

Feature

Feature

# The top 80 influencing Canada's foreign policy

Kristen Shane

Whether they sit in the House of Commons, the corner office, or the Langevin Block, they make Canada's foreign policy, or influence those who do.

Through frank conversations with government insiders and policy analysts, *Embassy* chose this list of 80 powerbrokers of Canadian foreign policy.

It was tough to narrow down. Choices were made based on access to power, demonstrated ability to effect change, experience—or simply because they're in a powerful job.

The 2012 list marks the demise of the government-wide Afghanistan Task Force and the names associated with that, as Canada maintains a smaller military training presence in the still-troubled country.

The Asia-Pacific region is a greater priority in Canadian foreign policy, and that too is reflected. On the heels of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's visits to Southeast Asia and China courting markets for Canada's natural resources, and with his trade minister pushing for a seat at the Trans-Pacific Partnership table, it's no surprise the head of the Canada China Business Council made the cut.

But Canada's largest trading partner is still important. New to the list this year are people in charge of crafting and executing a Canada-US perimeter security agenda that affects billions of dollars in cross-border trade, privacy, and sovereignty.

Broken down by category, but in no particular order, here are this year's top 80 most influential people in Canadian foreign policy.

POLITICIANS

**Stephen Harper, prime minister**

The prime minister, more than anyone else, influences Canadian foreign policy. Although his current foreign minister, John Baird, is on a long leash, some observers still say the country's foreign policy is shaped by far the most by the man at the top. And now, more than ever, with his coveted majority and no election in sight, he has the time and experience to make his mark with his self-proclaimed "principled" approach to foreign relations.



**John Baird, foreign minister**

Described by observers as "a frigid machine" and "the most active foreign minister we've ever had" for the number of foreign visits he's undertaken since taking office last spring, Mr. Baird is, by most accounts, off to a good start. Seen to be close to the prime minister, he's spent time at home reaching out to long-overlooked diplomatic communities such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Mr. Baird is at the forefront of trying to re-engineer a values-based Canadian foreign policy, and he says Canada is not afraid to ruffle feathers to do it. But critics see him backing down on Chinese human rights, for instance, and selling out for votes on Israel.

**Ed Fast, trade minister**

This gospel music-singing small-town BC lawyer is putting on big-time air miles to move the ball forward on three key files in a priority portfolio: getting Canada in the coveted Trans-Pacific Partnership trade club, and clinching free trade deals with the European Union and India. "He's new, but he's good," said one trade watcher. "He's more open and he's more interested."

**Jason Kenney, immigration minister**

He may not be on the Cabinet committee on foreign affairs, but don't underestimate the power Jason Kenney has over foreign policy. Young, hardworking (he's usually in the House after hours debating the bills he sponsors), and with a freaky ability to recite facts and figures, he is also chair of the powerful Cabinet operations committee, in charge of day-to-day co-ordination of the government's agenda. He's in the midst of remaking Canada's immigration system to be better in tune with Canada's economic needs. Mr. Kenney is also the Tory point-person on enticing immigrant communities to vote Conservative, a feat he pulled off well in the last election.

**Bev Oda, international co-operation minister**

She has largely flown under the radar since almost losing her job last year for allegedly misleading Parliament. Praised for responding relatively quickly to the Somali famine last fall and food crisis in West

Africa this spring, she took heat for aligning the Canadian International Development Agency with private sector interests and especially mining companies. Her experience on the file (since 2007) means she knows it well. Ms. Oda is influential because she signs off on whether to approve millions of dollars in aid funnelled through international development NGOs, and on which countries Canada should focus its aid most.

**Vic Toews, public safety minister**

While dirty details of his divorce forced him to go off-message lately and he's been busy pushing through domestic crime laws, it's important not to forget that this Manitoba social conservative's responsibility extends to national security, counter-terrorism, border protection, and cyber security. He's been active in the government's efforts to fight human smuggling and cross-border crime, including work on the perimeter security deal.



**Peter MacKay, defence minister**

A senior minister with a strong political pedigree, Mr. MacKay is tasked with upholding the Tories' muscular military image while bringing down the axe on his massive departmental expenses. With the United States looking more to its allies and Canada's prime minister saying "we have to be prepared to contribute more" to protect Canadian interests against security threats, Mr. MacKay's file is highly relevant.

**Julian Fantino, associate defence minister**

Toronto and Ontario's former top cop, Mr. Fantino vaulted into a junior minister role (on the seniors file) after winning a 2009 by-election as a star candidate. Sticking to his talking points now as associate defence minister, he holds the procurement purse strings. He's also the guy who'll have to take the heat if Canada does a U-turn on its promise to spend billions on F-35 fighter jets.

**Diane Ablonczy, minister of state for foreign affairs (Americas and consular affairs)**

First elected in 1997 as a Reform MP representing part of Calgary, Ms. Ablonczy has maintained a low profile since taking on her dual role with foreign affairs last January. Although not seen to be a great driver of policy, her role gives her influence. She's made several trips to South and Central America and has taken heat for Canada's handling of the consular cases of a New Brunswick farmer jailed in Lebanon and others caught up in Arab Spring protest crackdowns. "She's one of those very steady performers in the government," said one former Tory staffer.



**Joe Oliver, natural resources minister**



Although his job could be considered domestic, under Mr. Oliver it has become international. After a 30-plus-year career in the investment business on Bay Street the rookie MP became minister last spring and started racking up the air miles. He visited China, Japan, England, the US, and Kuwait, pushing Canada's oil sands as "ethical" oil, the Keystone XL and Northern Gateway pipelines, and fighting against the EU fuel quality directive. Canada's oil sands make international news and Mr. Oliver is their chief defender.

**Gerry Ritz, agriculture minister**

Mr. Ritz straddles both domestic and foreign aspects of agriculture. His job includes boosting agricultural trade, re-opening markets to Canadian beef, and cutting down non-tariff barriers to trade. But lately he's been busy defending Canada's continued supply management as Canada seeks to enter the Trans-Pacific Partnership where some in the club are against the system. In this government, anything foreign affairs-related is more often than not tied to the economy, and Mr. Ritz's job fits the link.

**Chris Alexander, parliamentary secretary to the defence minister**

Few parliamentary secretaries normally make the cut, but Mr. Alexander is more influential than most because of his stellar diplomatic resume. Before winning his seat in the House of Commons as a star candidate in the 2011 election, he was Canada's ambassador to Afghanistan, deputy special representative to the UN's secretary general for Afghanistan, and served at the Canadian Embassy in Russia. He also published a book on his time in Afghanistan. The foreign minister just appointed him to a fact-finding mission in Sri Lanka to "help inform Canada's next steps" in relating to the country coming out of civil war.

**Hélène Laverdière, NDP foreign affairs critic**

Ms. Laverdière is a former foreign service officer who worked in the United States, Senegal, and Chile before she was elected during Quebec's 2011 NDP Orange Crush. Originally serving as CIDA critic, she shifted to foreign affairs when long-time critic Paul Dewar took a stab at leadership and has performed strongly in the official Opposition role.

**Dominic LeBlanc, Liberal foreign affairs critic**

A Liberal frontbencher and bilingual New Brunswicker, Mr. LeBlanc's views are appreciated by Mr. Baird, although he represents the third party in the House. They've travelled to Haiti along with their NDP counterpart. He's his party's former defence critic and a former leadership contender.

**Irwin Cotler, Liberal justice and human rights critic**

Mr. Cotler is respected, even within the Conservative camp, on issues involving Israel and Iran, for instance, where the two have some agreement. Representing a hotly-contested heavily-Jewish Montreal neighbourhood, he and Immigration Minister Jason Kenney have collaborated on anti-Semitism initiatives this government has supported. He travels extensively abroad and uses his skills as an international human rights lawyer to defend political prisoners.

**Alison Redford, premier of Alberta**

Premier for less than six months, Ms. Redford, of the provincial Progressive Conservative Party, has been a "very strong advocate for energy supply to the US—that's been helpful," noted one federal government source. Having worked as a senior policy adviser to Progressive Conservative Joe Clark when he was secretary of state for external affairs, she knows her way around Ottawa and Washington. A bilingual lawyer, her international experience makes her "unique among premiers" said a former foreign affairs analyst. She has given legal reform advice in Africa, and helped administer Afghanistan's first parliamentary elections. But will she stay premier? She has called an election for April 23.



**Brad Wall, premier of Saskatchewan**

Not your typical past choice for an internationally-minded premier, but Saskatchewan is booming from selling its oil, gas, uranium, potash, and wheat globally, so Mr. Wall is listened to in Ottawa. When the leader of the Saskatchewan Party, a liberal-conservative combo, lobbied against the foreign takeover of Potash Corp. of Saskatchewan Inc, the federal government blocked the deal.

**Jean Charest, premier of Quebec**

Described by one trade analyst as "the godfather of the Canada-EU agreement," he pushed for an economic deal with the EU to open labour mobility and government procurement, now currently in its end stages. The Canada-EU trade deal is building on the Quebec-France professional services agreements. Mr. Charest is also actively pushing to Asian, European, and American players his 25-year \$80-billion Plan Nord agenda to develop and conserve northern Quebec.

**DIASPORA GROUP AND NGO REPS**

**Shimon Fogel, CEO of The Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs**

Mr. Fogel made this list previously when he headed the Canada-Israel Committee. But observers note that this year he holds even more power at the helm of the new CLIA, which consolidated the Canada-Israel Committee, Canadian Jewish Congress and other Jewish groups last year. The small-but-mighty Canadian Jewish community, courted by both Liberals and Conservatives, influences the

government's approach to the Middle East. Need evidence of Mr. Fogel's power? After his organization alerted the foreign minister's office to a video link it thought offensive that was tweeted by the chief Palestinian envoy to Canada, the government called her in for a high-level dressing down and limited communication with her until a replacement arrived. Ouch.

**Frank Dimant, executive vice-president of B'Nai Brith Canada**

Perhaps now eclipsed somewhat by Mr. Fogel's influence in the Jewish community, Mr. Dimant is still an important player influencing the government's approach to the Middle East and Israel. He is well-consulted as a foreign policy stakeholder and holds sway as publisher of *The Jewish Tribune* and leader of the B'Nai Brith, a national Jewish service and advocacy group.

**Paul Grod, national president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress**

A lawyer and head of an energy company, Mr. Grod since 2007 has led the UCC, which represents many in the 1.2 million-strong Ukrainian-Canadian community concentrated in the prairies. The prime minister last fall attended a UCC dinner in his honour, and his caucus members are eager to attend UCC events to show support for the large and well-established Ukrainian-Canadian community.

**Khalil Shariff, CEO of Aga Khan Foundation Canada**

International Co-operation Minister Bev Oda doesn't go to every event she's asked to attend, but she makes her presence known at those held by the Aga Khan Foundation Canada. It is an agency of the non-denominational Aga Khan Development Network, founded by the Aga Khan, the imam of Ismaili Muslims. AKFC is a preferred non-profit partner of the Canadian International Development Agency. And Mr. Shariff "is very, very good at moving the agenda forward from a development perspective," said one government insider. The Harper government has courted Ismailis, which it sees as a moderate Muslim sect, and consulted the Aga Khan, a billionaire philanthropist, on its upcoming office of religious freedoms.



**Dave Toycen, CEO of World Vision Canada**

World Vision is Canada's largest Christian humanitarian organization and another big recipient of Canadian International Development Agency funding. CIDA is funding 11 of its ongoing projects to the tune of almost \$20 million. World Vision has supported some of the government's anti-human trafficking work. And it strikes the right balance for the Harper Conservatives as a non-denominational organization with a Christian base. This year World Vision was criticized for partnering with Barrick Gold and CIDA on a development project in Peru because of the mining giant's alleged unethical practices.



Neil Desai.

**Nigel Wright, prime minister's chief of staff**

A well-paid Bay Street dealmaker, Mr. Wright took a leave of absence last year to serve as the prime minister's chief adviser. Rooted in the party's Progressive Conservative wing, he is the most powerful political staffer in Ottawa.

**Alykhan Velshi, director of planning in the prime minister's office**

Although his job is mostly domestically focused now, Mr. Velshi, a former top staffer to Mr. Kenney, still has a big personal interest in foreign affairs. And being at the table alongside the prime minister on a day-to-day basis, he can chime in on those files, said a government insider. Mr. Velshi was for a few months last year the head of Ethical Oil, a group lobbying for the use of oil sands resources, whose message has been repeated by Cabinet ministers.

**Garry Keller, chief of staff to the foreign minister**

Mr. Keller is one of a small nucleus of key political staffers who play a big role in shaping the political side of Canada's foreign policy. Raised in Stony Plain, Alta. and in his mid 30s, he's been working as an aide to Tory MPs and Cabinet ministers since 1997, including a stint as the director of the Tory research bureau for backbench MPs. He has a long history with Mr. Baird and is loyal to the core.

**Neil Desai, chief of staff to the international co-operation minister**

Mr. Desai knows foreign relations and politics well and is in the PM's inner circle of foreign policy decision-makers. He was stakeholder relations manager in the prime minister's office before signing on with Bev Oda. He helped set the political agenda during bilateral visits with world leaders during the Canadian hosting of the G8 and G20 summits in 2010. In between government stints, he worked for the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. He is media savvy, with a strategic and internationally-focused mind.

**Andrea van Vugt, prime minister's foreign affairs, trade, and international development policy adviser**

With all key foreign policy portfolios in her lap, three years of experience as a PMO policy adviser, and direct access to the prime minister, Ms. Van Vugt (née McGuigan, she got married last year to Dustin van Vugt, chief of staff to Minister of State for Sport Bal Gosal) has a position of influence. She's one of a small group of political staffers shaping Canada's foreign policy. She is reportedly a bright mind committed to the Conservative cause.

**Paul Hong, foreign minister's senior policy adviser**



PMO Photo: Jason Robinson

Mr. Hong is in charge of advising Mr. Baird on Asia, parts of Africa, Oceania including Australia and New Zealand, and the UN. Last week, he was with Mr. Baird and the prime minister in Asia. Mr. Hong is the most known on the diplomatic reception circuit of Mr. Baird's trio of senior policy advisers. He may be younger looking than his 30-something years, but this South Korean-born Ontario-bred strategist has political smarts and a passion for human rights and freedoms.

**Kasra Nejatian, immigration minister's director of strategic planning**

Wherever you see Mr. Kenney, Mr. Nejatian is usually only a few steps behind. He could be mistaken for a communications or policy aide, but his job is strategic planning. Either way, it's clear Mr. Kenney listens to him and likes having him around because a year ago he had resigned from his former job as director of multicultural affairs and was grilled by the opposition-dominated House ethics committee for using government resources for partisan fundraising. But after the election, Mr. Kenney rehired Mr. Nejatian as his communications director. He's a blunt, fast-talking, Iranian-bred former New York City corporate lawyer—and one to watch.

**Roy Rempel, prime minister's policy adviser**

Mr. Rempel has a PhD in international relations and has written several books on Canadian foreign and defence policies. Observers cite him for his defence knowledge and his keen interest in the War of 1812. He used to serve as policy director responsible for the Western hemisphere under Stockwell Day when he was trade minister. That international experience gives him influence.

CIVIL SERVANTS



Margaret Biggs, Morris Rosenberg and Wayne Wouters.

**Wayne Wouters, privy council clerk**

Mr. Wouters is Canada's top public servant. While not intimately involved in international affairs, he gives advice to the PM on all policy and operational issues affecting government. A trained economist, he's also the guy in charge of keeping the federal government an attractive and efficient employer with strong capacity in the current context of job and budget cuts.

**Ward Elcock, prime minister's special adviser on human smuggling and illegal migration**

The former head of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Canada's spy agency, the prime minister tapped Mr. Elcock to be his direct adviser on human smuggling after nearly 500 Tamils docked in British Columbia aboard the MV Sun Sea in August 2010 hoping to make Canada their new home. Another migrant ship arrived the year prior. Mr. Elcock has travelled to Thailand, New Zealand, and Australia to monitor the phenomenon and come up with ways to stem the flow. He does his job quietly, but with Mr. Harper announcing millions of dollars of new initiatives to fight human smuggling in southeast Asia during his visit there this month and an anti-human smuggling bill winding through Parliament, it's clear this is still very much a priority.

**Gen. Walter Natynczyk, chief of defence staff**

Out of Libya, and with a fighting force no longer on the ground in Afghanistan, the Canadian Forces are taking a breather, but preparing for the next big engagement. With government-wide budget cuts coming, Gen. Natynczyk will have a say in how they go down and how they affect the future capability of the Canadian Forces.

**Morris Rosenberg, deputy minister of foreign affairs**

A lawyer by training, Mr. Rosenberg has a long public service career, including as a deputy minister for various departments for more than a decade. Since 2010, he's led a department critics have described in recent years as being once great and now relegated to the corner. He's got a big job on his hands. He will have his hands on an ongoing foreign policy review. And he'll have to manage whatever cuts are coming to DFAIT in this week's budget. He's said to get along well with his boss, Mr. Baird.

**Louis Lévesque, deputy minister of trade**

Diversifying beyond the United States and opening new markets in Asia is a priority for the Harper government. Trade more generally is an important portfolio to the prime minister. Mr. Lévesque has an influential role implementing the government's trade agenda. A Quebec City-born economist, he was the sherpa for the 2010 G20 summit in Seoul, South Korea.

**Neil Yeates, deputy minister of citizenship and immigration**

Mr. Yeates is Canada's top immigration bureaucrat. His job is to support a very activist minister whose goal is to reform both the immigration and citizenship systems—a big job. He's had to put in place ways to deal with a growing case backlog, and is set to manage upcoming refugee reforms. And he has overseen the switch to a global case management system to better manage applicant files.

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## Margaret Biggs, CIDA president

The Canadian International Development Agency has been criticized for in recent years hiring outside consultants with more influence and decision-making power than employees. But the buck stops with Ms. Biggs. She has held a variety of top-level civil servant roles, but this is her first at the deputy minister level. She's been at it since 2008, a year shy of Ms. Oda as minister.

## Richard Fadden, director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service

Mr. Fadden leads Canada's spy agency, a body in charge of gathering information largely within Canada and through working with international allies on security threats. The *National Post* last year reported that Mr. Harper might seek to expand that role to include more foreign intelligence work. With the prime minister saying the biggest threat to Canada is Islamic terrorism, and talk of foreign espionage simmering, Mr. Fadden's job will continue to be important.

## Steve Verheul, chief trade negotiator (Canada-European Union)

Mr. Verheul's job is to steer the Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement negotiations to their conclusion this year and work with his political masters to clear up the remaining sticky issues. There's a lot of political pressure to deliver, as this deal is one of two key trade agreements the Tories are itching to sign for what they say will be a \$12-billion annual boost to Canada's economy, the other being with India.

## Don Stephenson, chief trade negotiator (Canada-India)

He retired last year from being assistant deputy minister for trade policy and negotiations at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, but still stayed on as the chief negotiator for the Canada-India Comprehensive Economic Partnership. A fourth round took place in February. The Conservatives want to wrap up this trade deal, along with the one with the EU, to show momentum on their trade agenda. Mr. Stephenson's work is key to their success.

## Mark Carney, governor of the Bank of Canada



Four years into a seven-year term, Mr. Carney has just about attained rock-star status in the global financial world. A former Goldman Sachs banker educated at Oxford and Harvard universities, he last year became the head of the Financial Stability Board, tasked by G20 leaders to toughen global financial rules to avoid another economic disaster as the 2008 Great Recession. In a town full of spin, he has a tell-it-like-it-is reputation and is respected among the Harper Conservatives, who like to tout their economic prowess.

## Stephen Rigby, prime minister's national security adviser

A former president of the Canada Border Services Agency, he receives information from Canadian intelligence and security services to give advice to the prime minister and Cabinet on potential future threats and how to address them. He is trusted to be in control of sensitive security and intelligence information and influential in how he recommends to deal with it. Fun fact: he is the brother of CIDA vice-president Vincent Rigby.



## Christine Hogan, acting foreign and defence policy adviser to the prime minister

Ms. Hogan has been covering this big file advising the PM since last August, when her predecessor Claude Carrière became associate deputy minister at Agriculture Canada. It's a complex file and the person in the job needs to have the trust and confidence of the PM, say observers, and usually has on-the-ground experience. Ms. Hogan would likely be in touch with her counterparts abroad in key allied nations such as the US and UK. While she doesn't have Foreign Affairs experience, she has worked as vice-president of strategic policy and performance at CIDA.



## David Mulroney, ambassador to China

This career diplomat represents Canada in a priority country for Canada at a crucial time of warming relations. He's said to have been helpful restarting relations and especially in connecting Chinese and Canadian ministers, relationships that are seen to be bearing fruit. Mr. Mulroney is also trusted by the PM, having previously advised him as the Afghanistan Task Force deputy minister in the PCO.

## Simon Kennedy, Industry Canada senior associate deputy minister



Mr. Kennedy chairs the Canadian Beyond the Border Working group, a group of bureaucrats from Public Safety, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and Transport that reviews border management proposals. It's part of the larger US-Canada perimeter security plan meant to allow safe goods and people to pass through the border quickly, while harmonizing law enforcement and security approaches to effectively deal with threats. More than a billion dollars in trade passes through the US-Canada border daily, and this work has had high-level backing from both countries' leaders to improve the flow.

## Bob Hamilton, senior associate secretary at Treasury Board

Not typically a person you'd find on this list, Mr. Hamilton has influence because he is leading Canada's Regulatory Co-operation Council Secretariat, which deals with harmonizing Canada and US regulations as part of the perimeter security plan announced last December. A parallel US group is doing the same type of work there. The outcome of these talks could mean standardized regulations on everything from vehicles to food, and faster trade.

## David Moloney, senior adviser to the Privy Council Office responsible for Border Action Plan implementation

Mr. Moloney advises the prime minister on all things to do with the border action plan, meant to set down a common US-Canada security perimeter with more shared screening protocols and intelligence. Mr. Moloney works from within the office of the prime minister's national security adviser. He took his job in January from his perch as CIDA's executive vice-president. It's a senior role on a priority file for the PM.

## Nadir Patel, chief financial officer at Foreign Affairs and International Trade



Ministers' offices have taken notice of Mr. Patel, who, in the words of one government source is "so impressive" and has a "brilliant mind for numbers," but is also—unique in numbers guys—a great people-person too. He was Canada's consul general in Shanghai. Since returning home, he's made a positive impression for ensuring the country has the resources in place to do its diplomatic and trade duties.

## Gary Doer, ambassador to the US

Mr. Doer has been key to moving the government's energy file forward, in pushing for the US to approve the Keystone XL pipeline (the southern portion of which is now being fast-tracked through approvals), among other duties. Manitoba's former NDP premier, he's got the political smarts needed to navigate Washington and is said to be astute in providing Mr. Baird with advice.

## Gordon Campbell, high commissioner to the UK

He stepped down from being British Columbia's Liberal premier with a low popularity rating, but he's quickly turned things around and made a name for himself in the diplomatic scene since taking the job last summer. One government source said he's playing a heavy role in promoting a Canada-EU free trade deal considering he's not the official ambassador responsible for it. He's also been doing a lot to push Canadian natural resources, including the oil sands, and battle against the proposed EU fuel quality directive.

## Dan Ross, assistant deputy minister of defence (materiel)

An influential man in the military procurement world, he manages buying billions of dollars worth of equipment. He's been a key government point-person on its decision to buy F-35 fighter jets, which has garnered more headlines for the government's perceived eroding commitment.

## Rob Stewart, Finance Canada assistant deputy minister for international trade and finance

He's the guy in charge of Canada's multilateral purse strings such as through the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and numerous regional development banks. He's the vice-governor for Canada on several such banks' boards. It's a position often overlooked in the foreign affairs world, but important, as Canada has been recapitalizing those banks to help deliver international financial stability since the 2008 global recession, says one insider.

## FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

### David Jacobson, US ambassador

With the usual strong trade, defence, and diplomatic ties between each other's largest trading partners in need of constant maintenance, and new projects like the perimeter security plan to shepherd, Mr. Jacobson is an influential force.

### Zhang Junsai, Chinese ambassador

Keeping good ties with Mr. Zhang is key to maintaining Canada's warming relations with China. It's a priority market for Mr. Harper's economically-focused diplomacy. In the lead-up to a Chinese political leadership change later this year, Mr. Zhang will be a valued go-between for the Harper government.

### SM Gavai, Indian high commissioner

With almost four years of experience as India's head of mission in Canada, Mr. Gavai is a seasoned envoy here and doesn't seem to host events without a Cabinet minister or two—or even the prime minister—by his side. India is a priority country for Canada to provide educational services, there are a host of business connections and Canada hopes to capitalize on them with a free trade deal in the works.

**Miriam Ziv, Israeli ambassador**

"There is no better friend to Israel than Canada," said Mr. Baird on a recent trip to Israel. That close relationship ensures Ms. Ziv access to Canada's influential foreign affairs movers and shakers, and ensures she's listened to as the key liaison between her government and Canada's.

**James (Jim) Nealon, US deputy chief of mission**

Less than two years after arriving in Ottawa, this Virginia native has made a lasting impression on Canadian foreign policymakers. Mr. Baird and his office see this long-time diplomat in high regard and the two men are said to have a strong personal relationship that is mutually beneficial.

**BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES****John Manley, CEO of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives**

Not new to the list, Mr. Manley is a former Liberal Cabinet minister respected by both Conservatives and Liberals. His members have a strong grasp on Canada's economy, which is driving the Harper government. They collectively manage \$4.5 trillion in assets and have annual revenues of more than \$850 billion. They lobby strongly on everything from foreign takeovers, to China, to the Canada-US perimeter deal. His vice-president for economics and international affairs, Sam Boutziouvis, deserves an honourable mention, as observers say he does much of the heavy lifting.

**Perrin Beatty, president and CEO of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce**

Representing the more "populous" business community including a national network of more than 420 chambers of commerce and trade boards, Mr. Beatty is listened to. He's also a former Progressive Conservative Cabinet minister, which means he's an old hand at navigating Ottawa's power circles.

**Jayson Myers, president and CEO of Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters**

Mr. Myers represents mainly small- and mid-sized businesses that together represent about 82 per cent of Canada's manufacturing production and 90 per cent of its goods and services exports. His group has been vocal on Canada's trade talks and the perimeter security plan.

**David Collyer, president of the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers**

Representing the oil, oil sands, and natural gas industry, CAPP has been one of the main industry voices fighting back against environmentalists who discredit the oil sands. With energy figuring as a priority sector for this government, Mr. Collyer's influence is undisputed.

**Ross Gallinger, executive director of the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada**

Appointed last August, Mr. Gallinger has worked with major extractive companies including Iamgold, and is a founding member of the Devonshire Initiative, a group of development NGOs and extractive companies. He represents more than 7,500 individual members and more than 1,000 corporate members that work all over the world.



Colin Robertson and Fen Hampson.

**Rick Waugh, president and CEO of Scotiabank**

Of all Canada's banking leaders, sources close to government say Mr. Waugh is the go-to guy for Mr. Harper. The PM appointed him to the Canadian co-chair of the Canada-Brazil CEO forum last year. Mr. Waugh, whose company has a large stake in Latin America, has been pushing Canada to get on the Brazil bandwagon. He is expected to attend the upcoming Summit of the Americas alongside Mr. Harper.

**Donald Guloien, president and CEO of Manulife Financial**

Manulife has rapidly expanded in the field of international insurance, a highly regulated sector—which means constant communication with government is key. Mr. Fast recently participated in the opening of the company's new office in Jakarta, Indonesia. A press release from his office called the company "one of Canada's biggest success stories."

**Pierre Beaudoin, president and CEO of Bombardier Inc.**

Bombardier is the granddaddy of the aerospace and transport manufacturing industry in Quebec. A world-leading producer of planes and trains and competes internationally for contracts, with the support of the Canadian government. There's no sign of that ending, given its importance in Quebec, a strategic political battleground. Mr. Beaudoin recently travelled to China in the prime minister's delegation.

**Aaron Regent, president and CEO of Barrick Gold**

Mr. Regent leads day-to-day operations of one of Canada's largest and most successful companies, and a world leader in gold mining. Besides its economic prowess, the company is active in corporate social responsibility, this year taking heat for partnering with World Vision and CIDA on a development project in Peru because of its alleged unethical practices.

**Richard Doyle, executive director of the Dairy Farmers of Canada**

Mr. Doyle leads a strong national policy, lobbying and promotional group representing nearly 13,000 dairy farms. They're fighting hard these days to defend Canada's decades-old supply management system in the face of international opposition that some commentators say is threatening Canada's spot at the coveted trade club the Trans-Pacific Partnership. But governments have long stuck alongside the dairy lobby, which holds political sway in Ontario and Quebec ridings key to the Tories.

**Peter Harder, president of the Canada China Business Council**

A former deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Harder knows the inside of government and senior Tories say he's got the most direct influence out of all the bilateral business councils. With the Harper government wooing China as a stronger market for Canadian natural resources, Mr. Harder's influence isn't set to drop.

**ACADEMICS & POLICY ANALYSTS****Fen Hampson, director of Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs**

Mr. Hampson has carved out a spot as a respected academic on all things foreign policy, although his next step is unclear as he will soon be going on sabbatical. Mr. Baird appreciates his outlook, said one government source. Mr. Hampson has name recognition as he regularly writes opinion pieces and speaks to the media.

**Janice Stein, director of the Munk School of Global Affairs**

Ms. Stein is another respected academic, working in Toronto, who is regularly sought for comment in the media. Mr. Baird is said to have benefitted from her advice, especially on security and the Middle East.

**Roland Paris, director of the University of Ottawa's Centre for International Policy Studies**

While he may not be regularly advising the minister, Mr. Paris has insider knowledge of the Department of Foreign Affairs at a top-level bureaucratic standpoint. He's got a deep rolodex.

**Colin Robertson, Canada-US expert**

Mr. Robertson has many hats. Among others, he's a distinguished senior fellow with Carleton's NPSIA, a fellow with the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, and a senior strategic adviser for McKenna, Long and Aldridge LLP. He's also a respected voice on Canada-US relations, having served as Canada's consul general in Los Angeles. Mr. Baird is keen to listen to him.

**Yuen Pau Woo, president and CEO of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada**

Mr. Woo is a leading voice on the Asia-Pacific region at a time when the area is receiving much Canadian attention. Among Canadian think tanks, his is one of the most mentioned as influencing Canadian foreign policy.

**Richard Kurland, immigration policy analyst and lawyer**

Jason Kenney listens to Mr. Kurland, a Vancouver-based conservative-minded lawyer. Mr. Kurland has long been a go-to media source for all things immigration. Although Mr. Kenney's office respects him, he files numerous access-to-information requests and isn't afraid to call the government out on his findings and when he sees money being wasted. He's also the editor of the immigration law publication *Lexbase*.

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