

# Leading in Uncertain Times

2021 ANNUAL REPORT

M A C D O N A L D - L A U R I E R I N S T I T U T E



# What we do

**At MLI, we believe ideas matter.**

MLI is the only non-partisan, independent public policy think tank in Ottawa focusing on the full range of issues that fall under the jurisdiction of the federal government. We are the leading platform for the best new policy thinking in the country. Our goal is to be an indispensable source of reasoned and timely thought leadership for policymakers and opinion leaders, to help make Canada the best governed country in the world.

MACDONALD-LAURIER INSTITUTE

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## Letter from the Chair and Managing Director

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Dear Friends and Supporters of the Institute,

**2021 started** in the middle of another wave of the COVID-19 pandemic, as first the Alpha and then Delta variants hit our shores. While MLI staff continued to work remotely, MLI also continued to demonstrate our resilience in these difficult circumstances, as our productivity and growth continued through the year.

The COVID crisis has, if nothing else, reinforced the need for MLI's thought leadership on key public policy issues. Throughout the past year, MLI expanded our reach and strengthened our profile and reputation. We remain the foremost source not only on pandemic policy, with its many public health and economic consequences, but the full range of public policies that fall under the jurisdiction of the federal government.

Members of our team, including Patrick James and Marcus Kolga, were recognized with prestigious Canadian and international awards. Our roster of experts expanded in 2021, with prominent policymakers, scholars, and other notables joining the institute.

In 2021, MLI hosted numerous webinars that brought experts from around the world to our platform, and our publications, communications, and fundraising efforts continued apace. With our extensive media presence, hard-hitting publications, and adept use of digital communication, we stayed connected with Canadians during this second year of the pandemic.

As we navigated the waves of the pandemic, MLI built on its strengths. We remain well-prepared to continue our success into 2022.

Our achievements could not have been possible without the hard work of many committed individuals. We would like to express our recognition and immense gratitude to them. In particular, we wish to thank members of our Board of Directors, Advisory Council, Research Advisory Board; our fellows and authors; our funders and supporters; and our staff who have given so much of their time, passion, and intelligence into making the MLI what it is today: the number one voice on public policy in our nation's capital.



Vaughn MacLellan  
CHAIR



Brian Lee Crowley  
MANAGING DIRECTOR



# Leading in uncertain times

**For much of the past year,** through successive waves of the COVID-19 pandemic, MLI staff worked remotely. We were able to adapt to this difficult situation, which did little to curtail our productivity or stymie our remarkable growth over the year. We continued to adopt new technologies to host webinars with experts from around the world and brought in new audiences to our platform. By the fall, our staff were finally able to head back on a part-time basis to the office.

Throughout the year, MLI continued to be Canadians' go-to source on the health, social, and economic impacts of pandemic policy. With new projects like the COVID Misery Index and the Provincial COVID Misery Index, we emerged as a major critical voice on both misguided public health responses and misdirected economic measures.

2021 MLI ANNUAL REPORT

## Expansive policy work

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**MLI remains the foremost full-service federal public policy think tank in the nation's capital.** We have reacted quickly and decisively to new developments, while bringing the best expertise to bear on the most pressing policy issues facing Canadians. Mastering the issues, formulating clear and relevant policy advice, and then getting it out to the widest possible audience continue to be the key elements of our approach.

Our policy work covers a range of themes under our three broad program areas: **social, economic and justice policy; foreign, defence and national security policy; and Indigenous affairs.** We also added new individual thought leaders to our roster of experts, as follows:

### NEW DISTINGUISHED FELLOW

- **Ken Coates**, Canada Research Chair in Regional Innovation, Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Saskatchewan; formerly Munk Senior Fellow, MLI

### NEW SENIOR FELLOWS

- **Richard Audas**, Professor, Faculty of Medicine, Memorial University
- **Patrice Dutil**, Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University
- **Jeff Kucharski**, Adjunct Professor, Royal Roads University

- **Mariam Memarsadeghi**, Co-founder of Tavaana: E-Learning Institute for Iranian Civil Society
- **Stephen Nagy**, Senior Associate Professor, Department of Politics and International Studies, International Christian University
- **Chris Sankey**, President/Chief Executive Officer, Blackfish Enterprise

### SENIOR POLICY ANALYST

- **Heather Exner-Pirot**, Principal consultant, Morris Interactive and Research and Communications Advisor, Indigenous Resource Network

### VISITING FELLOW

- **SooJung Ji**, Free Trade Agreement (FTA) managing expert and Customs Executive Officer

### ADVISORY COUNCIL

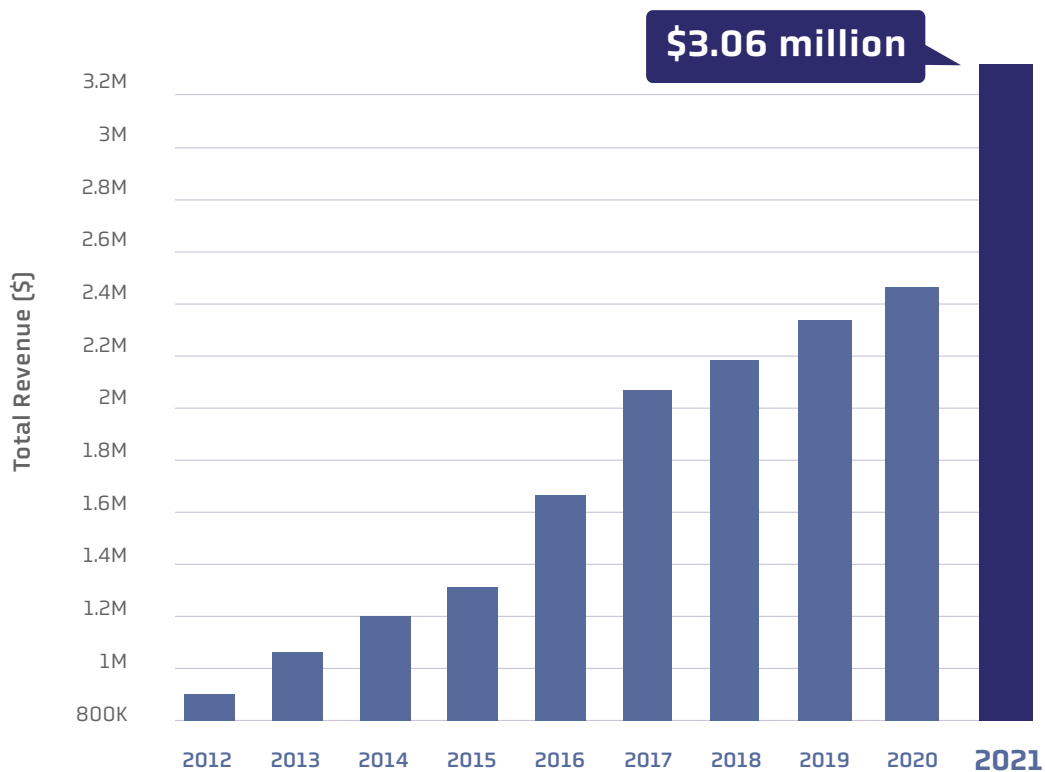
- **Aurel Braun**, Professor of International Relations and Political Science, University of Toronto

## Growth during uncertainty

In 2021, MLI demonstrated our capacity to respond nimbly to unforeseen issues and circumstances, remain disciplined with regard to our staffing levels, and rally our staff and experts to the cause of great public policy. We were an important voice on responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, the threat posed by authoritarian regimes like China and Russia, and the need to move towards Indigenous reconciliation.

Despite the economic uncertainty caused by the pandemic, MLI was still able to achieve revenue growth during this period (see Table 1).

**Table 1: MLI's revenue growth, from 2012 to 2021**





# What we did

**2021 proved to be another challenging year**, as multiple waves of COVID-19 landed on our shores. The arrival of vaccines marked an important turning point in our relationship with this pandemic. MLI was able to reach new audiences with our timely work on the need to balance public health and the economy.

MLI's 2021 ACCOMPLISHMENTS



## Connecting with Canadians

**MLI benefits from our significant traditional and social media presence,** robust publications program, and digital communication tools, such as infographics, podcasts, videos, and other multimedia products.









In the past year, the number of unique visitors on our website increased to around 308,000 users. Media attention continued to be impressive, with MLI and our experts receiving a total of 38,640 earned media hits, which represent occasions when MLI, its staff and fellows were mentioned in print, online or on broadcast media in Canada or abroad.

Equally compelling was our success in op-ed placement, with 320 published op-eds appearing in major Canadian and international media, including the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto*

*Star*, *Maclean's*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *The Hill Times*, *Japan Times*, and *National Review*. Despite our staff working remotely for much of the year, MLI was still able to turn around different multimedia products on a weekly or even daily basis.

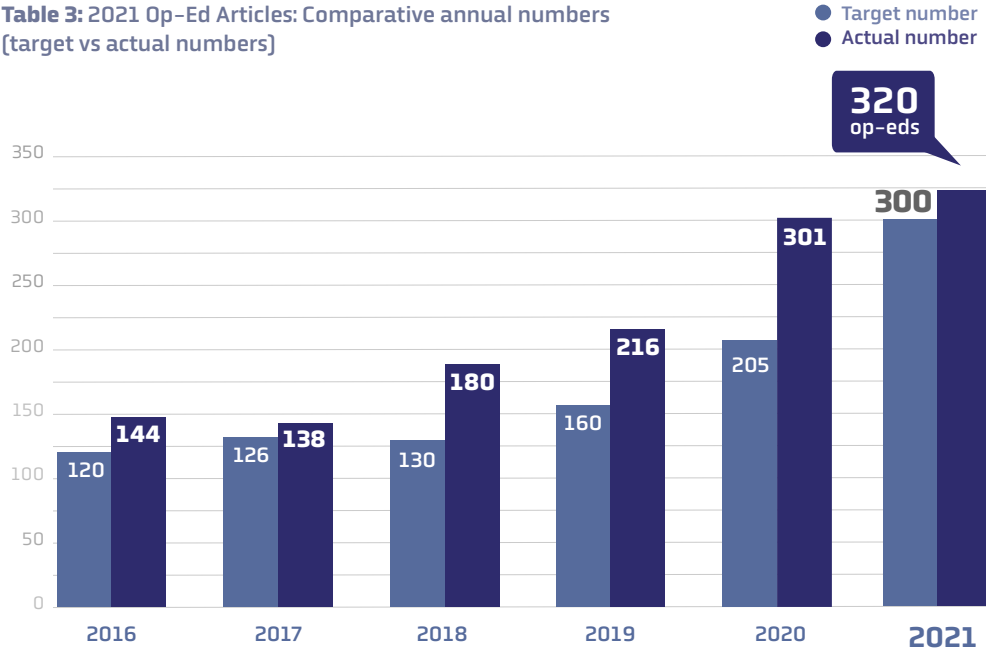
As a result, we achieved significant audience engagement across different traditional and social media platforms with all our products. The graphics below show our performance on a range of measures of success including the great variety of publications where our op-eds have appeared, and the growth in web traffic.

**Table 2: MLI's social media numbers for 2021**

 <b>14,528</b> FOLLOWERS of MLI's Twitter account, <b>@MLInstitute</b>	 <b>320</b> OP-EDS placed in influential media publications	 <b>38,640</b> MEDIA HITS of MLI staff and experts mentioned in print, online or broadcast media in Canada and abroad	 <b>308,000</b> WEBSITE USERS to the MLI website <b>macdonaldlaurier.ca</b>
 <b>65</b> PUBLICATIONS released in 2021	 <b>27</b> PODCASTS on multiple MLI programs	 <b>65</b> VIDEOS on MLI's Youtube channel	 <b>125</b> ARTICLES [online] in MLI's flagship magazine <b>INSIDE POLICY</b>

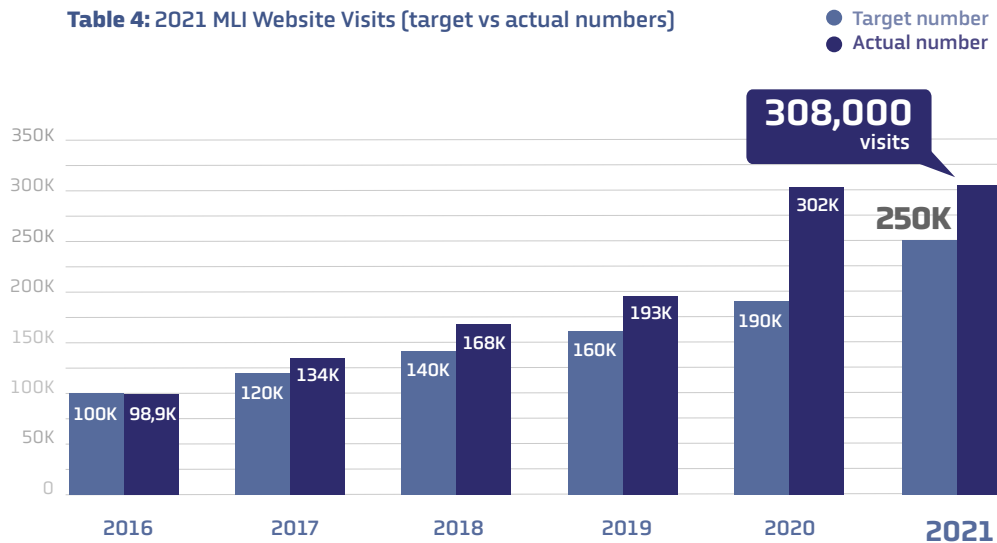
## OP-ED ARTICLES

**Table 3: 2021 Op-Ed Articles: Comparative annual numbers**  
[target vs actual numbers]

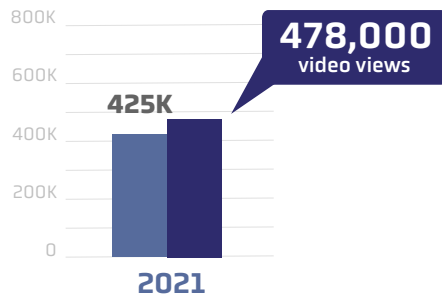


## MEDIA, WEBSITE AND SOCIAL MEDIA

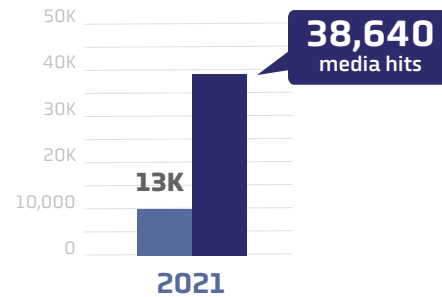
**Table 4: 2021 MLI Website Visits (target vs actual numbers)**



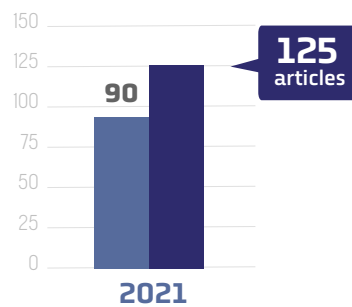
**Table 5: 2021 Video Views:**  
[target vs actual number]



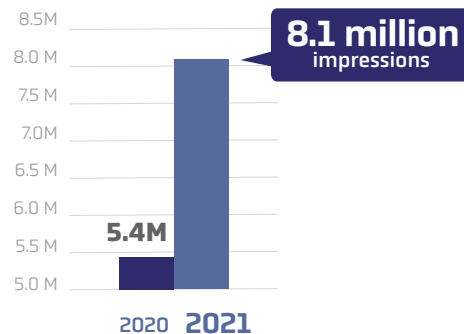
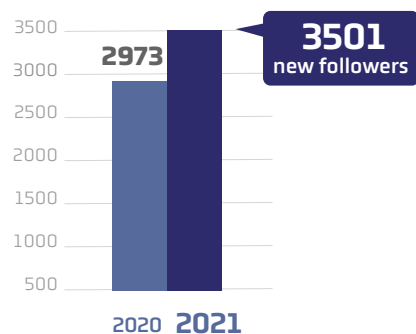
**Table 6: 2021 Earned Media Hits: MLI staff and fellows mentioned in print, online or broadcast media in Canada and abroad [target vs actual numbers]**



**Table 7: 2021 Inside Policy Articles (online):**  
[target vs actual numbers]



**Table 8: 2021 Twitter Impressions and New Twitter Followers [vs 2020]**



## IN THE NEWS



Jamil Jivani on The Agenda, March 1, 2021



Anastasia Lin on CTV News, March 22 2021



Shuvaloy Majumdar on Power and Politics, September 7, 2021



Richard Audas on BNN Bloomberg, June 22, 2021

Some other notable television appearances in 2021 included:

- **Marcus Kolga** on TRT World, February 3, 2021 on Alexei Navalny
- **Sarah Teich** on CBC News, February 17, 2021 on arbitrary detentions
- **Philip Cross** on BNN Bloomberg, March 3, 2021 on economic growth
- **Richard Audas** on BNN Bloomberg, March 11, 2021 on lockdown measures
- **Ken Coates** on Global News, March 29, 2021 on carbon pricing
- **Balkan Devlen** on News Forum, April 12, 2021 on tensions in Turkey
- **Christian Leuprecht** on the Forum Daily, April 26, 2021 on China
- **Kaveh Shahrooz** on Power and Politics, May 25, 2021 on the shooting down of flight PS752
- **Charles Burton** on CTV News, September 8, 2021 on China's hostage diplomacy

## MLI's impact and influence

**MLI takes great pride** in being an indispensable source of advice for Canada's political and opinion leaders. Despite significant challenges, 2021 proved to be another strong year for the Institute.

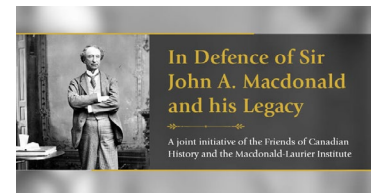
### NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

In April, Professor Patrick James, a member of MLI's Research Advisory Board Member, received the Governor General's International Award in Canadian Studies. This award is given out annually to a single individual for having made an outstanding contribution to the scholarship and development of Canadian studies internationally. James was selected for the award following a robust global competition held by the International Council for Canadian Studies. In November, MLI's DisinfoWatch project, founded by Senior Fellow Marcus Kolga, was announced as the winner of the 2021 Canadian Ethnic Media Association Award winner for Community Engagement.

### SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND JUSTICE POLICY

#### Standing up for Canada

We began this year by joining with the Friends of Canadian History to place a Statement in Defence of Sir John A. Macdonald as a full-page Postmedia newspaper ad, endorsed by many prominent Canadians including historians Margaret MacMillan, Charlotte Gray, Patrice Dutil and Jack Granatstein. We were overwhelmed by the outpouring of support. With 2021 marking the 206th anniversary of Macdonald's birth, we capped the initial signatories at 206 historians, policy experts, educators, business leaders, public figures, and thought leaders who signed onto the statement. But hundreds of other Canadians joined in to sign a petition in support of the statement and in recognition of the contributions of Canada's founding prime minister.



## COVID-19

To assess the federal government's performance through the COVID-19 pandemic, MLI compiled its COVID Misery Index (CMI) to examine the impact of the virus itself and our responses to it. The CMI compares Canada against 14 peer countries across 16 measures grouped as disease misery, response misery, and economic misery. The CMI was first released in March 2021, and updated in April, June, August, September, and January 2022. The Index was referenced by several MPs including Pierre Poilievre and former Conservative leader Erin O'Toole.

Building on the success of the CMI, at the request of Director Laura Jones, we launched a companion Provincial COVID Misery Index (PCMI) in May, with an update in July, using the same approach to measure the relative performance of each Canadian province during the pandemic. Both Manitoba Premier Brian Pallister and Alberta Premier Jason Kenney referenced information published in the PCMI, which ranked Manitoba as the top performing province outside of Atlantic Canada and Alberta as the province with the highest degree of COVID misery.

Both the CMI and PCMI were led by MLI Senior Fellow Richard Audas,

with significant support from our communications team. There were over 37,861 page views on the CMI and PCMI or accompanying content on MLI's site, constituting nearly 7 percent of our overall webpage views for the year.

## Innovation

The federal government put a six-month pause on new regulations designed to lower the cost of patented medicines in Canada, representing the fourth delay in implementing these regulations. MLI has taken the lead in criticizing the new regulations. For instance, in a research paper released in July 2021, authors Nigel Rawson and John Adams delved into how proposed federal regulations designed to slash drug prices would not only be unsustainable but would further thwart innovation in the already-beleaguered Canadian biopharmaceutical sector.

## Energy

Distinguished Fellow Ken Coates testified at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Natural Resources on rare earth elements and other critical minerals, and Senior Fellow Jeff Kucharski gave a presentation in December on the nexus of energy, geopolitics, security, and trade in the Indo-Pacific at the Canadian Embassy



in Tokyo. The latter event involved members of the Japanese and Canadian governments at the ADM level and energy industry participants from both countries.



Munk Senior Fellow Philip Cross wrote an MLI report, titled “A national project: How oil sands investment and production benefit

Canada’s economy.” In December, Cross gave a presentation on his research paper on the importance of the Alberta oil sands to a large group of civil servants.

### Crime and Justice

Munk Senior Fellow Christian Leuprecht was extensively cited in a report released by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security on the issue of policing. The report acknowledged the reality of systemic racism in policing in Canada and recommended possible solutions to this problem. Leuprecht’s comments focused heavily on the RCMP.

### Telecoms

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) is allowing a small number of regional telecom providers to become de facto Mobile Virtual Network Operators

(MVNOs). This decision follows a recommendation made in an MLI paper by Christopher MacDonald and MLI Senior Fellow Peter Menzies, titled “Building Internet access is Job 1: Towards a communications strategy that meets the growing needs of Canadians in COVID and beyond.”

### Education

The Ontario government will end streaming for all Grade 9 courses in the 2022 school year. This practice forced high-school students to choose between two academic tracks and has disproportionately affected Black and low-income teenagers. Senior Fellow Jamil Jivani, an outspoken critic of streaming for Grade 9 courses, had advised the Ford government to end streaming prior to the government decision.

## FOREIGN, DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

### An Indo-Pacific strategy

MLI is at the forefront in pushing the federal government to release an Indo-Pacific strategy and for the broader adoption of an Indo-Pacific lens for the region. MLI experts are strong advocates of the Indo-Pacific concept. For instance, in February, Senior Fellow Jonathan

Berkshire Miller briefed Canada's regional Ambassadors in the Asia-Pacific (the RHOMM) on MLI's new Canada and the Indo-Pacific Initiative and our policy views on these issues.

Our work on this file is reflected in how the Canadian government is now formulating its first Indo-Pacific strategy, including how to deal with an increasingly aggressive China. Of note, by using the terminology of "Indo-Pacific," the strategy reflects a potential shift in Ottawa's approach to Asia and countries bordering the Indian Ocean, most notably India – an approach that MLI experts have long recommended. This point was further highlighted in the 2021 Throne Speech, which noted that "Canada will continue working with key allies and partners, while making deliberate efforts to deepen partnerships in the Indo-Pacific." According to Munk Senior Fellow Christian Leuprecht, "it's indirectly an admission that the government has to make up for lost time."

Our work was also reflected in a Japan-Canada agreement on a "Six-Point strategy" to enhance key areas of bilateral cooperation, which was made at the G7 Foreign and Development Ministers' Meeting in early May. Importantly, the Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision was also discussed at this meeting. MLI experts like Miller have been vocal

advocates for enhanced Canada-Japan cooperation on these overlapping areas of interest.

In October, Senior Fellows Jonathan Berkshire Miller and Stephen Nagy participated at several roundtables with the Privy Council Office, Global Affairs Canada, and the Department of National Defence. In November, Miller also discussed Canada and its Indo-Pacific and China policy with the European Parliament's delegation from its foreign affairs committee.

Lastly, MLI released a paper by John Hemmings and Peter Varnish on the Five Eyes intelligence sharing arrangement between Canada, the UK, the US, Australia, and New Zealand, which offered recommendations on how to improve this grouping. Co-author John Hemmings noted that this paper has become "essential reading" inside the Australian government.



### **Dragon at the door**

In March, Canada joined the United States, United Kingdom, and the European Union in imposing sanctions on Chinese officials overseeing Beijing's repression of the Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities. It follows the Canadian Parliament voting



unanimously to declare that China's actions against Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang constitute a genocide (though this latter act was diluted by cabinet members abstaining from the vote). The vote marks another major victory for MLI's work on foreign policy, China, and human rights.

Experts at MLI have long raised concerns about the "harrowing genocide" facing the Uyghurs and, given China's clear pattern of human rights abuses, warned that Beijing must not be allowed to shape the future of human rights at the UN. In February, Senior Fellow Charles Burton testified at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration regarding its study of Special Immigration and Refugee Measures for the People of Hong Kong.

Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne unveiled revised guidelines meant to scrutinize foreign takeovers and investments in key sectors of the economy as well as funding of high-end research. Ottawa's move to protect Canadian intellectual property and strategically sensitive businesses from falling into the hands of foreign governments and their proxies follows long-standing recommendations from MLI experts, particularly with respect to China.

In June, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Government Operations and Estimates released its report on the procurement process that led to offering Chinese-based Nuctech a contract (now cancelled) to provide security screening equipment for Global Affairs. The testimonies of Senior Fellows Charles Burton and Christian Leuprecht and Advisory Council member David Mulroney, who spoke to the committee in 2020, were extensively cited in this report. Their contributions helped influence the recommendations offered in the report.

Also of note, the Alberta government sent a letter requesting that the University of Calgary, University of Alberta, University of Lethbridge, and Athabasca University pause any new or renewed partnerships with entities linked to the People's Republic of China, due to concerns about potential theft of intellectual property that may be used by Chinese military and intelligence agencies. A similar warning was offered by Burton in an op-ed that appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen*. Senior Fellow J. Michael Cole also appeared in July at a hearing of the French Senate to discuss China's censorship of social media and researchers in China. This hearing was in support of an upcoming French Senate report about state influence on universities and research centres.



Terry Glavin 格立文  
@TerryGlavin

Replying to @Mark3Ds @cdnfp and 47 others

If I were the @MLInstitute people I'd be writing Xi's MFA demanding to know how they were overlooked. MLI's work has been uniquely splendid in Canada.

12:30 PM · Mar 27, 2021 · Twitter for Android

6 Retweets 21 Likes

MLI was at the forefront highlighting the terrible ordeal faced by both Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig following their unlawful detainment by China. MLI experts appeared across traditional and social media to comment on both their treatment by Chinese authorities and the fact that the two men were only detained as part of China's approach to hostage diplomacy. We therefore welcomed China's decision to release them in September, following the Deferred Prosecution Agreement for Meng Wanzhou.

MLI is the only think tank in Canada with this kind of reach on critical China issues. In fact, in his response to China's sanctioning of Canadians over the Uyghur situation, noted journalist Terry Glavin tweeted, "If I were the @MLInstitute people, I'd be writing Xi's MFA demanding to know how they were overlooked. MLI's work has been uniquely splendid in Canada."

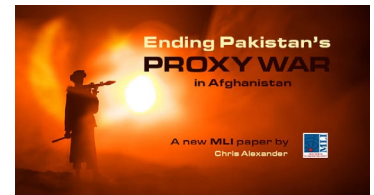
## Standing up for Afghans

The conflict in Afghanistan has been increasingly re-framed as Pakistan's proxy war, along the same lines as the title of an MLI paper by former ambassador to Afghanistan, Chris Alexander. The Pakistan People's, Pashtun Tahafuz Movement and other moderate voices in Pakistan have used this language, and so too have Afghan women leaders,

Afghanistan's former President Ghani in a *Der Spiegel* interview, and even the former US Ambassador Zalmi Khalilzad prior to the Taliban's victory in late

2021. The spokesperson for Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs falsely maligned Alexander for his "unfounded & misleading assertions" on Twitter. In his response, Alexander noted that this statement was "a standing insult to all who have worked for peace & stability in Afghanistan. With their impunity cracking, accountability must follow."

September marked the 20th anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks – a moment of commemoration, mourning, and reflection for many. To honour the occasion, we devoted the cover feature of the September issue of *Inside Policy* to the anniversary and convened an event that featured the



most respected Canadian authorities on the Afghan mission, including Chris Alexander, former national security adviser Dick Fadden, and former foreign minister John Manley, to discuss what went wrong and what Canada should do next.

We were also particularly honoured to feature an address by Amrullah Saleh, Afghanistan's acting President and the



leader of the anti-Taliban resistance, in late August. His message to Canadians was provided exclusively to MLI: "Freedom

is not dead, it's wounded. Liberty is not dead, it's wounded. Afghanistan is savable," stated Saleh, who urged Canadians to not give up on the millions of Afghans who seek peace and pluralism in their country.

## Disinformation

In 2021, Twitter shut down a number of its accounts that had links to foreign states. As part of its coverage of this issue, the *Globe and Mail* prominently featured the work of MLI's DisinfoWatch.org project, which had gone through more than 68,000 tweets released as part of Twitter's efforts to combat state-linked information operations. DisinfoWatch's

work on this issue revealed that Canada and its political leaders were targeted more than 300 times in these banned Twitter accounts, which had links to the Kremlin and its proxies.

In April, the Biden administration placed sanctions on several Russian individuals and entities, including media outlets controlled by Russian intelligence. One of these media outlets is a Crimea-based news platform called "News Front," which is run by Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB). Of note, this FSB-controlled platform has criticized MLI Senior Fellows Shuvaloy Majumdar and Marcus Kolga for their work criticizing the aggressive behaviour of Putin's Russia and promoting human rights and democracy worldwide.

## INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

### Independent Indigenous voices

One of our most significant priorities in the past year was to provide a platform for an impressive new generation of Indigenous thought leaders who are fighting to break free of paternalism and dependence on government, and to chart a new and prosperous future for Indigenous peoples. MLI Senior Fellow Chris Sankey of the Lax Kw'Alaams First Nation, and Policy Analyst Melissa Mbarki of the Muskowekwan First Nation have each built a tremendous profile since joining MLI as the newest additions to a long list of Indigenous MLI fellows, authors, and speakers at our events.

Sankey made national waves with his personal account as an inter-generational survivor of Indian residential schools and also made the front page of the *National Post* with his op-ed pushing back against protesters and activists who claim to speak for Indigenous peoples. And Mbarki has been one of the country's premier bridge builders by rejecting vandalism, violence, and the push to "cancel Canada Day" ostensibly in the name of Indigenous rights. She has instead promoted a more constructive conversation.

Distinguished Fellow Ken Coates has also been heavily involved in connecting with Indigenous communities and telling their stories in the media. He authored the lead column in our special issue of *Inside Policy* and moderated an online panel discussion about moving forward from the pain of residential schools. At this event, MLI was extremely proud to host Cowessess Chief, Cadmus Delorme, whose First Nation has been affected by the biggest finding of unmarked graves. Cowessess has made major strides in self-determination, striking a child welfare agreement with the federal and Manitoba governments. While others are tearing down statues, MLI is building understanding of what Indigenous people really want and need by listening to what they have to say.

### Supporting resource development

MLI launched a major project deliverable in the form of our partnership with the Legal Reforms for Indigenous Economic Growth project, led by MLI Munk Senior Fellow Dwight Newman. In a volume of essays, Newman and co-authors Ken Coates, Malcolm Lavoie, Steve Saddleback, and James Coleman found that the same issues that have stymied



pipeline development in recent years pose future challenges to electric lines for renewable power projects and, indeed, all future linear infrastructure projects.

Heather Exner-Pirot, a noted scholar on energy issues, has developed a high profile as an MLI Senior Policy Analyst. Her major research paper, titled

*“Pathways to Indigenous Determination,”* made clear that opportunities in the resource sector are the key to the economic future of most Indigenous

communities, particularly for Indigenous women whose other job prospects are so unjustly limited. She also appeared on an MLI webinar that offered a sober assessment, including from Indigenous voices, of the government’s legislation to implement the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

In March, Exner-Pirot and Senior Fellow Stephen Buffalo testified at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs on the subject of Bill C-15, An Act respecting the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Both Ken Coates and Dwight Newman were also invited to testify at that committee as well, but they were unable to appear due to scheduling issues.



## Events

### SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND JUSTICE POLICY

#### Dialogues and Workshops

- *Fairness in Sport Virtual Roundtable*, May 20, 2021
- *Speak for Ourselves: Writing Workshop*, October 6, 2021

#### Webinars



- *Building Across Borders: Energy Infrastructure, the Environment and Canada-US Relations in the Biden Era*, February 16, 2021
- *MAiD: How far dare we go on medical assistance in dying?*, February 22, 2021



- *Who polices free speech online?*, May 11, 2021
- *How has your province handled the pandemic?*, June 7, 2021



- *Monopoly games: Moving past populist rhetoric on "big digital" to a competition policy for post-pandemic growth*, June 10, 2021
- *A level playing field: Sex, gender and fairness in women's sport*, August 4, 2021



- *The quest to vaccinate the world: Considering the global impact of waiving patent rights for COVID vaccines*, September 16, 2021
- *Digging deeper: How Canada can seize global leadership on critical minerals*, October 22, 2021



- *Big is beautiful: Strengthening growth and competition in the Canadian economy*, November 22, 2021
- *Viral: The search for the origin of COVID-19*, November 25, 2021
- *Pandemic resilience and access to new drugs and vaccines in the COVID era*, December 16, 2021

#### Livestreams

- *Do we need a national childcare system?*, April 27, 2021

## **FOREIGN, DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY PROGRAM**

### **Roundtables**

- *MLI-KAS Luncheon: Adapting to Shifting Realities in the Indo-Pacific*, October 26, 2021
- *MLI-KAS Luncheon: Looking Ahead: The Future of German Foreign Policy*, November 23, 2021
- *Luncheon with TECO's Simon Sung*, December 14, 2021
- *MLI-KAS Luncheon: Emerging Technologies and Transatlantic Security*, December 17, 2021

### **Dialogues and Workshops**

- *Canada and the Baltics Strategic Dialogue*, April 27, 2021
- *MLI-KAS – Middle East Strategic Dialogue*, May 6, 2021
- *MLI-KAS – Indo-Pacific Strategic Dialogue*, May 18, 2021
- *MLI-KAS – Transatlantic Dialogue*, July 7, 2021
- *MLI-Prospect Foundation Virtual Roundtable*, August 11, 2021
- *MLI-TECO: Taiwan roundtable with DG Hsu*, September 15, 2021
- *ORF-MLI Workshop: India-Canada Partnership on Afghanistan*, November 8
- *MLI-APCSS: Evolving the Five Eyes: Opportunities and Challenges*, November 8
- *MLI-KAS Dialogue: The Indo-Pacific Geostrategic Landscape and Future Trends*, November 30, 2021
- *Canada and the Baltics Strategic Dialogue 2*, December 2, 2021
- *MLI-KAS Dialogue: Arctic and the High North in 2030*, December 7, 2021
- *MLI-KAS Dialogue: Emerging Technologies and Transatlantic Security*, December 13, 2021

## Webinars



- *A Way Forward, Part II: Defending human rights in China*, January 14, 2021
- *Connecting After COVID: How Canada and its allies can partner on infrastructure and trade in the Indo-Pacific*, January 27, 2021
- *Standing Guard: What have we learned from the enhanced Forward Presence on NATO's frontier?*, February 24, 2021
- *Canada's Strategic Move: Stepping up in the Indo-Pacific*, March 23, 2021
- *Why Taiwan is a natural partner in global health security*, May 14, 2021
- *Beyond Pearson: Defining the Canadian Interest in the Middle East & Red Sea*, May 17, 2021
- *Securing Cyberspace: How we can protect against digital threats to a free and open Indo-Pacific*, June 1, 2021
- *After the Islamic Republic: Democratic Solutions for the Iranian People*, June 17, 2021
- *A Pacific Realignment: Why Canada needs to work with its partners in the Indo-Pacific*, June 24, 2021
- *Securing the Flank: Defending Canada's allies and partners from the Baltics to the Black Sea*, August 26, 2021
- *A seat at the table: Why Canada should promote Taiwan's inclusion at the UN and its agencies*, September 24, 2021
- *A better future? How the West can support democracy in Belarus and Russia*, October 20, 2021
- *Climate crisis, energy crisis, security crisis? Global energy politics and Canada's role*, November 24, 2021
- *Canada's broken promise to Afghans*, December 8, 2021
- *Global Japan: Japan's foreign policy and implications for Canada*, December 15, 2021



### Livestreams

- *Tehran's Tentacles: The Islamic Republic's Interference, Infiltration, and Influence Abroad*, May 28, 2021
- *Managing China's coercive diplomacy*, October 6, 2021
- *Canada at the summit for democracy: Strategic cooperation with India, Japan and Indo-Pacific democracies*, December 7, 2021

## INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS PROGRAM

### Dialogues and Workshops

- *Global Mining and Indigenous Opportunity Virtual Roundtable*, December 17, 2021

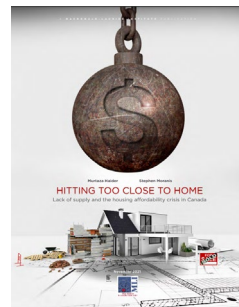
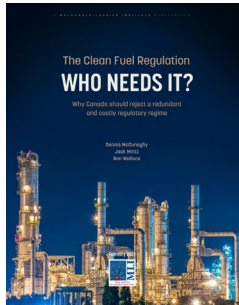
### Webinars



- *Understanding UNDRIP – Challenges to legislating the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, May 26, 2021
- *Building beyond the painful legacy of residential schools*, July 14, 2021
- *What real reconciliation looks like*, September 30, 2021

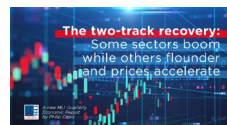
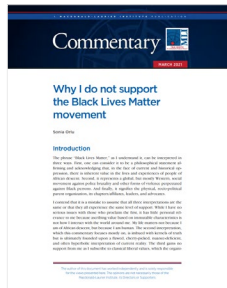
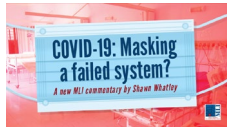
## Publications

### SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND JUSTICE POLICY PROGRAM



#### Research Papers

- *The Clean Fuel Regulation: Who needs it? Why Canada should reject a redundant and costly regulatory regime*, Dennis McConaghy, Jack Mintz and Ron Wallace, February 16, 2021
- *COVID Misery Index project*, by Richard Audas, March 8, 2021
- *A national project: How oil sands investment and production benefit Canada's economy*, by Philip Cross, April 29, 2021
- *Provincial COVID Misery Index project*, by Richard Audas, May 25, 2021
- *More than a dose of collaboration: What Ottawa should do if it wants drugs and vaccines to be made in Canada and benefit patients*, by Nigel Rawson and John Adams, June 3, 2021
- *Doubling GDP by 2050: Why Canada needs a firm target for economic growth*, by Philip Cross, October 19, 2021
- *Up to the task: Why Canadians don't need sweeping changes to competition policy to handle Big Tech*, by Anthony Niblett and Daniel Sokol, November 8, 2021
- *Big is beautiful: Strengthening growth and competitiveness in the Canadian economy*, by Robert D. Atkinson, November 22, 2021
- *Hitting too close to home: Lack of supply and the housing affordability crisis in Canada*, by Murtaza Haider and Stephen Moranis, November 24, 2021
- *Why inflation isn't transitory and won't be easily contained*, by Philip Cross, November 26, 2021
- *Fair game: Biology, fairness and transgender athletes in women's sport*, by Jon Pike, Emma Hilton, and Leslie A. Howe, December 7, 2021

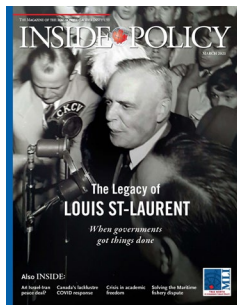


## Commentary and Straight Talks

- *COVID-19: Masking a failed system*, by Shawn Whatley, February 11, 2021
- *Government procurement and Biden's Buy American policies: A way forward*, by Lawrence Herman, February 25, 2021
- *Why I do not support the Black Lives Matter movement*, by Sonia Orlu, March 4, 2021
- *How identity politics prolongs racism*, by Chris Sankey, March 19, 2021
- *Will Canada's rapidly expanding money supply result in higher inflation?*, by Philip Cross, March 24, 2021
- *Monopoly games: Moving past populist rhetoric on 'big digital' services to a post-pandemic competition policy*, by Anthony Niblett, Bruce Winder, D. Daniel Sokol, and Renée Duplantis, June 11, 2021
- *The two-track recovery: Some sectors boom while others flounder and prices accelerate*, by Philip Cross, June 23, 2021
- *Pandemic management is a matter of balancing "health vs. health,"* with Martha Fulford, June 30, 2021
- *Canadians' views on women's sport and gender identity*, polling, August 4, 2021
- *Back to the future: How Canada can become a global leader in digital communications policy*, by Irene S. Berkowitz and Peter Menzies, September 16, 2021
- *What caused the surprise GDP drop and why Canada actually has US-style inflation*, by Philip Cross, September 28, 2021
- *Managing protest in Canada*, by Ken Coates, November 16, 2021
- *Innovative medicine or fewer, cheaper drugs: Which way will the Trudeau government go?*, by Nigel Rawson, John Adams and Olaf Koester, December 17, 2021
- *Tightening labour markets fuel inflationary pressures*, by Philip Cross, December 23, 2021

## Podcasts

- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 61: *The COVID Misery Index*, with Rick Audas and Ai-Men Lau, March 11, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 65: *The importance of the oil sands*, with Philip Cross and Aaron Wudrick, May 19, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 67: *Managing COVID isn't "economy vs. health, it's health vs. health,"* with Shawn Whatley and Martha Fulford, May 28, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 68: *Happy Canada Day*, with Aaron Wudrick, Ken Coates, and Christopher Dummitt, July 1, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 70: *The deterioration of Parliament*, with Jonathan Malloy and Aaron Wudrick, August 31, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 72: *Understanding vaccine passports*, with Aaron Wudrick, Martha Fulford, and Shawn Whatley, September 15, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 73: *The narrow victory of freedom of speech*, with Aaron Wudrick and Leonid Sirota, December 3, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 74: *We don't need changes to competition policy to handle Big Tech*, with Aaron Wudrick, Anthony Niblett and Daniel Sokol, December 10, 2021



## Inside Policy

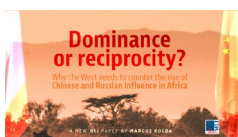
- March: *The Legacy of Louis St-Laurent – When governments get things done*
- December: *François Legault: Policy-Maker of the Year*

## FOREIGN, DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY PROGRAM

### Research Papers



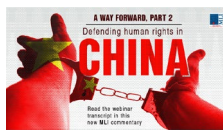
- *Fighting back against global hostage-taking: A proposed new Act to hold state and terrorist actors to account*, by Sarah Teich, January 21, 2021
- *Ending Pakistan's proxy war in Afghanistan*, by Chris Alexander, March 3, 2021
- *Facing the authoritarian challenge: The Sino-Russian alignment and what to do about it*, by Balkan Devlen, March 18, 2021



- *Protecting innocents in combat*, by Sarah Teich and Danny Eisen, May 13, 2021
- *China's Belt and Road Initiative in South Asia: An assessment and outlook*, by Muhammad Faisal, June 29, 2021
- *Deadline 2036: Assessing the requirements and options for Canada's future submarine force*, by Jeff Collins, September 23, 2021
- *Evolving the Five Eyes: Opportunities and challenges in the new strategic landscape*, by John Hemmings and Peter Varnish, September 30, 2021
- *A new outlook: Strengthening cooperation between Canada, Indonesia and ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific*, October 20, 2021
- *Canada and the Indo-Pacific: Contributor, bystander or casualty?*, by Stephen Nagy et al., October 25, 2021
- *Dominance or reciprocity? Why the West needs to counter the rise of Chinese and Russian influence in Africa*, by Marcus Kolga, November 10, 2021
- *Canada's approach to Pacific security: In the absence of a plan, a modest proposal*, by Eric Lerhe, December 9, 2021
- *No other option: Politics, policy and industrial considerations in the Canadian Surface Combatant program*, by Richard Shimooka, December 20, 2021

### Commentary and Straight Talks

- *Combatting information warfare and building a resilient society*, with Elisabeth Braw and Marcus Kolga, January 15, 2021
- *Will Taiwan miss US President Donald Trump? A scorecard*, by J. Michael Cole, January 19, 2021
- *Rethinking foreign policy: An emerging consensus for Canada*, by Balkan Devlen, February 22, 2021
- *An Indo-Pacific regional order? Frameworks for cooperation and the future of geopolitical competition*, by Thomas Wilkins, February 23, 2021
- *Expanding opportunities for Canada-US coordination on China*, by Ryan Hass, March 17, 2021
- *North Korea's weapons of mass destruction in 2021 and beyond*, by Ankit Panda, March 25, 2021



- *Canada's Indo-Pacific moment*, by Jonathan Berkshire Miller, March 29, 2021
- *A way forward part II: Defending human rights in China*, April 15, 2021
- *Connecting after COVID: How Canada and its allies can partner on Indo-Pacific infrastructure and trade*, April 16, 2021
- *Understanding the role of weapon exports in Canadian foreign policy*, by Christian Leuprecht, May 14, 2021
- *Everyone together now: Creating a resilient society in an age of cyber threats*, by Elisabeth Braw, June 22, 2021
- *Indo-Pacific trade and the economy: The view from Japan*, with Tomoaki Ishigaki, June 25, 2021
- *The need for transatlantic solidarity in the face of today's security challenges*, by Ralph Thiele, Andrei Sannikov, and Roman Waschuk, August 31, 2021
- *Pakistan's use of terror as a tool of statecraft*, by Akhil Ramesh, September 9, 2021
- *Remember that energy crises are bad things*, by Heather Exner-Pirot, September 14, 2021
- *Natural partners: Advancing cooperation between Canada and Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific*, October 6, 2021
- *Securing cyberspace: How we can protect against digital threats to a free and open Indo-Pacific*, October 27, 2021
- *Fighting disinformation: Japan's unique situation and the future of Canada-Japan cooperation*, by Kyoko Kuwahara, November 4, 2021
- *Pandora Papers reveal parallel financial world for the wealthy*, by Arthur Cockfield, November 19, 2021

## Podcasts

- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 58: *Canada and the Indo-Pacific*, with Jonathan Berkshire Miller and Brett Byers, January 29, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 59: *Indo-Pacific trade & economy: Viewpoint from Japan*, with Tomoaki Ishigaki and Jonathan Miller, February 12, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 60: *Understanding Russia's anti-democracy crackdown*, with Vladimir Ashurkov and Marcus Kolga, February 18, 2021



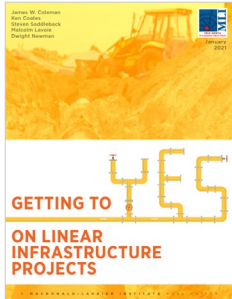
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 62: *DisinfoWatch*, with Marcus Kolga and Ai-Men Lau, April 7, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 63: *Where Hong Kong stands now*, with Sharon Hom, Alvin Y.H. Cheung, and Ai-Men Lau, April 14, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 66: *Why a Canadian presence in Eastern Europe matters*, with Balkan Devlen and Christian Leuprecht, May 26, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 69: *Combatting foreign intimidation against Canadians*, with Marcus Kolga, Anastasia Lin, and Kaveh Shahrooz, August 11, 2021
- Pod Bless Canada Ep. 71: *Fighting against global hostage-taking*, with Sarah Teich and Ai-Men Lau, September 3, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 1: *A new podcast series by MLI's Transatlantic Program*, with Balkan Devlen and Damien Arnaud, September 29, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 2: *The past, present, and future of Canada in NATO*, with Balkan Devlen, Joel Sokolsky, and Joseph Jockel, November 3, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 3: *L'avenir des technologies émergentes et de l'OTAN*, with Christian Leuprecht and Moritz Zimmerman, November 16, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 4: *The anatomy of NATO operations*, with Balkan Devlen, Burcu San, and Commodore Bradley Peats, November 23, 2021
- Across The Pond Ep. 5: *Understanding NATO's role in the Indo-Pacific*, with Balkan Devlen Jonathan Berkshire Miller, and Veerle Nouwens, December 7, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 6: *Why Arctic security matters to Canada*, with Balkan Devlen, Brigadier-General Pascal Godbout, and Vice-Admiral (Ret'd) Mark Norman, December 17, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 7: *NATO's New Strategic Concept and why it matters*, with Balkan Devlen and Alexander Moens, December 22, 2021
- Across the Pond Ep. 8: *What to do about Russian provocations against Ukraine*, with Balkan Devlen and Marcus Kolga, December 28, 2021



### **Inside Policy**

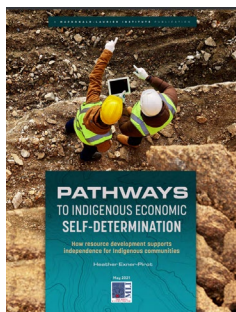
- September: *Twenty Years After 9/11 – What Did We Achieve in Afghanistan?*

## INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS PROGRAM



### Research Papers

- *Getting to yes on linear infrastructure projects*, by James Coleman, Ken Coates, Steven Saddleback, Malcolm Lavoie, and Dwight Newman, January 28, 2021
- *Pathways to Indigenous economic self-determination*, by Heather Exner-Pirot, May 26, 2021



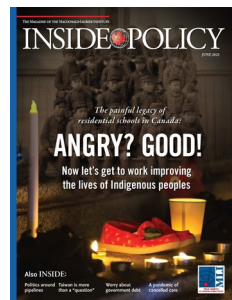
### Commentary and Straight Talks

- *Indigenous people want meaningful participation in the oil and gas sector*, with Sheldon Wuttunee, June 8, 2021
- *Canada's attention is finally focused on Indigenous issues. Here's how to move forward in partnership with Indigenous peoples*, by Ken Coates, August 24, 2021
- *How the First Nations canoe and Canada canoe can once again travel side by side*, with Chief Cadmus Delorme, December 30, 2021



### Podcasts

- *Indigenous prosperity at a crossroads: An MLI conversation*, with Esther Peterson, March 12, 2021
- *Indigenous prosperity at a crossroads: An MLI conversation*, with Boomer Desjarlais, March 12, 2021
- *Pod Bless Canada Ep. 64: UNDRIP fails to address Indigenous issues*, with Chris Sankey, Melissa Mbarki and Ken Coates, May 11, 2021



### Inside Policy

- *June: Moving from the pain of residential schools to self-determination for Indigenous peoples*



The background features a dark grey field with a series of overlapping, light grey chevron-like shapes pointing downwards and to the right. A single, vibrant red line follows a jagged, upward-trending path across the upper right portion of the image.

# Who we are

**MLI could not succeed without its** supportive Directors and Advisors, its superb staff, and its generous sponsors and donors. In 2021, we had a few notable staff changes and internal promotions.

2021 FACTS AND FINANCIALS

# Leadership

(as of December 31, 2021)

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**Patrice Dutil**, Senior Fellow

**Heather Exner-Pirot**, Senior Policy Analyst

**Sharleen Gale**, Senior Fellow

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**Marcus Kolga**, Senior Fellow

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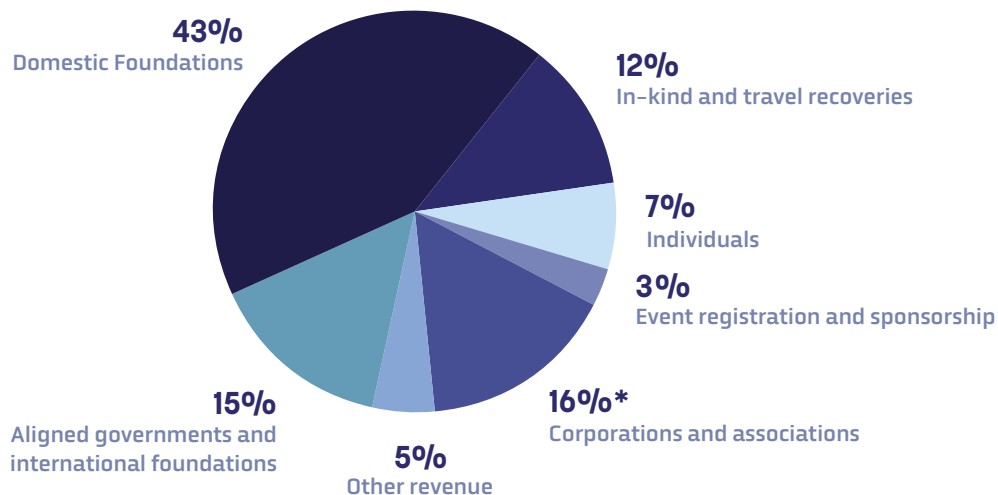
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★ MLI only accepts foreign funding from liberal democratic countries that are aligned with Canada's interests and values

## Financial report

Year ended December 31

REVENUE	2021	2020
Donations		
Foundations	\$ 1,755,617	\$ 1,485,670
Corporate and associations	477,236	133,234
Individual	224,884	97,872
In-kind and travel recoveries	360,996	340,792
Event registration and sponsorship	80,072	218,302
Government assistance	166,983	147,191
Interest	1,176	1,513
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,066,964</b>	<b>2,424,574</b>

EXPENDITURES	2021	2020
Accounting and legal	\$ 198,818	\$ 40,245
Advertising and promotions	96,909	98,681
Bank charges	6,841	3,389
Contract fees	1,207,427	805,713
Editing and design	70,165	49,553
Event speaker fees, catering, supplies and promotion	47,046	108,989
Insurance	12,560	14,505
Office supplies	41,938	24,420
Printing	6,441	3,317
Rent	78,597	68,709
Research, writing, translation and reader fees	280,630	161,574
Salaries and benefits	974,039	754,471
Travel and accommodations	9,754	44,242
Video services	-	8,085
Website	36,490	31,120
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,067,655</b>	<b>2,217,013</b>
<b>Excess (deficiency) of revenue over expenditures</b>	<b>\$ (691)</b>	<b>207,561</b>

excellent

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– Sir Wilfrid Laurier

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- Short-listed for the Templeton Freedom Award (2017)
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*constructive* *important* *forward-thinking*  
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# *Ideas change the world*

## WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT MLI

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I want to congratulate the **Macdonald-Laurier Institute** for 10 years of excellent service to Canada. The Institute's commitment to public policy innovation has put them on the cutting edge of many of the country's most pressing policy debates. The Institute works in a persistent and constructive way to present new and insightful ideas about how to best achieve Canada's potential and to produce a better and more just country. Canada is better for the forward-thinking, research-based perspectives that the **Macdonald-Laurier Institute** brings to our most critical issues.

### The Honourable Jody Wilson-Raybould

The **Macdonald-Laurier Institute** has been active in the field of Indigenous public policy, building a fine tradition of working with Indigenous organizations, promoting Indigenous thinkers and encouraging innovative, Indigenous-led solutions to the challenges of 21<sup>st</sup> century Canada. I congratulate **MLI** on its 10 productive and constructive years and look forward to continuing to learn more about the Institute's fine work in the field.

### The Honourable Irwin Cotler

May I congratulate **MLI** for a decade of exemplary leadership on national and international issues. Through high-quality research and analysis, **MLI** has made a significant contribution to Canadian public discourse and policy development. With the global resurgence of authoritarianism and illiberal populism, such work is as timely as it is important. I wish you continued success in the years to come.

### The Honourable Pierre Poilievre

The **Macdonald-Laurier Institute** has produced countless works of scholarship that solve today's problems with the wisdom of our political ancestors. If we listen to the **Institute's** advice, we can fulfill Laurier's dream of a country where freedom is its nationality.

## M A C D O N A L D - L A U R I E R I N S T I T U T E



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