say any misrepresentation in the verification process may result in a fine of up to \$10,000, but do not explain how this would be enforced or collected.

The race to replace the Prime Minister is a contest that isn't testing anyone

CAMPBELL CLARK
OPINION



When Justin Trudeau finally announced Jan. 6 he would step down, some Liberals called for a quick anointing of former finance minister Chrystia Freeland as the party's new leader.

But Gerald Butts, the Prime Minister's friend and former chief strategist, argued against that on the grounds that the candidates needed to be tested in a leadership race.

"If you want to know who can play hockey, put on a hockey game," he wrote in an article about Liberal Party infighting.

So far, it hasn't been much of a game. You wouldn't say it's enough of a showcase to select Team Canada. It isn't even telling Liberals who can really play. And it doesn't look like it's going to get a lot better.

Mr. Butts is a supporter of another leadership contestant, Mark Carney, so you could see why he didn't want a coronation for Ms. Freeland. But the assumption was that if there was a real race it would be Mr. Carney who would be tested.

He's the candidate who is a political rookie. The former central banker had never campaigned

for anything, and despite delivering a lot of financial speeches and writing a book called *Values*, Canadians don't really know much about what he believes.

It turns out that vague has helped Mr. Carney. He has run with it. And the way this leadership race is going, he just might get to the finish line in the same style.

He kicked off his leadership race unofficially with an interview with U.S. comedian Jon Stewart on *The Daily Show* — a pop-culture coup that is never going to tell a Canadian much about whether the interviewee should be their future prime minister.

Since then, Mr. Carney has done appearances on local television but not a major national TV interview in this country. Ms. Freeland went on Radio-Canada's big talk show *Tout le monde en parle*, but Mr. Carney apparently doesn't have to bother. That must be a relief: His French-language interviews have occasionally yielded confusing answers.

Now there are just the two leadership debates, one in French and one in English, that will constitute anything like a competitive trial.

But the party has left them late, less than two weeks before the vote, and it is likely they will feature a cacophonous field of

five candidates — three of whom have little chance — which doesn't leave much time to focus on the two main contenders.

Admittedly, it's hardly a race full of big differences on matters of policy. Distinguishing Mr. Carney's ideology from Ms. Freeland's is like trying to choose between paint swatches labelled off-white and eggshell.

Ms. Freeland has offered more policy proposals, but the big issue dividing the two contenders is how tied they are to Mr. Trudeau's record and who is best to take on U.S. President Donald Trump and his tariff threats.

That new set of trade-war issues has been a political boon for Mr. Carney. Voters seem to think his CV fits the new political con-

text.

Pollsters have reported more Canadians feel Mr. Carney would be better at handling negotiations with Mr. Trump than Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre or Ms. Freeland, although results depend on the specific question.

But the paradox is that the people expressing confidence in Mr. Carney to pollsters haven't spent a lot of time listening to him.

"Most people really don't know who he is," said pollster and strategist Greg Lyle, the president of Innovative Research Group.

That tells us that Canadians are willing to project good things onto Mr. Carney — but not necessarily that they will keep believ-

ing them. They are offering approval for a package without having yet been able to peek at the contents.

The suggestion that a Liberal Party led by Mr. Carney might be able give Mr. Poilievre a competitive race might already be pushing him out of the reach of any of the other leadership contenders, including Ms. Freeland. But it has been a remarkably brief and breezy campaign to pick a leader who will automatically become prime minister.

Of course, that prime minister will almost immediately have to go through general election campaign that will be a lot rougher. As it stands now, the Liberals will pick a captain who hasn't played in that kind of game.

GLOBAL AID TO UKRAINE SURPASSED GOAL, WITH EUROPE AND CANADA FUNDING MORE THAN HALF, NATO SAYS

NATO members have exceeded their goal and provided more than €50-billion (\$74-billion) of security assistance to Ukraine last year, with Europe and Canada contributing more than half, an alliance spokesperson said on Tuesday.

U.S. President Donald Trump's administration is pressuring European allies in NATO to spend more on defence and take on a bigger role in supporting Ukraine against Russia's three-year-old, full-scale invasion.

NATO defence ministers will gather in Brussels this week for a meeting to be attended by new U.S. Defence Secretary Pete Hegseth. Defence spending will feature high on the agenda.

During a summit in Washington last year, leaders from NATO's 32 member countries promised a minimum of €40-billion (\$59-billion) of security assist-

ance for Kyiv "through proportional contributions" and "within the next year."

NATO Secretary-General Mark Rutte has now told allies that this goal has been met.

Acting alliance spokesperson Allison Hart said Mr. Rutte "has now confirmed that allies exceeded this commitment, providing over €50-billion of security assistance to Ukraine in 2024."

"More than half of this comes from European allies and Canada," she added. The remaining assistance came from the U.S.

NATO did not provide details on the methodology used for calculating contributions.

Ukrainian officials have been urging their Western partners to provide more assistance and faster, stressing the need for more sophisticated air defences and ammunition.

REUTERS



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UNRWA under pressure during ceasefire

UN relief agency keeps at its work in Gaza, although Israel wants its services shut down

ERIC REGULY
EUROPEAN BUREAU CHIEF
ROME

The main United Nations agency in Gaza is struggling to stay alive as the Hamas-Israeli ceasefire seems on the verge of collapsing, threatening more casualties and hunger in the devastated strip.

Ten days after Israel's Knesset passed two laws intended to halt the operations of UNRWA, the Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees, the agency remains in diminished form and continues to work in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

But the new laws, combined with vanishing funding required to house, educate, feed and provide medical care for Gaza's two million Palestinians, could cripple the agency when its services may be needed most. Late on Monday, U.S. President Donald Trump warned that if all the Israeli hostages held in Gaza were not freed by Saturday, he would propose cancelling the ceasefire and letting "all hell break loose."

He doubled up on his demand, saying that all Gazans should be transferred to Egypt and Jordan and that, once pushed out, they would have no right to return under his plan for U.S. "ownership" of the strip. On Monday night, he threatened to withhold substantial aid payments to those countries, both of which struggle financially, unless they accepted the Palestinians. In the fiscal 2023 year, Egypt received US\$1.4-billion in U.S. aid, according to the American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt; Jordan received US\$1.7-billion, according to the U.S. government.

But on Tuesday, as he met with Jordan's King Abdullah II at the White House, Mr. Trump said he was not using support as a threat. "We contribute a lot of money to Jordan, and to Egypt by the way – a lot to both. But I don't have to threaten that. I think we're above that," he said.

Hamas and Israel had already



A woman walks past a destroyed UNRWA health centre in Gaza City on Monday. Israel's Knesset has passed two laws intended to halt the operations of the relief agency for Palestinians. BASHAR TALEB/AFP/Getty Images

warned that the three-week-old ceasefire is at a breaking point. Hamas on Monday accused Israel of "violations" in the deal, after which Israeli Defence Minister Israel Katz placed the military on alert and told it to prepare for "any scenario in Gaza." On Tuesday, Israeli Communications Minister Shlomo Karhi wrote on X that, "It is time to open the gates of hell on Hamas – and this time, without any restrictions on our heroic fighters."

UNRWA's operations were devastated during the war. More than 275 of its employees were killed, and 20 remain detained in Israel. With thousands of fewer employees in Gaza and insufficient funding, its ability to cope with the fallout of any renewed fighting between Hamas and Israel will drop off.

"We are only able to work because of the dedicated UN workers who are still in Gaza," Juliette Touma, UNRWA's director of communications, told The Globe and Mail. "We are running low on funds. We are scraping the bottom of the barrel."

UNRWA was established in 1949 by the UN General Assembly to provide relief to the nearly one million Palestinian refugees who lost their homes and land when

Israel was created the year before. Palestinians refer to the event as the Nakba, or catastrophe. Hundreds of thousands of people expelled by Israel ended up in the narrow Gaza Strip, which is 41 kilometres long and wedged along the borders of the Egyptian Sinai desert and Israel.

Since then, UNRWA's services have played a role in almost every aspect of Gazan life. Before the war that started on Oct. 7, 2023, when Hamas militants from Gaza attacked Israel and killed about 1,200 people, the agency had 13,000 employees in the strip, the vast majority of them Palestinians; there were about 40 international staff, including Americans, Canadians and Europeans. The agency ran two dozen medical clinics, provided water and sanitation, distributed food to about one million Gazans and ran more than 180 schools with roughly 290,000 students.

The demands on UNRWA increased after 2007, one year after Hamas won the Palestinian elections, when Israel and Egypt put Gaza under blockade. The United States emerged as the biggest donor by far and was contributing about US\$400-million a year, excluding emergency funding, which covered more than two-

thirds of the budget. In May, 2024, Canada contributed about \$25-million to UNRWA.

A number of donor states, including the U.S., cut their funding to UNRWA after Israel alleged that some of its employees had been involved in the Oct. 7 attack. After a UN investigation concluded that nine employees "may have been" involved, all donor states except the United States resumed their contributions. In December, Sweden announced it would halt UNRWA funding.

The two new Israeli laws are making operations difficult at UNRWA, but have not killed off the agency's work in Gaza and the West Bank. Both laws are the result of Israel's allegations of Hamas infiltrating UNRWA; Israeli lawmakers called the agency a terror group last year.

The first law bars the agency from conducting any activity within Israeli territory; the second prohibits Israeli authorities from any contact with UNRWA officials or employees. Israel has refused to renew the visas of 25 international employees in the East Jerusalem office, Ms. Touma said.

"If Knesset laws complicate our situation and if the Israelis stop allowing us to bring in supplies, or arrest more of our staff,

then we have a real problem doing our job," she said.

Other UN agencies are trying to fill in some of the gaps left by UNRWA. The International Organization for Migration is providing tents, water sanitation and hygiene services. The UN's World Food Programme (WFP) is feeding about 700,000 Gazans a day now that regular truck convoys can enter the strip, similar in number to UNRWA. UNICEF, the children's agency, has been delivering truckloads of everything from clothes to malnutrition treatments since the ceasefire started on Jan. 19.

But UNRWA will be hard to replace, given its vast infrastructure and 75 years of experience on the ground, observers say.

"UNRWA's capacity in terms of providing for the needs of the Palestinians under their care is something impossible to replicate by simply transferring to another agency. The range of services, experience and institutional memory is invaluable," said H.A. Hellyer, a scholar with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Middle East Program and the security studies department at the Royal United Services Institute in London. "But it seems that is precisely the point. To destroy UNRWA's ability to do its UN-mandated duty is the aim of this move by the Israelis."

The UN has no apparent plan to replace UNRWA if it can no longer do its job owing to lack of funding or Israeli legal restrictions.

The agency hopes that contributions, including private donations, will allow it to keep going in some capacity while it fights the Israeli restrictions.

Israel has said the WFP can handle UNRWA's food distribution, though UNRWA is more than a food agency.

"In Gaza, UNRWA acts more like a de facto state than a UN agency," David Makovsky, a director at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, said in a Jan. 28 report. "In the end, the Israel Defense Forces may have to take on this task and other acute UNRWA responsibilities, creating logistical, security and economic strains."

With reports from Reuters

Ottawa sluggish on Sudanese refugee help: critics

MARIE WOOLF OTTAWA

The civil war in Sudan was called the "worst humanitarian crisis in the world" by the African Union on Tuesday, as the ruinous conflict between the army and paramilitary Rapid Support Forces nears its two-year anniversary.

The fighting has killed tens of thousands of people, forcing about 12 million to leave their homes, according to the United Nations, in what has become the world's largest displacement crisis.

Almost a year ago, Ottawa set up a temporary humanitarian program to help Sudanese with immediate family in Canada flee the conflict. But of more than 7,000 Sudanese who have applied to come here, only about 180 have so far arrived, and the immigration department has faced accusations of stalling.

Members of Canada's Sudanese community say long delays in processing applications and hurdles requiring people to cross the conflict zone, including areas controlled by militia, into neighbouring countries to get biometric checks, are causing anguish and, in some cases, panic.

Ranya Elfil, a member of the Sudanese Canadian Community Association who has been co-ordinating with Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), said 7,300 have applied to come to Canada, but the program has proved devastating for many who filled in the paperwork hoping to find a safe haven here, only to face lengthy delays.

"Here we are almost one year since the launch with a handful who actually made it to Canada and with almost more than half the number of applicants still in the very early stages of processing," she said.

Sadia Araa, a pharmacy technician in Ottawa, applied nearly a year ago to bring her mother, brother and sister to Canada. They are from the Zaghawa ethnic minority whose villages have been burned by the RSF rebels, and she fears for their safety. She said her elderly mother walked for days with her sister, in the absence of transportation, to reach a centre that could carry out the medical checks required by Ottawa.

"My mother is 80 years old," she said. "I wish to see her before she dies."

Some Sudanese who crossed into Egypt to get to a centre where they could get biometric checks have been fined around \$1,000 by the Egyptian government for living there illegally and cannot leave the country until the fine is paid.

Abdulkarim Bashir of the Sudanese Canadian Community Association in Ottawa came to Canada almost 20 years ago



People displaced by war collect food from a humanitarian organization in Meroe, Sudan, last month. Fighting has killed tens of thousands of people in the country and forced about 12 million to leave their homes, according to the United Nations. AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

from Darfur to flee an earlier conflict that led to two million people fleeing their homes, and the death of an estimated 200,000 Sudanese civilians.

With war again raging in Sudan, he has been pushing IRCC to speed up the processing of applications but, despite the early promise of Canada's humanitarian program, he said people's expectations have been dashed.

"It looked like Canada is doing something, but it's not."

He said, like other Sudanese-Canadians he knows, he is working two jobs to make the required income to sponsor his family to come here and support them while they wait for their applications to be processed. His family members have been waiting in Sudan, Egypt, Chad and Cameroon for months. His sister and his mother did their biometric checks three months ago in Egypt but have yet to be called by IRCC to do their medical checks.

"It is very painful, to be honest with you, and you don't know what to do. You cannot leave your jobs here. You cannot go back. You don't have your family here. It's a nightmare," he said.

Rasha Elmangoushi, an X-ray technologist, applied to sponsor her brothers, sister and 79-year-old mother to join her in Canada. Her mother and brother managed to get to Oman in August, but two weeks ago, her mother died while waiting for news of her application.

"She was crying day and night. Whenever I called her, she was crying. She was worried about her kids, who are still there," Ms. Elmangoushi said.

Despite repeated calls and e-mails to IRCC, and talking to her local MP, she says she cannot get an answer about why the applications are "stuck in Ottawa."

"They promised that these applications are humanitarian, and they should be expedited. If there is anything for us to do, we will do it. Just let them tell us. Let us understand why they are on hold till now. Nobody knows why they are still stuck," she said.

At the end of 2024, according to IRCC, 3,250 applications had been received from individual Sudanese, or family groups, to come to Canada, and "accepted into processing."

Rémi Larivière, a spokesperson for IRCC, said "Canada remains deeply concerned by the ongoing conflict in Sudan. We empathize with those in this extremely difficult situation."

As of Dec. 26, approximately 2,835 applications are being processed, she said. Around 399 applications (representing 803 people) have been approved, and 179 people have so far landed in Canada.

"Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) continues to process temporary and permanent residence applications already in our inventory for those affected by the conflict in Sudan in all streams," Ms. Larivière said.

"This includes individuals who are still in Sudan and those who have fled the country to surrounding regions. Processing times vary depending on the details of each application and include multiple assessment steps before an application is approved."

AT LEAST 55 CIVILIANS KILLED BY MILITIA FIGHTERS IN ATTACK IN CONGO

GOMA, CONGO Militia fighters killed at least 55 civilians in an attack on a cluster of villages and a camp for displaced people in northeastern Congo, local authorities said Tuesday.

Violence has surged across eastern Congo, where conflict has raged for decades. More than 120 armed groups are fighting in the region, most for land and control of mines with valuable minerals, while some are trying to protect their communities.

Armed men from the CODECO militia attacked the Djaiba group of villages, which is also home to a camp for the displaced, in the province of Ituri Monday night, Antoinette Nzale, the leader of the camp, told the Associated Press. She said 55 civilians died but added that the death toll is likely higher, as bodies continue to be retrieved from the burned-down houses.

The Cooperative for the Development of Congo, or CODECO, is a loose association of militia groups mainly from the ethnic Lendu farming community. The group's attacks killed nearly 1,800 people and wounded more than 500 in the four years through 2022, according to the African Center for the Study and Research on Terrorism.

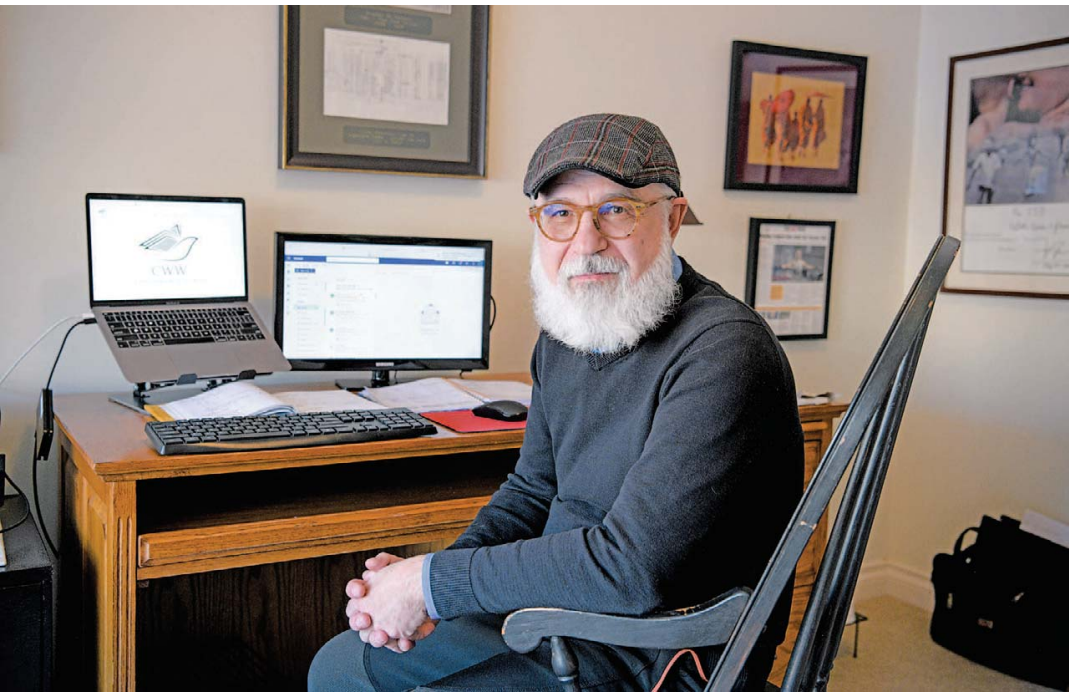
The United Nations has said some of the attacks could constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"Almost the entire village was attacked," Ms. Nzale said, adding that the UN peacekeeping force known as MONUSCO and Congolese government troops intervened but were overwhelmed by the more numerous attackers.

Most of the victims were displaced people who were killed with machetes and firearms, Mumbere David, a resident of Djaiba, told AP over the phone.

In September, CODECO fighters killed at least 20 civilians in Djugu, the same territory that was attacked on Monday night.

ASSOCIATED PRESS



Seeing a demand after volunteering to help Ukrainian children who couldn’t attend school because of the war, David Falconer created Classrooms Without Walls to help serve students in other conflict zones. SARAH B GROOT/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Education: Last year, 576 schools in Ukraine were damaged or destroyed in the war, humanitarian organization says

■ FROM A1

The success of the program is proof not only that children in war zones want to learn, but that they want the normalcy and sense of hope that school provides, he said.

“School is optimism for many of these kids,” Mr. Falconer said over Zoom from his home in Calgary. “It’s an island of normal life.”

He was working as a principal in Nunavut when he received an e-mail from Smart Osvita, a non-governmental organization looking for volunteers to help Ukrainian children who couldn’t attend school because of the war.

Thinking it would be a subject of interest for children there, Mr. Falconer volunteered to teach a class on what it’s like to live in the Canadian Arctic.

“I had one massive iceberg literally parked outside my school,” he said.

First, 10 students logged on. Then 25. Soon, more than 300 showed up.

Eventually, Mr. Falconer was asked to run the NGO’s international teacher recruitment program. That work led him to create Classrooms Without Walls to help serve students in other conflict zones.

Last year, 576 schools, kindergartens and universities in Ukraine were damaged or destroyed in the war, after 256 suffered a similar fate the year before, according to Save the Children, a humanitarian organization.

“You actually have a certain age group of children that have never been in a classroom because of their two years of COVID

and now three years of conflict, so they actually don’t understand what a classroom is,” said Sonia Khush, Save the Children’s country director in Ukraine.

Still, whether they understand what a classroom is or not, many children yearn for the school experience they’re being denied, Ms. Khush said.

“They know it’s not normal. It’s really affecting them. And their parents say the same thing. Their kids have become very shy, very withdrawn. They’re losing their social skills,” she said.

During her Zoom sessions, students in Ukraine and children who had been displaced because of the war were always eager to talk to one another about their lives and interests, Ms. Marshall said.

“One of the great purposes of school that is easy to forget about is that it’s one of the biggest vehicles for social connection.” It is often for many the hope of a better future.

Stephanie Zantingh, a teacher who lives in Guelph, Ont., teaches a social studies class to a group of more than 30 young Afghan women between the ages of 16 and 19, all of whom are studying for the GED test, a step for those without a high-school diploma to access postsecondary education.

“They’re the most eager, enthusiastic group of students I’ve ever taught online,” Ms. Zantingh said.

Only two of the students show their faces during class.

“It’s for security reasons,” Ms. Zantingh said. They don’t want to risk anyone hav-

ing a screenshot of them.

The Taliban prohibits girls 12 and older from going to school in Afghanistan.

Despite the danger, the students are keen to attend and learn, Ms. Zantingh said.

“They’re doing everything they possibly can to be there, to be present and to just take away any new knowledge that they could learn.”

Ms. Zantingh also runs a technology club to teach students basic coding and how to build a website (Classrooms Without Walls also offers a film club, a literature club and a journalism club).

There is also a yoga class, taught by Linda Shore, a certified instructor who lives on Vancouver Island.

Ms. Shore has been doing the class with children in Ukraine for the past two years.

“What I’m trying to do with the class is really send the message to the kids that they are important, they’re smart, they’re creative and they’re capable, because I just imagine the heaviness that surrounds them,” she said.

She also teaches an online class for Afghan women.

The range of classes is important to meet students’ many educational needs, Mr. Falconer said.

Most important of all, though, is what school provides beyond the subjects offered.

“It’s an opportunity for them to connect and just bring that sense of life still continuing,” Mr. Falconer said. “We can still hope, we can still plan, we can still set goals.”

U.S. JUDGE ORDERS HEALTH-RELATED DATA, WEB PAGES RESTORED AFTER TRUMP’S REMOVAL ORDER

WASHINGTON A federal judge on Tuesday ordered U.S. government agencies to restore public access to health-related web pages and data sets that they removed to comply with an executive order by President Donald Trump.

U.S. District Justice John Bates in Washington agreed to issue a temporary restraining order requested by the Doctors for America advocacy group. The judge instructed the government to restore access to several web pages and data sets that the group identified as missing from websites and to identify others that also were taken down “without adequate notice or reasoned explanation.”

On Jan. 20, his first day back in the White House, Mr. Trump signed an order for agencies to use the term “sex” and not “gender” in federal policies and documents. In response, the Office of Personnel Management’s acting director required agency heads to eliminate any programs and take down any websites that promote “gender ideology.”

Doctors for America, represented by the Public Citizen Litigation Group, sued OPM, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Food and Drug Administration and the Department of Health and Human Services.

The non-profit group cited the executive order’s adverse impact on two of its members: a Chicago clinic doctor who would have consulted CDC resources to address a recent chlamydia outbreak in a high school and a Yale School of Medicine doctor who relies on CDC resources about contraceptives and sexually transmitted infections.

“These doctors’ time and effort are valuable, scarce resources, and being forced to spend them elsewhere makes their jobs harder and their treatment less effective,” the judge wrote.

The case is among dozens of lawsuits challenging executive orders that Mr. Trump, a Republican, issued within hours of his second inauguration.

The scrubbed material includes reports on HIV prevention, a CDC web page for providing clinicians with guidance on reproductive health care and an FDA study on “sex differences in the clinical evaluation of medical products.”

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Audits: Ottawa still deciding what action to take in response to findings

■ FROM A1

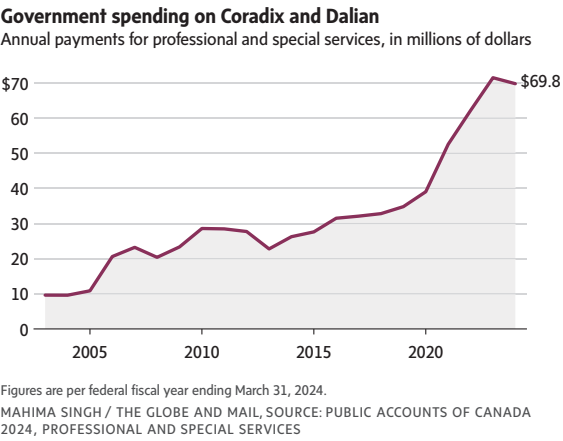
In an e-mailed statement to The Globe and Mail, Carolane Gratton, a spokesperson for Indigenous Services Canada, said that the Coradix-Dalian joint venture had failed the compliance audits, explaining that it “did not meet the ownership and control, as well as the Indigenous content criteria.”

Coradix sued the federal government in May, 2024, seeking \$64-million in compensation for Ottawa’s decision to suspend the company from further federal contract work. Dalian, which was also suspended, is not a party to the lawsuit.

In response to questions from The Globe, Dalian founder David Yeo said in an e-mailed statement his company’s joint venture with Coradix has provided more than two decades of exceptional services to the government and he questioned the timing of the release of the audit findings given that Coradix is suing the government in Federal Court for unfair treatment. Requests for comment sent to Coradix and its lawyer were not returned.

Few other details from the audits were provided by the government, including which contracts were reviewed. The department said it is still determining what can later be released publicly about how it reached this conclusion. It also said that, as a result of the findings, the joint venture will continue to no longer be listed on the government’s Indigenous Business Directory – which is an eligibility requirement for the program. There are several ways an entrepreneur can qualify as Indigenous under the program, such as status under the Indian Act, membership in a recognized Métis nation or “acceptance as an Indigenous person by an established Indigenous community in Canada.”

The government has not deter-



mined what action it will take, if any, in the aftermath of the audit findings, saying this depends on “the remedies available in the contract terms and conditions,” according to Ms. Gratton.

Indigenous Services Canada launched the audits more than a year ago, after receiving questions from The Globe in late 2023 about whether Dalian and Coradix had ever been the subject of a postaward audit under the program. The Indigenous Services department said the Coradix-Dalian joint venture had never been the subject of such a review, but later added that postaward audits had been launched at the request of federal procurement officials.

Most contracts under the program are subject to a preaward audit that checks qualifications such as whether the company is on the federal Indigenous Business Directory. Postaward audits occur far less frequently. They are an after-the-fact review of whether the company met the terms of the program. Only six other companies have failed a postaward audit since 2017, three of which were joint ventures.

The PSIB was launched in 1996 and designed to use government

spending on contracts as a way to help Indigenous businesses grow.

The number of companies registered to take part in the Indigenous Business Directory has jumped sharply in recent years, after the government set a goal that a minimum of 5 per cent of the total value of federal contracts should be awarded to Indigenous businesses by 2024.

In his statement to The Globe, Mr. Yeo said the joint-venture had passed every preaward audit it’s faced over the past 23 years.

He said it was “particularly concerning” that the audit findings are being released at the same time as the government is facing a lawsuit from Coradix.

“Even more troubling is that the audit results were released to the media at the same time they were sent to Dalian without affording Dalian the opportunity to respond. This simultaneous release to the media is highly concerning, as it appears to be a tactic to publicly malign Dalian and its joint venture partner while a matter is before the courts,” he said, adding that Ottawa is attempting to rewrite the way it has historically reviewed and audited the program.

A February, 2024, report by the Auditor-General said the government spent about \$59.5-million on ArriveCan, with \$7.9-million going to Dalian. The report did not mention Coradix, but a Coradix official told MPs it worked with Dalian on ArriveCan.

According to figures provided to the public accounts committee, the Coradix-Dalian joint venture was awarded \$189.5-million in federal contracts between Jan. 1, 2011, and March 4, 2024.

On its own, Coradix has been awarded \$596.8-million and \$127.8-million was awarded to Dalian.

Contract award values are generally higher than amounts actually received.

The annual public accounts record transfers of money from federal departments to specific companies. According to those records, Coradix has received \$543.5-million since 2003, while Dalian has received \$161.1-million.

In December, Indigenous Services Minister Patty Hajdu called for an external review of the program after a former program auditor told The Globe in an interview that he had repeatedly raised concerns about alleged fraud and abuse by non-Indigenous companies. He did not raise concerns specific to Coradix or Dalian, but said joint ventures should be removed from the program.

Ms. Hajdu called the revelations “concerning” and “quite shocking.”

Dalian has long been led by Mr. Yeo, whose great-grandfather is Robert Franklin, a past chief of Ontario’s Alderville First Nation. He also said he does not have status under the Indian Act because of a rule known as the second-generation cut-off, which means that Indian status cannot be passed down to children after two consecutive generations of parents where only one is registered

under the act.

The federal government suspended Dalian and Coradix from federal contracting in March, 2024. The government news release did not provide a reason for the suspension.

However, it followed revelations that Mr. Yeo had been working as a full-time public servant at the Department of National Defence (DND) from September, 2023, to March, 2024, without fully severing ties with his company, which continued to conduct contract work with the department. After his public-service position was reported in the media, then-Treasury Board president Anita Anand announced that the government had suspended Mr. Yeo from his government job and was planning to suspend Dalian from further contract work.

In its statement of claim, Coradix said Public Services and Procurement Canada did not conduct a proper investigation before announcing the suspension. It said the suspensions were done for the “improper purpose” of attempting to deflect negative publicity regarding the government’s alleged lapses in budgetary oversight of the ArriveCan app project.

In a statement of defence dated Sept. 6, 2024, the federal government says the suspensions were not linked to ArriveCan.

It said the suspensions were warranted because neither Coradix nor Dalian properly disclosed that Mr. Yeo was employed by DND.

The government’s statement of defence also took issue with how Coradix described its relationship with Dalian to qualify for contracts set aside for Indigenous companies.

“At all material times, Coradix, either directly or through its officers and directors, effectively controlled the activities of the joint venture,” the government states.



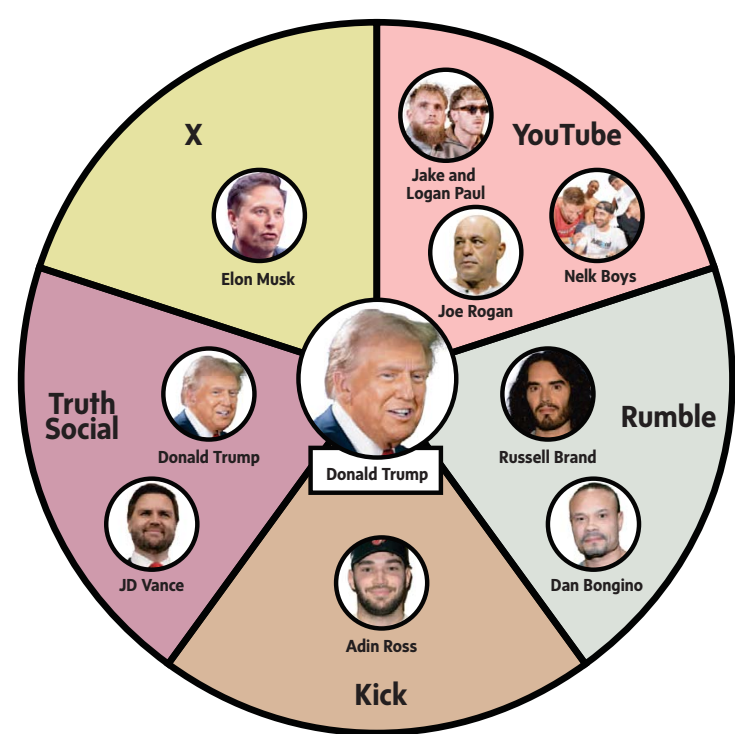
A guide to Trumpism’s online universe, from Kick to Rumble to Truth Social

A right-wing media landscape for social platforms is increasingly taking shape, and its influence now bleeds into the mainstream

PHOTO ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Trumpism’s online universe

Five social media platforms favoured by the U.S. president and his supporters



THE GLOBE AND MAIL. PHOTOS: FREDERIC J. BROWN/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES, AL BELLO/GETTY IMAGES FOR NETFLIX © 2024, DAVE KOTINSKY/GETTY IMAGES FOR FANATICS, MATT SLOCUM/AP PHOTO, KENA BETANCUR/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES, MICHELLE GROSKOPF/THE NEW YORK TIMES, GREGORY PAYAN/AP PHOTO, RICH POLK/GETTY IMAGES FOR POLITICON, CHIP SOMODEVILLA/POOL VIA REUTERS

Depending on where you looked online, the confirmation hearings for U.S. President Donald Trump’s pick for defence secretary, Pete Hegseth, went very differently.

On Bluesky, the refuge for many on the left who have fled Elon Musk’s X, the hearings revealed a man who was grossly unqualified, a misogynist and serial abuser.

On Truth Social, the X facsimile owned by Mr. Trump’s media company, Mr. Hegseth was a patriot who “owned the libs” and would end the military’s woke DEI mindset. When he was officially confirmed, users rejoiced, reposting memes and AI-generated images of the ex-Fox News host smouldering like an uncanny valley Marlon Brando, an American flag in the background.

This whiplash of contrasting reactions is a symptom of the deepening fragmentation of social media, where platforms are becoming increasingly aligned with political ideologies. And in recent years, a decidedly right-wing media ecosystem has flourished, attracting everyone from traditional Republicans to extremist far-right castaways.

When Mr. Trump was expunged from Twitter, Facebook and Instagram in early 2021, after praising the rioters who stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, the President and his MAGA followers decamped to alternative social-media sites, which proudly eschewed the norms of other platforms, such as fact checking and rules against hate speech.

A parallel social-media universe took shape, including Truth Social, Gab and Parler (Twitter-like text-based platforms), Rumble (the YouTube alternative favoured by right-wing communities) and Kick (a livestreaming platform like Twitch, but without any semblance of community guidelines). Mirroring Mr. Trump’s own supporters, the users on these platforms formed a broad alliance: controversial pundits and legacy news commentators, Gen Z influencers, red-pilled meme warriors and crypto bros and suburban MAGA moms. The coalition’s beliefs may not always overlap, but at the centre of their universe is President Trump.

Meanwhile, more recently, some mainstream platforms are turning rightward – or at least wanting to appease the President. On X, Elon Musk uses his account to amplify support for Mr. Trump, reposting memes taunting the Democrats to his 215 million followers, and sway policy decisions in Congress. And in early January, Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg announced Facebook and Instagram were overhauling their content moderation policies – loosening restrictions on how users can speak about transgender people, immigrants and women, and ending its fact-checking program meant to curb misinformation.

Although the newer platforms have user bases a fraction of the size of their mainstream counterparts, they still can be incredibly influential. As authors Joan Donovan, Emily Dreyfuss and Brian Friedberg explain in *Meme Wars: The Untold Story of the Online Battles Upending Democracy in America*, conspiracy theorist and Trump ally Alex Jones kept an eye on 4chan – the controversial decades-old message board popular with right-wing trolls – understanding that the political energy in this otherwise obscure imageboard was “an early warning sign” of what was happening in the real world.

Communities on these smaller platforms, they write, “had been having a profound impact on American society for decades – mainstreaming fringe ideas through the sharing of memes, trolling celebrities and journalists and politicians, and generally getting up to all sort of planned mayhem – but were largely unknown to most Americans until they emerged from the wires of the internet and showed up on the Capitol steps that day.”

Here’s a breakdown of Trumpism’s online universe.



Truth Social gives U.S. President Donald Trump and U.S. Vice-President JD Vance a platform they control and can use to reach supporters.
EVAN VUCCI/AP PHOTO, THOMAS PADILLA/AP PHOTO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TRUTH SOCIAL
What it is: An X copycat doubling as Trump’s megaphone
Main players: Donald Trump, JD Vance, aspiring right-wing politicians and the alt-right media
Monthly users: 4.68 million

When Donald Trump first proposed 25 per cent tariffs on imports from Canada, he made the announcement on his niche Twitter-like platform, Truth Social, solidifying it as the President’s preferred destination for declaring new policies and executive orders.

The platform, which launched in 2022 in the aftermath of Mr. Trump’s expulsion from Twitter, is also his megaphone to amplify his unvarnished opinions on everything from the threatened TikTok ban to transgender athletes. It’s where he praises allies, airs grievances and reposts a staggering amount of memes and AI-generated images.

(AI slop is abundant on Truth Social; one image that went viral after the election showed an AI-generated portrait of Melania Trump with angel wings, surrounded by cherubic, blonde-haired children, captioned with the text “PROTECT OUR CHILDREN.”)

The platform’s trending feed – called “Hot Truths” – often features posts from the platform’s power users, including Sean Hannity, Charlie Kirk (the leader of the influential PAC Turning Point USA), alt-right activist Jack Posobiec and Republican congresswoman and firebrand Marjorie Taylor Greene. Sprinkled throughout the stream are everyday MAGA supporters on the front lines of creating content glorifying the President, which he often “re-truths.”

Of the conservative X rivals that have emerged – Parler, Gab and Gettr – Truth Social is the front runner, largely because of its proximity to the President. (He has a financial interest in its success, too: He owns roughly 58 per cent of the app’s parent company, Trump Media & Technology Group.)

Yet in comparison to X or Bluesky, its user base is tiny. According to Similarweb, a data firm that tracks online traffic, in December, Truth Social recorded 13.5 million total visits, compared to X’s more than 4.5 billion. But what happens on Truth Social does not stay on Truth Social.

“Trump has a lot of control over the ecology in conservative media. If he says something on Truth Social, news organizations will cover it,” says Josephine Lukito, an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin. “And his posts have a ripple effect. They make their way into Rumble, onto X, onto Telegram groups that are pro-Donald.”

Ms. Lukito, who has studied right-wing media through three presidential election cycles, says she’s also seen an increase in federal candidates joining Truth Social, and other alt-tech spaces, as a way to ingratiate themselves with Mr. Trump.

“Even if a candidate isn’t media savvy, they will still go out of their way to join Truth Social because they know that’s where the President is.”



Elon Musk runs Mr. Trump’s Department of Government Efficiency, or DOGE, while also owning an array of tech businesses, including the social platform formerly called Twitter. DAVID SWANSON/REUTERS

X
What it is: A new Republican playground
Main players: Elon Musk, and right-wing users he reinstated
Monthly users: 452.5 million

Under Elon Musk’s rule, X has become the tech billionaire’s political playground. During the presidential campaign, he posted a near-constant stream of pro-Trump content and boosted misinformation. He re-posted offensive memes and AI-generated videos mocking the Democrats. (One video featured a deepfake of Democratic candidate Kamala Harris saying “I was selected because I’m the ultimate diversity hire.”)

It seems he meant to single-handedly fulfill half of the promise he made when he offered to buy the platform back in 2022: “For Twitter to deserve public trust, it must be politically neutral, which effectively means upsetting the far right and the far left equally.” Weeks after his takeover, the app restored some 60,000 accounts previously suspended for policy violations, including those of white nationalists, neo-Nazis and conspiracy theorists.

Under Mr. Musk, more Republicans are flocking to the site. According to Pew Research Center, in 2021, only 17 per cent of users identified as Republican. In 2024, that number jumped to 53 per cent. And those Republican users who post about politics are more likely than their Democratic counterparts to cite their views being welcome on X as a major reason why they’re on the platform (54 per cent vs. 33 per cent).

This has all greatly shifted the content you see on X, according to media experts. “Far-right and Republican politicians have felt more open to say things that push the boundaries in terms of political and social acceptability,” said Shannon McGregor, an associate professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

As left-leaning users flee X, this new content is more likely to be amplified, adds Ms. McGregor, pointing to an analysis by the Washington Post that found Republican tweets go viral far more often than Democratic ones.



The ‘manosphere’ magnates you might meet on YouTube include, clockwise from top left, Jake and Logan Paul, the Nerk Boys, Theo Von and Joe Rogan. AL BELLO/GETTY IMAGES FOR NETFLIX, MICHELLE GROSCHOPF/THE NEW YORK TIMES, JASPER COLT/REUTERS

YOUTUBE
What it is: The “manosphere” home base
Main players: Joe Rogan, Nerk Boys, Logan and Jake Paul and Theo Von
Monthly users: 1.72 billion

Podcast studios were a major campaign stop for Mr. Trump and his Republican running mate JD Vance, as both candidates put in hours speaking with controversial, hypermasculine “manosphere” luminaries – Joe Rogan, Theo Von, Logan and Jake Paul – a strategy to court young men who usually don’t vote in elections. (The strategy paid off; in the 2024 race, white men under 30 overwhelmingly supported Trump, according to polls.)

Although their shows can be listened to on podcast apps, millions of people watch the interviews on YouTube. The platform’s recommendation algorithm – the site’s beating heart that drives 70 per cent of what people watch – has been scrutinized over the years for driving viewers from more mainstream videos to content promoting radical and violent ideas. An analysis of far-right chat rooms from the investigative news site Bellingcat found that YouTube was cited as the most frequent online cause for getting “red-pilled,” the Matrix-inspired term used for converting to far-right beliefs.

YouTube is massive, appealing to both right-leaning and left-leaning creators, but its algorithm does end up boosting more provocative right-wing voices. “YouTube is a place where you find a lot of those figures,” said Mr. Grayson, the journalist who covers streaming. “They’re able to reach larger mainstream audiences there and the YouTube algorithm prioritizes their content because it makes people angry, and that leads to further engagement. That decision was not partisan. It was just ‘more engagement means more money through ads.’ ”

Both Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance have appeared in videos and podcasts with the Nerk Boys, a group of creators led by Canadian Kyle Forgeard, who first became known for their prank videos. In the past few years, however, they’ve started speaking about politics and supporting the MAGA movement. They’ve attended UFC matches with Mr. Trump, visited him at Mar-a-Lago and made TikToks together on Air Force One.

“When politics eases into it like that, it’s a different entry point for people and those people are hard to reach,” said media researcher Ms. McGregor. “The millions of dollars that you would pay for a commercial during a Monday night football game, compared with spending an hour and not paying any money to be on a podcast that’s gonna be listened to by millions of people, that’s a really different ROI from a campaign perspective.”



Adin Ross, banned from the Twitch platform for hate speech, now reaches a new streaming audience through Kick. DAVE KOTINSKY/GETTY IMAGES

KICK
What it is: A Twitch doppelganger with laissez-faire content moderation
Main players: Adin Ross and his army of young twentysomething gamer bros
Monthly users: 12.45 million

To understand Kick, you first need to understand Twitch.

The video live-streaming platform launched in 2011 as a place for users to broadcast themselves playing video games. Twitch’s content has evolved, however, and now more than 30 million viewers each day can choose from live streams of everything from people DJing in their bedrooms, eating at McDonalds or watching election results roll in. Politics has become its own sub-genre, led by streamers who are mostly left-leaning, including Hasan Piker. (The 33-year-old Angeleno has more than 2.8 million followers on Twitch and streams for an average of eight hours a day.)

Kick was launched in 2022 by Stake, a gambling company, which positioned it in direct competition with Twitch, boasting its looser moderation policies around hate speech, harassment and sexual content. “Kick is seen as Twitch’s rowdier, more racist cousin,” says Nathan Grayson, founder of the video game and culture news website Aftermath, and author of the forthcoming book *Stream Big: The Triumphs and Turmoils of Twitch and the Stars Behind the Screen*.

Kick is where streamers who have been banned elsewhere end up, such as Adin Ross, the 24-year-old who was permanently banned from Twitch after repeatedly using hateful slurs. Mr. Ross isn’t a political commentator, but he often livestreams with controversial figures: self-described misogynist Andrew Tate, white supremacist Nick Fuentes and, last summer, Mr. Trump. On his Kick channel, Mr. Ross live-streamed with the candidate for more than an hour, which included gifting Mr. Trump a Tesla Cybertruck with a full MAGA wrap, and a Rolex. More than 450,000 people tuned in.

“Adin Ross has a really big audience, but they don’t come to him for politics. They come to him for either playing video games or getting up to ridiculous hijinks, and that was the audience Trump was targeting,” says Mr. Grayson. “People who feel disaffected, don’t like where the political system has gone and want to blow it all up.”

Since Mr. Trump’s appearance, former Republican primary candidate Vivek Ramaswamy also appeared on Kick with Ross. In early February, they talked about deporting migrants and censorship on social media – and, all the while, live-chat comments during the interview were peppered with racist attacks against Mr. Ramaswamy.

Mr. Grayson predicts that more Republican candidates could seek out live streams in future elections. “The strategy is shown to be effective and they’d be pretty silly not to. The blueprint is right there. So why not take advantage?”

Mr. Trump’s campaign believes it was effective. Dana White, the head of the UFC and long-time Trump ally, personally thanked Mr. Ross during an election night victory speech.



Former TV commentator Dan Bongino, conspiracy theorist Russell Brand and the President’s son, Donald Trump Jr., are fixtures of video platform Rumble. JASON KOERNER/GETTY IMAGES, TIM IRELAND/AP PHOTO, NIC ANTAYA/THE NEW YORK TIMES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

RUMBLE
What it is: A Canadian-made YouTube alternative embraced by the far right
Main players: Dan Bongino, Russell Brand and Donald Trump Jr.
Monthly users: 12.58 million

Rumble was started in 2013 by Chris Pavlovski, an entrepreneur and business-school dropout from Toronto. Its early content was typical viral internet fodder – cute cats, home videos of kids being goofy. But the platform became a haven for users who were kicked off from, or demonetized on, YouTube for violating its community rules in the aftermath of Jan. 6. Around the same time, prominent conservatives Peter Thiel, Vivek Ramaswamy and JD Vance invested in the platform. Florida Governor Ron DeSantis proclaimed the site was a way “to stand up to Big Tech censorship.”

The platform gained more legitimacy when Donald Trump Jr. signed an exclusive deal in January, 2023, for his show, *Triggered with Don Jr.* It also inked deals with former Fox News host and Trump adviser Kimberly Guilfoyle and British comedian-turned-wellness conspiracy theorist Russell Brand.

On any given day on Rumble’s home page, you’ll find streams of Power Slap, a sport in which opponents smack each other until one of them gets knocked out, pseudo-science doctors shilling dubious health devices and deep dives into conspiracy theories. (Here, you can learn about an ancient but advanced civilization called Tartaria that built cities around the world, which were destroyed and their existence covered up by modern governments.)

But the majority of the videos are about politics.

Every weekday at 11 a.m., Dan Bongino, the loud, charismatic ex-Fox News commentator and the host of Rumble’s most watched show, goes live for one hour. On his eponymous show, Mr. Bongino talks about the culture wars, the daily happenings at the Capitol, reacts to news featured in the mainstream media and hawks branded merch.

Another top streamer on Rumble is conservative comedian Steven Crowder, who arrived from YouTube after his channel was demonetized and temporarily suspended for using racist and homophobic slurs. Now that he’s been reinstated on YouTube, he cross-posts his videos across the platforms, which many of Rumble’s most popular influencers also do.

YouTube still dominates in video content – only 2 per cent of Americans got their news from Rumble in 2024, compared to 32 per cent on YouTube, according to Pew Research – but Ms. Lukito predicts Rumble will continue to grow and have an increasingly larger role in the right-wing media ecosystem.

As Ms. Lukito explains, alt-tech platforms, including Rumble, have become places for isolated young men to find online camaraderie – and where malicious actors, such as paramilitary groups, try to recruit members. She adds that, “for individuals who are seeking community, especially when they can’t verbalize or explain their support for Trump or are still seeking out a political identity, these spaces can be really appealing because they can provide this sense of community.”

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

B.C. diverted its gaze on safe supply issues

Over the past year, British Columbia’s NDP government has gone out of its way to downplay concerns about diversion of opioids that are dispensed through its safer supply program, even going so far as to enlist RCMP brass to tell the public that the issue is overblown.

But a leaked report prepared by investigators in the provincial Ministry of Health found that large quantities of opioids distributed through the program to people with addictions are not being consumed by the intended recipients. Some of those pills end up in the hands of criminal gangs. Some are being trafficked in B.C., Canada and internationally.

Last June, a special investigative unit within the Ministry of Health launched a probe into diversion. The team delivered a confidential briefing for their policing colleagues on Jan. 9, detailing how 60 pharmacies are believed to be offering patients prohibited incentives for their prescription business to maximize the amounts they can bill the province’s publicly funded drug plan.

What happens to that supply, according to investigators, is especially troubling.

“A significant portion of the opioids being freely prescribed by doctors and [dispensed by] pharmacists are not being consumed by their intended recipients,” according to the slides prepared for the briefing. “Prescribed alternatives are trafficked provincially, nationally and internationally.”

In response, Health Minister Jody Osborne is promising to act swiftly on what she describes as new information.

B.C. launched its safer supply program in March, 2020. Those prescribed opioids are intended to provide individuals with an opioid-use disorder, who are at high risk of overdose or poisoning owing to toxic street drugs, with pharmaceutical-grade opioids prescribed by a physician or nurse practitioner.

B.C.’s auditor-general has noted that there was no medical evidence to support such an initiative, and that concerns about the potential harm due to diversion – prescribed opioids ending up on the street – needed careful study. “Prescribed safer supply is intended to be an evidence-generating program, and evidence gathered through evaluation is crucial to the program’s continuation,” Michael Pickup wrote in a report published March, 2024.

To date, the benefits of the program remain murky – because the government has not produced robust data. Addiction Medicine Canada, a group of addiction medicine clinicians, wrote to Ms. Osborne in January, pointing out that there have been no controlled trials to evaluate the program, while the amount of prescribed opioids from the program that are being diverted has not been formally studied.

Concerns about diversion ramped up after the province started dispensing prescribed alternatives. Last spring, RCMP in Campbell River and Prince George announced drug busts that they said involved large quantities of prescribed opioids that were being diverted into drug trafficking operations involving organized crime groups.

B.C. RCMP Assistant Commissioner John Brewer seemed to pour cold water on those findings, issuing a statement saying “the presence of confirmed safer supply prescriptions are in the minority of drug seizures.”

Pay attention to his language: this can’t be “confirmed,” because the province has not provided a mechanism to mark opioids prescribed under the program in a way that would let police to distinguish them from other prescribed opioids.

From 2022 to 2024, the program dispensed an estimated 2.7 million doses of morphine, fentanyl and oxycodone. Initially, most of that supply was consumed in front of a medical professional, but that is no longer required in most cases.

The total number of opioids prescribed, mostly for pain management, is much larger. Roughly 25 million doses were given out in that time period, and the government does not identify those drugs handed out under safer supply as distinct from the rest of the opioid prescriptions. So when the province says there is no evidence of widespread diversion of prescribed opioids, it is because it chose not to find out.

Ms. Osborne has promised to take action. She is, rightly, focused on the role of some pharmacies in diversion.

But she can, and should, do more. B.C. needs to restore witnessed consumption. Drugs distributed under the safer supply program need distinguishing features. And, the province needs to collect clinical data around the harms and benefits of the program, so that it can – however belatedly – base its decision on evidence, not wishful thinking.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TARIFF TENSION

Re “Trump’s steel and aluminum tariff plan shows uncertainty is his modus operandi” (Feb. 11): It seems that Donald Trump has used the ruse of fentanyl entering the United States from Canada without providing data concerning fentanyl from its own ports, or how much is actually made in that country.

I believe the real reason for the tariff threats was to see how far Canadians would jump. Unfortunately, it seems Canadians will jump pretty high.

If fentanyl or illegal immigrants were never the real cause of tariff threats, we certainly showed him that we would acquiesce immediately to any threat made. Showing such weakness to a bully is never a good idea.

■ **Dave Barker** Whitby, Ont.

Re “This near-trade war should shock Canada out of our stupor” (Feb. 5): I was heartened to read calls for Canada to diversify its trade partners, eliminate domestic trade barriers and generally make itself less dependent on and therefore less vulnerable to the United States.

I was, however, puzzled by the insistence that we must “ditch supply management” as part of this effort. It would be a particularly inopportune moment to “ditch” a system that has been successful at fostering a secure and lucrative dairy industry in Canada, and at insulating Canadian consumers from some of the price fluctuations that afflict Americans.

■ **Geoff Read** London, Ont.

One issue I see little discussed is the concept of economies of scale.

It is more efficient and therefore cheaper to grow oranges in Florida than in Canada. Likewise, it is cheaper to generate hydroelectricity in Quebec than in New York state.

Economies of scale are the cornerstone of free trade. We stopped making products that are better and cheaper to produce elsewhere, and focused on making products we produce better and cheaper here.

This has kept inflation low and stable for decades. It has served North America well – until now.

Donald Trump’s isolationist tariff foray can only lead to higher prices for all who trade with the United States because of the above noted inefficiencies, and that is even before we take into consideration increased costs from tariffs. Whatever his reasons for pushing tariffs, they do not seem linked to economic logic or efficiencies.

■ **Denis Desnoyers** Ottawa

Re “The ties that bind: Why Canada’s auto sector is uniquely hostage to Trump’s tariff threat”

(Report on Business, Feb. 8): As Canadian governments plan a response to tariff threats, they should consider their own role in pushing Canadian industry toward greater dependence on the United States.

For example, federal and provincial governments have pledged up to \$52.5-billion since 2020 for electric-vehicle-related production, especially batteries. These investments look much less viable without reliably tariff-free access to the U.S. market. This outcome reveals one of the perils when governments try to pick winners.

■ **Constance Smith** Victoria

Re “Still friends” (Letters, Feb. 10): “Canada should cut the gas, cut the electricity.”

No one likes the idea of an all-Canadian energy-pipeline corridor to both East and West Coasts more than me. But cutting off more than four million barrels a day of Canadian oil exports to the United States would likely bring Marines across the border in a Trump-declared emergency defence of U.S. national security.

■ **Mike Priaro** Calgary

FAST START

Re “In the face of tariff threat, B.C. picks likely resource project winners for fast-track approval” (Feb. 10): First Nations should recognize the next four years with Donald Trump are a generational game-changer for British Columbia and indeed the whole of Canada.

David Eby has laid out a plan to fast-track 18 resource projects. First Nations should get on board and give their wholehearted support.

Their futures are as dependent on B.C. diversifying and reducing reliance on the United States as it is for every B.C. resident. Bureaucratic and approval delays should be eliminated from all government bodies, and that should include First Nations governance.

■ **Roger Emsley** Delta, B.C.

PEOPLE POWER

Re “Scrapping USAID doesn’t just hurt the world’s poor – it harms the West” (Feb. 10): Contributor Sean Irwin makes a compelling case for why foreign aid is vital, not just for the moral imperative but as a strategic commitment to the safety, security and well-being of Canadians. For him, foreign aid isn’t simply a financial transaction, it’s an investment in relationships that build trust, goodwill and stability over time.

Such is the power of “soft power.” By supporting international development, countries create allies that share common values, thereby cultivating a network of influence that no coercive military force or short-

term diplomatic effort can replicate.

Pulling back on foreign aid doesn’t just risk humanitarian setbacks, it creates a vacuum that others will be quick to fill while furthering their influence and agendas. If international assistance remains a low priority, it will be at the cost of global peace and stability.

■ **Lindsay Glassco** CEO, Plan International Canada; Toronto

BUY OUT

Re “If tariffs kick in, your online and cross-border shopping could cost more” (Report on Business, Feb. 11): Tariffs are taxes. So if they finance tax cuts elsewhere, they would merely be shifting the tax burden, in this case from wealthy Americans to middle-class and less wealthy consumers.

Donald Trump argues that tariffs will yield huge government revenues, as well as lead to a major boost in U.S. production via import substitution. But he can’t have it both ways.

For tariffs to yield huge revenues, imports would need to continue at roughly current levels, which means domestic production would not be replacing them. If imports begin to tank due to tariffs, then no massive revenue increase would result.

One certainty is that tariffs are a tax paid by importers, and anyone who believes that they will not be passed on to consumers does not understand business. But then Mr. Trump’s business acumen has often been suspect.

■ **Tom MacDonald** Ottawa

Just having returned from vacation (not to the United States), I needed to visit my local grocery store to restock. I was so proud of my fellow Canadians.

People were quietly and studiously checking labels, googling country origins of various brands and pointing out Canadian alternatives (or non-U.S. alternatives) to each other. I mentioned this to the cashier and he said this had been going on for days.

The average Canadian feels powerless with the threats being rained down upon them. But where they can make a difference, many are taking a stand. I’ll leave it to our politicians to make the appropriate trade decisions.

For everyday Canadians, I encourage them to stay united and keep it up. Buy Canadian whenever possible, or at the very least not American.

■ **Sally Plumb** Toronto

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

Who can make Canada resilient again?

Negotiating with Trump isn't the only qualification required of the next PM. We need to know how they'll fare after him too

ROBYN URBACH
OPINION



Last week, a Nanos Research poll found that Canadians believe that Liberal leadership candidate Mark Carney would fare better in negotiations with the U.S. than Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre. The results were pretty definitive: 40 per cent for Mr. Carney, compared to 26 per cent for Mr. Poilievre (and a distant 12 per cent for former finance minister Chrystia Freeland). The poll didn't ask respondents to explain their preference, but it's not hard to infer the reasoning at play here. Mr. Carney has decades of experience steering the course

for G7 economies and has an air of actual adulthood about him, whereas Mr. Poilievre has decades of experience being a politician and has an air of sophomoric smarminess about him. Does that mean Mr. Carney would truly fare better in negotiations? Who knows. It's possible that the impetuous Donald Trump would see the former central banker as precisely the type of establishment pipsqueak who tried to constrain him in his first presidency, and thus take out his angst on our entire country (whereas those around Mr. Trump seem to have taken a liking to Mr. Poilievre's style). We shouldn't put it past this President to base billion-dollar trade decisions on his personal impressions of the guy across the table. But for Canadians, the question of who can best negotiate with Mr. Trump may not actually be the most pertinent, tactically wise question in deciding who should next lead the country. We know that Mr. Trump's opinions can change on a whim, and though it certainly matters who is negotiating on Canada's behalf, the reality is that anyone will

falter if the President is dead-set on exacting economic pain. So the better question for the long term is not who is best poised to make a deal with Mr. Trump, but who can best make Canada resilient to him. Indeed, who can Canadians trust to make the pivotal and potentially unpopular decisions to inoculate Canada against Mr. Trump's threats, and those that might come after him? We know it's not Ms. Freeland. Beyond the fact that Mr. Trump can't stand her, which would start the entire country at a disadvantage if she were leading negotiations, there's no reason to believe she is capable of making hard decisions in the country's long-term interests. Indeed, she folded on the carbon tax and on hikes to the capital-gains inclusion rates, so why would Canadians think she will have the resolve to follow through on an east-west pipeline or substantially increased defence spending? Will Mr. Carney? It's hard to make a judgment based on the little information we have on him as a politician. He has offered little by way of specifics on how he plans to make Canada

more resilient to Mr. Trump, other than to say "we will never give in to a bully" (which is just the type of thing someone says before a bully clocks him between the eyes). Mr. Carney has coughed at the need to "improve security" in the North and has mused about making Canada the "strongest economy in the G7," but has not said how, exactly, he would do that. For a brand-new politician, Mr. Carney has proven himself rather adept at avoiding questions and torquing facts, which suggests he could be the same type of status-quo politician plagued by inertia and indecision. And then there's Mr. Poilievre, who has actually provided frameworks for some of the big ideas that would make Canada more resilient to Mr. Trump and other foreign threats (protecting the Arctic, abolishing interprovincial trade barriers, etc.). The problem with Mr. Poilievre is that he's a populist who has benefited from the fact that many of his plans fall in line with the cultural zeitgeist. But what happens if and when, for example, our new wave of support for domestic pipeline

construction fades, or when it runs into opposition in Quebec, or when Mr. Poilievre has to explain cuts in other sectors to pay for military procurement? The Conservative Leader has already shown he will sacrifice the national interest to curry favour with important electoral blocs; he supported a Bloc Québécois bill, for example, to take supply management off the table in trade negotiations, and another that essentially takes money from young workers to bolster boomers' retirements. It's easy to talk tough in opposition, but will Mr. Poilievre take the bold action necessary for Canada's long-term strength and stability if and when he is offside of public opinion? That is the question that should be asked of all would-be Canadian prime ministers as we stare down four years of Mr. Trump, plus whatever comes next. It's not simply about who can best negotiate with Mr. Trump, but who is brave enough to make the foundational changes to the way this country operates, so we're never again as vulnerable as we are today.

If we have to ride the tariff roller coaster, we can at least boycott U.S. travel

MARSHA LEDERMAN
OPINION



The dilemma unfolded in the produce aisles of the Real Canadian Superstore. Searching for an ingredient, I was despondent that the only lemons I could find were from the U.S. – an origin I was actively avoiding, as were, it seemed, many fellow shoppers scouring teeny-tiny labels. What to do? Make the Golden Immunity Stew without the single lemon it calls for? Do I, a very busy person, take my citrus quest elsewhere? Do I hold my nose and buy the American fruit for the sake of my guests? What to do when a friend becomes an enemy? When the bully comes for you – or your country? If you are a Canadian overwhelmed by a sense of futility over the state of relations with the U.S., you are not alone. With tariffs now imposed by Donald Trump and his continuing talk of an *Anschluss*, Canadians – who didn't get a vote in all of this – are trying to have their say. One Facebook group highlighting Canadian products now has 860,000-plus members. Making lemonade from the metaphorical lemons we've unwittingly imported has led to a new patriotism. This includes travel. Social-media feeds are full of Canadians announcing the cancellation of trips to Miami, Palm Springs, Vermont. The U.S. Travel Association notes that Canada is that country's top source of international travel, with 20.4 million visits in 2024. The group is warning of a



Passengers go through security at the Louis Armstrong New Orleans International Airport on Monday. Canada is the U.S.'s top source of international travel, with 20.4 million visits in 2024. JENNY KANE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

potential decline, saying even a 10-per-cent drop in travel from Canada could result in a US\$2.1-billion hit. For many Canadians, the U.S. has been like a second home. If you grew up in Southern Ontario, trips to Buffalo took you places that were familiar from your TV-watching; often, we were more up on the goings-on of Cheektowaga and Erie County than we were about our own communities. In adulthood, from the West Coast, I have taken many meaningful trips to the U.S. with my son, often to indulge his love of

roller coasters: Legoland and Universal Studios in California, Dollywood in Tennessee, Disney World in Florida, Six Flags Over Texas. Last summer, the Six Flags stars aligned so that we were in Arlington, Tex., to cheer on Team Canada when it beat Venezuela in soccer's Copa America quarter-final. After the game, we wrapped ourselves in our Canadian flags as we walked to our hotel. Cars honked in support, and not for a moment did we feel unsafe – just the giddiness of an improbable victory. So when tickets went on sale

for the 2025 FIFA Club World Cup, with games in various U.S. cities, I shelled out for a quarter-final in Atlanta, where my closest friend lives – the ridiculous cost offset by the free place to stay and a chance to hang out with my lifelong BFF. Plus, my son would get to visit Six Flags Over Georgia. Then Mr. Trump took office, bragging of punishing tariffs and going on about the 51st-state business. Canadians began declaring boycotts of U.S. products, including – especially – travel. Who would want to spend their hard-earned Canadian dollars in

a country whose elected leader is suddenly threatening us? I didn't even want to buy a 79-cent lemon. This feeling of impotence in the face of a power-hungry tyrant has seen some Canadians boo the U.S. anthem at sporting events. It's an impulse that's easy to understand, if not condone. Nobody wanted to see this happen at the Invictus Games. At the opening ceremony last weekend, B.C. Premier David Eby eloquently addressed the U.S. team: "There is not a person here, there is not a Canadian, that does not know that our soldiers have fought and died and cried and celebrated beside Americans for generations." Many U.S. athletes stood and cheered; some made heart symbols with their hands. "If you need us, you just say the word, USA," Mr. Eby told them. "And you know what? If we ever need you, and it came down to it, I know you'd be there in a second." It was a beautiful moment, even if we can't be so sure about that last part any more. It's unclear what might grant us immunity from what's ahead. Reader, I bought the lemon. But I also sat my son down and explained that we had to cancel our trip to Georgia – no soccer game, no Six Flags. Instead, we are extending our annual trip to Toronto. As part of the negotiations (he's a teenager), I agreed to visit Canada's Wonderland not once but twice – and accompany him on what surely must be our country's most terrifying roller coaster, the Yukon Striker. We make sacrifices where we can. Travel can be an adventure, an escape, a respite, a reunion with your dearest friend. It can also be political. Right now, it must be.

Imposing life sentences on fentanyl offences will only lead to more devastation

KIM PATE
OPINION

Canadian senator

Canadians deserve a meaningful response to the fentanyl crisis, not ill-conceived and draconian ideas – much less costly mandatory-minimum penalties. Characterizing mandatory life sentences as a solution to the toxic-drug crisis, as suggested by Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, is misleading and dangerous. Such an approach would undoubtedly exacerbate, not alleviate, the problem. Worse yet, it would result in even more austerity, overcrowded jails and many more people abandoned to desperate, impoverished and unstable situations, especially to homelessness in our communities. For the better part of five decades, I have worked and walked with those captured by so-called tough-on-crime and war-

on-drugs agendas. These approaches are always toughest on those who are most vulnerable and, as the Parliamentary Budget Officer has shown, these methods come with huge price tags for taxpayers. Indeed, the PBO estimates that they have already cost Canada billions of taxpayer dollars. Those who are easiest to catch, prosecute and subject to long and punitive prison sentences are not the kingpins of the drug world. Those who benefit most from opioid crises have the means to avoid detection, launder their drug money, and, in the unlikely event they are caught, they typically can hire teams of lawyers to help them avoid legal accountability. We are living now with the results: a drug crisis that continues unabated and jails full not of those who cause the most harm or stand to profit from the drug trade, but instead those who are easiest to scoop up and criminalize – people who are poor and homeless, with addictions and mental-health issues, and those who are disproportionately

racialized. Remedying the fentanyl crisis will require governments to acknowledge the intersections between drugs, poverty, housing and mental-health issues, and to act accordingly. There is growing evidence in Canada that providing financial security and reducing financial stress reduces violent crimes – precisely 350 fewer violent crimes and 1,400 fewer total crimes per 100,000 people (a 17.5-per-cent reduction). Similarly, in a study of gun-related homicides in New York in the 1990s, a 10-per-cent increase in young adults receiving cash assistance was associated with 10.5 fewer homicides per 100,000 people. Financial security also leads to increased employment, better paying jobs and improved educational outcomes. We need to rethink our current costly, inefficient and ineffective approaches. Smart investments in financial security for Canadians can reduce poverty, cut spending and make our government more efficient and effective.

Mr. Poilievre has been clear about his plans to slash federal spending while simultaneously pouring billions into criminal-law measures that will do much damage. He has not discussed why he is choosing to focus on those who are easiest to catch, rather than those who benefit most from the drug trade, including businesses and even banks that are used to launder the proceeds of these and other crimes. How would he ensure accountability for those who hide behind numbered companies or otherwise benefit from the laundering of the proceeds of crime? Why has he not proposed a more transparent process for ensuring that business registries include the identification of beneficial ownership? Why is he not proposing a fix to the situation that saw Toronto-Dominion Bank being barely held accountable after they admitted to having knowledge of at least \$670-million worth of money laundering, owing to non-compliance with existing laws and policies aimed at preventing such

activities? Imprisoning more Indigenous, Black and poor people, as well as those struggling with addiction and mental-health issues, will cost a great deal. If and when those Canadians are eventually released from prison, they will face even more challenges and will not find much of a path to acceptance or integration back into their communities. Do we really want to generate more homelessness, poverty and desperation? We all deserve to know what the human and financial costs of such performative tough-on-crime policies will be and how they will be funded. What will be cut to produce the billions of taxpayer dollars required to jail those who are poor and homeless? Mr. Poilievre should come clean as soon as possible. Too many Canadians are already struggling to make ends meet and deserve to know what they stand to lose.

ANDREW COYNE and GARY MASON will return.

Taiwan may be one of the best places for a cycling holiday

A well-marked route around the island has bicycle rest stops, integrated train routes and police stations that offer tools and pumps

ANNIE BURNS-PIEPER

For most of my life, I seized every opportunity to work, study and travel abroad. The freedom of being untethered from routines and the unpredictability of new places shook me out of the monotony of home. But the once unquestioned joy of travel became complicated. As I questioned what I was really seeking, the richness of home was a stark contrast to the contrived photos of influencers framing out the parts of these destinations that made them interesting and challenging.

Globalized aesthetics made places feel homogeneous. This crystallized for me in Indonesia, where a taco bar in Bali felt indistinguishable from its Mexican surf town namesake. Travel, which I once loved, had grown hollow.

This sentiment is growing, with some calling for an end to travel altogether. I, however, was not quite ready to ground myself for good.

Rethinking how I travel brought me back to cycle touring. The allure began in my early 20s when I was roped into an ambitious trip along the Pacific Coast Highway from Vancouver to Mexico.

Cycling forces you to absorb your surroundings more slowly, with every bump in the road felt under the rider. The physical and mental challenge of self-propelled travel makes the reward of arrival much sweeter.

Unable to complete the trip owing to a serious accident, I gave up bike travel for many years.

Until I was captivated by the idea of Taiwan's full-island bike route.

The island, slightly larger than Vancouver Island, is home to more than 23 million people. Most often in the news owing to geopolitical tensions with China



Colourful temples are a frequent sight around Taiwan, reflecting the island's religious and cultural traditions. ANNIE BURNS-PIEPER/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

and its booming semiconductor industry, it is also a bicycle industry powerhouse. Taiwan's bicycle manufacturing sector started growing after the Second World War and is now home to more than 900 bicycle-related companies, including well-known brands Giant and Merida.

Cycling Route No.1 is a 968-kilometre journey around the island. Along the well-marked route, there are bicycle rest stops, integrated train routes and police stations that offer basic repair tools and tire pumps. When the official journey opened in 2015, former premier Mao Chi-kuo said he envisioned Taiwan as a "cycling paradise."

On a damp morning in November, my partner and I left Taipei from our hotel near Songshan Station, the route's official start. We followed a bike path along the Keelung River headed toward the city of Hsinchu, the epicentre of semiconductor production. Along the way, a group of Taiwanese road cyclists decked out in high-end kits whizzed by our clunky touring bicycles weighed down with hefty panniers with a stream of chirpy "good mornings!"

We, like most cyclists, travelled

counter-clockwise. This direction allows riders to condition their legs, with fewer hills and a tailwind for the first few days. In the first week on the populous west coast, we passed through all three of Taiwan's largest cities (New Taipei City, Taichung and Kaohsiung).

The government's official itinerary lays the route over nine days. We dedicated three weeks to ensure time to recover from jet lag and to take a rest day or two when we wanted. Unless you are a fast cyclist, a day of biking more than 100 km, with time for refuelling, getting lost and washing sweaty clothes leaves little time for exploring.

We also added diversions from the official route to Sun Moon Lake and coastal Kenting National Park, each with unexpected challenges. Mountainous Sun Moon Lake is home to Taiwan's Indigenous Thao tribe and a popular stop for tourists. Google Maps offered an enticing shortcut but had us peddling steep jungle roads with snarling dogs threatening to knock us off our descents. And then minutes before sunset, still en route, the app directed us to a road closed for maintenance where we required

a rescue by a helpful scooter rider. We faced violent gale-force winds while heading to Kenting.

Most cyclists are eager to reach the less populated east side of Taiwan and some elect to exclusively cycle this side of the island. It is more agricultural and offers dramatic vistas from seaside routes. The Suhua Highway north of Taroko National Park is often skipped by cyclists but the safer parts of this route are worth the thrill and offer scenic views over sheer cliffs while cycling along a narrow shoulder.

We often received friendly (if startling) honks from local drivers or would hear an encouraging *jiayou!* (which roughly translates to "add fuel") as we pedalled up hills. People would ask if we were doing the *huandao* (a journey around the island), which is considered a rite of passage for some Taiwanese and can also be taken on foot, scooters, motorcycles or trains.

But even in one of the world's best cycling destinations, biking can be uncomfortable, at least for me, neither naturally athletic nor hardy. Five days in, I had scabbing saddle sores where I would need to keep sitting for the rest of the trip.

The physical demands are part of the beauty of biking. It has a wonderful way of putting a person directly in contact with daily life: the heat waiting at an urban stop light surrounded by idling vehicles, the faint scent of incense passing an ornate temple, bird calls in the humid jungle and sights of roadside butterflies, Macaque monkeys and waterfalls.

You find yourself in spots you might never see travelling any other way, weaving through pungent fish farms, tiny cemeteries, a remote recycling centre and

farmers' rice fields.

I didn't love getting lost, particularly when daylight hours were waning and bruised sit bones made it excruciating to be on a bike longer than necessary. (Google Maps mishaps once left us in the middle of a construction site unable to cross a river and hoisting bicycles over barricades.)

However, most times we saw something unique.

There is nothing inherently special about cycle touring. We simply cycled from point A to B, and saw what we saw, no lineups or tour buses. It's not for everyone, but getting uncomfortable and slowing down are two lessons that could be taken by any traveller looking for more connection to places. Despite the aching legs and the stress of missed turns by the end of the trip, I was already thinking about where to bring my bike next.

IF YOU GO

While we brought our bikes from Canada, shops in Taipei will rent an entire kit for the trip. If you are bringing your own bicycle, shops can assemble it for you on arrival or tune it up.

Taiwan has incredible cycling infrastructure, and many places have dedicated cycle paths; snaking along the coast, elevated through farmlands, skirting cities and through dedicated bike tunnels. Elsewhere, cyclists share a half lane with scooters. Drivers were rule-abiding and respectful of cyclists.



■ **Use Google Maps with caution:** Navigation was a continuing struggle. The official route often follows main highways leaving the rider on traffic-filled routes. Google Maps takes a creative approach, which led to many beautiful and unexpected moments. However, it was sometimes uninformed about missing bridges and defunct bike lanes.

■ **Pick your timing:** Taiwan can be brutally hot and incredibly rainy, and neither are ideal for cycling. We chose November, known as one of the driest months of the year and barely used our rain gear.

■ **Good apps to have:** As a non-seasoned cycle tourist, I underestimated how much wind could ruin a day. The Windy app can help plan for wind conditions. The Google Translate app was invaluable for both ordering and communicating with people who did not speak English.

■ **Build in rest days and flexibility:** Maybe you are incredibly fit and can cycle 1,000 km in less than a week. However, on our best days, we had time to stop to take pictures and proper lunch breaks along the way, arrived long before dark and had time to explore our destination.

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FOLK ARTIST MAUD LEWIS'S HUSBAND'S ARTWORK, INCLUDING FAKE SIGNATURE, DRAWS \$5,500

HALIFAX An art dealer says a painting by the husband of renowned folk artist Maud Lewis sold Sunday for \$5,500, with part of its attraction being that he falsely signed his wife's name to his work.

Maud Lewis died in 1970, leaving a legacy of paintings that depict bucolic rural scenes of her home province – and which now routinely sell for tens of thousands of dollars each.

Her husband, Everett Lewis – who died in 1979 – had been her prime salesman while she was alive, and near the end of her life he helped with her paintings, eventually doing his own works modelled on her style and images.

Ethan Miller, the CEO of the auction house Miller and Miller, said in an interview Monday the painting *Two oxen in winter* with the falsified Maud Lewis signature drew the highest price among the five Everett Lewis pieces sold at Sunday's folk art auction in New Hamburg, Ont.

He noted a similar painting of the two oxen in a winter scene, but with Everett Lewis's signature, sold for only \$4,250.

Miller said he believes the story behind the painting, including Everett Lewis's reputation for being "underhanded" in how he'd deal with art buyers, may have been a factor in their sale price.



A painting, above, by the husband of Maud Lewis with a falsified signature drew the highest price among the five Everett Lewis pieces sold at auction Sunday. JON DUNFORD/MILLER AND MILLER AUCTIONS/THE CANADIAN PRESS

The paintings sold resemble works by Maud Lewis, but her husband would add his own elements, which in the case of the oxen included a figure with a whip next to the oxen.

Other works by Everett Lewis that sold Sunday included *Springtime Oxen*, with his signature, which sold for \$3,500; *Oxen in Springtime* which sold for \$4,250 with his own signature, and a Christmas card showing two brown bunnies and a bunch of red flowers, which sold for \$1,300.

A work by Maud Lewis, *Three Black Cats*, sold on Sunday for \$38,000. THE CANADIAN PRESS

I love Paris because this is where we fell in love

FIRST PERSON

We had gone to the city early in our 34 years together. At first a novelty, it became an old friend, **Michael Herrick** writes

Three years ago, after my wife died, I decided to go to Paris to wrap up my grief and, perhaps, move on. Why Paris? We had gone to Paris early in our 34 years together. Loving to travel and plan, my wife had picked out a small hotel on l'île Saint-Louis, an island in the Seine. Arriving there on a drizzling December night, we took a tiny room on the top floor overlooking the roofs of Paris. We snuggled under covers listening to the rain. The night was long and the room cold. And so romantic!

At first a novelty, Paris became an old friend. For a while, it was easy and relatively inexpensive to hop on a six-hour jet from Halifax direct to Paris for an extra-long weekend.

Over many a coffee and croissant in cafés and baguettes in the parks, we talked a lot with care to listen to each other – to understand what a frown or a smile meant. *À quoi pense tu?* she would ask looking at me with her natural frown. Sometimes as I blathered on, she would sit regarding me with chin on hand. Who is this man? I tried to open myself up to her. Now I wander around continually questioning myself: Was I good enough for her? Was I too selfish, self-centred? Did I fail her in any way? Why is she gone?

We tried to walk as many bridges over the Seine as we could, once under them on a bateau mouche riverboat. When we cycled, I tried breathlessly to keep up with her. Through traffic and pedestrians, we rode inside the congested Boulevard Périphérique: her a fearless, joyful urban warrior, with me, quite fearful, in tow. We stopped for fondue at an outdoor café near the Flame of Liberty memorial for Diana, Princess of Wales.

My wife delighted in the lush gardens of Paris, we paused often in them for us to lunch on a baguette sandwich or a quiche, with a paper bag to conceal our wine. On another of our visits, she discovered the Orchid House, which delighted her to learn how to fill our home with colourful blooming orchids. Horticulturally chal-



ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX SIKLOS

lenged, I gave away all her orchids except one. But bless its roots, it grows a flower for me still.

On one trip she paused by a kiosk outside the Louvre, and selected a long dark red souvenir scarf with gold highlights of Paris to wrap around her black coat. That wrap hangs in my closet, still holding the scent of the perfume she wore in those days. I see it every time I slide the closet door open.

One bright day, we went to the top of Tour Montparnasse. The view from the skyscraper's rooftop took my breath away. I had a touch of vertigo 210 metres in the sky. She took my hand, and, safe together, we looked “down on this timeless town.” During that fearful Y2K

night, nothing spoiled the Eiffel Tower's lighting up as we and Paris welcomed the new millennium. We had to hold each other up as we waded through a sea of empty magnums of Champagne in the Place du Trocadéro.

Over time, we bypassed the tourist stuff to explore other parts of Paris. We didn't dance around like the stars in *Funny Face* who were in Paris for the first time and falling in love. We were in love, secure in each other, anchored, taking Paris on, the pair of us, enjoying it in depth and breadth.

The photos we took help me sense her presence in Paris and keep my memories from fading. How young we looked! I didn't see her growing old, though her last picture shows off her silver

hair and few wrinkles.

I'm tired of all the emptiness around me. I remember just holding her hand even when we didn't have anything to say. But now my life is full of silence without her. On my last trip, I watched the couples wandering around the first arrondissement paired up and eating, drinking, walking, laughing. Where was my love?

This was the last night of my trip. I was trying to come to terms with the loss I felt, the hole in my being. I was walking alone, yes, but I was also comforted by memories of her.

Why, oh why do I love Paris? Because my love is there.

Michael Herrick lives in Halifax.

First Person is a daily personal piece submitted by readers. Have a story to tell? See our guidelines at tgam.ca/essayguide.

The White Lotus upholds its five-star rating in spectacular Season 3

J. KELLY NESTRUCK
TELEVISION

The White Lotus chain of high-end resorts scattered around the world will no doubt take a hit in the Tripadvisor ratings after another outburst of murder and mayhem at one of its locations.

But, in these getaways for the extraprivileged, creator, writer and director Mike White has found the perfect fictional five-star site for an HBO anthology TV series – one that has allowed him to keep the dramatic and darkly comic quality at the highest level through the third, Thailand-set instalment that premieres this Sunday on Crave.

White has nailed consistency in shocks and service in a way that has eluded so much self-contained story-a-season prestige fare from *True Detective* to *Fargo*.

The key is that each White Lotus functions in the way the “green world” that Canadian critic Northrop Frye theorized about does in classic literature.

These vacation spots act like the forests to which so many Shakespearean characters run to escape the real world, only to find themselves confronted with the messy realities of their true identities (or lack thereof) and unleashed impulses. These luxury spas are not far from what Frye described: “The dream world that we create of our own desires ... that collides with the stumbling and blinded follies of the world of experience.”

The latest season of *The White Lotus* begins, once more, with a flash-forward to death.



In *The White Lotus*, Carrie Coon, from left, Michelle Monaghan and Leslie Bibb play three friends who reunite in middle age for a girls' trip. FABIO LOVINO/HBO VIA AP

A young Black American, whose identity would be a spoiler to reveal, is in a meditation session when gunshots start to ring out – and he catches a glimpse of a body floating in a pool of water.

Cue the caption: One Week Earlier.

White has never shied away from classical allusions in the interlinked stories he's constructed for his groups of actors to explore in bathing suits in jaw-dropping locales.

Played by consummate character actor Walton Goggins (*Justified*, *Fallout*), Rick – crassly smoking cigarettes at a wellness centre – is a character who gradually revealed to be a melancholy, introspective American Hamlet on a belated mission of revenge. He has a naive younger girlfriend Chelsea – played, tilted toward comedy, by *Sex Education*'s Aimee Lou Wood – to whom he alternates being kind and cruel. As her position as Ophelia in his story

becomes apparent, the fear she'll be the one meeting a watery death rises.

The wealthy Ratliffs, meanwhile, provide a central story of hubris with undertones of incest to rival that of the ancient Greeks – one that seems poised to end with any or all dead.

Headed by seemingly successful and highly stressed North Carolina financier Timothy (Jason Isaacs) and skittish snob Virginia (Parker Posey), the Ratliff family's children are a divided bunch.

Oldest son Saxon (a deliciously dislikable Patrick Schwarzenegger) is in the family business and obsessed with money, bodybuilding and sex, while daughter Piper (Sarah Catherine Hook) is a religious studies major on a quest to deepen her Buddhism.

The youngest, Lochlan (Sam Nivola), is pulled between worldly pleasures and spirituality – the theme of the season. “What if this life is just a test, to see if we can be

better people?” he wonders.

If it is, those most failing the test are three female friends who have reunited in middle age for a girls' trip. Michelle Monaghan plays a well-known actor with a younger husband; Leslie Bibb is the well-off wife of a rich, red-state husband; the great Carrie Coon is a lawyer who hasn't risen to their same financial heights and is pitted for imperfections in her family.

Saxon, eyeing these three American women from a chaise longue, calls them “cougars” – and their entanglement with a male Russian staff member, and the way they turn on each other while drinking wine from glasses the size of a baby's head, seems the most inevitable. But even here, there's an extra level of resonance – and their fraying friendships become an allegory for a U.S. pulled between the poles of Los Angeles, Austin and New York.

The casting of *The White Lotus* is truly a cut above – with character and talent matched in a way that trumps the algorithmic celebrity-skewed approach that has diminished so many other limited series of late and led to such crimes as Nicole Kidman becoming overexposed.

In addition to such pleasure of watching actors the calibre of Goggins and Coon sink their teeth into surprising roles, there's the intriguing presence of Canada's Charlotte Le Bon making a Season 4 set in Quebec City seem like a genuine possibility; and the stunning one of German actor Christian Friedel, fresh off playing Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss in *The Zone of Interest*, as the general manager running the White Lotus Thailand.

Posey, in the role of the insecure, wealthy Lorazepam-popping Victoria, holds the promise of being the stand-in for Jennifer Coolidge's late, lamented Tanya McQuoid in the series. But Tanya is still in the show, in spirit (see the theme of the season), from the moment we spy Belinda (Natasha Rothwell), the spa manager she betrayed in the first instalment.

I'll say no more on that except that an added element of this show's success is HBO's impressive ability to keep secrets from leaving the set.

TODAY'S SUDOKU SOLUTION

8	2	9	4	6	3	5	1	7
1	4	5	7	9	2	8	6	3
3	7	6	5	1	8	9	2	4
2	3	1	9	8	6	7	4	5
9	8	7	2	5	4	6	3	1
6	5	4	3	7	1	2	8	9
7	1	3	8	2	9	4	5	6
4	9	8	6	3	5	1	7	2
5	6	2	1	4	7	3	9	8

TODAY'S KENKEN SOLUTION

2	3	1	6	2	4	5
2+	9+		72x			
2	5	1	3	6	4	
4	3	5	6	2	1	
5	3+	3-				
5	2	4	1	3	6	
1	6	3	4	5	2	
6	4	2	5	1	3	

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Cruises

Wednesday, February 12, 2025

Advertising feature produced by Globe Content Studio. The Globe's editorial department was not involved.

CALL OF THE WILD



Cruising Hubbard Glacier, one of the largest in Alaska, offers tourists a panoramic view of the surrounding St. Elias Mountains. REGENT SEVEN SEAS CRUISES

Trending destinations like Alaska beckon travellers who appreciate abundant wildlife, wide-open spaces and stunning landscapes

As some cities struggle with overtourism, other places offer a respite from crowds and congestion, with open skies and natural beauty. That has helped to make cruise itineraries to wild places, like Alaska, a top destination for nature-focused travellers.

Andrew Roberts remembers his first visit to Alaska well. The guide and co-founder of EXP Journeys, a luxury travel company that offers privately guided vacations, was immediately struck by the nature surrounding Anchorage when he arrived.

“My real excitement began when I flew into the [Chugach] Front Range mountains north of the city,” he recalls. “Just 10 minutes into the flight, the human world faded away – no buildings, no power lines – just



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left: Alaskan wildlife, such as bears, wolves and foxes, are largely unaccustomed to people, unlike other wildlife-spotting destinations, such as Yellowstone National Park. REGENT SEVEN SEAS CRUISES

right: Exploring the waterways of Alaska by canoe or kayak is a popular activity for cruise travellers to The Last Frontier. EXP JOURNEYS



mountains, glaciers, lakes and rivers. It made me understand why Alaska is called 'The Last Frontier.'"

During that trip, he also explored southeast Alaska, spending a lot of time on the water near Admiralty Island. The natural beauty there was astonishing, he says, with rainforests hugging rugged coastlines, towering mountains and glaciers spilling into bays.

"Reflecting on that first trip, I realized Alaska is one of the few places on Earth where nature remains truly wild and untamed," says Roberts. "And when you add the incredible wildlife to the mix, it elevates the experience even further."

Alaska is truly unique because of its limited access. Its capital, Juneau, isn't connected to the rest of the

state by road, which helps preserve its wildness, he points out. The limited human presence has a profound impact on the wildlife.

"Unlike in places like Yellowstone, where animals have grown accustomed to people, Alaska's wildlife lives undisturbed," he says. "The interactions you experience here feel natural and authentic."

For Andrews, another aspect that sets Alaska apart is the sense of discovery: "There are still places that have seen little-to-no human visitation, making every journey feel like a real adventure. For nature and wildlife lovers, the state offers an unmatched combination of solitude, untouched beauty and genuine encounters with the natural world."

The 49th state is an unmatched

cruising destination, according to Steve Odell, senior vice-president and chief sales officer with Regent Seven Seas Cruises. "Our immersive and exclusive excursions allow guests to explore the natural wonders of Alaska in an up-close and interactive way. Regent's Alaskan voyages provide the most seasoned travellers with a new sense of wonder. For guests, the opportunity to witness this destination in ways that aren't always easily accessible by land is one of the main attractions."

For outdoor enthusiasts and anyone with a sense of adventure, Alaska is a dream destination. Each port offers unique shore excursions. For example, in Seward, Regent guests can hand-feed puffins at the Alaska SeaLife Center, whale-watch in Kenai

Fjords National Park or take part in a dog-sled race led by Alaskan huskies. Meanwhile, Sitka is ideal for spotting sea otters, whales and brown bears or hiking through America's largest national forest.

New for 2025, Regent's Alaskan itineraries will explore beloved ports like Skagway, Ketchikan and Juneau. And more good news for guests. Alaskan sailings have begun leaving from Whittier rather than Seward. Whittier's proximity to Anchorage, a major flight hub, means getting to and their voyage will be easier for guests. Its new 2025-2026 voyage collection will feature two 14-night round-trip sailings in Alaska onboard Seven Seas Explorer. Looking further ahead, there will be new opportunities to sail Alaska from Seattle during

the 2026-2027 season.

If cruisers seek Canadian highlights, nature is front and centre at Explora Journeys' A Journey from Urban Adventure to Tranquil Escapes, which sets sails from New York City and ends in Quebec City (Oct. 7-15, 2026).

"It is an excellent itinerary that will appeal to guests who love nature and wildlife," says Chris Austin, the company's president of North America. "They'll discover the rich maritime heritage of Saint John before gliding to the enchantment of red-sand Magdalen Islands beaches, then explore protected natural beauty at Havre-Saint-Pierre and Baie-Comeau's wild vistas."

For a tropical voyage, Explora's A Journey through Rugged Landscapes & Remote Coastal Scenery (Apr. 9-14, 2025) includes sights like the volcanic landscapes of the Canary Islands and Gibraltar's impressive caves, apes and macaques. Company brand ambassador Mike Horn, a celebrated adventurer and explorer, works with Explora to craft unforgettable and sustainable experiences for guests.

He has accompanied passengers to the Canary Islands, provided onboard lectures about the local biodiversity and hiked with them along coastal paths. He hopes others will share his passion for the planet's most precious places.

"I would never feel like a whole person if I couldn't satisfy my passion for nature in its most inhospitable glory," he says.



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Going remote

Micro-expeditions immerse cruisers in natural surroundings large vessels can't access

Expedition cruises take travellers to far-flung places like Antarctica and the Galapagos Islands. Feeling like you're oceans away from day-to-day life has great appeal. According to the Cruise Line International Association, expedition cruises are one of the fastest-growing segments of the industry, with a 71-per-cent increase in passenger traffic from 2019 to 2023.

An expedition cruise doesn't always mean having to travel far. Mini-expeditions can offer some of the same thrills and adventure closer to home. To many Canadians, parts of the country remain unknown, especially in the northern and coastal regions. Reaching them on a small ship with less than 50 passengers is a perfect way to immerse yourself in their natural beauty.

Adventure Canada takes just 12 guests on the *SV Island Solitude* as it sails along the northwest Pacific coast. Dining is a communal affair with meals served family-style. Its *La Pinta* vessel has capacity for 48 cruisers for expeditions to the Galapagos Islands, where only cruise ships with a maximum of 100 passengers are permitted within the archipelago to preserve the area's delicate ecosystem.

If a cruise to Norway, Greenland or Antarctica beckons, Polartours has a fleet of nine micro-cruise vessels that max out at 12 to 35 passengers. The small size means itineraries are more flexible and you'll get closer to wildlife. With tiny ships, you may give up those big-ship amenities, like Broadway-style shows and water parks, but the smaller size also means connecting in meaningful ways to fellow guests.

Since 1986, Maple Leaf Adventures has been offering big adventures aboard small ships in British Columbia and Alaska. The Victoria, B.C.-based company specializes in ecotourism, actively protecting and promoting beautiful and rare destinations. Its boats hold a maximum of 24 guests, which has a profound impact on the cruise experience.

"We offer a very personalized trip," says Maureen Gordon, co-owner of Maple Leaf Adventures. "It allows you to truly connect to our guides, other passengers and nature itself."

Sometimes the vessel you're on may be the only one around. It's one of the key advantages of small ships. You may find yourself on an untouched wild beach, near a remote whale research station, or a spot where wolves roam. Or you may immerse yourself at a hauntingly beautiful site that is difficult or impossible to access on a large ship.

One such place is S'Gang Gwaay at the



Travellers with Maple Leaf Adventures visit S'Gang Gwaay at the southern end of Gwaii Haanas, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. JEFF REYNOLDS/MAPLE LEAF ADVENTURES



Maple Leaf Adventures' Cascadia, a 12-cabin catamaran, is capable of navigating hard-to-access areas along the B.C. coastline. JONNY BIERMAN/MAPLE LEAF ADVENTURES

southern end of Gwaii Haanas, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Set amid lush rainforest, the Haida village is home to the largest collection of late-19th-century Haida totem poles, still in their original locations. These works of art, decayed over time, dot the landscape. It's eerily quiet, surrounded by sea birds. "It feels very wild," says Gordon. "It's a powerful place."

Although the village that stood there is gone, Haida watchmen, hired by the Haida Nation and Parks Canada, guard its remnants and share information with visitors. For many guests of Maple Leaf Adventures, the time spent there is the highlight of their trip, notes Gordon. The company also has a Haida interpreter, who is

part of the crew, sharing cultural insights.

For other guests, the wildlife along the shores of B.C. is the most captivating. A small vessel can pull up to a coastal estuary where grizzlies nibble on sedge grass in the meadows, unbothered by those observing them. The Great Bear Rainforest is a prime spot for sighting grizzly bears.

Travellers in search of untouched places are choosing itineraries like the Vancouver Island's Wild Side tour, from Maple Leaf Adventures, which is gaining popularity, says Gordon. Travelling along the north coast, passengers witness incredible sights, from the puffins of Solander Island to the sea otters of Kyuquot Sound. Each experience transforms

into learning opportunities, thanks to expert naturalists on board.

Regardless of where the journey takes them, guests enjoy the benefits of an all-inclusive cruise, including gourmet meals made from fresh local ingredients, fine wines and craft beer, onshore excursions, activities, like kayaking and rainforest hikes, and more.

"What we provide is different," explains Gordon. "We can anchor in a quiet cove for the night, and you never know what you'll wake up to. You may see seals swimming around the boat or be greeted with the sounds of the forest or whales blowing in the distance. When we travel, what we often desire most is to connect with the world by exploring it."



Iconic boats and secret spots

How to get the best of the West Coast with Maple Leaf Adventures



WHERE MAPLE LEAF ADVENTURES CAN TAKE YOU

The best places for spring wildlife viewing are hard to reach. Especially when there are no roads.

These small vessels enable guests to experience the BC/Alaska coastline in a way few others can. Offered this spring:

- Desolation Sound**
Mountains plunge into deep waterways and passages. See marine mammals, bald eagles, and maybe a spring bear, picnic in a quiet cove, explore trails and wildflowers.
4 nights, April, May
- Haida Gwaii**
Hundreds of islands, rich marine life, rainforests and Haida culture. Covers the whole archipelago including Gwaii Haanas and UNESCO World Heritage Site.
7 or 8 nights, May, June, July
- Great Bear Rainforest**
Under snowcapped peaks, estuaries bloom wildflowers, and grizzly bears forage for sedges. Explore fjords and islands in 6.4 million ha of ancient rainforest. Whales and seabirds also featured.
6 or 7 nights, May, June
- Gulf Islands National Park Reserve & Vancouver Island**
See the hidden Gulf Islands... not accessible by car. Island hop in balmy channels, beachcomb, hike to stunning views, watch wildlife, enjoy wildflowers.
4 or 7 nights, April, May

The people at Maple Leaf Adventures, a boutique expedition cruise company based in Victoria, are on a mission.

They maintain beautiful, small boats that are part of the history of the B.C. coast so that guests can be welcomed aboard to explore the coast's beauty and secret places.

For more than 35 years, the award-winning company has specialized in 5- to 9-day nature and cultural journeys where guests become deeply immersed in their surroundings.

Trips result in tales of wildlife sightings and new connections with coastal people.

But what makes the experience unique are its three "main characters" – coastal vessels **Maple Leaf**, a 1904 schooner; **Swell**, a 1912 tugboat; and **Cascadia**, a modern catamaran.

These small, yacht-like boats, 90 to 140 feet long, have histories as rugged as the coastline, from halibut fishing in the Bering Sea, to towing loads down fjords.

Today, they gleam with polished fir beams and mahogany cap rails, and exude warmth with cozy duvets, local art and beautiful cuisine.

Co-owner Kevin Smith, who grew up in the region, decided to create a company that stewarded the land and sea.

"We need to leave this place we love even better for future generations," he says.

Itineraries sync with natural cycles when wildlife congregates – starting in April and May with seabirds, whales, wildflower meadows and bears.

Trips ashore are many, and expert naturalists are always available.



Top: A guest takes the helm of Swell, a restored tug with 6 private cabins. **Right:** Spring is peak grizzly bear viewing as they eat coastal sedges. **Bottom:** Adventure and comfort co-exist with creative cuisine.





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Haida Gwaii

Wild Vancouver Island

Inside Passage

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WORLD FORECAST

	TODAY	TOMORROW	FRIDAY
AMSTERDAM	5/-1 SH	4/-1 PC	3/3 PC
ATHENS	10/4	PC 11/8	C 14/9 SH
BANGKOK	36/25	PC 35/25 S	35/25 S
BEIJING	6/-3	S 8/-2 S	9/1 S
BERLIN	4/0	S 1/-2 SN	0/-7 SN
BRUSSELS	6/1	SH 4/-2 SH	3/-3 PC
COPENHAGEN	2/0	S 2/-2 PC	0/-2 S
FRANKFURT	4/0	RS 4/-3 SH	1/4 SN
HONG KONG	19/15	R 19/15	C 17/16 SH
JERUSALEM	9/5	SH 10/3 SH	11/6 PC
LAS VEGAS	13/4	S 11/7 R	15/6 S
LONDON	7/3	C 6/2 C	6/1 PC
LOS ANGELES	14/12	R 15/12 R	14/11 SH
MADRID	13/4	S 14/6 PC	15/6 S
MIAMI	27/23	SH 29/22 SH	28/22 T
MOSCOW	-4/-7	PC -5/-7 SN	4/-8 SN
NEW DELHI	26/14	S 25/14 S	26/14 S
NEW YORK	1/1	SN 8/-5 SH	0/5 S
NICE	14/8	SH 15/7 PC	15/6 S
ORLANDO	30/20	S 31/19 S	25/20 S
PARIS	6/2	C 6/-1 C	6/-1 S
PHOENIX	18/9	PC 21/12 C	20/9 PC
ROME	15/8	R 15/9 SH	15/6 R
SAN FRANCISCO	10/9	SH 13/10 SH	11/7 SH
SEOUL	2/-7	SN 3/-2 S	7/2 S
SINGAPORE	31/24	PC 31/24 R	31/24 T
SYDNEY	27/22	SH 28/22 SH	30/21 R
TOKYO	12/7	PC 11/2 S	12/4 S
WASHINGTON	5/1	C 12/-1 SH	5/0 S

LEGEND

Daytime high, overnight low, and conditions

C CLOUDY

FG FOG

FR FREEZING RAIN

HZ HAZE

NA NOT AVAILABLE

PC PARTLY CLOUDY

R RAIN

RS RAIN/SNOW

S SUN

SN SNOW

SF SNOW FLURRIES

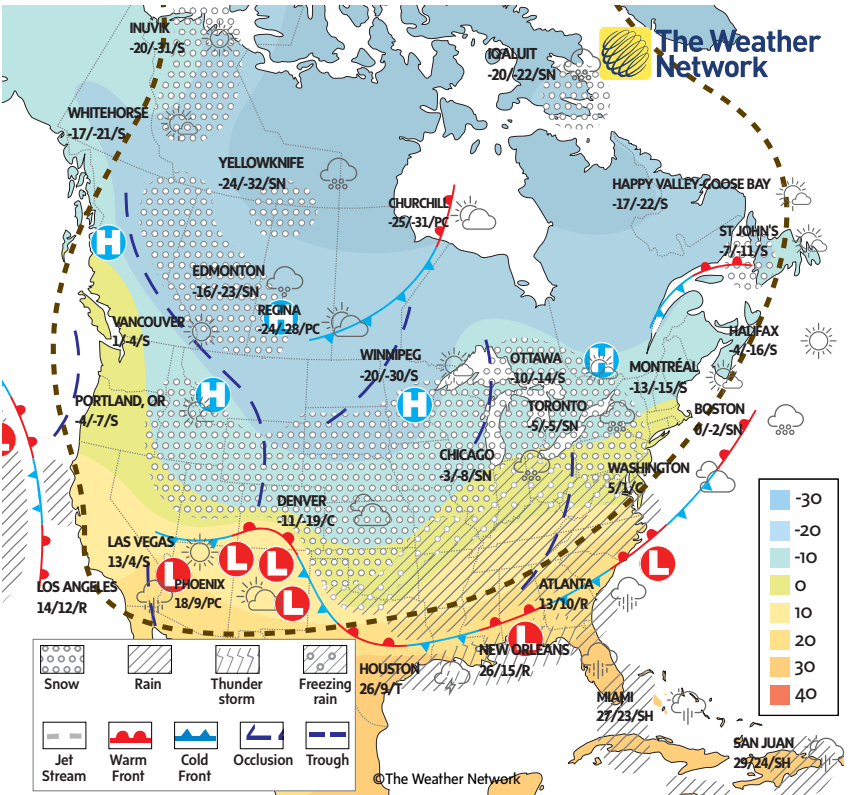
SH SHOWERS

T THUNDERSTORMS

W WINDY

NATIONAL FORECAST

	TODAY	TOMORROW	FRIDAY
BANFF	-12/23 S	-11/24 SN	-16/24 PC
BARRIE	-8/10 SF	-5/13 SN	-8/12 SN
BRANDON	-23/32 PC	-20/27 PC	-18/30 PC
CALGARY	-10/17 PC	-13/24 SN	-20/25 SN
CHARLOTTETOWN	-9/18 S	-5/7 SN	-7/16 PC
CHICOUTIMI	-17/24 S	-11/17 SN	-14/25 PC
CHURCHILL	-25/31 PC	-25/31 PC	-25/28 PC
CORNER BROOK	-10/13 SF	-8/9 PC	4/-11 SN
CORNWALL	-12/14 S	1/14 SN	9/16 S
EDMONTON	-16/23 SN	-20/29 PC	-23/33 PC
HALIFAX	-4/14 S	0/4 FR	4/-13 PC
HAMILTON	-3/5 SN	0/12 SN	-8/11 S
HUNTSVILLE	-8/12 SN	-7/19 SN	-9/12 PC
IGAULIT	-20/23 SN	-18/21 SN	-20/23 SN
JASPER	-8/21 SN	-12/24 PC	-18/24 SN
KELOWNA	-7/15 S	-5/10 PC	-1/9 PC
KINGSTON	-7/10 SN	1/13 SN	-7/10 S
LONDON	-3/5 SN	-3/14 SN	-8/10 S
MONTREAL	-13/15 S	0/14 SN	-10/17 S
NIAGARA FALLS	-2/5 SN	2/10 RS	-7/9 PC
NORTH BAY	-11/14 S	-10/21 SN	-11/14 PC
OTTAWA	-10/13 S	-2/15 SN	-9/18 S
PRINCE GEORGE	-12/22 S	-10/21 PC	-15/27 PC
PETERBOROUGH	-7/10 SF	0/15 SN	-8/12 PC
QUEBEC	-13/19 S	-8/15 SN	-11/22 PC
REGINA	-24/28 PC	-21/29 S	-22/31 PC
SASKATOON	-23/29 PC	-23/30 PC	-24/32 S
SAULT STE MARIE	-9/13 SN	-9/16 SN	-9/9 PC
SAINT JOHN	-7/14 S	-1/8 SN	-7/15 PC
SEPTILES	-14/21 S	-8/9 SN	-9/17 SN
ST JOHN'S	-7/11 S	-9/10 S	1/7 SN
SUDBURY	-10/14 PC	-10/21 SN	-10/13 PC
THUNDER BAY	-12/23 S	-14/25 S	-11/18 SN
THOMPSON	-22/32 S	-21/33 PC	-23/27 S
TORONTO	-5/6 SN	1/8 R	-7/9 PC
VAL-D'OR	-13/17 S	-12/21 SN	-14/18 PC
VANCOUVER	1/4 S	2/3 PC	5/-1 S
VICTORIA	2/0 S	3/2 RS	5/2 S
WHISTLER	-2/11 S	1/11 PC	0/10 S
WHITEHORSE	-17/21 S	-16/25 SN	-18/23 PC
WINNIPEG	-20/30 S	-19/25 SN	-18/27 PC
YELLOWKNIFE	-24/32 SN	-27/35 S	-27/30 S



SUDOKU

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★☆☆☆

	2	9		6			1	
1					2			
3	7			1			2	
	3	1	9			7		
	8			5			3	
		4			1	2	8	
	1			2			5	6
			6					2
6				4		3	9	

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.

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS	DOWN
1 Making impure drug, cutting quantity for a grown-up (12)	2 Somewhat caddish? One's terribly given to fibbing (9)
8 Banks in Orleans look for capital (4)	3 Yearn to seize booty I'm regularly plundering (7)
9 Illegally sell footwear and haircare product from the east (7)	4 Walls of emporium foreman, say, put an outstanding design on (6)
11 Jimmy dressed in rings? They're not genuine (7)	5 Take on publicity work, over time (5)
12 Belief which can come from the Right or the Left? (5)	6 Suffering with 1 + 2 x 50 (3)
14 Vehicle used in winter has extremely special advantage (6)	7 Kit when retiring from NHS, eg, it's arranged to cover doctor (10)
15 Very cold beer (6)	10 Item maybe misplaced by greengrocer or a pet shop, strangely (10)
18 Gag pitiful person uttered (5)	13 Goodness supplied by food I turn into crackers (9)
20 Intellectually defeats Oxford University buffoons (7)	16 Bury boxes for example, perhaps two or three (7)
21 People who quibble with journalist in underwear (7)	17 Escort prancing around in tight-fitting garment (6)
23 Heads for giant rollercoaster inducing panic? Hold tight (4)	19 Believer welcomed inside church in Dunstable (5)
24 Nine urgent changes absorbing business meeting (12)	22 Dwarf fish from the south (3)

CONCISE CROSSWORD

ACROSS	DOWN
1 Having a pale grey colour (4)	1 Chooses not to vote (8)
3 Act of retaliation (8)	2 1970s prime minister (5)
8 Spiritualists' meetings (7)	4 Springtime festival (6)
10 Parisian river (5)	5 Decent, worthy of esteem (11)
11 Successful deed (11)	6 English cheese (7)
13 Write (music) using marks and symbols (6)	7 Untruths (4)
15 Stem the flow of (blood) (6)	9 Very disappointed (11)
17 Go on instinct, improvise (4,2,2,3)	12 Maundy ---, occasion prior to 4D (8)
20 Small round hill (5)	14 Drinking place with beer available on draught (7)
21 Directed (a vehicle) (7)	16 Gestures of affection made with the lips (6)
22 Tell off, chide (8)	18 Mistake (5)
23 Split into strands (4)	19 Ladies' fingers (4)

YESTERDAY'S CONCISE CROSSWORD
ACROSS: 1 BALLGOWN 5 BONE 9 OUNCE 10 TRUFFLE 11 CHEETAH 12 PURSE 13 DISINFECT 18 APRON 20 SILENCE 22 BIGFOOT 23 TREAD 24 LULL 25 SPIRITED
DOWN: 1 BROACH 2 LINSEED 3 GREET 4 WATCH ONES STEP 6 OFFER 7 EXETER 8 PURPLE 14 SENSOR 15 TANGENT 16 GAMBOL 17 HEEDED 19 REGAL 21 LATER

KENKEN

2-		48X		5
2÷	9+		72X	
			11+	6X
5	3÷	3-		5-
5-		1-	3-	
	2÷		9+	

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INSTRUCTIONS

- 1. Each row and each column must contain the numbers 1 through 6 without repeating.
- 2. The numbers within the heavily outlined boxes, called cages, must combine using the given operation (in any order) to produce the target numbers in the top-left corners.
- 3. Freebies: Fill in single-box cages with the numbers in the top-left corner.

Solutions to today's Sudoku and Kenken can be found in the Life & Arts content area of the A section. Crossword solutions will be with tomorrow's puzzles.

BRIDGE

BY STEVE BECKER
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2025

East dealer.
North-South vulnerable.

The bidding:

East	South	West	North
Pass	1[C]	Pass	1[H]
Pass	1 NT	Pass	6 NT
Opening Lead – jack of diamonds.			

NORTH		WEST		EAST	
♠	A 9 6	♠	10 7 3	♠	8 5 4 2
♥	A K 8 4	♥	Q 6 3	♥	J 9 5
♦	A Q	♦	J 10 9 5 4 2	♦	7 3
♣	K 9 5 2	♣	8	♣	Q 7 6 3
SOUTH					
♠	K Q J				
♥	10 7 2				
♦	K 8 6				
♣	A J 10 4				

Assume you're in six notrump and win West's diamond lead with the queen. Your sure winners are three spades, two hearts, three diamonds and two clubs – a total of 10 tricks, so you need two more.

Obviously, your best chance of picking up two additional tricks lies in clubs, where you have a two-way finesse for the queen. If you knew the location of the queen, it would be easy to trap the damsel by finessing in the right direction, and your troubles would be over. Locating the queen deserves your closest attention, because misguessing which way to finesse could cost you 1,740 points.

However, it is much too early, after only one trick has been played, to make what will amount to an irrevocable decision in the club suit, since you know next to nothing about the East-West hands. You therefore begin an investigative campaign hoping to learn more about the opposing distribution.

Accordingly, at trick two you cash the ace of hearts and then lead a low heart from dummy. West takes your 10 with the queen and returns a diamond to dummy's ace.

You cash the king of hearts, and, when the suit divides 3-3, you also cash dummy's eight, pitching a club after East discards a spade. You then play the A-K-Q of spades and king of diamonds, dummy and East both discarding clubs.

All your worries are now over, because you have obtained a complete count of the hand. West is known to have started with six diamonds (East showed out on the third round of the suit), three spades and three hearts, and therefore began with at most one club.

So, you lead the 10 of clubs to the king and finesse the jack on the way back with total confidence that it will win the trick. That's all there is to it!

1		2		3	4		5		6		7
8				9					10		
11											
13		14				15					
						16					
		17							18		
19											
20						21					
22									23		

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WINTER FINALE SALE

SAVE UP TO \$1200

PER PAIR

A snowstorm (or two) isn't the winter finale you asked for, nor is it the one you deserve. Our end-of-winter savings on last-minute getaways? Now that you do deserve.

WINTER FINALE SALE

Your name's already etched in the sand, so lock in these savings and book with your local travel advisor or at Sunwing.ca by March 9, 2025.

Sunwing's Winter Finale Sale is a limited time offer with savings of up to \$1,200 per pair. This promotion is valid for new bookings of select all inclusive packages made between February 10, 2025, to March 9, 2025, for travel between February 10, 2025, and May 5, 2025, while supplies last. Discounts were calculated by comparing the current prices to the original published rates, with the maximum savings applicable to the following. Savings of up to \$1,200 per pair: Toronto to Varadero, Cuba, staying at Grand Memories Varadero, for departures on April 23, 2025. Savings of up to \$1,500 per pair: Montreal to Varadero, Cuba, staying at Sanctuary at Grand Memories Varadero, for departures on April 21, 2025. Savings of up to \$1,400 per pair: Vancouver to Puerto Vallarta, Mexico, staying at Plaza Pelicanos Club Beach Resort, for departures on March 9, 2025. Savings of up to \$1,500 per pair: Calgary to Varadero, Cuba, staying at Sanctuary at Grand Memories Varadero, for departures on April 29, 2025. All featured prices are per adult, based on double occupancy for a 7-night stay on an all-inclusive vacation (unless otherwise specified) and reflect the savings. This offer is applicable to Sunwing packages that include flights on Sunwing Airlines or flights operated on behalf of Sunwing Airlines by WestJet and Smartwings. This offer is subject to availability and may be changed or withdrawn at any time. Seats are limited and capacity-controlled. For complete terms and conditions of bookings, visit www.sunwing.ca/en/terms-and-conditions.

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OTTAWA/QUEBEC EDITION

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2025

GLOBEANDMAIL.COM

S&P/TSX

25,631.83

-27.03

DOW

44,593.65

+123.24

S&P 500

6,068.50

+2.06

NASDAQ

19,643.86

-70.41

DOLLAR

69.90/1.4307

+0.08/-0.0016

GOLD (oz.)

US\$2,932.60

-1.80

OIL (WTI)

US\$73.32

+1.00

GCAN (10-YR)

3.10%

+0.04

Ford CEO warns tariffs would devastate U.S. auto industry

James Farley joins North American business leaders who say levies would stoke inflation, job losses

ERIC ATKINS
TRANSPORTATION REPORTER

The chief executive officer of **Ford Motor Co.** warns that U.S. tariffs on Canadian and Mexican imports would devastate the U.S. automaking industry and give a price advantage to overseas rivals.

U.S. President Donald Trump has briefly paused his plan to place 25-per-cent tariffs on all imports from his North American trading partners, but on Monday, Mr. Trump said all imported steel and aluminum will be subject to a similar levy as of March 12.

Ford CEO James Farley, speaking at an investors' conference in New York on Tuesday, said Mr. Trump's tariffs are creating "cost and chaos" for the Detroit-based automaker, which makes cars around the world and is a major buyer of

steel and aluminum, both raw and in finished parts.

"Let's be real honest, long term, a 25-per-cent tariff across the Mexico and Canadian border would blow a hole in the U.S. industry that we have never seen," Mr. Farley said.

"And it frankly, gives free rein to South Korean and Japanese and European companies that are bringing 1.5 million to two million vehicles into the U.S. that wouldn't be subject to those Mexican and Canadian tariffs. It would be one of the biggest windfalls for those companies ever."

Sherry House, Ford's chief financial officer, said about 90 per cent of the company's steel and aluminum comes from U.S. sources. However, many of Ford's parts suppliers use international metals, which would be subject to the tariffs. That would send up costs for Ford.

The Ford executives add their voices to a growing chorus of business leaders in North America who warn the tariffs favoured by Mr. Trump would cause inflation and job losses.

For decades, Canada and the United States have had free trade, adding Mexico to the tariff-free pact in 1994. The agreement, renegotiated in Mr. Trump's first term in office, has allowed the auto industry to become highly integrated and efficient, with some vehicle parts crossing the border six times before an auto is completed.

"Any import tax that would affect the integrated automobile industry in North America would have a devastating impact on all the car companies because it would dramatically increase their costs," said Fraser Johnson, a professor at Western University's Ivey Business School.

■ FORD, B6

TD to compete for Canadian business with Schwab funds, Chun says

STEFANIE MAROTTA
BANKING REPORTER

Toronto-Dominion Bank is shoring up capital to invest in its Canadian businesses as it offsets regulatory restrictions on expansion in the U.S. prompted by the lender's anti-money-laundering failings.

TD is selling its stake in U.S.-based investment dealer **Charles Schwab Corp.** for about \$20-billion, a major step in the bank's strategic review as it manages the asset cap set by U.S. authorities.

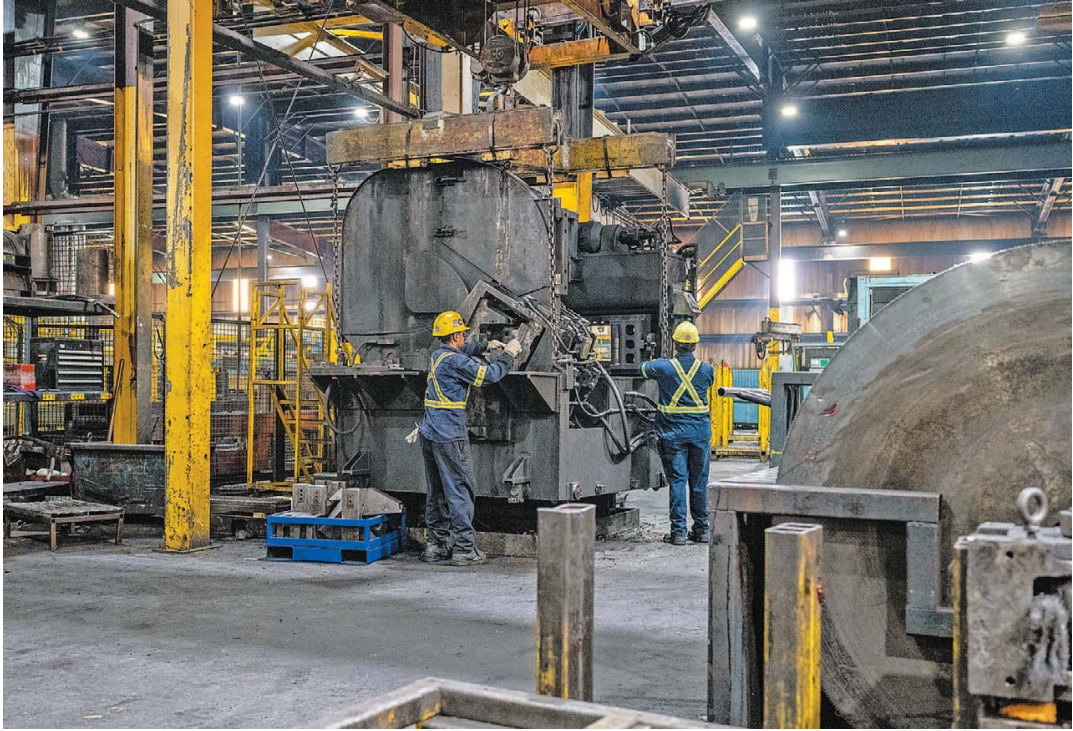
TD chief executive officer Raymond Chun said the bulk of the proceeds will go toward internal growth opportunities – largely competing for more business in Canada – while rejigging its U.S. balance sheet.

"In Canada, the single largest opportunity for TD is to deepen our relationships with our more than 14 million customers," Mr. Chun said during a Tuesday conference call with analysts.

"We have strong momentum across our businesses, and through the strategic review we are identifying opportunities to accelerate that momentum."

■ TD, B6

Caught in the eye of another Trump trade storm, Welded Tube braces for impact



Welded Tube of Canada's Concord plant, located north of Toronto. In 2011, the company decided to add a facility south of the border specifically to buffer against potential trade turmoil with the United States. EDUARDO LIMA/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

NIALL MCGEE
MINING REPORTER
CONCORD, ONT.

Robert (Butch) Mandel, the chief executive officer of steel-products company Welded Tube of Canada, has had better days.

U.S. President Donald Trump's announcement on Monday to levy 25-per-cent tariffs on steel imports is putting Mr. Mandel's privately held company, which generates a billion dollars a year in revenue, under significant strain.

Much of his Tuesday consisted of urgent meetings and phone calls to discuss how to

cope with the crisis, including one with the company's bank to lay out the implications of the tariffs, and another with representatives of the federal government on behalf of the Canadian Steel Producers Association (CSPA).

Canada is the biggest international supplier of steel to the United States, sending 99 per cent of its exports there. CSPA told The Globe and Mail last week that tariffs would have a "doomsday" impact on the industry.

Tariffs won't be a doomsday scenario for Concord, Ont.-based Welded Tube writ large, but it could be for some of its employees. No matter what happens, amid the swirling uncertainty, the months

ahead will be tough.

Welded Tube is one of a handful of companies in Canada that sit smack in the middle of the steel ecosystem. It sources its raw material from the "big three" primary steelmakers in Canada (Stelco, Algoma Steel Group Inc. and Dofasco) and turns it into semi-finished steel products. These ultimately go to customers who use the metal in all manner of applications, including oil and gas pipelines, recreational vehicles, railcars, construction equipment and automobiles.

■ STEEL, B6

Postcard from Saguenay in Quebec's aluminum valley, tariff anxiety is palpable ■ B2

Parkland shareholder can push for board changes, court rules

JAMESON BERKOW
CAPITAL MARKETS REPORTER

Shares of **Parkland Corp.** surged to their highest level in more than six months on Tuesday after the fuel retailer's largest shareholder won a legal victory that could lead to a multibillion-dollar sale of the company.

Simpson Oil Ltd., which owns nearly 20 per cent of Calgary-based Parkland, won a legal victory Monday when the Ontario Superior Court ruled it is no longer bound by a 2019 governance agreement. That agreement had prevented Simpson Oil from engaging in any activism against Parkland or soliciting bids to acquire the company.

Simpson Oil, a family-owned business founded by Sir Kyffin Simpson and based in the Cayman Islands, openly called for Parkland to put itself up for sale in April, 2024. During the summer of 2023, Parkland rebuffed a takeover offer worth nearly \$8-billion from Texas-based Sunoco LP.

Parkland stock climbed almost 10 per cent to \$36.80 a share on Tuesday afternoon on the Toronto Stock Exchange, and at one point, topped \$37 for the first time since July, 2024. At that level, the company's total market value is more than \$6.4-billion.

"It's hard to see how this isn't good news for the shares," Bank of Nova Scotia analyst Ben Isaacson said in a note to clients published Tuesday morning. "An unencumbered debate about how to best surface value can now unfold in the court of investor opinion."

■ PARKLAND, B2



E-COMMERCE
Shopify removes Kanye West store selling swastika T-shirts
■ B2

CHRIS WATTIE/REUTERS

OPINION
Canada should press for an early renegotiation of USMCA
■ B4

TOM CZITRON
With investments, don't fall for the 'Buy Canada' mantra
■ B8

COMPANIES	
EQB	B9
FRANCO-NEVADA	B9
KINROSS GOLD	B9
SHOPIFY	B2
WALT DISNEY	B3

Shopify pulls Kanye West store selling swastika shirts

Company says rapper's shop violated 'authentic commerce practices'

IRENE GALEA

Shopify Inc. has removed the online store belonging to controversial hip-hop star Kanye West that was advertising T-shirts emblazoned with swastikas because it did not follow the platform's policies.

"All merchants are responsible for following the rules of our platform. This merchant did not engage in authentic commerce practices and violated our terms, so we removed them from Shopify," said Shopify spokesperson Ben McCounaghy.

Shopify did not say which terms had been violated. The Ottawa-based e-commerce company faced criticism online and from former executives Monday for its silence on the matter. Shopify only learned about the store Monday morning, internal Slack messages obtained by The Globe and Mail show.

According to a message sent by the company's general counsel, Jess Herz, the company removed the store because it presented a heightened risk of fraud, as the store was a "stunt," The Logic reported.

Ms. Herz wrote that the company's policies exist to remove as much subjectivity as possible from decision-making regarding content moderation.

Mr. West promoted his store in a Super Bowl ad Sunday. During a call with analysts Tuesday for its fourth quarter, one analyst asked how artificial intelligence could help with content or listing moderation, "considering the controversy around the Super Bowl advertisement." Shopify executives did not respond.

Later, when asked how AI was driving productivity gains, Shopify president Harley Finkelstein referenced the AI tools that help Shopify merchants work more efficiently, such as its AI inbox assistant or search tools, as well help the company's software developers and streamline customer support.

"I actually think Shopify will very much be one of the major net beneficiaries in this new AI era," Mr. Finkelstein said.

Shopify's results exceeded analysts' consensus forecasts on nearly every metric in its fourth quarter, posting double-digit revenue, sales volume and free cash flow growth.

Shopify reported revenue of US\$2.8-billion for the quarter ended Dec. 31, 2024, up 31 per cent year-over-year and beating analysts' estimates of 27.4 per cent. It reported net income of US\$1.29-billion for the quarter, though "other income," including the fluctuating value of its stakes in other companies, made up about 73 per cent of its total net income.

"The company's enterprise and international strategic initiatives yielded positive results this quarter and, in our view, provide undervalued growth prospects over the long term," said Gil Luria, an analyst with U.S.-based investment firm D.A. Davidson, in a note to investors.

However, profitability and growth guidance for the first quarter was weaker than many expected.

Given that it is trading at about 30 times its expected gross profit over the next year, "Shopify's stock implies high expectations, and we believe this print will modestly disappoint those expectations," ATB Capital Markets analyst Martin Toner told investors.

Shopify's management said it will continue to invest in long-term growth initiatives, including the addition of technical talent, and will hold firm on its marketing spend to drive merchant count growth.

The company could be affected by U.S. President Donald Trump's tariffs – in particular the removal of the de minimis exemption, which allowed businesses to ship packages valued at less than \$800 duty-free to the U.S. from China and less than \$150 from Canada. It would be a hit to Shopify merchants who are shipping Chinese-made products directly to the U.S., as well as shops shipping to the U.S. from Canada.

The exemption was removed as part of Mr. Trump's 10-per-cent tariffs on China but was temporarily replaced until the proper systems to collect tariffs are in place, the White House has said. Meanwhile, the Canadian exemption will remain until the beginning of March, when the 30-day pause on tariffs expires.

More than 25 per cent of Shopify Plus stores rely on the de minimis exemption, according to Maggie Barnett, the chief executive officer of LVK, a U.S.- and Canada-based third-party logistics company and subsidiary of ShipHero.

"The policy shift will trigger higher costs and cash flow constraints, putting pressure on small businesses and fast-fashion brands," Ms. Barnett said in a news release last week.

On Tuesday, Mr. Finkelstein told analysts that de minimis exemptions are crucial for small businesses, allowing entrepreneurs to compete at a larger scale. He said Shopify has put in place tools for merchants to display and collect duties at checkout and for customers to shop locally using the Shop app.

The company's revenue from subscriptions increased 26 per cent, to US\$666-million, and it earned US\$1.23-billion from merchant solutions, up 32 per cent, each ahead of estimates.

Gross merchandise value – the total value of orders processed on the Shopify platform – rose 26 per cent to US\$94.46-billion after a busy holiday season. Free cash flow was up 37 per cent.



A drone picture shows Alcoa's aluminum smelter in Bécancour, Que., on Monday. Jean Simard, president of the Aluminium Association of Canada , says Quebec alone furnished 65 per cent of the United States' aluminum last year. BERNARD BRAULT/REUTERS

In Saguenay, Canada's aluminum valley, anxiety over planned U.S. tariffs is palpable

FRÉDÉRIK-XAVIER D. PLANTE
SAGUENAY, QUE.

Jean-Marc Crevier, a municipal councillor in Saguenay, Que., can feel his constituents' anxiety.

Mr. Crevier's district encompasses Rio Tinto's sprawling, century-old Arvida aluminum smelter. It is one of four such facilities – in addition to one refinery – in the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region, which produces a third of all Canadian aluminum thanks to abundant, cheap hydroelectric power.

In Saguenay, U.S. President Donald Trump's plan to impose 25-per-cent tariffs on all steel and aluminum imports, starting on March 12, is the talk of the town.

"When I go to the grocery store, I take almost twice the time just talking with my people," Mr. Crevier said in an interview. "Everyone talks about it."

Saguenay, population 152,000, is a company town turned industrial hub, about 380 kilometres northeast of Montreal. Heavy-equipment manufacturers line its wide boulevards, where men in coveralls drive salt-stained pickup trucks to work. Snowmobile riders are more common than pedestrians in the harsh February wind.

Mr. Crevier, 72, worked as a welder for the Arvida smelter before becoming a union leader. "We fought for a long time to say: 'Listen, we produce a lot of aluminum here, but we transform very little,'" thus giving up many valuable jobs to U.S.-based companies, he said. It's still true today.

In a statement earlier this month, the Aluminium Association of Canada said that 9,500 aluminum workers in the country – including 7,600 in Quebec –

"produce the metal that is processed, transformed and fabricated into parts, components, and everyday products by more than 500,000 well-paid American manufacturing workers."

This integrated market is now under threat, starting with Saguenay.

“We are closely monitoring the situation and remain proactive in implementing, in collaboration with other levels of government, the means required to protect our local entrepreneurs and all workers who could be affected by these measures.”

JULIE DUFOUR
SAGUENAY MAYOR

In a U.S. Tariff Exposure Index release Tuesday, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce identified the remote Quebec municipality as the seventh most vulnerable in the country based on its dependence on southbound aluminum exports. Jean Simard, the president of the Aluminium Association, said Quebec alone furnished 65 per cent of the U.S.'s aluminum last year.

But Mr. Simard said no jobs are on the line because of the latest tariff threats. "The American government just decided to pay 25 per cent more" with tariffs on aluminum imports from all over the world, he said.

Saguenay Mayor Julie Dufour declined to be interviewed for this story. In a statement, she said the city brought together

"the region's key stakeholders" to "co-ordinate efforts to support our regional industry."

"We are closely monitoring the situation and remain proactive in implementing, in collaboration with other levels of government, the means required to protect our local entrepreneurs and all workers who could be affected by these measures," she added.

Rio Tinto, which operates one refinery and four smelters in the region, along with another in Kitimat, B.C., declined to comment.

Jason Tremblay, interim president of the Unifor-affiliated Arvida aluminum workers' union, said they are monitoring the situation. "There is a bit of concern," he said in an interview, but a lot of time remains for Mr. Trump to change his mind before March 12. And the 2018 tariffs on aluminum, during Mr. Trump's first mandate, did not affect union members, Mr. Tremblay said.

Mario Simard, a local Bloc Québécois MP, said he is not worried about his region's aluminum producers because the U.S., a marginal producer, depends heavily on them.

"Mr. Trump can say what he wants, but it is completely unrealistic to think that there will be the construction of aluminum smelters in the United States" within the President's second mandate, he said.

Mr. Simard is more concerned about businesses spread across the province that use rolled aluminum, from microbreweries to manufacturers of water heaters. Those will feel the weight of tariffs when bringing aluminum sheets back from the U.S., he said, as Quebec does not have the facilities to transform it at home.

"We should have had a rolling mill in Quebec a while ago," Mr. Simard said.

More than 100 business leaders across Canada pen call for end to prorogation of Parliament

PIPPA NORMAN
INNOVATION REPORTER

More than 100 prominent Canadian business leaders have signed a letter calling for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to end the prorogation of Parliament and reinstate the government at its full, functioning capacity to address threats from the U.S. administration.

The letter, sent on Tuesday, demands a sitting Parliament to proactively address the "period of turmoil and uncertainty" Canada

is facing. Canadians who signed it include leaders at the helm of companies such as Borrowell, Grammarly, DavidsTea Inc., Deep Sky, Knix and PointClickCare.

Beginning with Jan. 6, when Mr. Trudeau announced his resignation and the prorogation of Parliament, the letter breaks down a timeline of events, including President Donald Trump's impending steep tariffs on imports from Canada and threats to acquire Canada as the 51st state.

"We need a strong, empowered, legitimate, and robust government, supported by a sitting

and functioning parliament to deal with these very grave, complex and delicate matters," the letter states.

"The essential legitimacy to do that, as it will be seen inside of Canada, in Washington DC, and everywhere in the world, comes from a sitting and debating Parliament."

This outcry adds to mounting frustration from leaders in Canada's tech and innovation sectors, many of whom signed the letter. The prorogation of Parliament left many of the policies they were anticipating in limbo.

Parkland: Shareholder in activist investor campaign supports Simpson's call for sale

■ FROM B1

Mr. Isaacson said he expected to see Simpson Oil "become more vocal" about its vision and intentions related to Parkland over the coming weeks. That could include proposing a new slate of candidates for the company's board of directors or pushing to sell the company outright, he said.

Parkland owns more than 4,000 gas stations and electric-vehicle charging terminals across Canada, the United States and the Caribbean. The company acquired most of its Caribbean presence from Simpson when it purchased the SOL refuelling chain

in two transactions worth a combined \$2.35-billion in 2018 and 2022.

Simpson Oil obtained its ownership stake in Parkland through those transactions, but the relationship quickly grew acrimonious.

In late 2023, two Simpson-appointed Parkland directors resigned after just seven months on the board. Michael Christiansen and Marc Halley left after Parkland refused to name one of them as the company's chair, The Globe and Mail reported at the time.

Simpson Oil subsequently declared its governance agreement with Parkland invalid. Parkland repeatedly disagreed, but the court has now sided with Simpson Oil and Parkland said in a statement that the company "acknowledges" the legal decision.

"Parkland has always been open to representation from Simpson Oil on its board," the company said. "This decision does not change that."

Parkland declined to comment beyond that statement. The lawyer representing Simpson Oil did not respond to a request for comment.

The Simpson family earns tens of millions of dollars in annual dividends through its stake in Parkland. But as The Globe has previously reported, the family could earn tens of millions more if Parkland was sold to a master limited partnership (MLP) like Sunoco.

Sunoco, which is controlled by billionaire Kelcy Warren, has a current dividend yield of 6.15 per cent. Parkland, by comparison, has a current dividend yield of 3.78 per cent.

Amid the company's continuing fight with Simpson Oil, Parkland has also been fighting an activist investor campaign from New York-based hedge fund Engine Capital LP. Engine owns roughly 2.5 per cent of Parkland

and has been urging the company to cut costs and sell non-core assets.

Engine has previously expressed support for Simpson Oil's call to sell Parkland. Arnaud Ajdler, Engine's managing partner, said Parkland ended up wasting millions of dollars fighting Simpson Oil.

"This is the same board that rejected a \$45 per share takeover offer without running a comprehensive strategic alternatives process," Mr. Ajdler said in an e-mail. "These actions say a lot about the board's priorities and the lengths it will apparently go to remain in power."

ISS ends diversity criteria for U.S. boardrooms, citing recent Trump orders

Top proxy adviser Institutional Shareholder Services said on Tuesday it will no longer consider the gender, racial or ethnic diversity of U.S. company boards when making its voting recommendations.

In a statement posted on its website, ISS cited how in the U.S. “there recently has been increased attention on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) practices, including the issuance last month of Presidential Executive Orders on DEI.” Tuesday’s change by the influential proxy adviser marks a major step in how executives and investors react to efforts by the administration of U.S. President Donald Trump to end DEI considerations in government and business.

Boardrooms across the S&P 500 have slowly grown more representative since the Black Lives Matter movement of 2020, but gains for women and minorities lately have slowed as companies reach targets and look at other recruiting priorities. Top investors BlackRock Inc. and Vanguard have already reduced the importance of diversity considerations in their stewardship policies. BlackRock, for instance, recently eliminated a 30-per-cent diversity target for boards from late 2021, noting that 98 per cent of S&P 500 boardrooms already meet that goal.

ISS said the change will apply both to its benchmark policy and to its specialty policies such as those used by ESG funds, for reports published after Feb. 25.

It will continue to evaluate other director considerations including independence, accountability and responsiveness, ISS said.

ISS competitor Glass Lewis did not respond to a request for comment on Tuesday. On Monday, a representative said it would reassess its approach “if regulatory or legislative changes were to impact corporate issuers and investors.” ISS did not immediately provide more details, such as how its policies might shift for European companies, or how its recommendations on shareholder resolutions might change.

Representatives for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

New York Comptroller Brad Lander, who oversees public pension funds and has urged companies to add more diverse directors and workers, said ISS’s move seemed aimed at avoiding new federal regulations instead of acting in investors’ interest.

“Rather than standing up for independent proxy advice, they are pre-emptively throwing the value of diverse governance under the bus,” Mr. Lander said. ISS, BlackRock and Vanguard have all been targets of Republican criticism for their handling of social and environmental matters, even as the areas gained more investor attention. Climate activists and labour representatives have said ISS and Glass Lewis do not support their issues enough.

REUTERS

DISNEY TWEAKS DEI PROGRAMS TO FOCUS ON BUSINESS OUTCOMES: MEMO

Walt Disney Co. is changing its diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) programs to focus more closely on business outcomes, according to a memo seen by Reuters.

The media giant joins several of the largest businesses in the U.S. responding to the Trump administration’s efforts to dismantle DEI initiatives.

The memo from Disney’s chief human resources officer, Sonia Coleman, notes the “Reimagine Tomorrow” site – an online space that featured Disney’s diversity, equality and inclusion commitments and actions – will be rebranded as “MyDisneyToday.”

The criteria used to evaluate executive compensation also will change, Ms. Coleman wrote, to add a factor which evaluates how well leaders advance Disney’s values. It replaces the objective of increasing the diversity and inclusion of executives and managers to “reflect the guests and audiences.” REUTERS

Fed ‘well positioned’ for the ‘risks and uncertainties’ that lie ahead, chair says

Powell’s Senate appearance comes with inflation still above 2% target and Trump upending many U.S. policies to cut government spending

CHRISTOPHER RUGABER WASHINGTON

The U.S. Federal Reserve is prepared to keep its key interest rate unchanged for now as inflation remains elevated and the job market is solid, chair Jerome Powell said Tuesday on the first of a two-day appearance before Congress.

After cutting its key rate a full percentage point in the final three months of last year, with “the economy remaining strong, we do not need to be in a hurry to adjust our policy stance,” Mr. Powell said in written remarks to the Senate banking committee.

Mr. Powell’s appearance comes with inflation still above the Fed’s 2-per-cent target and the Trump administration is upending many long-time U.S. policies by imposing tariffs on steel and aluminum and seeking to cut government spending drastically. President Donald Trump has also frequently attacked the Fed in the past, raising concerns about the Fed’s historic independence from politics.

Mr. Powell was quickly thrust into the partisan turmoil surrounding Mr. Trump’s flurry of executive orders and the efforts of billionaire Elon Musk, through the Department of Government Efficiency, to slash government programs.

Senator Elizabeth Warren, a Democrat from Massachusetts, urged Mr. Powell to maintain the Fed’s support for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, a consumer protection agency that was essentially shut down over the weekend when the Trump administration ordered officials at the bureau to stop work and closed the building for a week. The CFPB gets its funding from the Fed.

“Do not make the Federal Reserve an accomplice to this illegal act, and forever sully the reputation of the Fed,” Ms. Warren said.

Tim Scott, a GOP senator from South Carolina and chair of the committee, criticized banking regulators, including the Fed, for the alleged “debanking” of crypto firms and individuals in the industry. Debanking occurs when banks shut down customer accounts because they believe they pose financial, legal or reputational



U.S. Federal Reserve chair Jerome Powell arrives to testify before the Senate banking committee in Washington on Tuesday. CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

risks to the banks.

Mr. Scott charged that debanking has occurred for political reasons, echoing claims by venture capitalist Marc Andreessen and others.

Mr. Powell said that it was “fair to take a fresh look at debanking.”

Mr. Powell did not mention Mr. Trump’s tariffs and other policy changes in his statement, but said that the Fed’s interest rate is “well positioned to deal with the risks and uncertainties that we face.”

While some senators asked Mr. Powell about high mortgage rates and their impact on already-high housing costs, the Fed chair faced little criticism over its interest-rate policy.

Senator John Kennedy, a Republican from Louisiana, praised Mr. Powell and the Fed for bringing down inflation from a 9.1-per-cent peak in June, 2022, to 2.9 per cent now. Mr. Kennedy noted that many economists had forecast that the Fed’s steep rate hikes in 2022 and 2023 – from nearly 0 to 5.3 per cent – would cause a recession. Yet, instead, the economy has continued to expand.

“The fact is, knock on wood, we have experienced a soft landing,” Mr. Kennedy said. Fed officials “deserve credit” for that, he added.

The Fed chair also said the central bank has launched a second review of its policy strategies and its communications tools. Mr. Powell reiterated that the review would not focus on whether to change its 2-per-

cent inflation target, which some economists argue is too low. Mr. Powell has repeatedly said that the Fed shouldn’t change the target while it is still struggling to get inflation down to 2 per cent.

After the Fed’s last policy review in 2019, it said it would seek inflation that averaged 2 per cent over time. Some economists have argued that the change led the Fed to react too slowly to the inflation spike in 2021 and 2022. The Fed didn’t begin raising its key interest rate until March, 2022. Rate hikes are intended to slow borrowing and spending to cool inflation.

Last week, comments by many Fed officials – as well as a decline in the unemployment rate – suggested the odds of a rate cut any time soon have dwindled.

While Fed officials pencilled in two rate cuts this year at their December meeting, economists and Wall Street investors are increasingly skeptical, with some predicting no reductions at all this year. On Friday, economists at Morgan Stanley said they now expect just one rate cut in 2025, and investors also expect just one – in July – according to pricing in futures markets.

Fewer cuts could translate into a longer period of elevated mortgage rates and high costs to borrow money for everything from autos to credit cards. Still, mortgage rates are closely tied to the yield on the 10-year Treasury note, which can move independently of the Fed’s actions.

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DIVIDENDS

THOMSON REUTERS CORPORATION
DIVIDEND NOTICE

Notice is hereby given that the following will be the record dates for the purpose of determining shareholders entitled to payment of dividends on the payment dates indicated below on the Common Shares in the capital of Thomson Reuters Corporation.

Record Date
February 20, 2025
May 15, 2025
August 19, 2025
November 18, 2025

Payment Date
March 10, 2025
June 10, 2025
September 10, 2025
December 10, 2025

Notice is also given that the following will be the record dates for the purpose of determining shareholders entitled to payment of dividends on the payment dates indicated below on the Cumulative Redeemable Floating Rate Preference Shares, Series II in the capital of Thomson Reuters Corporation.

Record Date
March 17, 2025
June 16, 2025
September 16, 2025
December 16, 2025

Payment Date
March 31, 2025
June 30, 2025
October 1, 2025
December 31, 2025

By Order of the Board
Kathryn Ouellette
Assistant Secretary
Toronto, Ontario
February 12, 2025

LEGALS

NOTICE TO CREDITORS
AND OTHERS, HAVING
CLAIMS AGAINST THE
ESTATES:

The **Estate of TIJU ESTER**, late of Toronto, Ontario, Canada deceased on or about August 8, 2023.


The **Estate of HERTA ESTER**, late of Toronto, Ontario, Canada deceased on or about November 22, 1987.

The **Estate of MEINHARD ABE**, late of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, deceased on or about June 17, 1986.

All claims against the above estates must be sent to the attention of Leonard Abe, Estate Trustee, 37 Charleswood Drive, North York, Ontario M3H 1X3 leonardjohnabe@gmail.com, on or before March 17, 2025. Thereafter, the representative will distribute the estate assets having regard only to the claims then filed.

PUBLICATION DATE:
February 12, 2025

CLAIMS DUE BY:
March 17, 2025

Franco  Nevada


First Quarter Dividend

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that, effective as of January 29, 2025, the Board of Directors of Franco-Nevada Corporation has declared a quarterly dividend of US\$0.38 per Common Share payable on March 27, 2025 to shareholders of record at the close of business on March 13, 2025 (the “Record Date”).

The Canadian dollar equivalent is to be determined based on the daily average rate posted by the Bank of Canada on the Record Date.

By Order of the Board
Lloyd Hong
Chief Legal Officer & Corporate Secretary
February 12, 2025
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
www.franco-nevada.com

NOTICE OF DIVIDENDS



On February 5, 2025, the Board of Directors of BCE Inc. declared the following dividends, payable to holders of its shares at the close of business on the record dates indicated:

Dividend		Record Date	Payment Date ⁽¹⁾	
No.	Amount			
Per Common Share				
166	\$0.9975	March 14, 2025	April 15, 2025	
Per Cumulative Redeemable First Preferred Share				
• Series R	98	\$0.188625	April 30, 2025	June 1, 2025
• Series S	300	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series S	301	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series S	302	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series T	74	\$0.311875	March 31, 2025	May 1, 2025
• Series Y	286	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series Y	287	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series Y	288	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series Z	90	\$0.334125	April 30, 2025	June 1, 2025
• Series AA	93	\$0.30875	April 30, 2025	June 1, 2025
• Series AB	210	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series AB	211	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series AB	212	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series AC	89	\$0.3175	April 30, 2025	June 1, 2025
• Series AD	204	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series AD	205	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series AD	206	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series AE	218	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series AE	219	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series AE	220	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series AF	74	\$0.34350	March 31, 2025	May 1, 2025
• Series AG	74	\$0.210625	March 31, 2025	May 1, 2025
• Series AH	218	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series AH	219	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series AH	220	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series AI	74	\$0.211875	March 31, 2025	May 1, 2025
• Series AJ	163	Floating	February 28, 2025	March 12, 2025
• Series AJ	164	Floating	March 31, 2025	April 12, 2025
• Series AJ	165	Floating	April 30, 2025	May 12, 2025
• Series AK	55	\$0.206625	February 28, 2025	March 31, 2025
• Series AL	33	\$0.33047	February 28, 2025	March 31, 2025
• Series AM	42	\$0.1836875	February 28, 2025	March 31, 2025
• Series AN	36	\$0.34342	February 28, 2025	March 31, 2025
• Series AQ	42	\$0.408625	February 28, 2025	March 31, 2025

(1) If payment date is not a business day, then payment will be made on the next succeeding business day.

Dividends paid by BCE Inc. to Canadian residents are eligible dividends for Canadian income tax purposes.

Melanie Schweizer
Senior Vice President, Legal,
General Counsel & Corporate Secretary, BCE Inc.

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OPINION & ANALYSIS

It's time to renegotiate USMCA

Canada should recognize the naked ploy behind Trump's tariff threats and act

JEROME GESSAROLI

OPINION

Senior fellow at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute who also leads the Sound Economic Policy Project at the British Columbia Institute of Technology



The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement is scheduled for renewal in July, 2026. REBECCA COOK/REUTERS

U.S. President Donald Trump's tariff threats against Canada have become a repeating nightmare – an economic game of brinksmanship in which Ottawa scrambles to appease his latest grievance, only to face a new ultimatum weeks later. Just one week after Mr. Trump announced a 30-day reprieve for Canada, he pushed forward a 25-per-cent tariff on all steel and aluminum imports.

Mr. Trump's strategy functions like a game of chicken, in which he throws his steering wheel out the window to project unshakable commitment, betting that Canada will swerve first to avoid a collision. This unpredictable cycle is deliberate. Canada should recognize the trend and stop reacting to ad-hoc grievances. Instead, we should propose formal negotiations on a revised United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) ahead of the scheduled date of July, 2026.

Canada should do this because the current situation is untenable: Mr. Trump does not use tariffs as a serious economic policy, but as a negotiating sledgehammer. By threatening extreme measures, such as a 25-per-cent tariff on almost everything, he forces concessions while dodging the fallout of full implementation.

His vocal and public commitment to his "love" of tariffs makes his threats appear credible. The sheer size of the U.S. market strengthens his hand even further. Smaller economies such as Canada depend on access to U.S. markets, so they often concede to avoid even the possibility of tariffs. By rotating grievances, whether immigration, drug trafficking or trade deficits, Mr. Trump keeps trading partners off balance, ensuring that no

concession ever becomes a permanent solution.

Repeated tariff threats create economic instability, drive away investment and push companies to relocate to the U.S. just to escape uncertainty. By pushing to renegotiate USMCA, Canada calls out this playbook and takes action to escape it.

Mr. Trump's strategy has several vulnerabilities that give Canada advantages in USMCA talks. He relies on stock-market performance as a political barometer of his administration's success, calling it "a beautiful thing."

His sensitivity to stock-market reactions can be exploited. When tariffs on Canada and Mexico appeared imminent, markets dropped almost 2 per cent. Goldman Sachs projected a 5-per-cent drop in the S&P 500 index if tariffs went ahead, equal to a

US\$2.5-trillion loss in market value. Tariffs were paused just hours after markets fell, suggesting that market pressure influenced Mr. Trump's decisions.

While Mr. Trump says the U.S. needs nothing from Canada, his actions belie this claim. The proposed 10-per-cent tariff on Canadian oil, compared with 25 per cent on other imports, signals his understanding that disrupting Canada's oil flow could raise gasoline prices in states in the U.S. Midwest, Great Lakes and Northeast. His rare admission that tariffs could cause "some pain" for Americans further undermines his stance that foreign goods are unnecessary.

The 2026 U.S. midterm elections further limit Mr. Trump's ability to impose long-term tariffs. With Republicans holding thin majorities in Congress, Republican legislators in swing districts are vulnerable to economic disruption. Tariff-driven inflation and unemployment in swing states such as Michigan (auto parts) or the Midwest (energy) could cost the party seats. This electoral timing gives Canada some leverage.

The 2026 U.S. election cycle provides a strategic deadline – Mr. Trump will be eager to claim a trade "win" while avoiding inflation risks and negative headlines about job losses during the midterm campaign. By bundling multiple trade issues into a single negotiation and offering modest, politically valuable concessions, Canada can give Mr. Trump a victory to show to his base without

making significant compromises to its own economic interests.

In addition to formal negotiations, Canada should continue using public diplomacy to highlight the economic costs of tariffs, focusing on vulnerable congressional districts. By partnering with U.S. industries in swing states, Canada can publicize the local impact – job losses, higher consumer prices and supply chain disruptions.

Mr. Trump's obsession with stock market performance can be used further to Canada's advantage. A campaign co-ordinated with U.S. industries that rely on Canadian trade, including auto manufacturers and energy refiners, could drive headlines such as "Tariffs Could Cost Ohio 10,000 Jobs" – a narrative that would alarm Republican incumbents and pressure the President.

If these announcements were timed before key market events, such as Federal Reserve meetings or company earnings reports, they could increase market volatility. Collaborating with bipartisan legislators opposed to tariffs would further increase political risks.

While Mr. Trump's tariff threats are potent, they have clear limitations. Canada's success in future negotiations depends on recognizing and exploiting these constraints. Canada should push for USMCA talks in 2025, offering Mr. Trump symbolic wins in exchange for tariff stability. The goal is not to win concessions, but to establish a more predictable trading relationship.

Trump brings a reckoning for our digital and cultural policy

MICHAEL GEIST

OPINION

Canada Research Chair in internet and e-commerce law at the University of Ottawa, faculty of law

If the first salvo fired by U.S. President Donald Trump in the form of a threatened 25-per-cent across-the-board tariff on Canadian goods (excluding energy, which would face a 10-per-cent levy) is a preview of future trade disputes, retaliatory tariffs alone will not solve the problem. Canada will need to turn to eliminating interprovincial trade barriers, rely on European and Asian trade deals to engage in new markets, and prepare for the prospect that long-standing Canadian regulations and market restrictions may face increasing pressure for an overhaul.

The need for change is particularly true for Canadian digital and cultural policy. Parliamentary prorogation ended efforts at privacy, cybersecurity and AI reforms and U.S. pressure has thrown the future of a series of mandated payments – digital service taxes, streaming payments and news media contributions – into doubt. But the Trump tariff escalation, which now extends to steel and aluminum as well as the prospect of reviving the original tariff plan in a matter of weeks, signals something far bigger that may ultimately render current Canadian digital and cultural policy unrecognizable.

Our cultural frameworks are largely based on decades-old policies premised on marketplace protections and mandated support payments. This included foreign ownership restrictions in the cultural sector and requirements that broadcasters contribute a portion of their revenues to support Canadian content production.

As we moved from an analog to digital world, the government simply extended those policies to the digital realm. But with Mr. Trump appearing to call out what he views to be Canadian protectionist policies in sensitive sectors such as banking ownership, the cultural and digital sectors may be next.

If so, there are no shortage of long-standing policies that tilt the playing field in favour of Canadians that could spark some uncomfortable conversations.

Why do U.S. companies face ownership restrictions in the telecom and broadcast sectors? Why are Canadian broadcasters permitted to block U.S. television signals in order to capture increased advertising revenue? Why do Canadian content rules exclude U.S. companies from owning productions featuring predominantly Canadian talent?

The Canadian response that this is how it has always been is unlikely to persuade Mr. Trump.

Canadian policies premised on "making web giants pay" may also be non-starters under Mr. Trump. For the past

five years, the Canadian government seemingly welcomed the opportunity to sabre-rattle with U.S. internet companies. This led to mandated payments for streaming services to support Canadian film, television and music production; link taxes that targeted Meta and Google to help Canadian news outlets; and the multibillion-dollar retroactive digital services tax that is primarily aimed at U.S. tech giants.

Not only have those policies raised consumer affordability and marketplace competition concerns, they have also emerged as increasingly contentious trade issues. If the trade battles with the U.S. continue, the pressure to scale back the policies will mount.

Beyond rethinking established cultural and digital policies both new and old, the bigger changes may come from re-evaluating the competitive impact of policies that rely heavily on regulation just as the U.S. prioritizes economic growth through deregulation. Proposed Canadian privacy, online harms and AI rules have all relied heavily on increased regulation, looking to Europe as the model.

For example, consider the Canadian approach to AI regulation in the now-defunct Artificial Intelligence and Data Act. It specifically referenced the European Union's regulatory system, which establishes extensive regulatory requirements for high-risk AI systems and bans some AI systems altogether.

However, the European approach is not the only game in town. Mr. Trump moved swiftly to cancel the former Biden administration's executive order on AI regulation, signalling that the U.S. will prioritize deregulation in pursuit of global AI leadership. Further, the arrival of DeepSeek, the Chinese answer to ChatGPT, took the world by storm and served notice that U.S. AI dominance is by no means guaranteed.

The competing approaches – U.S.-style lightweight regulation that favours economic growth against a more robust European regulatory model that emphasizes AI guardrails and public protections – will force difficult policy choices that Canada has thus far avoided.

Indeed, we never really tried to reconcile two competing objectives: driving economic growth through AI investment and establishing regulatory guardrails to protect against potential AI bias and harms. That led to billions in new government spending to support new data centres in the hope of fostering a globally competitive industry and the introduction of European-style regulations that risk making Canada a less attractive destination for AI investment.

The Canadian government may yet opt for the regulatory model, convinced that AI safeguards are more important than economic success (or bet that the two do not necessarily conflict). However, the threat of Trump tariffs reframes the U.S.-Canada relationship as competitors more than partners, forcing us to re-examine our plans for future regulation and potentially uproot our entrenched cultural and digital policy frameworks.

EMERSON CSORBA

OPINION

Business executive, previously working in geopolitics

Following nearly a decade in Britain, I have come to appreciate the importance of making a contribution to Canada at an inflection point in our history. That has led me to return to home, moving to Montreal. There are few more important times than now than to be in Canada to work in helping protect our beautiful country.

We need a reverse brain-drain, in which Canadians who have spent time abroad to learn, work and form relationships return to put these experiences to good use where they are most needed: at home.

I fear that Canadians, however, are often suspicious of those who spend several years abroad. This is a variation of the dreaded "Canadian experience" requirement that has resulted in immigrants not being able to

find jobs fitting their qualifications. It applies to returning Canadians, too.

I have yet to spend enough time back in Canada to personally experience this, but when back for short periods, I have found peers uninterested in my observations about life, business and politics beyond their borders.

I have heard countless horror stories about Canadians experiencing success globally who could not land jobs when they return home. One friend occupies one of the most powerful jobs in the British government but does not believe Canadians would care, and so is hesitant to return.

Don't just listen to my personal anecdotes. Look at the example of Michael Ignatieff, the former federal Liberal leader.

Mr. Ignatieff might not have been a successful politician, but there was little recognition for the valuable perspectives he brought to Canada as a nuanced thinker on nationalism and identity, reflected in his book *Blood and Belonging*. Regardless of your political stripe, we should applaud leaders like him who want to put their global experiences into practice for the country they obviously love.

Yet look what happened to Mr. Ignatieff. During the 2011 election, a Conservative ad framed his political ambitions as "just visiting." The fact that not only did the Liberals lose that election, but that Mr. Ignatieff lost his own seat, suggests the ad had resonated with the public to a degree. Mr. Ignatieff himself admitted as much, saying his political rivals had "done a number on me."

Canada has brain-drain, but residents abroad often find it hard to come home

In Australia, it is normal to see political and business leaders spend extensive time abroad prior to returning home. Australians travel the world after high school, as part of their gap years, to the point that they are puzzled when asked why so many of their politicians have studied abroad. Their answer is "Why wouldn't they have gone abroad?"

Of the past 10 Australian prime ministers, five earned degrees abroad. In Canada, the number is only 2½, if we were to adopt a charitable interpretation (Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whose foreign study was significant, and John Turner; Kim Campbell briefly studied abroad before dropping out).

There is much less of this culture of embracing overseas experience in Canada. Canada trails many of its peers in the percentage of undergraduate students who study abroad, with its 11 per cent lagging behind Australia (19 per cent), France (33 per cent), Germany (29 per cent) and even the United States (16 per cent), according to Universities Canada and the Canadian Bureau for International Education.

I often feel that Canadians abroad who come back must "re-Canadianize," proving to their fellow Canucks that they are in fact Canadian despite having spent time outside the country – their leaving seen by some as more of a slight than a decision to gain the sort of experience that could be used to help Canada.

What is behind this need to "re-Canadianize?" My sense, unfortunately, is that it is borne out of a mindset of insecurity. Canada, next to the United States, is the smaller player perpetually concerned about the

bigger power next to it. In situations of insecurity, we know that individuals with influence seek to hold on to it however they can, ever concerned about outsiders who might disrupt or even challenge their positions.

Another reason is that "you don't know what you don't know." The low levels of international experience and university education in Canadian politics mean that non-Canadian leadership experiences do not easily register at home.

The result of this lack of openness to Canadians returning home is a missed opportunity to understand the world beyond Canadian borders and to take advantage of contacts made abroad that are needed to influence global events in ways that benefit Canada.

At this point in Canadian history, my hope is not just that Canadians living abroad return home in growing numbers to serve their country, but that Canadians accept those returning home.

I have heard countless horror stories about Canadians experiencing success globally who could not land jobs when they return home. One friend occupies one of the most powerful jobs in the British government but does not believe Canadians would care, and so is hesitant to return.

Musk’s \$97.4-billion bid complicates matters for OpenAI

Offer affects its plan to shift from its non-profit roots to a company with shareholders

MATT O'BRIEN
THALIA BEATY
KELVIN CHAN PARIS

OpenAI chief executive officer Sam Altman has dismissed a US\$97.4-billion takeover bid led by rival Elon Musk, but the unsolicited offer could complicate Mr. Altman’s push to transform the maker of ChatGPT into a for-profit company.

“We are not for sale,” Mr. Altman said Tuesday at an artificial intelligence summit in Paris.

Mr. Musk’s bid, announced Monday, is the latest in a bitter years-long battle with Mr. Altman over control of the AI startup they both helped found a decade ago as a non-profit and is now a leading force in the global boom surrounding generative AI technology.

“OpenAI has a mission,” Mr. Altman told France’s AI minister in an onstage discussion Tuesday mobbed by tech industry workers and investors. “We are an unusual organization and we have this mission of making AGI benefit all humanity. And we are here to do that.”

Its stated aim since its founding in 2015 is to safely build futuristic, better-than-human AI known as artificial general intelligence, or AGI. Mr. Musk, an early investor and board member, quit OpenAI in 2018 after an internal power struggle left Mr. Altman in charge.

Their public feud has escalated over the past year as Mr. Musk sued OpenAI and is working to grow his own AI company called xAI, part of a business empire that includes Tesla Inc., SpaceX and social media platform X. Mr. Musk also now holds power as a top adviser to President Donald Trump in reshaping the U.S. government, and has publicly questioned OpenAI’s Trump-backed private



OpenAI CEO Sam Altman, at an event on the sidelines of the Artificial Intelligence Action Summit in Paris, on Tuesday, said the non-profit he helped found with Elon Musk is not for sale. AURELIEN MORISSARD/AP

investment project for building AI data centres in the United States.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

The offer complicates OpenAI’s plan to shift its structure away from its non-profit roots to a company beholden to shareholders.

OpenAI’s non-profit board will need to consider Mr. Musk’s offer. It’s not Mr. Altman alone who can accept or reject it.

The board will need to weigh not just the value of the company’s assets but also the value of controlling the company developing this technology. Mr. Musk’s offer also seems to set a floor for how much the non-profit should be paid if it does relinquish control of its subsidiaries.

Rose Chan Loui, executive director for the Lowell Milken Center on Philanthropy and Nonprofits at UCLA Law, said the board should consider the credibility of Mr. Musk’s offer, including if he and his investors will pay in cash. And they should consider whether a new board under the control

of Mr. Musk and other investors would be independent and what guarantees they can give about protecting its public mission.

Mr. Musk’s US\$44-billion Twitter takeover in 2022 also started with an unsolicited offer and a legal fight with Twitter’s board, led by former Facebook and Salesforce executive Bret Taylor, who now chairs OpenAI’s board. However, taking over OpenAI would be more complicated because of its charitable purpose.

“There is a legally binding purpose,” said Jill Horwitz, a professor at UCLA School of Law. “It is the promise that was made to the public when OpenAI, the non-profit, was formed. That promise is legally enforceable.”

The sudden popularity of ChatGPT two years ago brought worldwide fame and new commercial possibilities to OpenAI and also heightened internal turmoil over the future of the organization and the advanced AI it was trying to develop. Its non-profit board fired Mr. Altman in late 2023. He came back days later

with a new board.

OPENAI’S NON-PROFIT COMPLICATIONS

OpenAI’s non-profit purpose, as defined most recently in 2020, is “[to] ensure that artificial general intelligence benefits all of humanity, including by conducting and/or funding artificial intelligence research.”

The question is, can it do that if it sells its assets and loses control of the company developing this technology? “To make the promise to the world that you are bound by a legal purpose and to build with that promise, including telling your investors not to expect any returns and to think of your investments as more akin to a donation than an investment,” said Prof. Horwitz. “And then to say once you’ve gotten big enough, ‘You know what? We’d like to own this.’ That seems like a real violation of the promise.”

Mr. Musk sued OpenAI last year, first in a California state court and later in federal court,

alleging it had betrayed its founding aims as a non-profit research lab that would benefit the public good. A lawyer for Mr. Musk has said he invested about US\$45-million in the startup from its founding until 2018.

Lawyers for OpenAI and Mr. Musk faced off in a California federal court last week as a judge weighed Mr. Musk’s request for a court order that would block OpenAI’s for-profit conversion.

The judge hasn’t yet ruled on Mr. Musk’s request but in the courtroom said it was a “stretch” for Mr. Musk to claim he will be irreparably harmed if she doesn’t intervene to stop OpenAI from moving forward with its planned transition. But she also suggested Mr. Musk had plausible enough arguments to take to a jury trial.

WHO ELSE IS BACKING MUSK’S OPENAI BID?

Along with Mr. Musk and xAI, others backing the bid announced Monday include Baron Capital Group, Valor Management, Atreides Management, Vy Fund and firms run by Musk allies Ari Emanuel and Jon Lonsdale.

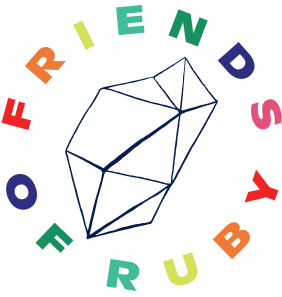
Musk lawyer Marc Toberoff said in a statement that if Mr. Altman and OpenAI’s current board “are intent on becoming a fully for-profit corporation, it is vital that the charity be fairly compensated for what its leadership is taking away from it: control over the most transformative technology of our time.”

Mr. Altman has sought to characterize Mr. Musk’s tactics as those of a competitor trying to catch up. “I think he’s probably just trying to slow us down. He obviously is a competitor,” Mr. Altman told Bloomberg TV at the Paris summit on Tuesday.

Continuing their deeply personal feud, Mr. Altman said Mr. Musk is probably not a “happy person.”

“Probably his whole life is from a position of insecurity. I feel for the guy,” Mr. Altman said.

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Ford employs 1,880 people at two plants in Windsor, Ont., making truck engines. The automaker’s Oakville assembly plant is being converted to make Super Duty pickups, which are also made at plants in Kentucky and Ohio. AMIR SALEHI/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Ford: Canadian automaking plants made a total of 1.5 million passenger vehicles in 2023 and employed 128,000 people

■ FROM B1

Mr. Trump says his protectionist trade policies will bring factory jobs back to the United States and fix trade imbalances, even amid warnings that disentangling North American supply lines will be costly for consumers and businesses.

Mr. Trump’s tariffs on Canada have a darker intent.

He has repeatedly said he wants to annex Canada and would use “economic force” to do so. Canada should become the 51st state if it wants to avoid tariffs, he said.

“Canada’s been very tough to deal with over the years,” Mr. Trump said on Jan. 23, complaining about the U.S. trade deficit with Canada. “We don’t need them to make our cars. And they make a lot of them.”

Canadian plants run by Ford, General Motors Co., Stellantis NV, Honda Motor Co. Ltd. and Toyota Motor Corp. made a total of 1.5 million passenger vehicles in 2023,

and employed 128,000 people making autos and parts.

Vehicles are Canada’s second-most valuable export, worth \$51-billion in 2023. About 93 per cent of this is sent to the U.S., the Canadian Vehicle Manufacturers’ Association says.

Ford employs 1,880 people at two plants in Windsor, Ont., making truck engines. Ford’s Oakville assembly plant closed for retooling in 2024. The automaker said it would spend \$1.8-billion to convert the factory to produce electric vehicles and battery packs, but changed that plan last year. Ford is now converting the plant to make Super Duty pickups, which are also made at plants in Kentucky and Ohio.

Joe McCabe, president of AutoForecast Solutions, said possible tariffs on autos

and related parts will not immediately jeopardize Canadian auto plants, including Oakville. However, the levies will mean any new investments by car-makers will go to U.S. factories, not those in Canada or Mexico.

Mr. McCabe estimates the Oakville plant will produce about 80,000 Super Duty pickups a year beginning next year, pushing Ford’s overall annual production of the model to about 445,000, a new high. He said there is a 20-per-cent chance Ford will decide this is too many trucks and change its plans again in Oakville. He said if Oakville scales back production to 60,000 trucks a year, it could cause Ford to ask, “Is this plant making any sense?”

Ford spokesman Said Deep declined to comment on the Oakville plant.

“Canada’s been very tough to deal with over the years. We don’t need them to make our cars. And they make a lot of them.”

DONALD TRUMP
U.S. PRESIDENT

Steel: There are more options than in Trump’s first term and CEO thinks customers are less likely to pay tariff costs now

■ FROM B1

In the eye of the Trump tariffs storm, Welded Tube is bracing for impact, but is also relatively well insulated, thanks to a smart and prescient decision made by Mr. Mandel more than a decade ago. One of its six plants is located in the U.S., meaning it is walled off from the Trump tariffs.

Outside one of Welded Tube’s steel mills in Concord, about 25 kilometres north of downtown Toronto, is a field with hundreds of partially snow-covered coils of raw steel, weighing about 25 tonnes each, which Mr. Mandel likens to giant rolls of toilet paper. Once inside the mill, the coils are sliced, welded, moulded and shaped into partially finished products.

“The industrial part of the business is going to be very materially impacted,” he said of the Trump tariffs. “A very significant part of our production, all of which is based in Canada, goes into the U.S. market.”

In fact, more than 50 per cent of its industrial business goes into the U.S., and includes customers such as farm-equipment maker John Deere, as well as scores of RV makers in Elkhart, Ind., the Grand Central Station of that industry.

Welded Tube was founded in 1970 and employs 850 people. Multiple generations of the same families have worked at its plants. Mr. Mandel said the impact on jobs at the company, if Mr. Trump indeed moves forward on tariffs, will be “very significant.”

The company has been through a serious Trump-driven dislocation before. In 2018, during Mr. Trump’s first term, he levied 25-per-cent tariffs on imports of Canadian steel and kept them in place for about a year. Back then, the company was able to pass on some of the tariff costs directly to customers, because some couldn’t easily source the product elsewhere. Since then, market dynamics have changed and now they have more choice.

“Our modelling today shows



considerably less will pay the tariff this time compared to last time,” Mr. Mandel said.

U.S. protectionism in the steel sector far predates Mr. Trump. The country has long aggressively enforced trade laws in the steel industry, a major employer. For this reason, back in 2011, when Mr. Mandel was weighing where to build a new plant, he ultimately decided not to situate it in Canada, but in the U.S., specifically to buffer the company in the event of further trade crack-downs. That plant in Lackawanna, N.Y., now services the bulk of its energy pipeline business, which makes up about half of its entire revenue.

“It really is a tale of two cities,” he said of the vastly different effects the tariffs would have on its energy and industrial business sectors.

While the company prefers to make all of its energy pipes at the New York plant because of the huge economies of scale, it also has the ability to manufacture those pipes at its Canadian

Multiple generations of the same families have worked at Welded Tube and CEO Robert (Butch) Mandel says the impact on jobs at the company, if the U.S. moves forward on tariffs, will be ‘very significant.’

EDUARDO LIMA/
THE GLOBE AND MAIL

facilities to service its domestic oil and gas customers. That’s a strategy the company drew upon the last time Mr. Trump laid tariffs on the steel sector.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has said he’ll retaliate if Mr. Trump forges ahead on tariffs against the steel and aluminum sectors. While seen by executives and politicians as a necessary step to fight a bully, Canadian tariffs on U.S. imports could further hurt the likes of Welded Tube. While it sources most of its inputs from Canada, for its pipelines, the company must source the couplings, which are used for connecting individual steel pipes, from the U.S.

The Trump tariffs are set to take effect on March 12, leaving some possibility of a reprieve. Either way, Mr. Mandel is ready to act.

“It’s not like we haven’t lived through it before. That’s what I’m trying to impress upon you,” he said. “The playbook is going to be the same in how it gets managed.”

TD: Bank’s large presence in Canada to help it expand, CEO says

■ FROM B1

Mr. Chun, who took on the top job only last week after previous CEO Bharat Masrani and board chair Alan MacGibbon said they would step down earlier than planned, has been crafting a new strategy to address the limitations set by U.S. regulators while repairing the bank’s reputation with investors frustrated with the hit it has taken to its share price.

In October, TD pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit money laundering after a lengthy investigation by U.S. regulators and the Department of Justice. Authorities levied several rare penalties, including a US\$434-billion asset cap on TD’s U.S. retail arm, limiting its ability to expand that business. The bank has been paring back its U.S. balance sheet to avoid exceeding the cap.

TD is selling its entire equity investment in Charles Schwab – 184.7 million shares of common stock, a 10.1-per-cent stake – at US\$79.25 per share, with the stock up 121 per cent since TD acquired the stake in 2020, according to chief financial officer Kelvin Tran.

The bank announced the pricing of the deal Tuesday and said the transaction is expected to close Wednesday.

Of the \$20-billion sale proceeds, \$12-billion has been earmarked for investing in TD’s existing businesses.

While Mr. Chun expects to release the final strategic review later this year, he told analysts that the plan will include rebalancing the bank’s business structure and capital allocation, simplifying its loan portfolio by exiting businesses it believes are not beneficial to its operations, reducing costs, and upgrading technology and digital platforms.

Of the \$20-billion sale proceeds, \$12-billion has been earmarked for investing in TD’s existing businesses.

To help bolster its share price, the bank is allocating \$8-billion from the sale to repurchase some of its stock.

“The bank’s current share price valuation does not reflect management’s expectation for TD’s future performance,” Mr. Chun said. “We have confidence in our strategy and in our ability to execute against it.”

TD already has a dominant position in the Canadian market. It is the second-largest bank in the country and provides financial services to one in every three Canadians.

But expanding in Canada is a challenging endeavour. The market is saturated by the country’s six largest lenders, and convincing customers to transfer their financial portfolios and start fresh with a new bank is a tall order.

Competing for business more aggressively could require providing customers with lower-cost products, which would squeeze profit margins.

Mr. Chun said the bank’s large scale in Canada will help it expand its business without competing on pricing or taking on customers outside its risk appetite.

“It does come down to execution and investing in certain capabilities that we’ll need to drive that execution in deepening those relationships,” Mr. Chun said in response to an analyst’s question. “We’ll be always mindful of profitability.”

He said the bank is not considering acquisitions as part of its growth plan because it is focused on remediating its anti-money-laundering gaps and addressing requirements set by U.S. regulators.

“Any sort of an M&A at this point would distract us from the AML remediation,” he said. “As we get into the strategic review, we are seeing significant opportunities here within Canada and also within our wholesale business, to not only be an integrated North American dealer but have some reach across on a global basis.”

TD acquired its stake in Charles Schwab in 2020, when the Texas-based firm bought TD Ameritrade. The deal included an agreement that allows the Canadian bank to manage cash and collect fees on some deposits.

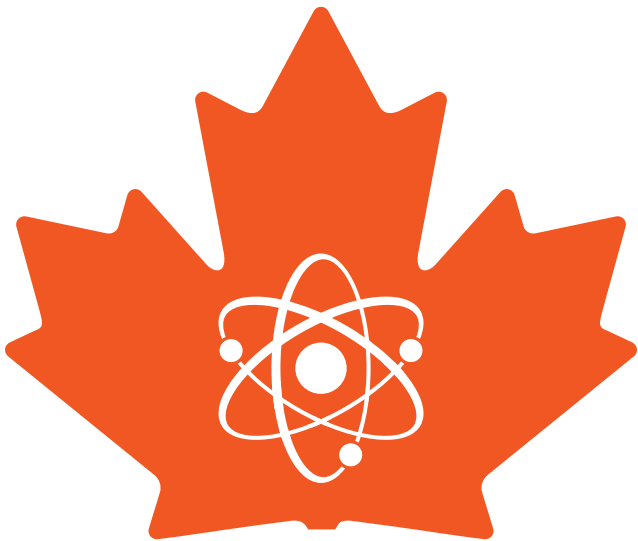
Mr. Chun said he is still in favour of the arrangement and TD will revisit the deal as the contract comes up for renewal in 2034.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL PRESENTS

Nuclear Energy:

What does industry growth mean for Canada?

PRESENTING SPONSOR



ATTEND IN PERSON: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2025
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351 KING STREET EAST, 17TH FLOOR, TORONTO

EVENT TIME: 12:00 P.M. – 5:00 P.M. ET
IN-PERSON NETWORKING: 12:00 P.M. – 12:45 P.M. ET and 4:00 P.M. – 5:00 P.M. ET

Governments and utilities are working to expand Canada’s nuclear energy capacity in response to growing demand for electricity and goals of net-zero. Refurbishments and new reactors represent billions of dollars in investments and a sizeable economic impact. At the same time, small modular reactors (SMRs) are emerging as an alternative to fossil fuels in areas such as remote communities, and for industry. As nuclear energy continues to gain momentum where are the biggest risks, considerations and opportunities?

Join The Globe and Mail for a discussion on the future of nuclear, how it’s reshaping the nation’s energy mix and why it matters. In addition to experiencing this dynamic conversation on-site, in-person attendance will also provide ample opportunity for professional networking.



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EVENTS

Gold miners are overlooked equity opportunities

This group has jumped 35% since early 2024, with the road ahead remaining convincing

BHAWANA CHHABRA

OPINION

CFA and a senior market strategist at Rosenberg Research

The outlook for gold miners continues to shine bright, boosted by a surging commodity price that has no signs of slowing.

This group, as represented by the NYSE Arca Gold Miners Index, has jumped 35 per cent since we started recommending the sector in early 2024. And the best part is that the road ahead remains convincing with a very alluring risk-reward profile.

The continued run-up in underlying gold bullion prices is set to boost the profits outlook. Indeed, earnings per share expectations for 2025 and 2026 for the miners have gone up by 60 per cent and 80 per cent, respectively, since April of 2024.

Stock prices, however, have gone up by just 25 per cent, matching the pace of gains in gold itself over the same period. With a forward price-to-earnings ratio of 12 times earnings and annualized

earnings growth for the next three years forecast at 38 per cent, the PEG ratio (forward P/E to earnings growth) works out to be just 0.3 times. For reference, a PEG ratio of less than 1 is considered cheap, between 1 and 2 is considered reasonable, and more than 2 is regarded as expensive. This all implies that precious metals miners are available at bargain base-price levels.

Compare this to the MSCI USA Index, which has a PEG ratio of 1.9 times, the MSCI Canada Index at 2.2 or the MSCI World Index at 2.5. This makes gold miners one of the most underappreciated opportunities for equity investors.

To little fanfare, these stocks rank in the top five of all subindustries in the S&P 500 Index and the S&P/TSX Composite when it comes to expected earnings growth. Moreover, it's not just one stock driving the market, but broad-based strength among all producers. The vast majority (85 per cent) of the stocks in the NYSE Arca Gold Miners Index offer a risk-reward profile better than the MSCI World benchmark.

Compare and contrast this to the concentrated equity landscape right now and this makes the outlook for gold miners more durable. It is also encouraging to see one of the prior main drivers of underperformance reversing: profit margins. Profitability is improving as gold prices scale new all-time highs. The net profit mar-

gin of the miners stood at 11.8 per cent in 2023. This is expected to expand to 17.8 per cent at the end of the current reporting period and to 24 per cent by 2026. The highest margin we have seen in the past 20 years is 28 per cent, implying forecasts are well within reason.

What if gold prices fall sharply?

While we are squarely in the camp that gold prices stand to benefit from increased uncertainty – trade wars and fiscal policy. We see a firm floor for the underlying metal price. All-in sustaining costs for gold producers have been rising steadily, and if the bullion price were to fall to US\$2,000 per ounce, it would take around 15 per cent of the current gold supply off the market, keeping a floor underneath prices.

However, there are concerns that investors in individual stocks may run into. One of them is the country of operation and resulting challenges pertaining to the regulatory and political backdrop. Some of the biggest gold miners based in North America operate mines in Africa, and these challenges should be considered.

Miners with operations in Canada offer safer profiles and good value. Risks can also be mitigated by exposure through exchange-traded funds such as the VanEck Gold Miners ETF in the United States and the iShares S&P/TSX Global Gold Index ETF in Canada.

When it comes to your investments, don't fall for the 'Buy Canada' mantra

TOM CZITRON

OPINION

Former portfolio manager with more than four decades of investment experience, particularly in fixed income and asset mix strategy. He is a former lead manager of Royal Bank of Canada's main bond fund.

The threat of U.S. tariffs has captured the attention of Canadians to the point of obsession. Clichés like “Team Canada,” “All hands on deck” and “Canada First” inundate every discussion on the subject. Some Canadians seem to have acquired overnight expertise in international economics, much in the same way that many of us became world-class immunologists during the COVID-19 lockdowns.

Sarcasm aside, a 25-per-cent tariff on all Canadian goods exported to the U.S. would be very serious. Retaliating with tariffs and other measures would be catastrophic. Although it appears counterintuitive, imposing tariffs on another country imposes a de facto hidden sales tax on your consumers there – to the benefit of local producers. That is, if local suppliers exist or can gear up production. Canada putting a tariff on Florida orange juice is not going to result in orange trees magically appearing in Flin Flon, Man. The logic is true for the U.S. imposing tariffs on us.

Patriotic emotions aside, cooler-headed investors need to look at the possible effects this current animus between Canada and the U.S. might have on absolute and relative asset prices. And here is where Canada has more at stake.

Buying Canadian and choosing one ketchup brand over another may appeal to our jingoistic inclinations, but buying and holding Canadian investments based on patriotic emotion is a terrible investment strategy. Canadians have no control over the Trump administration and almost none, as individuals, over our own leaders. However, they do have power as individual investors over their futures.

Never forget, Canadian stocks and bonds make up less than 5 per cent of the world's investment assets by market capitalization. Those investments could be severely affected by the continuing deterioration of Canada-U.S. economic and political relations. We have seen volatility in the Canadian dollar recently as a result of this situation. Stock markets in both countries briefly showed volatility early in this drama, which may have influenced President Donald Trump's decision to delay the tariffs. If we continue along this course, these market moves may end up, in hindsight, looking like foreshocks that precede a large earthquake. It is difficult to assess probabilities when so much depends on the actions of governments on both sides of the border.

There is a material chance that Canada will enter a financial crisis where bond prices, stocks and the loonie all fall, and institutional investors flee Canada as our creditworthiness is questioned. This could happen if tariffs are further expanded beyond steel and aluminum and the government implements COVID-type bailouts to those Canadians negatively affected. Think that's impossible? Read some economic history. Sovereign debt crises used to happen more frequently. I doubt they have gone extinct. Also, Canada did have a debt crisis in the early 1990s. I experienced it firsthand as a bond manager and Canada is in even worse shape now.

Canadian government debt – whether when looking at total levels or as a percentage of GDP – is currently at similar levels as the debt crisis of the early 1990s.

These already-high debt levels could grow even higher if governments implement another COVID-style stimulation package. This could also add to inflation.

Let's hope cooler heads will prevail, our relationship with the U.S. will improve and Canada will actively address the serious economic problems we have of our own making. As Roman emperor and stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius opined: “Harmed is the person who continues in his self-deception and ignorance.”

Investors should not hold a false hope that divine grace will save us. It is wise to decrease exposure to Canadian assets. U.S. bond yield spreads over Canada bonds are near all-time highs and that extra yield makes U.S. debt more attractive for international investors. Although Canada has lower inflation, which is important in bond outlooks, that advantage may go away if the government of Canada decides to expand the money supply and hand out cheques to workers hit by tariffs.

Meanwhile, investors will have to contend with currency risk. The Canadian dollar hit 62.5 US cents in 2002 in the long aftermath of the crisis of the early 1990s. Revisiting those lows shouldn't be ruled out.

The iShares 20+ Year U.S. Treasury Bond Index ETF (XTLT) is a good way to hedge risk away from Canada bonds. Any U.S. government bond ETF will do this job but make sure that exposure to the U.S. dollar is not hedged out.

Caution is advised on Canadian stocks. Canadian financial institutions make up about 30 per cent of the TSX index weight. Their share prices are at risk in a financial crisis. The Canadian consumer is overburdened with credit card debt, and real estate would be affected. Canadian financial service stocks have risen about 50 per cent since the fourth quarter of 2023. Now is a good time to take some money off the table.

We live in volatile times and investors should take note. The investment portfolios of individual Canadians are not a priority for our leaders. Given the risks and uncertainties in Canada, “the juice ain't worth the squeeze.”

Don't look for international institutional investors to save us – they loathe country risk. They rather explain missing any future upside investing in Canada as risk avoidance than being overweight an economy that is facing a significant downturn.

BINANCE, U.S. SEC SEEK 60-DAY PAUSE IN LAWSUIT

Binance and the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission have jointly asked a federal judge to stay the regulator's lawsuit against the crypto exchange, according to a court filing, citing the potential impact of a newly launched task force.

The move to stay for 60 days, which requires the judge's approval, marks the first clear effort to retreat from the SEC's previous crypto enforcement under Democratic leadership.

In a motion filed late Monday, the parties said the SEC's task force, formed last month to work on crypto regulations, may “impact and facilitate the potential resolution of this case.” The stay could be an early sign of the SEC's pivot to a more crypto-friendly stance, reflecting President Donald Trump's pledge to make the U.S. a global hub for the industry. The regulator sued Binance, its U.S. unit and founder Changpeng Zhao in June, 2023. REUTERS



Toronto real estate agent Ruchi Jain says landlords are dealing with downward pressures in the rental market in a way that hasn't been seen for years. AMIR SALEHI/THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Canadian rents, already dropping from peaks, could drop further from Trump's tariffs

SALMAAN FAROOQUI

When Toronto real estate agent Ruchi Jain was helping a couple look for rentals last week, one detail stood out: nearly every unit had clearly been vacant for months.

Landlords, meanwhile, have been signalling to her that they're open to finding a way to come to an agreement with prospective tenants. Negotiating rents or shorter terms? It's all on the table.

“I'll be very honest, people are scared right now,” said Ms. Jain, who said landlords are dealing with downward pressures in the rental market in a way that hasn't been seen for years.

One of the latest factors on the minds of landlords and renters alike is the economic uncertainty around U.S. President Donald Trump's threats to implement 25-per-cent tariffs on Canadian goods and the impact it could have on the economy.

It's a big change from just a year ago when Toronto's overheated market had prospective tenants outbidding each other for apartments with sky-high prices. Rentals.ca spokesperson Giacomo Ladas said listed rents have been dropping for 12 consecutive months in Toronto and 14 months in Vancouver. Average Toronto apartment rents have dropped 7.6 per cent from their peak to \$2,615, and Vancouver rents have fallen by 13 per cent from their peak to \$2,896.

National rental rates are still 16.4 per cent higher than three

years ago, but real estate agents and analysts say the threat of Mr. Trump's tariffs on the country and their potential to send Canada into a recession could lead to rents dropping even further.

It would be another downward pressure on a rental market that is already seeing demand weaken as international migration numbers plummet and Canadians look to cheaper communities. At the same time, supply has strengthened as a larger-than-usual number of rental units completed construction recently.

CIBC deputy chief economist Benjamin Tal said the steel and aluminum tariffs that Mr. Trump implemented this week would have only a small impact on bringing rental prices down, even if Canada retaliates.

On the other hand, the full-blown implementation of tariffs on Canadian goods (which has been delayed until the end of the month), followed by retaliations from Canada, could throw the economy into a recession. Multiple Canadian economists have said the country's gross domestic product could take a hit around two or three per cent.

“Historically in a recession, rent inflation slows down,” said Mr. Tal, who added that he believes rent inflation has already hit the peak of what Canadians can realistically afford.

The potential inflationary effects of the tariffs and their impact on the job market has not been realized yet, but Ms. Jain says she is already hearing from landlords, especially those who are part of Toronto's beleaguered

condo market, that are struggling to fill their units at advertised prices.

Other landlords are doing everything they can to keep their current tenants from looking for deals elsewhere, including negotiating rent decreases, something that not too long ago would have been unimaginable.

On the other hand, Mr. Ladas of Rentals.ca says his main concern about potential tariffs is that they could actually inflate rental prices down the road.

This is because the elevated cost of building during a trade war could push developers to either delay or abandon their housing projects, potentially leading to a squeeze in supply.

Mr. Tal said a prolonged trade war could result in these inflationary impacts being felt in markets by 2026 or 2027.

John Pasalis, president of Realosophy Realty, said that while he expects Toronto's glum rental market to continue (particularly in the condo sector), he thinks the economic uncertainty from south of the border could lead people to delay a large real estate transaction and continue to rent for a little bit longer.

However, Ms. Jain argues tenants have a clear opportunity to search for a deal, especially if they signed a lease during peak periods and want to shop for a cheaper rental.

“There is a lot out there, so if you're considering moving, now is certainly a good time to look and be a little bit picky because of how much is on the market,” she said.

RRSP season is steadily declining in popularity

Financial planners are seeing more clients contribute year-round

MEERA RAMAN

RRSP season – usually defined as the 60 days leading up to the March 3 contribution deadline – is dwindling in popularity in favour of people making year-round contributions.

Instead of clients scrambling to make a one-time, lump-sum payment during RRSP season, certified financial planners such as Jason Heath said most of his clients contribute to their RRSPs throughout the year.

“The emphasis on January and February being our RRSP season is in the past,” said Mr. Heath, the managing director of Objective Financial Partners.

The shift away from one-time contributions toward regular, year-round investing can help investors avoid risks associated with market timing and maximize their time in the stock market. “If [RRSP season] dies a slow death and becomes less of a thing, I don’t think that’s necessarily a bad outcome,” Mr. Heath said.

Mr. Heath recalls his early days working at a bank when January and February were marked by heavy marketing campaigns promoting RRSPs. But today, there’s less fanfare.

“There’s not as much buzz around RRSPs,” he said. One reason is the decline in physical bank visits. With the rise of online banking and do-it-yourself investing, fewer people interact with bankers face-to-face, reducing the pressure to make last-minute contributions, Mr. Heath said. Another factor is competition.

Before 2009, RRSPs were the “only game in town” for Canadians, with many making a single annual deposit, Mr. Heath said. But the introduction of the tax-free savings account and, more recently, the first home savings account, has shifted how Canadians save. By 2014, the average contributions to TFSA exceeded those for RRSPs.

Anita Bruinsma, certified financial planner and owner of Clarity Personal Finance, said that she has also seen a rise in employers offering group RRSP plans, where people have RRSP contributions automatically withdrawn from their paycheques.

Financial planners see advantages to making smaller, regular contributions throughout the year rather than a single, large payment. Spreading out investments offers more time in the market, meaning more compound growth, and it reduces exposure risk, said David Field, a certified financial planner and founder of Papyrus Planning.

Regular contributions can make saving more manageable by splitting it up into smaller parts while also lowering the tempta-

tion to spend the money elsewhere, Mr. Heath said. Additionally, smaller, consistent contributions help investors avoid missing the RRSP deadline altogether.

If you do make regular RRSP contributions, you can reduce the tax deducted by your employer, Mr. Field said. To do this, you can submit form T1213 to the Canada Revenue Agency. If approved, the CRA authorizes your employer to reduce the tax withheld from your regular paycheque.

While regular contributions work well for many, it’s not the best fit for everyone. For people with unpredictable or fluctuating incomes, consistent contributions may be challenging, Mr. Field said. Others, such as those who receive large annual bonuses close to the RRSP deadline, might top up their contributions with a larger lump-sum payment closer to the deadline, he said.

Mr. Heath advises people who are interested in contributing to their RRSP throughout the year to set a reasonable monthly contribution amount that aligns with their budget and financial goals. Automating these payments can make the process easier.

But he also warns to not “just blindly contribute to your RRSP,” without considering other options. In some cases, a TFSA or FHSA is a better option for people, especially if they are in a lower income bracket. “You want to make sure you’re paying the least amount of lifetime tax, not just paying less tax this April.”

North American indexes end mixed as Coca-Cola, Apple offset Tesla losses

Major North American indexes ended mixed on Tuesday as gains in Coca-Cola and Apple offset losses in Tesla, while investors parsed Federal Reserve chair Jerome Powell’s latest comments. The TSX ended slightly in the red as lower metal prices weighed on the materials sector.

The U.S. central bank is in no rush to cut its short-term interest rate again given the economy is “strong overall”, with low unemployment and inflation still above the Fed’s 2-per-cent target, Mr. Powell said in opening remarks at a Senate banking committee hearing.

Investors were also on the lookout for any new tariff comments from U.S. President Donald Trump, a day after he substantially raised levies on imports of steel and aluminum and said there would be announcements over the next two days about reciprocal tariffs on all countries that impose duties on U.S. goods.

“Valuations are elevated, company guidance is measured, inflation is persistent, government policy is uncertain, tariff talk is ongoing and global tensions are elevated. So in aggregate, the level of uncertainty is high, which implies increased volatility,” said Terry Sandven, chief equity strategist at U.S. Bank Wealth Management.

Mr. Powell’s Senate testimony is the first of two days of hearings on Capitol Hill.

Traders expect at least one 25-basis-point rate cut from the Fed this year, and a 44-per-cent chance of another reduction of the same magnitude, according to LSEG data.

The S&P/TSX Composite Index ended down 27.03 points, or 0.1 per cent, at 25,631.83, giving back some of the previous day’s gains.

The materials group, which includes fertilizer companies and metal mining shares, declined 1.8 per cent as copper prices fell and gold pulled back from a record high.

Real estate was down 1 per cent as bond yields climbed.

Shopify Inc ended 2.9 per cent higher. The e-commerce company posted its best quarterly revenue growth in three years as healthy consumer spending and the firm’s efforts to load its platform with AI features for sellers helped drive strong holiday sales.

Energy also notched gains, ending up 1.3 per cent. The price of oil settled 1.4 per cent higher at US\$73.32 a barrel.

In the U.S., Coca-Cola advanced 4.7 per cent after the beverage maker beat fourth-quarter revenue estimates.

REUTERS, GLOBE STAFF

Why the GST holiday’s end will hurt more than expected

ROBERT GERLSBECK

You can learn a lot about what a government believes its citizens need based on what’s included in its sales-tax holidays.

Consider the United States, where around 20 states hold them annually. Many suspend state taxes for a few days in August on back-to-school supplies such as pencils, notebooks, clothes and computers. A few extend it to guns for hunting season or energy-saving products such as furnaces and air conditioners. To encourage disaster preparedness, every February, Alabama briefly removes its sales tax on flashlights, batteries, tarps, generators and other storm essentials.

So what did Ottawa decide Canadians needed a GST break on this winter? Puzzles, video games and alcohol, plus trips to McDonald’s and Swiss Chalet. (Yes, children’s clothing and toys, books, newspapers and Christmas decor, too.)

For many, the tax holiday, which began Dec. 14, has been one big *meh*. According to a Nanos poll conducted between Dec. 30 and Jan. 5, two-thirds of Canadians said the GST break would have no impact on their household finances.

At a time when many are still struggling to afford groceries, the estimated savings on taxed items at the supermarket amounted to just \$4.51 per consumer over the holiday’s duration, according to Sylvain Charlebois, director of the



Canada’s tax holiday, which began in December, is set to end on Friday. GRAHAM HUGHES/THE CANADIAN PRESS

Agri-Food Analytics Lab at Dalhousie University. That’s roughly enough to buy a few extra tins of tomato soup.

The question now is: How will consumers react when it ends on Feb. 15?

Nik Nanos, chief data scientist at Nanos Research, predicts the return of the GST (and HST in Ontario and Atlantic Canada) will bring the same letdown as going back to work after a long, restful vacation.

“It’s not likely that people will be outraged, because our research showed that only three out of 10 Canadians thought it was a good idea. So there wasn’t a lot of enthusiasm in the first place,” he says. “People saw it as a gimmick.”

Two factors, however, could make the end of the tax holiday feel more painful than any joy experienced when it began.

First, human behaviour. Imag-

ine you find \$100 one day. Great. Now, imagine losing \$100 the next day. Even-steven, right? Not quite. Research consistently shows that losses hurt more than equivalent gains.

Now, consider the duration of the holiday. Typically, sales at retailers last only a few days to create consumer excitement and demand.

But if a sale lasts two months – like the GST holiday – consumer interest wanes and the discount may become the expected price, says Abigail Sussman, a professor of marketing at the University of Chicago’s Booth School of Business who studies consumer spending decisions.

For example, she says, “When the price of something is usually \$10 and it’s reduced to \$8 for several weeks, that \$8 could become your expectation. When the price returns to \$10, you’ll feel upset.”

This phenomenon may be the inherent flaw in Canada’s GST holiday. If the tax-free price has become what consumers expect, the return of the sales tax will feel like a loss. “And this loss is likely to be viewed as more painful than the prior tax reduction was beneficial,” Ms. Sussman says.

The impact will be especially noticeable for daily habits, such as going through a drive-thru for a coffee and breakfast sandwich every morning. That will be particularly true in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, where the return of the HST will push up prices overnight by 13 and 15 per cent, respectively.

Frances Woolley is a professor of economics at Carleton University and an expert on taxation and family economics. She says no studies have looked specifically at how people react emotionally to tax holiday endings. “But what we know about behavioural economics predicts that people will feel the end of the tax holiday more than they enjoyed the beginning of it,” she says.

As for what happens after Feb. 15, Ms. Woolley believes business groups could start lobbying for targeted sales-tax holidays in their sectors.

One example, already, is Restaurants Canada, which reported an 18-per-cent increase in dining nationally during the first two weeks of the tax holiday compared to a year earlier. The association is now urging a permanent suspension of the GST and HST on prepared food.

The holiday also highlighted a lack of transparency in grocery taxation. According to Mr. Charlebois, around 4,000 items in a typical supermarket are taxed, but it’s hard for people to identify which ones. “For consumers, it’s utter confusion,” he says. For example, a two-pack of muffins is considered a snack and therefore taxed but a four-pack isn’t.

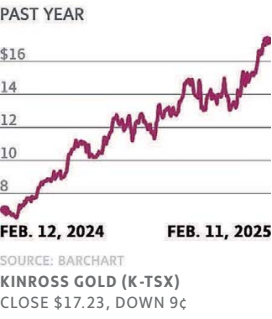
Finally, research consistently shows that sales-tax holidays don’t spur significant economic activity but merely shift the timing of spending. An RBC Consumer Spending Tracker report found that Canadians delayed some pre-Christmas purchases until after the start of the tax holiday. Now, there could also be a rush to stock up on items such as beer and wine before sales taxes are re-applied.

While consumers may twinge at the return of the GST/HST, the real cost of the holiday will be around for some time. The Parliamentary Budget Officer estimated the tax holiday would result in \$1.46 billion in lost GST revenue and \$1.26-billion in lost HST revenue.

That means it’s unlikely Ottawa will be able to follow in the footsteps of at least one American tax holiday. Last summer, Ohio decided to suspend state sales taxes on a wide range of consumer goods under \$500 for about a week ... but only if it reached a \$60-million surplus fund target first, which it did. Ohio’s tax holiday is set to go again this year.

Special to The Globe and Mail

EYE ON EQUITIES DAVID LEEDER



In response to several Canadian precious metals producers having pre-released fourth-quarter 2024 operating results, National Bank Financial equity analysts are expecting a “mixed” earnings season in the sector. “We would expect lower cash costs quarter-over-quarter given the large number of companies that have back half-weighted production,” they said.

Target: Mike Parkin raised his **Kinross Gold Corp.** target to \$22 from \$20 with an “outperform” rating. Consensus is \$18.65.

Despite rising on average by 18 per cent thus far in 2025, the outlook for gold equities “remains constructive, supported by attractive valuations, low crowding, and a supportive macro outlook for gold,” according to RBC Capital Markets analysts Josh Wolfson and Michael Siperco. “We emphasize some caution in-to near-term updates,” they added.

Target: Their **Franco-Nevada Corp.** target increased to US\$155 from US\$145 with a “sector perform” rating. Consensus is US\$147.12.

National Bank Financial analyst Rupert Merer thinks record low prices for renewable power should lead to further consolidation in the sector in 2025. “If the valuation gap remains, we believe the industry should look to find lower-cost sources of capital (including asset sales) to fund growth and reward shareholders,” he said.

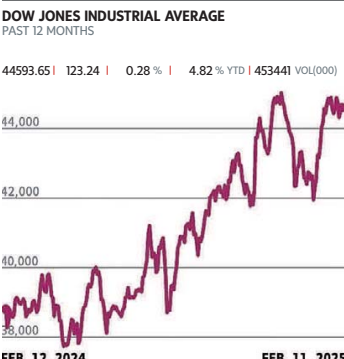
Target: Mr. Merer trimmed his **Target**-high target for **Algonquin Power & Utilities Corp.** to US\$6.25 from US\$6.75 with an “outperform” rating. Consensus is US\$5.44.

Desjardins Securities analyst Doug Young initiated coverage of **EQB Inc.** with a “buy” recommendation, seeing it comparing “favourably in many ways” to the Big 6 domestic banks. “Most strikingly its adjusted ROE has been in line with the Big 6 bank average over the last 10 years, and we expect it to be higher going forward despite EQB holding on to more capital,” he added.

Target: Mr. Young set a target of \$130 per share, exceeding the \$120.17 consensus.

While shares of **Brookfield Corp.** “enjoyed a good run” in 2024, TD Cowen analyst Cherilyn Radbourne thinks “substantial upside optionality” remains ahead of Thursday’s release of its fourth-quarter 2024 results. “BN’s franchise has been resilient over the past 2 years, despite headwinds that are now becoming tailwinds,” she said.

Target: Maintaining her “buy” recommendation, she raised her target by US\$1 to US\$75, which is the high on the Street. Consensus is US\$65.75.



TSX INDEXES AND SUB INDEXES

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
TSX COMPOSITE IND	25631.83	-27.03	-0.11	224685	3.66
TSX 60 INDEX	1543.33	0.96	0.06	122345	4.12
TSX COMPLETION IN	1514.50	-12.52	-0.82	102340	1.74
TSX SMALLCAP INDE	825.57	-8.36	-1.00	75124	1.41
TSX VENTURE COMPO	634.54	-8.40	-1.31	28988	6.14
TSX CONSUMER DISC	302.38	0.43	0.14	3574	1.31
TSX CONSUMER STAP	1016.94	-3.07	-0.30	3753	-4.28
TSX ENERGY CAPPED	278.09	3.66	1.33	48578	4.10
TSX FINANCIALS CA	482.29	-1.17	-0.24	35247	0.51
TSX HEALTH CARE C	315.45	-0.26	-1.13	1758	-11.81
TSX INDUSTRIALS C	471.44	-0.80	-0.17	12131	2.84
TSX REAL ESTATE C	315.45	-1.19	-0.38	18116	11.93
TSX MATERIALS CAP	428.77	-7.76	-1.78	45771	13.37
TSX REAL ESTATE C	310.95	-3.23	-1.03	4636	-1.15
TSX GLOBAL GOLD I	410.79	-6.81	-1.63	67799	21.85
TSX GLOBAL MINING	126.43	-2.13	-1.66	164128	9.84
TSX income TRUST	206.77	-1.41	-0.68	5062	0.77
TSX PREFERRED SHA	644.45	0.64	0.10	2203	1.42
TSX COMMUNICATION	135.34	0.94	0.70	9035	-1.67
TSX UTILITIES CAP	305.46	-0.90	-0.29	14133	-0.39

TSX VOLUME

TOP 20 FOR STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
ENB ENBRIDGE INC	64.69	0.54	0.84	22615	6.03
SU SUNCOR ENERGY	58.05	1.48	2.62	13071	13.14
TD TORONTO-DOMINI	86.69	0.69	0.80	5400	13.28
VRN VEREN INC	7.70	0.04	0.52	5316	4.19
CTS CONVERGE TECH	5.40	0.00	0.00	4751	65.14
BNS BANK OF NOVA	72.84	0.41	0.57	4625	-5.64
ZEB BMO S&P TSX E	42.16	0.12	0.29	4485	0.00
CNQ CANADIAN NATU	44.18	0.25	0.57	4118	-0.45
LUN LUNDIN MINING	12.12	-0.09	-0.74	4117	-2.02
CM CANADIAN IMPER	87.78	-0.07	-0.08	4082	-3.46
BMO BANK OF MONTR	142.31	0.14	0.10	4034	1.98
AC AIR CANADA	18.04	0.30	1.69	3874	-18.96
FM FIRST QUANTUM	18.83	-0.97	-4.90	3803	1.62
MFC MANULIFE INC	176.57	5.02	2.93	3695	15.41
BCE BCE INC	32.69	0.48	1.49	3671	-1.89
GWO GREAT-WEST LI	51.15	-0.20	-0.39	3583	7.30
CVE CENOVUS ENERG	22.14	0.39	1.79	3519	1.61
MFC MANULIFE FIN	42.33	-0.41	-0.96	3308	-4.44
HNB BETAPRO NAT G	7.71	-0.31	-3.87	3140	-33.71
T TELUS CORP	20.83	0.10	0.48	3071	6.88

TSX 52-WEEK HIGHS

STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
AAP ADVANCED MICR	20.96	0.13	0.62	140	-0.85
AMPL APPLE CDR [C	33.92	0.67	2.02	65	0.24
ORA AURA MINERALS	21.64	-0.09	-0.41	35	22.26
BCE-PR-F BCE IST	18.85	0.04	0.21	38	13.28
BCE-PR-Q BCE INC	23.33	0.07	0.30	2	2.59
ZXLK BMO SPDR TEC	30.70	0.37	1.22		
BNC-PR-A BIG BANC	11.00	0.14	1.29	5	0.09
LCS-PR-A BROMPTON	11.06	-0.03	-0.27	13	1.47
SBC-PR-A BROMPTON	11.07	-0.12	-1.07	28	3.26
BPO-PR-T BROOKFIE	18.88	0.26	1.40	6	11.06
CF-PR-A CANACORRD	17.65	-0.10	-0.56	2	3.22
EIT-PR-A CANOE EI	25.38	0.02	0.08	1	1.12
CPX-PR-E CAPITAL	24.61	0.02	0.08	9	2.41
COLA COCA-COLA CD	24.28	0.93	3.98	5	8.64
CNL COLLECTIVE MI	8.87	0.26	3.02	214	48.58
COST COSTCO CORP [48.88	-0.17	-0.35	23	1.56
DGS-PR-A DIVIDEND	11.01	0.15	1.38	45	3.87
EVT ECONOMIC INVE	187.80	2.97	1.61	14.51	
FIH-U FAIRFAX IND	19.30	-0.47	-2.38	103	20.55
FTS-PR-K FORTIS I	21.36	0.00	0.00	7	2.35

TSX 52-WEEK LOWS

STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
WN-PR-C GEORGE WE	22.50	-0.20	-0.88	6	1.08
GWO-PR-I GREAT-WE	19.98	0.08	0.40	10	4.01
HRX HEROUX-DEVTEK	32.49	0.07	0.22	411	2.23
KNT K92 MINING IN	10.47	-0.13	-1.23	534	20.62
LBS-PR-A LIFE & B	11.45	0.14	1.24	22	6.12
SPFD MULVHILL EN	10.09	-0.02	-0.20	5	1.61
FFN-PR-A NORTH AM	11.16	0.06	0.54	42	4.10
PVS-PR-I PARTNERS	25.40	0.06	0.24	0.63	
POW-PR-A POWER CO	23.82	0.02	0.08	3	2.89
POW-PR-B POWER CO	22.62	-0.07	-0.31	1	3.29
PWF-PR-G POWER FI	24.70	-0.06	-0.24	3	0.20
MNT ROYAL CANADIA	44.99	0.98	2.23	13	15.06
SEC SENVEST CAPIT	400.00	10.00	2.56		5.26
SHOP SHOPIFY INC	176.57	5.02	2.93	3695	15.41
TSAT TELESAT CORP	30.25	0.33	1.10	8	28.02
TNZ TENAZ ENERGY	16.80	1.34	8.67	137	19.74
TRI THOMSON REUTE	255.22	-0.85	-0.33	384	10.57
TRX TOREX GOLD RE	34.08	0.78	2.34	273	20.34
TA-PR-G TRANSALTA	21.40	-1.09	-4.85	1	2.39
FORA VERTICALSCOP	13.85	0.23	1.69	29	33.82

TSX GAINERS

TOP 20 FOR STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
CVO COVEO SOLUTIO	7.66	1.57	25.78	915	20.06
OPT OPTIVA INC	5.95	0.73	13.98	2	116.36
PKI PARKLAND FUEL	37.86	4.36	13.01	1894	16.46
CLM CALDWELL PART	1.10	0.12	12.24	26	-10.57
MPC-C MADISON PAC	4.45	0.40	9.88	5	0.68
WFC WAL FINANCIA	14.50	1.25	9.43	1	-9.43
TNZ TENAZ ENERGY	16.80	1.34	8.67	137	19.74
YCM COMMERCE SPLI	3.96	0.20	5.32		-20.80
RPD-I RBC QUANT E	17.67	0.93	5.21	6.71	
QSP-UN RESTAURANT	93.78	4.37	4.89		0.58
PNP PINETREE CAPI	11.75	0.50	4.44	8	6.82
PRN PRONFUND MEDI	8.74	0.36	4.30	13	-19.07
PCD-UN FIRM CAPIT	6.00	0.23	3.99	147	8.30
COLA COCA-COLA CD	24.28	0.93	3.98	5	8.64
GDXD BETAPRO CDN	20.83	0.77	3.84	72	-31.62
MDP MEDEXUS PHARM	3.25	0.12	3.83	60	-6.07
VNDH-U HARVEST NV	11.29	0.41	3.77		-6.46
HNU BETAPRO NAT G	44.60	1.60	3.72	455	17.24
BBU-UN BROOKFIELD	34.23	1.19	3.60	50	0.97
ECO ECOSYNTHETIX	4.90	0.17	3.59	48	12.90

TSX LOSERS

TOP 20 FOR STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
OGI ORGANGRAM HO	2.06	-0.44	-17.60	1324	-10.43
CRWN-NT CROWN CAP	39.00	-6.00	-13.33	22	-11.36
TESL HARVEST TESL	9.64	-0.86	-8.91	109	-24.15
WEEB CANOPY GROWT	2.60	-0.23	-8.13	2512	-34.01
AMC ARIZONA METAL	1.44	-0.12	-7.69	265	-10.00
LGO LARGO RESOURC	2.77	-0.23	-7.67	66	11.24
BR BIG ROCK BREWE	1.25	-0.10	-7.41	3	13.64
NUAG NEW PACIFIC	1.58	-0.12	-7.06	107	-7.06
UPT-PR-B US FINL	7.80	-0.59	-7.03	6	4.70
SLT-U SALTIRE CAP	8.16	-0.57	-6.53	1	-30.73
VCM VECIMA NETWORK	11.60	-0.81	-6.53	53	-27.27
TSLS TESLA CDR [C	29.79	-2.05	-6.44	716	-13.15
CURA CURALEAF HOL	2.06	-0.14	-6.36	233	-8.04
ERO ERO COPPER CO	18.63	-1.25	-6.29	1025	-3.87
BITF BITFARMS LTD	1.88	-0.12	-6.00	2478	-11.74
BLDP BALLARD POWE	1.90	-0.12	-5.94	810	-20.50
LAR LA RONGE GOLD	3.40	-0.21	-5.82	143	-13.27
TIXT TELUS INTERN	5.11	-0.31	-5.72	326	-9.56
HBM HUBDAY MINERA	12.93	-0.78	-5.69	1506	10.89
DII-B DOREL INDUS	4.66	-0.28	-5.67	6	19.79

TSX 52-WEEK LOWS

STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
ZXLK BMO SPDR FIN	29.41	-0.09	-0.31	1	-2.10
BKF BERSHIRE HATH	35.48	0.10	0.28	17	-0.39
BITF BITFARMS LTD	1.88	-0.12	-6.00	2478	-11.74
DOD BRP INC	59.27	-0.94	-1.56	161	-19.04
WEEB CANOPY GROWT	2.60	-0.23	-8.13	2512	-34.01
KOI CURRENCY EXCH	21.50	-0.31	-1.42	7	-8.51
ERO ERO COPPER CO	18.63	-1.25	-6.29	1025	-3.87
INE INNERGEX RENE	7.05	-0.07	-0.98	754	-12.42
LAR LA RONGE GOLD	3.40	-0.21	-5.82	143	-13.27
LIRC LITHIUM ROYA	4.76	-0.11	-2.26	8	-19.19
MPC-C MADISON PAC	4.45	0.40	9.88	5	0.68

TSX 52-WEEK LOWS

STOCKS \$1 OR MORE

	CLOSE	NET CHG	% CHG	VOL 000s	YTD %CHG
NFI NFI GROUP INC	10.39	-0.46	-4.24	485	-25.79
PRN PRONFUND MEDI	8.74	0.36	4.30	13	-19.07
RCA-A ROGERS COMM	42.06	-0.69	-1.61	2	-11.28
SLU-U SALTIRE CAP	8.16	-0.57	-6.53	1	-30.73
UUN UNIPROT PHYSI	21.75	-0.52	-2.33	648	-12.51
UUN UNIPROT PHYSIC	15.20	-0.27	-1.75	37	-12.09
TSLS TESLA INC CD	29.79	-2.05	-6.44	716	-13.15
TLRY TILRAY INC	1.35	-0.05	-3.57	1289	-28.95
TTM TITANIUM TRA	1.69	-0.08	-4.52	181	-28.09
VCM VECIMA NETWORK	11.60	-0.81	-6.53	53	-27.27

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
AAV ADVANTAGE OIL	9.68	0.18	1.89	368	-1.83	CG CENTERRA GOLD	9.48	-0.42	-4.24	513	15.89	IIP-UN INTERRENT	10.01	-0.07	-0.69	180	-1.38
ARE ARCON GROUP I	23.75	-0.27	-1.12	310	-12.75	CEU CES ENERGY SO	8.84	0.00	0.00	307	-10.89	IVN IVANHOF MINES	16.27	-0.71	-4.18	1952	-4.63
AEM AEGNICO EAGLE	140.51	-3.20	-2.29	693	24.94	CSH-UN CHARTWELL	16.08	-0.18	-1.11	163	6.63	JWL JAMESON WEL	32.99	1.09	3.42	165	-10.13
AC AIR CANADA	18.04	0.30	1.69	3874	-18.96	CHP-UN CHOICE PRO	13.34	-0.18	-1.33	322	-0.07	KNT K92 MINING IN	10.47	-0.13	-1.23	534	20.62
AGL ALAMOS GOLD I	31.12	-0.51	-1.56	604	21.12	CIG COGECO COMMUN	63.35	0.43	0.68	82	-5.94	KEL KELT EXPLORAT	6.86	0.18	2.69	609	-2.28
ASTI ALGOMA STEEL	11.61	-0.12	-1.02	62	-17.54	CCG COLLIS INT	190.05	-3.49	-1.80	81	-2.78	KEY KEYERA CORP	42.45	0.57	1.36	1000	-3.43
AQN ALQUINQIN PFC	6.58	0.07	1.08	2466	3.13	CRU CONSTITUTION	4882.25	-51.92	-1.05	14	9.84	KMP-UN KILLAM APA	16.65	-0.11	-0.66	217	-2.63
ATD ALIMENTATION	72.49	-0.48	-0.66	1352	-0.97	CRR-UN CROMBIE RE	13.82	0.01	0.07	157	4.62	KMX KINAXIS INC	167.64	-2.43	-1.43	74	-3.18
AP-UN ALLIED PROP	17.01	-0.18	-1.05	538	-0.82	DFY DEFINITY FINA	60.73	-0.39	-0.64	54	3.90	KIN KINROSS GOLD CO	17.23	-0.09	-0.52	2581	29.06
ALA ALTAGAS LTD	34.82	0.06	0.17	618	4.00	DMF DENISON MINES	2.50	-0.07	-2.72	2101	-4.21	LIF LABRADOR IRON	30.41	-0.24	-0.78	192	5.12
AIF ALTUS GROUP L	58.59	-0.89	-1.50	46	4.63	DSC DESCARTES SYS	169.55	-5.79	-3.30	140	3.76	L LAURENTIAN IRON	27.64	0.26	0.95	161	-4.56
ARX ARC RESOURCES	26.98	0.31	1.16	2711	3.49	DDI DOLLARAMA INC	139.56	-0.94	-0.67	698	-0.51	LSPO LIGHTSPEED C	18.77	-0.27	-1.42	916	-14.37
ATZ ARIZONA INC	72.04	0.65	0.91	688	34.81	DIN-UN DREAM IND	11.65	0.03	0.26	434	21.32	LNR LINAMAR CORP	53.84	0.54	1.01	133	-5.19
ACD-AC ATCO LTD CL	46.97	-0.28	-0.59	164	-1.28	DIR-UN DUNDEE PRECIO	15.82	-0.21	-1.31	664	1.35	L LOBLAW CO	178.10	-0.05	-0.03	363	-5.85
ATH ATHABASCA OIL	4.91	-0.01	-0.20	1865	-7.88	EQB EQB INC	107.38	0.14	0.13	39	8.50	L LUND LUNDIN GOLD I	39.20	-1.68	-4.11	402	27.85
ATRL ATKINSRESAIL	73.55	-1.47	-1.96	481	-3.55	ELN ELDERADO GOLD	20.58	-0.18	-0.87	458	-3.74	L LUN LUNDIN MINING	12.12	-0.09	-0.74	4117	-2.02
ATS ATS CORP	41.78	0.06	0.14	115	-4.70	EFD ELEMENT FLEET	28.03	0.03	0.11	391	-3.54	MAG MAG SILVER CO	23.14	-0.30	-1.28	187	18.48
AYA AYA GOLD AND	11.71	-0.18	-1.51	1166	9.03	EMA EMERA INCORPO	55.46	-0.27	-0.48	1658	3.22	MG MAGNIA INTERNAT	56.02	0.29	0.52	480	-6.76
BTO B2GOLD CORP	3.63	-0.08	-2.16	2094	3.13	EMP-EA EMPIRE COMM	42.52	-0.24	-0.56	275	-3.12	MFC MANULIFE FIN	42.33	-0.41	-0.96	3308	-4.14
BCE BCE INC	32.69	0.48	1.49	3671	-1.89	ENB ENBRIDGE INC	64.69	0.54	0.84	22615	6.03	MFI MAPLE LEAF FO	21.32	0.08	0.38	95	4.82
BDGI BADGER INFRA	40.22	-0.26	-0.64	36	12.10	ENX ENERPLEX LTD	13.43	-0.32	-2.33	739	-6.15	MTR MATR MATTEL CO	11.98	0.01	0.08	189	-5.22
BMO BANK OF MONT	142.31	0.14	0.10	4034	1.98	EFR ENERGY FUELS	7.09	-0.15	-2.07	435	-4.06	MGA MDA LTD	24.33	-0.43	-1.74	559	-17.61
BNS BANK OF NOVA	72.84	0.41	0.57	4625	-5.66	ENG ENGHOUSE SYS	27.70	-0.57	-2.02	60	2.25	MGE MEG ENERGY CO	23.88	0.36	1.53	1827	1.19
ABX BARRICK GOLD	24.42	-0.51	-2.05	2501	9.54	EQO EQUINOX GOLD	9.56	-0.19	-1.95	802	32.04	MX METHANEX CORP	68.91	-2.43	-3.41	173	-4.07
BHC BAUSCH HEALTH	9.11	0.06	0.66	208	-21.60	ERO ERO COPPER CO	19.63	-1.25	-6.29	1025	-3.87	MRU METRO INC	91.82	-0.21	-0.23	388	1.85
BTE BAYTEX ENERGY	3.69	0.02	0.54	3057	-0.27	EIF EXCHANGE INCO	52.55	-0.44	-0.83	98	-10.71	MTY MTY FOOD GROUP	49.77	-0.03	-0.06	23	8.74
BIR BIRCHCLIFF EN	5.83	-0.01	-0.17	836	7.56	FFH FAIRFAX FINAN	191.00	-19.01	-0.95	72	-1.00	MUL MULLEN GROUP	14.15	-0.04	-0.28	176	-2.95
BDT BIRD CONSTRUC	24.51	-0.45	-1.80	89	-5.95	FTI FINNING INTL	43.50	-0.37	-0.84	382	14.20	NA NATIONAL BANK	125.46	0.21	0.17	1060	-4.26
BB BLACKBERRY LTD	7.53	-0.37	-4.88	2898	37.91	FCR-UN FIRST CAPI	16.77	-0.05	-0.30	273	-1.12	NGD NEW GOLD INC	4.30	-0.17	-3.80	1088	19.78
BBN BOARDWALK	64.72	-0.31	-0.48	69	7.3	AG FIRST MAJESTIC	8.01	-0.15	-1.84	1428	1.39	NXE NXGEN ENERGY	9.02	-0.29	-3.11	731	-4.85
BBD-B BOMBARDIER	80.51	0.42	0.52	440	-17.63	FSV FIRST QUANTUM	18.83	-0.97	-4.90	3803	1.62	NFI NFI GROUP INC	10.39	-0.46	-4.24	485	-25.79
BLX BOREALX INC	25.37	-0.03	-0.12	151	-11.64	FSV FIRSTSERVICE	248.96	-4.40	-1.74	70	-4.39	NIG NIGEX MINERAL	13.30	-0.36	-2.64	89	-0.82
BOY BOYD GROUP SE	238.37	1.26	0.53	69	9.96	FTI FORTIS INC	62.76	0.17	0.27	1741	5.07	NPI NORTHLAND POW	17.18	0.48	2.87	1230	-4.02
BAM BROOKFIELD AS	79.51	-2.92	-3.54	1367	1.99	FVS FORTUNA SILVE	7.50	-0.21	-2.72	984	21.56	NWH-UN NORTHWEST	4.59	-0.15	-3.16	463	3.15
BBU-UN BROOKFIELD	34.23	1.19	3.60	50	0.97	FNU FRESCO-NOVADA	204.03	-0.96	-0.47	222	20.78	NR NVGAVOLD RES I	4.50	-0.15	-3.23	193	-6.44
BN BROOKFIELD COR	83.82	-1.21	-1.41	802	1.45	FRV FREEHOLD ROYAL	12.96	0.13	1.01	440	1.33	NTR NUTRIENT LTD	73.96	-0.42	-0.56	876	14.99
BIP-UN BROOKFIELD	47.32	-0.41	-0.86	355	3.59	WN GEORGE WESTON	222.41	-1.51	-0.67	113	-0.51	NVA NUVESTA ENERG	12.80	0.24	1.91	916	-7.38
BEP-UN BROOKFIELD	31.50	-0.19	-0.60	240	-3.79	GFL GFL ENVIRONME	66.10	-0.29	-0.44	205	3.15	OGC OCEANAGOLD CO	4.55	-0.13	-2.78	1201	14.32
DOO BRP INC	59.27	-0.94	-1.56	161	-19.04	GFI GIBSON ENERGY	24.30	0.13	0.54	329	-0.74	ONEX ONEX CORP CO	108.61	-1.07	-0.98	54	-3.27
CAR-UN CDI APARTM	41.37	-0.26	-0.62	271	-2.96	GIL GILDAN ACTIVE	72.50	0.01	0.01	267	7.17	OTEX OPEN TEXT CO	40.97	-0.39	-0.94	870	0.71
GIB-A CGI GROUP I	172.63	-0.39	-0.23	372	9.76	GSY GEOASY LTD	165.97	-0.80	-0.48	53	-0.44	OLA ORLA MINING L	9.71	-0.48	-4.71	356	21.98
CIX CI FINANCIAL	31.25	0.03	0.10	717	1.00	GRT-UN GRANITE RE	68.67	-1.44	-2.05	121	-1.56	OR OSISKO GOLD RO	28.25	-0.37	-1.29	476	8.53
CRT-UN CRT REAL ES	14.91	0.17	1.15	161	4.34	GWO GREAT-WEST LI	51.15	-0.20	-0.39	3583	7.30	PAAS PAN AMERICAN	34.74	-1.29	-3.58	583	19.46
CAE CAE INC	33.98	-0.48	-1.39	663	-6.90	HR-UN H&R REAL ES	9.60	-0.05	-0.52	482	3.45	POU PARAMOUNT RES	32.45	0.14	0.43	753	1.98
CXB CALIBRE MININ	2.95	0.00	0.00	2752	37.21	HWX HEADWATER EXP	6.89	-0.78	-5.69	1506	10.89	PXT PAREX RESOURC	14.31	0.17	1.20	512	-1.85
CCO CAMERO CORP	71.22	-0.83	-1.15	1554	-3.64	HDB HUBBAY MINERA	45.12	-0.41	-0.90	548	1.92	PKI PARKLAND FUEL	37.86	4.36	13.01	1894	16.46
CMG CANADIAN IMPER	87.78	-0.07	-0.08	4082	-3.46	H HYDRO ONE LTD	128.78	-0.55	-0.43	137	-2.41	PSI PASON SYSTEMS	13.58	0.12	0.89	70	-0.22
CNR CANADIAN NATI	147.03	0.04	0.27	759	0.73	IMG IAMGOLD CORP	9.12	-0.11	-1.19	2377	22.75	PMB PEMBINA PIPEL	52.70	0.22	0.42	1616	-0.77
CNQ CANADIAN NATU	44.18	0.25	0.57	418	-0.45	IGM IGM FINANCIAL	44.28	-0.35	-0.78	414	-3.55	PET PET VALU HOLD	25.18	-0.54	-2.10	25	-0.24
CP CANADIAN PACIF	111.99	0.24	0.21	1280	7.60	IMO IMPERIAL OIL	101.52	3.34	3.40	677	14.60	PEY PETYO EXPLORA	16.07	0.08	0.50	533	-6.24
CTC-A CANADIAN TI	158.52	1.07	0.68	241	4.83	INE INNEURGEX RENE	7.05	-0.07	-0.98	754	-12.42	POW POWER CORP OF	46.46	-0.52	-1.11	891	3.61
CUW CANADIAN UTILI	33.85	-0.11	-0.32	500	-2.87	IFC INTACT FINANC	276.23	0.35	0.13	196	5.54	PSK PRAIRIESKY RO	27.78	0.43	1.57	525	-0.89
CWB CANADIAN WEST	56.63	-0.62	-1.08	2358	-3.61	IPF INTERFOR CORP	15.74	-0.12	-0.76	276	-6.25	PRD PRECISION DRIL	81.36	-0.21	-0.26	94	-7.46
CPX CAPITAL POWER	52.40	-0.75	-1.41	1031	-17.77	IPC INTERNATIONAL	18.89	-0.92	-4.64	236	12.37	PBH PEMBINA BRAND	75.68	0.31	0.41	67	-4.30
CS CAPSTONE MININ	8.49	-0.15	-1.74	2691	-4.55	IAG IA FINANCIAL	128.78	-0.55	-0.43	137	-2.41	WSP WSP GLOBAL IN	253.05	-2.84	-1.11	344	0.04
CJT CARJOGAT INC	111.37	-0.94	-0.84	43	3.24	IMG IAMGOLD CORP	9.12	-0.11	-1.19	2377	22.75	WCN WASTE CONNECT	271.35	0.01	0.00	183	10.04
CCL-B CLC INDUST	69.62	0.22	0.32	279	-5.86	IGM IGM FINANCIAL	44.28	-0.35	-0.78	414	-3.55	WDO WESDOME GOLD	14.66	-0.22	-1.48	487	13.56
CLE CELESTICA INC	180.96	-5.37	-2.88	621	36.41	IMO IMPERIAL OIL	101.52	3.34	3.40	677	14.60	WFG WEST FRASER T	121.57	-1.34	-1.09	88	-23.99
CVE CENOVUS ENRG	22.14	0.39	1.79	3519	1.61	INE INNEURGEX RENE	7.05	-0.07	-0.98	754	-12.42	WPM WHEATON PRESI	95.48	-1.39	-1.43	414	-18.01
						IFC INTACT FINANC	276.23	0.35	0.13	196	5.54	WPC WHITECAP RESO	9.09	0.02	0.20	1887	-2.94
						IPF INTERFOR CORP	15.74	-0.12	-0.76	276	-6.25	WPK WINPAK LTD	42.68	0.14	0.33	32	-10.58
						IPC INTERNATIONAL	18.89	-0.92	-4.64	236	12.37						

CHAMPIONS LEAGUE



Kicking things off

Real Madrid’s Kylian Mbappe scores his team’s first goal in a game against Manchester City on Tuesday at the Etihad Stadium in Manchester, England. Real Madrid won the game 3-2 in the first leg of the Champions League playoffs. Full game details inside on ■ B12

PHIL NOBLE/REUTERS

Crosby represents the very best of Canada when we need it most

The star player has come a long way from being left off the roster for the 2006 Olympics

CATHAL KELLY
OPINION



Based on what’s going on right now, we can agree that Canada has made some poor decisions in the last 20 years. One of the first – leaving Sidney Crosby off an Olympic team. Crosby was still a teenager before Turin 2006, but what a teenager. Canada decided he was still

too wet and ditched him for a veteran. It was a big story at the time. The day Canada announced the team, Crosby tried to out-wait reporters in Pittsburgh. The Globe’s Shawna Richer outwaited him. Unable to slip away, understandably embarrassed and upset, Crosby spoke at length about how he wished he could go, but would happily wait his turn. By the time he finished talking, you might have had the impression it was Crosby’s idea to not pick Crosby. “I was right in the mix,” Crosby said then. “I’m not there, but I can say I gave it a good shot.” By doing that, Crosby took most of the pressure off then Team Canada assistant executive

director, Kevin Lowe, who had to answer questions about it. It was an act of generosity few current superstars would take into account, but Crosby had.

After being studied like a lab rat his entire adult life, Crosby is still good for a laugh, mostly at himself.

What we remember now is that Canada was atrocious at the 2006 Games without Crosby, and magisterial in 2010 with him. He could’ve made a little bit of a deal about that, too, but no. He doesn’t talk about it. All he’s done since then is win

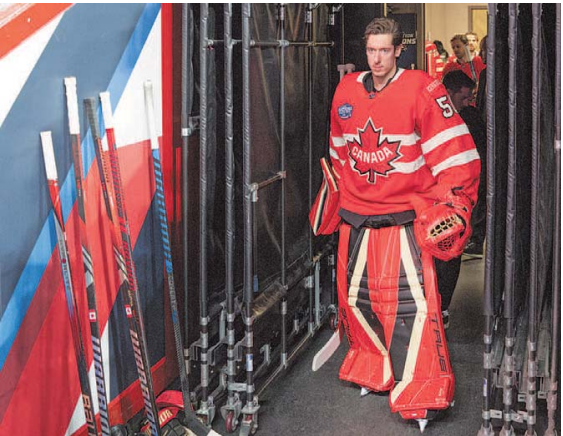
– Sochi 2014, the 2015 world championships, the 2016 World Cup of Hockey. But when you think of what makes Crosby special, it’s not trophies. It’s easy to play the part of a winner. Be humble. Smile. Thank your teammates and mean it. It’s that Crosby is the same person no matter what’s going on. Good, bad or in between. And there’s a lot of in-between in an NHL career. After being studied like a lab rat his entire adult life, Crosby is still good for a laugh, mostly at himself. He still looks people in the eye. He still seems to be enjoying himself. On Tuesday, the cameras were staking him out a half-hour before Canada got off the practice

ice. No other member of Team Canada got that treatment. When Crosby did show up, he just kind of appeared out of nowhere. He can still enter a room without filling it. When you’re as famous as he is, that is a cultivated skill. His hair is streaked grey now. His age – 37 – finally fits his personality. He’ll probably stay that way until he expires. First question – something about where he ranks this tournament in all the big internationals he’s played. “It’s an opportunity to represent Canada,” Crosby said. “Every opportunity you get to play for your country ... I’m grateful for it.” ■ KELLY, B15

Canadian goalies are in the crosshairs as NHL 4 Nations tournament begins

PAUL ATTFIELD

When Canada takes the ice in Montreal on Wednesday night to begin its 4 Nations Face-Off campaign against Sweden, much of the focus will understandably be on the arsenal of all-world offensive talent at its disposal. From Connor McDavid to Sidney Crosby and Nathan MacKinnon to Sam Reinhart, it’s a veritable who’s who of NHL superstars; a list as long as it is distinguished. At the other end of the ice, it’s a different story. Less long and arguably less distinguished, the trio of Canadian netminders is firmly in the crosshairs, with St. Louis Blues goaltender Jordan Binnington first into the line of fire after drawing the starting assignment Wednesday night. “There’s not much to be said, right?” Binnington told reporters on Tuesday. “It’s about action, and let that do the talking. I’m excited.” Unlike so many other so-



Canada goaltender Jordan Binnington leads the team onto the ice on Tuesday for a practice session ahead of the 4 Nations Face-Off hockey tournament in Montreal. CHRISTINNE MUSCHI/THE CANADIAN PRESS

called best-on-best tournaments in years past, from the World Cup of Hockey to NHL-endorsed Olympics, it may well be a case of picking your poison for Canada.

Certainly, from the outside looking in, the 50-odd-year period of Ken Dryden, Grant Fuhr, Martin Brodeur and Roberto Luongo – Hall of Famers all – providing an ever-reliable founda-

tion for Canada’s international ambitions appears to be over. Canada’s current trio of netminders – Binnington, Montreal’s Samuel Montembeault, and Vegas goalie Adin Hill – aren’t exactly in the running for the Vezina Trophy this season. Far from it. The three have an average save percentage of .898 this season through their 112 combined starts, with Golden Knights starter Hill leading the way with a .900 mark, good for 30th in the NHL. And though both Hill and Binnington have led their teams to Stanley Cups – and Montembeault backstopped Canada to world-championship gold two years ago – one can’t help but think that Canadian head coach Jon Cooper has turned an envious glance toward the crease cache south of the border at least once or twice. For the United States, Winnipeg Jets netminder Connor Hellebuyck – the reigning Vezina Trophy winner leads the NHL in save percentage (.925), goals-

against average (2.06), wins (34) and shutouts (six) – is the likely candidate to start, with Dallas’s Jake Oettinger and Boston’s Jeremy Swayman backing up. But Carey Price, who was in the Canadian net for the 2016 World Cup win as well as for Canada’s last Olympic men’s hockey gold two years before that, sees no cause for immediate concern regarding Canada’s future between the pipes. “There’s always talent out there,” he said. “I don’t doubt that we’re going to continue producing goalies in this country. There’s too many kids playing the game. They’re going to be found. My dad always told me when I was a kid: ‘If you’re good, somebody will find you.’” As the former Hart Trophy winner as the NHL’s most valuable player explains, the reality is that the rest of the world is simply getting better. Case in point can be found at the 4 Nations, with Sweden boasting a Vezina Trophy winner of its own in Ottawa’s Linus Ullmark. ■ GOALIE, B15

Bellingham strikes late to beat Man City

Paris Saint-Germain beats Brest 3-0 and Juventus too much for PSV Eindhoven 2-1

JAMES ROBSON
MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

Jude Bellingham struck in stoppage time to give Real Madrid a 3-2 victory in its Champions League playoff against Manchester City on Tuesday.

Bellingham sealed a stunning comeback for holder Madrid in the first leg at the Etihad Stadium after City had led 2-1.

Former City academy player Brahim Díaz leveled the game in the 86th minute before Bellingham's late winner silenced the home crowd.

City had looked like taking a lead into the second leg at the Bernabeu next week after two goals from Erling Haaland.

His penalty in the 80th had given Pep Guardiola's team the edge after Kylian Mbappe had canceled out the Norwegian's first half goal after the break.

Paris Saint-Germain took a big step toward the round of 16 by beating Brest 3-0 and Juventus won 2-1 against PSV Eindhoven. Borussia Dortmund also looks on course for the next round after a 3-0 win at Sporting Lisbon.

CITY THRILLER

It was another thrilling, white knuckle-ride of a game between these two giants of European soccer and a one-goal advantage for Madrid means there is still all to play for.



Real Madrid's Jude Bellingham scores his team's third goal while pressured by Manchester City's John Stones during Tuesday's game at the Etihad Stadium in Manchester, England. MICHAEL REGAN/GETTY IMAGES

Both teams twice hit the frame of the goal and chances came and went at either end.

Defeat ended City's 35-game unbeaten run at home in the Champions League, dating back to 2018.

City led after a breathless first half through Haaland's goal in the 19th.

By that stage, Madrid had seen a penalty overturned for offside and a Ferland Mendy goalbound effort blocked by Manuel Akanji.

Vinicius Junior then hit the bar with a curling shot and Akanji also clipped the frame of the goal with a header.

Haaland hit the bar again less than a minute into the second half.

Madrid equalized on the hour through a freakish goal from Mbappe.

The French World Cup winner looked certain to fire home when he ran onto Dani Ceballos's scooped pass into the box. But with only Ederson to beat, he miskicked his effort, which sliced off his boot, wrong-footed the City goalkeeper and looped softly over the line.

Mbappe hit the post with another chance before Ceballos brought Phil Foden down just inside the box and Haaland's penalty restored City's lead.

On came Díaz, who left City for Madrid in 2019 and he leveled the game again and Bellingham slid in the winner after Vinicius Junior lifted the ball over Ederson.

PERFECT 10

Ousmane Dembele struck twice

for PSG to extend his scoring streak to 10 games in a row.

His outstanding form as has seen him score 18 goals during that run.

It was his shot that led to PSG taking the lead through a 21st-minute penalty after Pierre Lees-Melou handled in the area. Vitinha converted the spot kick.

Dembele scored his first in the 45th when he broke free down the right and curled a shot inside the post.

His second came in the 66th when he pounced on a loose ball and burst into the penalty area to collect his 23rd goal of the season.

Having made hard work of the new-look league phase of the tournament, it would take a major upset in the second leg in Paris to deny PSG a place in the

next round.

JUVENTUS LEADS

Substitute Samuel Mbangula grabbed a late winner for Juventus and in doing so claimed his first Champions League goal.

The 21-year-old Belgian forward reacted quickly when goalkeeper Walter Benitez spilled a low cross from the right by Francisco Conceicao in the 82nd.

Juventus took the lead late in the first half from Weston McKennie's powerful strike into the top corner from just inside the penalty area.

Veteran midfielder Ivan Perisic calmed the home fans with a fine finish in the 56th.

DORTMUND WINS

Serhou Guirassy scored his 10th Champions League goal of the season as last year's runner-up Borussia Dortmund beat Sporting Lisbon 3-0.

Guirassy scored one goal and set up another for Pascal Gross as Dortmund scored twice in the space of eight minutes, both goals coming from crosses.

Karim Adeyemi finished off a rapid counterattack to score Dortmund's third in the 82nd as Sporting tried to get back into the game and left space at the back.

Sporting hasn't won in five Champions League games since coach Ruben Amorim left for Manchester United in November. It was the first Champions League game for new Dortmund coach Niko Kovac.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

‘It’s going to be a really exciting year’: Rise taking shape ahead of NSL season

GEMMA KARSTENS-SMITH
NORTH VANCOUVER, B.C.

Stephanie Labbé has been busy.

As sporting director for Vancouver Rise, she's spent the past several months glued to her phone and computer, hand selecting players and personnel, and crafting a solid squad ahead of the Northern Super League's inaugural season.

The league will kickoff play in mid-April – right around the time Labbé is set to give birth to twins.

Growing her family and soccer club simultaneously is tricky, she admitted, but it's also the culmination of generations of work.

“I think this is one of the things that we've fought so long for – as female athletes, as women in business, as women in any type of occupation – is to be able to pursue our dreams, to pursue the occupations and jobs that we love to do while also starting a family,” Labbé said.

“We've pushed the game forward in so many ways, and so to be on this side of it, to be able to chase this dream and help bring this team to life, but also be able to be supported and have the resources and be able to do this while starting to start a family, it's really, really exciting.”

Labbé was on hand Tuesday as Rise hit the field for training for the first time as a team.

With snow covering many outdoor fields around Vancouver, the club borrowed an indoor pitch from the North Shore Girls Soccer Club in North Vancouver.

The moment was arguably one of the biggest yet for the fledgling franchise, Labbé said.

“I think just to start to see the personalities come out, the characters, all those kind of on-field relationships starting to form, it's really fantastic for me now, just



Vancouver Whitecaps general manager of women's soccer Stephanie Labbé says it's 'exciting' to have pushed women's soccer forward and to have brought the team to life. DARRYL DYCK/THE CANADIAN PRESS

to get to kind of sit back and see them play, and see all this hard work come into fruition,” she said.

That hard work includes signing some familiar faces.

As goalkeeper for Canada's national women's team, Labbé played with both midfielder Quinn and defender Shannon Woeller.

She also brought in midfielder Nikki Stanton, formerly of the National Women's Soccer League's Seattle Reign, American forward Jasmyne Spencer and Danish head coach Anja Heiner-Moller.

“I think for me, a big piece of this was I really wanted to make sure that the standard of play from the start was super high,” the sporting director said of the signings. “We have a big ambition and big goal as a league, that we want to be one of the top five leagues in the world within the first five years.”

Vancouver still has some roster spots to fill and Labbé hinted she may not be quite done with signing top talent.

She will soon be taking a leave from her role, however, as she and her partner Georgia Simmerling prepare for their babies, then adjust to life as a family of four.

Stepping back won't be easy, Labbé admitted.

“I'm going to want to be at every game, and it's going to be a challenge,” she said. “But we'll take it day by day as it comes. And I'll probably be dragging these little babies around to as many soccer games as I can.”

The NSL has yet to release its schedule and the date for Vancouver's home opener has not yet been announced, but Labbé is hopeful she'll be there.

“You can't always plan timing, as we all know. But what an amazing thing for me to be able to do, to bring in two new babies into this world, as well as start this club and this team and this franchise and this league,” she said. “It's going to be a really exciting year. And if I am stuck on the couch, at least I have some good football to watch.”

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Veteran linebacker Awe returns for another stint with B.C. Lions

DAN RALPH

Micha Awe is back where it all began.

The veteran linebacker signed a two-year deal with B.C. on Tuesday, the first day of CFL free agency. The 31-year-old American will embark on his fourth go-round with the Lions after having spent the last two seasons with the Calgary Stampeders.

In 2023, Awe was a CFL all-star after establishing career highs in tackles (134) and interceptions (three) along with two sacks and a forced fumble. The 5-foot-11, 216-pound Awe, had 78 defensive plays in 2024 (69 tackles, four special-teams tackles, five pass knockdowns).

Awe began his CFL career with B.C. in 2017 before signing with the NFL's New York Jets. He returned to the Lions in August, 2018, then spent the 2019 and 2021 campaigns with Toronto and Ottawa, respectively.

Awe opened the 2022 season B.C., but after being released he joined the Montreal Alouettes. Awe then headed to Calgary in 2023.

But Awe isn't the only free-agent acquisition making a return to B.C. Among the eight players signed by the Lions were linebacker Adam Konar and offensive lineman David Foucault, both Canadians who reached one-year agreements.

Konar, a Vancouver native who spent last year with Calgary, previously played for the Lions in 2019 and 2021. The 6-foot-8, 323-pound Foucault, of LaSalle, Que., was previously with Edmonton (2022-24) but joined the Lions (2017-19) after starting his pro career with the NFL's Carolina Panthers (2014-16).

B.C. also signed veteran American quarterback Jeremiah Masoli to a one-year deal. Masoli, 36, spent the last three seasons with Ottawa but injuries limited him to just 17 appearances (eight starts).

Calgary shored up its defence by signing defensive backs Damon Webb and Adrian Greene and linebackers Derrick Moncrief and Fraser Sopik. The 5-foot-11, 195-pound Webb was a CFL all-star last season with the Argos, finishing second overall in tackles for a loss (eight) and tied for third in interceptions (five), returning two for touchdowns.

Moncrief, an American entering his eighth CFL season, was a 2019 league all-star and Edmonton's 2022 outstanding defensive player nominee. Sopik, a 6-foot, 209-pound Toronto native, earned a Grey Cup ring with the Argos last season but returns to Calgary (2019, 2021-22) while Greene, also of Toronto, started 14-of-16 games with B.C. in 2024.

Running back Jeshurun Antwi, who played his high school and university football in Calgary, also signed with the Stampeders after splitting last season with Montreal and B.C.

With Webb gone and the off-season release of cornerback Brandin Dandridge, Ottawa signed veteran CFL defensive backs Tunde Adeleke, Nafees Lyon and Amari Henderson. Adeleke is a former Carleton star who grew up in Ottawa while Lyon and Henderson are both Americans.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

OLYMPIC CHAMPION LAMAZE BANNED UNTIL 2031 FOR BREAKING DOPING RULES

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND Equestrian rider Eric Lamaze, an Olympic champion in 2008, has been banned from the sport until 2031 after a second four-year doping suspension was imposed at the Court of Arbitration for Sport.

The court's judges ordered the Canadian star to serve the latest ban for evading a doping control in the Netherlands in 2021, the International Equestrian Federation (FEI) said in a statement Monday.

That ban will not start until the expiry in September, 2027, of a previous four-year ban ordered in the case by the FEI.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS WITH FILES FROM THE CANADIAN PRESS

MADRID Former Spanish soccer federation president Luis Rubiales reiterated that forward Jude on Tuesday that before Jenni Hermoso gave him consent for a kiss at the 2023 Women's World Cup final presentation ceremony.

Rubiales is accused of sexual assault and coercion for allegedly trying to play down the kiss that sparked outrage in Spain, and marred the celebrations of the team's first World Cup title.

Hermoso said on the first day of the trial last week that she did not consent.

Rubiales said he admits the kiss was a mistake, saying he behaved more as a former player than as the president of the institution that he was. “Hermoso knows that I asked her and she contested me,” Rubiales said. “I apologized for my behaviour because it was not adequate. Being in that position I should have had cold blood and not let myself be taken away by emotions. Surely I should have behaved more in an institutional plan.”

Rubiales said Hermoso was asked to play down that kiss because there was an institutional crisis affecting the federation and it was normal for officials to try to diffuse the situation. He said he never asked anyone to pressure Hermoso.

He said Hermoso at the time was not making a big deal about the kiss. Rubiales said that when she said she didn't want to record a video with him, they accepted the decision and took different actions, which included releasing a statement with Hermoso's comments to local media at the time.

Hermoso testified that she “felt disrespected” by Rubiales after winning the World Cup.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nunavut returns to Scotties Tournament of Hearts

Julia Weagle’s team will face Alberta’s Selena Sturmey on Saturday in Thunder Bay, Ont.

GREGORY STRONG

When Colin Hodgson attended his first meeting with members of the Nunavut curling team that will play at the Canadian women’s championship, he asked everyone why they wanted to be involved.

“The answers I got back were to continue to promote curling in the north and to continue to foster the game,” Hodgson said. “That was something that for me, was exactly what I wanted to hear.”

Hodgson will coach the Nunavut entry skipped by import Julia Weagle that’s making its return after missing the Scotties Tournament of Hearts last year. Sadie Pinksen, Leigh Gustafson and Alison Taylor round out the foursome.

Nunavut begins round-robin play Saturday against Alberta’s Selena Sturmey at the Fort William Gardens in Thunder Bay, Ont.

Hodgson, 34, who stepped back from the game in 2023 after six career Brier appearances, said Weagle reached out to see if he’d be interested in helping them on their journey.

Weagle’s father, Ted, curls at



From left: Julia Weagle, Sadie Pinksen, Leigh Gustafson and Alison Taylor will be coached by Colin Hodgson in the upcoming Scotties Tournament of Hearts. JULIA WEAGLE/THE CANADIAN PRESS

the same Ottawa club as Gustafson’s father, Jack. They were chatting about the Nunavut idea last year, put the players in touch, and after some conversations and video calls, plans were put in motion, Julia said.

The players met in Ottawa last October to practise and play in a local cashspiel. Weagle went to Iqaluit for the first time in November for training sessions and clinics before returning for more games last month.

Even though he stepped away from competitive play, Hodgson is still keen to promote curling – especially in northern communities.

He worked with Curling Canada in 2023 by travelling to the re-

mote town of Chisasibi in northern Quebec. Two sheets of curling ice were created on the local hockey rink and learn-to-curl sessions drew participants young and old.

“It’s about building the legacy for the sport in the future,” he said. “Curling is a sport that literally anyone can play.”

The Nunavut Curling Association did not send a team to the 2024 Scotties, citing a smaller pool of competitive players and the temporary closure of the territory’s lone active curling facility.

The four-sheet Iqaluit Curling Club was used as a backup location for a television production ahead of the playdowns.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Shiffrin, Johnson win gold in team combined event at Alpine skiing worlds

SAALBACH-HINTERGLEMM, AUSTRIA

Mikaela Shiffrin won a record-equalling 15th world championship medal and Breezy Johnson became double world champion on Tuesday when the American pair took gold in the new team combined event.

Shiffrin was third-fastest in the slalom at the Alpine skiing worlds, just over three hours after Johnson had clocked the fourth-best time in the downhill.

Their lead held as the Americans beat silver medallists Lara Gut-Behrami and Wendy Holdener, who won the slalom portion by 0.39 seconds, as the Swiss skiers claimed their ninth and eighth medals, respectively, at the worlds.

Stephanie Venier and Katharina Truppe of Austria took bronze.

The gold was Shiffrin’s 15th career medal from world championships and she matches the record set in the 1930s by German skier Christl Cranz.

She initially planned to race in the giant slalom, as defending champion, and the slalom but skip the team combined, then changed her mind Monday when she felt not ready yet to compete in Thursday’s GS.

With GS training off her schedule, she then decided to enter the team combined.

The team combined entails one racer competing in a downhill run and another in a slalom, with their two times added up to determine the final results.

The team combined will make its debut at next year’s Milan-Cortina Olympics.

Lauren Macuga had posted the fastest time in the downhill, but her American team dropped to fourth and missed a medal by 0.11 seconds after Paula Moltzen raced in the slalom.

Lindsey Vonn finished the downhill 2.51 seconds off the lead in 21st position out of 26 starters and ended up in 16th with teammate AJ Hurt.

Vonn had campaigned to race with Shiffrin on an American team that would have united the two most successful skiers in World Cup history, but the coaching staff decided to form the teams based on “season-best results” in both downhill and slalom.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

SCEPTRES FORWARD NATALIE SPOONER ACTIVATED OFF LTIR, WILL MAKE DEBUT AGAINST FROST

The Toronto Sceptres are getting a big boost with the return of star forward Natalie Spooner.

The Professional Women’s Hockey League team announced that Spooner has been activated from long-term injured reserve and will make her season debut

in Tuesday’s home game against the defending champion Minnesota Frost.

Spooner was the most valuable player of last year’s inaugural PWHL season with a league-leading 20 goals and 27 points.

But the 34-year-old from

Toronto sustained a knee injury during the third period of Game 3 in Toronto’s semi-final playoff series against Minnesota and hadn’t played since.

Toronto entered Tuesday’s game in fourth place with 19 points.

The Sceptres released defender Lauren Bernard from her standard player agreement and signed her to a reserve contract, while also releasing reserve Sam Cogan to make room for Spooner’s return.

“I’m excited to be back with

my teammates and looking forward to competing next to them again. It was obviously a long road to get to this point and doesn’t happen without a lot of amazing people in my corner,” Spooner said in a release.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

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Bird’s eye view

The Toronto Raptors’ Immanuel Quickley, left, goes for a dunk past the Philadelphia 76ers’ Joel Embiid during the first half Tuesday in Philadelphia. The Raptors won 106-103.
For the full story, visit ■ [GLOBESPORTS.COM](#)

MATT SLOCUM/AP PHOTO

RAPTORS SIGN NEWLY ACQUIRED INGRAM TO THREE-YEAR, \$120-MILLION EXTENSION

Brandon Ingram has a US\$120-million extension from the Raptors before ever playing a game for Toronto.

The recently acquired forward agreed to the deal Tuesday, less than a week after the Raptors got him from the New Orleans Pelicans.

The Raptors sent Bruce Brown, Kelly Olynyk, a 2026 first-round pick and a 2031 second-round pick to New Orleans for Ingram on Feb. 6.

The No. 2 pick in the 2016 draft, Ingram has averaged 23 points, 5.5 rebounds and 5.2 assists, scoring at least 20 points per game in all six seasons.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

ESPORTS OLYMPICS TO DEBUT IN SAUDI ARABIA IN 2027

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND The first Olympic Esports Games will be hosted in Riyadh in 2027, two years later than expected when a 12-year deal with Saudi Arabia was signed last year.

The International Olympic Committee said Tuesday its founding partner for the event will be the kingdom’s Esports World Cup Foundation.

The first annual Esports World Cup was held last July and August in Riyadh with tens of millions of dollars in prize money paid for games including *Call of Duty*, *Fortnite* and *Street Fighter*.

A six-person panel will work on deciding the games program.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

NHL

EASTERN CONFERENCE									
ATLANTIC DIVISION									
	GP	W	L	OL	GF	GA	Pt		
Florida	57	34	20	3	192	165	71		
Toronto	55	33	20	2	169	156	68		
Tampa Bay	55	31	20	4	197	153	66		
Ottawa	56	29	23	4	158	156	62		
Detroit	55	28	22	5	160	171	61		
Boston	57	27	24	6	157	182	60		
Montreal	56	25	26	5	163	194	55		
Buffalo	54	22	27	5	171	185	49		
METROPOLITAN DIVISION									
	GP	W	L	OL	GF	GA	Pt		
Washington	55	36	11	8	196	140	80		
Carolina	56	33	19	4	184	154	70		
New Jersey	57	31	20	6	175	142	68		
Columbus	56	26	22	8	184	186	60		
N.Y. Rangers	55	27	24	4	165	168	58		
N.Y. Islanders	55	25	23	7	152	162	57		
Pittsburgh	57	23	25	9	164	201	55		
Philadelphia	57	24	26	7	162	192	55		
WESTERN CONFERENCE									
CENTRAL DIVISION									
	GP	W	L	OL	GF	GA	Pt		
Winnipeg	55	34	17	4	182	152	72		
Dallas	55	35	18	2	182	139	72		
Minnesota	56	33	19	4	163	159	70		
Colorado	57	33	22	2	186	174	68		
Utah	56	24	23	9	158	170	57		
St. Louis	56	25	26	5	154	171	55		
Nashville	57	24	29	4	169	183	52		
Chicago	55	17	31	7	149	191	41		
PACIFIC DIVISION									
	GP	W	L	OL	GF	GA	Pt		
Edmonton	55	34	17	4	182	152	72		
Vegas	56	33	17	6	185	155	72		
Los Angeles	53	29	17	7	151	136	65		
Vancouver	55	26	18	11	155	166	63		
Calgary	55	26	21	8	148	165	60		
Anaheim	54	24	24	6	137	165	54		
Seattle	57	24	29	4	169	183	52		
San Jose	57	15	35	7	148	216	37		
REGULAR SEASON RESUMES FEB. 22									
NHL SCORING LEADERS									
	GP	G	A	Pts					
Nathan MacKinnon, Col	57	21	66	87					
Leon Draisaitl, Edm	55	40	43	83					
Nikita Kucherov, TB	52	25	57	82					
Connor McDavid, Edm	49	22	49	71					
Mitch Marner, Tor	54	16	55	71					
Jack Eichel, Veg	55	19	50	69					
Kyle Connor, Wpg	56	30	39	69					
David Pastrnak, Bos	57	28	40	68					
Mikko Rantanen, Col-Car	55	26	40	66					
Jack Hughes, NJ	57	24	41	65					

4 NATIONS FACE-OFF

ROUND ROBIN									
At Montreal									
All Times Eastern									
Wednesday									
Canada vs. Sweden, 8 p.m.									
Thursday									
United States vs. Finland, 8 p.m.									
Saturday									
Finland vs. Sweden, 1 p.m.									
United States vs. Canada, 8 p.m.									
At Boston									
Monday, Feb. 17									
Canada vs. Finland, 1 p.m.									
Sweden vs. United States, 8 p.m.									
Thursday, Feb. 20									
Championship									
First vs. Second Places, 8 p.m.									

NBA

EASTERN CONFERENCE									
	W	L	Pct	GB					
Cleveland	43	10	.811	—					
Boston	38	16	.704	5½					
New York	34	18	.654	8½					
Indiana	29	22	.569	13					
Milwaukee	28	24	.538	14½					
Detroit	27	26	.509	16					
Miami	25	26	.490	17					
Atlanta	26	28	.481	17½					
Orlando	26	29	.473	18					
Chicago	22	31	.415	21					
Philadelphia	20	33	.377	23					
Brooklyn	19	34	.358	24					
Toronto	17	37	.315	26½					
Charlotte	13	38	.255	29					
Washington	9	44	.170	34					
WESTERN CONFERENCE									
	W	L	Pct	GB					
Oklahoma City	43	9	.827	—					
Memphis	35	17	.673	8					
Denver	35	19	.648	9					
L.A. Lakers	32	19	.627	10½					
Houston	33	20	.623	10½					
L.A. Clippers	29	23	.558	14					
Minnesota	30	24	.556	14					
Dallas	28	26	.519	16					
Sacramento	27	26	.509	16½					
Golden State	27	26	.509	16½					
Phoenix	26	26	.500	17					
San Antonio	23	28	.451	19½					
Portland	23	31	.426	21					
Utah	12	40	.231	31					
New Orleans	12	41	.226	31½					
Monday									
Cleveland 128, Minnesota 107									
San Antonio 131, Washington 121									
Atlanta 112, Orlando 106									
New York at Indiana									
Brooklyn 97, Charlotte 89									
Oklahoma City 137, New Orleans 101									
Golden State 125, Milwaukee 111									
Sacramento 129, Dallas 128 (OT)									
Denver 146, Portland 117									
L.A. Lakers 132, Utah 113									
Wednesday — All Times Eastern									
Charlotte at Orlando, 7 p.m.									
Indiana at Washington, 7 p.m.									
San Antonio at Boston, 7 p.m.									
Atlanta at New York, 7:30 p.m.									
Cleveland at Toronto, 7:30 p.m.									
Philadelphia at Brooklyn, 7:30 p.m.									
Detroit at Chicago, 8 p.m.									
Miami at Oklahoma City, 8 p.m.									
Milwaukee at Minnesota, 8 p.m.									
Sacramento at New Orleans, 8 p.m.									
Phoenix at Houston, 8:30 p.m.									
L.A. Lakers at Utah, 9 p.m.									
Portland at Denver, 9 p.m.									
Golden State at Dallas, 9:30 p.m.									
Memphis at L.A. Clippers, 10:30 p.m.									
Thursday									
Golden State at Houston, 8 p.m.									
Sacramento at New Orleans, 8 p.m.									
Miami at Dallas, 8:30 p.m.									
Oklahoma City at Minnesota, 8:30 p.m.									
L.A. Clippers at Utah, 9 p.m.									

PWHL

	GP	W	OW	OL	L	GF	GA	Pt
Montreal	14	8	3	1	2	41	31	31
Minnesota	16	5	4	3	4	47	43	26
Toronto	16	5	1	4	6	42	47	21
New York	14	4	3	2	5	37	31	20
Boston	13	3	3	2	5	30	33	17
Ottawa	15	5	0	2	8	27	39	17
Tuesday								
Toronto 3, Minnesota 2 (OT)								
Wednesday								
All Times Eastern								
Boston at New York, 7 p.m.								
Thursday								
Minnesota at Ottawa, 7 p.m.								
<hr/>								
OHL								
<hr/>								
Tuesday								

Canada, Sweden ready to drop puck again

4 Nations Face-Off marks first time since 2016 game's superstars have competed for country

When the puck drops between Canada and Sweden on Wednesday in Montreal, marking the start of the 4 Nations Face-Off, the nine-year absence of best-on-best international hockey will finally end.

Not since the 2016 World Cup of Hockey have the NHL's brightest stars lined up against each other to compete for their countries. The league did not allow its players to participate in the 2018 and 2022 Winter Olympics.

Edmonton Oilers and Team Canada star Connor McDavid has yet to compete in an Olympics, but he's getting his wish to play in a best-on-best tournament.

"It's going to be a great tournament," McDavid told reporters before the tournament. "It's going to be short, which should make for some really intense games. Yes, it's not the Olympics; I understand that. It's not a World Cup of Hockey. But there's still something on the line, and we want to represent our country well."

The U.S. and Finland are joining Canada and Sweden in the competition. After a round robin, the top two teams will vie for the championship Feb. 20 in Boston.

The Americans may very well be the favorites, boasting a roster with plenty of offensive pop at forward and defence, even with Quinn Hughes (Vancouver Canucks) being forced to pull out on



Team Canada's Mitch Marner, left, and Devon Toews chase the puck at practice on Tuesday. While the team boasts quality depth at forward and defence, goaltending remains the question mark.
MINAS PANAGIOTAKIS/GETTY IMAGES

the eve of the tournament owing to injury. Two-time and reigning Vezina Trophy winner Connor Hellebuyck (Winnipeg Jets) will be between the pipes Thursday when they play their opening game against Finland.

The longest shot of the event is definitely Finland, which took a huge hit with its top defenceman Miro Heiskanen (Dallas Stars) unable to play owing to a knee injury.

As for Canada, the elephant in the room cannot be missed.

While the Canadians boast a galaxy worth of stars at forward and defence, everybody knows

goaltending is their biggest question mark. Although Jordan Binnington (St. Louis Blues) and Adin Hill (Vegas Golden Knights) are the only goaltenders in this tournament who have backstopped their NHL clubs to a Stanley Cup title, the netminders (Binnington, Hill and the Canadiens' Sam Montembeault) are considered Canada's weakest link.

Coach Jon Cooper announced on Tuesday that Binnington would start the tournament opener.

Yet that issue is one the Canadians believe can be overcome,

especially with a crew of forwards featuring McDavid, Sidney Crosby (Pittsburgh Penguins), Nathan McKinnon (Colorado Avalanche), Mitch Marner (Toronto Maple Leafs) and Brayden Point (Tampa Bay Lightning), and plenty of experience and success in best-on-best events.

"As far as goalies, our defence is so good as well, and as a team you've just got to make it easy on them, let them see the pucks," forward Mark Stone (Golden Knights) said.

"If we can do that, all three of these guys are very capable goaltenders."

Speaking of goaltenders, the Swedes have their own concern between the pipes with Jacob Markstrom missing the tournament owing to a knee injury, leaving either Linus Ullmark (Ottawa Senators), Filip Gustavsson (Minnesota Wild) or Samuel Ersson (Philadelphia Flyers) to step up.

Ullmark returned to action Feb. 4 after missing 18 games owing to a back injury. No starter was announced after Tuesday's practice.

"It's been a long road. It's been different, but it's been very productive," Ullmark said. "I learned a lot of things along the way and had good communication throughout the whole process that enabled me to be here today."

Sweden will look to Filip Forsberg (Nashville Predators), William Nylander (Maple Leafs), Elias Pettersson (Canucks) and blueliners Victor Hedman (Lightning) and Erik Karlsson (Penguins) for scoring.

REUTERS

Kelly: Countries are composites of their most famous citizens

■ FROM B11

How do you beat that? Hockey diplomacy hasn't run this hot since we were talking about the Soviets in Afghanistan. That makes the 4 Nations Face-Off either very lucky or very unlucky in its timing. We're about to see.

Everyone here is – so far – keen to keep politics out of it. When American forward Brock Nelson was asked about anthem booing on Tuesday, he said, "That's a different conversation for another time."

What other time? Should we wait until the first cross-border barrage?

In this country, this tournament stopped being about hockey two weeks ago. Now it's about how much we can stick it to our neighbours, and how poorly they might take it if we do. For the first time in a very long time, hockey could have real-world consequences.

In an environment that fraught, how glad are you to have Sidney Crosby representing your interests?

Crosby arrives just as the rest of us are considering a few basic questions of identity.

Who are we, and how do we all fit together? Where are we on the idea of becoming the 51st state? If the question offends us, what is it we think that makes us different from them?

I could think of a lot of things, and one of them is Crosby.

On some level, every country is a composite of a few of its most famous citizens. That being the case, I would like people to think of Canada as a place of Crosby-like virtues.

Decent and dependable. Does what it says it will do, and doesn't expect to be congratulated for it. Proud, but not prideful. Unshowy, to a fault.

What the best people all have in common is that they show up, especially when it's hard.

This intervention doesn't always work out, but the good ones try.

That's what Canada is – a place that tries. Still a work in progress and we don't always get it right and yadda yadda, but it's never stopped us from trying.

When you think of someone who tries, I think of Crosby. The injuries, the concussions, the small, daily disappointments of a nearly 20-year career in any field – he just keeps trying.

He showed up in Montreal with an injured arm, but he's going to try. "Good to go," Crosby agreed.

His coach, Jon Cooper, was more circumspect – "We don't want to hurt Sidney Crosby" – but Cooper also understands something about the moment. When it's challenged, a country needs its champions.

In the end, it's just a hockey tournament.



Sidney Crosby, speaking to media ahead of the 4 Nations Face-Off in Montreal, has evolved into one of the game's elder statesmen. MINAS PANAGIOTAKIS/GETTY IMAGES

QMJHL TO AWARD SIDNEY CROSBY TROPHY TO LEAGUE'S TOP ROOKIE STARTING THIS SEASON

The Quebec Maritimes Junior Hockey League is naming its rookie of the year award after one of its most famous graduates.

The league announced Tuesday that its top rookie will be awarded the Sidney Crosby Trophy, starting this season.

Crosby, from Cole Harbour, N.S., had a dominant major junior career with the QMJHL's Rimouski Oceanic. He had 135 points in 59 games in his first season and was named the league's rookie of the year in 2003-04.

Crosby followed that up with 168 points, including 66 goals, in 62 games in 2004-05 as the Oceanic won a QMJHL title. He was named the MVP of both the QMJHL and the Canadian Hockey League, which also includes the Ontario Hockey League and the Western Hockey League, both seasons.

His junior success translated immediately to the NHL after he was selected first overall by the Pittsburgh Penguins in the 2005 draft. He made his debut as an 18-year-old in 2005-06 and put up 102 points in 81 games.

Crosby, the Penguins captain since 2007 and a three-time Stanley Cup winner, has 609 goals and 1,045 assists in 1,327 career games. He is set to captain Canada at the inaugural 4 Nations Face-Off international tournament.

"Some of my fondest memories of hockey come from my time in the QMJHL playing for the Oceanic," Crosby said in a release. "It is an absolute honour to have the league's rookie of the year trophy named after me."

THE CANADIAN PRESS

ment. Not even a very good one, considering it's only four games, max, featuring just four countries. But it's also everything right now.

How Canada does over the next eight days will set the internal temperature for the next few weeks.

Are we fighting back or are we caving in? Are we all in this thing together? When it comes to it, can we still throw a punch?

So while the 4 Nations doesn't matter on a hockey level like Vancouver 2010 or Sochi 2014, it does on a deeper one.

Big stakes. Much bigger than usual. If Canada loses, you get the strong impression we're going to hear about it.

If I could pick anyone, at any time, in any shape, to carry the metaphoric flag into this moment, I'd take Sidney Crosby in a sling over everybody else.

Goalie: Canada is not lacking for good goaltenders, Price says

■ FROM B11

And if Russia wasn't currently on international hockey's persona non grata list for the continuing war with Ukraine, it could have had three former Vezina winners at its tournament disposal in the shape of Sergei Bobrovsky, Igor Shesterkin and Andrei Vasilevskiy.

"The rest of the world is catching up," Price said. "There's more players everywhere, the talent pool is so much deeper than ever, and in the last 20 years, there's only what, a handful of more [goaltending] spots in the NHL [thanks to expansion]."

"So I think it's not just the fact that Canada isn't producing as many good goalies. I think it's just the fact that more countries in the world are producing many more good goalies."

To be fair, it's not as if Canada didn't have other options. While general manager Don Sweeney chose to pick three who have varying degrees of championships on their résumés, having all pulled on the Maple Leaf at some point in their careers, he could have gone in a different direction. For instance, Washington's Logan Thompson, Colorado's Darcy Kuemper and Mackenzie Blackwood of the Los Angeles Kings are all eligible to play for Canada and currently sitting in the NHL's top five in save percentage.

But they'll be sitting at home – or wherever they've chosen to vacation while the NHL breaks for the 4 Nations – when the tournament starts.

Another who will be sitting and watching as an interested observer is Marc-André Fleury, the three-time Stanley Cup champion and the winner of 572 games, second in NHL history behind Brodeur's 691.

Fleury was part of the 2010 Olympic team that won gold in Vancouver. Though he didn't see any game action there – "I can't say my job was too stressful," he said with a laugh – he can attest to the pressure that Canada's netminders always feel when representing their country.

And while he understands that the trio that will represent Canada in the 4 Nations are under the microscope, his sense is that they will do just fine.

"It's always pressure as a goalie, it doesn't matter where you play, but, yeah, they'll be fine," he said. "Everybody's already talking, I don't know, putting them down already, and I don't like that. I think they're all three good goalies and they'll be fine."

With a report from Simon Houpt

B.C. WOMEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS MOVED AFTER ALLEGED ABUSE OF TRANSGENDER PLAYER

The B.C. women's college basketball championship is being relocated from a school whose coach and players allegedly mistreated a transgender opponent.

A spokesman for the Pacific Western Athletic Association (PACWEST) said Tuesday that Columbia Bible College will no longer host the championships from Feb. 27 to March 1 as scheduled, with a new venue yet to be determined. Columbia Bible College, an evangelical Menno-

nite bible college in Abbotsford, B.C., did not respond to a request for comment.

The move comes after Vancouver Island University forward Harriette Mackenzie spoke in October about verbal and physical mistreatment she endured when her team hosted Columbia Bible College for a pair of games in Nanaimo, B.C.

Mackenzie, who is transgender, said the visiting team's coach, Taylor Clag-


gett, went on a "tirade" after losing on Oct. 25, yelling at a Mariners staff member about how Mackenzie shouldn't be allowed to play against women.

The two sides played again on Oct. 26 and Mackenzie claimed her opponents physically targeted her. She shared a video from the game where, away from the ball, a Columbia player tosses Mackenzie to the ground.

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BIRTH AND DEATH NOTICES

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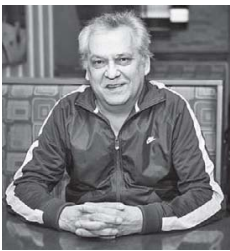


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DEATHS



JEROME PETER DRAYTON

Jerome Drayton died unexpectedly on February 10, 2025, in Toronto, Ontario. Loving son of Sonia Huziuk. Jerome led a successful career in long distance running that took him all the way to the Montreal 1976 Olympics. Drayton also is the last Canadian to have won the Boston Marathon in 1977. During his time as a runner, he won dozens of races around the world and he held the Canadian Men's Marathon record for 43 years. In 1978, he was inducted into Canada's Sports Hall of Fame. Visitation for Jerome will be held on Thursday, February 13th, from 5:00 to 8:00 p.m. at Cardinal Funeral Home, 92 Annette Street, Toronto. Panakhya will take place at 6:30 p.m. Funeral service will be held on Friday, February 14th, at 11:00 a.m. at St. Volodymyr Cathedral, 400 Bathurst Street. Burial to follow at St. Volodymyr Cemetery in Oakville. For those wishing to do so, memorial donations in Jerome's honour can be made to the Canadian Olympic Foundation.

L. PATRICIA MCMEEKAN
"Pat"

On January 25, 2025, Pat passed away.

Trained as a nurse, she was a midwife, taught at the Nightingale School of Nursing, and prior to retirement, was the Dean of Nursing at Sheridan College.

Pat was a gifted singer, a lover of opera, and a faithful friend to many.

Give rest, O Lord, to thy servant Pat.

ERIC MOSS

On Monday, February 10, 2025, at Sunnybrook Hospital. Eric Moss, beloved husband of Elisheva Ellis. Loving father and father-in-law of Mitchell and Naomi Moss, Laurie and Daniel Turner, and Cindy and Michael Gertin. Dear brother of the late Harvey Moss. Devoted grandfather of Matthew, Kaylie and Kyle, Sydney, Carly, Rebecca, Josh, and Emily. At Benjamin's Park Memorial Chapel, 2401 Steeles Avenue West (three lights west of Dufferin) for service on Wednesday, February 12th, at 2:00 p.m. Interment to follow at Mt. Sinai Memorial Park. Shiva, 20 Ridelle Avenue, Toronto, ending Sunday, February 16th, at 4:00 p.m. Shiva will continue in Montreal on Monday, February 17th, at 72 Stratford Road, ending that evening at 9:00 p.m. Memorial donations may be made to One Family Fund (416-489-9687 or https://bit.ly/48VYYxo).

Honour a loved one

Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in The Globe and Mail.

DEATHS



SOLOMON SHINDER
"Sol"
June 18, 1934 – February 10, 2025

Sol passed away peacefully at his home, following a long battle with Pancreatic Cancer.

He is survived by his beloved wife and best friend, Zelaine (Speisman), of 65 years. He was the son of Harry and Sylvia Shinder of blessed memory.

Sol will be dearly missed by his sons and daughters-in-law, Neil and Laurie (Silver), Jeffrey and Laura (Welikson), and his "Third Son," his special nephew, Jason Shinder, and his wife, Jenny Shinder. Sol also is survived by his six grandchildren, Samantha(Daniel), Benjamin, Eliane, Alex, Kyla and Juliet; and by his sisters and brothers-in-law, Ethel and David Malek, Bea and Murray Garceau, and Margo and Shalom Gewurtz.

Sol was the patriarch of the extended Shinder family, and was the revered "Uncle Sol" to all of his nieces and nephews.

Sol was born in Ottawa, where he attended Carleton University, graduating with a Bachelor of Commerce. Sol then attended Osgoode Hall Law School, from where he was called to the bar in 1960. Following his call to the bar, he and his lifelong friend, Arnell Goldberg, formed Goldberg, Shinder, which ultimately became Goldberg, Shinder, Gardner and Kronick, one of Ottawa's most prestigious law firms.

Sol developed an expertise in developmental and municipal law and represented many of Canada's leading developers. He was very proud of the Ottawa developments he helped create during his 30+ year legal career.

In the mid-1990s, Sol left Goldberg Shinder to become one of the principals of District Realty, the brokerage and property management firm co-founded by his late brother, Lionel and Leslie, which is now led by his nephew, Jason.

A natural leader, Sol was born on June 18, 1934, the same day the Ottawa Va'ad Ha'ir (now known as the Ottawa Jewish Community Federation) was launched. In 1982, after holding virtually every other leadership position in the Ottawa Jewish community, Sol was elected as the Chair of the Ottawa Va'ad Ha'ir, where he was endearingly nicknamed the "Va'ad Father."

In 1986, he was awarded the Gilbert Greenberg Distinguished Service Award in recognition of his longstanding leadership in the Ottawa Jewish Community.

Sol also took leadership positions in the broader Ottawa community. In the late 1970s, Sol was appointed by the Ottawa City Council as Chair of the Ottawa Committee of Adjustments, a position he held for five years. He also served on the Board of Trustees of the Ottawa Civic Hospital for 11 years. Sol was the last Chair of the Board of Trustees for the Civic Hospital, serving in that function for three years, where he represented the Civic Hospital in the negotiations among the major hospitals in Ottawa that culminated in the formation of The Ottawa Hospital.

The Shinder family express their deep and enduring gratitude to Rowena Padin Cunningham and Stephanie Whyte for their loving care of Sol and Zelaine during Sol's long illness.

Sol left a deep and enduring legacy, and will be missed far and wide.

A Funeral Service has taken place at Kehillat Beth Israel, 1400 Coldrey Avenue, Ottawa.


Shiva will be observed at the home of Sol and Zelaine, 111 Echo Drive, Apartment 201, Tuesday from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., Wednesday and Thursday from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. and from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., Friday from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m., Saturday evening from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., Sunday from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., with services at 7 p.m. each evening. Morning services at Kehillat Beth Israel on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday at 7:30 a.m., and Sunday and Monday at 8:30 a.m.


In lieu of flowers, donations in Sol's memory to the Jewish Federation of Ottawa or any charity of your choice would be greatly appreciated by his family.

A recording of the service can be viewed on the website of Hulse, Playfair & McGarry at www.hpmcgarry.ca.

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NAFTOLIN, Molly - 2:00 Chapel.

WEDNESDAY
AKERMAN, Jeannie - 12:00 Chapel.
MOSS, Eric - 2:00 Chapel.

UPCOMING SERVICES
RATTNER, Sherrie - See
www.benjamins.ca for updates.

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DEATHS

BERNADETTE ADELE SULGIT
January 9, 1941
February 8, 2025

With much sadness, we said goodbye to Bernadette "Bernie" Sulgit on Saturday, February 8th, in Toronto. She passed away peacefully at home, surrounded by her loving family.

Bernadette was born in Chicago on January 9, 1941, the fourth child and first girl of seven siblings, born to Julian G. Sulgit and Adeline Ouellette Sulgit.

At 17, she left home and joined the staff of a youth organization, where she was active in social justice causes. She was accepted at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and except for summers in Chicago working as a waitress to earn her tuition fees, she remained in Toronto for the duration of her life.

Bernadette secured a job as a copyeditor at The Globe and Mail newspaper in 1966, sitting on her first day next to a young journalist named Martin Knelman; they married several years later. She went on to work at the Toronto Star, Toronto Life Magazine and Saturday Night Magazine. She exited the media industry to join The Royal Commission on Employment Equity, followed by a move into the Ontario Provincial Government as a Director of Communications for various ministries. After she retired from government, she completed her certification as an instructor in English As A Second Language from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. She joyfully taught ESL for five years, when illness prevented her from doing so.

Over their almost 50 years of marriage, she and Martin travelled extensively, and saw thousands of plays, films, performances and art exhibitions, as well as nurturing relationships with an incredible array of friends and family, both at home and abroad. Her book club of 25 years brought much joy and intellectual stimulation, and she never lost her love of language and how we use it to communicate.

She leaves her husband of 49 years, Martin Knelman; her two children, Joshua Knelman (Nicole Greenspan) and Sara Knelman (Mark Weeden), and their families, including two beloved grandchildren, Leo and Jack; and her wonderful extended family of Knelmans and Sulgits, including her two surviving sisters, Mary and Rosalie.

Donations can be made in her memory to Homes First, a Canadian non-profit organization she has supported for many years.

Celebrate a life

Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in The Globe and Mail.

Sports in brief

WHITECAPS ADD AMERICAN FORWARD EMMANUEL SABBI
VANCOUVER The Vancouver Whitecaps have added forward Emmanuel Sabbi to their roster ahead of the Major League Soccer season. The 'Caps acquired the 27-year-old American from French club Le Havre via transfer, and have signed him to a contract through 2027 with a team option for 2028. Sabbi started in 25 of his 49 appearances for Le Havre, scoring five goals and contributing an assist. The 5-foot-10, 160-pound athlete has represented the United States at the senior, U-23, U-20, and U-18 levels, and played 219 professional games in Europe, scoring 43 goals and 23 assists. THE CANADIAN PRESS

AUSTRALIA SOCCER STAR SAM KERR FOUND NOT GUILTY OF RACIALLY AGGRAVATED HARASSMENT
LONDON Sam Kerr, one of the world's top female soccer players, was found not guilty of the racially aggravated harassment of a police officer, Britain's Press Association reported Tuesday. Kerr, a striker for Australia and for English club Chelsea, accepted she called Police Constable Stephen Lovell "stupid and white" during a heated exchange at a police station after a night out, but had denied that it amounted to the charge. The verdict came on the seventh day of the trial at Kingston Crown Court in London. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

CANADIAN UNDER-17 WOMEN BEATEN 2-0 BY ENGLAND AT TOURNAMENT IN SPAIN
MURCIA Canada was beaten 2-0 by England on Tuesday at the U-17 Costa Calida MIMA Cup women's soccer tournament. Aston Villa's Freya Hiron opened the scoring in the 24th minute with Chelsea's Vera Jones doubling the score in the 55th minute. Midfielder Olivia Chisholm, from the Ontario National Development Centre, captained Canada. Khadijah Cisse, from the CF Montreal youth ranks, started in goal. The young Canadian women face Scotland on Thursday and Sweden on Saturday. THE CANADIAN PRESS

EAGLES' COORDINATOR KELLEN MOORE WILL BECOME THE SAINTS HEAD COACH
NEW ORLEANS Kellen Moore, who oversaw the Super Bowl champion Philadelphia Eagles ' offence this season, has agreed to return to the site of his latest triumph as the next coach of the New Orleans Saints. The 36-year-old Moore will join an organization that has been floundering since the retirement of quarterback Drew Brees and departure of Super Bowl-winning coach Sean Payton. The Saints haven't made the playoffs since the 2020 season – the last of Brees's career. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

SUPER BOWL AVERAGED A RECORD 127.7 MILLION U.S. VIEWERS
Despite the game being a blow-out, Sunday night's Super Bowl averaged a record 127.7 million U.S. viewers across television and streaming platforms for Philadelphia's 40-22 victory over Kansas City. The game was televised by Fox, Fox Deportes and Telemundo and streamed on Tubi as well as the NFL's digital platforms. Not only is it a 3-per-cent increase from last year, it is the second straight year the Super Bowl has reached a record audience. Kansas City's 25-22 overtime victory over San Francisco in 2024 averaged 123.7 million on CBS, Nickelodeon, Univision and streaming platforms. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

U.S. DEPT OF EDUCATION ASKS NCAA, HIGH SCHOOLS TO ERASE RECORDS SET BY TRANSGENDER ATHLETES
WASHINGTON The Department of Education took another step Tuesday in advancing the Trump administration's new transgender policy for sports by asking the NCAA and a key high-school sports organization to restore titles, awards and records it says have been "misappropriated by biological males competing in female categories." The department's office of general counsel sent a letter requesting the changes to the National Federation of State High School Associations and the NCAA. In a news release, the department said the request was "entirely consistent with the NCAA's new policy." THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

MONICA GETZ

ADVOCATE, 90

CHAMPION FOR DIVORCE COURT REFORM SUFFERED FROM DOMESTIC VIOLENCE FROM MUSICIAN HUSBAND

She founded the Coalition for Family Justice, a non-profit group devoted to changing divorce laws and supporting divorcing spouses, mainly women, in 1988

TRIP GABRIEL

Monica Getz, whose tempestuous 24-year marriage to jazz star Stan Getz was whipsawed by his addictions and who, after losing a protracted legal fight to save the marriage, became an advocate for divorce court reform, died Jan. 5 in Irvington, N.Y. She was 90.

Her son, Nicolaus Getz, said the cause of her death, in a hospital, was bile duct cancer.

Swedish-born Ms. Getz was a student at Georgetown University in Washington when Mr. Getz, one of the most revered jazz saxophonists of the 20th century, met her backstage at a campus concert and pursued her even though he was married. When they wed in 1956, actress Donna Reed was the maid of honour at the nuptials in Las Vegas.

The Getzes lived in a 27-room mansion called Shadowbrook, overlooking the Hudson River in Tarrytown, N.Y. They bought it in the mid-1960s when Mr. Getz's fame was at an apex as a result of his bossa nova recordings: the album *Jazz Samba*, with guitarist Charlie Byrd, and the hit single *The Girl From Ipanema*, on which his mellifluous tenor sax backed the breathy singing of Astrud Gilberto.

Drugs and alcohol, however, created havoc in the Getzes' marriage. Mr. Getz had begun using heroin at 16 and was arrested two years before the marriage for attempting to rob a pharmacy to get narcotics. At the insistence of his wife, a teetotaler, he would seek medical help and enter rehabilitation programs, but relapses invariably followed.

At the couple's divorce trial in 1987, Mr. Getz said he often drank to the point of blacking out. "I have a discography of 210 records," he said, but "some of them I can't even remember making."

The trial, in civil court in White Plains, N.Y., was a lurid, scorched-earth affair that made headlines, especially because of the accounts of Mr. Getz's violence toward his family.



Monica Getz, pictured in Shadowbrook Manor in Tarrytown, N.Y., in 2000, appealed her divorce from Stan Getz for years – even after the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear one appeal in 1990 and Mr. Getz died from liver cancer in 1991. GEORGE M. GUTIERREZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES

While drinking, he hit his wife repeatedly, according to testimony from Ms. Getz and the couple's two adult children. Their daughter, Pamela Raynor, said he "would slap, kick and punch" her mother while drunk. Ms. Getz recalled her husband once beating her so badly with a telephone that she fell and hit her head, requiring hospitalization.

The case reached the courtroom six years after Mr. Getz had moved out of Shadowbrook, decamping for San Francisco, and sued for divorce.

Ms. Getz did not want a divorce. She explained in and out of court that she still loved her husband, despite his battery and a string of mistresses, and despite having obtained an order of protection against him in Family Court in 1980.

She made excuses to the jury for his violence, just as she had to her children, blaming his alcoholism. She forgave him, she testified, "because I know it's a disease, and I'm a forgiving person."

In an interview, Nicolaus Getz said his mother "loved my father

so badly that she thought if she could just keep him sober, he wouldn't want to" end the marriage.

For years, Monica Getz had been secretly dosing her husband's food and drink with Antabuse, a medicine that causes nausea and dizziness when combined with alcohol, which kept him mostly sober throughout the 1970s, Nicolaus Getz said. "He began to tell his friends on the phone, 'I can't drink anymore. I'm allergic to it.'"

In court, Mr. Getz accused his wife of trying to poison him with the surreptitious Antabuse. "I couldn't live with her in a million years," he told the jurors.

Clearly baffled as to why such a marriage should continue, the jurors sided with Mr. Getz. They ruled in May, 1987, that his wife had treated him cruelly and inhumanly in dosing his food, and that she had committed adultery (which she denied).

In dividing the couple's assets, a judge gave Ms. Getz a half interest in Shadowbrook and half of all future royalties on recordings her husband had made from 1956, the year they married, to 1981, the year he left her.

Ms. Getz continued to contest the divorce vigorously, in court and in the public sphere. In 1988, she founded the Coalition for Family Justice, a non-profit group devoted to reforming divorce laws and supporting divorcing spouses, mainly women.

For years, she appealed the divorce verdict and the financial settlement through higher courts, even after the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear one appeal, in 1990, and Mr. Getz died of liver cancer in 1991.

She denied that she wanted to extract more money. As appeals ate up ever-higher lawyers' fees, it became clear that her quest was to erase the blot of being judged as the party at fault, and to secure a moral victory: to be recognized for having saved her husband's life by standing beside him during the worst of his drinking and drug addiction.

Monica Silfverskiold was born in Sweden on May 19, 1934, to Mary von Rosen, a Swedish coun-

ness, and Nils Silfverskiold, a surgeon who had been an Olympic medalist in gymnastics.

Seeking an escape from Sweden's cold winters and social formality, Monica came to the U.S. for college and enrolled at Georgetown to study foreign affairs. She was 20 when she met Mr. Getz after a concert he played there. He was seven years older, a former jazz prodigy who had played as a teenager with Jimmy Dorsey and Benny Goodman, and was already a major force in jazz.

He was also the married father of three young children, and he had recently completed a six-month jail sentence in California on narcotics charges.

Mr. Getz was smitten by Monica's beauty. He married her Nov. 3, 1956, a few days after obtaining a no-contest Mexican divorce.

In addition to her son and daughter from her marriage to Mr. Getz, Ms. Getz leaves two stepchildren, David Getz and Beverly McGovern, from her husband's first marriage; and six grandchildren.

Ms. Getz's Coalition for Family Justice held monthly meetings at Shadowbrook to support and advise women going through divorce. It also ran seminars for judges, seeking to sensitize them to divorce issues that disadvantaged women and children.

In the main appeal of her case, she argued that New York divorce law was biased against wives because cases are heard in the state's chief trial court, state Supreme Court, where husbands can fight a war of financial attrition against their spouses.

She argued, unsuccessfully, for divorces to be heard in Family Court, where expenses were lower and judges would better protect dependants.

She went on to take college courses on alcoholism and addiction, and to speak about recovery at the Betty Ford Center in California and the Hazelden Foundation in Minnesota. In recognition of her efforts to fight addiction, the board of legislators of Westchester County, N.Y., proclaimed June 27, 1991, Monica Getz Day.

NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

VIRGINIA McCASKEY

SPORTS EXECUTIVE, 102

Bears owner based business decisions on what was best for team, fans

LAKE FOREST, ILL.

Virginia McCaskey, who inherited the Chicago Bears from her father, George Halas, but avoided the spotlight during four-plus decades as principal owner, has died. She was 102.

Ms. McCaskey's family announced through the team that she died Thursday. She had owned the Bears since her father's death on Oct. 31, 1983.

"While we are sad, we are comforted knowing Virginia Halas McCaskey lived a long, full, faith-filled life and is now with the love of her life on earth," the family said. "She guided the Bears for four decades and based every business decision on what was best for Bears players, coaches, staff and fans."

Like her father, a co-founder of the NFL, Ms. McCaskey kept the team in family hands. She gave operational control and the title of president to her eldest son, Michael McCaskey, who served as chairman until being succeeded by brother George McCaskey in 2011.

During her stewardship, the Bears won a Super Bowl in 1986 and lost a second 21 years later.

"Virginia Halas McCaskey, the matriarch of the Chicago Bears and daughter of George Halas, the founder of the NFL, leaves a legacy of class, dignity, and humani-

ty," NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell said in a statement. "Faith, family, and football – in that order – were her north stars and she lived by the simple adage to always 'do the right thing.' The Bears that her father started meant the world to her, and he would be proud of the way she continued the family business with such dedication and passion. Our thoughts and prayers go out to the McCaskey and Halas families and Bears fans around the world."

Four of Ms. McCaskey's sons remain with the Bears' board of directors: George, Patrick, Brian and Ed. A recent valuation by Forbes.com pegged the team's worth at US\$6.4-billion.

Ms. McCaskey, the older of Mr. Halas's two children, never expected to find herself in charge. Her brother, George (Mugs) Halas Jr., was being groomed to take over the team, but died suddenly of a heart attack in 1979.

Ms. McCaskey assumed ownership upon her father's death in 1983, and her late husband, Ed McCaskey, succeeded Mr. Halas as chairman. Not long after, she turned over control to Michael, the eldest of her 11 children.

"I think it's important that all of our family remembers that we really haven't done anything to earn this," Ms. McCaskey said in a rare interview in 2006. "We're just the recipients of a tremendous



Virginia McCaskey

legacy. I use the word 'custodian,' and we want to pass it on the best way we can. ... We've been working on that for a long time."

Ms. McCaskey's official title was secretary to the board of directors. Despite her generally hands-off approach and low public profile, she occasionally exercised ultimate authority on team decisions as matriarch of the family.

One of those involved a 1987 lawsuit brought by the children of "Mugs" Halas, which was resolved by a stock buyout of their shares. A more recent reminder came in December, 2014, when George McCaskey announced the firings of coach Marc Trestman and gen-

eral manager Phil Emery at a news conference, and was asked to describe his mother's role in the process.

He paused, struggling to describe her unhappiness with the just-ended 5-11 season, and the team's generally fading fortunes.

"She's pissed off," George McCaskey said. "I can't think of a 91-year-old woman that that description would apply, but in this case, I can't think of a more accurate description."

"Virginia McCaskey has been on this earth for eight of the Bears' nine championships, and she wants more, he added a moment later. "She feels that it's been too long since the last [Super Bowl win], and that dissatisfaction is shared by her children, her grandchildren and her great-grandchildren. She's fed up with mediocrity. She feels that she and Bears fans everywhere deserve better."

Virginia McCaskey came by her fandom honestly. According to family members, she often wouldn't serve dessert on Sundays when the Bears lost. In that same 2006 interview, she recalled attending the first playoff game in league history, when she was 9.

The Bears and Portsmouth Spartans finished the 1932 season in the first tie for first place, so the league added a game to determine a champion. Because of snow, the game was moved in-

doors to the old Chicago Stadium, the Bears won 9-0 playing on an 80-yard field that came right to the walls.

"I remember I didn't save my ticket stub, but one of my cousins had saved his," McCaskey said. "We sat in the second balcony and the ticket price was \$1.25."

"I took it to one of the Super Bowls to show [former Commissioner] Pete Rozelle and then I don't know what happened to it afterward," she added. "But that's okay."

Her tenure as the Bears' owner included the establishment of the Bears Care program in 2005. The Bears said that Bears Care has issued grants totalling more than US\$31.5-million to 225 qualifying agencies to improve the quality of life for people in the Chicago area, especially disadvantaged children and their families. Bears Care also supported health awareness programs focused on breast and ovarian cancer.

Ms. McCaskey had 11 children, eight sons and three daughters. She leaves her sons Patrick (Gretchen), Edward Jr. (Kathy), George (Barbara), Richard, Brian (Barbara) and Joseph, and daughters Ellen (Barney) Tonquest, Mary and Anne (Mike) Catron. She is also survived by 21 grandchildren, 40 great-grandchildren and four great-great-grandchildren.

ASSOCIATED PRESS*

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