

Paper Trail to Nowhere

Part 1: Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in Canada between 2020 and 2024

December 2025



Cover: Domtar's paper mill in Port Alberni, British Columbia. Sheila O'Brian/Adobe Stock Images.

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Canada between 2020 and 2024

A Greenpeace Canada Report

With support by the Greenpeace Canada Education Fund

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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 their 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.

The report reveals that Domtar received at least \$200 million in Canadian public funds between 2020 and 2024. The research presents a breakdown of these public funds, while 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.

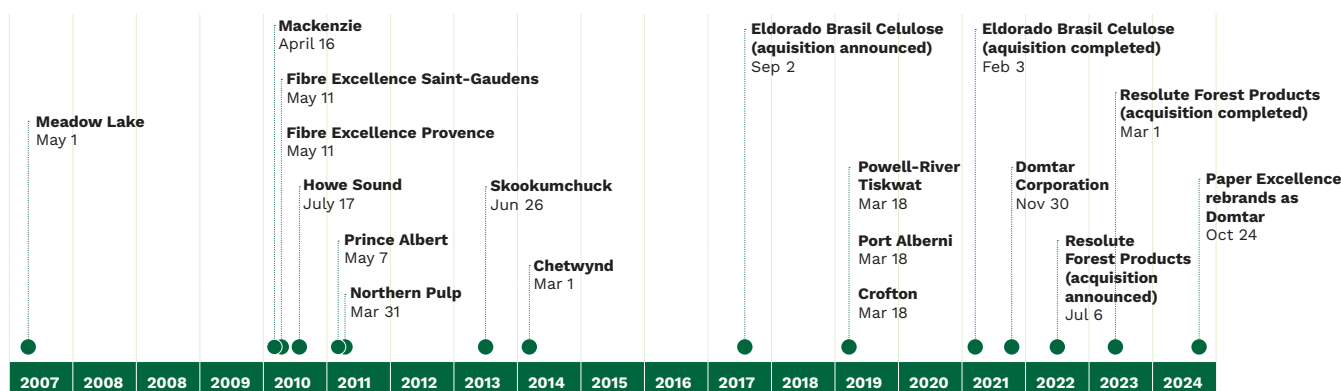
To uphold greater standards of transparency and accountability, this report offers several recommendations to provincial and federal governments, including funding requirements, accountability mechanisms and biodiversity legislation.

Introduction

Domtar is the largest pulp and paper company operating in Canada, covering 22 million hectares of forest across the country.¹ That is twice the size of Newfoundland², or almost 10% of all managed forest land in Canada.³

Domtar is owned by Jackson Wijaya, who founded Paper Excellence Group (Paper Excellence) in Canada in 2006.⁴ Over the last two decades, Paper Excellence has acquired several pulp and paper mills across Canada, expanding its operations and market share of the forestry industry.⁵ In 2021, Paper Excellence acquired Domtar Corporation (Domtar),⁶ which in turn acquired Resolute Forest Products (RFP) in 2023,⁷ and became the largest pulp and paper company in Canada.

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



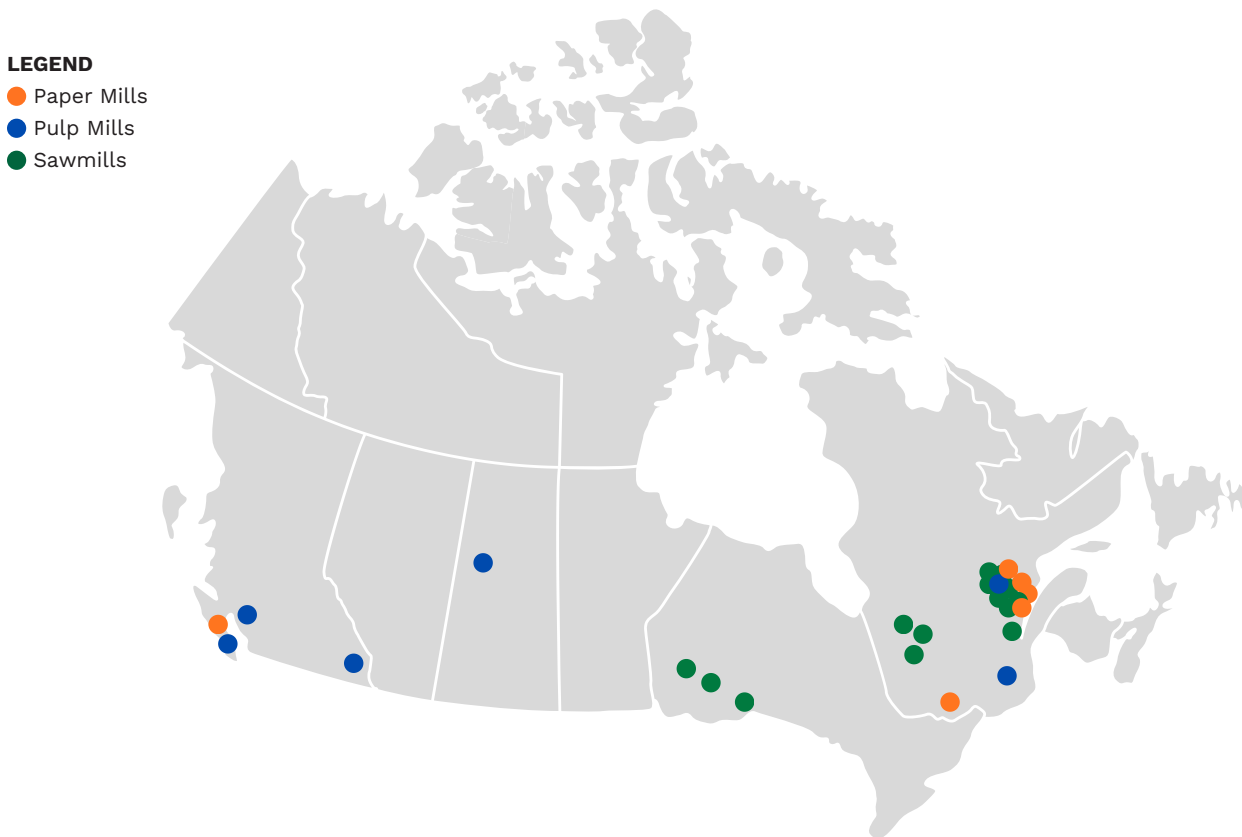
Source: Various media reports and company statements from 2007–2024.

- 1 Van Praet, Nicolas. 2025. "Domtar's media-shy Indonesian owner plots more growth in Canada, says he's willing to appear before Parliament." *The Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2025. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-domtars-media-shy-indonesian-owner-plots-more-growth-in-canada-says/>.
- 2 Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2025. "Land Area." Webpage, accessed on November 21, 2025. <https://www.gov.nl.ca/aboutnl/area.html>.
- 3 Government of Canada. 2025. "Inventory and land-use change." Webpage, accessed on November 21, 2025. <https://natural-resources.canada.ca/climate-change/forest-carbon/inventory-land-use-change>.
- 4 Van Praet, Nicolas. 2025. "Domtar's media-shy Indonesian owner plots more growth in Canada, says he's willing to appear before Parliament." *The Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2025. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-domtars-media-shy-indonesian-owner-plots-more-growth-in-canada-says/>.
- 5 Gosh, Sukanya Ray. 2023. "Tales of transition: Paper Excellence's story." *Pulp and Paper Canada*, May 2, 2023. <https://www.pulpandpapercanada.com/tales-of-transition-paper-excellences-story>.
- 6 Domtar. 2021. "Domtar Joins Paper Excellence Group of Companies." Press release, November 30, 2021. <https://www.domtar.com/domtar-joins-paper-excellence/>.
- 7 Domtar. 2022. "Paper Excellence Enters Agreement to Acquire Resolute Forest Products." Press release, July 6, 2022. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-enters-agreement-to-acquire-resolute-forest-products/>.

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Figure 2. Locations of Domtar’s pulp, paper and sawmills across Canada



Source: Domtar corporate website

In October 2024, the company announced a rebranding and reorganization to Domtar.⁸ According to the company’s public statement: “This integration represents a strategic alignment of the companies’ strengths, resources and expertise, creating a stronger organization poised for future growth and innovation, while maintaining the highest levels of environmental stewardship.”⁹

The decision to adopt the Domtar name also reflects the effort to rehabilitate the group’s reputation following a history of controversy.¹⁰ Domtar (previously known as Paper Excellence) has long been criticized for having an opaque corporate structure, mainly due to concerns over links to the controversial Asia Pulp & Paper (APP) and the larger Sinar Mas Group (SMG) conglomerate. In October 2022, Greenpeace Canada released an investigative report providing substantial evidence of the company’s connection with APP and SMG, including family ties, overlapping management, and lobbyist filings.¹¹ The publication of this report was followed by a broader global media

⁸ Domtar. 2024. “Paper Excellence Group Rebrands as Domtar.” Press release, October 24, 2024. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-group-rebrands/>.

⁹ Domtar. 2024. “Paper Excellence Group Rebrands as Domtar.” Press release, October 24, 2024. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-group-rebrands/>.

¹⁰ Van Praet, Nicolas. 2024. “Paper Excellence adopting Domtar name as company tries to shake controversy and focus on growth.” *The Globe and Mail*, October 24, 2024. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-paper-excellence-adopting-domtar-name-as-company-tries-to-shake/>.

¹¹ 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.

investigation.¹² In 2023, concerns over these links and the company's true intentions prompted public hearings before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Natural Resources.¹³

After years of denying the connections with the Indonesia-based forest conglomerate,¹⁴ Jackson Wijaya took “sole control” of APP from his father, Teguh Ganda Wijaya, in November 2024. This new change in company leadership with Jackson Wijaya was quietly announced in a short notice from the European Union.¹⁵ This announcement came less than a week after both the Canadian and Indonesian governments agreed on a Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) and in September 2025, the commitment was signed.¹⁶

On numerous occasions, Jackson Wijaya has failed to appear before the House of Commons Committee to clarify his company's structure under the pretext of “extensive global business commitments.”¹⁷ Most recently, following the news about him becoming the sole owner of APP, the Committee unanimously voted for Wijaya to testify, which was not implemented due to a parliamentary recess. Wijaya claimed that, “he's not deliberately avoiding Canada,”¹⁸ and “his team was making plans for him to appear before the committee before the election,”¹⁹ but offered little to no clarity on his ownership of APP in a May 2025 interview with *The Globe and Mail*.²⁰

Currently, Domtar employs more than 14,000 people at over 60 locations across North America.²¹ The company maintains corporate offices in Fort Mill, South Carolina; Richmond, British Columbia and Montreal, Quebec.²² For years, Domtar has been purchasing struggling pulp and paper mills across the North American continent.²³ Today, Domtar is the largest producer of pulp and paper in Canada, controlling about 20 per cent of mill capacity in the country, a market share 50 per cent larger than its closest rival, Canfor.²⁴

¹² 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.

¹³ Medina, Brenda. 2023. “Canadian lawmakers call for probe into pulp and paper giant following Deforestation Inc. revelations.” *The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists*, March 22, 2023. <https://www.icij.org/investigations/deforestation-inc/canadian-lawmakers-call-for-probe-into-pulp-and-paper-giant-following-deforestation-inc-revelations/>.

¹⁴ Canadian Forest Industries. 2023. “Paper Excellence says it is independent of Asia Pulp and Paper.” March 14, 2023. <https://www.woodbusiness.ca/paper-excellence-says-it-is-independent-of-asia-pulp-and-paper/>.

¹⁵ European Commission. 2024. “Case M.11711 – JWL / 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.

¹⁶ Government of Canada. 2025. “Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement: Background and negotiations.” Webpage, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-commerce/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/indonesia-indonesie/cepa-apeg/background-contexte.aspx>.

¹⁷ Baxter, Joan. 2023. “Natural Resources committee refuses to summon Paper Excellence's Wijaya.” *Halifax Examiner*, June 7, 2023. <https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/economy/natural-resources/forestry/natural-resources-refuses-to-summon-paper-excellences-wijaya/>.

¹⁸ Van Praet, Nicolas. 2025. “Domtar's media-shy Indonesian owner plots more growth in Canada, says he's willing to appear before Parliament.” *The Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2025. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-domtars-media-shy-indonesian-owner-plots-more-growth-in-canada-says/>.

¹⁹ Van Praet, Nicolas. 2025. “Domtar's media-shy Indonesian owner plots more growth in Canada, says he's willing to appear before Parliament.” *The Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2025. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-domtars-media-shy-indonesian-owner-plots-more-growth-in-canada-says/>.

²⁰ Van Praet, Nicolas. 2025. “Domtar's media-shy Indonesian owner plots more growth in Canada, says he's willing to appear before Parliament.” *The Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2025. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-domtars-media-shy-indonesian-owner-plots-more-growth-in-canada-says/>.

²¹ Domtar. 2024. “Paper Excellence Group Rebrands as Domtar.” Press release, October 24, 2024. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-group-rebrands/>.

²² Domtar. 2025. “Our Locations.” Webpage, accessed on November 8, 2025. <https://www.domtar.com/our-company/all-locations/>.

²³ 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>.

²⁴ 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>.

The company states to be “the largest integrated manufacturer of uncoated freesheet paper in North America, and a leading manufacturer of papergrade, fluff and airlaid nonwoven materials.”²⁵ It also reports an annual production capacity of 9.1 million metric tons of pulp, paper, packaging, and tissue, and approximately 3 billion board feet of lumber and other wood products.²⁶

The report *Paper Trail to Nowhere* closely examines the lobbying strategy and related public funding of Canada’s biggest pulp and paper company. Part one provides a detailed analysis of Domtar’s lobbying tactics, targets and timing in Canada from 2020 to 2024. The research presents a breakdown of at least \$200 million in Canadian public funds that Domtar and its subsidiaries received during this time period. Conclusively, the findings from the reports raise concerns about whether these funds effectively advanced their intended goals, which included expansion, innovation and sustainability.

²⁵ Domtar. 2025. “About”. Webpage, accessed on September 18, 2025. <https://www.domtar.com/about-domtar/>.

²⁶ Domtar. 2024. “Paper Excellence Group Rebrands as Domtar.” Press release, October 24, 2024. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-group-rebrands/>.

1. A dive into Domtar's lobbying spree

1.1. Background information on Domtar's lobbying team

Founded in 2006, Paper Excellence never registered any federal lobbyists until 2022, when it hired a number of consultant lobbyists, including Dentons Canada LLP,²⁷ the world's largest global law firm,²⁸ and PAA Advisory.²⁹ This came after a stream of investigations into its ownership structure, including from Greenpeace Canada³⁰ and the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ).³¹ The company's very first federal in-house lobbying team was registered by Stewart Gibson, former Chief Operating Officer, on April 13, 2023.³²

Figure 3. Database search from the Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

Registration - In-house Corporation		Share this page
Paper Excellence Canada / Jean-Francois Guillot, Chief Operating Officer		
Registration Information		Associated Communications
In-house Corporation name: Paper Excellence Canada		Total Number of Communication Reports: 31
Responsible Officer Name: Jean-Francois Guillot, Chief Operating Officer ⓘ		Monthly communication reports in the last 6 months: 13
Responsible Officer Change History		
Initial registration start date: 2023-04-13		
Registration status: Active		
Registration Number: 957011-374407		

Source: Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

It remains important to note the recent change to Domtar's "responsible officer". A "responsible officer" is required to act as the company's primary registrant for federal lobbying registrations.³³ As of July 5, 2024, three months before the company's October 2024 decision to rebrand itself as Domtar, the position of the "responsible officer" was ceded by Jean-Francois Guillot to Sugiarto "Awie" Kardiman. As the title suggests, a "responsible officer" is in charge of filing monthly lobbying reports. Furthermore, given that the "most senior paid employee of an

²⁷ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. "Paper Excellence / Michael Agosti, Consultant." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on September 17, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/oc/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372378®Id=925726&blnk=1>.

²⁸ Dentons. 2025. "About Us". Webpage, accessed on October 29, 2025. <https://challengers.dentons.com/uk-trainees/about-us/>.

²⁹ 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/oc/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502&lang=eng>.

³⁰ Greenpeace Canada. 2022. "Investigation reveals secretive ownership of major logging giant in Canada." Press release, October 24, 2022. <https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/54850/investigation-reveals-secretive-ownership-of-major-logging-giant-in-canada/>.

³¹ Baxter, Joan. 2023. "Deforestation Inc: Are Paper Excellence and Asia Pulp & Paper linked companies? They say they aren't. Here's what we've learned." *Halifax Examiner*, March 9, 2023. <https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/investigation/deforestation-inc-are-paper-excellence-and-asia-pulp-paper-linked-companies-they-say-they-arent-heres-what-weve-learned/>.

³² Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. "Paper Excellence Canada / Sugiarto Kardiman, Executive member." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - In-house Corporation. Database, accessed on November 5, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/oc/lrs/do/vwRg?rgId=934785&cno=374407#regStart>.

³³ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. "Overview of requirements for in-house organization lobbyists." Webpage, accessed on July 22, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/registration-and-compliance/overview-for-lobbyists/overview-of-requirements-for-in-house-organization-lobbyists/>.

organization”³⁴ can submit a registration on their behalf, the responsible officer is often considered to be the de facto “leader” of the company. In other words, the change of the responsible officer may suggest a change in reporting or administrative structure at the forestry conglomerate.

Figure 4. Database search from the Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)



Source: Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

Figure 5. Database search from the Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

Responsible Officer Change History

Paper Excellence Canada

Responsible Officer Name	From (YYYY-MM-DD)	To (YYYY-MM-DD)
Sugiarto Kardiman	2024-07-05	Current
Jean-Francois Guillot	2023-12-31	2024-07-05
Stewart Gibson	2023-04-13	2023-12-31

Source: Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

As for Domtar’s former and current responsible officers’ official roles within the organization, the registry lists Guillot as Domtar’s Chief Operating Officer, whereas the corporate website indicates he is a Chief Operating Officer of Fibre Excellence.³⁵ Fibre Excellence is a subsidiary of Domtar that manages two pulp production sites in France (Fibre Excellence Saint-Gaudens and Fibre Excellence Provence) and two forestry subsidiaries (the first being forest management consulting firm EnviroFORESTERIE and the second being forestry harvesting enterprise Sebso).³⁶ The position of Sugiarto “Awie” Kardiman in Domtar’s hierarchy remains unclear. The lack of clarity occurs with the discrepancy between the registry and Domtar’s website. In the registry, Kardiman is simply referred to as an “Executive Member,” whereas on Domtar’s website, he is listed as the company’s Executive Vice

34 Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. “Overview of requirements for in-house organization lobbyists.” Webpage, accessed on July 22, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/registration-and-compliance/overview-for-lobbyists/overview-of-requirements-for-in-house-organization-lobbyists/>.

35 Domtar. 2025. “Jean-François Guillot.” Webpage, accessed on August 18, 2025. <https://www.domtar.com/about-domtar/domtar-leaders/jean-francois-guillot/>.

36 Fibre Excellence. “Our Group.” Webpage, accessed on August 20, 2025. <https://www.fibre-excellence.com/en/our-group>.

President of Finance and Chief Accounting Officer.³⁷ According to an article from *CBC* in 2023, Kardiman worked for Paper Excellence from 2010 to 2013, later rejoining the company in November 2020³⁸.

Apart from the responsible officer, currently, the company also recognizes three senior officers, of which there are two employees who dedicate 20 per cent or more of their duties to lobbying activities: Blair Dickerson, Senior Director, Public Affairs and Chris Stoicheff, Senior Director, Government Relations. Jean-Francois Guillot, the former responsible officer, also appears on the list as a senior officer whose lobbying activities represent less than 20 per cent of their duties.

Figure 6. Database search from the Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)



Source: Federal Registry of Lobbyists (Internet Archive)

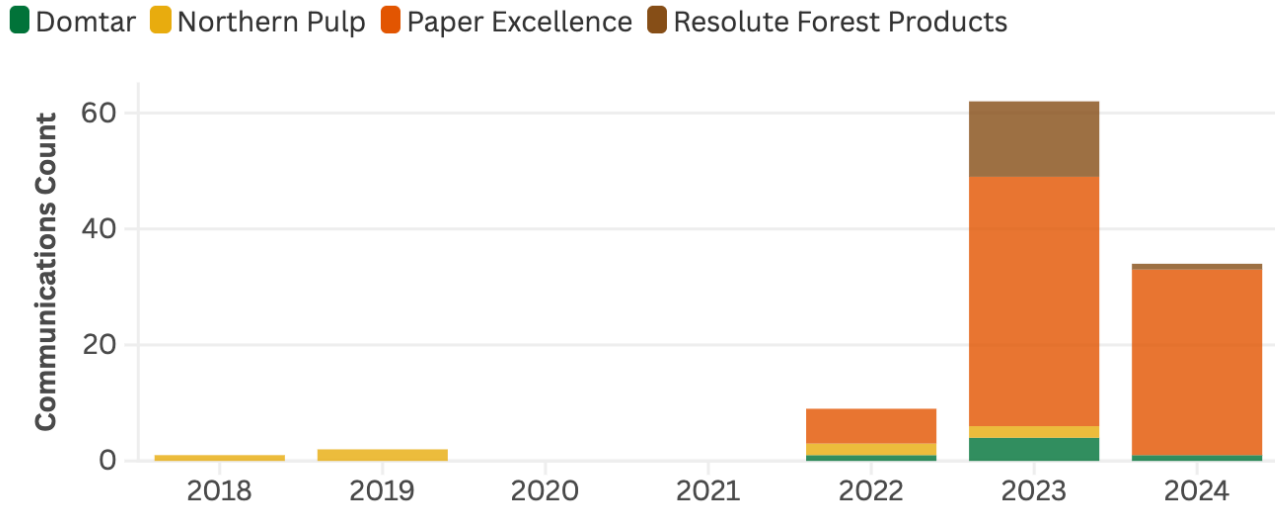
1.2. Trends in Domtar's lobbying of the federal government

A crucial observation found in our research is that the lobbying of the federal government by Domtar peaked in 2023, following the creation of its federal in-house lobbying team. More specifically, Domtar's lobbying of federal officials increased sixfold compared with the previous year. Prior to 2022, only one of its subsidiary companies — Northern Pulp — had ever disclosed lobbying federal officials, namely three communications in 2018-2019. In total, in 2023, Domtar (represented as Paper Excellence in Chart 1) and its subsidiaries logged 64 communications with federal government officials. The parent company itself logged 43 communications, Resolute Forest Products (RFP) - 15, Domtar - 4, and Northern Pulp - 2.

³⁷ Domtar. 2025. "Awie Kardiman". Webpage, accessed on September 10, 2025. <https://www.domtar.com/about-domtar/domtar-leaders/athe-wie-kardiman/>.

³⁸ Thompson, Elizabeth. 2023. "MPs ask whether pulp giant's revamped board is Canadian enough." *CBC*, May 15, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/paper-excellence-resolute-forests-1.6844155>.

Chart 1. Domtar and its subsidiaries' yearly disclosed federal communications post-acquisition



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

Note: The graph details disclosed federal communications from subsidiaries only after their date of purchase by Domtar.

In accordance with the Canadian Lobbying Act, a communication should be understood as an “oral and arranged in advance” conversation with a designated public office holder about legislation, policy, or funding.³⁹ The Canadian Lobbying Act stipulates that such communication must be registered within 15 days after the end of that month.⁴⁰ The report must include the name of the official, the date, and the subject matter of the communication.⁴¹ These reports are made publicly available through the federal Registry of Lobbyists,⁴² of which non-compliance can result in fines or lobbying bans.

Further data analysis also revealed that following their rebranding, Domtar (to be understood as a subsidiary of the company formerly known as Paper Excellence in this instance) and RFP, similar to the parent company, escalated their lobbying in 2023 in comparison to previous years. Following the acquisition, in 2023, RFP logged 15 lobbying communications, which was three times more than in the past four years combined. The company’s lobbying efforts were dormant during the pandemic, with the last time an active lobbying presence was recorded occurred between 2014 and 2018.

As for Domtar, after having been acquired, it logged five communications in the federal registry between 2022 and 2023. While a relatively small number, prior to 2022, Domtar had never logged a single federal lobbying communication since the registry began keeping records, the same with Paper Excellence (currently rebranded as Domtar).

Furthermore, Northern Pulp logged its first lobbying communications in 2022, after being dormant during the pandemic. In this case, however, the lobbying is most likely a result of its main plant’s shutdown in January 2020, following its failure to obtain approval for a wastewater treatment facility.⁴³

³⁹ Government of Canada. Lobbying Act. R.S.C., 1985, c. 44 (4th Supp.). <https://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/l-12.4/>.

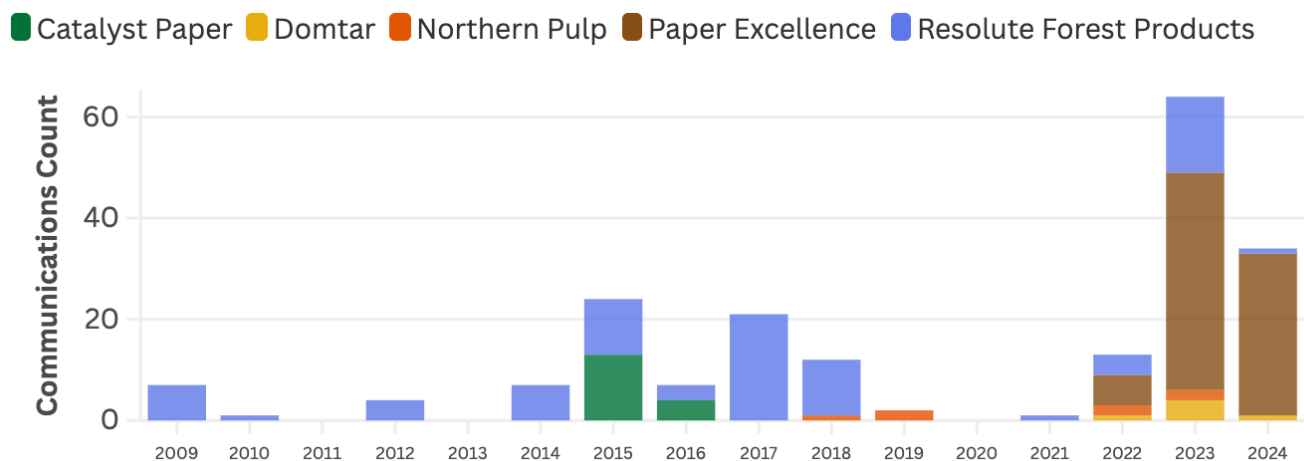
⁴⁰ Government of Canada. Lobbying Act. R.S.C., 1985, c. 44 (4th Supp.). <https://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/l-12.4/>.

⁴¹ Government of Canada. Lobbying Act. R.S.C., 1985, c. 44 (4th Supp.). <https://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/l-12.4/>.

⁴² Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. Registry of Lobbyists. Database, accessed on July 11, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/guest>.

⁴³ Thompson, Aly. 2021. “Northern Pulp signals legal action against N.S. government over mill closure.” *CBC*, October 19, 2021. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/nova-scotia-northern-pulp-legal-action-1.6216866>.

Chart 2. Domtar and its subsidiaries' yearly disclosed federal communications pre-acquisition



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

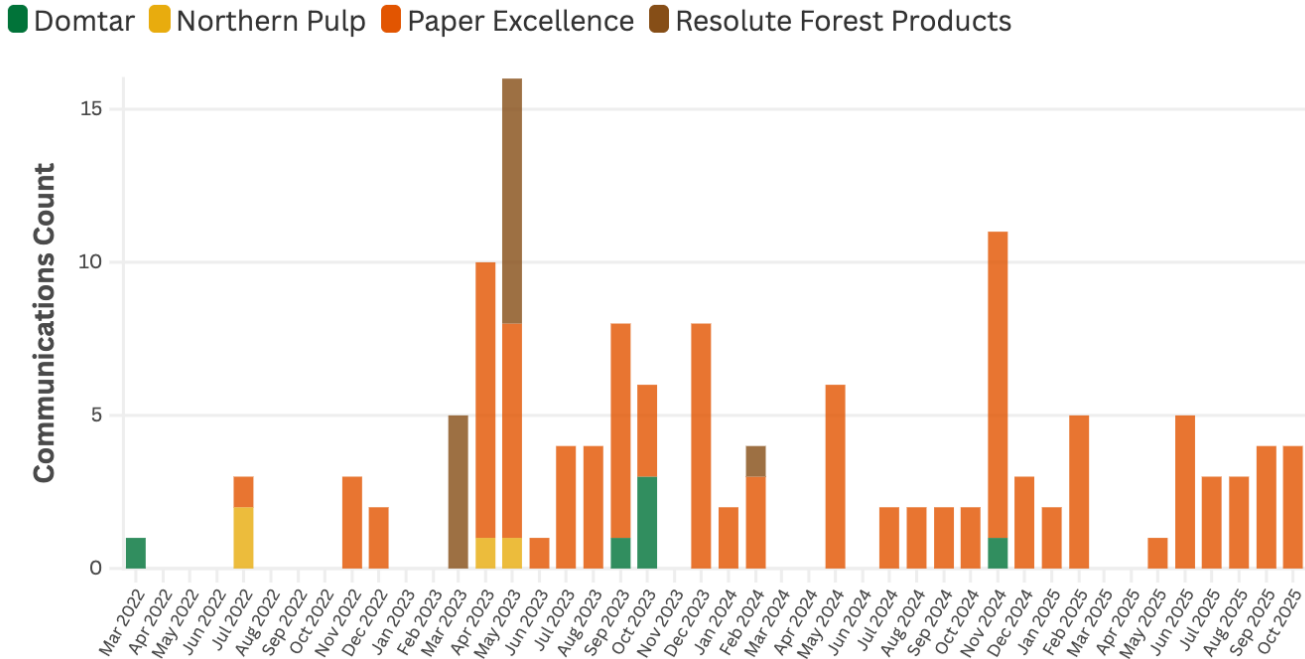
Note: The graph details disclosed federal communications from subsidiaries including prior to their date of purchase by Domtar.

Therefore, as noted in Chart 2, this research demonstrates that the increased lobbying is not solely related to the company's takeover of new entities. In fact, the increased peak of Domtar's and its subsidiaries' lobbying of the federal government in 2023, as illustrated in Chart 3, was observed in May, when a spike number of 16 communications was disclosed over the course of a single month. Notably, the fact that this spike coincided with the House of Commons Standing Committee on Natural Resources hearings into the company's secretive ownership on May 30⁴⁴ and June 6⁴⁵ that year, at which Greenpeace Canada and others presented significant evidence of the connection between the company formerly known as Paper Excellence and APP.

⁴⁴ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Natural Resources. Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry. *Minutes of Proceedings*. 1st sess., 44th Parliament, Meeting No. 65, May 30, 2023. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/44-1/RNNR/meeting-65/evidence>.

⁴⁵ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Natural Resources. Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry. *Minutes of Proceedings*. 1st sess., 44th Parliament, Meeting No. 67, June 6, 2023. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/44-1/RNNR/meeting-67/evidence>.

Chart 3. Domtar and its subsidiaries' monthly disclosed federal communications



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

Interestingly, to date, despite rebranding as Domtar in October of 2024, the company continues to log most of its lobbying activities under its most active lobbying registration, which still bears the name of Paper Excellence. In 2024, it only logged 34 communications, which is approximately less than half the number of communications from the previous year.

Although the company scaled back its lobbying of the federal government after a record year in 2023, Domtar's lobbying activities remain significant compared to its competitors. Notably, Canfor, Domtar's biggest competitor by market share, does not maintain an active federal lobbying registration.⁴⁶ Furthermore, despite a decrease in lobbying communications last year, Domtar's main lobbying registration logged more communications than the number two and three forestry lobbying associations: The Quebec Forest Industry Council (QFIC)⁴⁷ and the Alberta Forest Products Association (AFPA).⁴⁸ However, the Forest Products Association of Canada (FPAC) remains the largest forestry lobbying organization in Canada by far.⁴⁹ As Domtar is a member of FPAC, this means they can continue lobbying through this group.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. "Registration - In-house Corporation. Canfor Pulp Ltd / Don Kayne, CEO." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - In-house Corporation. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=364364®Id=888404>.

⁴⁷ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. "The Quebec Forest Industry Council / Conseil de l'industrie forestière du Québec / Martin-Pierre Pelletier, Consultant." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=351986®Id=968983&blnk=1>.

⁴⁸ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. "ALBERTA FOREST PRODUCTS ASSOCIATION / Jason Krips, President & CEO." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - In-house Organization. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=16653®Id=962442&blnk=1>.

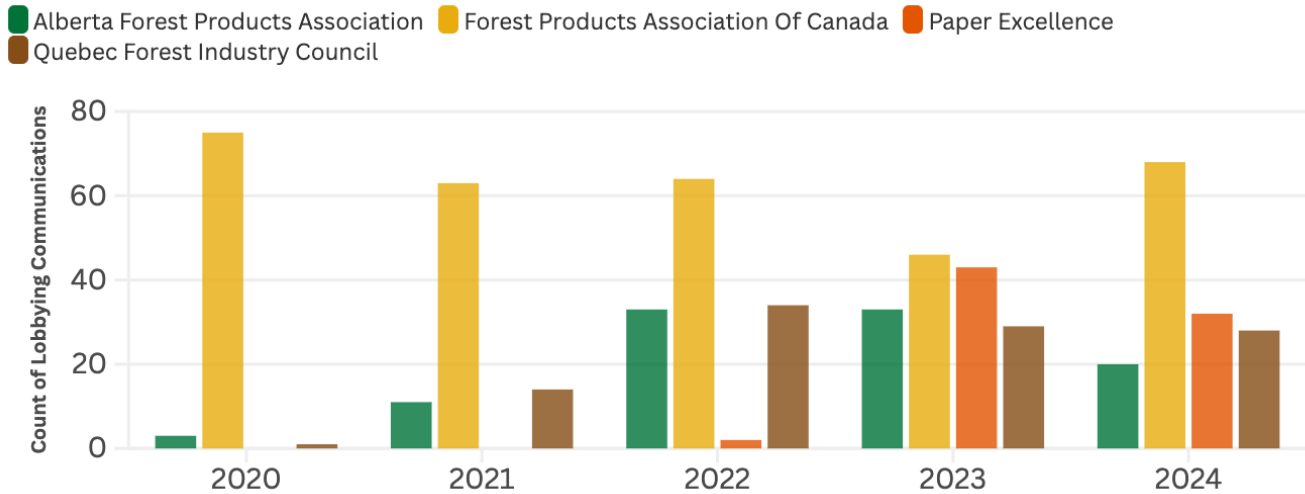
⁴⁹ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. "Forest Product Association of Canada / Association des produits forestiers du Canada / Lucia Stuhldreier, Consultant." Registry of Lobbyists, Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/dcan,o/vwRg?cno=358788®Id=958071>.

⁵⁰ Forest Products Association of Canada. 2025. "Our Members". Webpage, accessed on November 10, 2025. <https://www.fpac.ca/about/members>.

Paper Trail to Nowhere

Part 1: Domtar's Lobbying Strategies in Canada between 2020 and 2024

Chart 4. Communications count of select top forest sector lobbyists from 2020 to 2024



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

In May and November 2024, records from the federal lobbyist registry show two clear spikes. The uptick in May coincides with the Nova Scotia government's announcement regarding a sweeping settlement with Domtar.⁵¹ The settlement agreement resolved a \$450-million lawsuit over the 2020 closure of the Northern Pulp mill and set terms for a potential new mill in Queens County, Nova Scotia. In accordance with the deal, if a new mill was deemed viable after a nine-month feasibility study, Domtar would repay debts, top up pensions and move ahead with a \$1.4-billion investment. However, in July 2025, Domtar announced that it is planning to sell off its assets and will not proceed with the plans of opening a new mill.⁵²

Our research also demonstrates that in May 2024, Domtar and its subsidiaries disclosed communications with five government officials.

Among disclosed communications, the data analyzed demonstrates the following:

- **Simon Kennedy (1 communication)** – Deputy Minister, Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada from 2019 to 2025.⁵³
- **Steven MacKinnon (1 communication)** – MP for Gatineau, Quebec, where Domtar operates the Gatineau mill.⁵⁴
- **Marc Serré (1 communication)** – MP for Nickel Belt, Ontario, from 2015 to 2025.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Government of Nova Scotia. 2024. "Nova Scotia Reaches Settlement with Paper Excellence Group, Sets New Path Forward." Press release, May 23, 2024. <https://news.novascotia.ca/en/2024/05/23/nova-scotia-reaches-settlement-paper-excellence-group-sets-new-path-forward>.

⁵² Mott, Sean. 2025. "Northern Pulp to sell off assets five years after N.S. mill closed." CTV News, July 14, 2025. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/atlantic/nova-scotia/article/northern-pulp-to-sell-off-assets-five-years-after-ns-mill-closed/>.

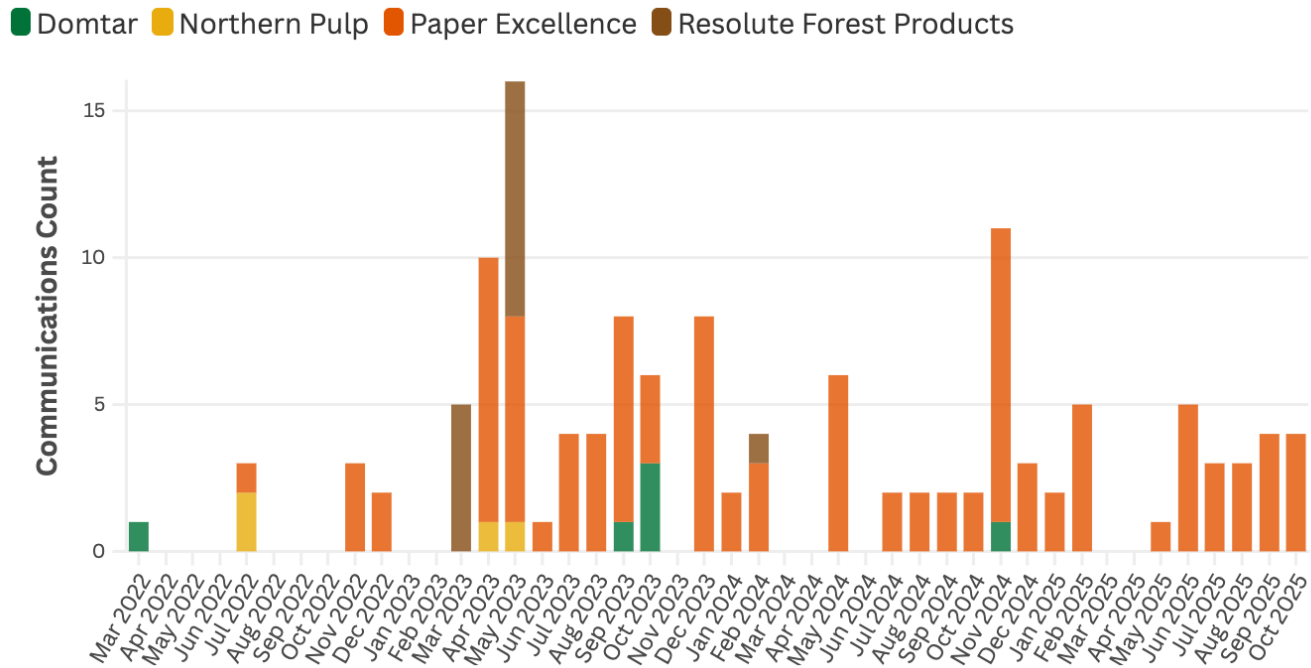
⁵³ Hemmadi, Murad. 2024. "Innovation deputy minister exits at five-year mark." *The Logic*. Sep 5, 2024. <https://thelogic.co/news/exclusive/innovation-deputy-minister-simon-kennedy-retires/>.

⁵⁴ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Steven MacKinnon. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/steven-mackinnon\(884its68\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/steven-mackinnon(884its68)).

⁵⁵ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Marc G. Serré. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/marc-g-serre\(88874\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/marc-g-serre(88874)).

- **Paul Moen (1 communication)** – Chief of Staff to the Minister, Employment and Social Development Canada.
- **Randy Hoback (1 communication)** – MP for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan,⁵⁶ where Domtar had been working to reactivate Prince Albert’s shuttered paper mill,⁵⁷ but ultimately, in September 2024, the company announced they would be divesting from the project.⁵⁸

Chart 5. Domtar and its subsidiaries’ monthly disclosed federal communications



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying Canada Open Data Portal

As presented in Chart 5, Domtar’s lobbying activity spiked again at the end of 2024. The lobbying activities in November 2024 overlapped with a number of noteworthy events. The most significant one is Jackson Wijaya taking sole control of APP, after years of denying the ties,⁵⁹ including in response to the 2022 Greenpeace Canada report, followed by the ICIJ media investigation and the House of Commons hearings.

In the same month, Domtar’s Ignace mill, located in Ontario, reduced its operating hours by half, announcing a month-long holiday shutdown.⁶⁰ In its response to the media, Domtar attributed the cause of the situation to “high operating costs and a weak lumber market.”⁶¹

⁵⁶ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Randy Hoback. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/andy-hoback\(59148\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/andy-hoback(59148)).

⁵⁷ Domtar. 2023. “Prince Albert Pulp Inc. received environmental approval.” Press release, May 29, 2023. <https://www.domtar.com/prince-albert-pulp-inc-received-environmental-approval/>.

⁵⁸ Maxwell, Nigel. 2024. “Paper Excellence confirms Prince Albert Pulp Mill not restarting.” *paNOW*, Sep 12, 2024 <https://panow.com/2024/09/12/paper-excellence-confirms-prince-albert-pulp-mill-not-restarting/>.

⁵⁹ Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2024. “‘We got completely played for suckers,’ MP says of recent takeovers in Canadian forestry” *CBC*, Nov 22, 2024. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/paper-excellence-app-jacson-wijaya-takeover-1.7390353>.

⁶⁰ Stimpson, Mike. 2024. “Layoffs expected in Ignace with mill slowdown.” *NWOnewswatch*, Nov 7, 2024. <https://www.nwnewswatch.com/local-news/layoffs-expected-in-ignace-with-mill-slowdown-9776882>.

⁶¹ Stimpson, Mike. 2024. “Layoffs expected in Ignace with mill slowdown.” *NWOnewswatch*. Nov 7, 2024. <https://www.nwnewswatch.com/local-news/layoffs-expected-in-ignace-with-mill-slowdown-9776882>.

Additionally, on November 4, 2024, Domtar officially announced the acquisition of Iconex Paper’s North American receipt paper division from Atlas Holdings, becoming the top supplier of thermal point of sale paper in the U.S.⁶² The deal expands Domtar’s commercial footprint, aligning with the company’s push to diversify offerings post-rebrand of October 2024.

Another significant development to note is that, moreover, within the same month of November 2024, the Quebec government pledged \$12 million towards Domtar’s \$56 million modernization of its Windsor mill.⁶³ Officials claimed that the investment would, “increas[e] competitiveness and productivity, creating jobs and sustainable development.”⁶⁴ The funding came through the ESSOR program, which supports sustainable development and productivity in Quebec’s industrial sector. However, the parent company does not appear to have registered any lobbyists in Quebec; the same is true for Resolute Forest Products, its subsidiary, which primarily operates in the province. In contrast, Domtar, as a subsidiary of Paper Excellence at the time, did register several lobbyists in 2023, but those registrations are no longer active.

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



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

In November 2024, Domtar and its subsidiaries disclosed communications with the following government officials:

- **Gord Johns (4 communications)** – MP for Courtenay—Alberni, B.C., where Domtar operates the Port Alberni paper mill.⁶⁵
- **Alistair MacGregor (2 communications)** – MP for Cowichan—Malahat—Langford, B.C., from 2015 to 2025, where Domtar operated the Crofton mill, at the time.⁶⁶

⁶² Domtar. 2024. “Domtar Acquires Iconex Paper’s Point-of-Sale Receipt Business in North America.” Press Release. *Newswire*, Nov 4, 2024. <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/domtar-acquires-iconex-paper-s-point-of-sale-receipt-business-in-north-america-870763792.html>.

⁶³ Pulp & Paper Canada. 2024. “Domtar secures \$12M from Quebec government for major mill modernization in Windsor plant.” *Pulp & Paper Canada*, Nov 13, 2024. <https://www.pulpandpapercanada.com/domtar-windsor-12m-quebec/>.

⁶⁴ Pulp & Paper Canada. 2024. “Domtar secures \$12M from Quebec government for major mill modernization in Windsor plant.” *Pulp & Paper Canada*, Nov 13, 2024. <https://www.pulpandpapercanada.com/domtar-windsor-12m-quebec/>.

⁶⁵ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Gord Johns. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gord-johns\(89263\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gord-johns(89263)).

⁶⁶ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Alistair MacGregor. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/alistair-macgregor\(89269\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/alistair-macgregor(89269)).

- **Jennifer MacKinnon (2 communications)** – Formerly a Constituency Assistant in MP Sean Fraser’s office, currently retired.
- **Gary Vidal (1 communication)** – Now former MP for Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River, SK, from 2021 to 2025, where Domtar operates the Meadow Lake mill.⁶⁷
- **Patrick Weiler (1 communication)** – MP for West Vancouver, Sunshine Coast, Sea to Sky Country, B.C., where Domtar maintains the Howe Sound Pulp and Paper mill.⁶⁸
- **Sean Fraser (2 communications)** – MP for Central Nova, N.S., where Domtar used to operate the Northern Pulp mill.⁶⁹

1.3. Primary targets of Domtar’s lobbying

Another important observation is that the primary targets of Domtar and its subsidiaries’ lobbying on the federal level are the Members of Parliament (MPs). Specifically, in 2023, Domtar and its subsidiaries logged 54 meetings with federal MPs, the most of any government institution by a wide margin, as uncovered by our research. The parent company itself (which was called Paper Excellence at the time) logged 86 per cent of all communications (37 out of its 43 disclosed communications) with MPs or their staff. The remaining of the communications were related to Employment and Social Development Canada (2 communications), Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada (1), Natural Resources Canada (1), Export Development Canada (1) and Prairies Economic Development Canada (1).

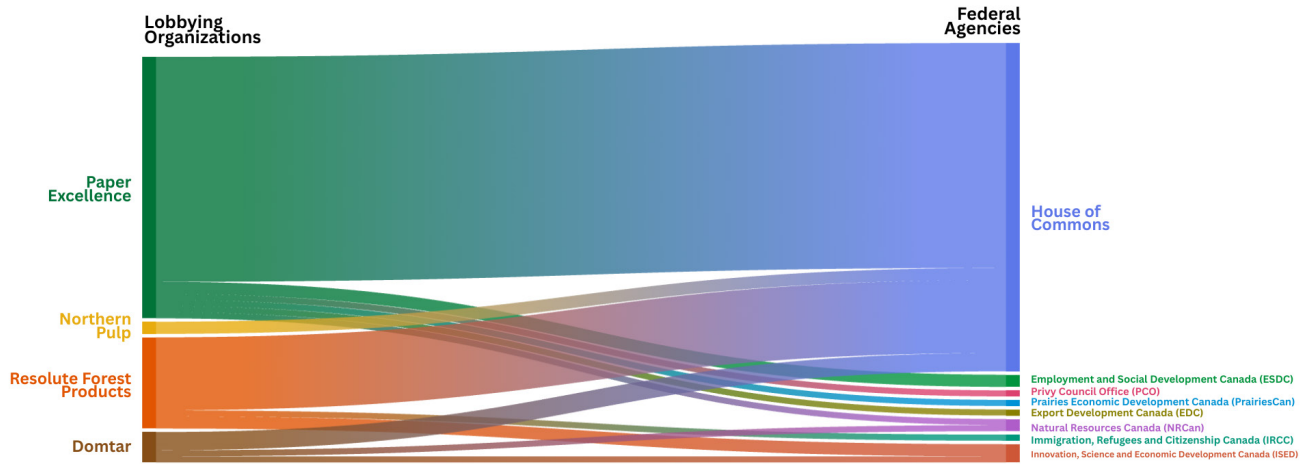
A similar pattern was observed with its subsidiaries, Resolute Forest Products, Domtar (to be understood as a subsidiary of Paper Excellence at the time) and Northern Pulp, which logged 12 out of 15, 3 out of 5 and 2 out of 2 communications with Members of Parliament, respectively.

⁶⁷ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Gary Vidal. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gary-vidal\(105562\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gary-vidal(105562)).

⁶⁸ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Patrick Weiler. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/patrick-weiler\(105918\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/patrick-weiler(105918)).

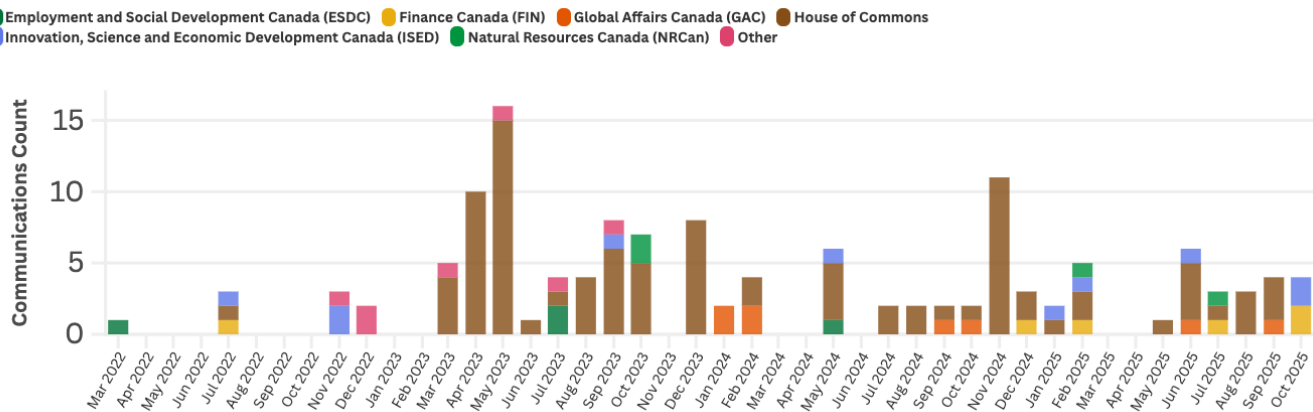
⁶⁹ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Sean Fraser. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/sean-fraser\(88316\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/sean-fraser(88316)).

Chart 6. Disclosed meetings between lobbying organizations and federal agencies in 2023



Source: Federal Registry of Lobbyists

Chart 7. Domtar and its subsidiaries monthly disclosed meetings by institution



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

Further analysis demonstrates that, in May 2023, when lobbying of the federal government by Domtar and its subsidiaries peaked, the spike was almost entirely driven by the increased lobbying of MPs. The lobbying spike coincided in time with the House of Commons hearings regarding the secretive ownership structure of Domtar (known as Paper Excellence at the time). *CBC* reported that after the hearings were announced, officials from Paper Excellence started reaching out to MPs sitting on the committee⁷⁰. Former MP Charlie Angus, who was a member of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Natural Resources at that time, was approached by the company without any previous contact, which he called “highly unusual”⁷¹ and “inappropriate to try and get that inside track when something is going to be heard in public.”⁷²

⁷⁰ Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2023. “5 questions swirling around forestry giant Paper Excellence ahead of grilling from MPs.” *CBC*, May 2, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/paper-excellence-house-commons-committee-hearing-1.6829076>.

⁷¹ Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2023. “5 questions swirling around forestry giant Paper Excellence ahead of grilling from MPs.” *CBC*, May 2, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/paper-excellence-house-commons-committee-hearing-1.6829076>.

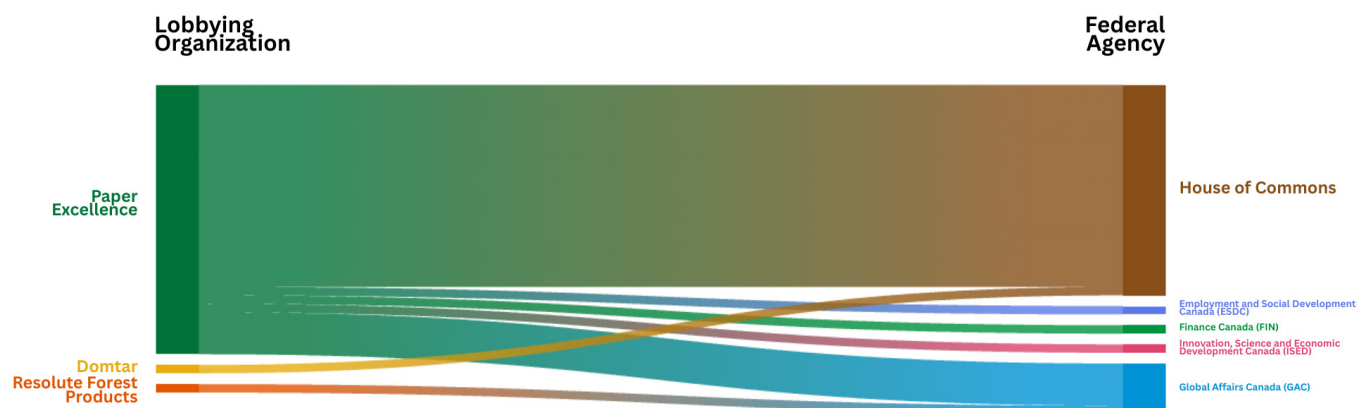
⁷² Dubinsky, Zach and Elizabeth Thompson. 2023. “5 questions swirling around forestry giant Paper Excellence ahead of grilling from MPs.” *CBC*, May 2, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/paper-excellence-house-commons-committee-hearing-1.6829076>.

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Part 1: Domtar’s Lobbying Strategies in Canada between 2020 and 2024

Although the total number of lobbying communications decreased last year, the same pattern persisted: in 2024, 25 out of 34 Domtar and its subsidiaries disclosed communications targeted MPs or members of their staff. The remaining were spread across several federal agencies, including: Global Affairs Canada, Employment and Social Development Canada, Finance Canada as well as Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada.

Chart 8. Disclosed meetings between lobbying organizations and federal agencies in 2024



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

Another noteworthy and predictable pattern deduced from our findings is that Domtar and its subsidiaries' in 2023 accelerated lobbying campaigns specifically targeting MPs with pulp and paper mills in their ridings. The majority of said pulp and paper mills are operated or being renovated by the parent company or one of its subsidiaries. The list includes:

- **Gary Vidal (9 communications)** – Now former MP for Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River, SK from 2019 to 2025, where Domtar operates the Meadow Lake pulp mill.⁷³
- **Steven MacKinnon (5 communications)** – MP for Gatineau, QC, where Domtar operates the Gatineau pulp mill.⁷⁴
- **Gord Johns (5 communications)** – MP for Courtenay, Alberni, B.C., where Domtar operates the Port Alberni paper mill.⁷⁵
- **Marcus Powlowski (4 communications)** – MP for Thunder Bay—Rainy River, ON, where RFP used to operate its Thunder Bay pulp mill, which was recently sold to US-based Atlas Holdings.⁷⁶
- **Mario Simard (4 communications)** – MP for Jonquière, QC, where RFP operates its Hydro-Saguenay plant.⁷⁷

⁷³ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Gary Vidal. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gary-vidal\(105562\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gary-vidal(105562)).

⁷⁴ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Steven MacKinnon. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/steven-mackinnon\(88468\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/steven-mackinnon(88468)).

⁷⁵ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Gord Johns. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gord-johns\(89263\)/roles](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gord-johns(89263)/roles).

⁷⁶ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Marcus Powlowski. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/marcus-powlowski\(105437\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/marcus-powlowski(105437)).

⁷⁷ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Mario Simard. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/mario-simard\(104773\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/mario-simard(104773)).

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- **Alistair MacGregor (4 communications)** – Now former MP for Cowichan—Malahat—Langford, B.C., from 2015 to 2025, where Domtar operates the Vancouver Island Crofton Paper and Pulp Mill.⁷⁸
- **Randy Hoback (4 communications)** – MP for Prince Albert, SK, where Domtar was working to reactivate Prince Albert's shuttered paper mill⁷⁹ but has since decided to cancel the planned restart.⁸⁰
- Among other MPs actively lobbied by Domtar and its subsidiaries in 2023 can also be found **Eric Melillo (4 communications)**, Conservative MP for Kenora, Ontario,⁸¹ and **Earl Dreeshen (4 communications)**, Conservative MP for Red Deer—Mountain View, Alberta, from 2008 to 2025.⁸² However, Kenora's only paper mill was closed in 2005⁸³ and Alberta Newsprint Company, Alberta's only paper mill, is located outside of Earl Dreeshen's former riding.⁸⁴

Some MPs lobbied by Domtar were also sitting on parliamentary committees with portfolios important to the company. More specifically, Mario Simard and Earl Dreeshen were active members of the Standing Committee on Natural Resources,⁸⁵ while Eric Melillo and Marcus Powlowski were sitting on the Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs.⁸⁶

Additionally, our research revealed that in 2023, amid the House Committee hearings where Jackson Wijaya, Domtar's sole owner, refused to appear in person, many of the MPs were invited to visit Domtar's facilities. Gary Vidal, Steven MacKinnon and Marcus Powlowski were hosted by RFP as part of a visit to the company's mill in Gatineau, Quebec in September 2023.⁸⁷ Gord Johns was given a tour around Domtar's Port Alberni mill in British Columbia⁸⁸. Alistair MacGregor was given his own tour of the Crofton mill in B.C. as well in 2023.⁸⁹

During the hearings, Bloc Québécois MP Mario Simard told Domtar's local representatives: "...[T]he best solution would be for Mr. Wijaya to agree to come and testify before us. If he doesn't, then you will leave, and we, the elected representatives and media, will be left with the same concerns about who really owns Paper Excellence. Until this

⁷⁸ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Alistair MacGregor. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/alistair-macgregor\(89269\)/roles](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/alistair-macgregor(89269)/roles).

⁷⁹ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Randy Hoback. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/randy-hoback\(59148\)/roles](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/randy-hoback(59148)/roles).

⁸⁰ Maxwell, Nigel. 2024. "Paper Excellence confirms Prince Albert Pulp Mill not restarting". *paNOW*, September 12, 2024. <https://panow.com/2024/09/12/paper-excellence-confirms-prince-albert-pulp-mill-not-restarting/>.

⁸¹ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Eric Melillo. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/eric-melillo\(105186\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/eric-melillo(105186)).

⁸² House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Earl Dreeshen. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/Earl-Dreeshen\(59226\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Members/en/Earl-Dreeshen(59226)).

⁸³ CBC. 2005. "Abitibi permanently closes paper mills in Ont. and N.L." *CBC*, December 15, 2005. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/abitibi-permanently-closes-paper-mills-in-ont-and-n-l-1.542806>.

⁸⁴ Alberta Newsprint Company. "Detailed Mill Location." Webpage, accessed on October 29, 2025. <https://www.albertanewsprint.com/map/>.

⁸⁵ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Committee Members. Standing Committee on Natural Resources 44-1. Webpage, accessed on September 9, 2025. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/committees/en/RNNR/Members?includeassociates=True&parl=44&session=1>.

⁸⁶ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Committee Members. Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs 43-2. Webpage, accessed on September 19, 2025. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Committees/en/INAN/Members?parl=43&session=2>.

⁸⁷ Pulp and Paper Canada. 2023. "MPs visit historic Resolute paper mill in Gatineau, Quebec." Sep 28, 2023. <https://www.pulpandpapercanada.com/mps-visit-historic-resolute-paper-mill-in-gatineau-quebec/>.

⁸⁸ Domtar (@DomtarEveryday), "Domtar was honored to give MP Gord Johns a tour of our Port Alberni Mill last Friday..." Facebook, December 3, 2024, <https://www.facebook.com/DomtarEveryday/posts/domtar-was-honored-to-give-mp-gord-johns-a-tour-of-our-port-alberni-mill-last-fr/1152798560119389/>.

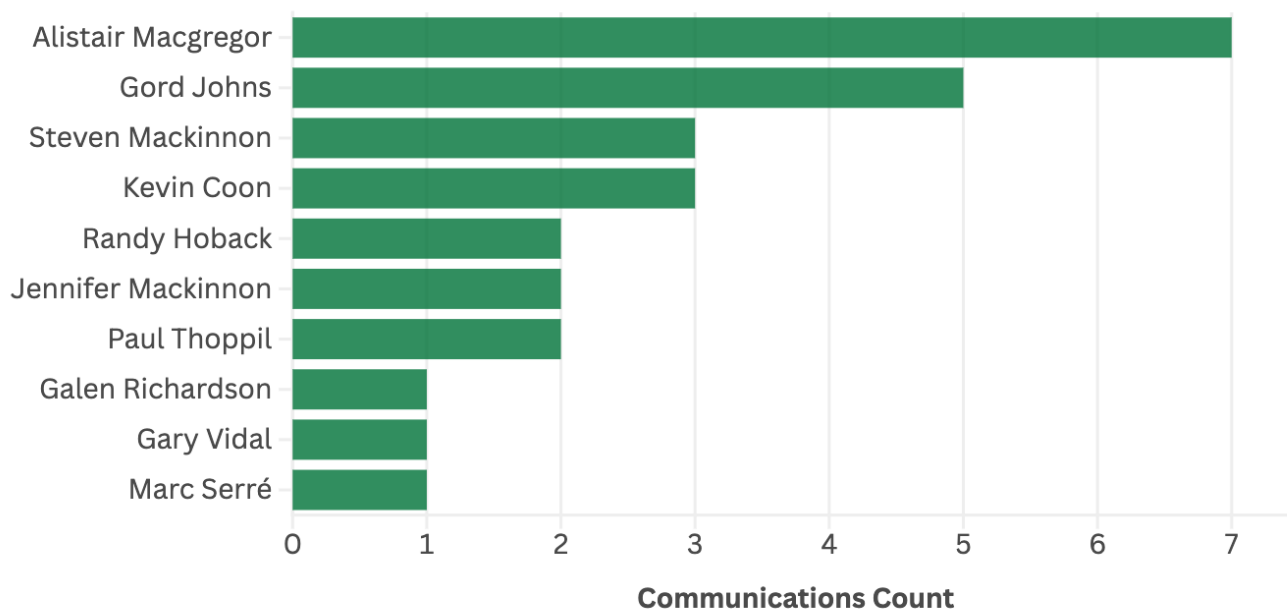
⁸⁹ Baxter, Joan. 2024. "Paper Excellence snubs its 'most ardent supporters' — its workers." *Halifax Examiner*, February 20, 2024. <https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/commentary/paper-excellence-snubs-its-most-ardent-supporters-its-workers/>.

issue is resolved, we won't be able to move on and talk about your development plans. Once again, this is essential for us, because a lot of issues remain unclear.”⁹⁰

In 2024, Domtar followed a similar pattern and continued to primarily lobby federal MPs representing ridings with pulp and paper infrastructure, particularly focused on those owned or recently acquired by the company or its subsidiaries. The list of Domtar and its subsidiaries most lobbied officials in 2024, includes:

- **Alistair MacGregor (7 communications)** – Now former MP for Cowichan—Malahat—Langford, B.C., from 2015 to 2025, where Domtar operates the Vancouver Island Crofton Paper and Pulp Mill.⁹¹
- **Gord Johns (5 communications)** – MP for Courtenay—Alberni, B.C., where Domtar operates the Port Alberni mill.⁹²
- **Kevin Coon (3 communications)** – Former Chief of Staff, Ministry of Export Promotion International Trade and Economic Development.⁹³
- **Steven MacKinnon (3 communications)** – MP for Gatineau, QC, where Domtar operates the Gatineau mill.⁹⁴

Chart 9. Domtar and its subsidiaries' top 10 most lobbied federal officials of 2024



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada Open Data Portal

⁹⁰ House of Commons. May 30, 2023. RNNR-65 Committee Meeting. Webpage, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/documentviewer/en/44-1/RNNR/meeting-65/evidence>.

⁹¹ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Alistair MacGregor. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/alistair-macgregor\(89269\)/roles](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/alistair-macgregor(89269)/roles).

⁹² House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Gord Johns. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gord-johns\(89263\)/roles](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/gord-johns(89263)/roles).

⁹³ Ryckewaert, Laura. 2024. “Cabinet’s communications and chiefs of staff list, 2024.” *The Hill Times*, April 10, 2024. <https://www.hilltimes.com/story/2024/04/10/cabinets-communications-and-chiefs-of-staff-list-2024-2/418013/>.

⁹⁴ House of Commons Canada. 2025. Members of Parliament. Steven MacKinnon. Webpage, accessed on October 17, 2025. [https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/steven-mackinnon\(88468\)](https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/steven-mackinnon(88468)).

These findings demonstrate that Domtar’s lobbying strategy is heavily focused on elected officials, representing communities economically linked to the forestry sector, particularly those where Domtar has a direct stake. Finally, it is important to note that lobbyists in Canada do not need to disclose any unpaid lobbying, informal conversations or written communications such as texts or emails.⁹⁵ This means that lobbying can go far beyond what is registered on record.

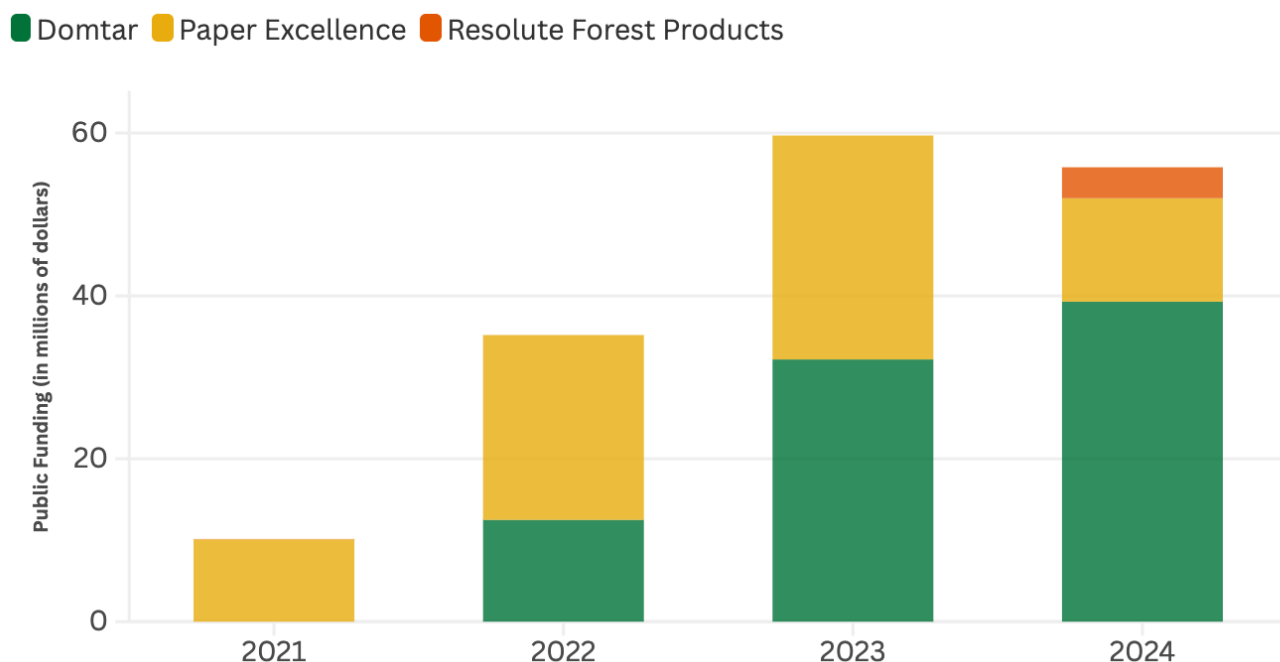
⁹⁵ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. “Frequently Asked Questions.” Webpage, accessed on November 12, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/registration-and-compliance/frequently-asked-questions/>.

2. How much government funding has Domtar received following lobbying?

A comprehensive research of Domtar-disclosed government funding amounts collected from lobbying registries revealed that, in total, all Domtar-associated companies (including subsidiaries since their official acquisition by the company formerly known as Paper Excellence) have received at least \$203 million to 206 million in government funding between 2020 and 2024 (including the Canadian Emergency Wage Subsidy).

However, it is critical to note that the calculation of the total government funding received by Domtar-owned companies between 2020 and 2024 was complicated by the fact that its subsidiaries, Domtar and RFP, were also acquired during this time period. Nevertheless, it was estimated that between 2020 and 2024, Domtar and its subsidiaries received a minimum of about \$160 million in non-pandemic government funding (refer to Appendix B).

Chart 10. Government funding received by Domtar-associated companies (excluding Canadian Emergency Wage Subsidy)

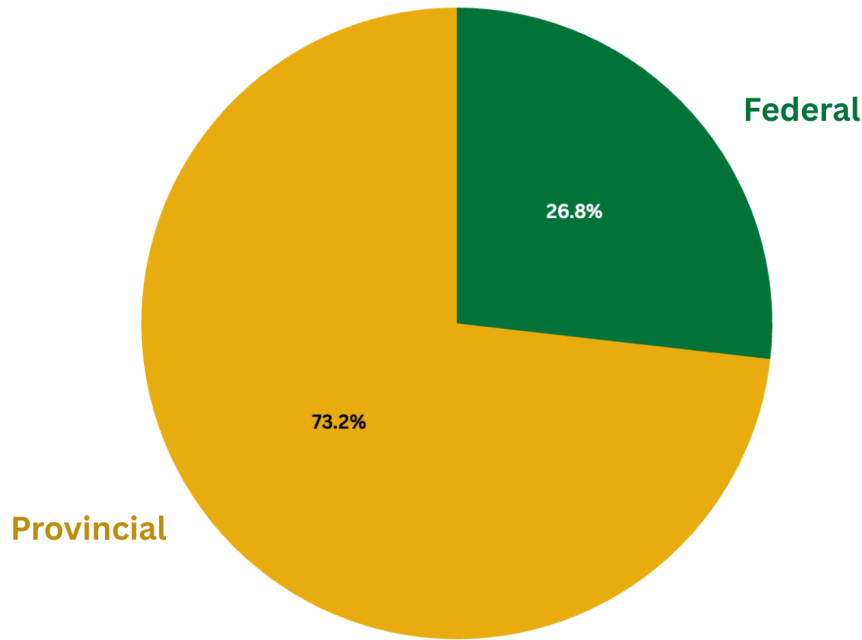


Source: Domtar-disclosed government funding amounts collected across lobbying registrations.

Note: The amounts presented in this chart only include funding received by each company since its acquisition by Domtar (formerly known as Paper Excellence).

Excluding any pandemic-related funding from the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) (the single largest donor of financial aid during the COVID-19 pandemic, including the Canadian Emergency Wage Subsidy), data analysis shows that a majority of the government funding Domtar received between 2020 and 2024 came from provincial sources.

Chart 11. Domtar-disclosed government funding distribution by source type between 2020 and 2024



Source: Domtar-disclosed government funding amounts collected across lobbying registrations

More specifically, out of \$160 million in non-pandemic government funding, approximately \$117 million was secured from provincial ministries or crown corporations under their control. As far as the provincial distribution is concerned, over half of the funding, \$68 million, was received from the Government of British Columbia, while the remaining amounts were divided between the Government of Quebec (\$33 million), the Government of Nova Scotia (\$10 million) and the Government of Ontario (\$6 million).

It is essential to recognize that Domtar’s expansion of its lobbying activities and acquisitions of companies coincided with an increase in government funding received by the company. In particular, our analysis demonstrates that, excluding the financial aid during the COVID-19 pandemic from the CRA, the government funding of Domtar-owned companies peaked in 2023 when the company received an estimated minimum of \$59M in 2023. In 2024, it’s estimated they received a minimum of \$55M. The government funding Domtar has received can broadly be summarized into three main categories: 1. Innovation, 2. Sustainability and 3. Expansion. Each of these categories illustrates the overarching promises Domtar sought to deliver upon: to bring innovation and economic prosperity to an important, economically-stricken forestry sector. Our analyses found that many government programs in which Domtar sought funding from claim to invest into innovation geared at tackling climate change and its impacts.

More specifically, in 2023, Domtar and subsidiaries disclosed receiving funding from at least two of British Columbia’s CleanBC program’s streams: \$255,532.50 for the Feasibility Studies surrounding GHG reduction and \$17,175,000.00 for the Innovation Accelerator surrounding GHG reduction.⁹⁶ This funding is an addition to the \$8.6

⁹⁶ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. “Paper Excellence Canada / MICHAEL VON HERFF, Consultant.” Registry of Lobbyists - Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/oclr/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502&lang=eng>.

million Domtar received from CleanBC in 2022⁹⁷. The goal of the CleanBC program is to “support industry to reduce emissions, trial new innovations, and develop future plans to improve industrial operations.”⁹⁸

In 2022, in one of its Saskatchewan registrations, Domtar disclosed receiving at least \$20 million from the Investments in Forest Industry Transformation program (IFIT): \$2 million from the IFIT Studies Stream, \$4.5 million - NRCan (Natural Resources Canada) IFIT, \$4.5 million - IFIT Capital Projects Fund, \$9.8 million - NRCan IFIT R&D Product Diversification.⁹⁹ As a program, IFIT “aims to create a more competitive, resilient, and environmentally sustainable sector with a focus on innovative, low-carbon projects that result in new or diversified revenue streams.”¹⁰⁰ Additionally, in one of its federal lobbying registrations, the company disclosed receiving \$23 million from Natural Resources Canada¹⁰¹ but did not specify if the total amount was entirely from the IFIT.

In 2023, Domtar, as a subsidiary of Paper Excellence at that time, disclosed receiving over \$3.2 million of funding from the “Programme exceptionnel d’écoulement des bois feuillus de faible qualité des régions de l’Outaouais et des Laurentides (PEEOL)”¹⁰² which can be translated to English as the “Exceptional Program for the Disposal of Low-Quality Hardwoods.” PEEOL funds Quebec forestry companies’ efforts to transport “poor quality hardwood” (like those used in biomass operations) harvested in the Outaouais and Laurentides regions to, “users outside of these regions in order to maintain harvesting activities in public and private forests.”¹⁰³ According to the Quebec government, the PEEOL funding was a short-term measure aimed at compensating for the closure of Fortress Global’s Thurso paper mill in 2019.¹⁰⁴

While not yet subsidiaries at the time, both Domtar and Resolute Forest Products disclosed receiving similar amounts of funding from the Government of Quebec for varying wood procurement projects. While they were not yet owned by Paper Excellence at that time, this remains important to note. In 2021, Domtar (to be understood as a subsidiary of Paper Excellence at the time) received \$425,000 from the Ministère des Forêts, de la Faune et des Parcs (MFFP) Wood procurement from l’Outaouais and in 2020 received \$4,875,000 from the Ministère des Forêts, de la Faune et des Parcs (MFFP) Wood procurement from the Outaouais / Laurentides area, as well as \$1,700,000 from the Ministère des Forêts, de la Faune et des Parcs (wood yard project). Resolute Forest Products also disclosed receiving \$1,126,406.52 from the Ministère des Forêts, de la Faune et des Parcs in 2020.

⁹⁷ Domtar. 2022. “Paper Excellence receives \$8.6 million in funding from CleanBC.” Press release, Feb 1, 2022. <https://www.domtar.com/paper-excellence-receives-8-6-million-in-funding-from-cleanbc/>.

⁹⁸ 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>.

⁹⁹ Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists Saskatchewan. “Registration Details - Paper Excellence.” Registry of Lobbyists. Database, accessed on November 3, 2025. <https://www.sasklobbyistregistry.ca/search-the-registry/registration-details/?id=c2040bb8-118d-ed11-9f3e-005056a711e1>.

¹⁰⁰ Government of Canada. “Investments in Forest Industry Transformation (IFIT).” Webpage, accessed on November 4, 2025. <https://natural-resources.canada.ca/science-and-data/funding-partnerships/opportunities/forest-sector/investments-forest-industry-transformation/13139>.

¹⁰¹ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. “Paper Excellence Canada / MICHAEL VON HERFF, Consultant.” Registry of Lobbyists - Registration - Consultant. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=942670>.

¹⁰² Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. Registration - In-house Corporation. DOMTAR INC. / Steve Henry, President Paper and Packaging. Database, accessed on October 23, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/ocl/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=274®Id=946861>.

¹⁰³ Government of Quebec. 2020. “Régions de l’Outaouais et des Laurentides - Québec accorde 14,3 M\$ pour venir en aide rapidement à l’industrie forestière.” July 20, 2020. <https://www.quebec.ca/nouvelles/actualites/details/regions-de-loutaouais-et-des-laurentides-quebec-accorde-143-m-pour-venir-en-aide-rapidement-a-lindustrie-forestiere>.

¹⁰⁴ Government of Quebec. 2020. “Régions de l’Outaouais et des Laurentides - Québec accorde 14,3 M\$ pour venir en aide rapidement à l’industrie forestière.” July 20, 2020. Webpage, accessed on November 14, 2025. <https://www.quebec.ca/nouvelles/actualites/details/regions-de-loutaouais-et-des-laurentides-quebec-accorde-143-m-pour-venir-en-aide-rapidement-a-lindustrie-forestiere>.

Additionally, Ontario's Northern Energy Advantage Program, a provincial program that "supports Northern Ontario's largest industrial electricity consumers with competitive, stable and predictable electricity price rates,"¹⁰⁵ provided the following funding:

- **2023:** Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines (Northern Electricity Advantage Program) – \$1,062,184
- **2022:** Northern Electricity Advantage Program (NEAP) – \$1,809,015
- **2021:** Northern Industrial Electricity Rebate – \$2,661,161.67
- **2020:** Government of Ontario - Northern Industrial Electricity Rate Program – \$231,000

These findings are validated by data compiled by Greenpeace Canada's research from Canadian federal and provincial agencies that regulate and monitor the forestry industry. The research analyzes government funding received by Domtar in our datasets from 2020 to 2024.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Government of Ontario. "Northern Energy Advantage Program." Webpage, accessed on November 5, 2025.
<https://www.ontario.ca/page/northern-energy-advantage-program>.

¹⁰⁶ Greenpeace Canada. Domtar government funding dataset (2020-2024) [available upon request].

3. Is Domtar delivering on its government funding?

There remains a significant lack of transparency regarding whether the funding received by Domtar (previously known as Paper Excellence) has truthfully served the goals they intended to advance: 1. Innovation, 2. Sustainability and 3. Expansion.

While Domtar affirms that 100 per cent of its fibre is sourced in accordance with third-party standards such as the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC),¹⁰⁷ these figures are company-reported and have not been independently verified. Furthermore, Domtar's association with the FSC was challenged by Greenpeace Canada and Auriga Nusantara, an Indonesian organization, in a joint complaint in November 2023¹⁰⁸ due to its connection to APP, a company which has been criticized internationally for deforestation practices.¹⁰⁹ APP was disassociated from the FSC certification in 2007 due to its involvement in social conflicts and environmental destruction.¹¹⁰ Despite significant evidence of the connection between the two entities, the FSC rejected the complaint and hired McMillan LLP, working as Domtar's (known as Paper Excellence at the time) consultant at the time, to investigate the corporate group structure.¹¹¹ Most recently, the FSC has also reversed its earlier decision to pause the Remedy Process with the APP, triggering rising concerns over the FSC's integrity and credibility.¹¹²

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.¹¹³ Another B.C. mill of Domtar, in Skookumchuck, broke the air quality rules on 23 separate occasions between 2021 and 2022.¹¹⁴ In Nova Scotia, Domtar had to shut down their Northern Pulp paper mill in 2020 after decades of pumping polluted wastewater into Boat Harbour, located beside Pictou Landing First Nation.¹¹⁵ In 2014, 47 million litres of highly toxic effluent spilled on Mi'kmaw burial grounds.¹¹⁶ After years of citizen concerns, the government of Nova Scotia enacted legislation in January 2020 to

¹⁰⁷ Domtar. 2024. "Fact Sheet." Webpage, accessed on August 23, 2025. https://www.domtar.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Domtar_FactSheet_Oct-24_EN.pdf.

¹⁰⁸ Greenpeace Canada. 2023. "Greenpeace Canada and Auriga Nusantara call on the Forest Stewardship Council to acknowledge Paper Excellence's connection to Asia Pulp & Paper." Press release, November 8, 2023. <https://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/press-release/61206/greenpeace-canada-and-auriga-nusantara-call-on-the-forest-stewardship-council-to-acknowledge-paper-excellences-connection-to-asia-pulp-paper/>.

¹⁰⁹ Eyes on the Forest. 2011. *The truth behind APP's greenwash*. December 14, 2011. https://www.fsc.org/assets/panda.org/downloads/eof_14dec11_the_truth_behind_apps_greenwash_final.pdf.

¹¹⁰ Forest Stewardship Council. "Asia Pulp and Paper (APP)". Webpage, accessed on April 2, 2025. <https://connect.fsc.org/current-cases/policy-association-cases/asia-pulp-and-paper-app>.

¹¹¹ Dubinsky, Zach. 2024. "Critics slam review of Canadian forestry giant's sustainability credentials, asserting conflict of interest." *CBC*, May 18, 2024. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/paper-excellence-fsc-review-mcmillan-1.7207210>.

¹¹² Greenpeace Canada. 2025. "Forest Stewardship Council Risks Reputation by Lifting Suspension of Asia Pulp & Paper's Remedy Process." Press release, July 24, 2025. <https://www.greenpeace.org/southeastasia/story/67478/fsc-risks-reputation-by-lifting-suspension-of-app-remedy-process/>.

¹¹³ 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>.

¹¹⁴ 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/>.

¹¹⁵ Wood, Steph Kwetásel'wet. 2020. "Who owns Northern Pulp? The B.C. company embroiled in Nova Scotia's Boat Harbour controversy." *The Narwhal*, July 10, 2020. <https://thenarwhal.ca/bc-nova-scotia-boat-harbour-paper-excellence-northern-pulp/>.

¹¹⁶ Baxter, Joan. 2023. "Deforestation Inc: Paper Excellence and the 'environmental insult' to a First Nation community." *Halifax Examiner*, Mar 2, 2023. <https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/investigation/deforestation-inc-paper-excellence-and-the-environmental-insult-to-a-first-nation-community/>.

close the Boat Harbour effluent treatment facility.¹¹⁷ The Northern Pulp mill had until January 31, 2020 to stop using Boat Harbour as a waste disposal site, instead choosing to cease its operations completely.¹¹⁸ This closure had significant economic implications, including job losses and impacts on the forestry sector in the region.¹¹⁹

The Northern Pulp and Skookumchuck mills are just two examples of the multiple struggling paper mills Domtar has bought since its founding. According to our research estimates, since 2007 (when Domtar, then Paper Excellence, acquired its first pulp mill at Meadow Lake in Saskatchewan), the company has taken control of over 16 pulp and paper mills (not including saw mills or distribution centers). The company claimed that by investing millions into the pulp and paper mills (in one case \$115 million alone into modernizing the Howe Sound mill)¹²⁰, it has helped foster economic development in rural communities, bringing jobs to local residents.¹²¹ When Domtar invested \$50 million to restart operations at its Crofton paper mill¹²² (whilst also securing millions in subsidies from both the federal and B.C. governments for this purpose), these are some things that were said by those present:

- “These contributions are absolutely essential to restarting the paper operations and securing these rural jobs at the site.” — Stewart Gibson, Chief Operating Officer for Domtar.¹²³
- “Canada’s forestry sector provides economic opportunities and good jobs in communities right across the country. By supporting the development of innovative forest products and investing in projects such as the ones announced today, the federal government is helping to reduce emissions, eliminate harmful waste, build up strong local economies, and support good, sustainable, jobs.” — Jonathan Wilkinson, former Minister of Natural Resources.¹²⁴
- “We appreciate seeing government and Paper Excellence working together to support workers in Crofton. The investment for this project will help secure well-paying jobs that will attract more people to the beautiful Cowichan Valley. It will also help reduce the mill’s carbon footprint on the environment.” — Geoff Dawe, president, Public and Private Workers of Canada Local 2.¹²⁵

A closer look at Domtar’s quick acquisitions of B.C. mills (the province in which it received the greatest amount of government funding) shows how government funding of their operations is not always assured to keep jobs. Since 2010, Domtar (at the time known as Paper Excellence) has acquired seven mills in B.C.: Mackenzie mill and Howe

¹¹⁷ CBC News Nova Scotia, “TIMELINE: A brief history of Boat Harbour and Northern Pulp,” news video, produced by CBC News Nova Scotia, posted January 21, 2020, YouTube, 6 min., 28 sec., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oZX-ciPT6TY&ab_channel=CBCNovaScotia.

¹¹⁸ Gorman, Michael. 2019. “Northern Pulp plans to shut down Nova Scotia mill after premier refuses to grant extension.” CBC, Dec 20, 2019. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/northern-pulp-boat-harbour-nova-scotia-premier-stephen-mcneil-decision-1.5403916>.

¹¹⁹ Unifor. 2020. “Nova Scotian forestry workers already struggling as Northern Pulp prepares to close.” Press release, Jan 8, 2020. <https://www.unifor.org/news/all-news/nova-scotian-forestry-workers-already-struggling-northern-pulp-prepares-close>.

¹²⁰ Technical Association of the Pulp and Paper Industry. n.d. “Paper Excellence Discusses Canada’s Pulp Mill Buying Spree.” Webpage, accessed on July 15, 2025. <https://www.naylornetwork.com/ppi-otw/articles/print.asp?aid=322991>.

¹²¹ MIDLAND company. 2023. “Paper Excellence Announces \$50 Million Investment to Restart Paper Operations at Crofton: Recalls Over 100 Workers.” Press release, Jan 23, 2023. <https://www.midlandco.com/paper-excellence-announces-50-million-investment-to-restart-paper-operations-at-crofton-recalls-over-100-workers/>.

¹²² Domtar. 2023. “Paper Excellence Announces \$50 Million Investment to Restart Paper Operations at Crofton: Recalls over 100 Workers.” Press release, Jan 20, 2023. <https://www.domtar.com/crofton-50-million-restart/>.

¹²³ Government of British Columbia. “Crofton mill gets workers back on the job with provincial, federal funding.” Press release, Jan 20, 2023. <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2023JEDI0005-000059>.

¹²⁴ Government of British Columbia. “Crofton mill gets workers back on the job with provincial, federal funding.” Press release, Jan 20, 2023. <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2023JEDI0005-000059>.

¹²⁵ Government of British Columbia. “Crofton mill gets workers back on the job with provincial, federal funding.” Press release, Jan 20, 2023. <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2023JEDI0005-000059>.

Sound Pulp and Paper in 2010, Skookumchuck mill in 2013, Chetwynd mill in 2014, as well as Catalyst Paper's mills (Powell River mill, Crofton mill, Port Alberni mill) and its distribution center in Surrey in 2019.¹²⁶ However, 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 about 250 jobs.¹²⁷ Furthermore, while the company briefly restarted operations at the Chetwynd mill in May 2015,¹²⁸ a few months later, the mill shut down again. In 2022, Paper Excellence sold the Chetwynd property to Peak Renewables.¹²⁹

Furthermore, Domtar indefinitely curtailed operations at the Powell River mill in December 2021 before permanently closing in August 2023.¹³⁰ After Paper Excellence listed the Powell River mill property for sale in 2022, the city's mayor, Dave Formosa, expressed concerns at the company's decision, as according to Formosa, for months he had been in conversations with Domtar (then Paper Excellence) about having an environmentally friendly successor take over.¹³¹ According to Formosa, the city had given the company tax breaks worth millions of dollars over the previous 14 years in order to keep its mill running. Graham Kissack, former Vice-President of Corporate Communications, told CBC there were no firm agreements with the city and it was doing its "due diligence"¹³² to value its asset. The Power River mill was sold to Cranberry Business Park Ltd. in July 2025.¹³³

Additionally, after acquiring Catalyst's Crofton mill in 2019, Domtar (then Paper Excellence at the time) initially indefinitely curtailed operations in October 2022¹³⁴ 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).¹³⁵ However, in December 2025, Domtar announced the permanent closure of the entire site, affecting around 350 employees.¹³⁶

¹²⁶ 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.

¹²⁷ 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>.

¹²⁸ 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>.

¹²⁹ McCarthy Tétrault. 2022. "Peak Renewables Ltd. acquires Chetwynd Pulp Mill." Press release, Mar 17, 2022. <https://www.mccarthy.ca/en/experience/peak-renewables-ltd-acquires-chetwynd-pulp-mill>.

¹³⁰ 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>.

¹³¹ 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>.

¹³² 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>.

¹³³ 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/>.

¹³⁴ 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/>.

¹³⁵ 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>.

¹³⁶ Domtar announces permanent closure of mill in Crofton, B.C." 2025. *CBC*, December 2, 2025. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/domtar-pulp-mill-closure-crofton-9.7000784>.

Finally, in Ontario, the Espanola mill was permanently idled and sold in 2023¹³⁷ and in Saskatchewan, Domtar's plans to restart the Prince Albert mill were officially cancelled in 2024.¹³⁸ These closures suggest a strategic shift by Domtar toward fewer, more centralized operations, even as the company continues to lobby for government support and market access. Its shrinking footprint in B.C., where multiple sites have gone dark in the span of a few years, has been the most significant, despite the government of British Columbia investing millions into Domtar's operations.

Of Domtar's 16 major pulp and paper mills across Canada, only 11 (or approximately two-thirds) remain active, including major sites in Windsor (QC), Saint-Félicien (QC), Port Alberni (B.C.) and Meadow Lake (SK). Domtar has blamed the shuttering of these mills on a number of factors, citing pressures on raw materials, energy costs and a lack of domestic fibre supply. Irrespective of Domtar's cited reasons for mill closures, the substantive number of closures raises questions as to whether investments in their work offer viable returns and benefits for Canadian taxpayers.

¹³⁷ Zeidler, Maryse. "Domtar announces permanent closure of mill in Crofton, B.C." 2025. *CBC*, December 2, 2025. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/domtar-pulp-mill-closure-crofton-9.7000784>.

¹³⁸ Maxwell, Nigel. 2024. "Paper Excellence confirms Prince Albert Pulp Mill not restarting." *paNOW*, Sep 12, 2024. <https://panow.com/2024/09/12/paper-excellence-confirms-prince-albert-pulp-mill-not-restarting/>.

Conclusion

This report demonstrates that Domtar has been receiving significant amounts of Canadian public funds while gaining corporate control over forests across the country without any clear public accountability. The lack of transparency and the confusion around Domtar's corporate structure remain severe issues in understanding its long-term intentions with Canadian forests and the implications for the forest industry.

In 2024, Domtar's sole owner, Jackson Wijaya, took full ownership of Asia Pulp & Paper after years of denying ties between the two companies. This is highly concerning as Asia Pulp & Paper has a public record of extensive deforestation, destruction of critical rainforest habitats and human rights violations. Despite being summoned, Jackson Wijaya has not yet appeared in front of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Natural Resources. Greenpeace Canada is calling upon Jackson Wijaya to appear before the Committee and offer their full cooperation in clarifying the ownership and governance structure of the company, the long-term corporate intentions and the consequences of the company's acquisitions on Canada's forests and the forest industry.

As the largest pulp and paper company in Canada, receiving significant amounts of public funding, Domtar has a responsibility to be transparent and accountable in how they are utilizing taxpayers' money. The current lack thereof raises significant concerns over the future of forests and questions about who will ultimately benefit from them. 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 lobbyists¹³⁹ (made freely available in an open data format¹⁴⁰) and in the B.C. registry of lobbyists¹⁴¹ (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 mandate¹⁴² that all communications with the federal government be disclosed, most notably when:

1. A federal official reached out and conversed extensively with a lobbyist but they communicated solely via email
2. A federal official initiated a meeting with a lobbyist and purported that only "legislation, regulations, policies or programs" were discussed
3. A non-designated public office holder, i.e. a junior staffer, reached out to discuss a grant with a lobbyist
4. 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 rules¹⁴³. 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.

¹³⁹ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. Registry of Lobbyists. Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/oc/lrs/do/guest?lang=eng>.

¹⁴⁰ Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada. 2025. "Open data." Webpage, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/en/open-data/>.

¹⁴¹ 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>.

¹⁴² 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/>.

¹⁴³ Office of the Registrar of Lobbyists British Columbia. "Frequently Asked Questions. Webpage, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://www.lobbyistsregistrar.bc.ca/resources/frequently-asked-questions/>.

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 registration¹⁴⁴ Paper Excellence documented receiving over \$17M in government funding from CleanBC initiatives. However, in the B.C. lobbying registration¹⁴⁵ 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 EDGAR¹⁴⁶ (U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission's documents portal) and SEDAR¹⁴⁷ (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.

¹⁴⁴ 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&lang=eng>.

¹⁴⁵ 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>.

¹⁴⁶ U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. 2025. "Search Filings." Database, accessed on February 3, 2025. <https://www.sec.gov/search-filings>.

¹⁴⁷ 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 CleanBC¹⁴⁸) 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.”

148 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/oclr/lrs/do/vwRg?cno=372302®Id=946502&lang=eng>.