

Paper Trail to Nowhere

Part 2: Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in British Columbia between 2020 and 2024

December 2025



Cover: Domtar's pulp mill in Skookumchuck, British Columbia.

GREENPEACE

Paper Trail to Nowhere

Part 2: Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in British Columbia between 2020 and 2024

A Greenpeace Canada Report

With support by the Greenpeace Canada Education Fund

GREENPEACE



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Executive Summary

Domtar (previously known as Paper Excellence) manages about 22 million hectares of forest in Canada, which is almost 10% of all managed forest land across the country. As the largest pulp and paper company in Canada, questions and confusion remain regarding its corporate structure, the company's connections to Asia Pulp & Paper, as well as the consequences of Domtar's acquisitions on Canada's forests and the forest industry.

In 2023, these concerns prompted an investigation by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Natural Resources. In preparation for the planned hearings, records show an increased spike in Domtar's lobbying efforts with attending Members of Parliament. This led Greenpeace Canada to more closely examine the lobbying strategies deployed by Domtar (formerly known as Paper Excellence) during that critical time. To date, despite being summoned, Domtar's sole owner, Jackson Wijaya, has yet to appear in front of the Committee.

The report *Paper Trail to Nowhere* provides a detailed analysis of Domtar's lobbying strategies at the federal and provincial levels from 2020 to 2024, elaborating on the company's employed tactics, targets and timing. The report consists of two parts. The first part, '*Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in Canada between 2020 and 2024*,' analyzes Domtar's lobbying strategies on a federal level. The second part, '*Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in British Columbia between 2020 and 2024*,' explores the company's lobbying strategies on a provincial level with a particular focus on British Columbia.

This part of the report provides a detailed analysis of Domtar's lobbying strategies at the provincial level in the period from 2020 to 2024, with a specific focus on British Columbia (B.C.), where Domtar (previously known as Paper Excellence) had their company headquarters at the time. Furthermore, the province of British Columbia, similarly to the federal system requires lobbyists to disclose individual communications with public office holders in a lobbying registry.

Additionally, this part of the report presents a breakdown of the \$68 million in B.C. public funds Domtar and its subsidiaries received between 2020 and 2024, raising questions regarding whether this funding has actually advanced its intended goals. Available reporting demonstrates that transparency regarding the use of these funds remains limited. As a private company, Domtar continues to operate in an opaque structure despite calls from the Canadian government for clarification. After years of denying ties to Asia Pulp & Paper, a company with a documented track record of environmental and human rights violations, Jackson Wijaya took full ownership of Asia Pulp & Paper in November 2024.

This lack of transparency remains an issue in understanding Domtar's long-term intentions and the implications for forests and the forest industry across Canada. As the largest pulp and paper company in the country, receiving significant amounts of public funding, Domtar has a responsibility to be accountable to Canadian taxpayers. The absence of these principles raises important concerns over the future of forests and questions about who will ultimately benefit from them.

To uphold greater standards of transparency and accountability, this report offers several recommendations to provincial and federal governments, including funding requirements, accountability mechanisms and biodiversity legislation.

Introduction

Currently, Domtar is the largest pulp and paper company in Canada¹. It operates in four provinces: Saskatchewan (SK), British Columbia (B.C.), Quebec (QC) and Ontario (ON) across at least 11 active pulp and paper mills.

The company controls over 22 million hectares of forests and about 20 per cent of mill capacity in the country, a market share 50 per cent larger than Canfor, its closest rival.² For years, the company has been seizing control of forests in Canada while refusing to acknowledge its connections to the Sinar Mas Group and Asia Pulp & Paper (APP), which have been exposed by multiple high-profile investigations, including by Greenpeace Canada in 2022³ and international media in 2023.⁴

Domtar was previously known as Paper Excellence (Paper Excellence Group). In October 2024, a company-wide rebranding and reorganization was announced, renaming Paper Excellence under the name of one of its subsidiaries, the Domtar Corporation⁵, which it had acquired in November 2021⁶. This rebranding added an additional layer of confusion around its corporate structure. Interestingly, Domtar continues to log all of its lobbying communications in British Columbia (B.C.) under a registration that continues to bear the company's former name of Paper Excellence.

While Greenpeace Canada's research has revealed that, in contrast to the federal level, Domtar has been decreasing its lobbying presence in B.C. over the last several years, significant findings have been made. Namely, one of the spikes in lobbying of B.C. officials coincided with Jackson Wijaya's announcement that he would be taking sole control of APP in November 2024,⁷ despite having denied the connection for years. Furthermore, Moe Sihota, a former Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP), turned government relations specialist as well as Domtar's second largest lobbyist in B.C., whose lobbying records were listed as evidence of association between Domtar, the Sinar Mas Group and APP; was removed from the list of the company's lobbyists following Greenpeace Canada's investigation.

¹ Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2024. "We got completely played for suckers,' MP says of recent takeovers in Canadian forestry." CBC, November 22, 2024. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/paper-excellence-app-jacson-Wijaya-takeover-1.7390353>.

² Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2023. "Who's behind Canada's new pulp-and-paper powerhouse, and where's the money coming from?" CBC, March 9, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/paper-excellence-pulp-china-1.6772654>.

³ Greenpeace Canada. 2022. Papering over corporate control: Paper Excellence's relationship with Asia Pulp & Paper and the Sinar Mas Group. October 2022. https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-canada-stateless/2022/10/ddb2befa-report_papering_over_corporate_control.pdf.

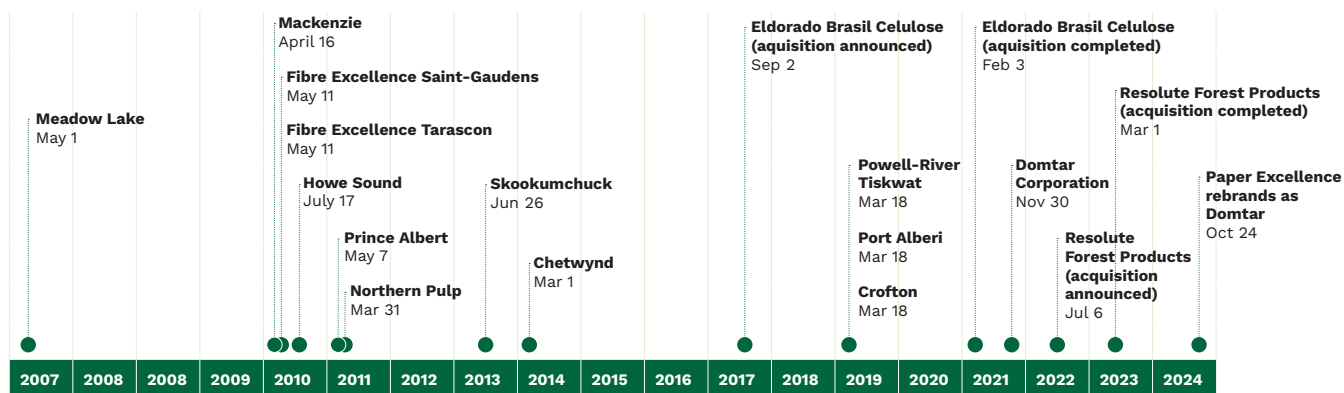
⁴ Nouvet, Vincent and Adrien Sénécat. 2023. "How two intertwined companies dominate the paper market". *Le Monde*, March 1, 2023. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/les-decodeurs/article/2023/03/01/how-two-intertwined-companies-dominate-the-paper-market_6017837_8.html?

⁵ Domtar. 2024. "Paper Excellence Group Rebrands as Domtar." Press release, October 24, 2024. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-group-rebrands/>.

⁶ Domtar. 2021. "Domtar Joins Paper Excellence Group of Companies." Press release, November 30, 2021. <https://www.domtar.com/domtar-joins-paper-excellence/>.

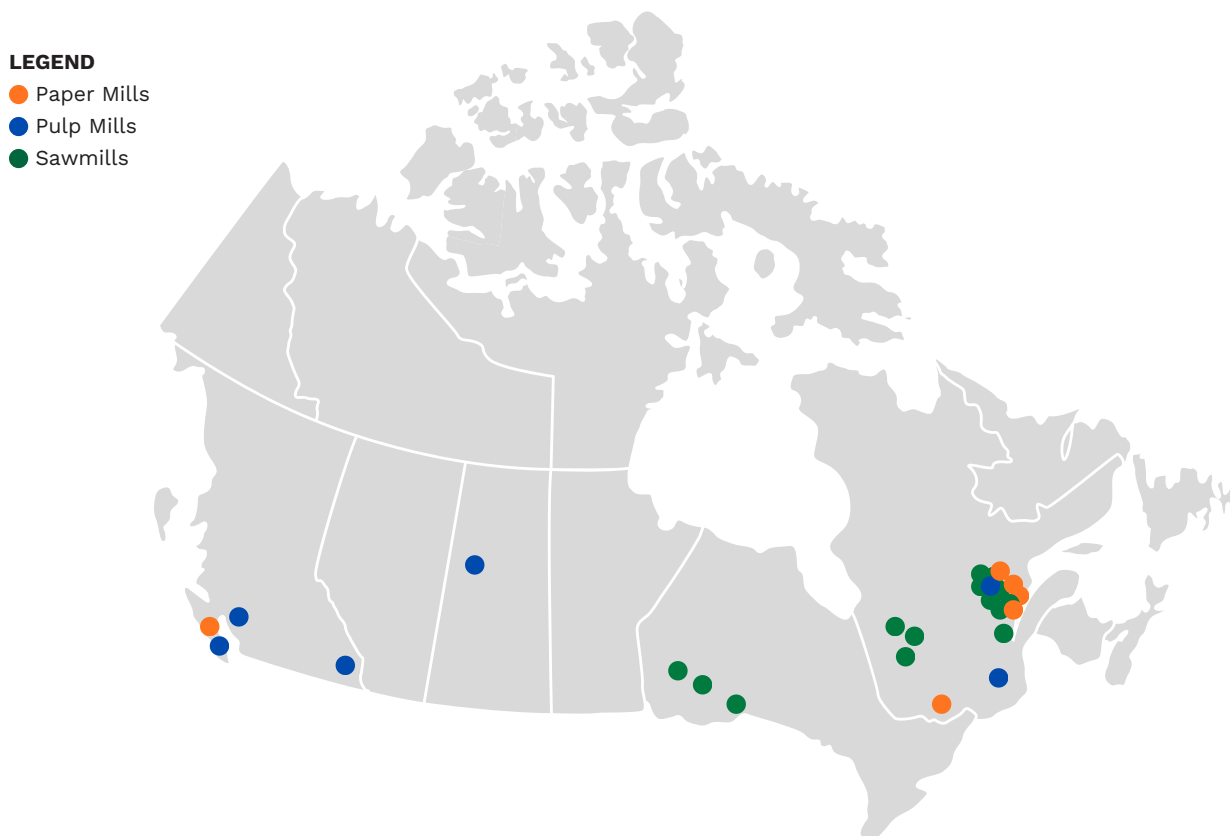
⁷ European Commission. 2024. "Case M.11711 – JW / ASIA PULP & PAPER GROUP Commission decision pursuant to Article 3(1)(b) of Council Regulation (EC) No 139/2004 | Section 4." December 20, 2024. https://ec.europa.eu/competition/mergers/cases/1/202447/M_11711_10356395_111_3.pdf.

Figure 1. Timeline of Domtar (previously known as Paper Excellence) acquisitions, 2007–2024



Source: Various media reports and company statements from 2007–2024.

Figure 2. Locations of Domtar pulp and paper mills in Canada



Source: Domtar corporate website

1. A closer look: Domtar’s lobbying at the provincial level

As a continuation of our previous report on Domtar’s federal lobbying campaigns, the research in this part of the report broadens the scope by examining the company’s lobbying activities at the provincial level. In the time period of 2020 to 2024, the five provinces in which Domtar operated were: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia (defunct), Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

1.1. Ontario

A search of the provincial registry of lobbyists reveals that there are currently no registered active lobbyists working for “Paper Excellence” in Ontario. The two registrations Greenpeace Canada found in 2023, which were active since 2022, have since been terminated in 2024 (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Database search from the Office of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario Registry of Lobbyists

LOBBYISTS REGISTRATION						
Home ► Public Search						
Search Results						
Lobbyist	Last Amendment Date	Client Name	Company/Organization	Lobbyist Type	Registration No.	Status
Mark Johnson	08-16-2024	Paper Excellence Canada	PAA Advisory Conseils	Consultant Lobbyist	CL9871-20220719028445	Inactive
Michael von Herff	08-15-2024	Paper Excellence Canada	PAA Public Affairs Advisors	Consultant Lobbyist	CL3549-20220718028430	Inactive

Source: Office of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario Lobbyists Registration

A search of the provincial registry of lobbyists **shows there are currently no registered active lobbyists working for Domtar in Ontario.** The company’s last active registrations were terminated in 2024.

Figure 4. Database search from the Office of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario Registry of Lobbyists

LOBBYISTS REGISTRATION

Home

Public Search

Search Results

Lobbyist	Last Amendment Date	Client Name	Company/Organization	Lobbyist Type	Registration No.	Status
Rob Elliott	04-30-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL10449-20240122031473	Inactive
Michael Ras	04-30-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL9943-20231201031270	Inactive
Caroline Pinto	04-30-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL0619-20130424110451	Inactive
Philip Dewan	04-30-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL0705-20130424110436	Inactive
Steve Henry	02-12-2024		Domtar Inc.	In-house Persons & Partnerships	PP2088-20190114022069	Inactive
Michael Ras	01-30-2023	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL9943-20220106027630	Inactive
Patrick Osland	09-26-2019	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL4684-20190813023475	Inactive
Devan Sommerville	09-16-2019	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL3350-20171016019465	Inactive
Devan Sommerville	09-16-2019	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL3350-20171016019465	Inactive
Bob Lopinski	10-20-2016	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL1132-20130219100241	Inactive

1

2

3

Page size:

10

24 items in 3 pages

Source: Office of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario Lobbyists Registration

A search of the provincial registry of lobbyists **shows there are currently no registered active lobbyists working for Resolute Forest Products in Ontario.** The last active registration was terminated in August 2025.

Figure 5. Database search from the Office of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario Registry of Lobbyists

LOBBYISTS REGISTRATION

Home ▶ Public Search

Search Results

Lobbyist	Last Amendment Date	Client Name	Company/Organization	Lobbyist Type	Registration No.	Status
William Pristanski	08-14-2025	Resolute Forest Products	Prospectus Associates	Consultant Lobbyist	CL1713-20180713020532	Inactive
Carol Dinno	01-23-2025	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	Sussex Strategy Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL10503-20240312031849	Inactive
Carys Baker	06-26-2024	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	Sussex Strategy Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL4655-20240206031588	Inactive
Chris Benedetti	06-14-2024	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	Sussex Strategy Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL0674-20210714027143	Inactive
Stephen Adler	02-14-2024	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	NATIONAL Public Relations	Consultant Lobbyist	CL5017-20220715028426	Inactive
Roger Barber	06-30-2022	Resolute Forest Products	RV Barber Consulting Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL4363-20180721020592	Inactive
Alex Simakov	06-10-2022	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	Sussex Strategy Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL4692-20210715027150	Inactive
D. John Valley	11-19-2018	Resolute Forest Products	The Biscayne Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL1535-20121025091000	Inactive

Source: Office of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario Lobbyists Registration

1.2. Quebec

The only Domtar-associated company that appears to maintain active lobbying registrations is Resolute Forest Products, under the name “PF Résolu Canada Inc.”

Figure 6. Database search from Carrefour Lobby Québec (Quebec Provincial Registry of Lobbyists)

PF RÉSOLU CANADA INC.

2502101v1Lobbyisme d'entreprise ou d'organisation2025-08-13 au 2026-09-10ActifHistorique des versions

Représentations effectuées par l'entreprise afin d'obtenir une aide financière ou d'autre nature par la Ville de Gatineau afin de poursuivre ses opérations dans la région et investir dans le maintien et la transformation de ses actifs.

(Mise à jour : 2025-09-10)

Source: Carrefour Lobby Québec (Quebec Provincial Registry of Lobbyists)

A search of the provincial registry of lobbyists **returns no records for any registered lobbyists working for a company named “Paper Excellence” in Quebec — ever.** Domtar did at one point have two registrations, but both expired in 2023.

Figure 7. Database search from Carrefour Lobby Québec (Quebec Provincial Registry of Lobbyists)

DOMTAR - USINE DE WINDSOR - QUÉBEC

2202112v1

Lobbyisme d'entreprise ou d'organisation

2022-12-01 au 2023-11-30

Terminé


Historique des versions

Démarches auprès du gouvernement pour du support à l'investissement afin d'améliorer et moderniser son usine de Windsor et en assurer sa pérennité.

(Mise à jour : 2022-12-19)

Source: Carrefour Lobby Québec (Quebec Provincial Registry of Lobbyists)

Figure 8. Database search from Carrefour Lobby Québec (Quebec Provincial Registry of Lobbyists)

DOMTAR – USINE DE WINDSOR – QUÉBEC				
2202111v1	Lobbyisme d'entreprise ou d'organisation	2022-12-01 au 2023-11-30	● Terminé	Historique des versions
Démarches afin de faire valoir l'importance de poursuivre des mesures d'aménagement forestier et acéricole sur terres publiques qui favorisent le multiusage de la ressource et influencer face à la définition des balises et protocoles d'intervention sur les érablières sur terres publiques et privées				
(Mise à jour : 2022-12-19)				

Source: Carrefour Lobby Québec (Quebec Provincial Registry of Lobbyists)

1.3. Nova Scotia

Domtar maintains an active lobbying registration in the Nova Scotia registry of lobbyists under its previous name, Paper Excellence; however, there are no current registrations under Domtar, the company's current name. Two expired and/or terminated registrations were also found under Domtar's subsidiary Northern Pulp,⁸ a paper processing mill that shut down in June 2020 amidst environmental concerns.⁹

⁸ Mott, Sean. 2025. "Northern Pulp to sell off assets five years after N.S. mill closed." CTV, July 14, 2025. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/atlantic/nova-scotia/article/northern-pulp-to-sell-off-assets-five-years-after-ns-mill-closed/>.

⁹ Labbé, Stefan. 2023. "B.C. premier's office was lobbied by the daughter of one of its top strategists." The Peak. May 1, 2023. <https://www.prpeak.com/highlights/bc-premiers-office-was-lobbied-by-the-daughter-of-one-of-its-top-strategists-6905765>.

Figure 9. Database search from the Government of Nova Scotia Registry of Lobbyists

Name

Paper Excellence

Lobbyist Number

Subject Matter *

Lobbying Targets *

All

Clear

Search [s]


Number	Name	Type	Status	Employer/Employee	Client	Registered On	Open
503085	William Pristanski	Consultant Lobbyist	Active	Prospectus Associates	Paper Excellence	02-Feb-2024	
Number	Name	Type	Status	Employer/Employee	Client	Registered On	Open
500702	John F Hamm	In-House Lobbyist (company)	Inactive	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia	---	12-Apr-2010	
Number	Name	Type	Status	Employer/Employee	Client	Registered On	Open
501851	Kirby S McVicar	Consultant Lobbyist	Terminated	Iris Communications Inc.	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation	05-Dec-2018	

Source: Nova Scotia Registry of Lobbyists

1.4. Saskatchewan

Domtar maintains two active lobbying registrations in Saskatchewan under its previous name, Paper Excellence; however, there are no current registrations under Domtar, the company’s current name. Altogether, all current registrations cover the following ten lobbyists.

Figure 10. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists Saskatchewan



Search the Registry

Q

CITIZENS

PUBLIC OFFICE HOLDERS

LOBBYISTS

RESOURCE LIBRARY

Home / Search The Registry

Search The Registry

Search by:

Keyword

paper excellence

Q

Description of Lobbying Activities

Lobbyist/Senior Officer Name

Client/Organization Name

Member of Legislative Assembly

Minister

Search Parameters

Clear

Keyword: paper excellence

Registration Status: Active, Active Non-compliant

Show 50 entries

Client/Organization	Lobbyist/Senior Officer	Status	Type	Version	
Paper Excellence	Graham Stewart	Active	Consultant	12 of 12	<div>View</div>
Paper Excellence	Sugiarto Kardiman	Active	In-House	10 of 10	<div>View</div>

Showing 1 to 2 of 2 entries

Previous

1

Next

Source: Saskatchewan Registry of Lobbyists

Figure 11. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists Saskatchewan

Lobbyists	
Blair Dickerson	<div>View Details</div>
Carlo Dal Monte	<div>View Details</div>
Jean-Francois Guillot	<div>View Details</div>
Christopher Stoicheff	<div>View Details</div>
Paul Orser	<div>View Details</div>

Source: Saskatchewan Registry of Lobbyists

Figure 12. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists Saskatchewan

Lobbyists	
Graham Stewart	View Details
Michael Lohner	View Details
Mathew Preston	View Details
Brent Kossey	View Details
Cole Zawislak	View Details

Source: Saskatchewan Registry of Lobbyists

1.5. British Columbia

Domtar is very active in British Columbia, with the company’s primary in-house company registration covering 14 lobbyists, all of whom have been active in the past two years.

Figure 13. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia

Registration - Organization

[Return to Advanced Registry Search Results](#)

Paper Excellence Canada Holdings Corporation / Sugiarto Kardiman, Executive member

Registration Information

Organization name: **Paper Excellence Canada Holdings Corporation**
Senior Officer Name: **Sugiarto Kardiman, Executive member** ⓘ
[Senior Officer Change History](#)
Initial registration start date: 2020-05-01
Registration status: **Active**
Projected end date: **No date provided**
Registration number: 10427-3404

Associated Lobbying Activity Reports

Total number of Lobbying Activity Reports: **313**
Lobbying Activity Reports - last 6 months: **26**

⏪ ⏩ Registration versions: 37 of 37: 2025-10-13 to present ▼

Source: British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

Figure 14. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia

Lobbyists Employed by this Organization		
Lobbyist	Contributions	
Jean-Claude Allaire Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Krista Cuddy Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Carlo Dal Monte Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Blair Dickerson Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Bruce Eby Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Bill Edwards Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Keith Ellwood Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Quinton Hayward Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: Yes Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Steve Henry Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Hooman Rezaei Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Chris Stagg Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: Yes Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Chris Stolcheff Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Richard Tremblay Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No
Lana Wilhelm Subscribes to a Code of Conduct: No Former Public Office Holder in BC: No	Lobbied or plans to lobby a member of the Legislative Assembly, including a Minister or Premier, on behalf of this organization, on or after 2024-09-21: Yes	Political: No Sponsorship: No Recall: No

Source: British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

B.C. provides a notable case due to its lobbying registry, which, similar to the federal system, mandates the disclosure of individual communications with public office holders. This requirement offers the sole provincial-level data on Domtar’s lobbying trends. The data from the B.C. registry of lobbyists reveals that while Domtar and its subsidiaries have increased their lobbying at the federal level, their recorded lobbying communications in B.C. have decreased over the same period.

In 2021, Domtar hit a lobbying peak in B.C., with 88 disclosed communications (83 disclosed communications under a registration that bears the name “Paper Excellence” and 5 disclosed communications under a registration entitled “Domtar” to be understood as a subsidiary in this case). However, in 2024, only 53 communications were logged, representing a 43 per cent decrease from the year prior.

Chart 1. Domtar and its subsidiaries’ yearly lobbying communications in British Columbia



Source: Scraped data from the British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

Akin to the federal level, Domtar continues to log all of its lobbying communications in B.C. under a registration that still bears the company’s former name of Paper Excellence. The records from the B.C. lobbying registry further confirm the leadership change from Jean-Francois Guillot to Sugiarto “Awie” Kardiman, which has been highlighted in our federal report on Domtar, *Paper Trail to Nowhere, Part 1: A Look into Domtar’s Lobbying Strategies in Canada between 2020 and 2024*.

Figure 15. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia (Internet Archive)



Source: British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

Figure 16. Database search from the Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia (Internet Archive)



Source: British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

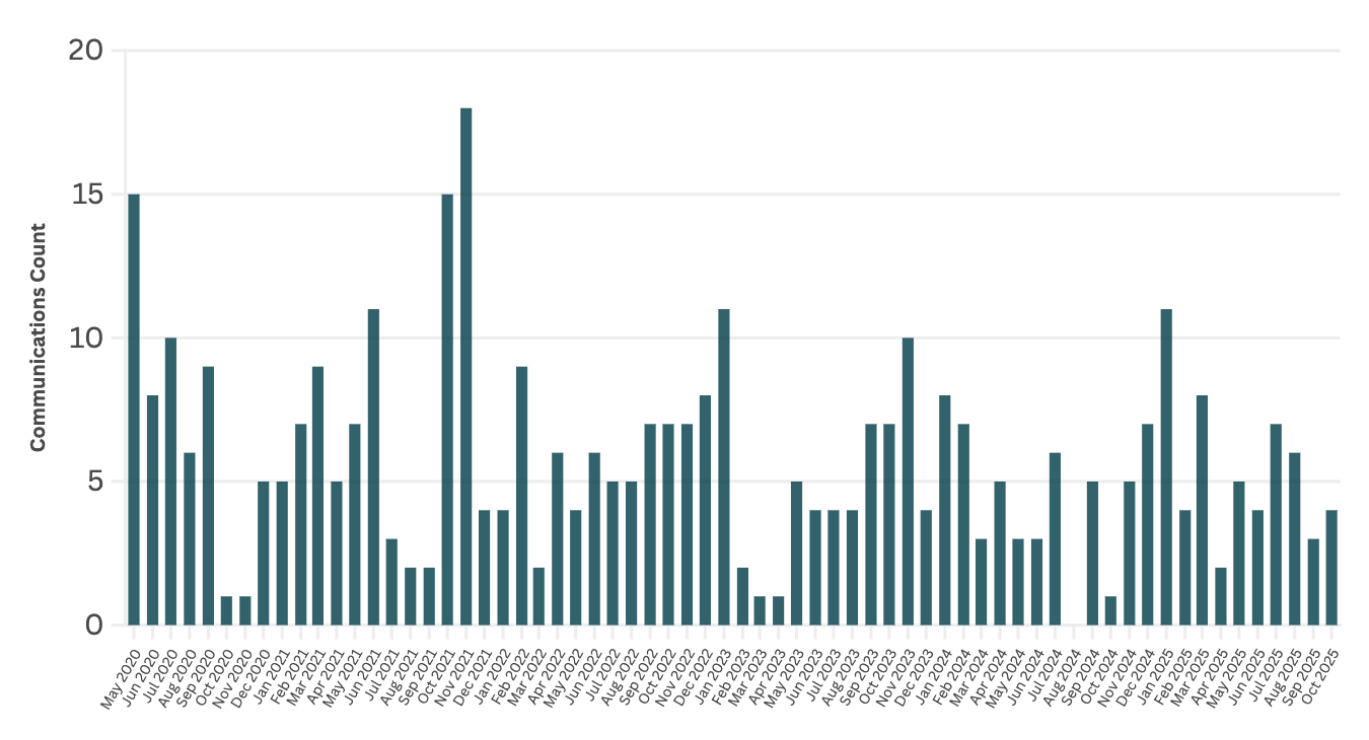
Another parallel that can be drawn with federal level lobbying is one of the peaks of Domtar’s B.C. lobbying that was reached in November 2024. This peak coincided with public reports of Jackson Wijaya’s announcement that he would take sole control of Asia Pulp & Paper (APP) from his father, Teguh Ganda Wijaya, after previously denying operational ties.¹⁰ However, records show that lobbying activity in the province reached its apex in November 2021, which preceded the announcement of Domtar’s Powell River mill’s permanent curtailment.¹¹ This mill permanently

¹⁰ Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2024. “‘We got completely played for suckers,’ MP says of recent takeovers in Canadian forestry.” *CBC*, November 22, 2024. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/paper-excellence-app-jacson-Wijaya-takeover-1.7390353>.

¹¹ Domtar. 2023. “Paper Excellence Canada permanently curtails Catalyst Paper tiskwat.” Press release, August 16, 2023. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-canada-permanently-curtaills-catalyst-paper-tiskwat/>.

closed in 2023¹² due to “continuing poor market conditions for the mill’s paper products”.¹³ Subsequently, the Powell River mill was sold to Cranberry Business Park Ltd. in July 2025.¹⁴

Chart 2. Domtar and subsidiaries’ monthly lobbying communications in British Columbia



Source: Scraped data from the British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

Since January 1, 2024, Domtar’s top lobbyist in the province of British Columbia has been Christopher Stoicheff, Senior Director of Public Affairs. As of November 19, 2025, Stoicheff has logged 86 communications with B.C. government officials since January 1, 2024. If each logged lobbying communication is assumed to average 45 minutes, this would represent approximately eight 8-hour working days in total. Moreover, it is also important to highlight that, according to his LinkedIn profile, Stoicheff began working at Domtar in 2022, a period that also saw increased public scrutiny of the company.¹⁵

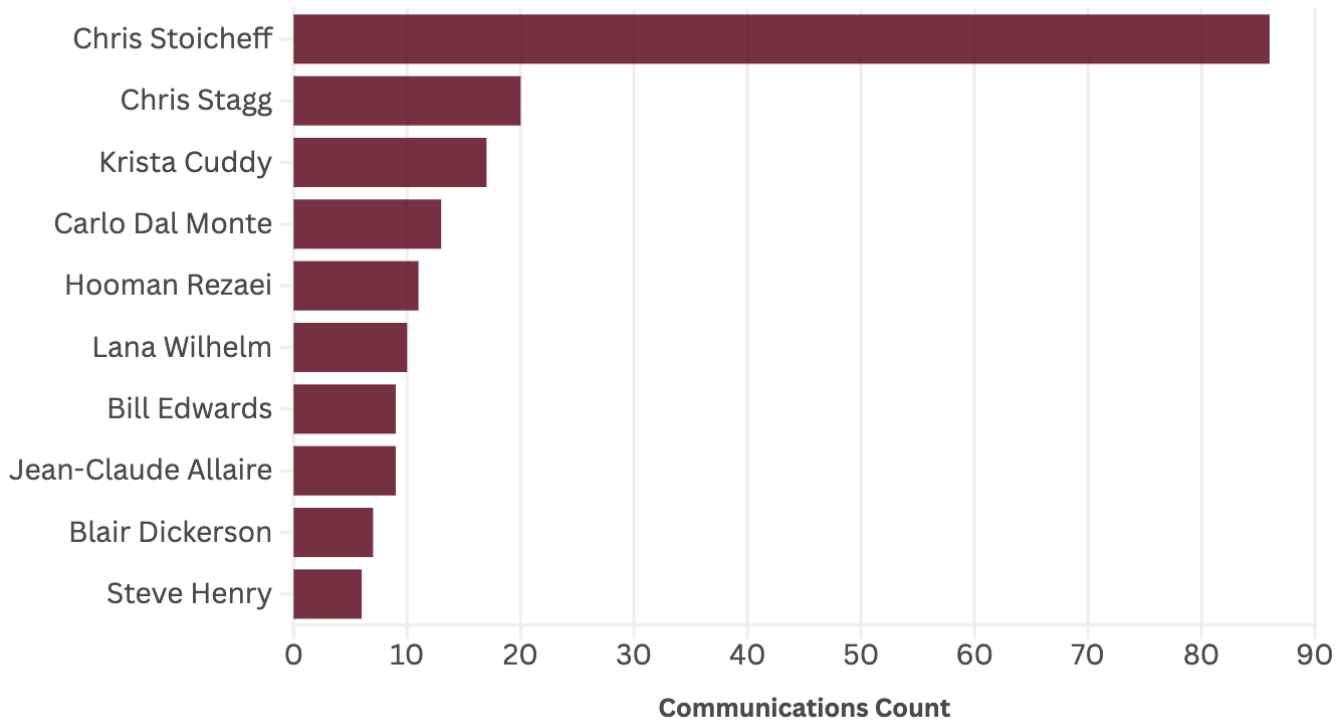
¹² Canadian Forest Industries. 2023. “Paper Excellence permanently closes Catalyst Paper Tiskwat.” *Canadian Forest Industries*. August 17, 2023. <https://www.woodbusiness.ca/paper-excellence-permanently-closes-catalyst-paper-tiskwat/>.

¹³ Kloster, Darron. 2023. “‘Left in lurch:’ Crofton crew faces extended mill shutdown”. *Vancouver Sun*, September 2, 2023. <https://vancouver.sun.com/business/left-in-lurch-crofton-crew-faces-extended-mill-shutdown>.

¹⁴ MIDLAND Company. 2025. “Domtar Finalizes Land Sale at Former Powell River Mill.” Press release, July 6, 2025. <https://www.midlandco.com/domtar-finalizes-land-sale-at-former-powell-river-mill/>.

¹⁵ Christopher Stoicheff. “Home.” LinkedIn profile, accessed October 23, 2025. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/chris-stoicheff/>.

Chart 3. Domtar’s top lobbyists in British Columbia since January 1, 2024



Source: Scraped data from the British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

Our analysis of the B.C. lobbying registry demonstrates that Moe Sihota, a former Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP) turned government relations specialist, was registered to lobby on behalf of Domtar. Sihota, who was Domtar’s second largest lobbyist from 2020 to 2023, does not appear to lobby on behalf of Domtar anymore. It is important to note that, for a period of nearly two and a half years, Sihota had indicated the company’s affiliation with Sinar Mas in lobbyist registration forms¹⁶ but removed the declaration of affiliation following the release of Greenpeace Canada’s 2022 investigation.¹⁷ In response to questioning about this decision by *Glacier Media*, Sihota said: “I didn’t understand the corporate structure at the time that I took on the file. It was an error. I corrected it. OK?”¹⁸

Another noteworthy observation is that, according to the B.C. registry of lobbyists, Maeghan Dewar, the daughter of Bob Dewar, considered by some to be the architect behind former premier John Horgan’s rise to power,¹⁹ had not registered a single lobbying communication during her time at Domtar (formerly Paper Excellence). An investigation by The Peak found Dewar lobbied the office of the premier in her capacity as the

¹⁶ Greenpeace Canada. 2022. *Papering over corporate control: Paper Excellence’s relationship with Asia Pulp & Paper and the Sinar Mas Group*. October 2022. https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-canada-stateless/2022/10/ddb2befa-report_papering_over_corporate_control.pdf.

¹⁷ Greenpeace Canada. 2023. “Complain to the Forest Stewardship Council.” November 7, 2023. <https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-canada-stateless/2023/11/b3515de8-policy-for-association-complaint-against-paper-excellence-november-2023.pdf>.

¹⁸ Labbé, Stefan. 2023. “Deforestation Inc: How Canada’s biggest forestry company is lobbying government.” *North Shore News*, March 12, 2023. <https://www.nsnews.com/highlights/deforestation-inc-how-canadas-biggest-forestry-company-is-lobbying-government-6640129>.

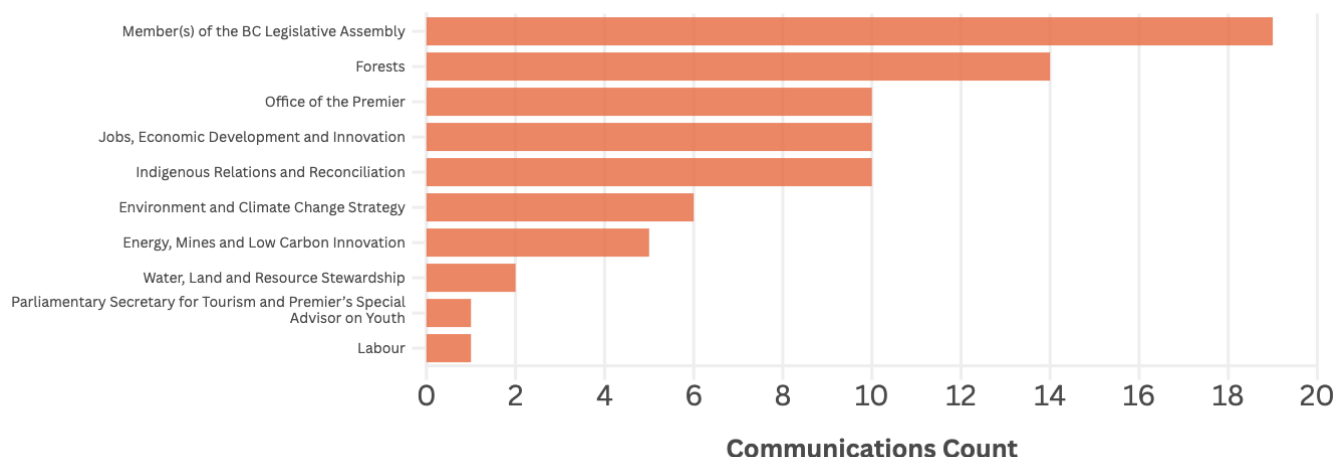
¹⁹ Labbé, Stefan. 2023. “B.C. premier’s office was lobbied by the daughter of one of its top strategists.” *The Peak*, May 1, 2023. <https://www.prpeak.com/highlights/bc-premiers-office-was-lobbied-by-the-daughter-of-one-of-its-top-strategists-6905765>.

company's lobbyist.²⁰ However, according to the B.C. registry of lobbyists, Dewar has never registered a single communication report in her time working for the company formerly known as Paper Excellence.²¹

2. Domtar's lobbying strategy in British Columbia

A more detailed analysis of B.C.'s lobbying registry indicates that in 2023, Domtar appeared to follow a strategy similar to its federal-level approach, focusing primarily on the members of the B.C. Legislative Assembly, with 19 communications registered. The same year, Domtar also met, but to a lesser extent, with the following Ministries in B.C.: Ministry of Forests, Ministry of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation, Ministry of Jobs, Economic Development and Innovation, as well as the Office of the Premier.

Chart 4. Domtar's top lobbyists in British Columbia provincial offices of 2023



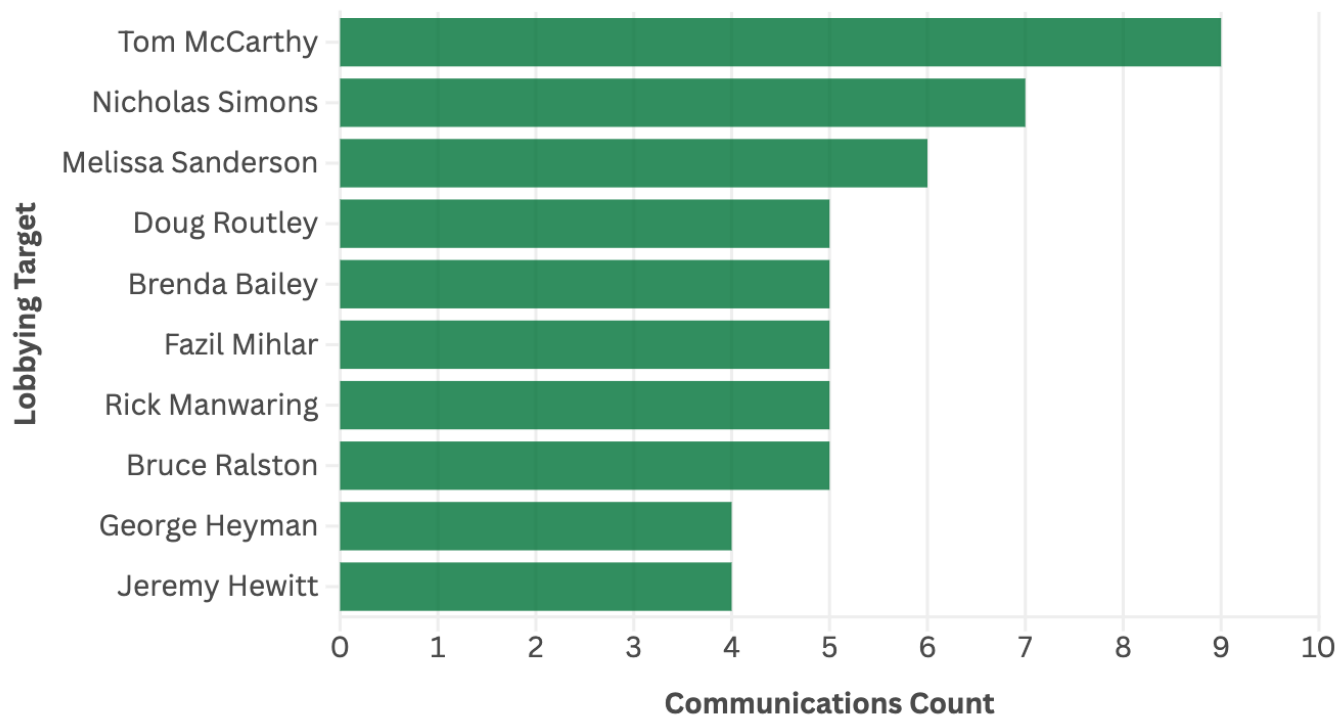
Source: Scraped data from the British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

It is also worth noting that the government official with the most reported communications from Domtar in 2023 was Tom McCarthy, Deputy Minister, Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation. McCarthy is registered to have logged 9 communications, followed by Nicholas Simons, the former MLA for Powell River—Sunshine Coast, with 7 communications and Melissa Sanderson, Assistant Deputy Minister for the Forest Policy and Indigenous Relations Division in the Ministry of Forests and former Chief of Staff for B.C.'s Ministry of Emergency Management and Climate Readiness, with 6 communications.

²⁰ Labbé, Stefan. 2023. "B.C. premier's office was lobbied by the daughter of one of its top strategists." *The Peak*, May 1, 2023. <https://www.prpeak.com/highlights/bc-premiers-office-was-lobbied-by-the-daughter-of-one-of-its-top-strategists-6905765>.

²¹ Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia. "Paper Excellence Canada Holdings Corporation / Maeghan Dewar, Consultant Lobbyist." Registry of Lobbyists - Registration Consultant. Database, accessed on November 20, 2025. <https://www.lobbyistsregistrar.bc.ca/app/secure/orl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=2369®Id=56562252>.

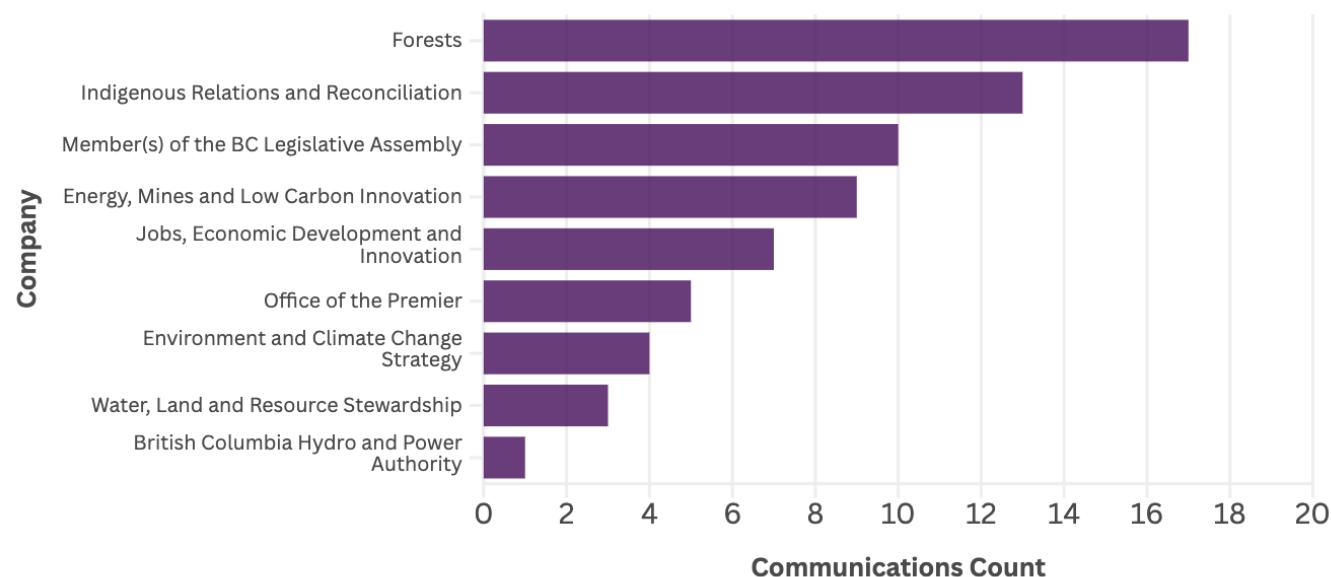
Chart 5. Top 10 most lobbied British Columbia provincial officials of 2023



Source: Scraped data from the British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

However, in 2024, unlike at the federal level, Domtar's reported communications in B.C. shifted to the Ministries of Forests and the Ministry of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation. Domtar only met with the Members of the B.C. Legislative Assembly 10 times.

Chart 6. Domtar's top 10 most lobbied British Columbia provincial officials of 2024



Source: Scraped data from the British Columbia Registry of Lobbyists

Paper Trail to Nowhere

Part 2: Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in British Columbia between 2020 and 2024

Additionally, Domtar turned its attention away from Nicholas Simons. The decrease in Simons' previously heavy lobbying by Domtar can be explained by the permanent cessation of Domtar's operations at the Power River mill, located in his riding. In July 2025, Domtar signed a land purchase agreement with Cranberry Business Park Ltd. for the remaining portion of the mill.²² However, in 2024, McCarthy ceded his place as Domtar's most lobbied government representative in British Columbia to Melissa Sanderson, Assistant Deputy Minister for the Forest Policy and Indigenous Relations Division in the Ministry of Forests and former Chief of Staff for B.C.'s Ministry of Emergency Management and Climate Readiness. Domtar's second most lobbied official is a tie between Ian McCahon, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Forests and Andrew Mercier and former Minister of State for Sustainable Forestry Innovation. Mercier lost his seat in the B.C. legislature following the 2024 election.²³

2.1. Domtar's funding from British Columbia

Our complementary federal report, *Paper Trail to Nowhere, Part 1: Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in Canada between 2020 and 2024*, demonstrates that in total, Domtar and its subsidiaries received a minimum of about \$160 million in government funding between 2020 and 2024 (excluding Canadian Emergency Wage Subsidy). \$117 million, or 73.2%, of non-pandemic government funding reportedly came from provincial ministries or crown corporations under their control. Over half of the funding, \$68 million, was received from the Government of British Columbia.

It is essential to recognize that Domtar's expansion of its lobbying activities and acquisitions of companies occurred during a period when increased government funding was received by the conglomerate. In 2022, Domtar announced that it had received \$8.6 million in funding from CleanBC²⁴, a program which aims to "support industry to reduce emissions, trial new innovations, and develop future plans to improve industrial operations."²⁵ In 2023, Domtar and its subsidiaries disclosed they had received further funding from at least two of CleanBC program streams: \$255,532.50 for the Feasibility Studies surrounding GHG reduction and \$17,175,000.00 for the Innovation Accelerator surrounding GHG reduction.²⁶

While the received funding can broadly be organized into three categories: 1. Innovation, 2. Sustainability and 3. Expansion, it is unclear from available reporting whether the funding fully met the stated objectives. However, between 2020 and 2024, Domtar has repeatedly faced criticism and penalties for environmental violations. For example, in early 2024, Domtar was fined \$25,500 for discharging more than a million litres of toxic waste into the Salish Sea from its Crofton Mill on Vancouver Island.²⁷ Another B.C. mill of Domtar, in Skookumchuck, broke the air quality rules on 23 separate occasions between 2021 and 2022.²⁸

²² Paper Advance. 2025. "Domtar Finalizes Land Sale at Former Powell River Mill." Press release, July 3, 2025. <https://www.paperadvance.com/news/industry-news/domtar-powell-river-mill.html>.

²³ Shaw, Rob. 2024. "Can Eby fill the cabinet void left by wave of departing ministers?" *Business in Vancouver*, November 8, 2024. <https://www.biv.com/news/commentary/rob-shaw-can-eby-fill-the-cabinet-void-left-by-wave-of-departing-ministers-9781040>.

²⁴ Domtar. 2022. "Paper Excellence receives \$8.6 million in funding from CleanBC." Press release, February 1, 2022. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-receives-8-6-million-in-funding-from-cleanbc/>.

²⁵ Government of British Columbia. "CleanBC Industry Fund." Webpage, accessed on November 20, 2025. <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/climate-change/industry/cleanbc-industry-fund>.

²⁶ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. "Paper Excellence Canada / MICHAEL VON HERFF, Consultant." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on November 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/oclr/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502&lang=eng>.

²⁷ Labbé, Stefan. 2024. "B.C. mill fined \$25K for dumping highly toxic waste into ocean." *Vancouver Is Awesome*. Jan 17, 2024. <https://www.vancouverisawesome.com/highlights/bc-mill-fined-25k-for-dumping-highly-toxic-waste-into-ocean-8124809>.

²⁸ Bayer, Rachel. 2025. "Notorious facility hit with penalties after repeated pollution violations: 'Actions speak louder than words'" *The Cool Down*, July 17, 2025. <https://www.thecooldown.com/green-business/domtar-pulp-mill-air-pollution-fine/>.

The Skookumchuck mill is just one of the many examples of several struggling paper mills Domtar has bought in B.C. since its founding. Since 2010, Domtar has acquired seven mills in B.C.: Mackenzie mill and Howe Sound Pulp and Paper in 2010, Skookumchuck mill in 2013, Chetwynd mill in 2014, as well as Catalyst Paper's mills (which include Powell River mill, Crofton mill and Port Alberni mill) and its distribution center in Surrey in 2019.²⁹ Available records indicate that government funding received did not necessarily guarantee long-term job security following these acquisitions. Domtar indefinitely curtailed production at the Mackenzie mill in June 2020 before permanently closing the mill in April 2021, which resulted in the loss of nearly 250 jobs.³⁰ Furthermore, while the company briefly restarted operations at the Chetwynd mill in May 2015,³¹ a few months later operations were shut down again. In 2022, Paper Excellence sold the Chetwynd property to Peak Renewables.³²

Domtar reported that it indefinitely curtailed operations at the Powell River mill in December 2021 before permanently closing in August 2023.³³ After Paper Excellence listed the Powell River mill property for sale in 2022, Dave Formosa, Powell River's mayor at the time, expressed that he was "shocked by the decision". According to Formosa, for months, he had been in conversations about having an environmentally friendly successor take over.³⁴ According to Formosa, Powell River had provided Domtar with millions of dollars worth of tax breaks over the previous 14 years in order to continue running mill operations. Graham Kissack, former Vice-President of Corporate Communications, at the time, told *CBC* that there were no firm agreements with the city and the company was doing its "due diligence"³⁵ to value its asset. The Power River mill was sold to Cranberry Business Park Ltd. in July 2025.³⁶

Additionally, after acquiring Catalyst's Crofton mill in 2019, Domtar (then Paper Excellence at the time) initially indefinitely curtailed operations in October 2022³⁷ then brought back 100 workers in January 2023 with a \$50 million investment, including millions in government funding, prior to indefinitely curtailing paper operations again in January 2024 (at this time the pulp work remained operational).³⁸ However, in December 2025, Domtar announced the permanent closure of the entire site, affecting around 350 employees.³⁹

Despite the B.C. government investing millions into Domtar's operations, the company's production footprint continues to shrink in the province. This raises questions as to whether investments in Domtar's work offers viable returns and benefits for Canadian taxpayers.

²⁹ Greenpeace Canada. 2022. *Papering over corporate control: Paper Excellence's relationship with Asia Pulp & Paper and the Sinar Mas Group*. October 2022. https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-canada-stateless/2022/10/ddb2befa-report_papering_over_corporate_control.pdf.

³⁰ Oud, Nicole. 2021. "Paper Excellence permanently closes pulp mill in Mackenzie, B.C., at a cost of 250 jobs." *CBC*, Apr 15, 2021. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/paper-excellence-permanently-closes-pulp-mill-in-mackenzie-b-c-at-a-cost-of-250-jobs-1.5989480>.

³¹ Carter, Mike. 2015. "Paper Excellence Chetwynd lays off 109, but company not saying when layoffs take effect." *Business in Vancouver*, Nov 30, 2015. <https://www.biv.com/news/resources-agriculture/paper-excellence-chetwynd-lays-109-company-not-say-8244860>.

³² McCarthy Tétrault. 2022. "Peak Renewables Ltd. acquires Chetwynd Pulp Mill." Press release, Mar 17, 2022. <https://www.mccarthy.ca/en/work/cases/peak-renewables-ltd-acquires-chetwynd-pulp-mill>.

³³ The Peak. 2023. "Paper Excellence mill in Powell River permanently curtailed." *The Peak*, Aug 16, 2023. <https://www.prpeak.com/local-news/paper-excellence-mill-powell-river-permanently-curtailed-7415286>.

³⁴ van der Zwan, Adam. 2022. "Powell River mayor dismayed by company's decision to list paper mill with real estate firm." *CBC*, 3 Mar, 2022. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/powell-river-paper-mill-up-for-sale-1.6370933>.

³⁵ van der Zwan, Adam. 2022. "Powell River mayor dismayed by company's decision to list paper mill with real estate firm." *CBC*, 3 Mar, 2022. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/powell-river-paper-mill-up-for-sale-1.6370933>.

³⁶ Paper Advance. "Domtar Finalizes Land Sale at Former Powell River Mill." *Paper Advance*, July 3, 2025. <https://www.paperadvance.com/news/industry-news/domtar-powell-river-mill.html>.

³⁷ Kazmierski, Jack. 2023. "Rebuilding for the future: Modernization projects at Catalyst Crofton Mill." *Pulp & Paper Canada*. Oct 20, 2023. <https://www.pulpandpapercanada.com/rebuilding-for-the-future-modernization-projects-at-catalyst-crofton-mill/>.

³⁸ Kulkarni, Akshay. 2024. "Paper operations indefinitely halted at Vancouver Island mill, company says." *CBC*, Jan 25, 2024. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/vancouver-island-paper-mill-1.7095393>.

³⁹ Zeidler, Maryse. 2025. "Domtar announces permanent closure of mill in Crofton, B.C." *CBC*, December 2, 2025. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/domtar-pulp-mill-closure-crofton-9.7000784>.

Conclusion

This report complements our research on Domtar’s federal lobbying strategies with provincial data from 2020 to 2024.

While our findings consider all the provinces where Domtar operates — Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia (defunct), Saskatchewan and British Columbia — there is a particular focus on British Columbia. The particular focus on British Columbia is due to the province’s lobbying registry, which mandates a significant level of detail for disclosing individual communications with public office holders and due to the fact that Domtar (formerly known as Paper Excellence) was headquartered in Richmond, B.C. in 2020.

As Canada’s largest pulp and paper company and a beneficiary of public funding, Domtar requires a greater responsibility for accountability. Instead, its opaque corporate structure and lack of transparency raise questions and concerns regarding the company’s operations and use of public funds. This report indicates that Domtar (at the time known as Paper Excellence) has received significant amounts of B.C. public funds, while available reporting suggests that public oversight and transparency mechanisms may have been limited. Therefore, Greenpeace Canada asks that any future federal or provincial funding provided to Domtar must adhere to strict conditions that uphold Canada’s commitments to nature and biodiversity protection as well as Indigenous Peoples’ rights and reconciliation. These conditions should include funding objectives, specific performance indicators and public accountability mechanisms.

As a signatory to the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity, Canada must enshrine the commitments made under the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity (GBF) Framework in national legislation. A key goal of the GBF Framework is to eliminate, phase out or reform incentives, including subsidies, that are harmful for biodiversity (Target 18). In parallel, positive incentives for biodiversity conservation and the sustainable use of resources should be scaled up. These measures will bring forth nature protection and local job creation, while upholding the rights of Indigenous Peoples and local communities to their lands and waters.

Appendix A. Lobbying Communications Methodology

To identify communications, targets and registrations disclosed by Domtar lobbyists, Greenpeace Canada began by first creating a list of known Domtar subsidiaries (Domtar, Resolute Forest Products, Catalyst, Northern Pulp and Paper Excellence) and independent mills under its control.

Variations of names were manually cross-referenced with a list of all organization names found disclosed in the federal registry of lobbyists⁴⁰ (made freely available in an open data format⁴¹) and in the B.C. registry of lobbyists⁴² (scraper code was written, available upon request). The numbers put forward in this report originate from the list of name variations' registrations. Any analysis regarding federal meetings was calculated by de-duplicating disclosed communications' unique ID numbers ("COMLOGID").

The communications detailed in this report are not an exhaustive list of all communications happening between Domtar lobbyists and governments, as only the federal and B.C. governments require disclosure of individual communications. There are varying rules as to what disclosures are mandated on the federal level in comparison to the provincial level. For example, the federal registry of lobbyists does not mandate⁴³ that all communications with the federal government be disclosed, most notably when:

- A federal official reached out and conversed extensively with a lobbyist but they communicated solely via email
- A federal official initiated a meeting with a lobbyist and purported that only "legislation, regulations, policies or programs" were discussed
- A non-designated public office holder, i.e. a junior staffer, reached out to discuss a grant with a lobbyist
- A corporate leader whose full-time job isn't lobbying reached out to a federal official for a meeting

The B.C. registry of lobbyists has similar rules⁴⁴. The 2023 numbers may be higher as organizations may not yet have disclosed all their meetings. Data analysis was last run on November 22, 2025.

⁴⁰ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. Registry of Lobbyists. Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/occl/lrs/do/guest?lang=eng>.

⁴¹ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. "Open data." Webpage, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/open-data/>.

⁴² Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia. Lobbyist Registry. Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://www.lobbyistsregistrar.bc.ca/app/secure/orl/lrs/do/guest>.

⁴³ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. "Frequently Asked Questions. Webpage, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/registration-and-compliance/frequently-asked-questions/>.

⁴⁴ Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia. "Frequently Asked Questions. Webpage, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/occl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502&lang=eng>.

Appendix B. Calculating Government Funding Amounts

1. Data Collection Methodology for Government Funding Amounts

The primary source of data for our Domtar government funding dataset came from Canadian lobbying registries, as all companies that lobby Canadian governments are mandated to disclose the amounts they've received in government funding while they are actively lobbying. However, for Domtar, those numbers differ greatly across registrations, as discrepancies are the norm rather than the exception.

For example, in a 2023 federal lobbying registration⁴⁵ Paper Excellence documented receiving over \$17M in government funding from CleanBC initiatives. However, in the B.C. lobbying registration⁴⁶ for the same year, the company only disclosed receiving about \$642,419, a vastly inferior figure. Finally, in an Ontario lobbying registration (unable to be linked), a Paper Excellence lobbyist disclosed the company did not receive any government funding whatsoever in 2023.

Another example of a discrepancy is the fact that no government funding for Resolute Forest Products — acquired by Paper Excellence in early 2023 — could be found for 2023 in any of its registrations.

As such, definitively detailing the exact amounts of government funding Domtar received remains near impossible. As a result, this report attempts instead to establish a minimum range that Domtar certainly received, with the understanding that the number may only be higher.

Other sources were researched and consulted for this dataset, but lobbying registrations were the sole source of data. The following methodology details our data collection approach:

1. Using the list of lobbying registrations found during communications analysis, Greenpeace Canada created an exhaustive list of all funding amounts Domtar (known as Paper Excellence at the time) had ever disclosed in Canadian lobbying registrations between 2020 and 2023.
2. Data collection continued with an exhaustive search of EDGAR⁴⁷ (U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission's documents portal) and SEDAR⁴⁸ (Canadian System for Electronic Document Analysis and Retrieval). All documents are available upon request.
 - a. Domtar, being a private company that is not publicly traded, there are documents to be found for the entity in either the SEDAR or EDGAR database portals. The same condition applies for Northern Pulp.

⁴⁵ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. "Paper Excellence Canada / MICHAEL VON HERFF, Consultant." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502#regStart>.

⁴⁶ Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists of British Columbia. "Government Funding Received Report." Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://www.lobbyistsregistrar.bc.ca/app/secure/orl/lrs/do/reports/funding/received?cocId=3404®Id=5657110>.

⁴⁷ U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. 2025. "Search Filings." Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://www.sec.gov/search-filings>.

⁴⁸ System for Electronic Document Analysis and Retrieval. "SEDAR+." Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://www.securities-administrators.ca/about-sedar/>.

- b.** After collecting key documents from Domtar and Resolute Forest Products (annual reports, MD&As, audited financial statements and 10-K files), it was found that the only government funding either company had disclosed was Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy amounts. (It was also discovered that Paper Excellence's acquisition of Domtar and RFP now made it such that both companies no longer needed to file public documents for shareholders.)
- 3.** Finally, the government funding amounts were researched using Google. However, oftentimes, it was found that the amounts reported on were frequently lower than those found in lobbying registrations. As a result, we elected not to include those amounts in our calculations.

2. Creating Serviceable Datasets from Government Funding Amounts

Once Greenpeace Canada had a list of government funding amounts (including the aforementioned discrepancies), the amounts were filtered using the following methodology to create a dataset of government funding amounts that Domtar/Paper Excellence might have received between 2020 and 2024:

1. Duplicate amounts from the same government ministry or agency in the same year were de-duplicated.
2. Where there existed two different amounts listed under the same program, government ministry or agency in a given year, the lower amount was discarded and the larger amount was logged under “Minimum amount.” Separately disclosed amounts from the same source found within the same registration (as seen here for CleanBC⁴⁹) were summed and logged under “Minimum amount.”
3. If there existed two similar amounts disclosed under different descriptions but still plausibly come from the same funding source (i.e IFIT vs. Natural Resources Canada), the smaller amount was logged under “Minimum amount” and the larger amount was logged under “Maximum amount.”

49 Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. “Paper Excellence Canada / MICHAEL VON HERFF, Consultant.” Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502#regStart>.

Appendix C. Ontario Registry of Lobbyists

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LOBBYISTS REGISTRATION

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Search Results

Lobbyist	Last Amendment Date	Client Name	Company/Organization	Lobbyist Type	Registration No.
Michael von Herff	08-23-2023	Paper Excellence Canada	PAA Public Affairs Advisors	Consultant Lobbyist	CL3549-20220718028430
Mark Johnson	08-15-2023	Paper Excellence Canada	PAA Advisory Conseils	Consultant Lobbyist	CL9871-20220719028445

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Active Registration

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Profile Information

Lobbyist Number

CL3549

Registration No.

CL3549-20220718028430

Initial Filing Date

2022-07-18

Last Amendment Date

2023-08-23

First Name

Michael

Middle Initial

Last Name

von Herff

Name of your Firm

PAA Public Affairs Advisors

Language

☒ English ☐ Français

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LOBBYISTS REGISTRATION

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Consultant Lobbyist Registration

[Active Registration](#)[Previous Registrations](#)

Profile Information

Lobbyist Number

CL9871

Registration No.

CL9871-20220719028445

Initial Filing Date

2022-07-19

Last Amendment Date

2023-08-15

First Name

Mark

Middle Initial

Last Name

Johnson

Name of your Firm

PAA Advisory | Conseils

Language

☒ English ☐ Français

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LOBBYISTS REGISTRATION

[Home](#) ► [Public Search](#)

Search Results

Lobbyist	Last Amendment Date	Client Name	Company/Organization	Lobbyist Type	Registration No.
Caroline Pinto	02-28-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL0619-20130424110451
Philip Dewan	02-28-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL0705-20130424110436
Michael Ras	02-28-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL9943-20231201031270
Rob Elliott	01-22-2024	Domtar Inc.	Counsel Public Affairs Inc.	Consultant Lobbyist	CL10449-20240122031473

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Search Results

Lobbyist	Last Amendment Date	Client Name	Company/Organization	Lobbyist Type	Registration No.
Carys Baker	02-06-2024	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	Sussex Strategy Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL4655-20240206031588
William Pristanski	08-01-2023	Resolute Forest Products	Prospectus Associates	Consultant Lobbyist	CL1713-20180713020532
Chris Benedetti	06-30-2023	Resolute FP Canada Inc.	Sussex Strategy Group	Consultant Lobbyist	CL0674-20210714027143

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Appendix D. Nova Scotia Registry of Lobbyists



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Status: ☒ all ☐ active ☐ inactive ☐ terminated

Type: ☒ all ☐ organization ☐ company ☐ consultant

Total Records: 13


	Name	Employer	Client Name
1	Floyd, Trevor	Iris Communications Inc.	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation
2	McVicar, Kirby S	Iris Communications Inc.	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation
3	Perry, Ned	MT&L Public Relations	Northern Pulp
4	Miller, Bernard F.	McInnes Cooper	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation
5	Perry, Ned	NATIONAL Public Relations	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation
6	White, Karen L	NATIONAL Public Relations	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation
7	Johnson, Keith L	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia	
8	Hamm, John F	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia	
9	Breen, Don	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation	
10	Gosse, Wayne	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation	
11	McLarty, Michael	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation	
12	MacKenzie, David H	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation	
13	Blumenthal, Adam	Northern Pulp Nova Scotia Corporation (Board member)	

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Appendix E. Saskatchewan Registry of Lobbyists



Office of the
Registrar of Lobbyists
Saskatchewan

Search the Registry

Q

CITIZENS

PUBLIC OFFICE HOLDERS

LOBBYISTS

RESOURCE LIBRARY

Home / Search The Registry

Search The Registry

Search by:

Keyword

paper excellence

Q

Description of Lobbying Activities

Lobbyist/Senior Officer Name

Client/Organization Name

Member of Legislative Assembly

Minister

Government Institution

Subject Matter

Search Parameters

Clear

Keyword: paper excellence

Registration Status: Active, Active Non-compliant

Show 50 entries

Client/Organization	Lobbyist/Senior Officer	Status	Type	Version	Effective	
Paper Excellence	Graham Stewart	Active	Consultant	6 of 6	2024-01-25	<div>View</div>
Paper Excellence	Graham Kissack	Active	In-House	6 of 6	2023-01-04	<div>View</div>

Showing 1 to 2 of 2 entries

Previous

1

Next

Registration Details

Registration Details

Registration Number:

3325-2312-6

Type:

Consultant

Version Status:

Active

Posted Date:

2024-01-26

Effective:

2024-01-25

Projected End Date:

2024-12-31

Who are the lobbyists?

Lobbyist who Filed this Return:

Graham Stewart
200-1965 Broad St
Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, S4P 1Y1

Lobbyist Consulting Firm:

Canadian Strategy Group
10103 97A Ave NW
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, T5K 2T3

Lobbyists

Graham Stewart

[View Details](#)

Michael Lohner

[View Details](#)