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MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S NATIONAL MAGAZINE • APRIL 2017

RETURN OF THE CZAR

On the hundredth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, an emboldened Vladimir Putin—fresh off his U.S. election success—is embracing his nation's czarist past. Could he trigger another uprising?

ALLEN ABEL IN RUSSIA P.40





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Russian President Vladimir Putin is embracing his country's czarist past, but will there be a repeat of the 1917 revolution? p.40

MACLEAN'S

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"What really keeps nations intact and apart?—a principle. When I can hear our young men say as proudly, "our Federation" or "our Country," or "our Kingdom," as the young men of other countries do, speaking of their own, then I shall have less apprehension for the result of whatever trials the future may have in store for us." —Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Father of Confederation

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ADVERTISING: terry.smith@rci.rogers.com · 416-764-2836
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Letters may be edited for length and clarity)
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Maclean's, established 1905, is published monthly, except for oc-
casional combined, expanded or premium issues, which count as two
subscription issues, by Rogers Media Inc., One Mount Pleasant Road,
Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2Y5, Montreal office: 1200 avenue McGill College,
Bureau 800, Montreal, Que. H3B 4G7.

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PAPER PROCUREMENT PRACTICE:
<http://about.rogers.com/publishingpaper.aspx>
Maclean's ISSN 0024-9262.

Full subscription price for one year is \$20.00 plus applicable taxes;
U.S.A., \$50.00 surface; all other countries, \$75.00 airmail.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40070230

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government
of Canada through the Canada Periodical Fund of the
Department of Canadian Heritage.

PRINTED IN CANADA

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ROGERS

Reckless sanctuary

CANADA IS A sanctuary country. Our long history of generosity and openness toward the world's most vulnerable peoples stands as a model for other countries. It is also a source of great national pride. This year, Canadians will welcome 300,000 new immigrants, including 40,000 refugees displaced by civil war in Syria.

Having established our national bona fides offering sanctuary to desperate immigrants and refugees, it is pointless—and reckless—to duplicate these efforts at the municipal level. The recent fad of sanctuary city declarations may offer civic politicians a symbolic thrill, but it threatens real damage to the broad public support currently enjoyed by Canada's federal immigration system.

Last month, Montreal declared itself a sanctuary city, following in the footsteps of Toronto, Hamilton and London, Ont. "Message to Donald Trump. Montreal proud 'Sanctuary City,'" Montreal Mayor Denis Coderre tweeted afterwards. Winnipeg, Regina and Fredericton are contemplating similar moves. But beyond making a political statement, what does a sanctuary city entail? It's not always clear. London city council unanimously endorsed the idea, and then afterwards asked for a staff report on the implications of their decision; it seems an unusual way to conduct government business.

In Biblical times, sanctuary cities were places of refuge for those who'd committed manslaughter. Today in Britain, sanctuary cities simply strive to welcome all visitors. American sanctuary cities guarantee social services to all residents, regardless of immigration status, and promise to shelter undocumented immigrants from deportation by ordering local police not to co-operate with federal authorities on most immigration matters.

Toronto was the first city in Canada to declare itself a sanctuary city, in 2013, and its early efforts appear in line with the aggressive American approach: all residents are promised access to city services and police are instructed to avoid asking complainants about their immigration status. But sanctu-

ary city advocates are now complaining that even this is insufficiently bold. Several recent reports declare Toronto's record as a sanctuary city to be a disappointment because city police are still working with federal agencies such as the Canada Border Services Agency. This is absurd. Estranging local police from federal enforcement efforts is not a virtue, and doing so will inevitably weaken Canada's admirable national consensus on immigration.

Broad and continued support for Canada's liberal immigration system relies on citizens having confidence that the rules are being applied fairly and evenly, and to the entire country's benefit. Deliberately creating municipal havens where this law is defied for political reasons promotes a dangerous polarization of views on immigration. Just look south of the border.

American sanctuary cities tend to be in areas with a long tradition of Democratic

The recent fad of sanctuary city declarations offers politicians a symbolic thrill, but it threatens real damage

support and open hostility to federal authority dating back to the Vietnam War. San Francisco issues its own municipal identification cards meant to supplant federal or state-issued ID. The sheriff in Austin, Texas, another liberal enclave, recently said

she'll no longer honour federal requests to detain illegal immigrants. Such municipal declarations of independence have led to a predictable backlash in Republican parts of the country. The internal disorder created by nearly 300 sanctuary cities (and three sanctuary states) goes a long way to explaining Trump's success in last year's election—his victory is an attempt to wrest back national control over immigration from these breakaway jurisdictions. One of Trump's first executive orders seeks to withhold federal grants from sanctuary cities. Why would anyone want to import this sort of dysfunctional politics to Canada?

If municipal politicians feel strongly about Canada's immigration rules, they should get themselves elected to Parliament, where they can try to change federal policy in a constitutionally respectful manner. Otherwise, they should stick to their own backyard. And tell their police to show respect for our national laws. ♣

LETTERS

For the love of Winterpeg

“What does it say about Manitoba—the unbearable cold, mosquitoes, barely existent summers...” (“Escape from Winterpeg,” Feb. 2017). Words certainly authored by someone in a Toronto tower or latte shop, for this is definitely not the way a Manitoban would describe life here. We embrace our winters, winters that have produced people who are disproportionately represented among the artists and thinkers Canada has produced. Our summers are full and glorious and long. And who cares about a few mosquitoes? Better them than the unbearable smugness and smog and rain of other unnamed parts of this country.

John Whiteway, Winnipeg

Rodeo’s NFL moment

Clearly, to bring back the gladiatorial contests in the Roman coliseum would not be sanctioned. Yet we persist in [allowing] sporting endeavours that mask similar fatal outcomes. When are we going to start charging the purveyors of such amusements with criminal negligence?

Douglas L. Martin, Hamilton

Fentanyl’s real victims

I am so tired of all the effort and time spent on this so-called fentanyl crisis (“Death, death-day in, day out,” Feb. 2017). What about personal responsibility? The message to recreational users should be: you’re playing Russian roulette. If you pull the trigger enough times, you’ll die. Addicts use up resources—fire, ambulance and medical staff—so citizens who have had legitimate accidents are left waiting for help. I do have empathy for those with mental health issues through no fault of their own. They should

‘When are we going to start charging the purveyors of such amusements with criminal negligence?’

Douglas L. Martin, Hamilton



be housed for their own protection. But who are the real victims? The taxpayers who put up the money for Insite, naloxone and related resources.

T.B. Mortimer, Mission, B.C.

Christy Clark

In Nancy Macdonald’s article “Big money, big problems” (March 2017), she says, “Clark is widely expected to cruise to a second majority in B.C. in the coming May election.” She should try telling that to the hordes who chanted, “Hi ho, hi ho, Christy Clark has got to go,” on the steps of the provincial legislature at the opening of the session this February, and to the majority who defeated Clark in the contest for her own seat in 2013. It is time to get down to business: pay down the enormous provincial debt and deal with the worst child poverty rate in the country, the near-to-lowest minimum wage

and some of the highest housing costs. Address the fact that B.C. is the only province with huge medicare premiums. And by the way, stop the lying about balanced budgets and a strong economy.

Carol Teichrob, Cobble Hill, B.C.

Canada’s Swiss cheese borders

Emerson is but one huge hole in Canada’s border. In Quebec and elsewhere there are plenty more. We’re getting willy-nilly uninvited, mostly unqualified, unwanted, unvetted “new Canadians,” despite our border controls and immigration laws. Why do we have huge immigration and border control staff and budgets if their services and results fall short of expectations?

Edmundas Petrauskas, London, Ont.

Selling seal

Canadians can hang their heads in shame at the mere mention of

the seal hunt (“Deal the seal,” March 2017). No other country would ever attempt to promote dolphin leather or sea otter meat. Once and for all, let’s end the false equivalence that killing wild mammals is in any way the same as using domestic animals. Domestic animals exist as long as humans support them. Wild animals get along best when humans give them a wide berth. Bernie Haloran has lots of other choices—the seals, not so much.

Kurt Crist, Consecon, Ont.

Kale, geriatric hippie food fads

I have had enough of retired, geriatric hippies telling me that starvation and self-denial are the only way to control health problems and cure disease (“Baby want a kale salad?” Society, Feb. 2017). Canada’s Food Guide has been discarded and we are no longer allowed to be robust and strong. Food fads and fitness trends are not always healthy. Even Jim Fixx, the jogging advocate, died of a heart attack from overexertion. Vitamin C has always fought colds for me.

Catherine E. Stevens, Toronto

Thank you for some critical thinking in “Baby want a kale salad?” The fervour (and prestige?) for all things vegetarian and vegan is an adult choice for adults. When there is sloppy thinking and planning, no one eats well. Some parents don’t possess the knowledge of essential nutrients their babies and young children need. After the nursing period is over, is there consideration for the protein, calcium and vitamins needed for mental and physical growth? A few vegetables, fruits and a lot of carbs is a haphazard attempt to meet the physiological needs of children. Irreparable physical

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damage results when young children are malnourished.
Judy Birmingham, Sudbury, Ont.

Big-media bias

The March 2017 issue has unrelenting leftist views and an unbalanced view of the Trump presidency and the Conservative position. I have been a reader for about 45 years. Keep this big-media bias up and I'm gone.
Steve Locke, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

As a long-time subscriber and letter contributor, I was very surprised and pleased to go through the latest edition and note that it contains few negative comments about Prime Minister Trudeau. A most welcome change. Recall in 2009, when *Maclean's* deemed an appearance by a piano-playing, singing prime minister Harper at a National Arts fundraiser in Ottawa worthy of a front cover, a lead article plus numerous pages and photos, to remind Canadians of this important event. While I have no illusions about the fact that you support the Conservative party, please continue with more balanced coverage.
Richard Ring, Grimsby, Ont.

Today, I received a copy of the "Student Issue" (March 2017) and it has the unmitigated nerve to refer to "Trump's harsh new regime" on the front cover—directed at naive students. This is not objective journalism; this is pure liberal crybaby nonsense. The man has been in office for a mere 21 days and is already being pilloried? Regimes are known for being forceful, uncompromising and controlling—you know, communist, dictatorial. The only thing Trump has done is what he won the election to do. Many out there would do well to pay more attention to reality and stop making noises like spoiled children. This man is not a tyrant, he is head of a superb, well-balanced democracy that will keep him in check if need be. And that's more than we can say about the Canadian

parliamentary system where the prime minister has a great deal more power.

Andreas Schwartz, Nottawa, Ont.

Step up? To NATO?

Scott Gilmore had a great article regarding Canada stepping up to be great ("Trudeau, 'Trump whisperer,'" March 2017). He lost me when his big idea was to expand our troops and defend NATO. How about making our national defence truly defensive, expand

of course, includes Toronto), but nowhere do I see any mention of Alberta. Last I heard we were still part of Canada.

Lawrie Seligman, Edmonton

Blind Halifax Explosion

It is quite incorrect to state that as a result of the December 1917 Halifax disaster, "So many people lost their vision that the city had to establish a school for the blind," ("The luckiest man in Canada," March 2017). The

services to survivors blinded in the disaster.

Barry Cahill, Halifax

Refugees

The furor over MP Kellie Leitch's vague proposal to have immigrants reflect Canadian values is a testament to political correctness trumping common sense. Instead of her ill-defined statement, we should simply ask would-be immigrants if they support the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It is, after all, the law of the land.

Ron Armstrong, Victoria

On the cover of the March 2017 issue of *Maclean's*, you state, "more and more refugees." I find that the media, *Maclean's* included, often use the term "refugee" incorrectly when they would be well advised to use the terms "asylum-seeker" or "migrant" instead. I urge you to go to the UNHCR website and read for yourselves what the term "refugee" really means.

Louis Barbeau, Victoria

Eat more goat

I have often wondered why goat meat has never been eaten by Canadians. It has been consumed in South Asia, the Middle East, the Caribbean, Africa and many other countries for centuries ("The best meat you don't eat," March 2017). If horse meat can be sold in Quebec, one hopes that in a short while goat meat becomes easily available in the supermarkets, as there is definitely a considerable demand for it.

Maria Jacob, Mississauga, Ont.

CANADA IS PHOTOGENIC, and we want you to help prove it. Submit your photos to the new *Maclean's* Great Canadian Photo Contest. This month's theme: "unforgettable food." Details at Macleans.ca/photo-contest.

We welcome readers to submit letters to either letters@macleans.ca or to *Maclean's*, 11th floor, One Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2Y5. Please supply your name, address and daytime telephone number. Letters should be fewer than 300 words, and may be edited for space, style and clarity.

Good Point

Several years ago, *Maclean's* boldly proclaimed Quebec to be the most corrupt province in Canada. As expected, this provoked intense criticism from many Quebec politicians and citizens. However, there was also a good deal of support from Quebecers obviously fed up with the lack of ethics and transparency they had witnessed in the construction industry over many years. **Ultimately, the Charest government bowed to growing pressure and initiated an inquiry (the Charbonneau Commission) which revealed a state of corruption greater than *Maclean's* had intimated. Many charges, trials, convictions and prison sentences later, Quebec is the better for it.** Perhaps it is time for *Maclean's* and other journalists to now boldly declare Quebec to be "The Most Intolerant Province in Canada."

Mark Roberts, Calgary

our troops to defend our North and let Europe defend itself for a change. We have enough work to do right here.

Rob Graham, Claremont, Ont.

Monster economy

Maybe I'm missing something, but it seems in your story ("Toronto's monster economy," March 2017) that every province and territory is represented as having a smaller GDP than the city of Toronto (except Ontario, which,

School for the Blind, a private institution, opened in 1871. The City of Halifax contributed little or nothing to relief and recovery after the disaster. An independent citizens' committee, set up the very day of the explosion, took complete charge of emergency relief until superseded and replaced by the Halifax Relief Commission, established by the federal government in January 1918. The commission provided for many years a broad range of



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THE COLUMNISTS

SOCIETY

Feminism's wrong turn



ANNE KINGSTON

LITERARY CRITIC JESSA Crispin clearly appreciates the value of a catchy title. Her blog was named *Bookslut*. Now her new book, *Why I Am Not a Feminist: A Feminist Manifesto*, seems calculated to grab attention at a moment when feminism is portrayed as either trending or dead—or trending because it's dead.

Feminism's most recent and much exaggerated death spiral can be traced to the assumption, an absurd one, that the U.S. election provided a referendum on the topic. "Hillary Clinton's loss in the presidential election to America's most famous sexist instantly plunged the feminist cause into crisis," *The New Republic* proclaimed hours after Trump's win, as if the "feminist cause" is a single entity run out of a central command. If anything, the reverse proved true: the political upset galvanized organized protest driven by fear that the advances made by the feminist movement over the past 50 years would be reversed. The *New York Times* was bleaker: "Feminism lost. Now what?" ran a headline that suggested Clinton was herself synonymous with an ideology that dates back more than a century.

It's precisely that conflation of a powerful, high-achieving woman with modern feminism that Crispin denounces in her slim, bracing polemic. The thought-provoking, sometimes frustrating book is part of a new literary groundswell: works grappling with the complex inequities of sexual equality and the ever-shifting gender see-saw a half century after "women's lib." Toronto writer Stephen Marche also wades in with his trenchant new book, *The Unmade Bed: The Messy Truth About Men and Women in the 21st Century*, in which he recounts leaving his job to be primary caregiver to his son so his wife

could fulfill her career ambitions (see interview, pg. 66). A countervailing groundswell is simultaneously at work: this vocal contingent calls for a return to the zero-sum game of the alpha husband, beta wife just as more than a third of women out-earn their husbands. *The Alpha Female's Guide to Men and Marriage* by Suzanne Venker, the niece of conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, laments that "society is creating a crop of women who are unable to love" and advises "it's liberating to be a beta!" Similar messaging underlines the North Carolina billboard that sparked outrage last month. "Real men provide," it read. "Real women appreciate it."

Taking a cue from Crispin's title, the media have described its message as more piling on the feminism-is-dead pyre: "The fall of feminism," read the headline of a *Los Angeles Times* review. "Why this literary critic rejects modern-day feminism," said CBC Radio.

Yet Crispin sits at an extreme rarely discussed in modern-day feminism: she's a self-professed radical feminist, hell-bent on dismantling a

patriarchy she blames 20th-century feminism for buttressing. "I am angry," she writes. "And I do pose a threat."

Feminism sold women a bill of goods, Crispin states, by framing work as self-fulfillment and self-actualization. Women who rose to positions of traditional male power in corporations, in politics, in the military, on boards, like Clinton or Sheryl Sandberg of *Lean In* fame, became feminist role models. Crispin doesn't buy it, noting Clinton dismantled social welfare programs and supported international interventions that killed thousands.

Only spaces occupied by privileged men were desirable, Crispin points out; women, who'd always worked, but in menial positions, weren't fighting for jobs held by poor men, labourers or miners, for whom the workplace and society would become increasingly hostile. The consequence, she writes, is a "kind of hyper-masculinized world, where women are participating—and absolutely expected to participate in this world by feminists—in patriarchal values."

Trump's win over Hillary Clinton triggered a rush to declare the end of feminism



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

Crispin also takes aim at “universal feminism”—her term for a non-confrontational feminist status quo that bends over backwards to be agreeable to avoid the “man-hating” stereotype of decades earlier. This mainstream, she believes, is preoccupied with identity politics, narcissistic “self-empowerment” and whining about TV shows rather than the hard work of bridging to universal human rights. It’s a pop star battle: on one hand, Beyoncé embraces the “feminist” label; on the other, Taylor Swift, never one to rock the boat, prefers “equalism,” the belief that both sexes should be equal without highlighting feminism. “Lifestyles do not change the world,” Crispin writes.

Within this Instagram feminism, shrillness is anathema. That’s a problem, Crispin writes: “I hear the word ‘feminazi’ coming from young feminists’ mouths today way more often than I have ever heard it coming from the mouths of right-wing men.”

The reaction can also be chalked up to marketing forces that have diluted and

co-opted “feminist” to sell products with an upbeat, friendly “empowerment” message for decades—from the “You’ve come a long way baby” Virginia Slims ads of the ’70s, to Acne Studios’ “Feminist Collection” featuring a \$650 sweater, to the recently published picture book *Strong is the New Pretty: A Celebration of Girls Being Themselves*.

The fact that anyone can self-define as feminist, or not, also can render the word meaningless. Ivanka Trump claims both she and her woman-objectifying, women-grabbing dad are feminists. Joni Mitchell—whose lyric “Don’t it always seem to go, you don’t know what you’ve got ’til it’s gone” has taken on new resonance in a Trump presidency—shocked many when she said she wasn’t a feminist during a 2013 interview with Jian Ghomeshi, who identified at the time as one. Marche rejects the self-proclaimed “male feminist,” saying it’s typically used to win points or get women into bed. Just be a decent guy, he writes.

Decades of hindsight offer perspective. For one, “trickle-down” feminism is about as effective as trickle-down economics. Equality has not touched all women equally, and there’s anger, as was evident at the Women’s March in Washington, where I saw a black woman hold up a sign at a largely white crowd: “F--k you and your white imperialistic feminism,” it read. She had a point.

Crispin echoes the sentiment in her rejection of the “condescending attitude of Western feminists toward women in Muslim coun-

tries—this idea that these women need to be rescued (itself a masculine model) from their head scarves and their traditions.”

Some of her proclamations are head-scratchers, serving as a reminder that feminists don’t always agree or get it right. She refers to child care as “an issue that never gets much support beyond lip service in the feminist world,” a contestable statement that ignores Clinton’s child care and family leave plan proposed during the campaign; the platform, directed at poor and working-class women, was eclipsed by coverage of Clinton’s emails.

Less questionable is Crispin’s call for a thorough, inclusive retelling of feminist history, one that moves away from focus on Susan B. Anthony and Gloria Steinem. She defends

Andrea Dworkin, the “go-to scapegoat for younger feminists,” as someone willing to challenge assumptions. The fact that Dworkin was “obese, frizzy-haired, without even a hint of lip gloss,” Crispin writes, makes her “the physical and intellec-

tual embodiment of those moments when feminism went too far.”

Non-feminist history also reveals that blaming 20th-century feminism for the glorification of the work and the workplace, as Crispin does, gives it too much credit. Yes, the civil rights movement stirred second-wave feminism and *The Feminine Mystique* raised consciousness. But other factors, namely the need for dual-income-earning families and the Pill, which let women delay child-bearing or defer it altogether, played a role.

Now it’s evident that the very corporate workplace that women—mostly wives—flocked to in the ’70s was built on a male-breadwinner, female-homemaker model that remained unchanged. Needs of the new working wife and mother were ignored; nor was there a movement to replace or redistribute her labour in the home. The result: that famous *Ms.* magazine cover “I want a wife,” which also became a common working women’s half-joke.

Meanwhile, men were also left out, this time on the home front. There was no equal effort to make space for them in the so-called feminine pursuits to allow for a full life based in family, community and work. Decades later, they are still not part of this vital larger conversation, whether by choice or exclusion. Marche reports conducting dozens of media interviews about his book, which deals with men and women forging new familial bonds; not one of the interviewers was a man.

That disconnect could explain why, 60 years after the “women’s movement,” reproductive health rights and sexual violence remain barriers to women’s freedom. Female politicians receive death threats. A gender pay gap exists, even in the professions. Yet Crispin isn’t offering an olive branch to men. She slams “casual hatred of men as a gender,” yet in the next breath, tells men it’s not her job to make feminism easy or understandable to them. “Figure it out,” she writes. “I just want to be clear that I don’t give a f--k about your response to this book. Do not email me, do not get in touch. Deal with your own s--t for once.” She offers one consolation: “Everything is more complicated than anyone wants to admit.” And that vague understatement pretty much sums up the long march ahead. ♣

Follow Anne Kingston on Twitter @anne_kingston

MENTAL HEALTH

A crisis in our prisons



EVAN SOLOMON

“SOMETHING’S WRONG here,” Yusuf Faqiri tells me, his voice breaking. “My brother had a mental illness and he was killed while in the care of the Ontario government. After almost three months, we still have no idea what actually happened.”

He’s right. Something is terribly wrong. Inmates with mental illness are dying inside Canada’s prisons.

On Dec. 4, 2016, Soleiman Faqiri—his family called him “Soli”—was sent to the Central East Correctional Centre in Lindsay, Ont. He was put in segregation, or, to use the more common term, solitary confinement. Eleven days later, he was dead.

“Two police officers came to our house and told us my brother died after guards entered his cell,” Yusuf recalls. They gave the family no further details. When they eventually saw Faqiri’s body, it was covered in bruises. There was a deep cut on his forehead. It took six agonizing weeks for any more information to emerge. Faqiri was “involved in a physical altercation with multiple correctional officers,” a statement from the Kawartha Lakes Police, who are investigating the death, stated on Jan. 30. “Mr. Faqiri became vital signs absent

during this interaction. Lifesaving attempts were made to revive Mr. Faqiri, although were unsuccessful. Mr. Faqiri was pronounced dead inside of a cell."

You now know as much about Faqiri's death as his family does. A coroner's report is expected at the end of March, but until then, the family is in the dark. Who was involved in the altercation? I asked both the Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services and the union representing the correctional officers and neither will confirm if any guard involved in the death has been suspended, disciplined or even questioned because of the police investigation.

"We understand that Soleiman was restrained and that pepper spray and a hood were used," says Nader Hasan, the Faqiri family lawyer, referring to a "spit hood," meant to stop inmates from biting or spitting at guards. Still, even Hasan cannot confirm these basic details. "We have not been permitted to see the investigative brief assembled by the Kawartha Lakes Police Service, so we cannot say this with complete certainty."

Faqiri's struggles with mental illness began in 2005. While attending the University of Waterloo for environmental engineering, he was diagnosed with schizophrenia. Yusuf says that until then, his brother had been an A student who played high school rugby and football. After his diagnosis, he took medication, but Yusuf says he was very much a healthy, functioning individual. Still, even before his Dec. 4 incarceration, when he was charged with two counts of aggravated assault, one count of assault and one count of uttering death threats and bodily harm, Faqiri was known to police. He had been charged before, but the family is reluctant to provide details.

Faqiri's parents tried to visit him at the Lindsay prison three times, and Yusuf and his other brother tried once, but on each occasion they were denied contact. Yusuf said he informed the prison that his brother was mentally ill. According to Hasan, Faqiri was actually scheduled to go for a mental health assessment, but it came too late.

The Ontario ombudsman's office spokesperson Linda Williamson told me the prison in Lindsay "was the subject of more complaints

to our office than any other Ontario correctional facility for the past three years." There were 647 complaints in 2015-16, up from 532 in 2013-14. In other words, complaints are going up, not down, in one of the largest prisons in Ontario. This is where the singular tragedy of Soleiman Faqiri becomes even more troubling. He's part of a very grim pattern.

On Feb. 8, a man named Cleve Geddes hanged himself in his cell at the Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre. He died later in hospital. The *Ottawa Citizen* reported he suffered from a mental illness. Two other men at the same facility, Yousef Hussein and Justin St-Amour, recently killed themselves by hanging in their cells. On Feb. 13, Moses Amik Beaver, who suffered from mental illness, died at the Thunder Bay jail. There is an inquest into that death.

FAQIRI FELL THROUGH A BLACK HOLE IN THE SYSTEM. MANY OTHERS HAVE TOO. THEY SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN.



A vigil for Faqiri, who died in an altercation with prison guards

How widespread is this? The truth is, no one knows because no one has cared enough to get the proper information. Correctional Services in Ontario told me that since 2015, there have been 34 inmate deaths in provincial custody, but there is no breakdown as to how or why those inmates died. Back in May, the Ombudsman tagged this as a problem. "The Ministry had not produced comprehensive statistics on the rate of suicides amongst segregated inmates," Williamson said. The Ombudsman urged the government to "keep statistics about the use of segregation across facilities" and "instances of self-harm, increased medical treatment, hospitalization and deaths occurring during segregation." None of these are currently

available. Williamson told me the Ombudsman's office was "aware of at least four" suicides in recent years, but they just don't have the proper details. On paper, Faqiri is just another singular incident.

In its defence, the Ministry says it has 100 dedicated professionals providing mental health support services to inmates at 23 provincial facilities and is currently training more correctional officers to deal with mental health issues in custody. But Monte Vieselmeyer, of the union representing correctional officers, told me the training is badly inadequate, offering little guidance in how to deal with a mentally ill inmate in crisis. Someone exactly like Faqiri. Clearly, a lot more needs to be done.

Will we ever know what really happened to Faqiri? Even that is in question. It's worth noting that the former Ombudsman in Ontario, André Marin, studied use of force on inmates back in 2013 and found what he called a "code of silence" amongst correctional officers. Some correctional staff committed what Marin called "brazen acts of violence" against inmates and even tried to "destroy and falsify evidence" or "intimidate colleagues who tried to report the perpetrators." Vieselmeyer told me Marin's report was "self-serving" and distorted the evidence on the use of extreme force.

The political infighting continues, but cannot justify the outrageous fact that

it has taken months for anybody at the Lindsay jail to be suspended or disciplined in the wake of the death of Soleiman Faqiri.

There is simply no reason why a Canadian family has to wait so long to find out the basic details about the death of their son. There is no reason why a Canadian man had to die in the custody of the state. Soleiman Faqiri fell through a black hole in the system. Many others have as well. His name should not be forgotten.

"My mom is struggling a lot," Yusuf says. "It's one thing to lose a son, but another to not know how. We just want justice for my brother." ♦

Follow Evan Solomon on Twitter @evansolomon

NATIONAL NOTES



Staqeya ranged far from the usual hunting grounds of coastal wolves and made a cluster of small islands near Victoria his new home

W I L D L I F E

The wolf of Juan de Fuca

A hot ticket among the outdoor set, Victoria's lupine 'rock star' may be too popular for his own good

BY ROSEMARY COUNTER · On a crisp Sunday morning last month, 50 birdwatchers boarded a tranquil tour of Victoria's Oak Bay. As the boat cruised through the islands, a two-km-wide cluster known as the Songhees or Chatham Islands, the guide began his usual tale of local lore: "Five years ago, stories began about a wolf on the island. People in the city

could hear him howling at night." Sightings were infrequent, usually disregarded as a lost large dog, and even after countless tours, guide Brett Soberg had spotted the creature in the distance only twice. "Literally seconds later, he meandered out of the bush and sat right down," he says. Needless to say, nobody cared anymore about birds.

On board was Nancy Brown-Schembri, an amateur wildlife photographer expecting to snap some sea birds and, if lucky, a whale. "Suddenly someone called out, 'I see the wolf!'" Everyone rushed to the side of the boat and we all just silently looked up." For 10 minutes, looking comfortable and confident, there he sat: the little-seen, much-hyped lone wolf said to have swum the kilometre-wide channel to make the islands his home. Brown-Schembri's photographs were plastered across the nightly news.

Coastal (or sea) wolves are the same species as the North American grey wolf, but ecologically and genetically distinct, says Chris Darimont, wolf expert and University of Victoria geography professor. "They're smaller, they eat mostly seafood and they swim a bit better." Their range once stretched from southeast

Alaska to northern Mexico; nowadays, about 100 km north of Vancouver is as far down the continent as most roam, making this wolf's island home exceedingly rare. "He dispersed from his family group and took some wrong turns," says Darimont. "Instead of finding a place with abundant prey and few people, he somehow wound his way through the suburbs of Victoria, through parks and backyards. Then I imagine he saw a patch of green on the horizon and swam for it."

But this is only the scientific version of this story; a spiritual one is equally alluring. In July 2012, Songhees Nation Chief Robert Sam—an outspoken champion of Aboriginal rights and advocate of preserving the islands, which are currently part reserve land and part B.C. Provincial Park—suddenly died. That fall, the wolf appeared. "The new chief went on television and spoke at length of the community's desire to leave the wolf alone," recalls Mark Salter, Songhees Nation tourism manager. The 700 Songhees people probably have 700 different opinions, he adds, but "portions of the community identify as part of the wolf clan, and there are members who find solace in the fact that he's returned in the spirit of the wolf to protect the island." While there's been ongoing talk of trapping and removing the wolf, the Songhees flatly reject the option.

If this all feels familiar, recall Luna the orca. In the early 2000s, the young whale was separated from its family and spent five years off Vancouver Island's coast, drawing tourists and getting all too comfortable with humans. Government efforts to capture and move Luna were met with opposition from the Mowachaht-Muchalaht Nation, whose recently deceased chief had said his spirit would return as a whale. The parties never reached a resolution, and in 2006 Luna was struck and killed by a boat.

Parallels between Luna and the handsome animal the Songhees have named Staqeya ("wolf" in Lekwungen) will inevitably be drawn, but there are also important distinctions. Namely: the beast is thriving, eating mostly seals, and lots of them. "I must say, he looks really good," says Darimont, citing Staqeya's healthy frame and thick coat. He swims freely between the islands, has shown no aggression and rarely interacts with people.

One incident last fall, however, made headlines. A visiting family with children—who Salter notes "illegally brought their dog and were trespassing on Songhees land"—found themselves being followed by Staqeya. They retreated to the lighthouse, made a distress call and were rescued by a patrol officer who came ashore with a gun." The close call led

B.C. Parks to close the park until spring while the situation is assessed. Locals disagree about the legality of who is allowed on the beach, but Salter is clear: "These islands are the Songhees Nation's and there's absolutely no access right now, at all."

But with a wolf to be seen just a 10-minute boat ride away, many find the islands irresistible. Cheryl Alexander, an environmental consultant turned photographer from Victoria, has been visiting in her canoe for 40 years. "I didn't seek out the wolf," she says, "it seemed to seek me out." Alexander had already read about the wolf in the paper and heard him howl when, at dusk in spring 2014, movement in the water caught her eye. "He just came out of the water and walked up the beach, disappearing into the bush. That was it; I was captivated."

Alexander visited a few times a week after that—with special permission from the Songhees—and learned his patterns and behaviours. She might see him four times in a week or not at all, and has taken thousands of photographs from as close as three metres, which is close enough. "I've never once felt fearful, and in some ways touching him would be wonderful, but I rationally know I shouldn't and won't. He's a wild animal."

Until the incident with the dog last fall, Alexander thought it best to keep quiet about the wolf. "I've since changed my mind and think people need to know he's there, that he's very special and that we need to protect him." At about seven years old, Staqeya could live about seven more, his would-be protectors point out, and lots of space with less human interaction would be best. "It'd be great if he'd garner less attention," says Salter, "but it's not easy when he likes to show off like a rock star." ♦

VANCOUVER

Rebranding Canada 150

BY NANCY MACDONALD • Believe it or not, Indigenous people are responsible for salvaging Vancouver's sesquicentennial bash. For a time, the city considered boycotting Canada 150. Two years ago, when Ottawa put the squeeze on the city to sign on to the grand jubilee, city staff registered serious discomfort. Exalting Canada's colonial past two years after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission delivered its calls to action seemed regressive, and

potentially harmful to the city's new relationship with local First Nations. Vancouver had recently designated itself a "City of Reconciliation," 70,000 had marched in support of rapprochement and Deputy Mayor Andrea Reimer was learning Squamish. Staff came to her proposing the opt-out.

Reimer wasn't opposed, but wanted input from the city's Urban Aboriginal Peoples Advisory Committee first, she says. The nine-member panel, which advises city council on how to better include Indigenous people and perspectives in city life, came back with a different idea—one council unanimously approved: Why not celebrate the city's Indigenous history and culture instead?

So Vancouver, whose Indigenous population of 53,000 ranks third-highest among Canadian metropolises—after Winnipeg (78,000) and Edmonton (62,000)—is doing just that, with a \$7-million event it's calling Canada 150+. The plus symbol—another Advisory Committee suggestion—was added partly to counter the enduring myth that Canada prior to contact was empty and in need of civilization.

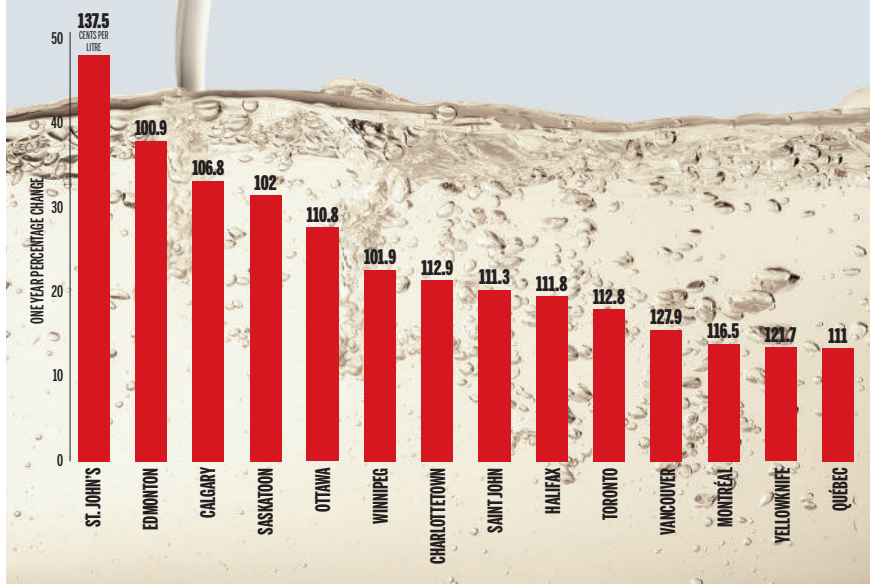
So, far from being another hurrah for Canada, the event is deliberately challenging our collective amnesia. And it's receiving federal funding to do so (costs are being split between the municipal and federal governments, as in other cities). Canada 150+ launches in English Bay on July 19 with a traditional canoe welcome, followed by a nine-day arts festival in Vancouver's downtown. Nightly headliners include acts like Cree icon Buffy Sainte-Marie, but the focus is the history and culture of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh, the three Coast Salish nations on whose unceded territories Vancouver is built. They have been here longer than the English have been in England. Their culture was thriving when Dublin belonged to the Vikings and Sicily was ruled by Muslims.

"We are taking a huge risk—we don't know how the public is going to react," says Ginger Gosnell-Myers, the city's first manager of Aboriginal relations. She is Nisga'a and Kwakwaka'wakw, a cousin of another Kwakwaka'wakw powerhouse, Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould. Reimer, for her part, doesn't seem to much care whether the event sparks controversy. Whether or not you have the compassion-based belief that Canada has a moral responsibility to change, she says, it's clear the traumas of the past are crippling the present, financially and otherwise. "We need to start doing things differently." And after all, Gosnell-Myers adds: "None of us is going anywhere."

Pain at the pumps

GAS PRICES ARE on the rise, but not all parts of the country are feeling the pinch equally. On a year-over-year basis, cities in Newfoundland and Alberta have seen the

biggest jumps (though not necessarily always the highest prices). Blame a steep new gas tax in Newfoundland and the implementation of Alberta's carbon tax. **JASON KIRBY**



We have to learn to live together—in a respectful way, and in a truthful way.”

Underlying the work of the most expensive reconciliation project the city has ever undertaken is a multi-year attempt to re-root Vancouver in the culture of its earliest inhabitants. The next step, a process that could see key place names replaced with Indigenous ones, is potentially more controversial. “Bridges, streets and buildings” are all open to consideration, Reimer says. Emotions will run high, but many believe it’s time.

Vancouver sits near the heart of Canada’s pre-contact capital. By the 18th century, twice as many lived in thriving, well-fortified villages of fishers, tanners, potters and toy-makers surrounding the Georgia Strait as in the rest of Canada combined (more, even, than in New York). But while some 200 B.C. place names commemorate the voyages of Captains Cook and Vancouver, who arrived toward the end of that century, there isn’t even a plaque to commemorate a smallpox plague that wiped out all but 10 per cent of B.C.’s Indigenous inhabitants—arguably the most significant event in the province’s history.

No surprise, then, that Canada 150 is spur-

ring a creative outpouring among Indigenous artists to shine light on some of these painful chapters. “Remember, Resist, Redraw,” a cross-country poster project led by the Graphic History Collective, is putting an Indigenous lens on key events in Canadian history. #Resist150, a multimedia project led by Metis artist Christi Belcourt, features poems, shared histories and other “acts of resistance,” like the 150 traditional tattoos Belcourt is aiming to ink over the coming year. And the year’s most talked-about art exhibit, Kent Monkman’s *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience*, which opened last month in Toronto, uses the sesquicentennial to ridicule and expand Canada’s rigid, national narrative.

Monkman, a Winnipeg-raised Cree artist, reimagines the grand chronicle, sometimes by inserting his flamboyant, drag queen alter ego, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle. You’ll find Miss Chief, lover of Louis Vuitton and pink heels, in, for example, a cheeky send-up of Robert Harris’s famed portrait of the Fathers of Confederation. She’s nude, seated facing them, her legs akimbo. The men look on in horror, and in lust. He called it *Daddies*.

It’s not all fun and transgression, though. In *The Scream*, a visceral comment on residential schools, Mounties and Grey Nuns tear Indigenous children from their mothers’ arms. Five spectacularly large oil portraits depict all the ways Winnipeg’s colonial history is infecting its future—the racism, violence, alcohol, despair. To Monkman, apparently, the sesquicentennial is synonymous with all that has been lost.

But his art—gratifyingly—is no longer truly subversive. A truer, less simplistic Canadian narrative is finally starting to emerge. It rejects the idea of 1867 as a starting point, acknowledges the country’s many sins and returns the Indigenous perspective to where it belongs: front and centre, as the best and most enduring part of the Canadian story—a tale that stretches back not 150 years, but 12,000. That’s the version Vancouver is hoping to tell. ♣

CRIME

Sex offenders anonymous

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI · At last count, the national sex offender registry contained 43,217 names—or about one entry for every 813 people in Canada. Expanding by the day, the police database will soon feature enough mug shots to fill every seat at a Toronto Blue Jays home game.

Unlike in the United States, where sex offender registries are publicly searchable, Canada’s version was never designed for citizen consumption. Its founding purpose is to help police locate potential suspects who live near a crime scene, not provide parents with a printout of every convicted molester residing in the neighbourhood. Flip through enough court judgments, though, and it’s easy enough to see who is making the list. Ex-colonel Russell Williams is on it. So is defrocked bishop Raymond Lahey. In the past month alone, the national sex offender registry (NSOR) has welcomed the likes of Christopher Metivier (child pornography), Matthew Cole (creating Internet ads for a teenager forced into prostitution) and Young Min von Seefried (an Ontario police officer who sexually assaulted a woman in his cruiser).

But for all the new additions, there is one recent offender who’s not on the RCMP database: Eugen Ndhlovu, an Edmonton man who pleaded guilty to two counts of

sexual assault. And depending on how his court case unfolds over the coming months, he could pave the way for fellow sex offenders to avoid registering, too—a scenario that could call into question the value of the entire program. If a sex offender registry doesn't contain the name of every known sex offender, is it even worth having?

In a legal first, Ndhlovu convinced a judge last October that the NSOR is unconstitutional because all convicted sex offenders automatically make the list, regardless of the circumstances of their crimes or the minimal threat they may pose. Simply put, the judge found that denying an offender the opportunity to seek an exemption—especially someone like Ndhlovu, whom the court said displayed “great remorse” and appeared a “very low risk to re-offend”—violates his Charter right to life, liberty and security of the person. “Subjecting all offenders, regardless of their future risk, to onerous reporting requirements, random compliance checks by police and internal stigma goes further than what is necessary to accomplish the goal of protecting the public,” wrote Madam Justice Andrea Moen, of Alberta's Court of Queen's Bench.

Ndhlovu's legal battle isn't over. Another hearing is scheduled for April 10, during which the Crown will argue that if automatic inclusion is unconstitutional, it is a reasonable limit on liberty that can be “justified in a free and democratic society.” Whatever happens, a further appeal seems certain. “It is a very compelling case,” says Erin Sheley, a University of Calgary law professor. “I would be shocked if this didn't end up needing to be weighed by the Supreme Court.”

At the heart of the legal arguments is a question that has divided policy makers since before the registry even launched in 2004: should every convicted sex offender be automatically added to the system? Or should judges have the leeway to decide who makes the cut, taking into account the specifics of the crime, the potential danger posed by the perpetrator and the burden of registering?

Ndhlovu was 19 when he attended a 2011 house party hosted by a female friend. Both the friend and another woman later told police that Ndhlovu, who was drinking, touched their buttocks without consent. Early the next morning, to use Justice Moen's words, the friend “woke up to find Mr. Ndhlovu's fingers inside of her vagina. She told the accused to stop. After he tried a second time to touch her, telling her that it would ‘feel good,’ [she] pushed Mr. Ndhlovu away.”

Charged with two counts of sexual assault (one for each victim), Ndhlovu pleaded guilty

and was sentenced to six months in prison plus three years of probation. According to the Criminal Code, his name should have been immediately added to the registry—for life, because he committed multiple offences. But defence lawyer Elvis Iginla argued that doing so would “outrage the standards of decency” because his client poses no threat to public safety and because his crime “was mild on the spectrum of acts that constitute sexual assault.” Ndhlovu was especially worried that, as a registered sex offender, police could knock on his door at any moment—an occurrence that his lawyer claimed could have “devastating effects” on his studies, his job prospects and any future romances.

Justice Moen agreed. “The Crown concedes in its brief that the registry will ultimately catch some sex offenders who do not re-offend,” she ruled. “I am satisfied that Mr. Ndhlovu is likely one of those offenders.”

Through his lawyer, Ndhlovu declined an interview request. “The argument here is not that the sex offender registry itself is unconstitutional; the argument is that the lack of judicial discretion is unconstitutional,” Iginla says. “This registration is for life. There are people who deserve that, but the question is: ‘Does he deserve it? Is it something that will really benefit society?’ ” ♦

POLITICS

The puck stops here

BY SHANNON PROUDFOOT • If, for some reason, you ever wanted to hear a politician speak in an even more cheerfully benign and stage-managed way than their species is generally given to, try asking them pointed questions about a partisan hockey game.

Last month, Liberal MPs battled their Conservative colleagues on the ice at the Canadian Tire Centre in deepest suburban Kanata, Ont. Of the relative talent levels on the ice, Kyle Peterson, captain of the Liberal team, said only, “We had a good mix of veterans and rookies. Some people had more skill than others, but everybody certainly tried their best.”

Gordon Brown, captain of the Conservative team, was asked whether ice time offers catharsis to work out some of the antipathy that builds up during question period. “Let's just say it got very spirited and very com-



petitive late in the game,” he said. “We'll leave it at that.”

The game, on the Ottawa Senators' home ice, was played in front of a few hundred fans (as in: Hill staffers) and raised nearly \$6,000 for the Terry Fox Foundation. Following a hiatus of several years, this was the revival of a semi-regular tradition that dates back to the late 1990s, with various partisan team configurations over the years. Aside from glory, they play for the Hec Clouthier Memorial Trophy; everyone calls it that for some reason, though the fedora-wearing former Liberal MP who originally founded the competition is very much alive and well.

Ultimately, the government was humbled by the official Opposition, 9-3. The result may simply reflect the raw talent on the respective benches in the House of Commons, or perhaps shrewder drafting by the Tories, who brought in former MPs Brian Storseth and James Rajotte, and actively tried to procure more ringers. “We were really hoping we were going to get Patrick Brown, the leader of the Ontario PCs, but he was on a Northern Ontario tour,” says Brown. “He's a *really* good hockey player.”

Rodger Cuzner, Liberal MP for Cape Breton, 61, coached his caucus colleagues, and summed up the job thusly: “You just keep an eye on their vital signs, know where the defibrillator is located in the arena, throw them out and hope for the best.”

The game got chippy near the end, but to Cuzner's eye, that was less about anyone trying to grind it out in the corners than it



MARITIMES Confederation smackdown!

BY MEAGAN CAMPBELL · “Birthplace of Confederation” is stamped on Prince Edward Island licence plates, the Confederation Centre defines the province’s downtown, and the Confederation Bridge is its umbilical cord. But in time for Canada’s 150th anniversary, New Brunswick is claiming confederacy credit, promoting a new slogan: “Celebrate where it all began.” So begins the debate.

“It makes sense that New Brunswick, with all of its smart Loyalist descendants, would have a much larger role than P.E.I.,” says James Osborne, a New Brunswicker whose great-great-grandfather was friends with one of the Founding Fathers. As for P.E.I., Osborne says the Island “has done quite well despite its sparse population,” but that calling itself the birthplace is “over the top.”

On a New Brunswick government website, as part of a 2017 tourism campaign, Premier Brian Gallant writes, “We should be proud here in New Brunswick of the role that we played in the history of Canada, after all, it is where it all began.” New Brunswick says it is not trying to steal the birthplace glory, but Charlottetown wants its exclusive cradle status written in law.

“There’s lots that New Brunswick can brag about,” says historian Shawn McCarthy, a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of New Brunswick. “It doesn’t need to say, ‘It started here.’” New Brunswickers base their claim on founding father Arthur Hamilton Gordon, a governor who, in 1864, invited Nova Scotia and P.E.I. to discuss unity. Gordon only wanted to unite the Maritime provinces; in fact, he detested the idea of a larger Canada. Nova Scotia and the Island didn’t RSVP to his invitation because Ontario and Quebec soon afterward proposed a more ambitious union. When all the provinces first met in Charlottetown in 1864, Gordon got upset and left. “Yeah, Arthur Hamilton set it in motion,” says McCarthy, “but what New Brunswick is going on is a technicality.”

New Brunswickers were as uncooperative as their governor, worried about tightened competition for business with America. Although three New Brunswick politicians supported confederation at the next conference in Quebec, constituents were furi-

was lack of skill. “There were guys that sort of mistook a player’s inability to stop for his want to hit them,” he said.

Which is not to say that nobody dabbled in the dark arts. An unofficial, strictly not-for-attribution straw poll of select players on both teams suggests that Alex Nuttall, the Conservative MP for Barrie, Ont., was the goon of the game. Nuttall says he’ll wear that title as “a badge of honour,” and points out that while he served two penalties, he also drew four penalty shots, so perhaps he’s just a big target (literally: he’s six foot five and 270 lb.). “Being from the town where Don Cherry grew up and played hockey, we know what hard-hitting hockey looks like,” he chuckles.

Liberal MP Adam Vaughan and Blake Richards, the Conservative representing Banff, meanwhile, earned nods as the most skilled players on each team.

But the biggest star to emerge from this game is an off-ice one: should there ever be a dearth of analysts available for *Hockey Night in Canada* broadcasts, Cuzner would make one heck of a colour guy. Assessing how the netminding has improved, he said, “We had Denis Coderre one year for the Liberal team, and poor Denis couldn’t save his allowance.” Cuzner described another player, whose physical attributes outstripped his inclination toward gentlemanly behaviour, as “big enough to burn diesel.”

The match between MPs got a bit chippy, as the Conservatives took a commanding 9-3 lead

‘YOU JUST KEEP AN EYE ON THEIR VITAL SIGNS, KNOW WHERE THE DEFIBRILLATOR IS; SAYS THE LIBERALS’ COACH

The Speaker of the House, Geoff Regan, in the non-partisan fashion demanded of his role, played part of the game with each team. He initially planned to split his time equally, but when he realized the Tories had more players and the score was lopsided, he switched to the Liberal side to shore things up. Alas, it was for naught. “I was joking to the Liberals that they’ve got to recruit better,” Regan said.

The week after the game, Brown rose in the House, wearing a Conservative hockey sweater and surrounded by a small knot of grinning MPs sporting team gear. He recapped the “spirited affair that determined Canadian parliamentary hockey supremacy,” with the trophy perched on a desk in front of him. “The Conservatives scored first and put the overtaxed Liberals in a small deficit,” Brown began, cackling. It went on like this for a good long while: colour commentary by way of goofy political puns about deficits spiralling out of control, pucks flying first-past-the-goalpost and so on. The victorious caucus members hooted and thumped their desks.

“It was good fun,” Regan confirmed from the Speaker’s chair when Brown finished. Then it was time to return to business. “Jackets back on now, folks.” ♣

ous when they returned. New Brunswickers only came around because joining Canada would protect them from the onslaught of American raiders (called Fenians). On July 1, 1867, after the province reluctantly joined, anti-confederation riots broke out in Saint John, hospitalizing people who needed their heads bandaged.

Today, those scars are being conveniently overlooked. “As one of the founding provinces, New Brunswick has a deep history in rooting what Canada is today,” says the province’s Department of Tourism, Heritage and Culture, in an email. “We recognize Charlottetown as the ‘cradle of Confederation,’ but we want to augment that by saying three provinces had a role.”

Oborne, whose ancestor was friends with Founding Father Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, also says that Canada’s name was conceived in his family’s New Brunswick backyard. Tilley proposed the name “Dominion of Canada,” as the country was called until after the Second World War, after reading a Bible passage mentioning God’s sea-to-sea dominion, and Oborne says that Tilley read the passage in Fredericton while sitting on his great-great-grandfather’s stone bench.

Islanders argue that New Brunswick did not—at all—begin “it all.” In March 2016, MP Wayne Easter introduced a bill, citing former prime minister Jean Chrétien’s proclamation in 1996 that “Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, is recognized as and declared to be the birthplace of Confederation.” In January, after the launch of New Brunswick’s “Where it all began” tourism campaign, Island Sen. Diane Griffin brought forth a bill that matches Easter’s bill.

However, P.E.I. might not deserve the birth certificate either. After hosting the Charlottetown Conference in 1864, it refused to join Confederation; it even considered becoming an annex of the United States. It only changed its mind six years later to avoid paying high rent to British landlords and to pay off its debt.

Quebec hosted a post-Charlottetown follow-up meeting, which Quebecers *se souviennent*. “When the delegates to the Quebec Conference gathered here,” wrote the lieutenant general of Quebec in 2014, “they laid the basis for a country.” Quebec City has also erected a statue of Étienne-Paschal Taché, the chairman of the conference, whom the lieutenant general called the “too-often-forgotten Father of Confederation.”

There is no “I” in “Canada,” but there is an “I” in “tourism.” For each province, the historical title could mean visitors this summer. When Lonely Planet named Canada

its top destination for 2017, it introduced Charlottetown with the province’s preferred motto, while also calling Quebec City the “grip on French-Canadian identity” and noting that Saint John was a business and political hub during the country’s early days: “In the 20th century, New Brunswick was a very big deal.”

How about a compromise? Canada was conceived in Saint John, incubated in Quebec City and born on the Island? “They can have whatever slogan they want,” maintains Robert Pierce, director of the P.E.I. Genealogical Society, “but the meeting happened in Charlottetown.” ♦

THE NORTH

Eureka in the Arctic

BY MEAGAN CAMPBELL • “The first moment, you don’t even believe it.” Jonathan O’Neil, a geologist at the University of Ottawa, is referring to his research team’s recent discovery of evidence that the oldest known life on Earth may, in fact, be embedded in rocks in Quebec’s far north. “You say, ‘That can’t be.’ So you reanalyze it, and you get the same result. You redo it again, again, again, and you come back with the same results, and you start to believe it.”

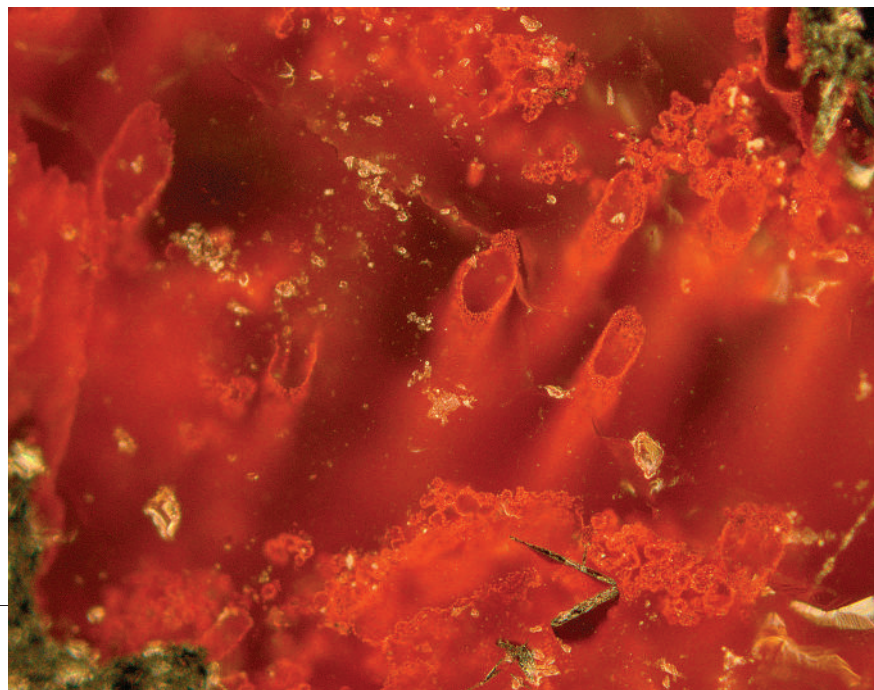
The breakthrough, which gained international attention when it was published in

the journal *Nature* in early March, could be one of many discoveries soon to come from the Canadian Arctic. Opening this summer in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut, is the Canadian High Arctic Research Station (CHARS), a Plexiglas, quarter-billion-dollar wonder of the northern world. Announced in 2012 under Stephen Harper, the station has so far attracted 200 research applicants from countries as far afield as Argentina, South Korea and Australia, all hoping to explore what lies beneath the tundra.

“They’re lining up at the door,” says David Scott, president of Polar Knowledge Canada, the government agency overseeing the project. “Growth chambers” for cultivating specimens, wet labs with cranes for lifting mammals, a dive centre for filling scuba tanks, triplexes for housing researchers—the station cost eight times more to erect than the Perimeter Institute, a science hub in Waterloo, Ont. One popular research area will be geology, as the Arctic holds rock formations rich with information about climate change and, in the case of the Hudson Bay area where O’Neil did his research, the history of life on Earth. O’Neil dated the fossils of ancient bacteria at 4.3 billion years old (although skeptics say they don’t look a day over three billion), suggesting that life existed before the planet had oxygen or oceans, and that life could just as easily have started in other barren parts of the universe.

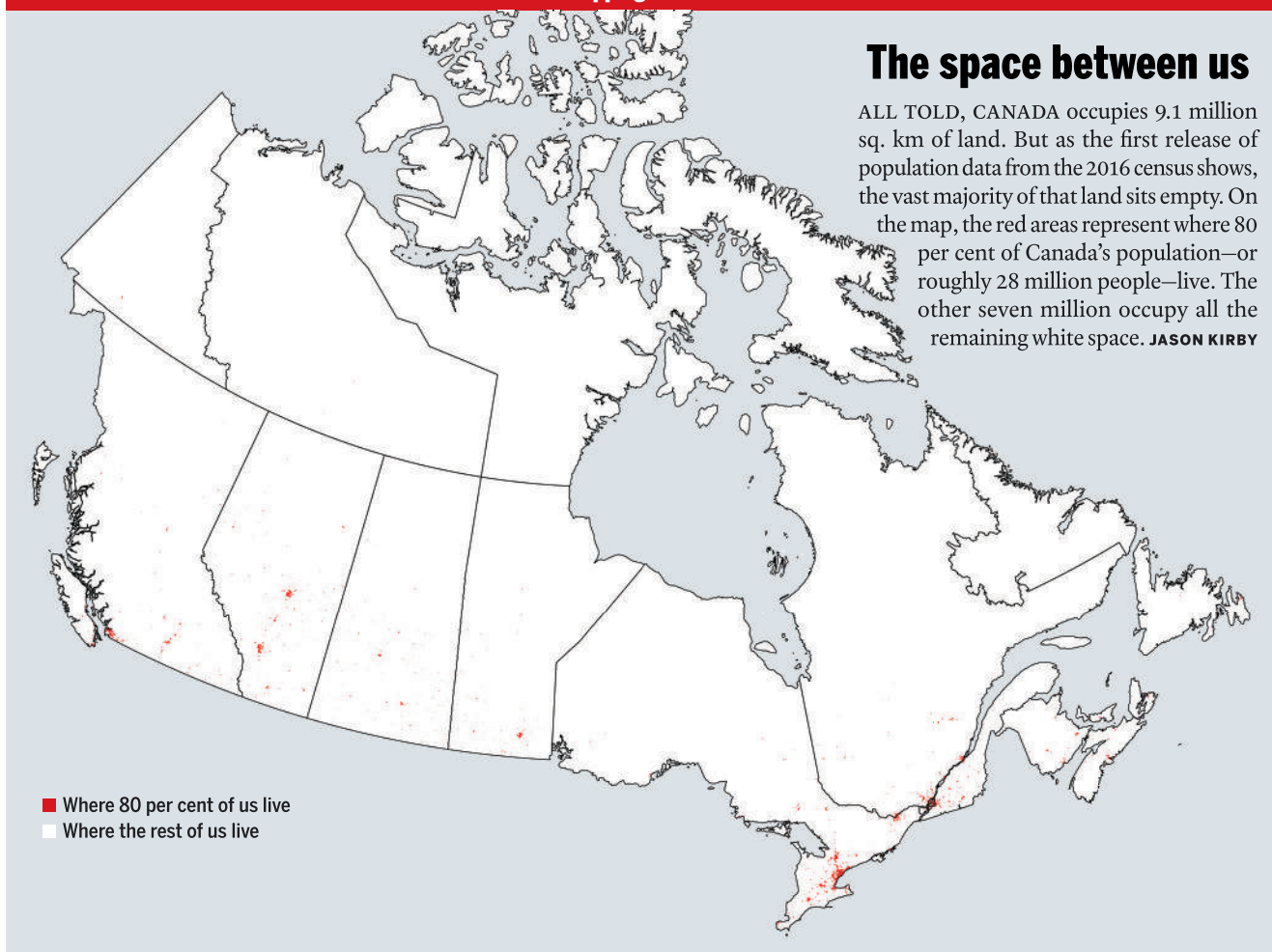
Aside from prompting research, CHARS is a chance for Canada to stake its claim to the Arctic. The station is opening in a year when the Arctic Council, which negotiates land rights between eight Arctic countries,

Fossils found in Quebec’s far north may be the oldest signs of life. Expect more Arctic findings.



The space between us

ALL TOLD, CANADA occupies 9.1 million sq. km of land. But as the first release of population data from the 2016 census shows, the vast majority of that land sits empty. On the map, the red areas represent where 80 per cent of Canada's population—or roughly 28 million people—live. The other seven million occupy all the remaining white space. **JASON KIRBY**



is looking for a new chair—the United States will step down in May after holding the position for two years. It also comes just before Canada submits a claim for the Arctic continental shelf in 2018 (competing with Russian and Danish claims). While the Canadian Forces have already boosted their presence with exercises in Nunavut including at Alert, the government will emphasize that “We the North” by opening the all-inclusive station for nerds.

“Everybody’s saying, ‘It’s coming to town, it’s coming to town,’” says Bruce Peterson, who owns a hotel in Cambridge Bay. Previously, the closest research station was a one-story building 1,700 km southeast in Iqaluit, dubbed “the Hotel Scientific” by one employee. Cambridge Bay is more central (by Arctic standards), but it isn’t used to hosting an expected 700 researchers each summer from “down south” and beyond. Twenty Winnipeggers will move to town as employees of the centre, and Albertan construction workers have come and gone with contractor Ellis-

Don. While monthly mayoral reports acquired from the RCMP show no rise in alcohol- or drug-related crimes since 2012, locals still worry that CHARS could bring change enough to rattle a small town. Cambridge Bay has a population of 1,800; considering its budget, the project equates to building the CN Tower in Wawa, Ont. Money for the project has been a messy issue. “\$100 million over budget on a \$140-million project is not small potatoes,” says Aaron Wudrick of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, referring to the cost overruns. “That’s not close in my view.” With a price tag five times greater than the recent award-winning community hub of the Halifax Central Library, the tundra-based dissection labs have been slower to attract public support. O’Neil was oblivious to the project, with the government yet to brag to Canadians that they’re investing in a remote edifice, coming soon to nowhere near you.

Until now, the logistics of doing Arctic research have always been an inconvenient truth. In the acknowledgements of their fos-

sil research, O’Neil’s team thanked a man in Inukjuak, Que., named Mike Carroll, who coordinated their trip with no cell service and intermittent Internet—“quality-wise, breakdown and speed is all very questionable,” Carroll says of the connection. Carroll fetched the team from the airport in his pickup truck and arranged a canoe to take them to the field. He kept them alive for the month with supplies but otherwise left them to their rock-chiselling devices. “We can’t baby them,” says Carroll, who once had to deliver food three days late due to weather, at which point they were down to a single can of Irish stew.

O’Neil says a research station could help with his future research in other parts of the Arctic. Without a mass spectrometer for his last project, he had to pile the planet’s oldest fossils into buckets and mail them to his lab from the local post office. “The lady at the counter looked at us pretty funny,” he says. Since each parcel could only weigh 30 lb., he and his team had to play around with the pebbles on the scale. “We forgot one.” ♣





Arrival

At the tip of Morocco, east of Tangier, a small chip of land belongs to Spain. The Spanish city of Ceuta, built on a peninsula, is one of only two land borders between the European Union and Africa—to cross, hundreds of migrants from across Africa are scaling fences, swimming and hiding in vehicles. Now Moroccans are also entering Ceuta amid a backdrop of political unrest at home. Here, African migrants celebrate as they arrive at Ceuta's already overcrowded immigration centre. **MEAGAN CAMPBELL**

JESUS MORON/REUTERS

POLITICS

The last lines of defence

It turns out Canadians are surprisingly amenable to populist forces. So what's preventing an authoritarian leader from rising to power?

BY JOHN GEDDES · A week after Donald Trump's election as president of the United States last Nov. 8, Conservative MP Ted Falk rose in the House of Commons during the time set aside for "members' statements," which falls just before question period and is, as a rule, politely ignored. Falk represents the Manitoba riding of Provencher, hard by the windswept Minnesota border, and he spoke briefly of the "special relationship we have with our long-time friends and neighbours" to the south. Then he finished up with, "May God continue to bless America—God bless Donald Trump."

That last part raised eyebrows among the many who take it for granted that Canadians had recoiled en masse at Trump's win. But back home in southeastern Manitoba, often referred to as the province's Bible belt, Falk's words weren't controversial. His constituency is largely evangelical Christian, reliably conservative and shares a lot in common with the American voters who made Trump president. (Falk declined to be interviewed for this story.)

In fact, Canadian conservatives in general tended to welcome Trump's win. An Ekos Research poll, which happened to be released on the day Falk rose in the House, found that while only 30 per cent of Canadians approved of Trump, fully 57 per cent of declared Conservative supporters viewed the new president favourably.

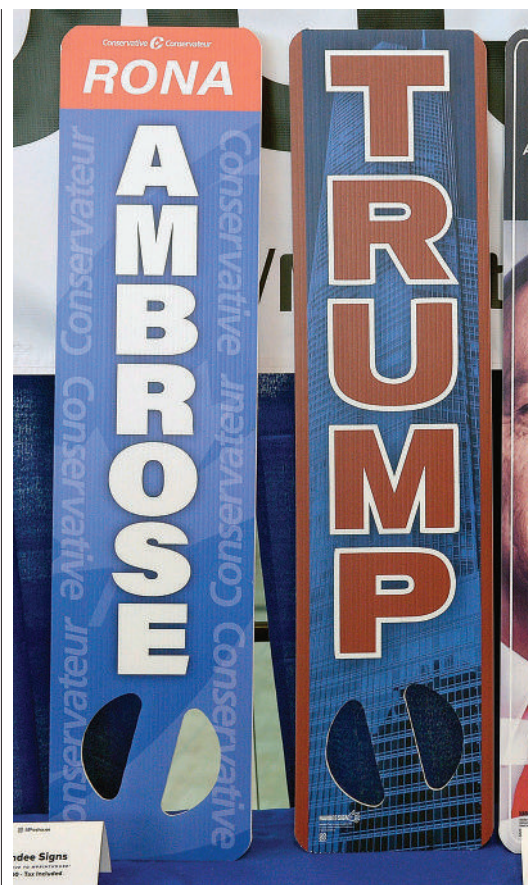
The populist energy stored in that reservoir of pro-Trump sentiment has to be taken seriously by Canadian Conservatives, especially those now vying for the federal party's leadership. From the Liberal perspective, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has lately reaffirmed his old warning of a populist backlash unless government policy reduces economic inequality.

And, further left, MP Charlie Angus launched a bid for the NDP leadership last month by urging his party to redefine itself in opposition to Trump-style populism.

All this attention to populism takes on a real-world urgency in light of what's been happening—among other places on the Canada-U.S. border—along that stretch of the 49th parallel separating Manitoba from Minnesota, mentioned in the House by Falk. It's there, as most Canadians have heard in news reports, that undocumented migrants have been crossing by the dozen—often trekking for hours across snowy fields in bitter cold—to leave Trump's America behind and take their chances with Canada's refugee process, maybe after warming up first over coffee at Little Jay's Café in Emerson, Man. (pop. 700).

The prospect of a growing number of asylum-seekers slipping into Manitoba—and Quebec and British Columbia—is shaping up as an early test of Canada's mood in the Trump era. Will the phenomenon ultimately benefit the Liberals, highlighting again Trudeau's welcoming embrace of newcomers? Or will a perceived challenge the migrants pose to law and order reward a sterner rhetorical response from Conservatives, as it has in the U.S. and Europe, and help spark what is routinely labelled a "populist" upsurge on the right?

Exactly what's meant by populist isn't always easy to pin down. Broadly speaking, though, the term is used most often these days to capture what happens when politicians on the right tap anxieties over mass migrations, linking those fears with underlying discontent over scarce jobs and stagnant wages for less-educated workers. In other words, populism means Trump's rise in the U.S., the Brexit



referendum vote to pull Britain out of the European Union and the serious challenges various right-wing parties pose in a string of European elections set for this year.

Could that same recipe be cooked up in Canada? Trudeau's election triumph in 2015, followed by his celebrated welcome of more than 40,000 Syrian refugees in 2016, had many observers portraying Canada as almost uniquely immune to the inward-turning instinct behind Trump and Brexit.

Yet Frank Graves, the veteran Ekos pollster, has tracked and quantified similar strong currents coursing through Canadian conservatism. "The idea that a populist leader couldn't win in Canada, that we couldn't have an analogue to Trump, is I think nonsense," Graves says.

His public opinion research shows pessimism about the economic outlook and misgivings about diversity. For instance, Ekos polling found back in 1995 that 81 per cent of Canadians agreed that "cultural diversity" contributed positively to Canadian identity. Asked the same question early last year, only 66 per cent rated diversity as having a positive impact.

Then there's economic unease. According to Ekos, the percentage of Canadians who



view themselves as middle-class has plummeted from nearly 70 per cent around 2002 to below 50 per cent last year. Few adult Canadians think the next generation will fare better economically than theirs has. And presented with the statement “If the current patterns of stagnation among all except those at the very top continue, I would not be surprised to see the emergence of violent class conflicts,” Ekos found that 57 per cent of Canadians agreed.

Combine hopelessness about economic prospects with a magnified sense of the risks out there in the world, and Graves says the result is, among some Canadians, a growing hankering for more order—even a tendency to accept authoritarianism.

“That type of outlook is much more receptive to the idea that we need a strongman who’s going to make decisive government actions to deal with this,” he says. “So he’s going to build a wall, or he’s going to deport illegal immigrants, or he’s going to bomb enemies.”

Graves is careful to stress that being primed to accept right-wing populist messages isn’t a

majority mindset in Canada. These tendencies are, not surprisingly, by far most pronounced among avowed Conservative voters, and particularly in places like Alberta. Which raises the question of how the Conservative party—and its 14 aspiring leaders—might adjust in the Trump era.

Other researchers also point to Canadian attitudes that appear receptive to a Trump-like message. For a recent McGill Institute for the Study of Canada conference in Montreal, University of Toronto political science professor Michael Donnelly analyzed an online survey of 1,522 Canadians

conducted by the polling firm Ipsos and found scant evidence that Canada is particularly big-hearted when it comes to outsiders who want in.

Donnelly reported that when Canadians were asked how much they agree or disagree with the statement “The government should be generous in judging people’s applications for refugee status,” their tendency to be generous ranked a middling ninth out of 22 countries. Canadian generosity only outranked Britain’s by a notch, and was just

‘The idea that a populist couldn’t win in Canada, that we couldn’t have an analogue to Trump is, I think, nonsense’

Canada isn’t immune to populism, but its political system renders it less relevant than elsewhere

modestly ahead of Germany—both countries widely regarded as having struggled to accept immigrants. “Whatever is driving Canada’s exceptionally positive history of immigration and integration over the past half century,” Donnelly concluded, “it does not appear to be an exceptionally tolerant public.”

Note that he didn’t say, however, that Canada’s world-famous reputation for integrating newcomers is undeserved—only that it can’t be chalked up mainly to national niceness. Perhaps the most persuasive case for why Canada really does better than the U.S. and most European countries when it comes to fostering diversity has come from researchers who focus not on Canadians’ attitudes, but on Canada’s immigration policies and the political system.

It starts with the demographic clout of Canada’s foreign-born voters. They made up 20.6 per cent of the total population in the 2011 census, the highest proportion among the G8 countries, far higher than the roughly 13 per cent in both the U.S. and Germany. It also matters that the vast majority of Canadian immigrants choose to live in big cities in Ontario, B.C., Quebec and Alberta.

University of Toronto political science professor Phil Triadafilopoulos stresses how immigrants to Canada become voting citizens more quickly than in other Western democracies, and how potent their votes have become in Canadian elections. “They don’t remain outsiders,” Triadafilopoulos says. “Politically, they become insiders very quickly.”

In an influential 2013 paper entitled “Immigration, Citizenship and Canada’s New Conservative Party,” Triadafilopoulos and two co-authors, McMaster University’s Inder Marwah and Carleton University’s Stephen White, note that 84 per cent of eligible immigrants in Canada become citizens, compared to just 75 per cent in Australia, 56 per cent in Britain, and a mere 40 per cent in the U.S.

They emphasize research showing that voting among immigrant Canadians roughly matches turnout rates among native-born Canadians, and that immigrants are more likely than voters born here to pay attention to election news, including watching televised leaders’ debates.

Even more crucially, immigrants in Canada tend to cluster in Toronto and Vancouver, in what most political party election strategists view as key ridings. “To alienate large numbers of immigrant voters in dozens of federal ridings would almost certainly mean



Canadian immigrants tend to be tuned in to politics, and have settled in pivotal ridings

surrendering those ridings to other parties,” Triadafilopoulos, Marwah and White write.

Still, they point to “grassroots conservative opinion” that often seems resistant to high levels of immigration and policies promoting multiculturalism. That leads to what Triadafilopoulos, Marwah and White dub a “populist’s paradox” facing right-of-centre Canadian political leaders, who must find ways to speak to their base while also broadening their “ethnic” appeal.

It’s a dilemma that’s familiar to Preston Manning. He remembers coping with anti-immigrant bigots when he was leader of the upstart Reform party in the 1990s. “We had wild meetings,” Manning recalled in a recent interview. “Our first week in the ’97 campaign, we had ‘Let the People Speak.’ It was like Russian roulette. I would get up there and say, ‘Rather than us telling you what this election is about, you’re going to tell us what it’s about.’ There would be some good, ordinary people, but there would always be some nutcase who’d get up.”

Manning says he would try to politely disavow the nutcase’s anti-immigrant (or sometimes anti-Quebec) ideas without denouncing the individual. He now heads the Calgary-based Manning Centre, which trains Conservative political operatives, conducts research and holds a key annual gathering of the Canadian right in Ottawa.

At this year’s conference, held in late February, Manning urged Conservatives to try to harness the energy of Trump-era populism, rather than only “denounce and decry” its dark side. Talking of grassroots Conservatives

who worry that multiculturalism and immigration threaten “Canada’s national values and identity,” Manning advised against “contemptuously dismissing [their] concerns.”

But allowing anti-immigrant views any room to breathe has proven strategically risky. Former Tory prime minister Stephen Harper laboured hard to make inroads among immigrant voters, relying largely on tireless outreach efforts by Jason Kenney (who has left federal politics and is now seeking the Alberta Progressive Conservative leadership). It paid off big in the Conservatives’ 2011 majority election win, which netted the Tories 32 of 47 seats in Toronto and its suburbs, where immigrants made up about half the population.

Echoing Trump in railing against unfair foreign competition is a non-starter for Canadian Conservatives

Then came the 2015 election reversal. Facing Trudeau’s challenge, the Conservatives stoked the part of their base that was alarmed by Islamic extremism or fundamentalism by proposing a ban on face veils during citizenship ceremonies,

which Harper even said he would consider broadening to the federal public service. The Conservatives would also strip the Canadian citizenship of dual nationals convicted of terrorist offences and set up a “barbaric practices tip line.”

Chris Alexander, the former Conservative immigration minister who lost his Toronto-area seat in the 2015 election, later admitted that non-Muslim immigrant communities he didn’t anticipate would feel directly threatened by these controversial policies found them deeply unsettling. Those immigrant-heavy ridings swung almost entirely back to the Liberals.

“It was clear to me, and it’s even clearer

in retrospect, that in urban Canada we were already in danger of being perceived as somehow an unwelcoming party,” Alexander, who is now running for the federal Tory leadership, said in an interview. “That was, in my view, undeserved. But in political terms, it was a disaster.”

Are Conservatives inclined to flirt with the same disaster again? Among the federal party’s 14 current leadership aspirants, Kellie Leitch, who proposes subjecting would-be immigrants to a Canadian “values test,” is clearly taking that gamble. She seems to be an outlier, though. Kevin O’Leary, seen by many as the race’s front-runner—and whose business and reality-TV resumé, and promises to slash taxes, invite Trump comparisons—shows zero inclination to mimic the president’s identity-politics blustering.

Tom Flanagan, a University of Calgary professor emeritus of political science and former Reform and Conservative campaign manager, says the Canadian way of selecting party leaders would likely frustrate an insurgency like Trump’s anyway. The U.S. primary system allows any American to vote for presidential nominees, so Trump was able to court votes from a broad, disaffected public. Canada’s next Conservative leader will be picked only by paid-up party members, which Flanagan says is a harder group for a risk-taking populist outsider to win over.

In any case, there’s just no Tory leadership aspirant who has the makings of a Canadian version of the current occupant of the White House. “Kellie Leitch is a very pallid imitation of Trump,” Flanagan says. “Kevin O’Leary isn’t even interested in the same kind of issues.”

If the Canadian election map makes taking an anti-immigrant line a losing proposition, and the Canadian way of choosing party leaders makes it hard for a populist outsider to win, there’s still the possibility that the Conservatives might try to activate the economic side of populism.

Even there, though, the formula behind Trump and Brexit doesn’t look like a natural fit in Canada. Trump blended his anti-immigrant rhetoric with promises to scrap or overhaul free-trade agreements. The Brexit forces linked discomfort with foreigners to resentment of the EU free-trading order. But in Canada, liberalized trade enjoys broad buy-in—particularly on the political right, and notably in the Conservatives’ resource-exporting western strongholds.

So echoing Trump and the Brexiters in railing against unfair foreign competition is a non-starter for Canadian Conservatives. That leaves, perhaps, finding a way to give

IMMIGRATION

Populist goes the world

From Europe to Asia, populist forces are surging as a fear of foreigners pushes nations to a tipping point



SCOTT GILMORE

POPULISM, AT FACE value, seems almost healthy. Or at least to me it does. I was raised in Alberta, a populist heartland. It was accepted as a fact that the government chronically ignores

“the people.” Men like Ralph Klein, who drank in a rundown pub and boasted about his lack of education did well there. Ralph, as he was universally known, painted himself as an outsider, the only one looking out for the roughnecks and the farmhands. And we ate it up.

But after I moved overseas, it didn’t take me long to realize populism isn’t just backslapping good ol’ boys. I found that from Indonesia to England, “rule by the people” almost always ends up undermining democracy.

At the heart of every populist movement is the idea that the establishment has to go. There is no grand theory of economics or social policy. There is the idea that the people are being hurt by the powers that be—and that makes the establishment illegitimate. Therefore, the only legitimate candidate is the populist. He or she is on the same side as the people, and electing him or her means the people will be back in charge. As

Trump himself explained during his inaugural address: “Jan. 20, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.”

Because the current way of doing politics is illegitimate, populists scorn it by acting out. Their supporters love the “honesty” of their transgressions, sexual escapades and illicit opinions. This erodes the political system. Consider the United States. In the next election cycle, will voters see sexual assault or tax evasion as a disqualifier?

The populist is the avatar of the people, the embodiment of their will. If somehow they lose the election, then the people’s will was subverted; the election was corrupt, or there was a conspiracy to stop them. Spreading doubt about the electoral system further erodes democracy and the public’s trust in institutions.

Even after taking power, a populist still needs an opponent. This means attacking the bureaucrats, policies and systems that were in place when he arrived. The battle against the establishment is constant, and success is a zero-sum game, measured by how much the other guys lose. In the end, the greatest casualties are actually the institutions that keep a democracy relatively stable.

voice to the anxieties of that broad swath of Canadians who, as Graves portrays them, fear that the middle class is shrinking and that opportunities for their children and grandchildren are dwindling.

But the Tories would find themselves playing catch-up with the Liberals when it comes to tailoring a populist message for those worried voters. Trudeau has been arguing since 2014 that failure to push income growth down from high-earners to middle-class families would eventually prompt a dangerous backlash. His answer, or at least part of it, came in last year’s budget, in the forms of a modest middle-income tax cut, an upper-income tax hike and a significant boost in federal payments to parents.

Is more policy in the same vein coming in next month’s 2017 budget? In a significant recent speech in Germany, at Hamburg’s annual St. Matthew’s Day Banquet, Trudeau strongly suggested he isn’t done trying salve that middle-class sense of grievance. “With the pace of globalization and technological change,” he said, “there is a very real fear out there that our kids will be worse off than we are.”

Adopting his own version of the populist line, Trudeau took direct aim at corporations that post record profits but somehow can’t afford to offer job security to their workers. “Increasing inequality has made citizens distrust their governments, distrust their employers,” he added. “It turns into ‘us vs. them.’”

From the sounds of his Hamburg speech, Trudeau doesn’t intend to leave the next Conservative leader any easy opening to outdo him when it comes to giving voice to the disquiet of Canadians who believe the economic order is stacked against their families. It remains to be seen what additional policies the Liberals unveil in the upcoming budget to back up that rhetoric.

If Trudeau fails to deliver, a right-leaning populist might seize the chance to try to fill the vacuum. Overall, though, the prospects for a right-of-centre populist movement in Canada look dim, even though opinion in Canada, according to pollsters like Graves and academics like Donnelly, contains plenty of the same mix of fear and pessimism that fuelled Trump and Brexit.

There’s no shortage of Canadians who, if they’d heard Ted Falk wishing God’s blessing for Donald Trump, might well have said, “Amen.” But if they’re hoping that Trump-style populism will slip across the border and succeed in Canadian politics, they’re likely to discover that Canada’s welcoming reputation has its limits. ♣



Because the current way of doing politics is deemed illegitimate, populists scorn it by acting out

There is one other foil that populists almost always target: immigrants, minorities and foreigners. In France, the populists blame Muslims (8 per cent of the population). In Indonesia, it's the Chinese (1 per cent). In the United Kingdom, it's the Jews (0.5 per cent). It doesn't matter how small or powerless these groups are, they are held responsible for any setback or failure suffered by a populist government or movement.

Right now, it feels like populism is surging globally. In the U.K., we have seen the rise of

Another new friend of Russia is Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. He has become increasingly populist while greatly expanding his powers. Further south, in Africa, the past decade has seen a marked increase in populist movements in countries like Zimbabwe, South Africa, Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea. In Asia, the Philippines elected an anti-intellectual strongman who boasts about breaking the law. And in India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi came to power railing against a corrupt and ineffectual status quo and making abu-

if there was a correlation between the relative size of the immigrant population and the support for right-wing populist movements. The researchers found that there was a direct connection, and that support grew at an increasing rate as the size of the immigrant population grew. And what is more, their data suggested there was a "tipping point" in western societies: when immigrants comprised 22 per cent of the population, support for anti-immigrant parties approached a political majority. If a country takes in too many immigrants, a populist backlash may be unavoidable.

In Canada, our foreign-born population is already at 20 per cent and growing. This is far higher than in the United States and (except for Luxembourg and Switzerland, where there are large numbers of itinerant professional residents like bankers) it is far higher than in any other European nation. And it's getting bigger. Statistics Canada just released a report that projected Canada's immigrant population will increase to between 26 per cent and 30 per cent within two decades. This puts Canada well beyond the theoretical 22 per cent threshold in the European study.

It makes sense that countries become unstable with too many foreigners. I have first-hand experience in places like Pakistan and Thailand, where sudden massive influxes of refugees can pull a country apart at the seams. But is it possible that even when immigrants arrive gradually and they are integrated successfully, it can still destabilize a country? Perhaps a populist backlash is inevitable in Western democracies when the immigrant population grows to a certain size.

This is not because the newcomers bring crime or undermine our democratic institutions (they don't do either), but because the native citizens, whether they are Canadians or Austrians or Americans, instinctively feel threatened by newcomers. Perhaps the experiences add up—new faces on TV, new clothes in the street, new music on the radio—until the average person reaches a tipping point and pushes back. After all, a fear of strangers is wired into our brains, an instinct that kept us alive in our tribal past.

If this is true, it upends a lot of assumptions that this country is built on regarding multiculturalism, pluralism and immigration. Canada may be facing larger global forces, tectonic shifts which are hard to see until it's too late and a populist earthquake shatters our carefully built house of peace, order and good government. ♣

Follow Scott Gilmore on Twitter @scott_gilmore

France's Marine Le Pen is able to blend centrist policies with strong anti-immigration messages



the anti-immigrant UKIP party and the success in the Brexit vote to leave the European Union. Across the channel, the polls are predicting the anti-Muslim, anti-European Union party of Geert Wilders may form the largest party

in the Netherlands' parliament. Similarly, in France, the Front National's Marine Le Pen is being boosted by her ability to blend centrist policies with strong anti-immigration messages.

In Hungary, the anti-immigrant Prime Minister Viktor Orban gave a speech this week calling for more "ethnic homogeneity." Not surprisingly, he also wants closer ties to Russia. There, Vladimir Putin is the most influential populist in the world. At home, he has pushed an agenda of nationalism, while energetically subverting elections. Abroad, Russia has actively supported populist movements everywhere: money to Le Pen in France, leaked emails for Trump and clandestine support for the Brexit campaign in the U.K.

Research suggests that if a country takes in too many immigrants, a populist backlash may be unavoidable

of the arguments made by my colleague John Geddes, who sees systemic and political barriers to Canadian populism. My thinking was that the apparent growth in global populism is because we are focused on Trump and starting to pay attention. But where I could find data, it didn't support my conclusion. One study from Harvard, for example, found that support for populist parties on both the left and the right has grown undeniably and steadily since the 1960s, doubling its support since then.

But one study completed late last year by a group of academics from the U.S., Europe and Japan left me especially troubled. They looked at a dozen European countries to see

sive comments against the Muslim minority.

Which brings us to Canada. Will we see a similar rise in populism here? When I sat down to write this column, my instinctive answer was "no." I agreed with many



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CANADA

THE RISE AND RISE OF AHMED HUSSEN

From teenage Somali
refugee to Canada's
immigration minister

BY SHANNON PROUDFOOT • It was the second week of the Trump administration, and the second consecutive Sunday the Prime Minister's staff spent grinding it out in the office. President Donald Trump's ban on seven Muslim-majority countries had just taken effect, stranding hundreds at airports, where protesters assembled by the thousands.

In Ottawa, PMO staffers had been up through unforgiving hours consulting with their White House counterparts, trying to sort out who was affected by the ban. At 4 p.m. in the National Press Theatre across from Parliament Hill, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Ahmed Hussen would answer the questions roiling around the hastily concocted U.S. policy. The rookie MP had vaulted off the backbenches just 19 days earlier when he was sworn into cabinet; this was effectively his public introduction.

A government official who spoke on condition of anonymity recalls glancing across the office during preparations for the press conference. "There was Ahmed in the middle of it all and he was just completely calm," the official says. "I remember thinking to myself what a baptism by fire that was for a new minister, and then looking at him and thinking, 'You know, it's probably a little more manageable than Mogadishu was in 1992.'"

When Hussen, who came to Canada as a teenage refugee from Somalia, took his place before the cameras and reporters, he looked utterly calm. He clarified policy questions, then hewed carefully to the indictment-free line his government would tread over the coming weeks: other countries have the right to set their own policies; we can only speak to how we do things here.

When asked how he personally responded to the ban, given Somalia was on the U.S. list of verboten nations, Hussen gently batted away the premise of the question. "Yes, I was born in Somalia, but I took my oath of

citizenship to this country 15 years ago. I am a Canadian," he said. "I have spent most of my life here and I continue to be proud of our country, our ability to be generous, to continue to view those who seek protection as being welcome to this country."

It's virtually impossible to imagine a way in which the 40-year-old could be better suited to the cabinet job he now holds. He fled the Somali civil war and subsequently lived in Regent Park, a once-troubled downtown

Toronto public housing project he would help rejuvenate and repatriate to residents. Later, he opened a law practice focusing on immigration law and criminal cases, particularly for young offenders.

Hussen, of course, sees the symmetry between his biography and the hefty file he now controls, but he's distinctly understated about it. "Every public servant, every elected official, every minister of various orders of government, I think we are all informed by



PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA DEEKS

Hussen has been a prominent voice in the Somali diaspora community

our lived experiences, and mine isn't any different in that sense," he says. "What is unique is that I happen to now lead the very department that I was once a client of. But I always tell people this: it really doesn't say that much about me, it says much more about Canada, that this is possible in this country."

At the precise moment when the debate about borders is so fiercely prominent in the world, Hussen is the very best advertisement for this country's immigration system—or, more precisely, for the best possible interpretation of how it can function.

Hussen arrived in Canada in 1993 at the age of 16, without his parents. He had two older brothers already here who helped with the basics: buying winter clothing, registering for high school, accessing community services (his father died in 2000 and his mother lives in Nairobi). Hussen is quick to credit others who helped him, too, like his track coach, teachers and fellow students when he started high school in Hamilton. "They were very, very generous to me in my early years in Canada and I have never forgotten that," he says. "I have always tried over the years to replicate that by helping those who came after me."

After high school, Hussen moved in with one of his brothers in Regent Park. That's where George Smitherman, a former Ontario MPP who represented the riding that included the neighbourhood, got to know him. A major redevelopment was in the works, so a group of residents started meeting to ensure they had a voice in the process. By 2002, Hussen had co-founded the Regent Park Community Council. "We took a stand that said even though we welcome redevelopment, we also wanted to make sure that in that process, the people of Regent Park were revitalized, that the community was revitalized," Hussen says.

Smitherman came to think of Hussen as "a gentle giant": tall but slight, he possessed a presence and maturity that didn't match his years; people simply listened when he spoke. "He could gently peddle a strong argument," says Smitherman. "He seemed to me to have a well-developed—maybe instinctive—sense of how to carry himself."

Hussen focused on pragmatic changes: isolated pockets of Regent Park were linked with green pathways, and University of Toronto

professors were brought in to offer free classes. Basic public services like mailboxes were installed. In the many interviews Hussen gave in the thick of redevelopment planning, he would mention visiting Wasaga Beach, a town 150 km north of Toronto that had roughly the same population as Regent Park. There wasn't a single mailbox in his neighbourhood, but there were 22 in Wasaga Beach, he noted—he knew because he'd counted them.

Hussen moved out of Regent Park around 2005 but still visits that "mini-city" when he can, always amazed by the changes. "I had a lawyer friend, for example, a number of months ago tell me, 'Hey, I'm moving into Regent Park,'" he says. "That's something you would never have heard many years ago."

Hussen volunteered on one of Smitherman's campaigns, and he was spoken of so highly that he was hired as an assistant in the office of Dalton McGuinty, then the leader of the opposition at Queen's Park. After McGuinty's party formed the government in 2003, the premier also became minister of inter-governmental affairs, and

Hussen was hired as the legislative assistant and issues manager in that office.

Gerald Butts, now principal secretary to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, was McGuinty's principal secretary at the time. One evening, Butts had a friend visiting and he forgot something at the office, so they stopped by on their way out for dinner. Hussen had taken his oath of citizenship that day, and Butts introduced his colleague and told his friend that Hussen had just become a Canadian citizen. As it happened, the friend visiting was Trudeau. Hussen recently reminded Butts of the conversation and recalled what his future boss said in response: "Welcome to the best club in the world."

Arnold Chan, now the Liberal MP for Scarborough-Agincourt, was the senior adviser in McGuinty's ministry office when Hussen worked there. He would get a call from the premier requesting, say, a briefing on Burma. Chan and the civil servants around him would be clueless, but eventually they learned to just send Hussen to brief the boss. "He's very broadly read, very detail-oriented, and the most esoteric topics were already in that noggin of his," says Chan. "He's very soft-spoken, but my God, is he super smart."

Hussen left McGuinty's office to attend law school at the University of Ottawa, after completing a history degree at York Uni-

versity. He saw a law degree as the way to further push the issues he cared about. He practised for about five years, focusing on criminal defence, mainly for young people, and immigration and refugee cases.

Around the same time, Hussen became a prominent voice of the Somali diaspora as national president of the Canadian Somali Congress. In 2011, he testified before the Homeland Security Committee in the U.S. about al-Shabaab recruitment and radicalization efforts in the Canadian Somali community. Hussen traced the statistics of vastly lower median incomes, higher unemployment and school drop-out rates that revealed a young immigrant community still finding its feet. "After fleeing a civil war that gripped Somalia in the late 1990s, the Canadian Somali community is now undergoing the growing pains of integration into the larger Canadian mainstream society," Hussen said.

He also spoke as "a Canadian Muslim who is proud of my faith and heritage" about how Canadian and American values of democracy, liberty, rule of law and human rights fit with his faith, and how Muslims can in fact best practise in countries that enshrine those. "The civil rights of our community members must obviously be protected, but it is equally important to disseminate these integration-friendly messages in order to contribute to a process where our community emphasizes the defence and attachment to the countries of Canada and the United States," he said.

A few years later, when Hussen garnered 46 per cent of the vote and defeated NDP incumbent Mike Sullivan to take York South-Weston, an immigrant-heavy riding in Toronto's west end, in the 2015 federal election, he became the first Somali-Canadian elected to Parliament.

As an MP, he introduced a private member's bill in May 2016 that would allow the federal government to require assessments of the "community benefits"—social or economic boosts such as job creation or the improvement of public space—derived from infrastructure projects. In the House, he has spoken about the budget, his concern over the proposed closure of a refugee camp in Kenya and against a Conservative MP's call for the Canadian government to declare the treatment of Yazidis by Islamic State a genocide.

Still, Hussen was not exactly a high-profile MP, and when he was tapped to take over the immigration file from veteran John McCallum—who subsequently resigned his seat and was named ambassador to China—the reaction was largely, "Who?" Hussen says he had no sense this was coming, but he was "very,

'He's very broadly read, very detailed-oriented. The most esoteric topics were already in that noggin of his.'

very honoured and really touched” that the Prime Minister handed him this file.

“I’ll be frank: it’s a big job, and he didn’t start as a parliamentary secretary, so he didn’t have the opportunity to get seasoned on the brief,” says Chan, who remained friends with Hussen after both left McGuinty’s office. “But I’ve never doubted his intelligence. So for me, his only major challenge is the cut-and-thrust, and the speed with which things will transpire in his life.”

Chan exudes a warm, fatherly sort of pride toward his colleague, despite being only nine years older. Hussen has three sons aged seven, three and five months; Chan’s three sons are just about a decade older, and he’s warned Hussen of how hectic it will be juggling everything now. Chan echoes others who know Hussen in remarking on how he manages to be quietly commanding. “I think the challenge sometimes is in the heat of the bright lights, some people might take that [soft-spokenness] as a form of weakness. I would never take that view, that he won’t see through the issues or that he’s going to act in a capricious way, or that there’s a soft underbelly to him,” Chan says. “There isn’t.”

In fact, the PMO saw Hussen’s “preternatural calm” as a major asset in this portfolio, the senior government official says. The Liberal government didn’t know exactly what the Trump administration had planned, but it was clear from the campaign that immigration would be a hot file. “We wanted to make sure there was someone in the control room who really understood what it was like to be on the shop floor,” the official says.

Hussen is almost comically understated about his dramatic public introduction to the job, conceding only that it was a “very interesting” weekend. “I’ve always learned most when I’m placed quickly in a situation where I have to deal with something,” he says. “It was a very steep learning curve to get right into it, but I have a very good staff and supportive department officials.”

When asked about his seeming reluctance to respond to issues like the U.S. travel ban from a personal perspective, Hussen returns to a familiar line in spelling out the various pieces of his identity and history. “I’m very happy and proud of my Somali heritage, but I also make it a point to emphasize that I’m a Canadian citizen, and I’m a Canadian,” he says. “This is where I have spent more of my life, this is home for me and this is the society I have grown to cherish.”

For Hussen, it’s about being proud of his roots, but recognizing that he is a citizen of one country now: Canada. ♣



REFUGEES

Borderline chaos

With asylum-seekers risking all to thwart it, how long can Canada’s safe-country deal with the U.S. last?

BY JASON MARKUSOFF • Freedom House sits a few blocks away from the border-spanning Ambassador Bridge’s landing in Detroit. It’s a stately, three-storey brick house with transitional shelter beds and offices. On one side of its arched doorway is a wooden wheelchair ramp; on the other, a white post proclaiming “may peace prevail on Earth.” Freedom House launched in the mid 1980s to help the Detroit-Windsor Refugee Coalition bring across droves of Salvadorans fleeing civil war. The agency continued for two decades to help get hun-

dreds of refugees safely across the Detroit River to Canada, before the safe third country pact frayed that link, forcing most asylum-seekers to stick with the system on the side of the border where they first landed. Migrants seeking to stay in America became Freedom House’s dominant business. Lately, however, Canada is back on clients’ minds.

In the days after Donald Trump’s first executive orders on immigration and travel, queries started flooding in about how to become refugees in Canada. Africans, Central Americans



Crossing the border in the winter is gruelling, but migration may rise along with the temperature

taking this option, though anecdotal reports of such journeys abound.

The border pact workaround is increasingly well-known and well-used, at that ditch in Quebec, through the snowy fields and woods of Emerson, Man., and through Peace Arch State Park opposite suburban homes in Surrey, B.C. It's exposing the remarkable futility of the agreement, which serves to stop people who want to make a 20-minute journey yet can't do a thing about those who take the long way around. That's prompted a two-way fight against the status quo to which the Liberal government clings. On one side, advocates want to let refugees simply arrive at the border station on the Ambassador Bridge's Ontario side—entering for protection through Canada's front door rather than being forced to sneak around through an open window. On the other, those who preach border safety and order want reforms to shutter the window, or somehow make it less enticing.

Then there's the risk of how desperate people get if Trump's America becomes a no-hope zone for refugees: unable to enter this country, some might seek to squeeze or get smuggled north through any means possible (refugee aid agencies in Toronto say dozens have already made this most dangerous choice).

The Trudeau Liberals have publicly shrugged off advice from either side, preferring for now a status quo in which migrants stream past do-not-enter signs and into this country's asylum process. The government has managed the recent influx—shuffling staff, rushing office trailers to immigration-processing border offices, while local and provincial officials deal with the strain at Winnipeg and Toronto shelters. But the frostbite scare will ease with the onset of spring, when migration typically begins to blossom. And there will surely be more travel bans and migration orders from Trump, meaning the number of border-crossers is almost certain to multiply. Canada's leaders are tiptoeing a narrow political line for now. They may soon have to pick a side.

THESE SO-CALLED "IRREGULAR" crossings—Canadian and international law does not penalize refugee claimants who hop the border—occurred in smaller numbers before Trump and his rhetoric changed the way some immigrants think about their safety in America. Those rejected by U.S. immigration courts would occasionally cross; so would those who had family or a community in Canada. But

as the dozens have become hundreds, the northward stream has swelled further to include those who simply don't want to give the Trump-era system a chance, with its renewed focus on detention and deportation. When a monitor for the United Nations' refugee agency recently visited Lacolle and interviewed dozens of border-crossing claimants—mainly Turks, Yemenis and Somalis that day—he found most had temporary American visas and were treating the U.S. as a way station en route to their preferred asylum country, Canada. Jean-Nicolas Beuze found most to be well-dressed and well-equipped. "It was not an improvised, last-minute decision. It was something that had been well thought out; they knew where to go," says Beuze, the agency's Canadian representative.

Then there are those who lack any kind of legal status in the U.S., and won't pursue it here: undocumented or illegal immigrants. The "sanctuary city" status that some Canadian mayors have proclaimed (and others muse about) has no bearing on the border-hoppers awaiting asylum hearings to become legal residents, but will offer services without risk to people living afoul of the legal system, now a proportionally much smaller population in Canada than the 11 million in the U.S. In Vancouver, where Mario Ayala's Inland Refugee Society is starting 2017 with double the client base it had a year earlier, Ayala says he's worried about the way some foreign-language press have beamed about Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's "Canadians will welcome you" tweet from January. Two undocumented Pakistani families who jumped the border the day after Trump's election started the refugee process and then never came back. "My fear is they may be underground working here too," Ayala says.

In Buffalo, one pastor is eager to help with passage to Canada but isn't sure how. Rev. Justo Gonzalez II first vowed to make his United Church a sanctuary for undocumented immigrants who are hounded by authorities. But after calls from would-be Canadians, other churches and some social organizations north of the border, he wants to foster a multi-state, two-country network of refuge. People are telling him Canada and Trudeau will be much more welcoming, Gonzalez says, "rather than our present administration, which wants to criminalize people and not give them due process, simply take them back to Mexico regardless of where they're from."

In other words, help for the Canada-bound is in heavy demand, and the supply of aid stands to grow as well, beyond the pressure

and Middle Easterners all wanted to know. "The staff clerical time to answer phones and handle walk-ins was so significant that we did move everything to the website," executive director Deborah Drennan says. That webpage everyone now gets funnelled to features a questionnaire that explains, in four languages, why most people wouldn't qualify for hearings by Canadian authorities in Windsor, Ont.

The Detroit suburb of Dearborn boasts one of the nation's largest Arab-American communities; in good traffic, would-be refugees there are a 20-minute drive from Canada. But these days, their only reliable way in is a 12-hour drive through four states to a ditch-ended gravel road in upstate New York, where some warning signs and, often, a team of Mounties wait ready to detain newcomers and deliver them to immigration processing at Lacolle, Que. Drennan isn't sure how many people who've asked Freedom House wind up

points at Emerson, Lacolle and Surrey. There are no fields to walk across at Detroit or Buffalo, and only the occasional tale of asylum-seekers scuttling over the International Railway Bridge to Fort Erie, Ont. (one man lost his legs when a train came through). However they cross, a surge in border-hoppers seems sure to raise the pressure on Ottawa to take the unprecedented and diplomatically risky step of scrapping the agreement and opening its high-traffic ports of entry to asylum-seekers as an alternative to the taxing and dangerous routes they're taking. Justification for such a provocative move is easy to find. In a recent issue of its lawyers' report, Harvard Law School's immigration clinic said Canada should no longer consider the U.S. a "safe country" for refugee claimants. "The substance of President Trump's recent executive orders," it said, "highlights this administration's hostility toward refugees and asylum seekers."

THIS WOULD, OF course, be just the sort of diplomatic elbow jab at the new White House that Trudeau and his colleagues have worked so assiduously to avoid. It would also be a break with history. The last couple of times more refugee claimants began crossing Canada's border, Canadian governments both Liberal and Tory chose to toughen rules rather than ease entry for protection-seekers.

The first came in December 2001, months after the 9/11 attacks. The number of refugee declarations made at the Canadian border had more than doubled in two years to about 13,000 in 2000 and 14,000 the following year, far outstripping the number of government-sponsored refugees vetted for admission from global crisis spots, and constituting a third of all Canadian asylum claims, up from a quarter (others are made at airports or by visa holders at urban government offices). "We should be able to deport them and send them back to the United States," Joe Fontana, the Liberals' immigration committee chairman at the time, told the *National Post*. "What the United States wants to do with them is their own problem. It shouldn't become our problem." In December 2001, the U.S. agreed to the now well-known Safe Third Country Agreement that Canada sought; in exchange, the Bush administration won support for reforms to border security and Canada's own admission policies. Before the agreement took effect at the end of 2004, the number of asylum-seekers showing up at border posts remained high, carried in particular by Pakistanis spooked by temporary U.S. rules requiring men from many Muslim countries to register with Amer-

ican authorities. But by 2005, the first full year of the safe country deal, claims at the border were down to 4,000, mostly from people who met the agreement's still-standing exemption for claimants with close Canadian relatives. The numbers stayed low except for a surge in 2008, according to a Harvard report titled "Bordering on Failure."

The so-called loophole that permits field crossings was always known, and was flagged by immigration experts and support agencies, and acknowledged by government. "The Department [of Homeland Security] is aware of the potential for increased smuggling and trafficking after the agreement is implemented," says a 2004 U.S. federal register report on the U.S.-Canada accord. It also noted comments about "the increased risks to life and safety of those seeking to enter either country outside land border ports of entry," yet settled on no formal plan to monitor those hazards.

The consequences became all too clear for Seidu Mohammed and Razak Iyal, the two Ghanaian asylum-seekers whose overnight walk into Manitoba cost them their fingers to

frostbite. Barriers erected by the agreement have also prompted a recent spate of smuggling into Toronto, again leading to severe frostbite. Between December and January, Paul Caulford's volunteer clinic for refugees in suburban Scarborough treated some four dozen Nigerian mothers and children, all of whom were snuck into Canada in the backs of trucks then abandoned in the dead of night in quiet places, like one of Toronto's windswept

industrial sites. "Sitting in amongst televisions," Caulford, an MD, says of one smuggled family, "and for warmth they got in the boxes that didn't have televisions in them." The mother wrapped her kids in a windbreaker in minus 15° C weather,

using her hands to protect their small faces, waiting for somebody, anybody, to pick them up. Days later, they stepped into Caulford's doctor's office. "They wanted to know why their hands didn't work," he says.

The UN refugee agency has long warned that serious border controls heighten the risk of smuggling, as desperate asylum-seekers do what they can to find protection and hope. Just look at the North African and Syr-

If illegal aliens flee to Canada, notes Jason Kenney, Americans 'don't have to worry about them anymore'



ian refugees—those who can have travelled thousands of kilometres into Greece, while others have taken the deadly smugglers' route across the Mediterranean and Aegean seas. At some point in Canada's new wave, smuggling will inevitably kick in, Beuze says. "We have seen that everywhere in the world. And [smugglers] will use the vulnerability of the people to make them pay."

THE LAST TIME an immigration minister faced an onset of smuggling, however, he tried to combat it by making any such journey tougher, riskier and less appealing. It was earlier this decade, and the border-crossers weren't from sub-Saharan Africa or the Middle East, but central Europe, mostly Roma. After then-immigration minister Jason Kenney reintroduced visa controls, the border-crossings intensified, often at Stanstead, Que., which abuts the Vermont town of Derby Line (this came on the heels of another migrant issue: two ships full of Sri Lankan asylum-seekers arriving off the West Coast). Kenney went to Washington to urge expanding the Safe Third Country Agreement beyond border ports of entry, but the Obama administration wouldn't bite. What leverage the Liberal government had in the 9/11 border talks, the Harper Conservatives lacked. "To put it

bluntly, if people they regard as illegal aliens go to Canada, [Americans] don't have to worry about them anymore or remove them," Kenney said in an interview.

Instead, the government thickened Canada's barriers. Ottawa sped up hearing schedules to deter claimants doomed to fail, and controversially rolled back claimant health benefits. A new law created a category of "irregular arrivals" that could face long detention periods in cases of suspected smuggling or unverified identification, while Kenney made a big announcement in 2012 when authorities detained 85 European-via-Vermont arrivals. And in some spots, authorities installed literal barriers on common Stanstead crossing points. "These migrant networks are sensitive to messaging or perceptions of how easy or hard it is to get into a country, or stay in a country, or benefits you will receive in the country," says Howard Anglin, Kenney's former chief of staff. When Kenney trumpeted the detention crackdown, he explicitly called it a "strong signal." "We have one of the highest levels of per-capita immigration in the world," he now says, "and the only way we can maintain public support for that is through a rules-based system."

Other Conservatives have echoed Kenney, chiding Trudeau for his welcoming rhetoric and sunny photos of RCMP embracing migrant children. They want a tougher message. "The first line of communication on this is telling people this is not safe, don't do this," says Michelle Rempel, Tory immigration critic. Some of the party's messaging skirts the boundary between fact and farce: MP Tony Clement has declared that the border should be enforced (authorities are actually enforcing the rules they have, short of physically blocking walkers at the line); and various Conservative leadership candidates have branded the asylum-seekers "illegal immigrants" and "false refugees" (the Immigration and Refugee Board determines legitimacy of refugee claims, not politicians).

Several of the party's would-be leaders want Liberals to close the "loophole" in the safe country agreement, as does Kenney—but if he failed with the Obama White House, what hope would there be of getting a deportation-and-ban-happy Trump administration to repatriate from Canada dozens or hundreds of refugee claimants, most of them Muslim? The enforcement challenge alone makes a broader Safe Third Country Agreement improbable. "Once someone is

in Canada, there is no practical way of proving they crossed overland from the U.S., just as there is no practical way of enforcing it at airports," says Audrey Macklin, a University of Toronto immigration lawyer. She's long warned of the border agreement's folly, and calls it a "cynical ploy" to reduce asylum-seekers. Amid the Liberals' guarded statements on the border question, Trudeau's principal secretary Gerald Butts fired this Twitter shot about Conservatives' calls for toughness: "This won't age well."

The more pressing question is whether the Liberals' stand-pat approach can endure. They note that the spike in border-crossers hasn't pushed overall numbers of asylum-seekers to historic or unmanageable levels. "If you look at the American domestic asylum system, they're meeting their international obligations," Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen told reporters. "So the Safe Third Country Agreement parameters are in place." UN representative Beuze backs up that assertion. In February, a U.S. judge granted refugee status to one of Washington-based immigration lawyer Jason Dzubow's Iraqi Kurdish clients. Dzubow sees no fundamental differences in Trump-era asylum determinations, but has noticed a marked change "in terms of the atmosphere and people's anxiety." Trump, he says, could have issued the self-same orders using "different words from his mouth, and it would have been a whole different ball game." Dzubow has had clients disappear and re-emerge north of the border, before and during Trump's presidency. Human rights and immigration advocates, meanwhile, argue that some aspects of the new orders undermine the U.S. asylum system, including expanded detention provisions and "expedited removal" rules. The federal NDP joins advocates in demanding a unilateral suspension of the safe country deal. Ottawa could also invoke a section of the pact and make exemptions at border posts in the "public interest," Macklin says—effectively ending the deal's northern enforcement without explicitly scrapping it. But there's no sign yet the Liberals will budge in either direction.

Their high-wire act will soon be tested. Border crossings traditionally rise in the spring, and the next steps from an unpredictable White House could heighten anxiety or tamp it down. Or Trump could realize that the Bush-era agreement on asylum-seekers adds to his country's refugee numbers and rubbish it himself. And while the Liberals sit on the fence and monitor what's coming, would-be refugees will keep seeking futures here, finding spots where there's no fence at all. ♣



A warning sign in Emerson, Man.; claimants have lost fingers to frostbite crossing the fields

THE BORDER

THE PROBLEM WITH REFUGEES

It's not Canada's willingness to take in large numbers of them, but our woeful lack of preparation



TERRY GLAVIN

IT'S GOOD TO know that with all the shouting about refugees that's been going on lately, most Canadians seem to be keeping their cool. The federal government's latest tracking poll on attitudes

toward immigrants and refugees, released March 1, shows that fewer than a third of us think Canada's refugee intake is too high. Two of every five Canadians think what Canada's doing about refugees is just about right.

But a confluence of misapprehensions in both Canada and the United States could quickly jinx things.

For starters, quite a few Americans, as usual, are under the impression that Canada's border controls and refugee screening systems are either too lax, or more just and fair, than the way things generally work in the United States. They're neither. Similarly, Canadians are beginning to think that the internal American refugee adjudication system has tightened up terribly since Donald Trump was elected president last November. It hasn't.

If heartwarming images of Mounties helping asylum-seekers slip into this country across remote and unguarded sections of the Canada-U.S. border are starting to leave you with the impression that some sort of flood of migrants has begun pouring into Canada lately, you would be wrong.

Ahmed Hussen, Canada's new minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, is playing everything cool. Maybe too cool. If things go the way NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair says he expects, the warming weather could cause asylum-seekers to begin streaming north. Things could go sideways fast, and not just because of a possible hardening of Canadian attitudes.

Hussen inherited a department that was already woefully ill-equipped to handle a volume of cross-border asylum-seekers that



Refugees are referred to the Immigration and Refugee Board, which is already dealing with a backlog of 19,000 applications

has been on a steep upward climb for several years. The 2004 Safe Third Country Agreement between Canada and the U.S. reduced land-border asylum-seekers to a trickle, but then the numbers started climbing again, approaching pre-2004 heights long before Trump was elected president last November. By 2013, border claims were up to nearly 3,000, and by 2016 the number had reached 7,000.

There's been a definite spike in the cross-border numbers since Trump's election, with sometimes 20 people a day arriving at some crossing points following Trump's chaos-inducing Executive Order 13769, signed on Jan. 27. The order is sometimes described, unhelpfully, as a "Muslim ban." But it's just as misleadingly described by its own official subtitle, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States." There's no evidence it will do anything of the kind.

The confusion and panic the order set off continue even though it was temporarily suspended by a court judgement a few days later. (And even before the order's suspension, Hussen and his officials said they'd secured assurances from their American counterparts that Canadian permanent residents from the countries listed in the order—Iran, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Libya and Yemen—would not be hassled at U.S. border crossings.)

Already drawn at least partly by impressions telegraphed by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Somalis, Eritreans, Ghanians and others awaiting refugee hearings in the United States are packing up and heading north, sometimes making dangerous nighttime treks across frozen prairie fields into Canada. Across the United States, well-meaning church and refugee-aid organizations are now talking about developing an "underground railroad" network to help worried asylum-seekers make their way into Canada. But that might not do them much good.

Canada's refugee resettlement numbers are far more generous than the targets set by the United States. There's nothing new about that, but there's no practical difference between Canadian and American security controls and eligibility criteria. Once

in Canada, northbound asylum-seekers are processed by the RCMP and the Canadian Border Security Agency then referred to the Immigration and Refugee Board—which is already fumbling through a backlog of 19,000 applications.

Rejected applicants will not simply be sent back to the United States to try their luck again. They're expected to leave for whatever country will take them, or go back to their home countries. There's a growing body of opinion in Canada that suspending the Safe Third Country Agreement—part of a suite of continental-perimeter measures between Canada and the U.S. to address post-9/11 security concerns—will somehow smooth things over by allowing people to make refugee claims at land border crossings. But Hussen's not budging. "We will not get out of the Safe Third Country Agreement because the United States continues to meet its international obligations with respect to its domestic asylum system," Hussen says.

But keeping your head in what looks like a crisis is one thing, and doing nothing in the hopes that the chaos will pass is quite another. And that seems to be what Canada would rather do right now.

Nothing. ♣

Follow Terry Glavin on Twitter @TerryGlavin

The wheels of injustice

A ‘wake-up call’ Supreme Court ruling on trial delays could see hundreds of alleged criminals cut loose

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • Fouad Nayel vanished on June 17, 2012. Father’s Day. He told his dad, Amine Nayel, he would be home in time for his special supper—Chinese food, like every year—but he never walked through the front door again. By sundown, his Ottawa family was frantic, already fearing the worst. “He always, always, always answered his phone,” says Nayel’s mom, Nicole Nayel. “But when I tried to call, he didn’t answer. As a mother, I knew something was wrong.”

Tragically, her instincts proved correct. Five agonizing months after Nayel disappeared, the 28-year-old’s decomposed remains were discovered in the woods of Calabogie, Ont., 100 km west of the capital. He’d been shot twice. “There was nothing left of my son,” Amine says now. “The animals ravaged him.”

A few weeks later, police announced the arrest of Nayel’s alleged killer: Adam Picard, a 29-year-old former soldier. The charge was first-degree murder.

So began yet another glacial journey through Canada’s criminal justice system: court appearances. More court appearances. Multiple lawyer changes. Bail applications. A preliminary inquiry. Nicole, a waitress, never missed a minute of the proceedings, month after month, year after year. “I wanted to know every little thing that happened, even when it was eating me alive to see some of the evidence,” says the 63-year-old. “I had to be there because my son couldn’t be there for himself. I was his voice.”

Although the vast majority of the evidence remains shielded by a publication ban (in place to protect Picard’s fair-trial rights), the gist of the case has been revealed in numerous pretrial rulings. Simply put, the Crown’s theory is that Picard and Nayel were recent associates in the drug trade, and that Picard, desperate for a cash infusion after some bad luck, lured his target to a meeting, shot him dead and then stole his marijuana. Picard insists he is innocent and that “one or more unknown assailants” surprised them at the scene and pulled the trigger.

Jury selection was supposed to begin in November 2016, four full years after Nayel’s remains were properly buried. Instead, an

Ottawa judge issued a bombshell ruling—throwing out the first-degree murder case because it took so long to reach trial. Just like that, Picard was free to go.

“I am well aware that in [my] deciding to stay these charges, the family of the deceased in this matter will not see justice done as they would want,” Justice Julianne Parfett told the courtroom. “Moreover, the accused

Adam Picard is among a growing list of alleged criminals to have their cases stayed as a result of *R. v. Jordan*, a landmark Supreme Court decision released last July that established strict new ceilings on how quickly a suspect should be tried after charges are laid (18 months for cases in provincial courts; 30 months for files in superior courts, which preside over the most serious cases, including all jury trials). As soon as a case stretches beyond those ceilings, it is now automatically presumed that a suspect’s Charter right to timely justice has been breached—with the onus shifting to the Crown to justify the delay or risk seeing the case tossed.

In theory, the Supreme Court’s rationale should surprise no one who has spent time in a Canadian courthouse. As the majority of judges (5–4) accurately lament, a “culture of



The man accused of murdering the Nayels’ son, Fouad, was set free after the charges were stayed

himself may find this to be a hollow victory. A stay of proceedings is not the same as a verdict of not guilty.”

Sitting in the gallery, Amine couldn’t quite comprehend what he was hearing. “It was like being in a car accident,” he recalls. “Everything happened in slow motion. I tried to keep my cool, but I was burning inside. I’d never felt such anger in my life, and I think anybody in my shoes would feel that way.”

Though one of the most extreme examples,

complacency” has infected the country’s criminal justice system, so much so that everyone who works in that world “has come to tolerate excessive delays,” the ruling reads. The moment has come, in other words, for a drastic reboot—for the sake of all involved, from suspects to victims to a disillusioned public. “The ability to provide fair trials within a reasonable time is an indicator of the health and proper functioning of the system itself,” the court ruled. “The stakes are indisputably high.”

But is the Supreme Court's solution too extreme, at least in the short term? Although stakeholders are now acutely aware that the clock is ticking on every new charge, many older cases—like Picard's, which dates back well before the Supreme Court's ruling—are being re-evaluated under a framework that did not exist at the time. Among the dozens of other suspects who've had their charges suddenly stayed are Salvatore Cazzetta, a Hells Angels leader in Quebec; David Keyes,

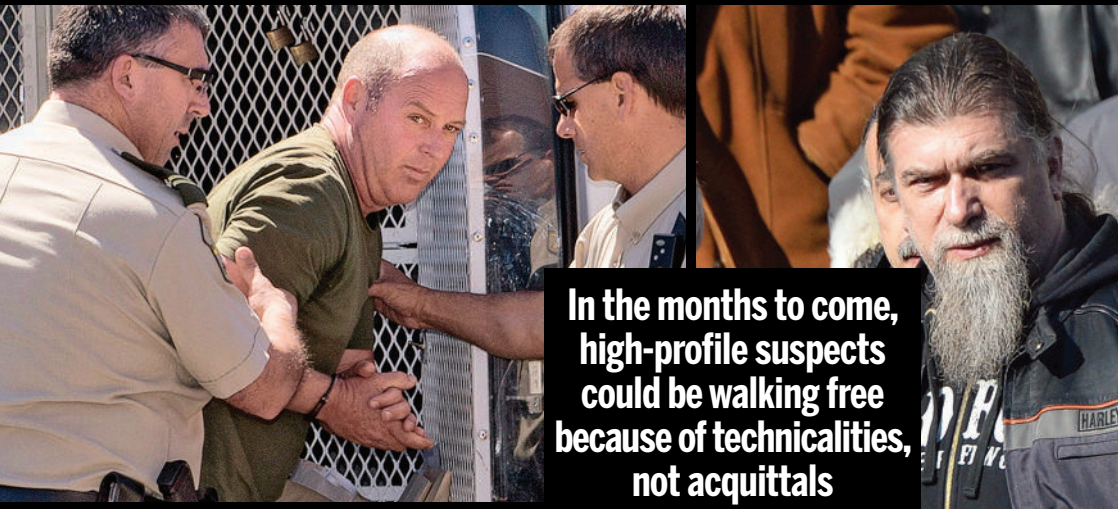
Tom Harding, the train engineer facing 47 counts of criminal negligence causing death in connection with the Lac-Mégantic rail disaster; Peter Beckett, a former New Zealand politician who allegedly drowned his wife during a British Columbia vacation six years ago; and Robert Wood, the last inspector to examine the rusty steel beams holding up the doomed shopping mall in Elliot Lake, Ont., which collapsed in 2012, killing two.

"When people see the justice system oper-

Ontario solicitor general, is now chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, which just so happened to be studying the long-standing plague of court delays when the Jordan ruling was rendered. His committee has since called on Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould to seek clarity from the Supreme Court on how to handle files already languishing in the queue. "Some cases are falling between the cracks and causing a lot of hurt and pain across the

country," Runciman says. "I don't think that's what was intended by the court in the Jordan decision, but that is the way it's being interpreted by some judges."

To be clear, the Supreme Court directed lower courts to apply the new framework "flexibly" to cases already in the system, adding that certain factors, including the seriousness of the offence, can be considered. "Parliament, the legislatures, and Crown counsel need time to respond to this decision," the ruling reads, "and stays



a Toronto man charged with possessing child pornography; an Ottawa father (who cannot be named) who allegedly broke his newborn baby's ankles; and two employees of a London, Ont., jail (Stephen Jurkus and Leslie Lonsbary) who were accused of failing to provide the necessities of life to an inmate found beaten to death in a shower stall.

Adam Picard isn't even the only accused murderer to have his case stayed post-Jordan. A few weeks earlier, an Alberta judge did the same for Lance Matthew Regan, who allegedly stabbed to death a fellow prisoner at an Edmonton penitentiary. He'd waited a whopping 62 months for his trial to begin.

In fact, the nightmare scenario most feared by the Supreme Court's four dissenting judges—"that the introduction of these ceilings will put thousands of cases at risk of being judicially stayed"—has proven prescient. At last count, defence lawyers have launched more than 800 stay applications since Jordan (the most, 574, are in Quebec, followed by 240 in Ontario), and in the months to come, some other high-profile suspects could be walking free—because of technicalities, not acquittals.

Jamie Bacon, the Vancouver gang leader who allegedly ordered the 2007 "Surrey Six" massacre, is reportedly seeking a stay of proceedings due to unreasonable delay. So are



Clockwise from top left: Tom Harding, involved in the Lac-Mégantic rail disaster; Hells Angel Salvatore Cazzetta; Lance Matthew Regan, accused of murder; Bob Wood, involved in the Elliott Lake mall collapse

ating like this, there is a real concern about a loss of confidence in the system itself," says Scott Newark, a former Alberta prosecutor who has also advised the federal public safety minister. "The Supreme Court could have done a better job of clarifying specifically how the ruling should be interpreted for cases that were already in the system, when those arbitrary timelines were not set."

Conservative Sen. Bob Runciman, a former

of proceedings cannot be granted *en masse* simply because problems with institutional delay currently exist."

The court also said, however, that a suspect's right to be tried within a reasonable time "cannot be held in abeyance while the system works to respond" to the new Jordan ceilings. "The analysis must always be contextual," the ruling continues. "We rely on the good sense of trial judges to determine

the reasonableness of the delay in the circumstances of each case.”

The results have been mixed, to be sure. For all the alleged criminals who have secured stays, there are many others whose applications have failed—including Shakti Ramsurrun, accused of a gruesome triple murder in Gatineau, Que.; Barney Shum, a former director at Library and Archives Canada who allegedly participated in a \$3.5-million bid-rigging conspiracy; and British Columbia’s Zachary Matheson, charged with possession of cocaine, ecstasy and methamphetamines for the purpose of trafficking.

Prosecutors in Ontario and Alberta have also filed appeals in their respective murder cases, leaving open the possibility that the top judges in each province will interpret the Supreme Court’s guidance differently than the lower courts and restart the two cases that have triggered the most public uproar.

“This is the way our system works: The judiciary interprets the Supreme Court of Canada’s decisions and applies them,” says Martin Herschorn, the director of public prosecutions in Nova Scotia. “It is a work in progress, I would say.”

In the meantime, the system is clearly struggling to adjust to the intensified pace demanded by the Jordan ruling—at a time when criminal prosecutions have never been more complicated and resources stretched more thin. “It has long been apparent that a crisis was inevitable,” Kate Matthews, the president of the Ontario Crown Attorneys Association, wrote in a recent open letter. “Criminal prosecutions have become increasingly complex and take much longer to prosecute. Yet the numbers of prosecutors in the trial offices has decreased. Increasingly we are concerned that we will be unable to comply with our professional obligations and duties to the public we serve.”

As a direct result of Jordan, the Quebec government has invested \$175 million to recruit new provincial judges, prosecutors and other courthouse staff. In Ontario, which also announced a funding boost, Attorney General Yasir Naqvi says the time has come to dramatically limit the use of preliminary inquiries, which add “many months” to serious criminal cases. Other regions, Alberta included, have introduced “triage” systems to ensure limited resources are being directed toward the most at-risk files—while at the same time urging Ottawa to finally fill close to 60 judicial vacancies in the country’s superior court ranks.

“After the Jordan decision, we have redoubled our efforts,” said Kathleen Ganley, Alberta’s justice minister, in an interview with *Maclean’s*. “My initial concern was for victims

and families of victims, because no one wants to see their accused person walk free, particularly when it’s on a procedural matter.” Ganley said although the “culture shift” now underway “will probably take a little bit of time,” she is confident victims will benefit most in the long run. “No victim wants to have to wait three or four years to see an accused perpetrator go to trial,” she said.

The minister also conceded, however, that prosecutors will have “some difficult decisions” to make in the weeks ahead, as they prioritize which cases to pursue in this post-Jordan reality. And that’s exactly what happened just a few days after she made her remarks, when a senior Edmonton Crown stood up in court and announced prosecutors are staying 15 cases—from impaired driving to assaulting a police officer—because there simply aren’t enough resources to try them.

“The Jordan ruling was a wake-up call for the system, and when it is the Supreme Court of Canada speaking, you pay attention,” says Herschorn. “But there are finite resources in our system—like any system—and we have to make it work as efficiently as possible.”

Kevin Westell sympathizes with everyone affected. A Vancouver defence lawyer who

also works a few days a month as an ad hoc Crown, he understands how judicial delays impact both accused criminals and the victims of crime. “It is a fine balance, and I have looked at it from both sides of the equation,” he says. “But I would be disappointed in a story that laid claim to the idea that people who commit major offences can, or are, routinely walking out of jail. The right to be tried in a reasonable amount of time is meant to be a good thing for all Canadians, not just the accused. This is the only real mechanism in our law that exists to make sure things are dealt with efficiently and quickly so that matters don’t languish in the courts forever.”

Fouad Nayel’s grieving parents understand that. They’ve come to learn far more than they ever imagined they would about the criminal justice system, and they agree all accused criminals—even the one who allegedly shot their son and left him for dead—have every right to defend themselves. “If he won in court, I would be the first one to say he won fair and square,” Amine says. “But this is not fair and square. This had nothing to do with the evidence.”

“Where is our justice?” his wife asks. “Where are our rights? We are victims—and we are being punished by the system on top of it.” ♣

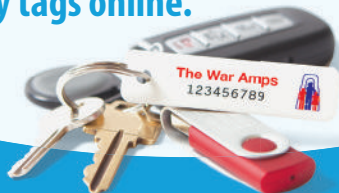
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MIDDLE EAST

Medics on a mission

Why a Canadian group, led by former anti-Islamic State fighters, is rushing into the thick of the war in Mosul

BY ADNAN R. KHAN • In the early morning hours of Feb. 19, Alex Moreau and his team of four volunteer medics mounted up with a unit of Iraqi federal policemen at a forward operating base 12 km south of Mosul. From the distance, over a ridgeline and through the last stretch of open plain separating Iraq's security services from territory still held by the so-called Islamic State, came the dull rumblings of mortar and artillery fire.

Moreau, 36, hadn't seen front-line action for more than half a year, but he was no novice. The former Canadian Forces infantryman had served a three-month stint as a foreign fighter with the Kurdish YPG forces in northern Syria beginning in January 2016. He had left his native Vancouver with one goal: to kill as many Islamic State fighters as he could. "Seeing the horrors of ISIS ignited a fire in me," he says. "Just seeing what people affected by them were going through made the choice easy: I had to go fight them."

But one year later, on the front lines in Iraq, Moreau was on a different kind of mission. As his transport rumbled toward ISIS-controlled Mosul airport, he and his team double-checked their medical gear. They had packed light; their mission would require them to remain mobile. For months, they had trained for this, upgrading their knowledge at emergency medical response courses in Canada, going over scenarios based on the experiences team members had from fighting Islamic State in Syria.

The battle for Mosul, they knew, would be different. The third phase of the offensive had begun. Thousands of soldiers from Iraq's myriad security services were streaming to the front. Fighter jets, either from the U.S.-led coalition air campaign or the Iraqi Air Force, screamed overhead.

If the previous phases of the battle were any indication, this would be the bloodiest fight Moreau would see. With some 650,000 civilians still trapped in western Mosul, the small team of medics was preparing for the worst. Their plan was simple, says Moreau: go where other medical teams were not able to go, "push deep into the environment," save lives.

That mission is a far cry from what Moreau initially set out to do when he left his life in Vancouver. His first tour in Syria taught him that fighting Islamic State was only a small part of the battle. Men were dying, he tells *Maclean's*, often from treatable injuries. Kurdish fighters would watch helplessly as their comrades succumbed to injuries on the battlefield because they lacked the tools and training to treat them. "There were some pretty basic things they were doing wrong," Moreau



Moreau and his team, MERMT, go where other medical groups can't, 'deep into the environment' to save lives

recalls. "The Kurds thought, for example, that applying a tourniquet to a limb for more than five minutes would lead to amputation. People bled to death because of it."

In April last year, he met Max Leopold, a 36-year-old German who was also fighting with the YPG. (Leopold, who is married to a Canadian, now calls Vancouver home.) The two decided they could make more of an impact saving lives rather than taking them. "The thought occurred to me: you can kill 10

ISIS fighters, and that's great. But we can save hundreds of lives just with basic emergency medical response training. You need people at the front with the proper skills to keep a person alive until they can get to a medical facility. This is what we do."

The two set to work establishing a volunteer medical corps in Syria. Their concept was different from any other medical organization. They would embed with fighters and accompany them into battle, providing on-the-ground medical aid to the injured, both combatants and civilians. "Other organizations, like the United Nations or Doctors Without Borders, face a lot of bureaucracy," says Leopold. "They are limited in what they can do. But we're a small, mobile team. We have the trust of the front-line units we're embedded with. We can get to places where the bigger NGOs can't go."

Now in Iraq under the banner of the official organization they set up last August in Ottawa, the Multinational Emergency Response Medical Team, or MERMT, Moreau and Leopold have a team of volunteers, mostly Canadians with some military training and experience on the front lines fighting Islamic State, to provide triage for injured civilians escaping the battle zone.

Their first test came on the first day of the push into western Mosul. The federal police unit they were embedded with faced little resistance as it approached the airport. Moreau and his team set up a casualty collection point in an abandoned building on the airport's outskirts. They took sniper fire and watched mortar rounds land nearby. The injured began to arrive, mostly Iraqi soldiers hit by snipers and mortar rounds.

The next day, the fighting intensified. An Iraqi general, worried about the safety of

the MERMT team, pushed them back to a village just south of the airport, where they tended to an increasing number of injured. The team planned to press deeper into Mosul in the coming days.

"We had a child die in front of us because he didn't get the medical attention he needed in time," Moreau says in early March. "We need to be closer. We're aware of the dangers, but this is what we came out here to do. We will not turn back." ♣



*The legacy of Czar Nicholas II and his family
resonates in modern-day Russia*

RUSSIA

THE RETURN OF THE CZAR

One hundred years after the Russian Revolution, an emboldened Putin regime is embracing its czarist past. Could 1917 happen again?

By Allen Abel

TWO RUSSIAN SOLDIERS are posted on a mountaintop. One of them is looking through binoculars.

The first soldier asks the other, "Can you see Putin?"

"No, I can't," the second soldier shrugs.

"Nevertheless," says the first soldier, "he exists."

An old family friend named Olga is telling this joke as we walk along Litenyi Prospekt in St. Petersburg in the starry glint of a Russian winter night. The traffic on the boulevards of 21st-century Putinstan is deafening—roaring buses, rambling trams, rusting Ladas, a Maybach here, a Bentley there—but in her mind's memory, a child of the Soviet Union hears only her own small footsteps dashing up the solid stairs, *Spokoynoy nochi, malyshei!* ("Good Night, Little Ones!") on the television, Babushka's clucking hug.

"This is it," Olga sighs, looking up. "Number 45."

Granny Zinaida was a humble woman, her granddaughter says, who rose to the position of director of an institute of mathematics in this scarred old czarist capital after growing up along the bank of Mother Russia's mightiest



and most sacred river. Her daughter's daughter, visiting there, literally became little Olga from the Volga. This was the *Communist Manifesto* made real: a descendant of unschooled peasants transformed into an educated Soviet citizen, preparing the next generation for their inevitable victory over the degenerate West.

In St. Petersburg, the river-woman and her husband—he had been plucked from a training institute for cinematographers and told that the Party needed him to drive a tank instead—shared one stove and a cold-water bath with seven other families at Litenyi 45. Zinaida died in 1989, a faithful marcher on the socialist road to the end. “We were so happy that she did not live to see everything she believed in become destroyed,” Olga smiles. The eight-family apartment, she says, is now a rich burgher's *pied-à-terre*. St. Petersburg, whose paradisiacal pastel facades often hide musty decay within, is one of Europe's greatest treasures of art and architecture. And now, what began here a century ago—the abdication and murder of a God-empowered czar and the slaughter of his children; the red-flagged overthrow of the czar's overthrowers; decades of civil war and a century of siege, invasion, repression, disintegration and upheaval—is returning to haunt the living and the consecrated dead.

It has been precisely 100 years since Nicholas II, czar of all the Russias, abdicated from the throne that his ancestors had held for three centuries, his palaces surrounded by citizens crying “There is no bread!” Condemned in

Soviet textbooks as “Nicholas the Bloody,” a bumbler whose personal command of Russian troops in the First World War caused the senseless death of millions, the last czar has been revived by the regime of Vladimir Putin as a nationalist paragon, and canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church as a martyr, passion-bearer, saint, a symbol of unity and love of the Russian folk.

Fifty years ago, the Communist behemoth swelled with statal optimism, even as the market shelves lay bare. At Expo 67 in Montreal, the USSR's soaring, glass-walled pavilion boasted of how the Soviet state was exploiting the resources of land, sea and sky “in the name of man, for the good of man.”

Fifty years later, *National Geographic* calls the state of the Russian soul “a hapless search for a uniting idea.” In place

of Nicholas the Bloody, the Russian nation has repeatedly chosen Vladimir the Bare-breasted—seizer of enclaves, annihilator of opponents, hacker of emails, hater of Hillary, fan (real or feigned) of U.S. President Donald Trump. If you've got the rubles, there is no shortage of bread. Or Bentleys.

It is at this moment that Russia and its president must address the legacy of 1917—the throngs in the streets waving red banners, dragging the emperor from his throne and pumping slugs into him and his kids. “The upcoming centennial of the 1917 revolution that toppled the czar and paved the way for Bolshevik rule promises to put the Kremlin in a tight spot,” predicts the (still-) independent

Moscow Times. “At the same time, the Kremlin is unwilling to unequivocally condemn the events the revolution set in motion or its Soviet past.”

So a visitor travelling from St. Petersburg to the edge of Siberia and to Moscow wonders: how do Russians view their own revolutionary past, a century later? And, more relevant: could 1917 happen again in a renascent age of one-man rule?

“Here's another one,” says Olga. Putin walks into the canteen at the State Duma with three other politicians: Mironov, Gryzlov and Volodin.

“I'll have the steak,” Putin says.

“And vegetables?” asks the waitress.

“They'll have the steak as well.”

THE REMBRANDT ROOM at the Hermitage State Museum, the world's greatest repository of art.

Guide Yelena Soromakha has been working here for 37 years. The joint is infested with masterpieces; right next door is a harem of gambolling Rubens nudes.

“Russia today is a presidential republic,” Soromakha is saying, pausing in front of Rembrandt's *Return of the Prodigal Son*. “So far, I don't see anyone who could compete with Putin, and I'm not saying that because I like Putin.”

“Russia is a big country. It is very hard to organize. Perhaps we need a different kind of organizational structure, but so far we have known only two: empire and dictatorship.”

We slide into the Winter Palace, in 1917 the hovel of the doomed dynasty. Legions of Chinese swarm the corridors, their ennui reflected in porcelain and malachite.

“The end of the Romanovs was absolutely terrible,” Soromakha says. “They didn't know they were going to be executed. They thought they would be only evacuated. The plan was for each soldier to shoot only certain people, but they all started shooting Nicholas instead. Little Prince Alexei was seated in his chair, and his sisters gathered around him to protect him. “The little prince was killed with bayonets.”

We enter the room where the cabinet of Alexander Kerensky, the small-d democrat who took control of the government after Nicholas packed it in, was meeting when, according to a Soviet-era plaque still on display, “Red Guards, soldiers and sailors stormed the Winter Palace and arrested

Czar Nicholas II and his family were assassinated in Yekaterinburg in 1917 by Bolsheviks on Lenin's order

‘So far, I don't see anyone who could compete with Putin, and I'm not saying that because I like Putin’



MONDADORI PORTFOLIO/GETTY IMAGES; PREVIOUS SPREAD: ALEXANDER PETROSYN

the counter-revolutionary bourgeois temporary government.” Lenin took power a few days later. The palace was turned into an orphanage, a school for cavalry officers and a movie theatre. Kerensky wound up as a professor at Stanford.

From the window, we can see the monumental archway through which—signalled by a cannon blast from the cruiser Aurora in the Neva River—the vanguard of the Bolsheviks swarmed a century ago. “This was the end of Russian democracy,” Soromakha says. “It happens all the time. People have good expectations and they don’t turn out.”

“The end of Russian democracy forever?” she is asked. She wiggles her hand.

“Compared to Stalin’s time, what we have now *is* democracy,” she says.

On board the Aurora, which has been preserved as a floating museum, one treads the same boards that have been walked by Nicholas the Bloody and Putin in their turn. A dozen junior officers are studying exhibits pertaining to the ship’s illustrious career.

“Is it time for another revolution?” a visitor asks one of the seamen, rather cheekily.

“Well, it has been 100 years,” he replies.

“Is it good to have a revolution every 100 years?”

“In this country, maybe even more often,” says the naval officer.

A YELLOW TAXI en route to the campus of St. Petersburg State University.

“I don’t have a lot of information about Trump, but I hate Hillary Clinton on an organic level,” the driver is saying. “What I don’t understand is why, when half of the people vote for one candidate, the other half do not accept the results. Trump was the candidate of the working people—not just those who work in factories, but those who actually *work*. Clinton was the candidate of people who receive. And of a lot of big black people who play basketball.”

“Is Putin the new Czar Vladimir the Great?” the hackie is asked.

“I think rather not,” he answers. “The powers of the president are limited. But he will serve until he is dead. Or until he gets shot by his ‘friends.’”

On the sixth floor at St. Pete State await the distinguished professors Sergei Korkonosenko, head of the department of journalism and mass communications, and Gennady Zhirkov.

“I was recently at Tsarskoye Selo,” (“Czar’s Village,” the Romanovs’ bucolic retreat) Korkonosenko reports, “and the guide was standing by a portrait of Nicholas II and repeating all the stereotypes: ‘He was very kind. He



Marchers in St. Petersburg honour the anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution

loved his children. They cleared the snow around the palace themselves.’ There is a war on, the empire is crumbling, and he’s shovelling *snow*?”

“Is it possible that we could overthrow the current regime?” Korkonosenko muses. “In order to answer that question, we need to know: what are the prerequisites of any revolution? One, the current leader would have to be one whom the people of Russia do not accept. However, his approval ratings are quite high. Two, there would have to be fighting within the elites, but we don’t see that right now, either. Putin’s party will stay in power in the next election. And three, there could be a political disaster such as Nicholas faced in the First World War. But right now, Russia acts as a winner!”

There is another crucial difference between 1917 and 2017, Korkonosenko notes: “The emperor’s power was derived from the myth of divine origin. Our current president’s power does not come from God.”

“There are two circumstances that must be considered,” says his colleague Zhirkov. “Russia is a vast territory, which means there must be a centralized power. Otherwise, all the outer territories will scatter. The second is that Europe has always been suspicious of Russia. So there is a tendency to resist this through autocratic power. The trend toward dictatorship is possible, and that continues today.”

“Your people should be happy,” says Korkonosenko to this American-born reporter. “You’ve never had a dictatorship. And you’re afraid of *Trump*?”

Behind the educators is a large wall map of Mother Russia and its vassal neighbours. Abkhazia and South Ossetia, two tiny fragments of the post-Soviet Republic of Georgia that were liberated by Putin by blitzkrieg in 2008 stand out in crimson like kidney beans. But Crimea, seized three summers ago, remains as pink as the rest of Ukraine.

“Why isn’t Crimea shown as an integral part of Russia?” one wonders.



The Church on the Blood in the Name of All Saints Resplendent in the Russian Land, built on the site where the Romanovs were massacred

"The government does not give us money for a new map every time the map changes," the distinguished professor says, smiling.

A MUSTY APARTMENT across town, filled with ancient tomes, an old piano and leather suitcases.

Fyodor Dostoyevsky the fourth comes hurtling into the room.

Dostoyevsky is six years old. He proudly, loudly counts to 10 in English and vaults into his grandfather's lap. The grandfather is Dimitri Dostoyevsky, former streetcar driver, gem cutter and laboratory worker, and, in his 70s, the eager heir to the great writer's legacy. Who would come to St. Petersburg and not want to meet a real Dostoyevsky?

"I am a monarchist," Dmitri says. "I have now come to understand that monarchic autocracy is the best way for Russia—and I mean without parliament! That is why I do not accept either the February Revolution or the October Revolution. I am a descendant of nobility on both sides. The czar is the father of us all."

Dmitri Dostoyevsky has met Putin. "I looked into his eyes," he says, reprising George W. Bush's famous gaze, "and I saw a very nice tone. But I did not see a czar. The czar was prepared from birth for his role. Putin was KGB."

"None of my monarchist friends perceive Putin as a monarch, although the instinctive feeling of Russians might be to see him in that way. As was said, 'In heaven, God. On Earth, the czar.' So far, Russia does not reject him. He gets high ratings. After our previous leaders, he looks good. In 2018, I personally will vote for Vladimir Putin."

Recently, there was that other election across the pond.

"Sometimes, I couldn't tell if it was we who were choosing between Clinton and Trump or if it was the Americans," says Dostoyevsky. "Our TV was showing nothing but that from

morning to night. We knew Clinton from before. We never could have gotten along with her. I am a monarchist. I am a conservative. I would have voted for Trump."

"WE RUSSIANS ARE afraid to look to the future," Anton the IT guy is saying in the basement of the church.

Reverent chanting is coming from the chapel; a choir of angelic sopranos softly trills. It is the Church on the Blood in the Name of All Saints Resplendent in the Russian Land, in the city of Yekaterinburg, in a wide pass through the Ural Mountains, on the western verge of Siberia. Yekaterinburg is the fourth-biggest metropolis in the world's largest country, a surprisingly appealing riverside city of museums, memorials and ultra-modern glass-and-steel skyscrapers, not to mention the titanic smokestacks of one of the largest heavy-machinery factories on Earth. There are minerals and money here.

Outside the church, the temperature is minus 31° C. Inside, a long skein of bundled worshippers pad toward the altar, which has received, for temporary display, an icon of the Holy Virgin from Kiev, 2,000 km to the west.

"We're afraid of the future, so we look to the past," our companion says. "There are only two dates that we can all agree on: May 9, 1945, and April 12, 1961." These were the surrender of Nazi Germany and the launch of cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin. "We are still searching for our national idea," says Anton.

The Church on the Blood in the Name of All Saints Resplendent in the Russian Land is a whitewashed cathedral with golden onion-domes that was erected in the 1990s on the

site of the mining engineer's mansion where Czar Nicholas II, Czarina Alexandra, Czarevich Alexei and Princesses Tatiana, Olga, Maria and Anastasia were massacred by Bolshevik gunmen on a summer midnight during the Red-White civil war, having been trundled to the Urals for safekeeping.

It was July 17, 1918. At the gold-domed church, icons of the royal seven receive their own adoration. ("The worshipping began since the day of their martyrdom, though hidden as persecuted by the regime," notes the guidebook.)

"This is not a religious building," Anton sniffs. "This is a political monument. If people want to go to church, there are many other churches."

A gigantic prelate in jet-black robes erupts into a meeting room: Father Maxim. He is a former super-heavyweight karate champion who believes that Nicholas II "was one of the greatest sovereigns of our century, maybe the greatest one; an example for the world."

"The first revolutionary was the Devil," Father Maxim says. The events of 1917, he avows (he is not alone in this) were instigated not by a lack of bread in the shops of St. Petersburg but by the mendacious intervention of the British ambassador. Just as many Americans espy the evil hand of Russia in the 2016 election results, many Russians believe, as Father Maxim puts it, that "the aim of the West is one—to weaken Russia."

"The main plus of monarchy is that it is impossible to influence power with money," he says.

"Is Russia a Christian nation today?" he is asked.

"Pity, no," he answers. But he asserts that, in Putin's domain, "the

level of freedom is higher than in Finland or Germany."

"But does Putin have the power to take away that freedom?" one wonders.

"It doesn't just depend on Putin, as you believe in the West," says the Orthodox priest. "Anyone who says this does not understand the nature of freedom. The real freedom is inside us. It only depends on how much we are enslaved by sin."

After they were shot and bayoneted in the basement of the house that stood where the Church on the Blood now has risen, the remains of the Romanovs were removed by truck in the middle of the night to an aban-

'Your people should be happy,' says Koronosenko. 'You've never had a dictator. And you're afraid of Trump?'

doned mine shaft 20 km outside Yekaterinburg. There, in the immemorial Russian forest of birch and pine, they were doused with acid, set on fire and heaved into a pit.

At the same haunted site now—it is called Ganina Yama—a pious local industrialist has donated enough money for the construction of seven separate chapels, one for each of the martyred royals, and a monastery to prepare the next generation of Father Maxims.

Each July 17, more than 50,000 pilgrims walk overnight from the Church on the Blood to Ganina Yama to recapitulate the Romanovs' final journey. This, also, is 21st-century Russia; it is not just hacking John Podesta and riding horses shirtless.

A woman named Yelena Kostina leads us around the site. In school, she says, "we knew the czar only as Nicholas the Bloody, and we were taught that the empire was on the verge of collapse because of the Romanovs' misrule. But

now I have a great pity in my heart because of what happened to that family, and what happened to my country. I feel pity to the Reds and the Whites, to all sides, because there is no right or wrong, only the will of God."

Thirty years ago—"at a time when we could talk of God only in our kitchens"—Yelena's

five-year-old son became ill with meningitis. She remembered the 11-year-old hemophiliac Czarevich Alexei, who was provided a chair and a pillow to sit on in the execution chamber. "I looked into my son's eyes—as if into Prince Alexei's eyes—and I saw the eyes of death," she says. "That is when I became a Christian."

Her son recovered.

IN THE MODERN Russian consciousness, the city of Yekaterinburg is associated with seven martyrs—the royal Romanovs—and one pariah: Boris Yeltsin. This is the hometown of the bulbous, bibulous, white-haired ex-Communist who became, after a fashion,

Russia's first authentic, democratically elected chief executive, and who, failing physically at the dawn of the new century, bestowed the presidency upon Putin with the fateful, plaintive moan, "Take care of Russia."

It was Yeltsin, as Party chief of Yekaterinburg, who fulfilled Moscow's orders to demolish the Romanov death house. It was Yeltsin who stared down the gun-barrels of his opponents during a coup attempt in 1991. It is Yeltsin whom most Russians still blame for the economic catastrophe of the '90s. And it is Yeltsin whose

deconstruction of the USSR itself is what Olga from the Volga is thankful her red-eyed grandmother did not live to see. (Putin has called it "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century.")

Now, on the bank of the frozen Iset River, suddenly: the brand-new Boris Yeltsin Presidential Museum, the first (and so far only) such edifice in the country, designed by the folks who erected Bill Clinton's museum and library in Little Rock, Ark., and jammed, on a midwinter Saturday, with thousands of Russians old and young, almost all of whom hate the late Yeltsin like a dog hates cats.

"Some people adore that time," says the museum's 33-year-old architect and deputy executive director, Dmitri Pushmin. "But most people reject it. We should try to explain what those times were. The new Russia is not the czarist Russian empire. It is not Soviet Russia. It is a new state, and Boris Yeltsin established it."

The museum offers an absolutely stunning—if one-sided—elaboration of the collapse of the moribund, malevolent USSR, with the native son at the centre of events. The galleries wind through the political, economic and social upheavals of Yeltsin's presidency—the brutal war in Chechnya; the legalization of rock 'n' roll—and deposit a visitor into a chamber called the Hall of Freedoms.

"Russia is completely different now compared to 1987," Pushmin says. "We have a constitution. We have a legislature. We have freedom of enterprise. We can travel abroad. We have elections with a choice of several different candidates. Thirty-five years ago, we had only one name on the ballot. In 2018, there will be several."

But only one of those names, of course, will win. "Are these freedoms under attack by Vladimir Putin?" the architect is asked.

"Sometimes, of course they are," he replies.

A few months ago, the prominent film director Nikita Michalkov charged that the Yeltsin museum, with its promotion of so-called "freedoms," was injecting "poison" into the veins of Russia's children and facilitating the "collapse of the country," an event that "is the dream of the world community."

A Muslim leader named Ismail Berdiyev, a key figure in President Putin's outreach to minorities, went a step further and suggested that the museum "be blown to hell."

"When people say that your museum should be blown up, how do you respond?" architect Pushmin is asked.

"When people say something like that," he sighs, "they are using the freedom they were granted in the '90s."

Donald Trump, Zygar says, gives the Russian government precisely what they crave—immoral equivalence



Thousands of Russians travel to Ganina Yama each year to pay their respects to Nicholas II

IN 2014, MIKHAIL Zygar, the thirtysomething editor of TV Rain, the last surviving independent television network in Putin's Russia, received the International Press Freedom Award from the Committee to Protect Journalists. By then, he had emerged as a truth-teller in a swamp of alternative facts, presaging the role that honest reporters would soon play in Donald Trump's White House.

By then, alas (and of course) TV Rain had been dumped—on the orders of guess who?—from every cable provider in the country and had been prohibited from selling advertising.

"That cost us 90 per cent of our audience in one day," Zygar says now at a fashionable café across the street from the Moscow Circus. He has forsaken TV Rain for a seemingly less tendentious project—the centennial of the Russian Revolution—more correctly, the *Revolutions*—which he is chronicling online at *Project1917.com* from original letters, diaries, books and newspaper dispatches, all of them unfiltered through the charcoal of modern politics.

"In Russia, all history is politicized, all history is propagandized; it only tells us that the figure of the ruler is sacred," Zygar says. "The history of 1917 needs to be known. The tragedy of 1917 needs to be known. People think that our history was only the history of czars, rulers and presidents. People think that the 19th century was just a series of numbers: Alexander the First, Alexander the Second, Nicholas the First, Alexander the Third, and that civil society cannot change anything."

So there is a subliminal method to this centennial data dump—that the people do have power; that the overthrow of Nicholas II was not, "as the official version has it, that the February Revolution was paid for by the British and the October Revolution was paid for by the Germans," says Zygar. "The truth is, the February Revolution was a true revolution, and the October Revolution was made by a gang of terrorists."

"Aren't you dancing around saying that it is time for another true revolution?" Zygar is asked.

"No no no no no!" he retorts. "I've already been labelled the 'head of the opposition TV channel'—I don't have to dance around anything. This project is not about 'Look, little children, Putin is a czar and we need to repeat 1917.'"

Donald Trump, Zygar says, gives the Russian government precisely what they crave—immoral equivalence. "They feel that those Western politicians who used to lecture us about human rights are cheaters," he says of the Putinists. "They prefer pragmatic

guys who don't pretend to be saints. When Trump said, 'Do you think our country's so innocent?' Putin couldn't have said it better himself. Soviet propaganda used to be: 'We are right and they are wrong.' Today, it is: 'We are all bastards. *Our* elections are rigged, and *their* elections are rigged. Our cops are bad, but their police kill innocent black people.'"

Putin was president of Russia when 2017 began. He will be president of Russia when 2017 ends. "At present, the regime is authoritarian," says Yegor Isaev, a lecturer at the Moscow School of Social and Economic



Radzinsky says Putin "wears a czar's clothing" in order to shore up his autocratic regime

Sciences at yet another trendy tea shoppe near the Kremlin walls. "But in 2035, that regime might change."

"Right now," Isaev says, "there is an overwhelming fear of the country falling apart, a fear that goes back to Yeltsin's time, to the 1990s, when the country *did* fall apart. That's why it is still so difficult to talk about 1917, because that was a time of division, and the government needs to present a narrative that unites the nation."

"Hush... hush... tomorrow is a new day," the hostess would coo to close each episode of *Good Night Little Ones* on the little television in Olga's grandmother's apartment on Litenyi Prospect.

And so it is with the rising generations of Putin's Russia, a century after a god-given czar was dethroned, and buried and burned.

"I understand that talking to power in the streets is impossible today," Isaev says. And so the *malyski* wait for their hour to come.

THERE IS ONE final question, to be asked of one of modern Russia's most revered and irreverent writers—the playwright and historian Edvard Radzinsky. We are in his flat in an old Soviet housing bloc in uptown Moscow, a spacious warren overlaid with books—many of them written by him—whose parquet floors have not been polished in many, many years.

At 80, Radzinsky, who once had nine of his plays being staged in Moscow at the same time, bursts with fervour, arms waving, dyed hair flying, so short of time. He talks of how Putin "wears a czar's clothing," how the weakness of Barack Obama emboldened the Russian autocrat, how "today, it is useless to speak the truth in either of our countries."

This stops the reverie. A visitor asks, "Why did they have to shoot the children?"

When Yeltsin opened the secret Soviet archives in 1991, Radzinsky was the first outsider in more than 70 years to see the Yekaterinburg files. "It was fantastical, incredible; that night came alive in my eyes," he remembers.

"Why did they have to shoot the children?"

To answer this, he quotes from Dostoyevsky—not the streetcar driver or the six-year-old, but from *The Brothers Karamazov*. There is a passage, he says, in which one brother asks the other if he would torture a single child to ensure a happier world.

This is the paragraph:

"Imagine that you are creating a fabric of human destiny with the object of making men happy in the end, giving them peace and rest at last, but that it was essential and inevitable to torture to death only one tiny creature—that baby beating its breast with its fist, for instance—and to found that edifice on its unavenged tears, would you consent to be the architect on those conditions? Tell me, and tell the truth. 'No, I wouldn't consent,' said Alyosha softly."

"To this question," Radzinsky says, "the Bolsheviks answered yes."

He closes his eyes and sees the little Prince Alexei on his pillow, in his chair. "When the girls rush to protect him, trying to stop the bullets with their hands, this was a vision of the concentration camps, of all the horrors to come," he says. "Everything that is built on blood is built on sand, and when the wind starts blowing, the building will fall, as it is said in the Bible. I wrote that myself in the '70s—this building will fall. And it did."

"Do not focus on 'Putin is so strong.' Stalin was stronger. In Russia, you need to live a long life. Whatever is happening, it is only the beginning." ♣

PAIN MANAGEMENT

PERSONALHEALTHNEWS.CA



CANADIANS IN PAIN

What We Can Do To Help



One in five Canadians live with chronic pain, and all of us will suffer from acute or chronic pain at some point in our lives.

Pain is an important tool for our body to tell us when something is wrong, but long after the message has been received, it can stick around and make life intolerable. For many, effective pain relief is the single hurdle standing between an enjoyable life and an unbearable one.

“We live in a society where there are many people living every day with pain, and we need to be focused on helping them,” says Minister of Health Jane Philpott. “We need a comprehensive response to pain management that includes multiple levels of government as well as health care providers.”

The complexities of pain

Unfortunately, many varieties of pain are still poorly understood — the causes varied, and the most common treatments only intermittently effective. With a growing opioid crisis killing over six Canadians a day from overdoses of drugs like OxyContin and fentanyl, building a safe and responsible pain relief strategy is of paramount importance.

That strategy, however, cannot be as simple as heavily limiting access to opioids. “One of the challenges related to the opioid crisis is that we are seeing significant harm surrounding opioid use in the form of addiction and overdose,” says Minister Philpott. “But at the same time, these are also substances with an important therapeutic role in pain

management that do need to be available to Canadians.”

The fundamental goal must be to provide pain relief for those who need it. Rather than taking options away, we must focus on providing new paths forward. “Seeking relief from pain is a natural human choice, but there’s more than one way to provide pain relief,” says Minister Philpott. “We need to recognize that opioids have a role in pain management, but that they are only one option. There are other good pharmaceutical options, and there are also lots of non-drug ways to treat pain, such as physiotherapy and psychotherapy, that need to be part of our strategy.”

Pain relief is about people

For too many Canadians, pain is a daily part of life that brings with it many challenges. While we seek to make effective pain relief accessible, we must also remember that preventing pain is much better than treating it. In a recent opinion piece in *The Globe and Mail*, Minister Philpott upheld: “To really solve this crisis, we must look to its roots... for many, the pain that leads to substance abuse is not as simple as a broken limb or postoperative wounds. Very often, social isolation and trauma are at the core of problematic substance abuse.”

A successful pan-Canadian pain management strategy must be comprehensive and compassionate. By keeping the humanity of those suffering from chronic pain front and centre while also focusing on pain prevention, we can help all Canadians live healthy, happy, and rewarding lives. ●

D.F. MCCOURT

A RESPONSE TO PAIN



Janet Yale
President & CEO
The Arthritis Society

How do we tackle a problem that big?

First, we need to *make a commitment to research* at every level of society that reflects the enormity of the impact of arthritis on our collective prosperity.

Pain is only one aspect of that impact, but it's a vital one. It's been decades since there was a new therapy for pain relief. Current options are not well suited for relief of chronic pain: drugs like opioids and NSAIDs pose significant health risks when used long-term.

We need more and better options for pain relief. That's why The Arthritis Society, Canada's leading non-government funder of arthritis research, has committed funds to research the potential benefits of medical cannabis. And it's why we are calling on Canada's governments to do the same.

But new research and discoveries are only useful if people can access them.

That's why we also need to *create a national pharmacare program* — one that provides all Canadians with equitable access to the advances made possible by research, balancing the need for cost savings with the importance of giving patients and physicians a range of options. One that will plug the gaping holes in coverage that currently face people living with chronic pain. One that will expand access to medications, boost productivity, and combat inflammation and pain.

Based on the experience of those with arthritis, the need is pronounced.

We need to prioritize research that will drive solutions. And we need a universal pharmacare program that will put those solutions into Canadians' hands.

Bill, Genevieve, and the millions of other Canadians living in pain are counting on us. ●

JANET YALE



THE TRANSITION OF CANNABIS TO MAINSTREAM PAIN MEDICATION

When you talk to people who live with chronic pain, you will hear one thing time and again — *when the pain gets bad enough, you'll try anything*. And yet, when medical cannabis is presented as an option, the stigma and a lack of good information can raise a barrier between a patient and a possible effective treatment.

"There has been 100 years of misinformation about this plant," says pain and addiction specialist Dr. Lionel Marks de Chabris. "It can be quite hard to overcome that." It is of course sensible and responsible to question any new medication you're considering taking. It's just a matter of having the right questions.

Is it safe?

The question of safety is paramount with pain medications, now more than ever as stories of opioid addiction and overdose are becoming far too common in Canada. This specific comparison, between the safety of cannabis and other medicines for chronic pain is night and day. "Cannabis is far safer than the other options," says Dr. Marks de Chabris. "No one has ever found a lethal dose of cannabis. And the risk of addiction in most people is very low."

Is it legal?

Cannabis is legal for medical use across Canada if you have authorization and purchase it from a licensed provider (or grow it yourself with a license). Much broader legalization of cannabis for non-medical use also appears to be on the horizon, but even if legalization comes to pass, you should still consult with your health care provider if you're considering it for pain relief.

How does it work?

While scientific research into medical cannabis is still relatively young, the evidence for its ability to be an effective pain medication is mounting quickly. Cannabis is a complex plant made up of over 600 compounds, but the two compounds medical experts are most interested in are THC and CBD, both cannabinoids. These compounds work on the body's endocannabinoid system, a recently discovered part of our nervous system that uses the cannabis like compounds the body produces itself for purposes related to stress response, pain management, appetite control, and memory.

"There's rising evidence that it isn't just THC or just CBD which provides the best benefit,"

says Dr. Marks de Chabris, "but rather a mixture of both." By trying formulations with different ratios of THC and CBD — whether vaporized or taken orally — you and your doctor can fine tune the medication to get the desired effects, like pain relief, while minimizing unwanted side effects, such as intoxication. Put bluntly, you don't have to get high.

Is it effective?

As Dr. Marks de Chabris succinctly puts it, "Every therapy for every patient is a trial." Medical cannabis, like any pain medication, isn't guaranteed to work for everyone. But many patients have found effective relief from pain with medical cannabis when every other option has failed them. People have gotten their lives back. And for Dr. Marks de Chabris, that's the most important thing. "Nobody should have a life limited by pain." ●

D.F. MCCOURT

Supporting
Partner



Is It Time to Fall Proof Your Parent's Home?

As she advanced through her 70s, Sahar Whelan's mother became less and less mobile due to a heart condition. Eventually, her activity became so restricted she couldn't get up to answer the front door. Bathing became a monumental challenge.

"She had to sit on the edge of the bathtub with a seat propping her up and me sitting there to ensure she didn't fall backwards," recalls Whelan, a Toronto-area pharmacist. "All we could do was pour water over the areas of her body we could reach and quickly clean." Whelan's father also faced bathing challenges.

"I want to make their home a wonderful place for them. They took care of me. Now it's my turn."

The couple's lives improved when they had a walk-in tub installed. "They can now sit comfortably in the tub and pour water using a handheld device. It's a huge relief," says Whelan.

The Public Health Agency of Canada reports that falls are the leading cause of injuries among Canadians 65 years and older. In fact, 95 percent of all hip fractures are directly attributed to them. And approximately half of all falls among seniors occur at home.

Like Whelan's parents, many seniors with mobility challenges have discovered that, with some adjustments to their home, they can continue to live there safely and happily.

Home adjustments are key to accident prevention

Ilene Cohen-Ackerman, an occupational therapist with the Arthritis Society, encourages seniors to stay as fit as possible. "I advise them to maintain muscle strength and balance through exercise and activity. If they are strong, they can potentially catch themselves before they fall."

One critical step in preventing accidents at home is to make adjustments to seniors' living spaces. Cohen-Ackerman advises seniors to remove several items from the home, such as loose floor mats and step stools. "These stools are not a great idea because our sense of balance weakens as we age and increases the risk of falls," she explains.

Cohen-Ackerman also advises seniors to add some items to their homes. It's important to have hand railings on the stairs, for example, because many accidents occur when seniors walk up or down the stairs holding onto the wall. The stairs should not be slippery because seniors with limited use of their hands have more difficulty holding onto railings and might not be able to steady themselves if they fall.

Bathrooms pose greatest risk

Of all the falls in the home, nearly 80 percent happen in the bathroom and most involve getting in or out of the bathtub. For that reason, many seniors use bathtubs with features such as grab bars



and hand grips. Walk-in tubs are popular because, as Whelan can attest, they allow seniors to enter the tub without climbing over its side.

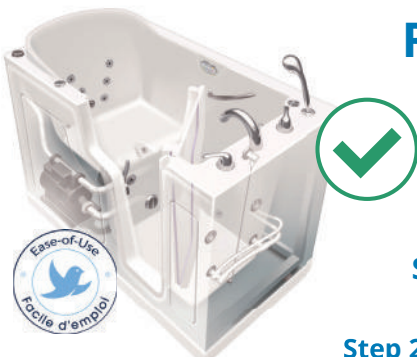
Cohen-Ackerman sees a "huge benefit" to the tubs in terms of safety and adds that being immersed in hot water, which can be circulated through jets, is soothing for seniors with arthritis and other painful chronic conditions.

"Some seniors are hesitant to make adjustments to their homes because they feel like it's 'giving in' to old age," says Cohen-Ackerman. "They should try to shift their thinking and to see adjustments as a positive step, because it will allow them to stay active longer."

Cindy Leonard of Canadian Safe Step Walk-In Tub Co. adds that a risk assessment will determine what adjustments should be made. "Seniors advance through three stages: the 'go-go' stage, the 'go-slow' stage, and the 'no-go' stage. If they get a walk-in tub in the first stage it will prevent accidents later on," she says. "That will allow them to stay in their homes longer."

Whelan feels relieved since improving the safety of her parents' home. "My parents' lives are much more comfortable now so they won't have to move somewhere else. I want to make their home a wonderful place for them," says Whelan. "They took care of me. Now it's my turn." ●

RANDI DRUZIN



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Stop worrying. Take these steps today.

Step 1 Call today, toll free 1-800-977-5578

Step 2 Receive your free At Home Safety Calculator (AHSC)

Step 3 Review results with our Safety Specialist and get **150 AIR MILES® Bonus Miles***

NATURE

CATS GONE WILD

Cities across the country are trying to rein in cat populations. Good luck with that.

BY PETER SHAWN TAYLOR • “Most cats don’t want to be spotted, so it can be really difficult to count them,” observes Tyler Flockhart. “But there are exceptions.”

The exception this wintry afternoon in Guelph, Ont., is an inquisitive jet-black cat with just the slightest dab of white at the end of its tail. Wandering over from a nearby balcony, Blackie (or perhaps it’s Tip?) proceeds to rub itself against Flockhart’s leg. As he’s being greeted, Flockhart scribbles down the details of their encounter: time of day, colouring, health and location. Demeanour? Unconcerned. Another cat counted.

As with herding cats, tallying them with any sense of precision seems an entirely Sisyphean task. But Flockhart, who holds a post-doctoral position at the University of Guelph’s Department of Integrative Biology, aims to bring some scientific rigour to the controversial topic of outdoor cats. His brief interaction with Blackie is part of a research agenda aimed at putting a reliable number on Guelph’s outdoor felines—a broad category that includes pet cats with outdoor privileges, lost or abandoned strays and entirely feral cats. By repeatedly walking predetermined routes, recording every cat sighted and applying statistical methods typically used to count animals in less-developed surroundings, he hopes to produce a figure that’s more than just a wild guess. “If you want to understand or manage the cat population, you first need to know how many cats are out there, where they are and what determines their abundance,” he says.



Research to date suggests that for every cat Flockhart spots on Guelph’s streets, another 20 are hiding somewhere nearby. Roaming cats appear with greater frequency in lower-income residential neighbourhoods, suggesting a socio-economic aspect to the problem. And they are less common near major roads and woods, where cars and coyotes, respectively—two major threats to feline longevity—lurk. By Flockhart’s reckoning, Guelph, with a population of 120,000 humans, is home to between 8,000 and 10,000 cats at large. Is that a lot? It probably depends on what you think about cats. And lately, Canadian cities have been thinking a lot about cats.

ACROSS CANADA, MUNICIPALITIES both large and small are replacing their old animal control bylaws with “responsible pet ownership” rules. This move is intended to shift the obligations of pet behaviour away from animals to their owners. A common feature of the accelerating trend is a requirement that owners get a licence for their cats and ensure

they don’t roam. (Exact rules vary from city to city.) Once considered so absurd it featured in a Monty Python skit, the cat licence is now becoming, like the task of picking up your dog’s poop, yet another prosaic obligation of modern pet ownership.

Over the past several months, Montreal, Peterborough, Ont., Sudbury, Ont., and Guelph have all mandated licences for resident cats. Winnipeg made the move a year ago, joining early adopters Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Ottawa and Toronto.

Calgary is considered to be the pioneer of this movement, with a bylaw that took effect in 2007. “We are certainly seeing a trend toward a greater focus on cats,” says Barbara Cartwright, CEO of the Canadian Federation of Humane Societies (CFHS), a group that lobbies for cat licensing. “We’ve had bylaws covering dogs for a very long time, but only in the past decade have we started to see similar concern for cats.”

In 2012, the CFHS estimated Canada’s owned cat population at 10.2 million—sub-

MER FUAT ERGNER/EYEW/GETTY IMAGES



Research suggests that for every cat you see on the street, another 20 are hiding nearby

superintendent of shelter operations at the city's Animal Services Centre, happily reports that more than half of all impounded cats are returned to their owners and just 10 per cent are put down out of necessity. "Now responsible owners can come in and pick up their pets. It's made a big difference," she says. But while cat licensing may move cats up the value chain and help reunite lost pets with their owners, the policy is incapable of resolving Canada's other major cat issue: what to do about the vast clowder of unowned, outdoor cats.

The Humane Society's 10.2 million figure refers only to owned pet cats. They're waiting on Flockhart's research to bring greater clarity to the issue of outdoor and feral cats. Regardless of exact numbers, however, many cities complain they're overrun. "The reproductive cycle of an outdoor cat is completely unmanageable," says Lubna Ekramoddoullah, a director of the Surrey Community Cat Coalition in B.C.; an unsprayed cat can have a litter every two to three months. In 2014, her group estimated the unowned feral cat population in Surrey at a whopping 34,000. After consulting with Flockhart, she now considers that number to be unreliable, but stresses "the crisis is still ongoing."

Ekramoddoullah figures two-thirds of the cats living on Surrey's streets are abandoned house cats, mostly from low-income neighbourhoods where owners are less likely to sterilize their pets. While Surrey doesn't have a cat-licensing bylaw, this makes little difference: no one licenses unowned cats.

Efforts in Surrey to stem the feline tidal wave follow "trap, neuter and return," or TNR, as practised in most Canadian cities by volunteer organizations, or with official oversight. Under TNR, outdoor cats are trapped whenever possible. Owned cats are returned to their homes if possible. Unowned cats with suitable temperaments are put up for adoption. The rest are spayed or neutered and returned to the alleys or backyards where they were found.

Volunteers often visit daily to provide food to these free-range cat colonies, but otherwise the off-grid cats are left alone to prowl the urban jungle. "Once they are fixed and have reliable food and shelter, most cats don't wander too far," says Debbie Nelson, a founder of Calgary's MEOW Foundation, which has been practising TNR since before the city's cat-licensing bylaw. "Cats aren't stupid. There are lots of kind souls out there to feed them, so they stick around."

stantially outnumbering dogs as the country's most popular pet. Yet numerical superiority doesn't necessarily mean a better lifestyle. "We treat dogs differently than we do cats," laments Cartwright. Perhaps because dogs tend to insert themselves deeply into the emotional life of their families, they benefit from more attention, such as vet care, as well as stricter official scrutiny. Cats play it cooler, and are more likely to walk on the wild side.

In her 2016 book *The Lion in the Living Room*, Abigail Tucker notes the peculiarity that the house cat, despite thousands of years of human domestication, is still nearly identical to its untamed relatives. While dogs have been bred into a dizzying array of shapes and sizes to satisfy the whims of their owners, "cats have changed so little physically during their time among people that even today experts often can't tell house tabbies from wild cats," writes Tucker.

This latent wildness likely explains the laissez-faire attitude of many cat owners; an estimated 40 per cent let their kitties roam outside to indulge in ancient hunting rituals. This aura of self-sufficiency is also the reason why a depressing number of cats are abandoned whenever they become inconvenient.

THEIR AURA OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY IS WHY SOME CATS ARE ABANDONED WHEN THEY BECOME INCONVENIENT

"If you see a dog at large in your neighbourhood, chances are you'll do something about it," observes Cartwright. "But if you see a cat wandering around, you'll probably think, 'So what. It's just a cat.'"

One way to confront this disparity is to make people pay for the privilege of owning one. "Licensing is a tool to change perceptions," says Cartwright.

Prior to Calgary's 2007 cat-licensing bylaw, almost 40 per cent of stray cats trapped in the city were euthanized. Without a centralized ID system, it was difficult to match lost cats with their owners. Today, Tara Lowes,

There is, however, considerable doubt about whether TNR can be considered a permanent solution to free-roaming cats. In theory, it should lead to a gradual diminution in colony size as the breeding pool shrinks. But real-world evidence is mixed. For TNR to be successful, up to 90 per cent of a colony's cats must be fixed, and new cats somehow prevented from arriving. It's a big ask. "No municipal-scale TNR program has been shown scientifically to reduce the number of free-roaming unowned cats in a jurisdiction," says Travis Longcore, author of a lengthy review of TNR's efficacy in the academic journal *Conservation Biology*. Rather than solving cat overpopulation, he sees it serving a different purpose. "The goal of TNR is to coddle people who have the hobby of feeding feral cats," he snaps.

Nelson disagrees, pointing to a steady decrease in the number of TNR procedures her organization has performed over the years as evidence it can work. "I believe with continued effort we can reduce and eliminate the roaming cat population," she says. "And even if the goal is just to reduce euthanasia, I think TNR is still worthy. Why would we want to kill any animal?"

If TNR is simply meant to spare the lives of outdoor cats—perhaps a reasonable objective given the role human inattention plays in their current proliferation—its continued application sets up an unusual dichotomy, given the current trend toward cat-licensing and responsible pet-ownership bylaws. Montreal's new bylaw, for example, requires owned cats to wear a licence at all times, even if they never go outside. They are also forbidden from "wandering," and it is illegal for anyone to feed a stray animal. Yet the city's new pet ordinance explicitly exempts unowned TNR cats and their "guardians" from all such rules. For a movement that's supposed to equalize the treatment of dogs and cats, it seems a striking disparity. Consider the civic mayhem that would ensue if a pack of feral dogs suddenly took up residence in a park and a group of volunteers dropped off a few raw steaks every night for their benefit. No one would tolerate such a situation. "There is a contradiction here," admits Calgary's Lowes about the differing ways in which owned and feral cats are treated under her city's bylaw. "But to be honest, we don't hear a lot about cat colonies from our citizens."

Local cat coalitions and humane societies tend to dominate municipal discussions about outdoor cats, so advocacy for TNR and the need to avoid euthanasia generally take precedence over policy coherence. As a result,



Flockhart's research on outdoor cat populations is being used to create more effective policies



other issues get far less airing. Feral cats, for example, have been implicated in some worrisome public health issues, such as the recent outbreak of raccoon-borne rabies in southern Ontario. And they're murder on birds. "The ongoing mortality of birds by domestic and feral cats in Canada is a disgrace and needs to be addressed urgently," complains Alan Burger, an ornithologist at the University of Victoria and president of BC Nature. Neutered or not, outdoor cats remain skilled and prolific hunters—a federal government report estimated the annual toll of birds killed by cats at nearly 200 million, with the majority killed by ferals.

Burger's group promotes province-wide cat licensing as a first step to keeping all cats locked up. And he considers TNR "a waste of time because you are putting a predator back out there to kill more birds. If you've captured a cat, it should be put down," he says.

On the topic of outdoor cats, cat lovers and bird lovers tend to fight like, well, cats and dogs. "Quite often the conversation comes down to either killing cats or not killing cats. And that isn't very productive," says Flockhart.

Is there hope for middle ground? Some of Flockhart's colleagues at the University of Guelph have tried to turn their city into a test case for cat-bird détente by focusing on

mutual objectives and interests. The first lesson: don't refer to the problem as "cat overpopulation"; that gets cat people worked up. Hence the Cat Population Taskforce. And while both sides tend to approve of cat licensing (for different reasons), there's no agreement on how to control their unlicensed relatives.

Failing interspecies rapprochement, Flockhart puts his hope in better science. Knowing how many cats are actually wandering our streets, where they're located and why, may eventually make it possible to come to some broader conclusions about what to do with them. He finds evidence that cats avoid woods where coyotes are known to prowl to be "very, very interesting." This suggests birds find safety in the presence of coyotes, a predator that suffers from a reputation even worse than that of feral cats.

It also hints at an ecosystem with its own checks and balances operating outside the realm of human involvement. "The number of cats isn't just a product of the number of people," says Flockhart. "There is also a natural process at work here. And from an ecological perspective, mortality is a natural process."

If humans can't figure out how to solve their cat problem, maybe Mother Nature will have to get involved. ♣

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W A R

The battles inside the battle

Canadians think of Vimy Ridge as the moment our nation came of age. It is less than that—and more, too.

BY BRIAN BETHUNE · In the end it came down to a battalion of aggrieved Nova Scotians, mostly men from Cape Breton, to put the final seal on the Canadian army's most iconic victory and the bloodiest day in the country's military history. By 6 p.m. on April 9, 1917, Canadians and Germans had already been mowed down in their thousands across the heights of Vimy Ridge. Along the far right edge of the battlefield, Arthur Currie's 1st Division had swept along four kilometres of Vimy's most gentle terrain at a cost of 2,500 casualties, a dead or wounded man for every metre and a half. The casualty rates only rose as the distances grew shorter but steeper, and the 2nd and 3rd divisions successfully advanced in the centre.

At the far left, though, the day was ending in crisis. Maj.-Gen. David Watson's 4th Division faced the shortest distance (800 m) and

the hardest climb. They were up against Hill 145, the highest point on the ridge—where the Vimy monument now stands—and a tenacious, well-fortified enemy with all the defensive advantages of height. The continuing German hold on Hill 145—maintaining the possibility of reinforcements and the same kind of counterattack that had preserved the ridge in German hands for years—imperilled the entire enterprise, all the bloody day's efforts and sacrifice.

Watson didn't have much in the way of fresh combat troops to throw into the maelstrom; hardly any fresh troops of any kind, save for the 85th Battalion. Mocked by the other battalions as wannabe Highlanders—the Nova Scotians hadn't yet been issued their kilts—and unhappy about it, the inexperienced 85th had mostly functioned as a non-combatant labour battalion. They moved up through the

trenches to the front lines, where they anxiously awaited the only thing that would give them a fighting chance: a preliminary bombardment. Without it, bayonets versus machine guns was the definition of a massacre. The shelling never came, because senior officers determined that attackers and defenders were already too close to chance the friendly fire.

Not every front-line officer heard that news, and many were perplexed when the appointed hour came and passed without the guns opening up. After a few minutes, though, they took what military historian Tim Cook calls “the gut-wrenching” decision to attack regardless. The element of surprise—who attacks without artillery?—bought a few precious seconds, but the machine guns were scything through the attackers soon enough. The survivors, though, refused to go to ground in shell craters and kept running until they crashed into the German lines, shooting, stabbing and clubbing the enemy.

“Within 10 mad minutes,” Cook writes, Hill 145 fell to the untried Maritimers, wannabes no more, “in the most audacious Canadian bayonet charge of the war.” The 85th suffered almost 350 killed and wounded, including nearly all its officers, but it reversed imminent defeat on the 4th Division front and may well have saved the entire battle. By the time the



Nova Scotia's 85th Battalion march through Belgium, years before the battle of Vimy Ridge

Cook's adrenalin-fuelled account of the battle is a powerful antidote. The Great War is peculiarly poised between traditional and modern warfare, the historian notes. It featured aerial maps, enormous artillery pieces that could accurately target positions kilometres away, and machine guns that fired 500 rounds a minute. Yet soldiers threw grenades, unused since the Napoleonic wars, and wore steel helmets, not seen since the 17th century. Often enough, after all the long-range shelling and the rapid-fire machine guns, they were wielding bayonets and rifle butts when they closed with their enemies, in a denouement that would have been familiar to an Egyptian pharaoh.

At 5:28 a.m. on April 9, Canadian heavy machine guns tilted their barrels upwards and rained bullets on enemy crossroads and trenches. Two minutes later, almost 1,000 big guns opened up, providing a creeping barrage that moved forward every three minutes. And 15,000 Canadians went over the top.

The planning was intricate and months old, right down to the pits dug for the dead long before the battle. But the fate of entire battalions turned as often as not on chance. On the 1st Division front, artillery had hit most key defences facing the 15th Battalion from Toronto, which had a relatively easy time of it—at Vimy, its 20 per cent casualty rate was light. But the 14th from Montreal was caught in the open by four surviving Bavarian machine gun nests. Grenades took out two, while the third's gunners were shot dead by the survivor of a small assault party gathered in the mud, and the three-man crew at the fourth was single-handedly charged and bayoneted by the 14th's sergeant-major. Almost 40 per cent of the Montrealers were killed or wounded.

The two forward companies of Saskatchewan's 5th Battalion lost 200 of 300 men in the first 40 minutes, and arrived at the enemy front line in a ferocious emotional state: "There were smart bayonet fights," records one terse official account, and "cases of treachery on the part of the enemy were summarily dealt with." Battlefield surrender, writes Cook, was a "perilous" business, especially for machine gunners who fired until the last minute before raising their arms. Most times, the Canadians accepted the surrender, but not always.

A private from Toronto's 3rd Battalion

recorded a grim moment, when the Canadians encountered a lone, shell-shocked German: "Somebody said, 'Shoot that son of a bitch,' and somebody did. I concluded that not all sons of bitches were in the German ranks." Yet when a corporal from the 28th Battalion—known as the Northwest because it recruited men from Saskatchewan to Thunder Bay, Ont.—found a Canadian cowering in a dugout, the corporal "kept him till dark, then advised him to go up to his battalion. He got away with it."

Elsewhere on the front, the situation was similar: battalions from Kingston, Ont., British Columbia, central Ontario, Alberta, French Canada and New Brunswick all pushed forward, were pinned down by machine gun fire, and overcame it by slow attrition at a high cost. Or by acts of individual heroism—four Victoria Crosses were awarded that day, three posthumously.

But at the ridge's high point, along the 4th Division front, the situation was far worse. An untouched section of the German defences was only 365 metres from the Canadian lines. The first wave of attackers from Montreal's 87th Battalion were literally shot back into their own trenches. Some 60 per cent of the battalion was lost, and most of the rest hid in shell craters. Seeing this, the neighbouring 78th from Winnipeg quite reasonably refused to go over the top. When their last nine officers finally convinced the soldiers to advance, they too were mowed down. The 72nd Battalion, B.C.'s Seaforth Highlanders, lost three-quarters

of their men. But collectively, the decimated 4th Division accomplished enough to set the stage for Nova Scotia's 85th.

To read a description of the battle is to look through a glass darkly, into the enduring mystery of the Great War,

Vimy also whispers of a quiet, almost regrettable skill at killing. It speaks most insistently about sacrifice.

when whole nations and ordinary soldiers absorbed tremendous losses and simply rededicated themselves to the cause. Vimy is a story of reckless bravery and fear, a minor mutiny, more than one desperate charge, compassion and brutality, industrial-scale slaughter and intimate killing, and the fortunes of war. Vimy, which in Canadian consciousness stands in for the sacrifices of all wars, is equally a microcosm of Great War combat. And its survivors were like the other combatants, both sombre and proud: he and his comrades, wrote Lt. Edward Sawell in his diary, on "this day did more to give Canada a real standing among nations than any previous act in Canadian history." ♣

sun set, Canada was in charge of Vimy Ridge.

It's probably safe to guess that for every American who can talk about Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg or Briton who knows the fate of the Royal Scots Greys at Waterloo, there is—statistically speaking—no Canadian at all who has heard of the 85th Battalion. Even as royalty, government dignitaries and thousands of ordinary Canadians prepare to converge on northwest France in April to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the battle, vanishingly few of us know anything at all of what unfolded on Vimy that day.

Through a series of historical twists, expertly traced by Cook in his brilliant new book, *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend*, Vimy—and its soaring, moving, beautiful monument—have come to mean a lot to Canadians. Our concept of it tells a tale of national unity: the battle was the first time—and the last, Cook points out—that the entire Canadian Corps, men from every part of the nation, fought together. It also whispers of a quiet, almost regrettable, skill at killing. It speaks most insistently about sacrifice. But that icon of Vimy is strangely bloodless, especially in reference to a real-life Vimy soaked in it: on April 9, 1917, and in mopping-up operations the next morning, one in three front-line Canadian soldiers was killed or wounded.

ADVANCING FEMALE LEADERSHIP

INDUSTRYANDBUSINESS.CA

Lauren Conrad

TV personality, fashion designer, author and philanthropist, Lauren Conrad reflects on the global benefits of empowering women.

Mediaplanet Where does your ambition stem from?

Lauren Conrad I've always been the type of person who likes to stay busy and I am fortunate to have a job that I love, so it's always been pretty easy to stay motivated. I really enjoy taking on creative projects — whether it be the most recent season I am designing one of my lines for or working on a book — I have so much fun coming up with new ideas and watching them come to life.

MP Why do you think it's important to empower women across the world to reach their potential?

LC An empowered woman is one who isn't afraid of working towards her dreams, whatever they may be. I have been fortunate enough to get to travel all over the world and I often visit places where girls aren't always provided with an education. It is so frustrating to see girls being denied basic rights and education, because when a girl is given the right tools she can accomplish so much. Girls are capable of being more than a wife and a mother if they want to be and should be given that choice.

MP What fueled The Little Market?

LC I cofounded The Little Market with my good friend Hannah Skvarla a few years ago. We were traveling a lot at the time and loved exploring marketplaces to find treasures to take home with us. The items were often handmade and beautifully unique to the countries we found them in. While on a trip to Africa, we had the opportunity to visit a non-profit organization that was working with female artisans and entrepreneurs who were struggling to support their families. It was then that we came up with the concept for The Little Market. We wanted to create a non-profit that would provide a marketplace for these women to sell their products to a larger audience, all while abiding by fair trade standards so that the women are paid and treated in a proper way.

MP What would your advice to young female entrepreneur be?

LC I would say that it's important to dream big, but you also must be willing to put in the time and effort to get there. Great things don't happen overnight. ☺

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Publisher: **Jade Kutchaw** Business Developer: **Samantha Blandford** Managing Director: **Martin Kocandrie** Production Director: **Carlo Ammendolia** Lead Designer: **Matthew Senra**

Web Editor: **Camille Co** Cover Photo: **Submitted** All Photo credits: All images are from Getty Images unless otherwise credited.

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Commitment to Diversity Puts Women in the Lead

Supporting Partner



Norie Campbell, Group Head and Chief General Council, and Chair of Women in Leadership shares what sets TD apart.

Mediaplanet Can you give us an overview of WIL?

Norie Campbell TD's Women in Leadership initiative is part of our broader commitment to inclusion and diversity and creating a workplace where all of our employees feel comfortable and supported. We launched WIL in 2005 as a way to expand leadership opportunities for women and to remain competitive in attracting and retaining top talent. Our programs focus on providing opportunities for women to connect, share, and mentor each other no matter what stage of their career they're at. A great example is a special event we held last summer where over 500 executives and employees at different career stages took time out from their day-to-day to participate in a one-hour Mutual Mentoring session.

MP Why did TD develop the initiative?

NC TD has always worked to attract the very best people and provide them with the opportunity to achieve their full potential in a unique and inclusive workplace. We created the WIL initiative to ensure we continue to build on our success. When we talk to women across the bank, what they really want is more guidance on how they could reach their full potential at TD. So, we developed the WIL

initiatives with this feedback in mind — we want to make sure that we're addressing the priorities and evolving expectations of all women. We also wanted to create a forum where women's success was celebrated and championed. Our internal WIL network has more than 11,000 members engaged in our work, and we host 45 WIL chapters across the U.S. and Canada.

MP What kind of progress has TD made over the last decade?

NC Over the past decade we have made fantastic progress in inclusion and diversity, and we have a lot to be proud of. In the WIL space alone, the number of female executives in Canada at the VP+ level grew from 22 percent to more than 37 percent. At the recent launch of our new WIL strategy, our President & CEO, Bharat Masrani, expressed his views that our commitment to inclusion and diversity is part of who we are and everything we do as an organization and that nothing is more important to our future success than being a place where all our people can flourish. 



Q&A



Bringing Female Engineers to the Forefront

Katie Doe, fourth-year engineering student at the University of Windsor, previous president of Women in Engineering Club, and active volunteer in encouraging STEM for Canadian women.


MP As a female in engineering, what's the largest challenge you face?

KD Being able to get past all of the stereotypes surrounding female engineers is a challenge. It's hard to be in a workplace that treats you differently because of your gender, and not by the quality of work you submit.

MP What advice do you have for young women considering STEM?

KD The only advice I have for young women considering STEM is to not worry about the roadblocks and follow your passion. You can succeed in this field and become such a successful person if you really want it.

MP What does being an engineer mean to you?

KD Being an engineer means you are taking a public responsibility to make something better. You are solving a complex problem in hopes that the solution will create a positive contribution to a company, environment, or community. An individual who is excited about helping people and being a positive change. 

Mediaplanet What attracted you to a STEM degree?

Katie Doe I liked the idea of being able to use my love of math and sciences to face real-world problems and come up with solutions to help people. The industry is always growing, and the need to solve complex problems will never go away.

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PROMOTING WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP BENEFITS ALL

Helena Gottschling and Nicole Lee discuss the benefits of participating in RBC's Women in Leadership program. Photo: Tim Fraser Photography

While females make up just over 50 percent of the Canadian population, they remain grossly under-represented in top-level positions in many of Canada's most powerful corporations. Fortunately, there are companies across the country that understand the positive impact women have on the business world and strive to tap into their potential.

One company encouraging women to explore their potential as business leaders is RBC. In 2013, they created the Women in Leadership program to hone promising employees' leadership skills. "We created the Women in Leadership program because advancing women into leadership roles is a key priority for us as an organization," says Helena Gottschling, Senior Vice President of Leadership & Organizational Development at RBC. "We truly believe that if we can unlock the full potential of our people, it will lead to more innovation and more growth. It's not only the smart business thing to do, it's also the right thing to do."

Women currently represent 61 percent of RBC's workforce in Canada, and hold 41 percent of the executive roles. According to Gottschling, RBC's commitment to Women in Leadership has paid off with an impressive program success rate. "Almost 70 percent of participants have either been promoted or moved into roles that expand their experience," she says.

Perspective and insight gained by program graduates

Natasha Marquez, Director of Operational Risk & Portfolio Management for RBC Caribbean, finished the program in 2016. Marquez admits that when she first began the program she was a little skeptical about what the sessions could offer. "I thought I was confident, successful in my role and knew myself well, and wondered if I would learn anything really new. But it was truly an eye opener. As confident and proactive as I was, the program uncovered biases and challenges that I didn't realize I faced."

Marquez explains that the program helped her realize that being in a male-dominated business environment can cause women to hold back and prevent their capabilities from being fully recognized. "I had an 'aha' moment thanks to the program. I saw that when there are more men than women, our impact and persuasiveness can be diluted. Women in Leadership taught me to be more purposeful and direct in presenting myself. Every woman took something different from the program but I believe we all came away with a heightened sense of confidence and purpose. Many of us now won't allow our careers to be forged by those around us but will be more intentional about managing our own career directions."

Marquez also emphasizes the networking skills that she developed through the program. "It was a fantastic opportunity to network with

other women because success often comes with help from your peers and support circle. Men are generally much better at networking. The networking skills we developed will really stand us in good stead as we grow in our careers."

More women excited to join the ranks of female leaders

Nicole Lee, Senior Counsel at RBC, has just begun the Women in Leadership program and is looking forward to embracing the new opportunities it presents. "I was very excited to be nominated for the program," she says. "It's a wonderful personal and professional development opportunity." She anticipates learning a great deal from both her fellow participants and the female executive role models she will meet.

Lee also looks forward to the unique opportunity to develop her leadership skills in an encouraging and supportive environment. "There is so much to learn," she says. "We'll do fire-side chats with other executives and get a better understanding of our own and other people's leadership styles. It's an amazing chance to hone my skills and to help me embrace career challenges. And because this is a national and global group of women, we will all learn different approaches to challenges. Leadership is a skill that we all need to flex and this program will give us new insights on how best to do this." ●

Sandra Macgregor

THE **POWER** OF MENTORS AND SPONSORS

CLOSING THE WORKPLACE GENDER INEQUALITY GAP

Despite the good intentions and best efforts of some organizations to make diversity in the executive ranks a top priority, gender inequality persists throughout corporate Canada.

The evidence is clear. Women held just 12 percent of all board seats among TSX-listed companies in 2015.

American Express Canada believes creating opportunities for female executives in the senior leadership team through mentorship and sponsorship programs can have a positive effect on an organization.

And the results are proving that belief to be true.

American Express Canada proudly boasts a 50/50 representation of women and men among its leadership, and serves as an example to the rest of the business community for how organizations can build stronger, more integrated and innovative teams by bringing more women into their C-suites. Mentorship and sponsorship are at the foundation of this.

Mentorship, which can be asked for, is a formal or informal relationship with an advisor or peer who acts as a role model. Sponsorship, however, is earned rather than assigned; these are the relationships that help propel young talent to senior leadership, and have a proven impact on their self-perception and ambition.

Organizations can give high-potential women opportunities and increased visibility for potential sponsorship relationships. “Fostering a culture where executives can nurture the next generation of leaders through mentorship and sponsorship can help shape the direction

of an organization for the long-term,” says Catherine Finley, Vice President of Human Resources at Amex Canada. “Balanced leadership does not come without intent and active support.”

Developing mentorship and sponsorship bonds with male and female role models played a significant

“Mentorship relationships were crucial in helping me navigate the changes I was going through on both a personal and professional level,” she says. “My mentors provided guidance and focus during a challenging, transitional time in my career.”

Of course, it’s not always easy to

your mentor. That can be tough at times. You’ve got to have confidence that your mentor is working in your best interest.”

Indeed, a recent study from Amex Canada and Women of Influence found that when female leaders work with a mentor throughout their career, they were not only more likely to aspire to the C-suite, but they were more likely to reach their goals.

“We found that while only 32 percent of women believed that reaching the C-suite was an achievable goal, that number increased to 49 percent if they have a mentor, and 61 percent if they have a sponsor,” Finley says.

Finley believes organizations that are serious about nurturing female executives must take a proactive role in fostering a community of mentorship and leadership among women, whether through profiling great female role models within the organization or establishing women’s networks as American Express has.

“This really enables women to meet with like-minded women, to foster relationships, and to feel like they’re part of a community,” she says.

“We find women have the most success when they seek out organizations that prioritize an inclusive and diverse corporate culture, and work with their current HR departments to find or establish these networks if they don’t yet exist.”

Andrea Yu

SO, WHAT SHOULD YOU DO NEXT?

1 **LOOK FOR THE RIGHT ORGANIZATION**

Seek out employment opportunities within companies that prioritize a diverse corporate culture.

3 **SET GOALS**

You can do this individually, or with your mentor, but it’s important to make sure you are taking steps to meet your career goals.

5 **PAY IT FORWARD**

Become a mentor or sponsor for other women looking to advance their careers.

2 **BE PROACTIVE**

Ask for a mentor. You can ask someone you trust and respect, or you can seek support from HR to help you find a mentor.

4 **BE SEEN**

Put yourself out there and participate in industry and company events. Leverage your network of colleagues, friends, and family.

nificant role in Lili Ibarra’s journey through the ranks of American Express. Ibarra started as a call centre representative in 1997 and steadily advanced to her current position as Chief Financial Officer, Amex Bank of Canada. Her ability to draw strength from her mentors helped overcome a number of challenges, including transitioning to an executive role after her maternity leave.

find a sponsor. Ibarra recommends female executives looking for a mentor to identify other executives they already have a connection with or who they have previously partnered with on a project.

“There has to be some chemistry with your mentor so you can establish a relationship of trust,” she says. “You will not always hear the things you want to hear from

Mompreneurs

Supports Women and Their Small Businesses Through Education and Networking

Maria Locker had no idea that her invitation to bring mothers living in her Milton, ON neighbourhood together would be the start of something big.



Maria Locker
Founder, CEO,
Mompreneurs

During her maternity leave in 2010, Locker, then a teacher, would take her two kids to the park. There, she had a chance to talk to other moms: "I would ask them what they did and 8 or 9 times out of 10, they'd tell me they had their own business."

As a mom and fellow entrepreneur who was doing some freelance marketing, Locker could relate. She understood the struggle to maintain work-life balance. "I wanted to put together a small group so we could talk about what it was like to run a business and a family at the same time," she says.

At the first meeting, 20 women gathered in a coffee shop. The idea caught on, and grew into a business that Locker named Mompreneurs (theMompreneur.com), that she incorporated and became CEO of in 2011. Today, it has blossomed into an organization with 17,000 members and sub-

scribers, with members from PEI to Vancouver.

Ultimately, Locker's organization is aimed at shifting the discussion surrounding the average female entrepreneur, and legitimizing how many women entrepreneurs find success with their ventures outside of a classical corporate structure. "With Mompreneurs, it's not just about how to write a business plan or close a sale, but it's also about how those actions will intertwine and impact the family," says Locker.

How learning creates success stories


While connecting with like-minded women is still central to its mission, Mompreneurs has evolved into so much more. The company serves as an inclusive support system for women of all ages and from all industries who are looking to learn how to make their companies more successful. It also provides a safe, welcoming forum where a wide range of women can help foster entrepreneurial talent.

Topics at both online and in-person Mompreneurs meetings run the gamut from how to cope with a hectic family life through time management resources to how to tap into e-commerce, marketing solutions, and accessing global markets. The education component is a key rea-

son why Mompreneurs has flourished. It's the cornerstone of everything from the organization's yearly conference to virtual meet-ups through webinars and Skype meetings.

It has been a satisfying journey for Locker. Her children are now aged 8 and 10, and she hopes they too will see the benefits of being an entrepreneur. "I want them to see that it can be integrated into their lives in a balanced way so that there is time for family and for work," says Locker.

Maria's dedication to building strong communities for women has grown beyond her initial vision. Mompreneurs developed a non-profit side in 2015 called Mompreneurs Momentum Enterprise of Canada, supported by Status of Women Canada and The Coca-Cola Foundation, which supports programs dedicated to economically empowering women entrepreneurs. Coca-Cola has a goal to empower five million women entrepreneurs worldwide by the year 2020. This organization complements the Mompreneurs network and provides further educational resources, content, and tools to help women start and grow their businesses.

As Locker explains, "we've really been able to ramp up our efforts and offer quality education with help from Coca-Cola and our other partners. That's been huge in terms of us being able to continue to support women from across the country. Through bursaries given to winners of our national awards, we've enabled women to hire staff, to attend conferences or trade shows that they previously couldn't have afforded, and to conduct market research. Those are important strides to make." 

Michele Sponagile



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SPOTLIGHT ON GLOBAL EMPOWERMENT

It's Time to Change the Story About Child Marriage

Every two seconds, a girl under the age of 18 is married somewhere in the world.

Rujina is 16 years old. She got married at 12, and had a baby at 14. She loved attending school and still speaks fondly of her time there. But she had to relinquish her education for her role as a mother and housekeeper. School is now increasingly an unfamiliar and impossible dream.

Photo: Plan International / Bernice Wong

Take a minute to let that sink in.

During that minute, 30 girls became child brides. During your lunch hour, another 1,800 will join them. More than 43,000 young girls will be married today. And tomorrow. And the day after that.

Each and every year, child marriage cuts short the childhoods of another 15 million girls — nearly 2 million of who won't even have reached their 15th birthday — and increases their risk of physical and sexual abuse at the hands of husbands sometimes twice their age. It takes away their opportunity to learn, play and grow up in a safe and secure environment, and it shortens their education, severely limiting their economic options, and potentially pushing them into poverty.

Child marriage puts young girls on a rushed path to adulthood, burdened with adult responsibilities. Girls also experience an unnaturally premature start to motherhood, with ramifications that are horrifying and yet wholly preventable: every year, approximately 70,000 girls die in labour simply because their bodies are not ready for childbirth, many having been married at a very young age.

Lack of education a key factor

There are several reasons why child marriage continues in many countries: extreme poverty, gender norms that perpetuate inequality, and an absence of children's rights protection. When these factors are coupled with inaccessibility to quality schooling and vocational training for girls, the situation is exacerbated.

"We know that girls with no education are three times as likely to marry by 18 than those with secondary or higher education, and children born to women who have not had the opportunity to get educated are even more at risk to continue this vicious cycle," says Caroline Riseboro, President and CEO of Plan International Canada. "One of the most effective, safe, and non-discriminatory ways to prevent child marriage is to increase girls' access to at least nine years of quality education."

Global data shows that if all women were able to complete their primary education, the number of maternal deaths would be cut by two-thirds. When a girl in the developing world receives even seven years of education, she marries an average of four years later, has fewer (but healthier) children, and earns a higher income to help support everyone in her family.

Breaking the cycle of child marriages

Yet child marriage persists because of the powerful social norms in so many countries that perpetuate discrimination against girls and women.

It's time to change the story. It's time to break the cycle of discrimination by giving girls equal access to opportunities when they are young, so they can grow up to thrive as educated, healthy, and empowered women.

It's time to nurture girls' ambitions without restricting them to predefined ideas about their futures and their roles as women.

And it's time to help those who have already become child brides to get a second chance at education, to gain access to health care, contraception and economic opportunities, and to find a place where they can socialize and receive support.

Ending child marriage is not just the responsibility of women and girls themselves. Every one of us has a part to play. By ensuring every young girl is valued as equally as the boys and other girls around her, we can ensure she has the opportunity to achieve her full potential. ●

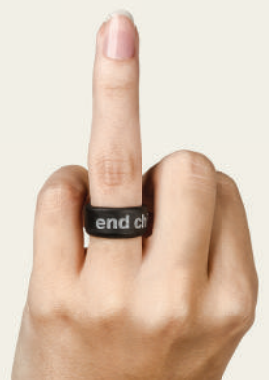
EVERY 2 SECONDS A GIRL UNDER 18 IS FORCED INTO MARRIAGE

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FINDING INSPIRATION IN THE TRADES



Photo: Submitted

If you passed 23-year-old Simone Hewitt on the street, you would never guess she makes her living as a steamfitter. Simone has spent the past five years apprenticing in the trades and is a great example of how a career in the trades can be for anyone. There are increasing opportunities for women to have rewarding jobs in the trades. The only thing holding them back are outdated impressions that they're men's jobs — when the beauty of a career in the trades is that anyone can do it.

"In high school, I started a law program, but quickly realized I didn't want an office job," says Hewitt. "I was attracted to the trades because I enjoy building things. It's satisfying to see something like a building that you helped construct. And there were a variety of jobs available too."

Growing up, Hewitt's exposure to the trades was limited. Apart from her stepfather, who was an electrician, she didn't know many others — es-

pecially women — doing this kind of work. It didn't deter Hewitt. When she finished high school, she was encouraged to become a steamfitter.

Many career options and benefits

"I had no idea what a steamfitter was at the time," admits Hewitt. "Basically it's like being a plumber, where you're responsible for boiler rooms that heat and cool buildings. I started as a pre-apprentice and went to school for six months. The great thing is you get paid to learn and graduate without debt." No longer an apprentice, Hewitt recently passed her exam and received an Ontario College of Trades' Certificate of Qualification with Red Seal Endorsement.

Hewitt's mom, who she credits with making sure she was always going in the right direction, was very supportive of this career choice. "She was happy she wouldn't have to pay for university," Hewitt jokes. "And being a single

mother to my young son motivated me, because I wanted to have a good career that would allow me to stand on my own feet, live independently, and provide for him."

It's no secret that women are underrepresented in the trades. According to the provincial regulatory body for the trades, Ontario College of Trades, there are almost 5,000 steamfitter journeypeople, yet just 31 are female. And of the 780 apprentices only 21 are women.

Hewitt encourages girls, women, and parents to explore trade careers as a viable and beneficial option. "There is nothing limiting women from entering the trades. Women should see it as an option for themselves," she says. "You can make a good living, so don't be afraid to try new things. Parents should encourage their daughters to consider the trades." ●

Ken Donohue



Simone
Steamfitter

Brandi
Refrigeration & air conditioning
systems mechanic

Amal
Chef apprentice

Cindy
Child Development
Practitioner

Enhancing opportunities for women in the trades.



ONTARIO COLLEGE OF TRADES
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earnwhileyoulearn.ca

The Benefits of Encouraging STEM to Young Girls

Increased outreach and focus on STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) education is encouraging more females to pursue these rewarding and engaging disciplines.

From a young age, Dr. Cynthia Cruickshank had a fascination with how things worked. “I would take things apart and put them back together,” she remembers. “I also enjoyed math and science in high school, which is part of why I became interested in studying engineering.” Now an Associate Professor in Carleton University’s Faculty of Engineering and Design, she leads a research team of 10 graduate students in the Department of Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering, focusing on solar energy research and improving energy efficiency in buildings.

Youth programs fueling STEM interest

Today Dr. Cruickshank is also helping to inspire young girls to pursue careers in STEM through youth outreach programs. “I’ve had the chance to give talks through the Carleton Women in Science and Engineering group, speaking with high school students about different careers that exist for women within engineering,” she

explains. “It’s important for them to hear about more than just the soft sciences because there are so many amazing opportunities where those sciences can be applied in areas such as electrical or mechanical engineering. There are many paths to choose from and female engineers are flourishing in all disciplines.”

Another outreach program that Dr. Cruickshank has spoken at is Virtual Ventures — a youth summer camp at Carleton that features programming just for girls and includes hands-on activities such as coding and game design. “It’s really important for female students to be exposed to engineering, or at least the concept of it, at a young age,” she says. “It helps them build an appreciation of what it can offer, but also demonstrates how it can improve peoples’ lives.”

Breaking barriers start with parents

While Dr. Cruickshank feels she was lucky to have an engineer as a father, who encouraged

her natural curiosity and interests by providing opportunities for hands-on learning, she also believes all parents have the tools to encourage their children’s interest in STEM — whether that means promoting participation in school science fairs, enrolling their kids in summer camps like Virtual Ventures, or taking them to discussions at universities where youth have the opportunity to interact with female engineers and role models.

Dr. Cruickshank also offers some advice for students who are thinking about pursuing STEM as a career. “If you enjoy problem solving or how things work or are simply interested in technology, there’s no limit to where those interests can take you,” she says. “Engineering is all about discovery and if you never stop exploring you’ll find the possibilities are endless.”

Andrea Yu

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Winnie Ye

Carleton University graduate, BEng/00, PhD/07
Associate Professor, Department of Electronics
Canada Research Chair (Tier II) in Nano-scale IC
Design for Reliable Opto-Electronics and Sensors



Goodman MBA in Business Analytics Offers Pathway to World of Big Data

To Brock University graduate Regan Fitzgerald, the world of big data is limitless.

Fitzgerald, who first graduated from Brock with a degree in psychology in 2013, found her way to the MBA after working with marketing professor Antonia Mantonakis in the University's Consumer Cognition and Perception Lab.


"I found that what I had learned in undergrad was applicable in the business world, and from there it really inspired me to take that next step in my career and pursue the MBA," says Fitzgerald.

Fitzgerald, who graduated with her MBA in 2016, saw the business analytics specialization as a way to align the analytical skills she learned in her undergraduate degree with business acumen and leadership skills and was a natural step after graduating from the psychology program.

"The business analytics specialization was the perfect fit for the statistics background and research methods training that I had," she says. "The leadership skills and general business acumen that are developed in the MBA program complement my theoretical background really well."

Fitzgerald, who is now working at PepsiCo Foods Canada as a consumer insights analyst, credits her career success to the experiences she had at Brock and the training she received as part of the MBA business analytics program.

The Goodman MBA offers specializations in business analytics, accounting (CPA/MBA), finance, general management, human resource management, marketing, and operations management.

Located in beautiful Niagara at Brock University, Goodman educates future business leaders and fosters entrepreneurship through experiential learning. 

3 TIPS FOR FUTURE ENTREPRENEURS

Erin Bury is the Managing Director at 88 Creative, a speaker with the National Speakers Bureau, and a columnist with the *Financial Post*. Find her on Twitter at @erinbury.


Mediaplanet What does being an entrepreneur mean to you?

Erin Bury Being an entrepreneur to me means being in charge of your own destiny. Just like paying rent means you're paying off someone else's mortgage, working for someone else means you're making someone else rich. I started working for a really strong female entrepreneur when I was only a year out of university, and she introduced me to the startup world. Within a few months, I was addicted and swore I would never make someone else rich again. Fast forward 10 years, I'm launching my first company this spring. I may not know what I'll be doing another 10 years from now — but I know I'll be working for myself.

MP What is your advice to women who want to be entrepreneurs but aren't quite sure where to start?

EB My advice to aspiring female entrepreneurs is two part: work on your personal brand and find a mentor. The best way to make sure people want to work with you is to position yourself as a thought leader in your field: go to events, speak at events, write content, volunteer for organizations, and try to do anything you can to build up a name for yourself in your industry. Next, find a mentor. Whether that's a business coach, an experienced entrepreneur or someone else, find someone who can help you on your journey.

MP How can parents expose their children to opportunities in the tech industry to cultivate interest at a young age?

EB Put your kids into programs like Future Design School, which teaches kids about design thinking and walks them through prototyping an app or tech product. To me, early exposure is the best way to make sure they consider entrepreneurship a viable option as they progress through school. 




EMPOWER UP

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SPOTLIGHT ON GLOBAL EMPOWERMENT

Revolutionary Empowerment for Girls in Nepal

I can still remember the stunned look on my best friend's face.

My family was living in rural India and I had been complaining about going back to boarding school. "How can you say that?" she asked in disbelief. "I would love to go to your school." She couldn't, of course. My friend came from a poor family in a remote Indian village. My school — though just a four-hour drive — was a universe away.

As a girl, a world of choices lay spread before me. My earliest memories are of my parents and teachers encouraging me and providing me with every opportunity to succeed. But as I grew up, I came to understand my life was the glaring exception to the global norm.

I now work with World Vision in Nepal, where 37 percent of girls are forced into wedlock before turning 18. Child brides are forced to leave school, bowing to immense pressure to bear children of their own.

Miscarriage rates are high with young mothers, whose bodies are not fully developed, as are the infant and maternal death rates. Domestic violence is rampant.

Nepal has some good laws to protect girls, but their implementation and enforcement have been a challenge. Laws have little force in changing traditional practices that are discriminatory and harmful for girls. *Chaupadi*, where menstruating girls and women are kept in isolation — often in a tiny shed — was outlawed in 2005. However, it is still widely observed in western regions.

Unlocking girls' potential

Knowing the limitations of laws, World Vision helps communities understand girls' worth, laying the groundwork for change. We help parents understand that girls have bright minds and are full of potential. And we empower girls through children's clubs, teaching them about the laws in place to protect them. We connect



Elizabeth Satow (yellow garland) meets with girls in the village of Sindhuli, Nepal.

these children's clubs with village child protection committees so girls have someplace to turn for backup.

I see new hope every time I hike into the remote villages where we're working. Like 17-year-old Parvati, who had been attending one of our children's clubs. When Parvati learned of a 14-year-old schoolmate under pressure to marry, she stepped forward to stop the forced marriage — getting

reinforcement from the village child protection committee.

Parvati knew what she wanted to do — and she did it. This act might seem like a small thing to a confident Canadian girl, accustomed to speaking her mind. But for girls and women who have been robbed of both voice and choice — it's revolutionary. ●

*Elizabeth Satow, National Director,
World Vision Nepal*

Freeing Girls from the Bonds of Violence

As a father, I do everything I can to support, encourage, and empower my 17-year-old daughter, Annie.

My hopes for her are boundless, as is my commitment to helping remove any barriers in her way.

But I can't rest there — not while the potential of girls around the world is held back by discrimination and violence. Violence affects more than one billion children every year, in every country, and in every community. As second-class citizens at best — property at worst — girls suffer disproportionately.

At World Vision, we believe violence against girls — whether labour exploitation, domestic abuse, sexual exploitation, or rape within a forced marriage — is a violation of life. It's not enough to provide girls with nutrition and access to education. A girl's family and community must understand her immense value as a human being — and take steps to respect, protect, and nurture her.

We are active in working to prevent violence against children in all its forms. Our work is focused on the difficult task of changing attitudes, freeing girls to step into brighter futures, and living up to their God-given potential. **It's a tall order, but we can't let up.**

*Michael Messenger
President, World Vision Canada*

Michael Messenger works to empower girls like Sibonokuhle, in Zimbabwe.



Supporting Partner

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G E N D E R

The problem with men

In his book *The Unmade Bed*, Stephen Marche argues that males are plagued by a new ‘hollow patriarchy’

BY ANNE KINGSTON · In his new book, *The Unmade Bed: The Messy Truth About Men and Women in the 21st Century*, essayist and novelist Stephen Marche explores the ramifications of evolving gender roles personally and culturally. He spoke with *Maclean's* about shifting definitions of masculinity and fatherhood, and how the rise of Donald Trump is emblematic of the “hollow patriarchy.”

Q: *Your book reads like a memoir, a treatise on shifting gender roles and a love letter to your wife. How do you define it?*

A: That's a pretty good description. I was trying to get at the reality I was seeing in my life—and the lives of people around me. There is really good sociological research into this stuff, but we don't often think about in the everyday. The politics of our moment is really a politics of intimacy. So it doesn't make any sense to talk about this stuff unless you're revealing your own intimate struggles.

Q: *Men's voices have been largely absent in discussions of gender and domesticity. Why?*

A: Almost all the voices in history have been men's, but on this one question of gender, men don't talk about it. Yet men's gender problems cause them a lot of suffering. There is a massive spiking suicide rate in middle age for men and a cultural attitude to male friendship that is destructive. Men are failing to deal with gender. Look at the result: Donald Trump is president. Men are forced into a kind of silence about their gender; they're supposed to not think of it as a performance. That's the definition of manliness—that it's not a performance; it's being yourself, authentic. Whereas women have understood gender as performance. Men have not yet made that quantum leap—or rather they're making it in many ways, they're not thinking about it. **Q:** *How are they making that leap?*

A: Men talk about masculinity through sports and clothes. They don't talk about gender, they talk about LeBron James and whether it's okay to wear lipstick and eyeliner. They're not getting to the question at hand, which is “What does it mean to be a man when the traditional values of masculinity are eroding incredibly rapidly?” And we're not catching up to them.

Q: *You define this as “hollow patriarchy.”*

A: That's the core insight of the book. The problem with the way we discuss gender is that it tends to be “Let's sympathize with women” or “Let's sympathize with men.” When you look at how men and women are living together, there are two processes at work. One, women are rising in the middle class; their earning potential is rising compared to men. On the other hand, women are denied iconic positions of power—equity partnerships at law firms, Hollywood salaries. So men are losing power in their daily lives, but manliness is still iconic of power. This creates incredible turbulence around masculinity and incredible confusion around gender norms that's only going to accelerate.

Q: *You write about that. You call fatherhood “the last indisputable definition of masculinity.” Yet when you were the primary caregiver for your son, you felt stigmatized.*

A: Yeah. I really felt the generational difference: guys my age got it; guys my father's age did not. When you ask single men in their 20s, “Do you want children?” they want children more than women do. Again, economics drive this. If you're a 29-year-old woman, having a baby is going to seriously blow up your career. If you're a 29-year-old man, it isn't. So why wouldn't you want kids if you're a 29-year-old man? I think it's clear that inequality is dividing along these different kinds of marriages and families. When you look at the biggest study of the American dream, the number one correlate for upward mobility is having two parents in a home. It doesn't matter if they're male or female. The reasons we talk about it are either conservative garbage about “traditional families” and how we should go back to *Leave It to Beaver*, or left-wing responses that it's all social change or it's structural problems. And actually, the family is still the core social unit. Culturally, traditional masculinity was a removed father. That was a false conception of masculinity and of the proper relationship between a man and his children. Look at the *Iliad*, there's all this stuff about men loving children. The King of Sparta was the most brutal warrior of ancient Greece, and the only thing he liked to



do was horse around with kids when he was back from slaughtering. One thing that feminism revealed is that being a distant patriarchal figure was not something men wanted to be. They want to be more involved in the lives of their children, and you can see that once they're allowed to have that connection, they crave it.

Q: *You quote your mother, a doctor, as saying the greatest advancement she saw in shaping gender intimacy wasn't the Pill, it was Lamaze, in which men play an active role in the birth.*

A: Men were then involved in the whole life of the flesh. So rather than being just earners, you have this biological, emotional, hormonal connection from birth; and then being in the home, which was the domain of women, suddenly becomes men's domain too. It's not just equality in the workplace, it's equality for child rearing. Women become breadwinners, men become caregivers. That's the birth of intimate marriage.

Q: *You discuss gender equality as key to economic competitiveness, writing about quotas in Japan. Yet we tend to talk of equality in terms of social justice.*

A: You cannot have an advanced economy while holding women back from the workplace. In economies in which women work, men and women in relationships make about the same amount of money, or women make more. From that simple fact, everything flows. The more money women make, the less vio-



lence, the fewer sexual crimes against women. Everything horrific and misogynistic declines.

Q: *Women increasingly outearn their partners. Yet the U.S. elected a man who wants to dial the clock back. Isn't that a backlash to the very trends you're writing about?*

A: It's complicated. You have two things happening: You have the cultural and economic reality of men falling apart and traditional masculinity falling apart. And one thing you can say about Trump is that he is not a traditional patriarch. And you could say the same of [Rodrigo] Duterte in the Philippines and of [Vladimir] Putin. They're parodies of masculinity. They're hyper-masculine, but they're also totally unsure of their masculinity, and they parade it around. I mean, look at the fact that the president of the United States cannot tie a tie. He can't shake hands. These are the basic building blocks of traditional masculine style, and he's a parody of it. What we're seeing now is not just a backlash against feminism. When you look at guys like [Jesse] Helms in the '80s or even Reagan and Bush, there was a real political backlash against feminism. This is different. This is a parodic recreation of the destruction of traditional masculinity. This is toxic masculinity. It's new. To see it as a return to the past is a

mistake. It's the breakdown of traditional masculinity, rather than its retrenchment.

Q: *Anne-Marie Slaughter spoke of the need for a "men's movement," separate from "men's rights" groups, which you criticize. Do you see that as an answer?*

A: We're stuck between two things. One, the economy is changing everything. And men need to deal with that. Our response to it has been rage, stupidity and conscious avoiding of dealing with what the reality of being a man might be outside of empty concepts from ancient history. Meanwhile, studies show that men are not taking women's jobs, which are good jobs. Being a nurse is an excellent job.

Q: *But it's "caring labour,"*

which is not adequately compensated.

A: Exactly. So what is about to happen is that men who define themselves as breadwinners are going to have to leave the traditional iconography of masculinity behind if they want to be breadwinners. And we have absolutely no cultural or social way of doing that yet, and it's a potential disaster; there's just so much anger and outrage and constant attacks from all sides of the political spectrum, mostly from horrific misogynist websites. But the position is also very hopeful. When you look at research and trends, things are improving on almost

'There is a massive spiking suicide rate in middle age for men Men are failing to deal with gender.'

Marche calls fatherhood the 'last indisputable definition of masculinity'

every front, even housework. Male housework involvement has not changed since the '80s, since like 1985. It's very mysterious, because men's engagement in child care and cooking has gone way up. The division [between how much housework men and women do] is declining across all advanced economies—not for the reasons that people want, which is men are doing more, but because women are doing less of it, but even then, the trend is getting toward equality.

Q: *There's a chapter on pornography that is destined to be controversial. You reject the hand-wringing about porn, and also discuss what you call the "pornography paradox." Could you elaborate?*

A: One [paradox] is that pornography follows in the wake of women's liberation. The first instances of hard-core pornography were in the late 18th century in France, "the Golden Age of Women." The next wave in the 20th century comes from Sweden, one of the first countries where women voted. Then Germany, again, at the forefront of progress. Then America in the '80s, when women were closing the pay gap. And Japan, same thing.

Research has found the arrival of pornography in a society leads to a decrease in rape, which doesn't make any sense, because there's also a huge amount of research that men exposed to pornography become more violent and more misogynistic in the immediate aftermath.

Q: *Your wife, Sarah Fulford, editor of Toronto Life magazine, provided footnotes offering her perspective or rebuking you at times. How did that come about?*

A: Sarah was editing my book and she would leave these long, impassioned notes saying, "You're totally wrong about this." And I felt like if we're going to be intimate, let's go all the way. Let's talk about money in a marriage. Whenever I read a book about a marriage, I always feel I'm being lied to.

Q: *So you need both voices?*

A: That was the idea. Marriage is not one point of view: It's a constant back and forth over different perspectives—a healthy marriage, anyway. And marriage is an inherently contradictory state. It involves the fusion of two people into one thing. And it's also love, and it's a lot of work, and it's got glory in its drudgery. Marriage is this black box that is the key to all social and political problems; the family is the unit. ♣

For the full interview, please visit Macleans.ca

REVIEWS

DYSTOPIAS AND ARTY DOGS

Fiction from North Korea,
a second U.S. Civil War,
a space spider and
art-world frenzy



THE ACCUSATION

Bandi, translated by Deborah Smith

Outraged defiance is built into *The Accusation*, right down to its fascinating origin story. In the late 1980s, Bandi, the pseudonym of a prominent state writer in North Korea—where authors receive guidance on suitable topics from the Propaganda and Agitation Department, which also passes their work through a cadre of censors—began composing fiction in secret. It denounced the trickle-down of the tyrannical leadership and disastrous economic policies of then-president Kim Il-sung. Bandi's manuscript, consisting of seven stories on 750 handwritten sheets, was eventually smuggled into China between pages of *The Selected Works of Kim Il Sung*.

The accusations Bandi levels at his homeland are clear-eyed and resounding: the system is corrupt, ailing or broken; for ordinary workers, hardship, fear and hunger are everyday realities; proclamations about egalitarianism merely disguise the “knife of dictatorship.” At best, North Korea’s “straitened circumstances” are depicted as producing absurd bureaucratic hurdles and Orwellian thinking that might be darkly funny if they weren’t also real. At worst, individuals, couples and families are used as public examples of “deviance from party ideology” or sacrificed in the name of the state-defined greater good.

Though government officials circulate as dreaded background figures in the bulk of the stories, Bandi tends to focus on workers—at mines, farms and factories—and their losing attempts to either get ahead or sidestep regulations. In “City of Specters,” a family is exiled to the countryside for neglecting to educate their son about “proper revolutionary principles.” The child is two years old. After a heroic but unsuccessful attempt to obtain a travel permit to visit his sick mother, the protagonist of “So Near, Yet so Far” uses

forged papers. Once caught, he’s muzzled for 22 days, serving as a beast of burden. From accounts of “dereliction of duty” to the aftermath of being identified as a “single dissonant chord” among the citizenry, the stories document the abuses of a government that routinely damages the people it pretends to fawn over and protect. **BRETT JOSEF GRUBISIC**



AMERICAN WAR

Omar El Akkad

It’s the 22nd century, and cancer-stricken Benjamin Chestnut, one of the Miraculous Generation—as the children who were born during the Second American Civil War and survived to tell of it are known—is conscious of the irony of having lived long enough to die an ordinary death. He wants to relate the story of his beloved aunt Sarat, a Louisiana kindergartner when the new war between North and South began in 2074 and an entirely different being, both appalling and sympathetic, when it ended in 2093. It’s a compelling narrative, one matched—surpassed, actually—by El Akkad’s flawlessly executed backstory.

Any dystopian novel is read as both story and the author’s take on the present; this one, with its straight-line extrapolation, not just from now but from the first Civil War, will be evaluated for its history as well. *American War*—its title, as slowly becomes apparent, is beautifully apt—covers past and present very well indeed. In 2074, coastal America is drowning, the interior is filled with refugees, oil is banned and killer drones fill the sky. Their strikes are random and unprovoked: rebels have destroyed the base that once controlled the unmanned craft, and now no one on either side knows when or where they’ll strike.

Egyptian-born, Canadian-raised and now living in Portland, Ore., El Akkad is an award-winning journalist who has reported from Afghanistan. As his deft, almost magical realist touch with the drones shows, his imaginative sympathy with ordinary people caught up in asymmetrical warfare—particularly those on the terrorist-producing side—runs deep. That empathy fuels his Southerners, who accurately channel their ancestors, with both generations on the wrong side of history, practically as well as morally.

Slavery was a doomed economic system





Jeff Koons' *Orange Balloon Dog* fetched a record price—is the art bubble about to pop?

astronaut, Jakub Procházka, is in a one-man craft (JanHus1, named after a 15th-century Bohemian church reformer), and he's investigating a mysterious dust cloud surrounding Earth. The Czech-born Kalfar apparently learned to speak English in part by watching the Cartoon Network, and he offers up a refreshingly original tale that weaves melancholy symbolism with dry eastern European humour, Iron Curtain drama with science-fiction weirdness.

It's 2018, and Jakub is an unlikely hero and media star: He's the son of a Communist interrogator, and his family became ostracized when the old regime fell. Aboard JanHus1, he keeps reflecting on his difficult childhood and his increasingly unhappy wife back home. Jakub's isolation forces him to consider a series of existential questions. Why has he volunteered for this mission? Does he want to serve his compatriots or prove himself or escape his past?

Enter his arachnoid visitor, out of nowhere. Jakub keeps it hidden away, off-camera, and assigns it the name Hanuš, after the legendary builder of an astronomical clock in Prague—everything wondrous and new takes on a historical dimension. Hanuš is another intrepid loner, and the two make a decidedly odd and damaged couple—the spider hooked on Jakub's Nutella and Jakub on his own diminishing supply of whisky—finding more in common with each other than with the rest of their species. As the spaceship's technology starts to break down, Jakub himself is breaking apart, and Hanuš could, in fact, be a figment of his imagination.

While the finale feels somewhat heavy-handed and protracted, in general Kalfar deftly shapes his story's layers and varied tones. And as with all science fiction worth its salt, *Spaceman of Bohemia* is grounded in present-day reality and the never-ending questioning of what it means to be human. Jakub's plight asks us what we want from our heroes and what they hope to gain from us. This is an anti-gravity tale with considerable heft. **MIKE DOHERTY**

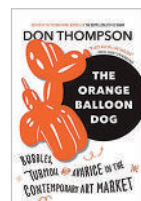


SPACEMAN OF BOHEMIA

Jaroslav Kalfa

Imagine if Chris Hadfield were Czech—and if up in space, in the midst of performing his scientific duties and communicating back home to his legions of fans, he had encountered a giant spider-shaped alien that spoke to him telepathically.

This is more or less the premise of Jaroslav Kalfar's debut novel—except that the



THE ORANGE BALLOON DOG

Don Thompson

Just over three years ago, American artist Jeff Koons' orange dog—one of his five unique *Balloon Dog* sculptures, each finished with a translucent coating of orange, red, blue,

magenta or yellow—sold for US\$58.4 million. A record price for an auction-sold work by a living artist, the sale left Damien Hirst's installation—the subject of *The \$12 Million Stuffed Shark*, one of Thompson's previous lively takes on the workings of the modern art market—rotting in the economic formaldehyde.

An emeritus professor of marketing at Toronto's York University, Thompson used to write about how contemporary art prices seemed crazy merely to the uninitiated. The tsunami of cash sloshing through the art market, he wrote, actually represented a rational consensus reached by informed buyers and sellers. Those astronomical prices, however much they played to an intense “mine's bigger” competition among the super rich, still had something to do with the artworks themselves—the ideas they encapsulated, the beauty of their forms, the backstories they told.

Thompson's writing here is as informative as ever, particularly on the commercialism of the museum scene and the eerie parallels between the economic clout of the real-world economy's one-percenters and contemporary art institutions' very top tier. And this book is just as entertaining—there's something fascinating about chest-puffing billionaires having at each other in bidding wars. But the author is no longer sure the veneer of rationality is holding up.

Mid-level and even emerging artists are now caught in the frenzy, with some who have never had a solo exhibition commanding million-dollar prices. Up-and-comers are ranked, solely in terms of market momentum, by for-profit research firms, which send “buy,” “sell” or “liquidate” advisories to prospective collectors.

The flip tactic, known to all real estate TV show viewers, is now common, with sales contracts promising no more than a price and a delivery date for sight-unseen works by relatively unknown artists being immediately resold—in one case, for a 75 per cent profit.

Marketing pitches from Christie's, the auction house handling the *Orange Balloon Dog* sale, still played to ego: A successful bid for Koons's work “would communicate the prominence and stature of the owner.” But the buyer, New York collector Jose Mugrabi—who, along with his father and brother, owns more than 1,000 Warhol paintings—didn't put his trophy on display. It went into a warehouse in New Jersey in anticipation of quick resale, yet another portent of an art market bubble about to burst, Thompson argues. **BRIAN BETHUNE**



Chef Éric Gonzalez prepares salmon tartare with caviar at the struggling L'Atelier de Joël Robuchon

TASTE

Stuck in the craw

Quebec restaurateurs and politicians are up in arms over a French chef's taxpayer-financed Montreal outpost

BY JACOB RICHLER · Even when compared to such luminous contemporaries as Alain Ducasse, Guy Savoy or Alain Passard, chef Joël Robuchon is incontestably a giant. At the age of 31, in 1976, he was named a *Meilleur Ouvrier de France*. Ever since—more or less uninterrupted—he has gobbled up Michelin stars like Wayne Gretzky did points in his prime. Today, his 23 restaurants hold a previously unthinkable 31 *étoiles* among them.

So if I told you that in December, the esteemed Frenchman had opened his first Canadian restaurant, L'Atelier de Joël Robuchon in Montreal, and that if you wanted you could book a couple of his best seats tonight, no problem, you would probably think I was joking.

Not so. Last time I logged on to the reservation system—on a Wednesday in late February—it showed availability pretty much whenever I might want it. There were no fewer than five time slots free the following evening. Even the upcoming Saturday had openings. And the restaurant has but a modest 56 seats. “You can’t get a table at my restaurant for 12 weeks,” David McMillan says of his leading Montreal establishment Joe Beef, which is larger, and nearly two decades older, and cost immeasurably less to build. “They’ve already failed.”

Well, yes, it does look that way. The rea-

sons are multifold. But there is really only one that counts: Loto-Québec, and the ludicrous taxpayer-funded contract it drafted to lure a Robuchon franchise to its grim Casino de Montréal. The Crown corporation will reveal almost nothing of the contract other than to admit it paid almost \$11 million for the franchise—the 10th iteration of a nearly 15-year-old restaurant concept. Loto-Québec will not even confirm whether Robuchon is obliged to ever visit, never mind take a whirl through the kitchen.

Nonetheless, when an angry opposition brought up the prickly issue in the National Assembly in late February, the ruling Liberal Party’s minister of finance, Carlos Leitão, implausibly asserted that Robuchon would help raise Quebec’s culinary game and “put us on the same playing field as London, Paris, Tokyo or New York.”

Oh dear. One hopes that it didn’t take too much publicly funded travel and culinary research to work out that all those fine cities did at one time have Joël Robuchon restaurants. But L'Atelier de Joël Robuchon in NYC was a flop and closed years ago.

Don’t get me wrong: I loved my meal at the original L'Atelier in Paris, back when it opened in 2003. But the Japanese-inspired tasting-bar idea of the place is hardly cutting-

edge any longer. Nor is there any boldness left in its mission statement that fine dining should be enjoyed without the usual pomp and affectations. Early last year, when news of the Robuchon deal was first making the circuit, great Montreal chefs like Normand Laprise were already confiding their displeasure. It had nothing to do with Robuchon’s cooking. They just found it objectionable that Loto-Québec would use provincial taxpayers’ money to subsidize a foreigner to compete with overtaxed domestic businesses, like Laprise’s Toqué! Or, for that matter, Maison Boulud, another great Montreal fine-dining restaurant helmed by a superstar French chef with whom, by contrast, everyone is happy to compete—in large part because the establishment was not government-financed (and, *nota bene* Loto-Québec, the bigger, far more handsome set-up cost less than \$4 million, all in).

Now that the assumed scope of the deal is public and reports are out of a \$40,000 expenditure on Christofle cutlery, with another \$40,000 on Limoges Bernardaud dinnerware, that distaste has turned to anger—mostly at Loto-Québec. For keeping the terms of the Robuchon deal secret, for pretending that the restaurant promotes Quebec while never bothering to consult the local culinary establishment. McMillan concurs with Laprise, who says, “We could have all sat down with some top-tier marketing company like Sid Lee and have done it all for \$1 million.”

Now, Loto-Québec has a lot of bad headlines, and probably yet another expensive Casino de Montréal restaurant failure in the making. The food may be great. But it seems highly unlikely that a place that was supposed to raise the bar for Quebec will really do so.

Éric Gonzalez, chef at L'Atelier, is undoubtedly talented. But if his intention was ever to raise the bar in Montreal, he’s already had 15 years at places like Cube, L'Auberge Saint-Gabriel and XO to at least hint at it. Does he now expect to make a culinary splash with reruns of old L'Atelier menu items like *jamón ibérico* with tomato toast, *oeufs en cocottes* and quail stuffed with foie gras, all of which I remember eating at the original in Paris?

Thanks to our tanking dollar, they are cheaper here now, but that’s not enough to drive tourism to Montreal any more than the casino itself, which has really only succeeded in pulling poor Quebec retirees out of their bingo halls to plug them into government-owned slot machines instead. If you’ve actually seen the place, you would know that the celebrity chef they really needed was neither French nor local, but the fat guy from that TV show *Diners, Drive-Ins and Dives*, Guy Fieri. ♣



CHALLENGE

The Quiz

This week, we test your trivia skills on everything from Napoleon's grandnephew to the Jewish calendar

Round 1: Honour roll

1. What's the Arabic word for "desert"?
2. Who are actress Dakota Johnson's parents?
3. What's the more common term to refer to monozygotic siblings?
4. In bowling slang, what is a puddle?
5. The largest theft ever investigated by the Sûreté du Québec began in 2012 when police began looking into \$18 million worth of missing what?
6. Which unevolved Pokemon is a lizard whose tail ends in a flame?
7. What is another name for the ancient Eastern Roman Empire?
8. The standard size of what object is believed to have been established by the amount of air a typical glass-blower's lungs could hold?
9. What 1915 product gave the Japanese electronics company Sharp its name?
10. What 2009 film included a famous clip from SNL featuring Dan Aykroyd?

Round 2: Prodigy

1. Two U.S. state names contain only one consonant each. One is Ohio, what is the other?
2. What insect is the only animal known to have just one ear?
3. Bill Paxton received his only Emmy nomination for his role in what 2012 miniseries?
4. What gemstone was used in all the medals handed out at the 2008 Beijing Olympics?
5. Which astronomer is credited with proving the existence of galaxies other than the Milky Way?
6. Charles Bonaparte, Napoleon Bonaparte's grandnephew, founded what American government agency in 1908?
7. In 2011, what was Ashton Kutcher telling

fans when he tweeted: "What's the square root of 6.25?"

8. The Jewish calendar begins on Oct. 7, 3761 BCE, with what event?
9. A chiweenie is a mix of which two dog breeds?
10. Barbara Walters, Joy Behar, Meredith Vieira, Star Jones and Debbie Matenopoulos were the five original hosts of what daytime talk show beginning in 1997?

Round 3: Rhodes Scholar

1. In 2011, which reality-TV star was paid \$32,000 to speak at Rutgers and gave the students the advice to "study hard, but party harder"?
2. What colour are the geography questions in Trivial Pursuit?
3. Starting in 1946, "More Doctors smoke _____ than any other" was an ad slogan for what cigarettes?
4. Arguably, the fauxhawk hairstyle was popularized by what sports figure in the early 2000s?
5. What drug was initially used to treat crossed eyes and uncontrollable blinking and was known as Oculinum?
6. If you're a quinquagenarian, you fall between what ages?
7. In February of 2017, the president of Iceland made the Internet lose its mind when he said that if he could, he'd ban what pizza topping?
8. *Butternut Square* was a CBC children's show from 1964-67 starring which two popular television personalities?
9. In the world of computers, what is a CAPTCHA?
10. In the standard game of Monopoly, you go to jail if you roll how many consecutive doubles? **TERRANCE BALAZO**

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HUMOUR

A children's guide to parenting

Kids, take heart! There are steps you can take to reassure your adults in the time of Trump.



SCOTT FESCHUK

IT'S NEVER EASY being an adult—and it's been especially difficult since the shocking election of Donald Trump.

Indeed, the Trump presidency is a potentially upsetting topic for grown-ups of all

ages. During this difficult time, it's common for adults to become anxious, fearful, even angry.

But there's good news: Children, there are steps you can take to calm and reassure your adults. Just follow these 10 simple guidelines for how to talk to your grown-up about Donald Trump:

- 1. Watch for warning signs.** It's important to be on constant lookout for indications that your adult is troubled by Trump's actions as president. Telltale warning signs include: chronic insomnia, increased irritability and unexplained 40-minute crying jags in the supermarket produce section. Factoid: An almost constant shaking of one's head in disbelief is now estimated to afflict one in every four adults, and three out of every three Clintons.
- 2. Pick the right moment.** There are subtle signs that can help you determine when your adult may be "ready" to have a calm conversation about Donald Trump. Should you strike up a dialogue during the 20 minutes they spend each night staring blankly into the middle distance and muttering about "goddamn Bannon?" That's a tough call. On

the other hand, you should clearly back off when you find Daddy screaming at the loud, sweaty man on television: "Oh, cram it in your LYING PIE HOLE, Spicer!"

- 3. Ask questions.** The best way to get a conversation going is to open with a clear and straightforward question—something like, "Mommy, why are you swearing at the newspaper?"
- 4. Create opportunities for dialogue.** A well-timed query can also provide the entry point to a shared activity—which will give you a chance to be alone with your adult. Here's a line that has hardly ever failed since Trump's election: "Hey, Dad, can I help you take all your empty vodka bottles to the recycling?"

- 5. Keep some things off limits.** Your adult is talking with you about Trump—that's great! But it's important to establish boundaries. Even as you bond, you're going to want to keep your adult away from your school work. Sure, under normal circumstances it's great when Mom lends a hand with your science fair project. But you can't risk Dad turning your geography project into a 3,000-word conspiracy polemic that includes several graphic paragraphs about Russian hookers.
- 6. Delicately interrupt a rant.** If you sense that your adult is getting hysterical, try changing the topic—but don't be too obvious about it! Make it seem natural by building on something they say. Here's an example: "Hey, Mommy, do you know who else is a

Some tips for defusing the situation when your adult is in a Trump-induced meltdown

'megalomaniacal orange ignoramus'? Garfield! Look at this cartoon where he eats some lasagna while also hating Mondays..."

- 7. Understand how the grown-up mind works.** Your adult probably doesn't want to obsess over Trump's presidency—but he or she may not be able to help it. News feeds and social media can be addictive. You can help by deleting the Twitter app on your adult's phone. While you're in there, you may also want to change the photo on their home screen to a picture of a dog's butt. This will not help with the Trump thing but it is hilarious.
- 8. Let your adult feel sorry for you.** Your adult may become emotional and offer profuse apologies for "screwing up the world for you." It is not important that you understand what they mean. Just know that you can now probably get away with describing a poor report card as "fake news."

- 9. Try to give them some space.** Support is important, but ultimately your adult will need to figure things out for themselves. Adults can do more than we give them credit for! But let's not sugarcoat it: They're going to make mistakes. They're going to say the wrong thing about Trump at U.S. customs. They're going to compound that error by calling the guard a "fascist pawn." They're definitely going to get strip-searched. Point is: Make sure your iPhone is fully charged—you're going to be at the border for a while.
- 10. Tell them that everything is going to be okay.** It's probably a lie but it's the only way to get them to focus for long enough to make dinner for you. False hope is better than no hope at all. ♣

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By Dr. C. Hammoud M.H., Ph.D.

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Heather Anderson

She was an avid reader and outdoorswoman. When her father died, she lost her faith but not her defining generous spirit.

HEATHER ANDERSON WAS born Feb. 8, 1966, in Montreal to David McAsey, who was in public relations, and Maureen, who stayed home to look after Heather and her two younger brothers, Brian and Sean.

The McAseys moved from Montreal to Sarnia in 1970. On a trip to a local farm, five-year-old Heather delighted in all the apples. “For the first year of school, every picture she drew was of apples. She became an expert apple drawer,” says Maureen.

Two years later, the family relocated to Calgary when David got a PR job with an oil firm. They loved camping in the mountains. Each summer, before heading to campsites around Banff National Park, Heather made her parents stop at a library “to fill up a whole shopping bag with books,” says her mother. “She’d sneak them into the car because they took up so much room.” In addition to being a book lover, Heather stood out from a young age for her kind, generous spirit, says her family.

The McAseys attended St. Gerard’s Parish in Calgary every Sunday. “We always sat in the front pew because my husband’s hearing was a bit off,” says Maureen.

After graduating from high school, Heather got a job as a gas jockey at a Calgary Co-op station. One of her co-workers there was Wally Anderson. “I thought she was beautiful, of course,” he recalls. “And her red hair! She had red hair at that time, which I thought was real. I found out later it wasn’t,” he laughs. There was something else that attracted him to Heather, that thing anyone who knew her said: “She was just such a nice person.”

Wally left Co-op after a short time, but not before asking Heather out. They married in September 1990 and had daughters Sarah in 1996 and Jennifer in 1999.

At first, Heather stayed home to raise their kids. In 2003, she worked as a lunchroom aide at an elementary school. Then, after taking courses, she started working with special needs children in 2006. “I think she had the patience of Job, to tell you the truth,” says Maureen.

Three years ago, recounts Wally, Heather learned two brothers attending the elementary school she worked at “went through the

school day with nothing to eat.” For the rest of the school year, Heather bought extra groceries to make them sandwiches. Later, at Don Bosco School in Calgary, Heather volunteered with the Breakfast Club, helping prepare food for children who came to school without having proper meals.

The Andersons were campers. Every summer they spent a few weeks tenting at Scotch Creek, near B.C.’s Shuswap Lake. Three generations of family would camp together. “It looked like a tent city,” says Wally. Often, Heather reposed on the beach with a book.

She never lost that love of reading. The house was kept loaded with books—crime novels, romances, mysteries. In an average year, she’d read 60 or so books. Some years she topped 100.

Maureen was also an avid hiker and went snowshoeing in the winter. After snowshoeing with one of her friends, “they would have a fondue and wine in the parking lot,” says Jennifer.

When her daughters were young, Heather wanted to put them in Girl Guides. Learning there was no leader, she took on the role herself. She didn’t cut her children any slack, says Jennifer. “She definitely wanted us to get all our badges—more than the other kids.”

Four years ago, Heather’s dad, who had a pacemaker, passed away from a heart attack. The two had been very close. For many summers, Heather and her daughters joined her dad in volunteering with the Okanagan Gleaners Society. They would harvest vegetables that

were later dehydrated and shipped to Third World countries.

Though Heather continued to go to church regularly with her mother as she always had, she couldn’t bring herself to go inside anymore. She was angry and confused that God could take her father away. So she sat in her car during the service and read.

Around 1:30 a.m. on Dec. 29, Heather was returning to Calgary after driving Sarah to Edmonton when the semi in front of her careened into a ditch. Heather pulled over to help the 36-year-old driver, Elayaraja Balasundaram. As they stood by the rig, another semi, hitting debris, crashed into the pair, killing them both. Heather was 50. **ANTHONY A. DAVIS**



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