

The Truth About the Justin Trudeau Scandal

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Background

- ▶ Jody Wilson-Raybould: daughter of hereditary Kwakiwlt chief Bill Wilson – he was a lawyer who negotiated with Justin Trudeau's father to make sure that Aboriginal rights were included in Canada's 1982 constitution.
- ▶ BBC: "Justin Trudeau is Canada's prime minister. He won a majority government in 2015 on a platform of transparency, gender equality and a commitment to reconciliation with Canada's indigenous peoples." He's had problems, such as groping allegations and 2017.
- ▶ "The Ethics Commissioner has ruled that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau broke Canada's ethics law over two all-expenses-paid family trips to the Bahamas, rejecting the assertion his host was a close friend and dismissing his rationale for accepting helicopter flights to the private island.
- ▶ "The report said Mr. Trudeau violated four sections of the Conflict of Interest Act regarding two of the family trips last year to Bells Bay. The private island is owned by the Aga Khan, the billionaire spiritual leader of the world's Ismaili Muslims, whose organizations deal frequently with the federal government."
- ▶ "Mr. Trudeau had maintained he broke no rules because public office holders are allowed to accept gifts from friends. But Ms. Dawson concluded the two men were not friends under the Conflict of Interest Act, having spoken only once in the 30 years before Mr. Trudeau became Liberal Leader."

<https://nationalpost.com/pmnl/news-pmnl/canada-news-pmnl/timeline-snc-lavalin-and-jody-wilson-raybould-2>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-47408239>

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/trudeau-violated-conflict-of-interest-law-with-aga-khan-trip-ethics-watchdog-says/article37393519/>

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Trudeau
(Macleans)

- ▶ 2013, Justin Trudeau expressed "a level of admiration I actually have for China" with his reasoning that "their basic dictatorship is allowing them to actually turn their economy around on a dime and say 'we need to go green faster, we need to start investing in solar'."
- ▶ "Back in the summer of 2006, Pierre Trudeau's youngest son, Alexandre (Sacha), Trudeau wrote a fawning, happy 80th birthday column in the Toronto Star in praise of then Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. The piece included tributes such as how the revolutionary leader was a "great adventurer...a great scientific mind", someone whose "intellect is one of the most broad and complete that can be found."
- ▶ "Castro, Trudeau claimed, was "an expert on genetics, on automobile combustion engines, on stock markets, on everything." Alexandre pressed upon his readers to analyze Castro in "psychoanalytical terms", to think of Cubans as children and Castro their father. Trudeau then fondly recalled his late brother, Michel, who when they were young kids complained to their mother that he had fewer friends than his brothers. Margaret Trudeau replied that unlike his brothers, Michel "had the greatest friend of all: he had Fidel."
- ▶ Bob Plamondon, author of a 2013 biography of Pierre Trudeau recounts how Trudeau the Elder visited the Soviet Union in 1952 to discuss economics, this accompanied by four Canadian communists. "It was there that he remarked to the wife of US chargé d'affaires that he was a communist and a Catholic and was in Moscow to criticize the U.S. and praise the Soviet Union."

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Communism
Castro

- ▶ "in 1960, [Pierre] Trudeau accepted an invitation from the Chinese government to visit along with Jacques Hébert, a friend whom Trudeau would appoint to the Senate. They travelled around China for six weeks on a state-sponsored tour and they did so smack dab in the middle of a wrenching state-imposed famine..."
- ▶ In Cuba in 1964, Pierre Trudeau said, "When you see mass rallies with Fidel Castro speaking for 90 minutes in 100-degree heat you wonder what is the need for elections?"
- ▶ On 26 November 2016, Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau praised Fidel Castro in a statement about the former Cuban dictator's death: "While a controversial figure, both Mr. Castro's supporters and detractors recognized his tremendous dedication and love for the Cuban people who had a deep and lasting affection for 'el Comandante.' I know my father was very proud to call him a friend and I had the opportunity to meet Fidel when my father passed away. It was also a real honour to meet his three sons and his brother President Raúl Castro during my recent visit to Cuba."
- ▶ Death count 1959-1987: 73,000 (almost 3m in US terms).

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Background

- ▶ SNC-Lavalin is Canada's largest engineering and construction firm, employing thousands of people across the country and particularly in Quebec.
- ▶ It employs nearly 54,000 people worldwide, 9,000 people across Canada, 3,400 in Quebec.
- ▶ SNC-Lavalin is based in Quebec, a swing province which is generally necessary for the Liberal Party to win during an election – which is coming up in October 2019.
- ▶ When the Liberals win in Quebec, they often secure a majority of seats in parliament. When they lose...
- ▶ In autumn 2018, Quebec was in the middle of a strenuous provincial election that eventually resulted in the ousting of the Quebec Liberal premier.

<https://nationalpost.com/pmnl/news-pmnl/canada-news-pmnl/timeline-snc-lavalin-and-jody-wilson-raybould-2>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-47408239>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/01/explained-the-case-that-could-bring-down-canadas-justin-trudeau>

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Background

- ▶ **Feb. 19, 2015:** The RCMP lays corruption and fraud charges against SNC-Lavalin over allegations that it used bribery to secure government business in Libya. SNC-Lavalin says the charges are without merit and stem from "alleged reprehensible deeds by former employees who left the company long ago."
- ▶ The RCMP alleges that between 2001 and 2012, the company paid almost **\$48 million** in bribes and defrauded various other entities of close to **\$130 million**.
- ▶ A conviction would bar the company from bidding on Canadian government business for 10 years.
- ▶ **Oct. 19 2015:** The Liberals win the federal election, taking power from the Conservatives.
- ▶ Within two weeks, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau names Jody Wilson-Raybould as the minister of justice and attorney general of Canada.
- ▶ The post combines duties as a politician (heading the Department of Justice) and a legal official (overseeing prosecutions).

<https://nationalpost.com/pmnl/news-pmnl/canada-news-pmnl/timeline-snc-lavalin-and-jody-wilson-raybould-2>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-47408239>

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Timeline

- ▶ **March 27, 2018:** The Liberals table a budget bill that includes a change to the Criminal Code allowing for "remediation agreements," common in other countries – bribes.
- ▶ Remediation agreements require a company to admit wrongdoing, pay a fine, and obey other compliance conditions – but avoid a guilty conviction in court.
- ▶ SNC-Lavalin previously lobbied hard for such a provision in Canadian law.
- ▶ **Spring:** Before the bill even passes, SNC-Lavalin provides Public Prosecution Service lawyers detailed information in expectation of a remediation agreement.
- ▶ **Sept. 4:** The prosecution service tells SNC-Lavalin in writing that no remediation agreement will be forthcoming.
- ▶ **Sept. 17:** Trudeau and Wilson-Raybould discuss the SNC-Lavalin file.
- ▶ In her role as attorney general, Wilson-Raybould has the power to overrule the prosecution service, ordering it to negotiate an agreement with SNC-Lavalin.
- ▶ However, the instruction has to be in writing and published in the Canada Gazette, the public registry of federal-government decisions – open to public scrutiny and challenge.

<https://www.msn.com/en-ca/news/politics/snc-lavalin-a-look-at-the-ags-powers/ar-BBTXXKvq>

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Timeline

- ▶ **Sept. 18:** SNC-Lavalin representatives meet with Privy Council clerk Michael Wernick (Canada's most senior civil servant) and Finance Minister Bill Morneau to discuss issues such as "justice and law enforcement."
- ▶ **Sept. 21:** The remediation-agreement provisions come into force.
- ▶ **Oct. 9:** Once more, in writing, the director of prosecutions confirms that she will not invite SNC-Lavalin to negotiate a remediation agreement.
- ▶ "The Criminal Code sets out the criteria for remediation agreements." Public Prosecution Service of Canada spokesperson Nathalie Houle told CBC News. "The [director of public prosecutions] has determined that the criteria were not met."
- ▶ SNC-Lavalin challenges that decision in Federal Court. (That challenge remains ongoing.)
- ▶ **Oct. 10:** SNC-Lavalin issues a news release saying it strongly disagrees with the decision of the director of prosecutions, and wants to negotiate a remediation agreement.
- ▶ SNC-Lavalin shares fall nearly 14%, closing at \$44.86 – the lowest close since March 2, 2016.
- ▶ **Oct. 11:** SNC-Lavalin meets with Elder Marques, a senior adviser in the Prime Minister's Office, to discuss "justice and law enforcement."

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/snc-lavalin-1.4856869>

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Timeline

- ▶ **Nov. 5 and 19:** SNC-Lavalin reps meet with Mathieu Bouchard, a senior adviser in the Prime Minister's Office, to further discuss "justice and law enforcement."
- ▶ **Jan. 14, 2019:** After the resignation of Treasury Board president Scott Brison, Trudeau reorganizes his cabinet.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould is moved from Justice to Veterans Affairs, widely seen as a demotion. David Lametti, a Montreal MP and former law professor, becomes justice minister.
- ▶ **Feb. 7:** Citing unnamed sources, a Canadian newspaper reports that Trudeau's aides attempted to press Wilson-Raybould, while she was attorney general, to intervene in the prosecution of SNC-Lavalin.
- ▶ Frustration with her lack of co-operation was reportedly one reason for demoting her out of Justice.
- ▶ Trudeau denies any impropriety. Citing solicitor-client privilege, Wilson-Raybould declines to speak about dealings she had on the case while she was attorney general.

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Timeline

- ▶ **Feb. 11:** Federal ethics commissioner Mario Dion says he's initiating an investigation.
- ▶ **Feb. 12:** Wilson-Raybould resigns as veterans-affairs minister. She reports that she has hired former Supreme Court Justice Thomas Cromwell to advise her on the limits of solicitor-client privilege.
- ▶ Trudeau says that he is surprised and disappointed that Wilson-Raybould quit – adding that if she felt undue pressure as attorney general, she should have reported it to him.
- ▶ **Feb. 15:** Trudeau says Wilson-Raybould asked him in September whether he would direct her one way or another regarding SNC-Lavalin. He says he told her he would not do so.
- ▶ **Feb. 18:** Buft's – Trudeau's principal secretary – resigns. He denies any impropriety but says that his continued employment in the Prime Minister's Office has become distracting.

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Timeline

- ▶ In 2019, the investigation have continued to affect SNC-Lavalin
 - ▶ Its CEO has continued to face criminal charges in regards to alleged bribes in contracts between 2001 and 2011.
- ▶ A new investigation involving potential bribery in relation to a repair contract in the early 2000s, has been reported by La Presse.
- ▶ On February 27, 2019, at a hearing of the House of Commons Justice Committee, Wilson-Raybould spoke for almost four hours about the SNC-Lavalin controversy.
- ▶ She testified that she was inappropriately pressured to prevent the Montreal-based company from being prosecuted.
- ▶ Ezra Levant tweeted:
- ▶ ? It's against the law to pressure the Attorney General to obstruct a criminal prosecution. Here's Canada's Criminal Code. Section 139(2) is obstruction – it carries a 10-year prison term. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/POF/C-46.pdf>.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SNC-Lavalin>

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The Law (1)

- ▶ **Obstructing justice**
- ▶ 139 (1) Every one who wilfully attempts in any manner to obstruct, pervert or defeat the course of justice in a judicial proceeding,
 - ▶ (a) by indemnifying or agreeing to indemnify a surety, in any way and either in whole or in part, or
 - ▶ (b) where he is a surety, by accepting or agreeing to accept a fee or any form of indemnity whether in whole or in part from or in respect of a person who is released or is to be released from custody, is guilty of
- ▶ (c) an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or
- ▶ (d) an offence punishable on summary conviction.

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The Law (2)

- ▶ Idem
- ▶ (3) Without restricting the generality of subsection (2), every one shall be deemed wilfully to attempt to obstruct, pervert or defeat the course of justice who in a judicial proceeding, existing or proposed,
 - ▶ (a) dissuades or attempts to dissuade a person by threats, bribes or other corrupt means from giving evidence;
 - ▶ (b) influences or attempts to influence by threats, bribes or other corrupt means a person in his conduct as a juror; or
 - ▶ (c) accepts or obtains, agrees to accept or attempts to obtain a bribe or other corrupt consideration to abstain from giving evidence, or to do or to refrain from doing anything as a juror.

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Arthur Porter

- ▶ In February 2004, Porter was appointed to replace Hugh Scott as the Director General and CEO of the McGill University Health Centre in Montreal, Quebec, one of Canada's largest academic health centres. (2) He left that position in December 2011. (3)
- ▶ Porter also served as chair of the Canadian Security Intelligence Review Committee, which reviews the activities of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Canada's spy agency. He was appointed to that committee by Prime Minister Stephen Harper on September 3, 2008, and along with that appointment, "was made a privy councillor." (4)
- ▶ On May 27, 2013, Porter was arrested in Havana on fraud charges, which alleged that he took part in a \$2.5 million kick back scheme related to the construction of McGill University Health Centre's new \$1.3 billion hospital. (5) The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation called it "the biggest fraud investigation in Canadian history." (1) Porter denied any wrongdoing.
- ▶ McGill University: the Arthur Porter kick-back scandal (2011-2014)
- ▶ Charges were laid against senior executives from SNC-Lavalin from 2014 through 2019 in the bribery cases involving Arthur Porter at the McGill University Health Centre. According to a 2012 article in the Globe and Mail, these reports promised calls for Canada to tighten bribery laws.
- ▶ According to the National Post, SNC-Lavalin employees allegedly were involved in fraud and forgery in relation to a \$22.2 million kick-back described as "consulting fees" to Dr. Arthur Porter before it won the contract to build the new \$1.3-billion hospital at the McGill University Health Centre, CEO in violation of the Quebec Health Act. SNC Lavalin were awarded the contract even though they were outbid by \$40 millions. The case led to an investigation by the Charbonneau Commission. Porter resigned from the post on December 5, 2011 in light of substantial public pressure. Porter was arrested in Havana on fraud charges on May 27, 2013, which charged that he took part in the kick-back scheme. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation called it the biggest fraud investigation in Canadian history. SNC CEO, Pierre Duhaime in March 2012. Duhaime was arrested on fraud charges by Quebec authorities on November 28, 2012.

[https://www.revolvy.com/page/Arthur-Porter-\(physician\)](https://www.revolvy.com/page/Arthur-Porter-(physician))

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SNC-Lavalin#McGill_University;_the_Arthur_Porter_kick-back_scandal_\(2011%E2%80%932014\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SNC-Lavalin#McGill_University;_the_Arthur_Porter_kick-back_scandal_(2011%E2%80%932014))

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Arthur Porter

- ▶ During Porter's 2004-2011 tenure as CEO at McGill University Health Centre, two former top executives of SNC-Lavalin allegedly authorized \$22.5 million in payments related to getting the contract for a \$1.3-billion superhospital expansion to Porter who was head of the selection committee. Payments were made to Sierra Asset Management Inc. in the Bahamas at a bank run by a business associate of Porter's.
- ▶ Nov 2011 Porter resigned from SNC following the Napo story on his dealings with Ben-Menchou and a month later from his position as CEO of McGill University Health Centre, where he left behind \$300,000 in personal debts and a hospital with a \$115-million deficit.
- ▶ According to the McGill Daily, Porter sold the condo McGill fronted him half a million bucks to buy without paying back the \$800,000 loan on the place.
- ▶ Feb 2013 Arrest warrants issued for Porter for defrauding the government, accepting bribes, and money laundering in connection with alleged SNC Lavalin \$22-million kickback to Porter via Sierra Assets Management to secure the hospital contract. Also on the arrest warrant :
 - ▶ Former MUHC director Yanis Elbaz.
 - ▶ Former CEO of SNC-Lavalin Pierre Duhaime
 - ▶ Former SNC-Lavalin VP Roach Ben Assia, in jail in Switzerland for the past year on suspicion of making bribes in return for contract in Libya
 - ▶ Jeremy Morris, Sierra Asset Management, Bahamas.

<http://creekside1.blogspot.com/2013/06/>

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“Veiled Threats”

- ▶ Over the course of 3 hours, Wilson-Raybould accused entire most senior ranks of the federal government of making ‘veiled threats’ against her while attempting to politically interfere in the criminal prosecution of SNC-Lavalin.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould reported to the committee’s MPs that, over a four-month period in late 2018, she was pressured by finance minister Bill Morneau and his staff, Clerk of the Privy Council Michael Wernick, senior aides in the Prime Minister’s Office – including former principal secretary Gerald Butts and chief of staff Katie Telford.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould reported being pressured even by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau himself – who said she had a duty to tell him.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould: “For a period of approximately four months between September and December of 2018 I experienced a consistent and sustained effort by many people in the government to seek to politically interfere in the exercise of prosecutorial discretion.”
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould said the pressure was based on partisan concerns – including by Trudeau, who she claims reminded her in a September conversation that he was a Quebec MP himself.
- ▶ Justin Trudeau reminded her of the political consequences of prosecuting a giant Montreal-based company during the then-ongoing Quebec election.

https://nationalpost.com/news/politics/jody-wilson-raybould-testimony-justin-trudeau-pmo?video_autoplay=true

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“Veiled Threats”

- ▶ Wilson-Raybould characterized the conversations as “clearly inappropriate” and said that it included the suggestion that “a collision with the prime minister on these matters should be avoided.”
- ▶ She reported that one conversation with Wernick on Dec. 19, 2018, reminded her of the “Saturday Night Massacre.”
- ▶ The following month, Trudeau basically fired Wilson-Raybould from her role as attorney general and justice minister and moved her to Veterans Affairs.
- ▶ She believes this demotion may have resulted from her refusal to comply with the prime minister’s desires regarding the SNC-Lavalin case.
- ▶ However, she said, the PMO has denied that this was the reason she was moved.
- ▶ According to Wilson-Raybould, it was not wrong for senior officials to bring concerns about job losses in the “early stages” of the decision (so put that in the law.)
- ▶ However, once the decision has been made, the “long sustained discussions about the job losses” crossed the line — and then became even worse...

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“Veiled Threats”

- ▶ “Leaving aside job losses ... where they became very clearly inappropriate was when political issues came up like the election in Quebec, like being the election if SNC were to move their headquarters, conversations like that,” Wilson-Raybould said.
- ▶ “Conversations like the one I had with the clerk of the privy council who invoked the prime minister’s name throughout the entirety of the conversation, spoke to me about the prime minister being dug-in, spoke to me about his concerns as to what would happen, in my mind those were veiled threats and I took them as such. That is entirely inappropriate.”
- ▶ After the committee testimony, Trudeau said he “completely disagrees” with Wilson-Raybould’s characterization of events, and said the decision regarding the SNC-Lavalin case was always “hers alone.”
- ▶ However, he declined to respond to any of the specific allegations Wilson-Raybould made about pressure from him and his senior staff.
- ▶ “I strongly maintain, as I have from the beginning, that I and my staff always acted appropriately and professionally,” he said. “Our government will always focus on jobs and our economy. We of course had discussions about the potential loss of 9,000 jobs in communities across the country, including the possible impact on pensions.”

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“Veiled Threats”

- ▶ When asked if the RCMP was investigating the allegations of political interference in the matter — or planned any investigations — deputy commissioner Gilles Michaud replied, “It would be inappropriate to confirm or deny the existence of a criminal investigation.”
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould’s testimony included detailed accounts of conversations, telephone calls, emails, and text messages spanning interactions with 11 senior government officials.
- ▶ “For most of these conversations, I made contemporaneous and detailed notes,” she said. “Notes, in addition to my clear memory, which I am relying on today among other documentation.”
- ▶ The officials named in her testimony included Trudeau, Telford and Butts (who resigned last week); senior PMO advisors Elder Marques and Mathieu Bouchard; Morneau and his chief of staff, Ben Chini; and Wernick, the ostensibly nonpartisan head of the federal public service.

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“Veiled Threats”

- ▶ After federal prosecutors decided on Sept. 4 against a remediation agreement for SNC-Lavalin, it took only 48 hours for Wilson-Raybould’s chief of staff, Jessica Prince, to be contacted by Finance Minister Morneau’s chief of staff.
- ▶ “He wanted to talk about SNC and what we could do, if anything, to address this,” Wilson-Raybould said. “He said to her that if they don’t get a DPA, they will leave Montreal, and it’s the Quebec election right now, so we can’t have that happen. He said that they have a big meeting coming up on Tuesday and that his bad news may go public.”
- ▶ She said the first time PMO staff contacted her office was Sept. 16, when Marques and Bouchard had a phone call with Prince.
- ▶ “They said that they understand that the individual Crown prosecutor wants to negotiate an agreement, but the Director [of Public Prosecutions] does not,” Wilson-Raybould said. She added that they started to discuss what a “reasonable solution” could be, such as getting outside advice to the prosecutors, while acknowledging that “that there are limits on what can be done, and that they can’t direct.” She said they also brought up the “Quebec election context.”

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“Veiled Threats”

- ▶ On Sept. 17, at the start of a meeting she had previously scheduled with Trudeau on another subject, Wilson-Raybould said that Trudeau raised the SNC-Lavalin case “immediately.” (Wernick also in attendance, against expectations.)
- ▶ “The prime minister asks me to help out, to find a solution here for SNC, citing that if there was no (deferred prosecution) there would be many jobs lost and that SNC will move from Montreal,” she said. She replied that she had already made up her mind, and was not going to interfere with the decision of federal prosecutors.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould reported that the discussion continued, with Wernick stating that the company could leave Canada if the prosecution continued.
- ▶ “At that point [Trudeau] jumped in, stressing that there is an election in Quebec and that ‘I am an MP in Quebec — the member for Papineau,’” Wilson-Raybould said. “I was quite taken aback. My response, and I remember this vividly, was to ask [Trudeau] a direct question while looking him in the eye. I asked: ‘Are you politically interfering with my role, my decision as the AG? I would strongly advise against it.’ The prime minister said, ‘No, No, No — we just need to find a solution.’”

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"Veiled Threats"

- ▶ According to Wilson-Raybould, two days later – Sept. 19 2018 – Finance Minister Bill Morneau spoke with her in the House of Commons.
- ▶ "He again stressed the need to save jobs, and I told him that engagements from his office to mine on SNC had to stop, that they were inappropriate," she said.
- ▶ However, she asserted, her chief of staff received two phone calls from aides in Morneau's office, including Chin, his chief of staff.
- ▶ After a brief lull, Wilson-Raybould reported, Oct. 18, the PWO's Bouchard called her chief of staff with the suggestion that it would be worth getting an external legal opinion on the issue.
- ▶ The very next day, SNC-Lavalin filed a Federal Court case challenging the prosecution service's decision not to negotiate a remediation agreement. "In my view, this necessarily put to rest any notion that I might speak to or intervene with the [director of public prosecutions], or that an external review could take place," she said.

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"Veiled Threats"

- ▶ Wilson-Raybould detailed many more meetings and phone calls from PWO staff.
- ▶ When she met with Butts on Dec. 5 2018, she told him "how I needed everyone to stop talking to me about SNC as I had made up my mind and the engagements were inappropriate".
- ▶ "Gary then took over the conversation and said how we need a solution on the SNC stuff, he said I needed to find a solution," she said.
- ▶ She alleges Butts told her that the Director of Public Prosecutions Act – separating the prosecution service from the justice department – "was set up by [former Prime Minister Stephen] Harper," and that he "does not like the law."
- ▶ Two final meetings came on Dec. 18 and Dec. 19. In the first one, Butts and Telford met with Prince, pushing her to find a solution.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould read out text messages that Prince sent her following the meeting, including the allegation that Butts had said: "Jeez, there is no solution here that doesn't involve some interference."
- ▶ Prince also texted that Butts and Telford were very keen on getting Wilson-Raybould to retain a former Supreme Court justice in order to get legal advice on the matter, saying it would "give us cover in the business and legal community" and "allow the PM to say we were doing something."

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"Veiled Threats"

- ▶ Wilson-Raybould said Prince texted her: "[Telford] was like 'If Jody is nervous, we would of course line up all kinds of people to write op-eds saying that what she is doing is proper.'"
- ▶ The following day, she had a phone call with Wernick. "The Clerk said that the PM is quite determined, quite firm, he wants to know why the [deferred prosecution] route which Parliament provided for isn't being used," Wilson-Raybould said. "He said 'I think he is gonna find a way to get it done one way or another. So, he is in that kinda mood and I wanted you to be aware of that.'"
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould said she told Wernick they were "treading on dangerous ground," that the attorney general cannot act in a partisan manner and that "all of this screams of that."
- ▶ She said Wernick insisted that "it is not good for the prime minister and his attorney general to be at 'loggerheads.'" She told him she was starting to have thoughts of the "Saturday Night Massacre."
- ▶ On Jan. 7, Trudeau called Wilson-Raybould to tell her she would no longer be serving as justice minister and attorney general. "I will not go into details of this call, or subsequent communications about the shuffle, but I will say that I stated I believed the reason was because of the SNC matter," she said. "They denied this to be the case."

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"Veiled Threats"

- ▶ Following her opening statement, Wilson-Raybould took six rounds of questions from Liberal, Conservative and NDP MPs.
- ▶ "I have to say that I am very shaken by what I've heard here today," the NDP's Murray Rankin said. "I've been a lawyer for over 40 years, I've taught a generation of law students about the rule of law, and what I've heard today should make all Canadians extremely upset."
- ▶ Liberal MPs demanded to know why she hadn't immediately resigned – why she stayed in cabinet after she was moved to Veterans Affairs in January.
- ▶ "I decided that I would take the prime minister at his word, I trusted him, I had confidence in him, and so I decided to continue on around the cabinet table with the concerns that I had around SNC because I took the prime minister at his word," she said.
- ▶ "Do you have confidence in the prime minister today?" asked Liberal MP Randy Boissonnault.
- ▶ Wilson-Raybould paused for a long time before answering, "I'll say this ... I resigned from cabinet because I did not have confidence to sit around the table, the cabinet table," she said. "That's why I resigned."

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Dictator's Son (National Post)

- ▶ According to Quebec newspaper La Presse, SNC-Lavalin had a fairly intimate relationship with the son of former Libyan dictator Muammar Gadhafi – including allegations that the company hired prostitutes for him when he visited Canada a decade ago.
- ▶ These were the same of the federal corruption charges associated with their business dealings in Libya.
- ▶ National Post: "Receipts gathered during an investigation of a former SNC-Lavalin executive show \$30,000 in payments to Saadi Gadhafi for sexual services in Canada in 2008. La Presse reported. The documentation can now be revealed publicly because the prosecution of Stéphane Roy, former vice-president of SNC-Lavalin on fraud and bribery charges was dropped last week due to court delays.
- ▶ "In 2008, Gadhafi was ostensibly travelling to Montreal and Toronto to conduct business and improve his English, at the invitation of SNC-Lavalin. He had helped the company secure billions in public contracts in Libya; thanks also to millions in bribes to Libyan officials, the RCMP has alleged, and visited Canada on three previous occasions. But he spent much of his time on other extracurricular pursuits, according to La Presse's reporting."

<https://nationalpost.com/news/politics/snc-lavalin-paid-for-gadhafi-sons-debauchery-while-he-was-in-canada-report>

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Dictator's Son

- ▶ "For the duration of his stay, SNC-Lavalin hired Garda World, a Montreal-based company, to provide security for the dictator's son, and they hired four bodyguards as contractors. That focus on security degenerated, a spokeswoman for the company, Isabelle Panelli, told the newspaper.
- ▶ "The bodyguards handled Gadhafi's expenses and provided receipts to SNC-Lavalin, according to court testimony by an RCMP investigator. Transactions they wrote in as 'companion services' in their expense reports would cost between \$600 and \$7,500 each. Close to \$10,000 in services went to a single escort service in Vancouver. Other payments went to a Montreal strip club and covered events at the Air Canada Centre in Toronto, such as box seats for a Spice Girls concert.
- ▶ "The investigation showed that SNC-Lavalin was writing off the expenses as associated with construction projects in Libya, La Presse reported, with the total bill for Gadhafi's trip totaling nearly \$2 million.
- ▶ "Roy had testified in court that expenses associated with the trip were justified, and that he had the receipts to prove it. The expenses were justified at the time, testified another former executive, Riadh Ben Assa, who, meanwhile, pled guilty last year to a forgery charge associated with allegations that SNC-Lavalin executives defrauded the McGill University Health Centre of \$22.5 million in a bid-rigging scheme.
- ▶ "Panelli told La Presse that Garda World tried to intervene and stop the practice, but then lost the contract with SNC-Lavalin. She told the newspaper that most employees who were around then are no longer with the company."

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Peter MacKay

- ▶ Peter MacKay - former attorney general - told the Toronto Sun that the police should be called in to investigate the SNC-Lavalin situation, due to the possibility that someone may have obstructed justice.
- ▶ "When I was prosecuting cases, if a politician had ever called me up, I would have put down the phone and called the police," said MacKay, adding that we are in "uncharted waters."
- ▶ No Peter, not really

<https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/the-incredible-miscalculation-by-trudeau-and-co/>

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Subsidies

- ▶ **Commercial Nuclear Operations:** "The sale price of AECL was \$15 million, but the government will have opportunity to get royalties down the road because it's keeping intellectual property rights," Oliver said. However, the Harper government will also provide SNC up to \$75 million to complete development of a new reactor called Enhanced Candu 6.
- ▶ "The union for AECL workers condemned the sale, saying the deal will result in a 'hollowed out company,' and might cost thousands more jobs among the corporation's suppliers."
- ▶ **Bombardier:** "And so governments of all stripes subsidize it," Stephen Harper's Conservatives spent taxpayer dollars to shore up Bombardier. So did former Ontario premier Bob Rae's New Democrats.
- ▶ **Dairy subsidies:** "The finalized TPP opens up 3.25 per cent of Canada's dairy market to foreign products. Right away, Stephen Harper announced that his cabinet has approved a plan to spend a hefty \$4.3 billion in compensation to soothe the vocal dairy industry. It would be another whole day before Harper announced the significantly lower \$1 billion in compensation for the auto sector. Canada just entered the global tax subsidy race, and the dairy industry got the first golden egg."
- ▶ "Prime Minister Stephen Harper's government has issued a defence contract worth up to \$400 million to SNC-Lavalin P&E Inc., just months after SNC-Lavalin's parent company in Montreal agreed to a 10-year ban on World Bank contracts for more than 100 of its affiliates."

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/aecl-sold-for-15m-to-snc-lavalin-1.985786>

<https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/02/21/bombardier-and-the-never-ending-aerospace-subsidy-saga-walkom.html>

https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/yan-roberts/canadian-dairy-tpp_b_8253432.html

<https://procurementoffice.com/post-ban-snc-wins-federal-contract/>

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/04/17/world-bank-debars-snc-lavalin-inc-and-its-affiliates-for-ten-years>

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Andrew Scheer

- ▶ Immediately after the conclusion of former justice minister and attorney general Jody Wilson-Raybould's testimony on the SNC-Lavalin scandal before the House of Commons justice committee Wednesday, Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer released this statement:
- ▶ "Justin Trudeau simply cannot continue to govern this great nation now that Canadians know what he has done. That is why I am calling on Justin Trudeau to resign. Further, the RCMP must immediately open an investigation – if it has not already done so – into the numerous examples of obstruction of justice the former Attorney General detailed in her testimony.
- ▶ "The testimony Canadians have just heard from the former Attorney General Jody Wilson-Raybould tells the story of a Prime Minister who has lost the moral authority to govern. A Prime Minister who allows his partisan political motivations to override his duty to uphold the rule of law. A Prime Minister who doesn't know where the Liberal Party ends and where the Government of Canada begins. And a Prime Minister who has allowed a systemic culture of corruption to take root in his office and those of his most senior cabinet and public service colleagues.
- ▶ "I listened carefully to the testimony of the former Attorney General, and like Canadians, I was sickened and appalled by her story of inappropriate, and frankly illegal pressure brought to bear on her by the highest officials of Justin Trudeau's government. All to let a Liberal-connected corporation off the hook on corruption charges.

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Andrew Scheer

- ▶ "Before Ms. Wilson-Raybould's testimony, Canadians knew Justin Trudeau had engineered an unwanted, sustained, and coordinated attempt to get Ms. Wilson-Raybould to change her mind and stop the criminal bid of SNC-Lavalin. Today, thanks to Ms. Wilson-Raybould's testimony, we now know just how intense those efforts were: ten meetings and ten phone calls involving eleven senior government officials relentlessly targeting Ms. Wilson-Raybould over a four month period – with the sole objective of buying her into bending the law to benefit a well-connected corporation.
- ▶ "The details are as shocking as they are corrupt: multiple veiled threats to her job if she didn't bow to their demands, urgings to consider the consequences on election results and shareholder value above judicial due process. And reminders from Justin Trudeau to his Attorney General about his own electoral prospects should she allow SNC-Lavalin's trial to proceed.
- ▶ "As Ms. Wilson-Raybould has so clearly articulated, the people Canadians entrusted to protect the integrity of our very nation were instead only protecting themselves and their friends.
- ▶ "Mr. Trudeau can no longer, in good standing and with a clear conscience, lead this great nation.
- ▶ "Canada should be a country where we are all equal under the law. Where nobody – regardless of wealth, status, or political connections – is above the law. I believe we can be that country again."