



Public Inquiry Into Foreign Interference in Federal  
Electoral Processes and Democratic Institutions

Enquête publique sur l'ingérence étrangère dans les  
processus électoraux et les institutions démocratiques  
fédéraux

**Public Hearing**

**Audience publique**

**Commissioner / Commissaire  
The Honourable / L'honorable  
Marie-Josée Hogue**

**VOLUME 8  
ENGLISH INTERPRETATION**

**Held at :**

Library and Archives Canada  
Bambrick Room  
395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Tuesday, April 2, 2024

**Tenue à:**

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada  
Salle Bambrick  
395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Le mardi 2 avril 2024

**INTERNATIONAL REPORTING INC.**

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### III

## Appearances / Comparutions

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Office of the Commissioner of Canada Elections	Christina Maheux Luc Boucher Nancy Miles
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Russian Canadian Democratic Alliance	Mark Power Guillaume Sirois
Michael Chan	John Chapman Andy Chan
Han Dong	Mark Polley Emily Young Jeffrey Wang
Michael Chong	Gib van Ert Fraser Harland
Jenny Kwan	Sujit Choudhry Mani Kakkar

## IV Appearances / Comparutions

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Malliha Wilson

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Daniel Stanton

Democracy Watch

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Nick Papageorge

Canada's NDP

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Conservative Party of Canada

Nando de Luca

Chinese Canadian Concern Group on  
The Chinese Communist Party's  
Human Rights Violations

Neil Chantler

Erin O'Toole

Thomas W. Jarmyn  
Preston Lim

Senator Yuen Pau Woo

Yuen Pau Woo

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Ottawa, Ontario

--- Upon commencing on Monday, April 2, 2024 at 9:53 a.m.

**THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please.

This sitting of the Foreign Interference Commission is now in session. Commissioner Hogue is presiding. Cette séance de la Commission sur l'ingérence étrangère est maintenant en cours. La Commissaire Hogue préside. The time is 9:53 a.m. Il est 9 h 53.

**COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Good morning. So again, I apologise for our delay. It's always the same thing, there is some technical issue that needs to be resolved. But we are ready. I think Me McGrann has certain rules to recall.

**--- PRELIMINARY MATTERS BY MS. ERIN DANN:**

**MS. ERIN DANN:** Good morning. Thank you, Commissioner. It's Erin Dann, Commission Counsel. And just before we begin the evidence today, the Commission wish to make the following announcement about the production of topical summaries.

The Government of Canada has produced to the Commission a number of unclassified topical summaries of Government of Canada intelligence holdings that will be introduced as evidence over the course of the Commission's proceedings.

The Government of Canada has appended the following explanation to each of these documents: This document is an unclassified summary of intelligence held by Security and Intelligence departments and agencies. It has primarily been created by CSIS, with input and agreement from

1 CSE, GAC, PCO, RCMP and PS. It responds to a specific  
2 request by the Commission for the Public Inquiry into Foreign  
3 Interference in Federal Electoral Processes and Democratic  
4 Institutions, for an unclassified summary of information  
5 regarding this particular topic and should not be used as the  
6 basis of understanding for any other topic.

7 This document is based on intelligence  
8 collected and assessed over a period of time and does not  
9 necessarily reflect the Government of Canada's full  
10 understanding of the topic at any specific point in time.  
11 The underlying intelligence has been provided to the  
12 Commission.

13 By employing summaries and redactions, this  
14 document sanitizes intelligence in a manner that removes the  
15 potential injury to national security and international  
16 relations, does not disclose sensitive activities,  
17 techniques, methods, and sources of intelligence that would  
18 cause potential injury, and abides by relevant Canadian  
19 legislation. It does not provide all of the caveats and  
20 limitations contained in the original classified documents or  
21 provide an assessment of the reliability or credibility of  
22 any specific intelligence, as it would disclose information  
23 that would cause injury, or as it could disclose information  
24 that would cause injury.

25 This is a summary of some intelligence  
26 information that is available to the Government of Canada's  
27 national security and intelligence community on a certain  
28 topic, presented such that it can be released to the public

1 without disclosing information that would cause injury to  
2 national security and international relations. As such, it  
3 has several important limitations. The summary must be read  
4 in light of these limitations, otherwise the summary has the  
5 potential to mislead the reader. The limitations are the  
6 following:

7                   Summary may be incomplete: The summary  
8 summarises some, but not necessarily all, the intelligence  
9 information on this topic that is available to the Government  
10 of Canada's national security and intelligence community.  
11 For example, it only contains relevant information that can  
12 be appropriately sanitised for public release.

13                   Summary does not indicate time of collection:  
14 This summary does not indicate, unless expressly stated, when  
15 the summarised information was collected or obtained. This  
16 information was collected and analysed over a period of time,  
17 which may or may not have been available to decisionmakers  
18 across the Government of Canada during the writ-period. As  
19 such, for example, it should not be assumed that the  
20 information was collected close in time to the events being  
21 described.

22                   Summary may contain information that is  
23 single-sourced: The summary does not indicate whether the  
24 information it relates to comes from a single source, or from  
25 multiple sources.

26                   Summary may contain information of unknown  
27 and varying degrees of reliability, or information that may  
28 have been provided to influence as much as inform.

1           Summary does not indicate the source of  
2 information: The summary may present information from  
3 different sources -- from different types of sources without  
4 identifying the type of source, i.e. open source, human  
5 sources, technical intercepts, et cetera. Nor, does it  
6 indicate whether it was translated from another language than  
7 the language in which it was -- it is presented.

8           Summary does not indicate corroboration or  
9 lack of corroboration: The summary does not indicate whether  
10 other information exists that may corroborate the summarised  
11 information, or, alternatively, whether there is no such  
12 corroborating information.

13           Summary does not analyse information: This  
14 document is a summary of intelligence; it is not an analysis  
15 of the overall import, meaning, or strength of intelligence.

16           The Commission has been provided with all  
17 relevant intelligence and assessments, which indicates  
18 information on reliability and corroboration of the  
19 information contained therein.

20           Next, I will address the use of topical  
21 summaries in the public hearings.

22           Subject to the Rules and the Commissioner's  
23 discretion to direct the hearings in accordance with the  
24 Guiding Principles, counsel may refer to the topical  
25 summaries in cross-examination. In doing so, counsel must  
26 frame their questions in a way that makes it clear to the  
27 witness that the information in the topical summaries  
28 reflects a summary produced by the Government of Canada of

1 certain information in its intelligence holdings, not proven  
2 facts.

3 Thank you, Commissioner.

4 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

5 **--- PRELIMINARY MATTERS BY MS. KATE McGRANN:**

6 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Good morning.

7 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Good morning.

8 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** My name is Kate McGrann.

9 I'm Commission Counsel, and will begin this morning with some  
10 preliminary matters. We'll start by asking the Court  
11 Operator to pull up WIT 32\_EN. For the purpose of the record  
12 only, the French version of this summary is found at  
13 WIT 32\_FR.

14 **--- EXHIBIT No. WIT 32 EN:**

15 Interview Summary: Azam Ishmael

16 **--- EXHIBIT No. WIT 32 FR:**

17 Résumé d'entrevue : Azam Ishmael

18 **MS. ERIN DANN:** Ms. McGrann, we just need to  
19 ensure the witnesses are sworn or affirmed.

20 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Thank you.

21 **THE REGISTRAR:** We'll start with you,  
22 Mr. Ishmael. Do you request to be sworn on -- sworn or  
23 affirmed?

24 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Sworn is fine.

25 **THE REGISTRAR:** Okay. Please state your name  
26 and your full name and spell out your last name for the  
27 record, please.

28 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Azam Louis Ishmael is my

1 full name. Ishmael is spelled I-S-H-M-A-E-L.

2 **--- MR. AZAM ISHMAEL, Sworn:**

3 **THE REGISTRAR:** Thank you.

4 And Ms. McGrath, would you like to be  
5 affirmed or sworn?

6 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Sworn is fine for me.

7 **THE REGISTRAR:** Okay. Please state your name  
8 and your last name and spell your last name for the record,  
9 please.

10 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Okay. It's Geraldine Anne  
11 McGrath. And it's M-C-G-R-A-T-H.

12 **--- MS. ANNE McGRATH, Sworn:**

13 **THE REGISTRAR:** Thank you.

14 Counsel may proceed.

15 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** We have a third witness  
16 who is joining us via Zoom.

17 **THE REGISTRAR:** Mr. Soliman, do you wish to  
18 be affirmed or sworn?

19 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Sworn is fine.

20 **THE REGISTRAR:** Okay. Please state your name  
21 and spell your name for the record.

22 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Walied Soliman. S-O-L-  
23 I-M-A-N.

24 **--- MR. WALIED SOLIMAN, Sworn:**

25 **THE REGISTRAR:** Thank you very much.

26 **--- EXAMINATION IN-CHIEF BY MS. KATE McGRANN:**

27 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I'll ask the Court  
28 Operator to pull up WIT 32\_EN. We're looking at a Stage 1

1 Interview Summary of Azam Ishmael.

2 Mr. Ishmael, you were interviewed by  
3 Commission counsel on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2024. Do you remember that  
4 interview?

5 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

6 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** A summary was prepared of  
7 that interview, which is being shown to you now. Have you  
8 had an opportunity to review this summary?

9 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

10 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Will you agree that this  
11 document is an accurate summary of the interview you provided  
12 to Commission counsel?

13 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

14 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you adopt this  
15 interview summary as part of your evidence before the  
16 Commission?

17 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

18 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Ishmael, you served as  
19 the National Director of the Liberal Party and you've sat in  
20 that role since 2017?

21 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

22 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And you continue to serve  
23 in that role today?

24 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

25 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You also served as the  
26 Liberal Party's National Campaign Director for the 2021  
27 Federal Election?

28 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

1                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You were one of the  
2 Liberal Party representatives designated to receive briefings  
3 from the Security and Intelligence Threats to Election  
4 Taskforce in respect of the 2019 election?

5                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

6                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** For the remainder of our  
7 discussion today, I'll be referring to the Security and  
8 Intelligence Threats to Election Taskforce as the SITE  
9 Taskforce.

10                   And, Mr. Ishmael, you were also one of the  
11 Liberal Party representatives designated to receive briefings  
12 from the SITE Taskforce in respect of the 2021 election?

13                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

14                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You can take that document  
15 down. And I'll ask that we turn up WIT 22\_EN.

16                   Once again, for the record only, the French  
17 version of this summary is found at WIT 22\_FR.

18                   **--- EXHIBIT No. WIT 22 EN:**

19                   Interview Summary: Walied Soliman

20                   **--- EXHIBIT No. WIT 22 FR:**

21                   Résumé d'entrevue : Walied Soliman

22                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** We're looking at an  
23 interview summary of Walied Soliman.

24                   Mr. Soliman, you were interviewed by  
25 Commission counsel on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2024. Do you remember that  
26 interview?

27                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

28                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** A summary was prepared of



1 that interview, which is being shown to you now. Have you  
2 had an opportunity to review this summary?

3 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

4 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Will you agree that this  
5 document is an accurate summary of the interview you provided  
6 to Commission counsel?

7 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

8 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you adopt this  
9 interview summary as part of your evidence before the  
10 Commission?

11 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

12 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You are the Canadian Chair  
13 of the law firm Norton Rose Fulbright?

14 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

15 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You did not play a role in  
16 the Conservative Party of Canada's campaign in the 2019  
17 General Election?

18 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

19 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You served as a co-chair  
20 of the Conservative Party's General Election Campaign for the  
21 2021 General Election?

22 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

23 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You were the Conservative  
24 Party representative designated to receive briefings from the  
25 SITE Taskforce for the 2021 General Election?

26 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

27 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Can we please turn up WIT

28 23\_EN?



1                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You were the NDP's  
2 representative designated to receive briefings from the SITE  
3 Taskforce for the 2021 General Election?

4                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

5                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Thank you.

6                   And we can take that document down.

7                   In each of your roles as representatives  
8 designated to receive briefings from the SITE Taskforce, you  
9 each obtained security, secret security clearances, and  
10 subsequently received secret classified briefings as a group.

11                   Those briefings and that experience are the  
12 focus of my questions for today's panel.

13                   Some of you may also have received classified  
14 briefings delivered to you on an individual basis or  
15 delivered to your parties on an individual basis in respect  
16 of the parties that you represented. I will not be asking  
17 you about those briefings.

18                   The Government has produced copies of  
19 documents relating to the briefings from the SITE Taskforce  
20 in a format suitable for public disclosure. We will be  
21 reviewing some of those documents together today.

22                   There is information in those documents that  
23 has been redacted. In accordance with the Commission's  
24 obligations to protect classified information, I will not ask  
25 you questions intended to elicit classified information you  
26 received.

27                   And I understand that you may not be able to  
28 answer aspects of the questions that I ask you. Where that

1 is the case, please simply indicate where you cannot answer  
2 these questions in a public setting, and I will move on.

3 Before we turn to your experiences as  
4 designated representatives of your respective parties to the  
5 SITE Taskforce, I want to touch briefly on the topic of the  
6 campaign party nomination process.

7 I'll begin with some questions for you, Mr.  
8 Ishmael.

9 I understand that Liberal Party  
10 representatives received a classified briefing in respect of  
11 the nomination contest in Don Valley North and that you are  
12 not in a position today to provide any information about  
13 that.

14 Commissioner, we expect that other witnesses  
15 called at the public hearings will be able to speak to this  
16 briefing.

17 Mr. Ishmael, are you aware of media reports  
18 starting in early 2023 alleging that there were  
19 irregularities in the 2019 Liberal Party nomination contest  
20 in the riding of Don Valley North, that international  
21 students with falsified documents were bussed to campaign  
22 voting sites and coerced into voting for Han Dong?

23 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I'm aware of the media  
24 reports, yes.

25 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I understand that from the  
26 Liberal Party's perspective, there were no issues or  
27 irregularities in the Don Valley North nomination process?

28 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

1                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Could you please explain  
2 why the Liberal Party holds that view?

3                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** So the Liberal Party of  
4 Canada operates, I think much like the other political  
5 parties, a very rigorous process around nomination meetings,  
6 including a set of published rules, as well as the basis in  
7 our Constitution that are reviewed and approved by the  
8 National Board of Directors.

9                   The process, as intended, is meant to be both  
10 transparent and detail oriented, as you can -- as witnessed  
11 by the actual rules themselves.

12                   And the Chair of the meeting has not -- the  
13 Chair of the meeting for that particular nomination meeting  
14 has not indicated any irregularity, nor did any of the  
15 participants in a meeting avail themselves of the appeals  
16 process that is available to anybody who is a party to the  
17 nomination meeting.

18                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I'm going to take this  
19 opportunity to remind myself, as much as you, that we have to  
20 endeavour to slow down when we're speaking, because there is  
21 translation taking place. So I'm going to try to remember  
22 that as we move forward.

23                   Mr. Ishmael, you are aware that the  
24 Commission has received a Supplemental Statement of  
25 Anticipated Evidence from Mr. Dong?

26                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

27                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** That Statement of  
28 Anticipated Evidence says that Mr. Dong recalls that

1 international students attending a private high school and  
2 living in a residence at Seneca College voted in the 2019 Don  
3 Valley North Nomination?

4 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes, that's what it says.  
5 Yeah.

6 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** That Statement of  
7 Anticipated Evidence also says that Mr. Dong recalls being  
8 told that a bus organized by the school had transported some  
9 of the students to the nomination meeting?

10 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Assuming, for the sake of  
12 this question, that Mr. Dong confirms this information as his  
13 evidence, would that change your views about whether there  
14 were any issues or irregularities with the 2019 Don Valley  
15 North Nomination Race?

16 **MS. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No. People who are -- who  
17 ordinarily reside within the riding are allowed to vote in  
18 our nomination meetings. The only thing that catches me as a  
19 bit peculiar there is organized by the school, given that it  
20 was a partisan political event.

21 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Stepping back now from the  
22 2019 nomination race in the Don Valley North Riding, and  
23 looking more generally at the Liberal Party's rules governing  
24 who can vote in nomination races, which you've spoken to  
25 briefly already, do you have a view on whether the nomination  
26 process is vulnerable to foreign interference?

27 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes, I have a view, and I  
28 don't particularly believe that it is vulnerable to foreign

1 interference.

2 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Explain the basis for your  
3 view, please.

4 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** So the process for  
5 identification of electors in a nomination meeting closely  
6 mirror the requirements from Elections Canada, with the  
7 exception -- notable exceptions of people who are of the age  
8 of 14 who are allowed to vote and participate in the  
9 nomination meeting, as well as people are allowed to be  
10 vouched for at the nomination meeting.

11 So, you know, beyond that you need to prove  
12 -- you have to prove your place of residence, provide either  
13 two pieces of ID, one bearing your address, or with a photo  
14 ID, very similar to the Elections Canada process.

15 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Soliman, do you have a  
16 view on whether the political party nomination races are  
17 vulnerable to foreign interference?

18 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't know the answer  
19 to that. I think that it's -- that's a question for our  
20 security establishment.

21 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Ms. McGrath, do you have a  
22 view on whether NDP nomination races are vulnerable to  
23 foreign interference?

24 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I would agree that there's  
25 no basis to judge that. I believe that foreign actors may be  
26 interested, but I have no evidence of any involvement.

27 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** We'll now shift our focus  
28 to your experiences as designated representatives for your

1       respective parties to the SITE Task Force.

2                   And I'll begin with some questions about your  
3 interactions, Mr. Ishmael, with the SITE Task Force in  
4 respect of the 2019 general election.

5                   But before I do that, Ms. McGrath, would you  
6 please describe the party's awareness of foreign interference  
7 as a potential issue before SITE Task Force briefings began  
8 in respect of the 2019 general election?

9                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I would say it was not  
10 high on the radar. Most of the information that we've ever  
11 received about this has been through media reports ---

12                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Ishmael ---

13                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** --- after the fact.

14                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Oh, pardon me.

15                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Sorry. After the fact.

16                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Thank you for that  
17 clarification.

18                   Mr. Ishmael, could you please describe the  
19 Liberal Party's awareness of foreign interference as a  
20 potential issue before the SITE Task Force briefings began in  
21 respect of the 2019 general election?

22                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** We were largely aware,  
23 through the media reports, of potential foreign interference  
24 as witnessed by the -- or during the American election in  
25 2016 in regards to cyber attacks on the democratic candidate.

26                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And staying with you for  
27 the time being, Mr. Ishmael, would you please describe your  
28 experience as a designated Liberal Party representative to



1 the SITE Task Force in advance of the 2019 general election?

2 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Describe the experience.

3 You know, generally speaking, it was an interesting  
4 experience in which they shared some information. In some  
5 regards it was a bit disappointing in the recommendations  
6 that would -- or lack thereof, the recommendations they would  
7 make.

8 But generally, as you would expect from a  
9 public institution in Canada, it was very professional, well-  
10 run, and thoughtful.

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You said that aspects of  
12 the experience were disappointing. Please explain what you  
13 mean by that.

14 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Often times, without  
15 disclosing any of the briefing itself, you know, as a general  
16 request, political parties had asked for assistance on  
17 procuring technology that would have been approved or, you  
18 know, endorsed by the Government of Canada to know that, you  
19 know, if you use this -- if you use this type of technology  
20 it would be the gold standard. And often it was very  
21 reluctant to provide any recommendation in regards to that.  
22 Although it did provide general information around  
23 cybersecurity and how to protect; you know, kind of  
24 cybersecurity 101, basically.

25 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Other than the matter  
26 related to technology recommendations, were there any other  
27 elements of your experience with the SITE Task Force in 2019  
28 that you found disappointing?

1 MR. AZAM ISHMAEL: No.

2 MS. KATE McGRANN: I ask that we turn up CAN  
3 2323.

4 --- EXHIBIT No. CAN 2323:

5 Classified Briefing to Political  
6 Parties: CSIS Mandate and Threat  
7 Landscape

8 MS. KATE McGRANN: This is a document titled,  
9 "Classified Briefing to Political Parties: CSIS Mandate &  
10 Threat Landscape." Would you please turn to page 2 of this  
11 document? If you look at ---

12 MR. WALIED SOLIMAN: I'm not seeing it on my  
13 screen, by the way, counsellor.

14 MS. KATE McGRANN: Please bear with us for  
15 one second.

16 MR. WALIED SOLIMAN: I can see it now.

17 MS. KATE McGRANN: Thanks very much.

18 Turning back to the document that's on the  
19 screen that's now in front of all of you, if you look at the  
20 top of the page you'll see a heading, "Threat Overview,  
21 Election 2019: Trends," and we see four trends identified  
22 here. I'll give you a second to read the four bullet points  
23 that are before you, and you'll see that they speak to the  
24 current threat landscape in Canada.

25 (SHORT PAUSE)

26 MS. KATE McGRANN: Mr. Ishmael, is this  
27 consistent with the nature of the information you recall  
28 receiving at the SITE Task Force briefings you attended?



1 elections posed by state actors at  
2 this time. Furthermore, we have no  
3 information to indicate that nonstate  
4 actors are actively conducting, or  
5 plan to conduct, cyber-based  
6 influence operations."

7 The last bullet point in this section states:

8 "We are almost certainly not aware of  
9 the full extent of the F1 [for  
10 foreign interference] activities of  
11 hostile states in Canada."

12 Now, I appreciate that you cannot tell us  
13 about any classified information that you received, but are  
14 you able to tell us whether this briefing and the examples  
15 that I have taken you to are consistent with the nature of  
16 the information you recall receiving at the SITE Task Force  
17 briefings you attended?

18 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

19 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Was information of this  
20 nature useful to your party?

21 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

22 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Would you please explain  
23 why?

24 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Given that the SITE Task  
25 Force was looking at this threat and looking at this  
26 information, you know, the party understood that we needed to  
27 have robust systems around cybersecurity and cyber threats,  
28 as well as take additional steps to educate the staff and the

1 candidates.

2 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** The next section in this  
3 document -- and if we could scroll up a little bit -- is  
4 titled, "Main actors in Canada that carry out FI [or foreign  
5 interference] activities - China and Russia". The first  
6 paragraph of this section states:

7 "The People's Republic of China and  
8 the Russian Federation are the top-  
9 tier FI threats. Based on the  
10 observed FI activities, we assess  
11 these states believe they can operate  
12 in Canada with relative impunity. FI  
13 activities tend to increase leading  
14 up to and following elections."

15 I'd like to look at a couple of examples of  
16 the information provided about actors, starting with China.

17 If you look at the heading, "China, Strategic  
18 Points," the first bullet point reads:

19 "Most significant foreign  
20 interference actor..."

21 And this is in respect of China:

22 "...the threat emanates [redacted]  
23 ...through Chinese officials in Canada,  
24 uses Chinese Canadian community  
25 groups, social media tools, trusted  
26 contacts, co-optees and cutouts  
27 (business people, Canadian permanent  
28 residents and citizens), staff

1 members of elected officials and  
2 China media language outlets to  
3 advance Communist Party of China  
4 objectives." (As read)

5 We'll look at one other example. If we can  
6 turn to page 5, please.

7 I'm going to draw your attention to the third  
8 bullet point on this page, which reads:

9 "Elected officials and candidates  
10 across all levels of government  
11 targeted. China covertly directs  
12 financial and voting support for  
13 favourable candidates, parties and  
14 policies perceived to further China's  
15 strategic interests." (As read)

16 This memo, I note also, has sections on  
17 India, Pakistan and Iran.

18 Speaking only in generalities, are you able  
19 to tell us whether this information is consistent with the  
20 nature of the information you recall receiving at the SITE  
21 Task Force briefings you attended?

22 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

23 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Was information of this  
24 nature useful to your Party?

25 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** It was interesting to  
26 know, but very difficult to action, so not overly useful in  
27 terms of implementing.

28 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Please explain why you say

1 that information of this nature was difficult to action?

2 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Well, I think the first  
3 bullet point says it being done both covertly and with  
4 impunity, so hard to, obviously, detect something that is  
5 covert in nature as well as, you know, a lot of the  
6 allegations here I would think were matters for law  
7 enforcement, security agencies to action if ever they  
8 witnessed or saw something that would be inappropriate in any  
9 nature.

10 You know, the Canadian process itself is  
11 actually quite rigorous between the oversight of Elections  
12 Canada and the Commissioner of Elections Canada, so we have a  
13 lot of trust that Elections Canada and the Commissioner of  
14 Elections Canada will investigate threats as needed.

15 You pointed to the description in this  
16 document of the covert nature and the fact that actors feel  
17 they can act with impunity. Any other reasons why  
18 information of this nature was difficult for your Party to  
19 action?

20 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** It's very general as a  
21 statement.

22 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** We'll turn our focus now  
23 to after the 2019 General Election was over.

24 Would you please describe your experience as  
25 a designated Party representative to the SITE Task Force  
26 following the 2019 General Election?

27 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** In reflection of the 2019  
28 or just like a general observation of 2019?

1           So in -- you know, I thought the SITE Task  
2 Force was a good effort by the government to safeguard the  
3 elections. I did really appreciate understanding and knowing  
4 that a number of senior bureaucratic officials were  
5 monitoring the situation actively which, from my  
6 understanding, was the first time in Canadian history that it  
7 had been done. And should they have seen anything, they  
8 would have reported it duly to -- you know, to the media or  
9 taken the necessary steps.

10           So I think from that perspective, it was  
11 quite interesting and I applaud the government's action on  
12 that regard.

13           In regards to the information that was passed  
14 on to us, you know, it's -- as you can see with disclosing  
15 anything that we were briefed on, the nature of the  
16 information that we were given was very general and, you  
17 know, very hard to action with any credible -- without any  
18 credible threat so, you know, that's -- I would say that was  
19 our reflection. But I -- and I -- you know, from my  
20 understanding of -- you know, given the SITE protocols were  
21 new, the government was kind of feeling its way through what  
22 was an appropriate level of disclosure to political parties  
23 and what -- you know, what did they keep classified.

24           **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Turning away from your  
25 experience as a designated representative to the SITE Task  
26 Force, I just want to ask both you and Ms. McGrath about any  
27 information you may have been hearing from people  
28 volunteering or working for your respective parties during



1 the election.

2 I'll start with you, Mr. Ishmael. Did the  
3 Liberal Party received any concerns from anyone working on  
4 Liberal nomination or election campaigns in 2019 about  
5 potential for an inference?

6 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I did not receive any  
7 information, no.

8 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Ms. McGrath, did the NDP  
9 receive any concerns from anyone working on NDP nomination or  
10 election campaigns in 2019 about potential foreign  
11 interference?

12 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** No.

13 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** We'll now shift our  
14 attention to the 2021 General Election, and I'll start with  
15 some questions about the awareness of your respective parties  
16 about foreign interference as a potential concern heading  
17 into that election.

18 Ms. McGrath, describe the NDP's awareness of  
19 foreign interference as a potential issue heading into the  
20 2021 General Election.

21 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I think that we had a  
22 sense that it was a potential based on past experience, but  
23 in almost all cases any information about foreign  
24 interference in elections has been after the fact and through  
25 -- mostly through the media.

26 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And you referenced past  
27 experience in your answer. What were you referring to when  
28 you said "based on past experience"?

1           **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Well, for instance, there  
2 was someone in the 2019 campaign who had been -- who was  
3 arrested in Norway, I believe, and who was accused of being  
4 arrested for being a Russian spy and had been a volunteer on  
5 one of the campaigns, one of our campaigns. So that was -- I  
6 believe that came out in the media very, very much years  
7 after the campaign had happened, and it happened in Norway,  
8 not in Canada.

9           **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Am I right in  
10 understanding that you learned about the events that you just  
11 described through the media?

12           **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** That's correct, yes.

13           **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you recall when you  
14 learned about those events?

15           **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I think it was after the -  
16 - it was probably just prior to the 2021 campaign and it was  
17 -- I heard it on the radio and I've seen a written article  
18 about it as well.

19           **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Did the Party take any  
20 steps further to the reports that you learned of?

21           **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** No, it was -- as I said,  
22 it was years after and there was nothing to take steps on.  
23 There's not enough -- this goes generally on all of these  
24 things. There wasn't enough information, resources or tools.

25           **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Turning to you, Mr.  
26 Soliman, would you please describe the Conservative Party's  
27 awareness of foreign interference as a potential issue  
28 heading into the 2021 general election?

1                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I would say it was very  
2 low on the radar.

3                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Ishmael, would you  
4 please describe the Liberal Party's awareness of foreign  
5 interference as a potential issue heading into the 2021  
6 General Election?

7                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** It was low on the radar.

8                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Let's turn now to your  
9 experiences as the designated representatives of your  
10 respective parties to the SITE Task Force in 2021.

11                   Mr. Soliman, I'll start with a couple of  
12 questions for you.

13                   Would you please describe your experience as  
14 the Conservative Party representative designated to receive  
15 briefings from the SITE Task Force in advance of the 2021  
16 General Election?

17                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** It was a role that Erin  
18 took very seriously. Erin was the leader of the Party at the  
19 time.

20                   We went through quite an extensive security  
21 clearance. My overall sense was that I really didn't learn  
22 anything in the briefings that I didn't regularly read in the  
23 New York Times or any other -- or the Globe and Mail or  
24 Toronto Star. There was -- it was a high potential exercise,  
25 I think, and I strongly support us continuing to have this  
26 type of task force. But unfortunately, I don't think -- I  
27 certainly didn't come away from it learning anything that I  
28 wouldn't have known reading the newspapers. I often wondered

1       why I went through such an extensive security clearance to  
2       listen to the briefings we were listening to.

3                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Two follow-up questions on  
4       that answer.

5                   First of all, you referenced "Erin". I take  
6       it that is a reference to Erin O'Toole?

7                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

8                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And you described your  
9       experience as a high potential exercise. What did you mean  
10      by that?

11                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I think that if the SITE  
12      Task Force was to be utilized as a tool to interface with  
13      security cleared, trusted members of the -- of our political  
14      parties to clearly share appropriate intelligence and to  
15      assist the political parties in ensuring that any foreign  
16      interference is identified early, any potential actors are  
17      identified early so that we can deal with them in an  
18      appropriate manner, I think that would be a very positive  
19      outcome.

20                   That was my expectation, but just sort of  
21      listening to briefings on things that I think, as Azam put  
22      it, were probably not actionable, and as I would put it, that  
23      were largely, not largely, entirely already known to us, was  
24      not a good use of time, and probably not a good use of  
25      resources.

26                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Turning to you,  
27      Ms. McGrath.

28                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I have a question to

1 Mr. Soliman.

2 Did you have the opportunity to ask questions  
3 during these briefings, or you were mainly receiving  
4 information?

5 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes, we had the  
6 opportunity to ask questions, and I often did. I was quite  
7 interested. I was quite curious, but really at no point did  
8 we get -- at no point did I feel I got any information that  
9 was useful or actionable.

10 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Ms. McGrath, please  
12 describe your experience as the designated NDP representative  
13 to the SITE Taskforce in advance of the 2021 general  
14 election.

15 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** They -- I went through the  
16 secret security process, which was fairly extensive. I was  
17 struck by the amount of resources in the room because there  
18 were high level representatives from each of the agencies. I  
19 would agree that there was -- the information that was given  
20 seemed to me to be fairly generic, really, not -- again, not  
21 actionable. Questions were asked, but the answers were not  
22 necessarily -- the answers didn't give you the -- any  
23 information that would be helpful or any resources that would  
24 be helpful to deal with things. Questions such as if there  
25 were foreign interference in this aspect of the election  
26 campaign, how would we know it, and what would we do about  
27 it? And those were the kinds of questions that I think the  
28 parties were asking, and that information was not available.

1 But there was a lot of -- there were PowerPoint presentations  
2 on different aspects of election interference.

3 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Speaking in generalities,  
4 did you feel that you had the information you needed to know  
5 where to turn if you became aware of any concerns about  
6 potential foreign interference?

7 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I was given names and  
8 contact information for people that I could contact if there  
9 was anything. But again, as I said, I never felt like I had  
10 the tools to actually identify if and when it was happening.

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Ishmael, you have the  
12 benefit of having experienced the 2019 SITE Task Force  
13 briefings. Perhaps in reference to that experience could you  
14 describe your experience as the Liberal Party representative  
15 to the SITE Taskforce in advance of the 2021 general  
16 election?

17 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I would say when we  
18 attended the 2021, it didn't feel like a lot of new  
19 information was being shared, even though a number of years  
20 had transpired, or had passed. So it kind of felt that I was  
21 participating in foundational briefings that I had received  
22 in 2019.

23 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** We'll turn now to some  
24 examples of SITE Task Force briefings that were delivered in  
25 2021, and we'll start with the document at CAN 18041.

26 **--- EXHIBIT No. CAN 18041:**

27 SITE TF Briefing to Secret Cleared  
28 Federal Political Parties

1                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** This is a document dated  
2 July 2021, titled SITE TF Briefing to Secret Cleared Federal  
3 Political Parties. This document sets out information on why  
4 you should care about foreign interference, what is foreign  
5 interference, and what are foreign interference threat  
6 actors.

7                   If we could turn to page 2 of this document,  
8 and look to the bottom of the page under the heading, Lessons  
9 Learned from 2019. You see three bullet points here, and  
10 they read as follows:

11                   "The SITE Task Force...saw no  
12 definitive intelligence to indicate  
13 that foreign state actors were  
14 specifically targeting Elections  
15 Canada...or Canadian electoral  
16 systems and networks.  
17 SITE also saw no evidence of a broad-  
18 based foreign state-directed  
19 interference campaign in the digital  
20 information ecosystem, but noted that  
21 determining state attribution and  
22 disinformation campaigns was and  
23 remains difficult."

24                   And finally:

25                   "SITE did observe foreign  
26 interference...activities targeting  
27 certain ridings and candidates in  
28 relation to the election, directed

1 largely from China, and to a lesser  
2 extent from India and Pakistan,  
3 through the use of human agents.  
4 None of the activities have met the  
5 threshold to pursue criminal  
6 investigations."

7 Speaking only in generalities, are you able  
8 to tell us, Mr. Soliman, whether this information is  
9 consistent with the nature of the information you recall  
10 receiving at the SITE Task Force you attended?

11 I'm sorry, I'll have to interrupt you because  
12 it seems that you're on mute.

13 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Could you go back to the  
14 top, please?

15 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Yes.

16 Could we scroll back to the top of the first  
17 page.

18 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** So I certainly don't  
19 recall Canada has a been a target for many years. And if you  
20 go to the paragraphs that you were just referring to, those  
21 three. I do recall -- I do recall the arc the discussion  
22 that there was nothing to worry about from 2019. I don't  
23 ever recall Pakistan being mentioned.

24 And I just would note, I don't recall ever  
25 receiving this document, so this may have been somebody's  
26 talking points, but I -- we certainly -- I certainly don't  
27 recall receiving a document that looked like this. Maybe  
28 others have, but I certainly don't.



1                   **MS. KATE McGRANN:** With respect to your  
2                   recollection about what you were told about the potential  
3                   threat, was the nature of the information that was provided  
4                   to you useful to your party?

5                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Well, it was comforting  
6                   because it was -- it sort of affirmed our -- my -- our  
7                   pre-existing view that this -- that foreign interference  
8                   should be low on the radar because in 2019 there was nothing  
9                   to worry about.

10                  **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Ms. McGrath, again  
11                  speaking in generalities, first of all, is this information  
12                  consistent with what you recall learning through your  
13                  attendance at the SITE Task Force briefings in 2021?

14                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes. The information was  
15                  that there was not a -- that there may be attempts but that  
16                  there was little evidence to support any substantial impact  
17                  on our elections. I would agree that I did not see this  
18                  document at any point. As a matter of fact, most of the  
19                  briefings were -- at the SITE Task Force were verbal and  
20                  PowerPoints, and we had no paper or pens or anything like  
21                  that to take notes or anything.

22                  **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And -- thank you with that  
23                  context. Was information of this nature useful to your  
24                  party?

25                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, it was useful to know  
26                  that there was -- that this was not a -- like a major concern  
27                  that we had to deal with in the campaign. That we needed to  
28                  be alert but not to devote substantial resources to it.



1                   And the next bullet point reads:  
2                   "The People's Republic of  
3                   China...will be the primary threat  
4                   actor in an upcoming federal  
5                   election. Due to tensions in the  
6                   bi-lateral relationship and PRC  
7                   activity directed against Canada's  
8                   Parliament and certain MPs, the PRC  
9                   may interfere in specific ridings to  
10                  either support those viewed to be  
11                  'pro-PRC', or oppose those viewed to  
12                  be 'anti-PRC'."

13                  Start with you, Mr. Ishmael, speaking in  
14                  general terms, are you able to tell us whether this is  
15                  consistent with the nature of the information you recall  
16                  receiving at the SITE Task Force briefings you attended.

17                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't remember these  
18                  paragraphs specifically, like, in I don't believe we saw this  
19                  document, but generally speaking, this was the nature of the  
20                  briefing, yes.

21                  **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And was this information -  
22                  - was information of this nature useful to your party?

23                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Similar to the previous  
24                  statement, you know, given that it was identified to be a low  
25                  threat in 2019, the evolving threat in 2021 didn't really  
26                  surprise us.

27                  **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Soliman, speaking  
28                  generally, is this -- is information -- sorry, pardon me. Is

1 this information consistent with the nature of the  
2 information you recall receiving at the SITE Task Force  
3 briefings you attended?

4 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No. I can tell you, if  
5 the words the PRC may interfere in specific ridings to either  
6 support those viewed to be pro-PRC or oppose those views to  
7 be anti-PRC, I think any political party would have been  
8 alarmed by that statement and would have, in the very least,  
9 engaged further and asked a lot of questions, or developed --  
10 tried to develop some sort of strategy to at least  
11 institutionalize the monitoring of this. So, no, I do not  
12 recall that. And again, I'll just remind you I don't -- I  
13 certainly don't recall, and I think my colleagues as well  
14 don't recall ever getting this document.

15 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** So am I correct in  
16 understanding you to be saying that if you had received  
17 information of the nature or similar to the information shown  
18 on this screen, you're of the view that that would have been  
19 helpful to have received?

20 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Absolutely. Of course.

21 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Ms. McGrath, speaking in  
22 general terms, is the information we've reviewed here  
23 consistent with the nature of the information you recall  
24 receiving at the SITE Task Force briefings you attended?

25 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I believe it is more  
26 specific than anything that I recall receiving. I will say  
27 that in the 2021 campaign, whether it was through the SITE  
28 Task Force or just in general, the major public safety threat

1 that we were operating under was having an election during a  
2 pandemic, and that was the primary -- our primary concern  
3 during that campaign.

4 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** In your view, I understand  
5 you don't recall receiving information with this level of  
6 specificity?

7 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** That's correct.

8 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Would information of this  
9 level of specificity have been useful to your party?

10 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I believe it would have  
11 been useful, yes.

12 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Would you please explain  
13 why?

14 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Well, I think that if  
15 there was any sense that there were -- that there was going  
16 to be activity by the People's Republic of China against  
17 certain -- against Parliament and certain MPs, and  
18 interference in specific ridings, it would have been useful  
19 to know that. It would have been useful to know which  
20 ridings, what type of interference, and what we would -- what  
21 we should do about it. Again, this goes back to the  
22 questions that the parties asked in the SITE Task Force  
23 meetings of how do we know, who will let us know if somebody  
24 else knows, and what do we do about it.

25 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I'd like to turn to  
26 another document. If we could pull up CAN 13124?

27 **--- EXHIBIT No. CAN 13124:**

28 CPC Concerns around Foreign Election

1 Interference 2021

2 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** This is a document titled  
3 "Transmittal Note. CPC Concerns Around Foreign Election  
4 Interference". I want to take you to a very specific  
5 paragraph within a document appended to this memo, so could  
6 we please turn to page 18?

7 This is a document titled "Call with Walied  
8 Soliman and Tausha Michaud. CPC Concerns Around Election  
9 Interference". I'm not going to ask any of you questions  
10 about this call at this time, but I do want to draw your  
11 attention to a specific bullet point at the bottom of the  
12 page under the heading "Specific Case".

13 The first bullet point under the heading  
14 "Specific Case" describes two security briefings delivered to  
15 political parties and I would like to review that with you  
16 here. This bullet point says,

17 "You may remember at the last two  
18 security briefings we held with the  
19 parties, SITE highlighted the fact  
20 that Chinese media had picked up on  
21 Canadian media criticism (first  
22 published in the Hill Times) and were  
23 running stories about the CPC  
24 platform and its impact on Canada-  
25 China relations."

26 Now I'm not asking you about the document,  
27 but I am asking you about the description of the two security  
28 briefings that we see in that bullet point. Once again,

1 speaking only in general terms, and starting with you, Mr.  
2 Soliman, are you able to tell us whether information of this  
3 nature is consistent with the nature of the information you  
4 recall receiving at the SITE Task Force briefings you  
5 attended?

6 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Unfortunately, not.  
7 Unfortunately, no.

8 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And just to help me  
9 understand what exactly that no means, are you saying ---

10 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I ---

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** --- no, you're not able to  
12 tell us, or ---

13 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No, I ---

14 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** --- no, it's not  
15 consistent?

16 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No, it is not  
17 consistent. I do not recall any briefing of this specificity  
18 on any issue, let alone something that would impact one of  
19 the party platforms specifically.

20 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Would information of this  
21 nature have been useful to your party?

22 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Of course. Of course.

23 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And would you please  
24 explain why?

25 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Well, as per my previous  
26 answer, if there's a specific threat or a potential of a  
27 specific threat that's been -- that's being identified, which  
28 I think would have been a very good use of the SITE Task

1 Force and the time of the individuals that were involved, we  
2 would have institutionalized at least some method of  
3 monitoring what was going on. So I certainly -- it would  
4 have been quite helpful.

5 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Ms. McGrath, speaking in  
6 general terms, are you able to tell us whether this is  
7 consistent with the nature of the information you recall  
8 receiving at the SITE Task Force briefings you attended?

9 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I don't recall that  
10 discussion at all, or that level of specifics.

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** In your view, would  
12 information of this level of specificity have been of  
13 assistance to your party?

14 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Well, it looks to me that  
15 this is primarily around the CPC platform, but I think it  
16 would have been good to know that this was happening, if --  
17 and again, if there were any concerns about it having an  
18 impact on other parties, what to do about it.

19 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Ishmael, speaking  
20 generally, are you able to tell us whether this is consistent  
21 with the nature of the information you recall receiving at  
22 the SITE Task Force briefings?

23 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't recall this  
24 specific case, although in 2021 I did miss more SITE meetings  
25 than I did in 2019, just given my additional responsibilities  
26 in National Campaign Director and National Director, so as a  
27 generic statement, I would say this is the type of  
28 information that was shared, but not to that level of



1 specificity.

2 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And with respect to the  
3 specificity we see summarized here, would information of that  
4 level of specificity have been of use to your party?

5 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Absolutely. Like Mr.  
6 Soliman, we would have known to be more alert to the  
7 situation and monitored appropriately.

8 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And we can take this  
9 document down. I'd like to now ask you some questions about  
10 information that you may have heard from those who were  
11 working for or volunteering with your parties during the 2021  
12 election and period leading up to it. I'll start with you,  
13 Mr. Ishmael. As National Campaign Director for the 2021  
14 campaign, am I right that you did not receive any concerns of  
15 complaints about potential foreign interference from Liberal  
16 Party candidates or staff?

17 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

18 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Turning to you, Mr.  
19 Soliman, I understand that field and regional organizers  
20 began reporting concerns about foreign interference to the  
21 party part of the way through the campaign; is that right?

22 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

23 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you recall when those  
24 concerns were first reported to the party?

25 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't recall. It  
26 would have been somewhere over the course of the campaign,  
27 latter part of the campaign, likely.

28 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Can you describe the

1 concerns that were reported to the party?

2 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** They're as set out in  
3 the witness statement. I don't think I really have anything  
4 to add from what was set out there.

5 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And if you could just help  
6 us out with your response to that question? Now I understand  
7 that it's in the witness statement, but it would be useful to  
8 hear it from you today.

9 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** We started getting  
10 information on a few targeted ridings where there seemed to  
11 be campaigns of misinformation that were -- that appeared to  
12 be being advanced by actors that we couldn't -- that the  
13 local campaigns couldn't identify.

14 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You mentioned a few  
15 targeted ridings. Do you remember which ridings you're  
16 referring to?

17 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't have them in  
18 front of me right now.

19 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Is that information that  
20 you could access if you were given the opportunity to go look  
21 for it?

22 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I believe it's in the --  
23 it's in the list that we ultimately provided to the SITE  
24 Taskforce. I think it's in one of your exhibits.

25 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You mentioned a  
26 misinformation campaign. What do you recall about the  
27 details of the misinformation campaign?

28 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** So you would expect,

1 sort of during the fog of a campaign, sort of getting calls  
2 from a few local ridings where there was messaging of  
3 information on -- misinformation on everything from Mr.  
4 O'Toole's policies on crime and safety and foreign policy  
5 issues specifically around the Uyghur issue.

6 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you remember seeing or  
7 being show any specific examples of the misinformation that  
8 you described?

9 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Not during the campaign.

10 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you remember seeing or  
11 being shown specific examples after the campaign?

12 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

13 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Would you please describe  
14 what you recall being shown?

15 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** There were really what's  
16 in the exhibit that we sent in, that we -- you can just pull  
17 up if you'd like.

18 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Could you just give us a  
19 summary of your recollection before I do that?

20 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I'd rather refer to the  
21 exact document that we sent you than just go by recollection  
22 from three years ago almost.

23 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Fair to say that you don't  
24 have a particularly clear or detailed recollection of these  
25 instances?

26 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Not right now, no.

27 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** And we will turn to a  
28 document that sets out summaries and details about those

1 concerns in a minute, but before we do, how did the party  
2 respond to the concerns that were brought to it?

3 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Initially during the  
4 campaign, the view was, "Get back to work on your campaigns."

5 You know, I had the confidence at the  
6 briefings that there was nothing that had gone wrong in 2019  
7 and had no reason to believe that there was anything going on  
8 in 2021.

9 I also had the confidence that if there was  
10 actually something going on that, I think as Anne said, there  
11 were a lot of senior people that were spending time with us,  
12 if there was something serious happening, I would have  
13 expected that someone would have let us know.

14 And so in the middle of a campaign, the  
15 response was, "Get back to work on the campaign." It was  
16 really only after the campaign was done that we really  
17 started hearing about it from a number of ridings, getting  
18 quite a bit of information, which we ultimately ended up  
19 delivering to the SITE Taskforce, which we thought was the  
20 right and responsible way to advance this.

21 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Can we please turn up CAN-  
22 13124?

23 Now, this is a transmittal note that we  
24 looked at a few moments ago for a different purpose, but for  
25 the purpose of these questions, we're looking at a  
26 transmittal note dated March 24<sup>th</sup>, 2023. The subject is:  
27 "CPC CONCERNS AROUND FOREIGN ELECTION INTERFERENCE 2021".

28 If we could go to page 3 of the document?

1 Pardon me, could we please go to page 2 of the document?  
2 This is a memorandum for the Clerk of the Privy Council  
3 titled "CPC CONCERNS AROUND FOREIGN ELECTION INTERFERENCE  
4 2021".

5 Do you remember seeing a copy of this  
6 document in 2021 or shortly thereafter?

7 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No, of course not.  
8 Absolutely not. We never saw this. And I, in fact, just  
9 read it this morning.

10 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Thank you. Could we  
11 please turn to page 3 of this document?

12 Under the heading "BACKGROUND", we see a  
13 summary of the concerns the Conservative Party expressed to  
14 the SITE Taskforce after the 2021 election, this document  
15 says PCO, Privy Council Office:

16 "...was first approached with concerns  
17 of foreign interference by the CPC on  
18 September 24[th], 2021. The election  
19 had occurred a few days prior, on  
20 September 20[th], 2021. The CPC  
21 provided a document outlining their  
22 concerns and suspicions that an  
23 'outside actor' in the Chinese  
24 community negatively influenced the  
25 CPC Candidates' performance in 13  
26 electoral ridings.

27 The CPC expressed a concern that  
28 there was a proliferation of media

1 content on WeChat and other social  
2 media platforms that was anti-  
3 Conservative, expressed support for  
4 the Liberal Party of Canada [...], and  
5 suppressed pro-CPC articles.”

6 And there’s a reference here to a document  
7 that’s appended in this memo that I’m not going to take you  
8 to in the interests of time today.

9 It goes on to state that:

10 “The CPC also detailed other observed  
11 incidents that were suspected  
12 indicators of influence, or  
13 interference, by the Chinese  
14 Government.”

15 It indicates that there are details appended  
16 at Tab A, but we’re going to look at the summary here. These  
17 included:

18 “Anti-CPC ads displayed on a digital  
19 screen in a Chinese grocery store in  
20 one riding;  
21 Automated ‘bots’ completing polling  
22 surveys;  
23 Allegations that ‘organizers’ in  
24 specific communities requested and  
25 cast ballots on behalf of [certain]  
26 electors; and  
27 Reports of business owners pushing  
28 employees to vote for the [Liberal

1                   Party of Canada], and other voter  
2                   intimidation and influence."

3                   Is this summary consistent with your  
4                   recollection of the information that you provided further to  
5                   the concerns that the Party received?

6                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Let me just start off by  
7                   addressing the memo. And again, I received it at 2:00  
8                   o'clock this morning and had an opportunity to review it for  
9                   the very first time ever early this morning when I -- in  
10                  preparing for this.

11                  Rarely do I get upset when I read something.  
12                  This memo would fall into that category.

13                  As starting point -- as a starting point, the  
14                  memo says that Tausha Michaud and I were threatening to go  
15                  public with our views.

16                  I want to be very clear. At no time, at no  
17                  time, did Erin O'Toole or any member of his team try to make  
18                  some Trumpian assertion that the election was lost to the  
19                  Conservatives because of foreign interference.

20                  We believe that there was -- we believed at  
21                  that point that there was something wrong that was happening,  
22                  we didn't quite understand it, and we approached the SITE  
23                  Taskforce because of the amount of information that we had  
24                  gotten in the days after the election, with an intention of,  
25                  "Here's what we got. In my case, I'm a volunteer, but as a  
26                  person who cares about the political process, when we're  
27                  getting this many concerns from this many ridings, it seems  
28                  to me that the right place for this to be discussed is with

1       you." We did not go to the press. We did not have Erin  
2       stand in front of a camera. The campaign team didn't do  
3       that. We were -- we went through the process that we thought  
4       was appropriate and we provided the information as best we  
5       could collect it without ever making an assertion that there  
6       was even foreign interference at that point. We did not  
7       know.

8                       The second thing I'd just like to address  
9       because I don't know what other questions you're going to be  
10      asking about this and I think it's important to get onto the  
11      record is in the conclusions of the gentleman who wrote this,  
12      he says that we were not happy with the outcome. That's  
13      ludicrous. It's absolutely ridiculous.

14                      We were never unhappy with the outcome. I'm  
15      not a security expert. I have no idea when something crosses  
16      into the line of foreign interference versus, you know,  
17      community members just posting things on chat groups.

18                      What I was disappointed about, really, was  
19      affirmed when I read this memo. I felt that there was a lack  
20      of intentionality, a lack of seriousness and a lack of  
21      respect for the process that all of our parties are involved  
22      in to have gotten just sort of a very summary briefing a few  
23      days before the caretaker government was done and the new  
24      government was sworn in to just sort of say, "Yeah, we looked  
25      at it. We don't -- couldn't really find anything. We don't  
26      have any other real explanation for you, and away we go".

27                      So I wanted to get those things on the  
28      record.



1           As for the summary that's here, I would refer  
2           you to the letter for an accurate description of the items  
3           that we simply put forward. It was not an advocacy piece.  
4           It wasn't written by me as a -- I'm a lawyer by trade. It  
5           wasn't -- it was written by our political team saying, "Here  
6           you go. Please let us know what you think because we're  
7           suddenly getting a lot of complaints".

8           There wasn't a single story on it, there  
9           wasn't a single Tweet on it, there wasn't a single discussion  
10          on it publicly. And frankly, when I read this memo, I felt  
11          it affirmed to me that we were being managed as opposed to  
12          having folks take a serious look at what were quite  
13          concerning issues.

14          That's a long answer for you. I'm sure my  
15          counsel's not happy with me speaking that long.

16                 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I'm going to look to my  
17          friends for assistance in finding the page number at which  
18          the letter that you were referring to is found at this  
19          document, so please bear with me for a moment because I  
20          understand you to be saying, in effect, that rather than  
21          providing a summary of the concerns that you expressed, the  
22          memo that you submitted speaks for itself and you'd prefer to  
23          be referred to that memo.

24                 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Please.

25                 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** While we're waiting for  
26          that information, let's turn to the response that you  
27          received to the complaint submitted.

28                 If we could scroll down the page. And back

1 up a little bit.

2 We're looking at the last bullet point on  
3 this page, which reads as follows:

4 "Global Affairs Canada, the  
5 Communications Security Establishment  
6 and the Canadian Security  
7 Intelligence Service examined the  
8 information provided by the CPC, and  
9 conducted additional analysis using  
10 information collected under their  
11 respective mandates. Based on the  
12 available evidence and information,  
13 the agencies were unable to conclude  
14 that there was a clandestine campaign  
15 to influence the outcomes of the 13  
16 ridings identified by the CPC."

17 Is that summary consistent with your  
18 recollection of the response that the Party received to the  
19 information it submitted?

20 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

21 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Now, you've already given  
22 us a little bit of information about this question, but would  
23 you please describe your reaction to the response that you  
24 received?

25 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Our reaction was, one,  
26 to ask for more, and the response was a bit of an  
27 infuriating, and it's been affirmed in this note, "We're not  
28 sure if we could speak with you after the new government is

1 sworn in".

2 And again, I can't imagine that the  
3 government of the time would have -- would have been opposed  
4 to a continuing dialogue to figure out what was going on.

5 And that was really it. I, you know,  
6 reminded our friends that political parties, all three of our  
7 political parties, are in the vote-getting and the  
8 fundraising business. We're not in the security business.  
9 We're not in the foreign interference identification business  
10 and we rely on them to do that.

11 My feeling at the time, notwithstanding this  
12 answer, was that there was a lack of seriousness in the  
13 approach and response, keeping in mind, of course, that at  
14 this point we did not know that there were any issues in  
15 2019, which obviously compounded the view on this later on.

16 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I took note of three words  
17 that you used when you were describing your reaction to the  
18 response, and I want to give you an opportunity to expand on  
19 each of them a little bit.

20 The first one was your observation that you  
21 felt there was a lack of intentionality. What did you mean  
22 when you said that?

23 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** It did not feel that  
24 there was a robust process in coming to the conclusions that  
25 were set out to us. We'd provided information, in our view,  
26 that was coming from different ridings, different  
27 individuals. You know, we approached it in a manner that we  
28 thought was respectful and adhered to the rules that had been

1 set out, and we sort of got a, "Hey, can we have a video  
2 conference two days before the new government's going to be  
3 sworn in so we can kind of have a couple of words to tell you  
4 what we think?".

5 You'll note in the memo here -- again, it  
6 surprised me a little bit this morning -- was that there was  
7 an individual who was brought on to make sure that there were  
8 appropriate communications lines opened or something as if it  
9 was a cons exercise as opposed to a -- as opposed to a truth  
10 gathering and an important public policy exercise, which was  
11 the intention that we were going at it with.

12 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** You also noted you felt  
13 there was a lack of seriousness and respect. Is there  
14 anything that you would add to the answer you just gave to  
15 help us understand why you formed those views?

16 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No.

17 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** With respect to the letter  
18 or memo that was provided, could we please turn to page 7 of  
19 this document?

20 I'll give you a second to take a look at  
21 this, and my only question for you here is, is this the  
22 document that you were referring to when you pointed us to  
23 the specific information submitted?

24 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't have the  
25 original to compare it to, but if you're telling me this was  
26 -- this is a true copy of what was delivered, I'll accept it.

27 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Turning to you, Ms.  
28 McGrath -- and again, we're talking about complaints or

1 concerns raised after the election. I understand that Jennie  
2 Kwan raised concerns about foreign interference to your  
3 Party.

4 Would you please describe your understanding  
5 of those concerns?

6 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** There were media reports  
7 that certain Members of Parliament had been targeted by the  
8 Chinese government and one of the MPs that was named in that  
9 was Jenny Kwan. I believe there were other MPs as well, and  
10 she was concerned about that.

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** When did the NDP learn of  
12 these concerns?

13 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** This is not that long ago,  
14 actually. This would have been, I would say, within -- I'm  
15 guessing. I think it was like a year ago when this started  
16 to be very, very prominent in the media and there was a  
17 report then about -- and the two MPs that I recall were MP  
18 Michael Chong and MP Jenny Kwan being targeted by the Chinese  
19 state.

20 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Describe the NDP's  
21 reaction to learning of those concerns.

22 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** We were concerned. We  
23 didn't have any information beyond what -- beyond those  
24 statements, that they had been identified and targeted, and  
25 we didn't know what that meant in -- you know, in a concrete  
26 way, and again, or what to do about it. So one of the things  
27 that we did was there had -- at that point, the special  
28 rapporteur had been named, David Johnston, and he asked for a

1 meeting with our leader, Jagmeet Singh, and I was at that  
2 meeting as well. And Jagmeet invited Jenny Kwan to come to  
3 the meeting to express her concerns about the impact that  
4 this was having on her and on her community.

5 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I also understand that  
6 federal NDP lawyers made a complaint to Elections Canada, or  
7 the Commissioner of Canada Elections, in relation to  
8 Ms. Kwan's 2021 election campaign. Do you recall which of  
9 those entities the complaint was made to?

10 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Pardon me?

11 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Do you recall which of  
12 those two entities, Elections Canada or the Commissioner of  
13 Canada Elections, the complaint was made to?

14 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I don't recall which one  
15 it was, but it would have probably been the Commissioner.

16 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** What do you know about the  
17 outcome of that complaint?

18 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** My understanding is that  
19 they were -- it was not deemed to be a matter of incredible  
20 significance. There was a -- it was seen that there was a  
21 problem, but it wasn't identified as a very high priority.

22 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** I have one final question  
23 that I'll pose to each of you in turn, and the question is:  
24 Other than what you've already explained, either through your  
25 witness summary or in your evidence today, what could the  
26 government have done to better assist your party in  
27 countering or protecting against foreign interference in the  
28 nomination and federal election campaigning process? And

1 I'll start with you, Ms. McGrath.

2 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Well, I would say that we  
3 either take it seriously or we don't, and if it's going to be  
4 taken seriously, and this is actually my primary interest in  
5 this, then it needs to be -- as I said before, there are a  
6 lot of resources devoted to it. There is some very high  
7 level people in the room. I believe that the party  
8 representatives probably require a higher level of security  
9 clearance so that they can receive both classified and  
10 unclassified documents, and I believe that the -- that there  
11 needs to be information for political parties on how to  
12 identify foreign interference, what to do about it, and who  
13 to speak to or how to proceed with any issues that arise.

14 So I think that it -- as I said before, it  
15 felt very much to me like we went through this whole process  
16 to get security clearance, we had these meetings with these  
17 very high level people in these -- all of these agencies, but  
18 it still felt very much to me like a bit of a *pro forma* box  
19 checking exercise.

20 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Ishmael, same  
21 question. Anything you'd like to add about what the  
22 government could have done to better assist your party to  
23 counter or protect against foreign interference in the  
24 nomination federal election campaigning process?

25 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** So expanding on what was  
26 in my witness statement, which included briefing the leaders  
27 directly, as well as, you know, specific recommendations  
28 around technology and tools that we could use, I think I

1 would agree with Anne's idea of either increasing the  
2 security clearance that the participants are given in the  
3 room so that they can hear more, they can have more frank  
4 conversations. But I'd generally say, as I think we've heard  
5 from all three parties this morning, you know, specific  
6 claims, but also, you know, if they're going to provide a  
7 level of specificity, you know, what they plan on doing as a  
8 -- either an action or a reaction.

9 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Mr. Soliman, anything you  
10 would like to add to what you've already shared in terms of  
11 what the government could have done better to assist your  
12 party to counter or protect against foreign interference in  
13 the nomination and federal election campaign process?

14 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't think there's  
15 anything to add from what my friends have articulated.

16 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** Those are my questions.  
17 Commissioner, I wonder if it would be an appropriate time to  
18 take the morning break.

19 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Yes, for the break.  
20 So we'll come back around 11:30, 35.

21 **THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please. À l'ordre,  
22 s'il vous plaît. The hearing is in recess until 11:35. La  
23 séance est en pause jusqu'à 11h35.

24 --- Upon recessing at 11:16 a.m./

25 --- Upon resuming at 11:37 a.m./

26 **--- MR. AZAM ISHMAEL, Resumed:**

27 **--- MR. WALIED SOLIMAN, Resumed:**

28 **--- MS. ANNE McGRATH, Resumed:**



1                   **THE REGISTRAR:** Order please. À l'ordre,  
2                   s'il vous plait.

3                   This sitting of the Foreign Interference  
4                   Commission is back in session. Cette séance de la Commission  
5                   sur l'ingérence étrangère a repris.

6   (SHORT PAUSE)

7                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** So we'll begin the  
8                   cross-examination. I think the first one is counsel for Erin  
9                   O'Toole.

10                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Thank you, Commissioner.

11                   **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. THOMAS JARMYN:**

12                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** I was initially going --  
13                   my name's Tom Jarmyn. I represent Erin O'Toole.

14                   I was initially going to put some specific  
15                   documents to you, ask your recollection of particular  
16                   incidents, but I suspect that would be a waste of time given  
17                   your evidence this morning. So I'll just ask sort of some  
18                   general questions.

19                   So first of all, with respect to the 2019  
20                   election and the associated briefings, Mr. Ishmael, and  
21                   Ms. McGrath, do you recollect any briefings about specific  
22                   incidents of foreign interference that occurred during those  
23                   elections?

24   Ms. McGrath?

25                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I don't recall any  
26                   specific information, no.

27                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Ismael?

28                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Through the SITE

1 briefings, the group briefings, there was no specific  
2 information, no.

3 **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And any other briefings  
4 provided by the Government of Canada to you?

5 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** There was one briefing in  
6 which, and I can't go into the details of it, that was  
7 provided to us one-on-one, which information, generally-  
8 speaking, was shared with us.

9 **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** All right. Thank you.  
10 And with respect to the 2021 election, same  
11 question, Ms. McGrath?

12 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Again, no specific  
13 information coming from the SITE Task Force or any agency  
14 about specific issues.

15 **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Okay. And Mr. Ishmael?

16 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** The same response. In the  
17 group setting, there was no specific information shared.

18 **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Soliman?

19 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** None.

20 **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Okay. And so with  
21 respect to the issue of being alert to foreign interference,  
22 I conclude from your examinations this morning that you were  
23 not given, sort of, any indicia or indicators of foreign  
24 interference that you should look for in the course of, Mr.  
25 Ishmael and Ms. McGrath, of either the 2019 or the 2021  
26 election?

27 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Outside of what was  
28 presented this morning, correct.

1                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Okay. And any -- were  
2 you given any specific indicators that you should look for  
3 and report, Ms. McGrath?

4                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** No. We asked for that,  
5 but no.

6                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Okay. And Mr. Soliman,  
7 the same question with respect to the 2021 election?

8                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** None.

9                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And I'd just like to  
10 briefly touch on the issue of capacity. So political parties  
11 are running national campaigns, and I'm to assume there's a  
12 national infrastructure in every riding -- or an  
13 infrastructure, sorry, in every riding. And is that true for  
14 all three political parties, Mr. Ishmael?

15                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I would say every riding  
16 where we're running a candidate, yes.

17                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Yeah. And Ms. McGrath?

18                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, we run a candidate in  
19 every riding.

20                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Soliman?

21                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

22                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And each one of those  
23 ridings, there would have been a candidate, an official  
24 agent, and probably a campaign manager? Is that correct?  
25 For each one of you. Ms. McGrath?

26                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Correct. Yes.

27                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Ishmael?

28                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

1                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Soliman?

2                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

3                   **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And am I to -- there's  
4 regular communications to each one of those people, so the  
5 campaign managers and official agents in particular, I  
6 imagine candidates have other things to do, campaign managers  
7 and official agents are in regular communication with your  
8 national campaign? Is that correct, Ms. McGrath?

9                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

10                  **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** Mr. Ishmael?

11                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

12                  **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Soliman?

13                  **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

14                  **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And if -- do you give --  
15 or did your campaign give any direction to those folks to  
16 report to you if they saw wrong doing in the context of the  
17 *Elections Act* in general? So unlabeled signs, signs being  
18 torn down, those sorts of things? Misbehaviour under the  
19 *Elections Act*. Did you have any direction to report that  
20 sort of information, Ms. McGrath?

21                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, we did. We do that -  
22 - we have regular communication with all of our candidates  
23 and official agents and we are very -- we're very diligent  
24 about advising people of what to look for and to make sure  
25 that it gets reported.

26                  **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Ishmael?

27                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Same.

28                  **MR. THOMAS JARMYN:** And Mr. Soliman?



1 directing most of my questions to Mr. Ishmael this morning.

2 Mr. Ishmael, I wanted to ask you some  
3 questions about the Liberal Party's rules for nomination  
4 contests.

5 To start, to state the obvious, nominations  
6 are important because the nominee may become a Member of  
7 Parliament; correct?

8 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

9 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And in a stronghold  
10 riding, so a riding where a party has historically done very  
11 well, the nominee is very likely to become a Member of  
12 Parliament? Is that correct?

13 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

14 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** So in order to vote in a  
15 nomination contest, an individual has to be a member of the  
16 Liberal Party; correct?

17 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** They need to be a  
18 registered Liberal.

19 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** A registered Liberal?  
20 Okay. And to be a registered Liberal, the individual must be  
21 at least 14 years old; correct?

22 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

23 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And not a member of any  
24 other federal political party?

25 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

26 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And ordinarily resident  
27 in Canada?

28 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Well, to vote in the

1 nomination, meaning you need to ordinarily reside within the  
2 riding that the nomination meeting is happening.

3 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Right. And to show  
4 ordinary residence in Canada, that can be proved by showing a  
5 piece of mail with a Canadian address? Is that right?

6 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** The criteria for voting in  
7 a local nomination meeting are pretty clear. They resemble  
8 that of Elections Canada, which is either a piece of ID with  
9 a photo and address, two pieces of proof of address, one with  
10 -- that has the actual address, or they can be vouched for.

11 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** But in an election, you  
12 need to be a citizen; correct? In a General Election?

13 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

14 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And that's not true in a  
15 nomination contest? You just need to be ordinarily resident;  
16 correct?

17 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

18 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And that would mean that  
19 international students would meet that requirement?

20 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

21 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And even if a student  
22 was here for just a year, say, on a one-year study program,  
23 they could also vote in a nomination?

24 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** If they could prove their  
25 proof of residence, yes.

26 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** So that would mean that  
27 people who have no intention of staying in Canada and plan to  
28 return to their foreign country to live could still be

1 members of the Liberal Party; correct?

2 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't think we make the  
3 assumption that these people are not going to stay within the  
4 country or participate in political affairs. We make the  
5 assumption that we want to have an inclusive process that  
6 welcomes new people into the fold. That's why 14 years are  
7 allowed to vote. That's why, you know, we have open rules,  
8 open and inclusive rules.

9 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Right. But you've just  
10 said that someone who is only here for a year, provided they  
11 can prove their address, would be able to vote, and could  
12 vote in a nomination; correct?

13 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct. Yes.

14 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Okay. And does that not  
15 create any concern for the Liberal Party about potential  
16 coercion or foreign interference with an international -- a  
17 group of international students voting in a nomination  
18 contest?

19 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't think that that  
20 creates any concern because the idea is that the ballot box  
21 is still a secret ballot placed and marked at a local  
22 nomination meeting.

23 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And you had said that in  
24 order to vote in a nomination contest, you have to be a  
25 resident in the electoral district; correct?

26 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

27 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And so you'd agree that  
28 if a candidate were to bus people in from outside of the



1 riding to vote, then that would be a violation of your  
2 party's rules; correct?

3 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Just the simple fact that  
4 the bus met outside of the riding would not be a violation of  
5 the rules, no.

6 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** No, but if the voters  
7 were not resident in the electoral district and were resident  
8 in a different riding, that would be contrary to the rules;  
9 correct?

10 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

11 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And if voters were to  
12 use documentation to prove their address that was not real,  
13 was forged or fraudulent in some way, that would also be  
14 contrary to your party's rules; correct?

15 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

16 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** The National Campaign  
17 Chair has the power to remove a nominee in the best interests  
18 of the party? Is that correct?

19 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

20 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And the leader of the  
21 party can also choose not to endorse any nominee?

22 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** As per the *Canada*  
23 *Elections Act*, yes.

24 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** If there was evidence of  
25 bringing someone from outside of the riding, who lived  
26 outside of the riding, to vote, could that be grounds for the  
27 removal of a nominee?

28 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** That would be a matter for

1 the Appeals Committee of the party to decide.

2 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And the same rules for  
3 voting in the nomination -- I'll put it this way, if you're a  
4 member of the party, you can vote in a leadership contest as  
5 well? Is that correct?

6 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** That is correct, yes.

7 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** All registered Liberals  
8 can vote in leadership contests?

9 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

10 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** So that would mean that

11 ---

12 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Assuming -- well, I should  
13 actually restate that. The rules for the leader -- next  
14 leadership campaign have not been written. They're written  
15 in advance of the campaign. But, you know, in a broad scope,  
16 yes.

17 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** But for previous ---

18 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

19 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** --- leadership contests?  
20 Yeah. So that would mean international students, again,  
21 provided they can demonstrate they're an ordinarily resident  
22 in Canada, could vote in a leadership contest as well;  
23 correct?

24 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** As long as they meet  
25 whatever criteria set out in the rules for the selection of  
26 the leader.

27 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Okay. I'd like to ask a  
28 few questions about the nomination in Don Valley North. I

1 understand that your position is that no irregularities took  
2 place in the 2019 Don Valley North Nomination Contest? Is  
3 that correct?

4 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** As far as I'm aware, yes.

5 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** You're aware, I assume,  
6 of Special Rapporteur David Johnston's Report on Foreign  
7 Interference?

8 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

9 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And in his report, his  
10 found that irregularities were observed with Mr. Dong's  
11 nomination and there's well-grounded suspicion that the  
12 irregularities were tied to the PRC Consulate in Toronto?  
13 Are you aware of that?

14 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I didn't read that  
15 specific passage of his report, but generally speaking, yes.

16 **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Do you disagree with Mr.  
17 Johnston's conclusion then?

18 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't know what Mr.  
19 Johnston drew that conclusion upon, so it would be hard for  
20 me to disagree with it.

21 **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** Could you put the passage  
22 to the witness?

23 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Excuse me, I don't hear  
24 anything. Can you speak louder, please?

25 **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** Could you put the passage  
26 to the witness?

27 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Do we have the document

28 ---

1                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** I ---

2                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** --- at hand or ---

3                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** --- I can bring it up.

4 I'm just also aware of my time, Commissioner, but it is COM-  
5 0000104, and it's on page 23, at the bottom right. It's  
6 probably 23 of the document, not of the PDF, so I -- yeah.

7                   **--- EXHIBIT No. COM 104:**

8                                   First Report - Independent Special  
9                                   Rapporteur on Foreign Interference

10                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Yeah, it is.

11                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** So just that bottom  
12 right, the last paragraph there, Mr. Ishmael, was the one I  
13 was referring to.

14                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Okay.

15                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** So I take it your answer  
16 is you're not ---

17                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yeah, I still don't know  
18 what Mr. Johnston used to draw his conclusion, but if Mr.  
19 Johnston wrote that, I'm sure that's the way he feels.

20                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** And are you aware that  
21 the Commissioner of Canada Elections has an ongoing  
22 investigation into the 2019 nomination of Don Valley North?

23                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No, I'm not aware of it.

24                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Okay. Well, we heard  
25 that from the Commissioner last week, and so I'm wondering,  
26 in light of the Johnston report and an ongoing Commissioner  
27 investigation if the Liberal Party has conducted its own  
28 internal investigation into the Don Valley North nomination?

1                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** When media reports  
2 surfaced in regards to this nomination, we did, you know,  
3 refer to the meeting chair, and ask him if he had seen or  
4 heard or any -- anything irregular, and the response back we  
5 got was that he hadn't noticed anything irregular, and he was  
6 an experienced, very experienced volunteer with the Liberal  
7 Party, so we took his word.

8                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** In that case, I'm  
9 wondering if you can say why Mr. Dong is not in the Liberal  
10 caucus currently.

11                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I can't speak to that.

12                   **MR. FRASER HARLAND:** Okay. Those are my  
13 questions, Commissioner.

14                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

15                   So the next one is counsel for Jenny Kwan.

16                   **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:**

17                   **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Good morning,  
18 Commissioner. For the record, my name is Sujit Choudhry.  
19 I'm counsel to Jenny Kwan. I just have a few questions for  
20 the panel. I'm sorry if this seems a little bit repetitive.

21                   So, Ms. McGrath, just a couple of questions  
22 arising out of your testimony this morning if I could. So I  
23 recall that the Commission counsel asked you about the  
24 complaint sent to OCCE in September 2021 ---

25                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** M'hm.

26                   **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** --- in relation to  
27 Vancouver East. And I believe you, as part of your answer,  
28 you might have said that you understood that the complaint

1       wasn't a very high priority?

2                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** If we're in -- with  
3       respect to the SITE Task Force and foreign interference in  
4       the election.

5                   **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Oh, I see, but not that  
6       it was not a high priority for OCCE?

7                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yeah.

8                   **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Okay. And so when you  
9       said you understood it wasn't a high priority, you were told  
10      that at the SITE Task Force?

11                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Well, it didn't come up at  
12      the SITE Task Force.

13                  **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** I see. Okay. Okay.

14                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Which is my -- what I base  
15      that on.

16                  **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Right. Thanks for  
17      clarifying. Very much appreciate it.

18                  So I just want to go back, and this is a  
19      question now to all the witnesses, and so it's -- you've all  
20      testified that you received very little or almost no specific  
21      information at the SITE Task Force meetings. Could you each  
22      confirm that that includes, and, I'm sorry, but I just would  
23      like to get this on the record, that you received no specific  
24      information about riding level concerns regarding foreign  
25      interference. Maybe we can start with Ms. McGrath.

26                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** That's correct, yes.

27                  **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Mr. Ishmael?

28                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** As a general statement

1 without revealing the contents of the briefing ---

2 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Of course.

3 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** --- I'd say that's  
4 correct.

5 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Yeah. Mr. Soliman?

6 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

7 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Okay. Thank you. And  
8 so part of the Commission's mandate is to look at the future  
9 and to figure out what the system should look like. So I'd  
10 like to ask you a couple of questions to get your responses  
11 on that, if I may, to assist the Commissioner. And so one of  
12 the issues I think that we're going to need to look at is how  
13 political parties interact with the SITE Task Force in, for  
14 example, the forthcoming election. And so would you agree  
15 that political parties should receive actionable riding level  
16 information regarding foreign interference on the SITE Task  
17 Force. Let me just start with Ms. McGrath.

18 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I do believe that because  
19 that's -- that seems to me to be the purpose, is to be able  
20 to do something about this, so you would require riding level  
21 specific information and a course of action.

22 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** And if I could just  
23 follow up, and do you think that parties should be able to  
24 act on that information within the scope of their legal  
25 authority?

26 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Within the scope of their  
27 legal authority, but we are not security agencies. We're  
28 political parties, and so I believe that the security and

1 intelligence grouping would be the best place for that to be  
2 dealt with.

3 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Okay. Mr. Soliman,  
4 would you like me to repeat the questions, or do you recall  
5 them?

6 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I got them.

7 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Could you please give  
8 your answers, sir?

9 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I agree. I  
10 wholeheartedly agree with Ms. McGrath.

11 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Okay. And, Mr. Ishmael,  
12 could you please provide your answers to those two questions?

13 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yeah, I agree with Ms.  
14 McGrath, but I do -- I don't envy the position that the SITE  
15 Task Force is in, where they're trying to -- you know, these  
16 attempts are happening in real time and they need to be able  
17 to declassify things and not compromise a longer term, so I  
18 empathize with the challenge they have, but actionable  
19 intelligence is definitely something we'd request.

20 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** So the last question I  
21 want to ask is about institutional fragmentation, so there's  
22 a bit of an alphabet soup of different actors and  
23 institutions within the federal government that is involved  
24 in foreign intelligence. We've heard about the CSIS, the  
25 RCMP, CSC, GAC, OCCE, Elections Canada. In fact, there's  
26 over a dozen. And so I'm wondering if -- I'm going to ask  
27 each of you again, to what extent do you think institutional  
28 fragmentation is a problem in respect to detecting, deterring



1 and countering foreign interference and how might that be  
2 best addressed by the Commissioner in her recommendations.

3 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** That's a hard one to  
4 answer actually because, you know, I'm not a part of any of  
5 those agencies and I don't know what their -- what that is,  
6 but I will say, as I've said before, that there were a lot of  
7 resources devoted to this and a lot of key players at it, and  
8 it seems to me that perhaps fewer people with more  
9 information and more direction would have been more useful.

10 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Okay. Mr. Soliman?  
11 Oh, I'm sorry, I can't hear you, sir.

12 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I agree with that. I  
13 have no view on the fragmentation issue.

14 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Yeah, and, Mr. Ishmael?

15 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I'd agree. I don't have a  
16 view on the fragmentation issue, but it does appear that the  
17 SITE Task Force would be an attempt at unifying that.

18 **MR. SUJIT CHOUDHRY:** Okay. Thank you very  
19 much.

20 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you. Next one is  
21 counsel for Han Dong.

22 **MR. JEFFREY WANG:** No questions.

23 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** No question?

24 **MR. JEFFREY WANG:** No.

25 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Counsel for the  
26 Conservative Party, Me De Luca?

27 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Just give me a second.

28 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY/CONTRE-INTERROGATOIRE PAR**

1 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:**

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** First question is for Mr.  
3 Ishmael. Can you tell us who Braeden Caley is?

4 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** He was the former Senior  
5 Director of Communications for Liberal Party of Canada.

6 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And am I correct  
7 that at least since 2000 and -- the 2019 election he was an  
8 employee of the Liberal Party of Canada?

9 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

10 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And he was not an  
11 employee of the Government of Canada?

12 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

13 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And you are an employee  
14 of the Liberal Party of Canada, sir?

15 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct. Well, the  
16 Federal Liberal Agency of Canada is the corporate name.

17 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And you're not an  
18 employee of the Government of Canada?

19 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

20 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And that's always  
21 been the case? Have you ever been an employee of the  
22 Government of Canada?

23 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No.

24 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Can I ask, please, that  
25 document number CAN doc 000013 be pulled up, please? And  
26 perhaps just scroll down to the second page.

27 **--- EXHIBIT No. CAN.DOC 13:**

28 Institutional Report - Prime

1 Minister's Office

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Mr. Ishmael, I understand  
3 that this is an institutional report prepared by or on behalf  
4 of the Prime Minister's Office for the purpose of the present  
5 inquiry. I'd ask that you or someone scroll down to page 8,  
6 please? And you'll see there is a heading there that's  
7 entitled "Relevant Oral Briefings to the Prime Minister and  
8 the PMO"; do you see that?

9 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

10 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And then there's a  
11 summary of the various meetings that the intelligence agency  
12 or agencies gave to the PMO's office; do you see that?  
13 Perhaps you can scroll down some more. Okay. And next page  
14 as well.

15 I'd like to direct your attention to two  
16 separate briefings, the first, the September 28 to 29, 2019.

17 The second is September 12th, 2021. Do you  
18 see those?

19 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

20 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And am I correct that  
21 each of those briefings were during the respective 43rd and  
22 44th General Election writ periods?

23 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

24 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And if you look at the  
25 notes section -- actually, for those two rows, all of the  
26 columns, it indicates that on both of those occasions that  
27 I've pointed you to, officials from CSIS and the PCO gave  
28 briefings that were intended for the Prime Minister

1 specifically in his capacity as leader of the Liberal Party  
2 of Canada. Do you see that?

3 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't see that, no.

4 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. The fourth row,  
5 sir, under the notes section. You see that?

6 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** On the first meeting, yes.

7 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And on the second  
8 meeting, you're drawing a distinction because it doesn't  
9 indicate that they were for the benefit of the Prime  
10 Minister?

11 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

12 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. But you'll agree  
13 with me that with respect to the second meeting on September  
14 12, 2021 they were delivered for the purposes to the  
15 representatives of the Liberal Party of Canada?

16 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

17 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And am I correct  
18 that on both occasions it was you and/or Mr. Caley who were  
19 the intermediaries who were briefed directly by the PCO and  
20 CSIS and who were then charged in communicating the  
21 information to either the Prime Minister or other Liberal  
22 Party of Canada representatives?

23 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** We were briefed with the  
24 information and then we were told to do with it as we will.

25 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And at least for  
26 the first meeting in 2019, that was specifically for the  
27 benefit of the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada a the  
28 time?

1                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Without going into the  
2                   specificity of the meeting, I don't recall that the intention  
3                   was to brief the Prime Minister.

4                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry. I missed the last  
5                   part of that.

6                   You don't recall...?

7                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't recall that they  
8                   said this information is for the Prime Minister of Canada.

9                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And so if you  
10                  could scroll up, are you suggesting that whoever prepared  
11                  this institutional report is mistaken there when it says this  
12                  was a briefing delivered to the Prime Minister of Canada in  
13                  his capacity of leader of the Liberal Party of Canada?

14                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No, that note reads  
15                  correct, that it was a briefing delivered to the Prime  
16                  Minister in his capacity as leader of the Liberal Party of  
17                  Canada.

18                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And am I correct  
19                  that with respect to these two meetings, you and/or Mr. Caley  
20                  were the intermediaries as opposed to members of the PMO's  
21                  office on the other occasions because on those occasions, the  
22                  information was being communicated specifically for the  
23                  political interest as opposed to the government interest?

24                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I can't speak to why we  
25                  were chosen. We were the members of the SITE committee and  
26                  my understanding is we held those -- we had those meetings as  
27                  member of the SITE committee ---

28                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay.

1                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** --- or the SITE Task Force  
2                   mandate.

3                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. The next questions  
4                   are for Mr. Soliman and Ms. McGrath.

5                   Are either of you aware of ---

6                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I am asked to tell you  
7                   just to go a bit more slowly.

8                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. You'll be -- just  
9                   trying to finish. I'm sorry.

10                  The next questions are for Mr. Soliman and  
11                  Ms. McGrath, and they are this.

12                  Are either of you aware of instances during  
13                  the writ periods for either the 43rd or 44th General  
14                  Elections where the Privy Council Office or CSIS provided  
15                  briefings on foreign interference to the CPC and the NDP in  
16                  their capacity as political parties?

17                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Do you want me to start?

18                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sure.

19                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I would say that the -- I  
20                  was there as a member of the NDP, yes.

21                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** On a one-on-one basis?

22                  **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Not on a one-on-one basis,  
23                  no.

24                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Mr. Soliman?

25                  **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Same as Ms. McGrath,  
26                  except just there for the CPC. No one on one.

27                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Those are my questions.

28                  **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Thank you very much.

2                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** So next one is counsel  
3 for the Sikh Coalition.

4                   **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. PRABJOT SINGH:**

5                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Good morning,  
6 Commissioner. It's Prabjot Singh, counsel for Sikh  
7 Coalition.

8                   Mr. Soliman, if you don't mind, if I can  
9 start with yourself, based on the testimony that you shared  
10 with my friend this morning, I think -- is it fair to say  
11 that you're not an expert in, you know, security and  
12 intelligence, analyzing that kind of information?

13                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

14                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** So you're relying on any  
15 information and advice that was provided to you by security  
16 and intelligence during those site meetings; correct?

17                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

18                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And so in your political  
19 experience, your career, you've been involved in the  
20 Conservative Party for a number of years at the provincial  
21 and federal levels; correct?

22                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

23                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And so during that period  
24 of time, I would imagine that you would be engaging with a  
25 number of stakeholders from business interests, labour  
26 unions, ethnic, cultural groups?

27                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

28                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And in any engagements

1 with stakeholders who identified as Indian, in your  
2 experience or that of your colleagues, I would imagine that  
3 you were engaging with Canada-based diaspora organizations as  
4 well as officials from the Indian Consulate as well. Is that  
5 correct?

6 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't recall ever  
7 engaging with people from the consulate, but from diaspora  
8 organizations, yes.

9 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Do you recall during your  
10 time with the Conservative Party of officials from the Indian  
11 Consulate interacting or communicating with your colleagues?

12 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I was not involved in  
13 the day-to-day side. I'm not aware.

14 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And so you don't know of  
15 any communications with your -- with any of your colleagues.  
16 Is that correct?

17 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I don't have any  
18 information on that.

19 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Okay. As a part of one  
20 of your roles within the Conservative Party, I would imagine  
21 that you were involved with the screening and vetting of  
22 potential candidates at the nomination stage. Is that fair?

23 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** That was not one of my  
24 day-to-day jobs, no. I was not on that committee.

25 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Would you have any  
26 capacity or involvement in any of those conversations?

27 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Not in the 2021  
28 campaign, no.



1                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** What about at any point  
2 in your political career at the provincial level or the  
3 federal level?

4                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** At the provincial level,  
5 yes.

6                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And in your experience,  
7 were there examples where Indian stakeholders communicated  
8 enthusiastic support or opposition to a proposed candidate?

9                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Not in any manner that I  
10 felt was more or less enthusiastic than sort of other -- than  
11 other communities in a nomination race.

12                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Sure, yeah. That  
13 sentiment was communicated.

14                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

15                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And you have witnessed or  
16 experienced examples where your Party was pressured to  
17 redlight certain candidates at certain times; correct?

18                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** There may have been. I  
19 don't -- certainly nothing in connection with the subject  
20 elections that we're talking about here.

21                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Sure. I'm just -- I'm  
22 trying to get context to understand pattern which will go to,  
23 you know, for the weight and credibility of evidence that the  
24 Commission will be hearing.

25                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yeah. Not in connection  
26 -- not in connection with the 2021 election that's the  
27 subject matter of this discussion.

28                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** So that's to say that

1       there may have been other examples outside of these two  
2       federal elections.

3                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I'm here to talk about  
4       this in my capacity as the co-chair of the 2021 campaign.

5                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Okay. So am I taking it  
6       that you -- that's not a question that you would like to  
7       answer?

8                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No. It's just not the  
9       remit, I don't believe, of this committee. This committee is  
10      to take a look at the 2021 and the 2019 elections. And in  
11      connection with the 2021 election, I did not come across  
12      anything of that nature.

13                  **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Mr. Operator, if we can  
14      bring up document CAN 018041. The bottom of page 4.

15                  Now, Mr. Soliman, at the bottom of this  
16      briefing that my friend referred you to earlier, the notes  
17      from the site meeting note India is actively conducting  
18      foreign interference and targets Canadian political figures  
19      working through Indian officials and:

20                               "...engages in a range of activities  
21                               that seek to influence Canadian  
22                               communities and politicians in order  
23                               to advance its political interests."

24                  And that:

25                               "India is interested in engaging its  
26                               diaspora in Canada to shape political  
27                               outcomes in its favour."

28                  Do you recall getting this briefing at any

1 time in your meetings with SITE?

2 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Same issue as per  
3 previous answers. We never received this document and while  
4 India would have been mentioned, it would not have been with  
5 this level of specificity.

6 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And if you did receive  
7 this level of specificity, would that have impacted how you  
8 would have viewed the landscape and reacted?

9 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** As per -- similar to my  
10 previous answers, yes.

11 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Okay. Thank you,  
12 Mr. Soliman.

13 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Thank you.

14 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Ms. McGrath, if I can  
15 turn to you. Is it true that the leader of the federal NDP,  
16 Mr. Jagmeet Singh, has been targeted by disinformation since  
17 his appointment as leader in 2017, which would include the  
18 2019 and 2021 elections?

19 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, that would be  
20 correct.

21 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And is it your  
22 understanding or observation that a lot of that  
23 disinformation emanates from Indian media sources and online  
24 networks?

25 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** The ones that I'm familiar  
26 with have been primarily through that -- those -- the Indian  
27 media network, yeah.

28 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And is one of those

1 pieces of disinformation alleged that Mr. Singh is involved  
2 in some global conspiracy around the pandemic that was  
3 mutually amplified by Canadian outlets as well?

4 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I have seen those, yes.

5 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And not to get into the  
6 weeds, but one of the other targeted messages is that  
7 Mr. Singh is himself a so-called extremist or has some kind  
8 of sympathies for extremism. That's one of the targeted  
9 messages; correct?

10 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

11 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And Mr. Singh's not  
12 actually an extremist.

13 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** He has not been involved  
14 in any of the things that have been alleged through those  
15 sources.

16 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** He has been critical of  
17 India's human rights violations, including its role in  
18 perpetrating genocide; correct?

19 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, he has.

20 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And is that a plausible  
21 reason why you think he may be targeted?

22 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I think that that is a  
23 plausible reason, and the fact that he is -- he has roots in  
24 that area.

25 **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And so aside from  
26 disinformation, is it true that Mr. Singh was also denied a  
27 visa to visit India?

28 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, that's right.

1                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And based on media  
2 reports, is it your understanding that that's because of his  
3 human rights advocacy?

4                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I believe that's the case,  
5 yes.

6                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** So naturally that would  
7 have a broader chilling impact on the community, I would  
8 imagine. Is it your understanding that since Mr. Singh's  
9 appointment in 2017, that members of the Sikh community feel  
10 a sense of fear or unease in supporting the NDP because of  
11 fear of reprisal by India?

12                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

13                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** After Prime  
14 Minister Trudeau's announcement in September about India's  
15 role in the assassination of a Sikh leader, are you aware of  
16 media reports that members of the Sikh community have  
17 received warnings by the RCMP that they are facing a threat  
18 to their lives? Without disclosing the source of those  
19 threats.

20                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I've seen reports to that  
21 effect, yes.

22                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And Mr. Singh also  
23 received a similar report and a warning that he was facing a  
24 potential threat to his life. Without any details on the  
25 source. Is that correct?

26                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I can't speak to that.

27                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And is that for reasons  
28 of national security confidentiality?

1                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

2                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** I would imagine that you  
3 -- well, you may not be able to answer this question, but is  
4 it true that Mr. Singh has been provided a security detail  
5 because of a potential threat to his life?

6                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I can't comment on  
7 security arrangements.

8                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Is it your understanding  
9 that members of the NDP's staff who come from the Sikh  
10 community feel an elevated risk emanating from India because  
11 of their work with the NDP?

12                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I have been told that by  
13 some people, yes.

14                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And is it true that new  
15 members of staff from Sikh community, during their  
16 onboarding, they are often warned about the possibilities of  
17 being denied a visa or other repercussions emanating from  
18 India? Correct?

19                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Correct.

20                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** And so in this picture  
21 that you have painted from 2017, that covers both of two  
22 previous electoral periods, what impacts do you think this  
23 has on Canada's electoral process and democratic institutions  
24 when a racialized community, many of whom have fled religious  
25 and political persecution from another country, feel that  
26 same intimidation and persecution for their engagement in  
27 Canadian politics in supporting their Canadian political  
28 party?

1                   **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I believe that for several  
2 diaspora groups that there are concerns about the  
3 ramifications of involvement in political activity in Canada.

4                   **MR. PRABJOT SINGH:** Thank you for your time.  
5 Thank you, Madam Commissioner.

6                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.  
7 So next one is counsel for the RCDA,  
8 M. Sirois.

9                   **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:**

10                   **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** Good morning. I'm  
11 Gillaume Sirois, counsel for the Russian Canadian Democratic  
12 Alliance. My questions will be directed mostly to  
13 Mr. Soliman today.

14                   I'd like to pull out RCD 00009, please.

15                   **--- EXHIBIT No. RCD 9:**

16                   Tweet by Walied Soliman - 17 February  
17 2023

18                   **COURT OPERATOR:** Repeat that, please.

19                   **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** RCD 0009.

20                   So this is a series of posts from you,  
21 Mr. Soliman. Do you recognise these?

22                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

23                   **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** They were posted on a  
24 platform X on February 17, 2023.

25                   Would like to go to the last post of the  
26 chain, please.

27                   So am I correct in understanding that these  
28 posts concern your disappointment regarding the SITE Task

1 Force work during the 2021 general election?

2 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Sorry, can you repeat  
3 the question?

4 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** These posts concern  
5 your disappointment regarding the SITE Task Force work during  
6 the 2021 general election.

7 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** So these posts were made  
8 either the day after or the day of media reports confirming  
9 that in fact there were issues in the 2019 election. So they  
10 were done at that point recalling the experience in 2021.

11 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** So these posts,  
12 although they were made in the context of allegations  
13 concerning the 2019 elections, they concern your  
14 disappointment regarding the task force work during the 2021  
15 election. Is that right?

16 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Principally, because we  
17 didn't hear about the issues in 2019 in 2021, which would  
18 have been consequential, as my colleagues and I have  
19 expressed.

20 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** Understood. I would  
21 read to you the last post of that chain. It reads.

22 "In a final call, we told them..."

23 Being the task force:

24 "...that our security establishment  
25 had clearly failed our democracy.  
26 Political parties cannot formulate  
27 public policy under threat that they  
28 are going to lose ridings based on



1 foreign interference because of a  
2 weak security establishment."

3 Do you stand by this statement today?

4 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

5 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** I will now turn to the  
6 other panelists.

7 Ms. McGrath first. Do you agree with the  
8 statement made by Mr. Soliman?

9 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** I believe that that's  
10 actually the focus of this Public Inquiry, and that -- that  
11 that will be determined through the process of Inquiry, and  
12 recommendations for how to improve it will come from this.

13 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** Mr. Ishmael, do you  
14 have something to add?

15 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No, I'd agree with  
16 Ms. McGrath's statement.

17 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** Okay. So turning back  
18 to you, Mr. Soliman. I understand that one of your concerns  
19 that you discussed today is that you were not presented with,  
20 like, specific or actionable information regarding foreign  
21 interference during the 2021 election. Is that correct?

22 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Correct.

23 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** And that's part of  
24 your complaint on these posts?

25 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** My principal complaint  
26 is that two years after the election I learned from a news  
27 story, from the Globe and Mail, that information we had  
28 received in 2021, was inconsistent -- relating to the threat

1 level in 2019, was inconsistent with what we were told at  
2 that time. So yes, was I frustrated? Absolutely.

3 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** That -- so that made  
4 you believe that the threat level in 2021 may be as well  
5 inconsistent with what information was publicly disclosed or  
6 that you received?

7 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I didn't know. I don't  
8 know that. What I knew on February 17, 2023, is that there  
9 was a threat in 2019 that was not disclosed to us in 2021.

10 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** And one last question:  
11 I want to know if you received any specific information  
12 regarding Russian interference in the 2021 election. And  
13 that's addressed to all the panelists, but maybe we can start  
14 with you, Mr. Soliman.

15 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Okay. I don't -- you  
16 know, we didn't get anything that was actually that  
17 interesting. So no. I wish I could tell you we had  
18 something. No.

19 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes, not through the SITE  
20 Taskforce, no.

21 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** And any other  
22 governmental bodies?

23 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** No.

24 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** And Mr. Ishmael?

25 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I'd agree with Ms.  
26 McGrath's statement.

27 **MR. GUILLAUME SIROIS:** All right. Thank you.

28 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you. Next one is

1 counsel for Human Rights Coalition.

2 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. SARA TEICH:**

3 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Good afternoon. I'm going  
4 to direct all my questions to Mr. Ishmael.

5 I want to dig a bit more into the permanent  
6 appeals process. Who may commence an appeal using this  
7 process?

8 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** So it would be people who  
9 are party to a decision.

10 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** What does that mean, party  
11 to a decision?

12 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** So I don't know, if you're  
13 in a nomination contest, you know, the opposing candidate,  
14 the winning candidate, somebody who feels, you know, the  
15 Permanent Appeals has a very broad mandate to review any  
16 decision of the party. So, you know, could be anybody who is  
17 interested within the party to access it.

18 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Would a voter or a  
19 potential voter be able to access the mechanism?

20 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** To be honest, I mean, I've  
21 never seen a case like that. It would be up to the Permanent  
22 Appeals Committee to decide if they had standing or not.

23 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** So it would be at the  
24 discretion of the Committee?

25 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

26 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Okay. How are voters or  
27 potential voters supposed to know that they can at least ask  
28 to access this mechanism?

1                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Well, voters on an  
2 individual basis, you know, the Liberal Party of Canada  
3 operates very transparently with the documents on the Liberal  
4 Party of Canada and, you know, as stated, the nomination  
5 rules are there as well for people to view. And then we have  
6 other methods.

7                   So if somebody were to reach out with a  
8 concern, I'd put it in a more broad-based area. If someone  
9 had an area of concern, they could reach out to the party and  
10 the party would make a decision one way or another.

11                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** How would they know who to  
12 reach out to within the party?

13                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** You'd be surprised. A lot  
14 of people reach out to the Liberal Party, and a number of  
15 methods, including using just our general inboxes. You know,  
16 when I give presentations, you know, oftentimes I end with my  
17 personal email and my personal cellphone number. But, you  
18 know, there's lots of different ways to reach out to a party.

19                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** If someone reaches out  
20 either to you, or through one of these various mechanisms,  
21 would complainants be provided with confidentiality  
22 protections to make a complaint?

23                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** As a general rule, yes.

24                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** What kind of  
25 confidentiality protections?

26                  **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I think it depends on the  
27 nature of the complaint.

28                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** If, for example, a voter or

1 potential voter feels they were coerced to vote for Mr. Dong,  
2 for example, what kind of protections would be available?

3 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** If somebody was coerced,  
4 not speaking specifically to Mr. Dong's case, the Liberal  
5 Party of Canada offers a Safe Campaigns portal in which they  
6 can reach out to the Liberal Party and file, potentially, an  
7 anonymous complaint, it could be on the record, it could be  
8 anonymous, in which that would trigger the investigation  
9 mechanisms.

10 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Does the Liberal Party have  
11 language capabilities to receive complaints of this sort in  
12 languages besides English and French?

13 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Generally speaking, it's  
14 only English and French.

15 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Would it be valuable to  
16 enhance the language capabilities of the Liberal Party for  
17 the future?

18 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** We're always looking for  
19 ways to communicate with Canadians in their preferred  
20 language. If we had more resources, or we had a specific  
21 complaint, you know, we'd probably be able to find the  
22 resource needed to help, you know, discover it and action.

23 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Okay. Thank you. You  
24 stated to counsel for Mr. Chong earlier in cross-examination  
25 that you don't think there's a concern of coercion because  
26 the ballot box is secret. Would you agree that such  
27 protections are generally not available in authoritarian  
28 regimes?

1                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I don't want to make  
2 comment on authoritarian regimes. You know, it depends on  
3 which one. It depends on how they operate. So.

4                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** All right. Are you aware,  
5 Mr. Ishmael, that authoritarian regimes at times detain  
6 and/or interrogate their citizens arbitrarily?

7                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I would agree with that,  
8 yeah.

9                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Are you aware that they  
10 also, at times, engage in hacking and/or other monitoring of  
11 their citizens' devices?

12                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** From my understanding of  
13 authoritarian regimes, yes.

14                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Would you agree that it's  
15 possible that international students from authoritarian  
16 regimes, if they return there, either to live or to visit,  
17 may be subjected to arbitrary detention or interrogation and  
18 asked forcefully to reveal who they voted for in a Canadian  
19 democratic process?

20                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I can't really speak to  
21 what the regimes would do, and if they had a specific  
22 interest in this. So that'd be hard for me to say.

23                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** But you agree it would be  
24 possible?

25                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Anything's really  
26 possible.

27                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Would you agree that it's  
28 also possible that authoritarian regimes may be able to

1 discern how someone voted if they monitor their devices?  
2 Say, for example, an elector texts someone or speaks to  
3 someone about how they voted after the fact or before?

4 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** I can't really speak to  
5 the capacity of authoritarian regimes and their ability to  
6 monitor social media accounts or text messaging, but.

7 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Would you agree that even  
8 the fear of these possibilities might make members of  
9 diaspora communities vulnerable to coercion in a nomination  
10 race or an election?

11 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** That's an interesting  
12 question. I haven't really thought of that, you know, too  
13 in-depth, but I would think so, yes.

14 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Okay. That's all my  
15 questions. Thank you.

16 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

17 It's your turn, Government of Canada.

18 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY/CONTRE-INTERROGATOIRE PAR**

19 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:**

20 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Good morning. For  
21 the record, my name is Gregory Tzemanakis. I'm with the  
22 Government of -- with the Attorney General of Canada.

23 The questions I have for all the panel are  
24 really clarification questions.

25 So I want to start off with a general one.  
26 We've been speaking about foreign interference, and I just  
27 want to understand if, when we say and we speak about foreign  
28 interference, was it your understanding, I'm going to start

1 with Mr. Ishmael, was it your understanding at the material  
2 time in 2019 and in 2021 that foreign interference activities  
3 referred to activities conducted or supported by a foreign  
4 state actor that were detrimental to Canada's national  
5 interests and had the components of being covert, deceptive,  
6 or coercive? Did you have that understanding at the time?

7 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

8 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Ms. McGrath?

9 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

10 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Mr. Soliman?

11 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

12 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** And at the material  
13 time, if I understood your evidence correctly, in-chief, I  
14 understood that prior to GE 44, so the 2021 election, Mr.  
15 Ishmael, you said that foreign interference activities were  
16 generally low on the radar. Is that correct?

17 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Correct.

18 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** And Mr. Soliman, you  
19 equally said it was low on the radar; correct?

20 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

21 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** And Ms. McGrath, I  
22 think you said you -- you worded it a little bit differently.  
23 You said you were aware of the potential for foreign  
24 interference. Is that ---

25 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Correct.

26 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** --- fair?

27 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Correct.

28 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** So can I ask the



1 Court Reporter to pull up CAN-13124 and to go to page 18 of  
2 19 of that document, please? The bottom of the page, please,  
3 under "Specific Case".

4 So this is a question to all of you. You'll  
5 recall that Commission counsel took you to the first bullet  
6 on this page, which reads:

7 "You may remember at the last [...]   
8 security briefings we held with the   
9 parties, SITE highlighted the fact   
10 Chinese media had picked up on   
11 Canadian media criticism (first   
12 published in the Hill Times) and were   
13 running stories about the CPC   
14 platform and its impact on Canada-   
15 China relations."

16 Do you recall -- do you each recall being   
17 taken to that bullet?

18 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Yes.

19 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yes.

20 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Yes.

21 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Okay. The second   
22 bullet in that section states:

23 "These articles appeared between 8   
24 and 15 September, then stopped being   
25 a [factor] of Chinese state reporting   
26 on or about the 15<sup>th</sup> of September."

27 And the question I have, starting with Mr.   
28 Ishmael, is, were you aware of these reports and these media

1 circulating between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of September in 2021?  
2 Were these brought to your attention?

3 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** So I don't really know  
4 which stories they're referencing, but I don't recall ever  
5 seeing any stories like this between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of  
6 September.

7 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Thank you.  
8 Ms. McGrath?

9 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** Yeah, same. I don't  
10 recall ever being told this, or seeing this, or having any  
11 information on this.

12 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Okay. So the  
13 stories that are being referred to, I just want to be fair to  
14 you, the stories that are being referred to are the Hill  
15 Times article, followed by certain media reporting on WeChat.  
16 And I'll just leave it at that, at a very general level.

17 And that doesn't change your answer, Mr.  
18 Ishmael?

19 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No.

20 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** You need to say no  
21 for the record, Ms. McGrath.

22 **MS. ANNE McGRATH:** No.

23 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** And Mr. Soliman, did  
24 you become aware of these articles at or about this time?

25 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** No.

26 **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** And can you tell us,  
27 Mr. Soliman, when did you first learn of these media articles  
28 that were circulating?

1                   **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** I just told you I don't  
2 recall them at all.

3                   **MR. GREGORY TZEMANAKIS:** Okay. At all.  
4 So thank you. Those are my questions.

5                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.  
6 Counsel for Mr. Ishmael.

7                   **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY/CONTRE-INTERROGATOIRE PAR**

8                   **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:**

9                   **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** Thank you.  
10 Mr. Ishmael, you indicated in response to a  
11 previous question that you were not aware of any  
12 irregularities relating to the Don Valley North nomination in  
13 2019. You were taken to the Special Rapporteur's comments  
14 suggesting a different conclusion. Have you been provided  
15 with the intelligence information that the Special Rapporteur  
16 had access to in coming to his conclusions?

17                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** No.

18                   **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** What is your assessment  
19 specifically that you're not aware of any irregularities  
20 relating to the Don Valley North nomination, 2019 nomination,  
21 based on?

22                   **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** Well it's based on the  
23 rigorous process that the party operates, you know, followed  
24 by very specific and extensive rules, as well as, you know,  
25 our processes are monitored not only by party staff and the  
26 volunteers who are present, but also the opposing campaigns,  
27 who have an active interest in ensuring that the election is  
28 as far as possible. So when you look at our internal

1 processes, when you look at the potential for someone to file  
2 a complaint, and then the review we did after the media  
3 reports surfaced, my assessment remained the same, that there  
4 was no irregularities.

5 **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** And in your experience,  
6 had someone tried to have a large group vote in a nomination  
7 with falsified documentation, would that have likely to be  
8 successful?

9 **MR. AZAM ISHMAEL:** It would have been  
10 extremely unlikely. The reality of mobilizing hundreds or  
11 potentially thousands of people without anybody being aware  
12 are almost slim to nil. You almost can't keep a secret  
13 between two people, so I couldn't imagine organizing hundreds  
14 if not thousands of people, and then on top of it, with  
15 falsified documents, and then also coming into the process  
16 itself and meeting with, you know, the local officials.

17 **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** Thank you. Those are my  
18 questions.

19 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

20 Any re-examination, Ms. McGrann?

21 **MS. KATE McGRANN:** No, thank you.

22 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you. So we are in  
23 advance. So we'll come back at 2:00 o'clock.

24 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Are we done ---

25 **THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please.

26 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Are we done, to be  
27 clear? We can go home?

28 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I'm sorry. Yes, you

1 are.

2 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Okay. Good. Thank you  
3 all very much.

4 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** All of you.

5 **MR. WALIED SOLIMAN:** Thank you for the good  
6 work. Thank you for the good work you're doing. This is an  
7 important task. So thank you.

8 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** And thank you for your  
9 time. Thank you very much.

10 **THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please.

11 This hearing is now in recess until 2:00.

12 --- Upon recessing at 2:00 p.m./

13 --- Upon resuming at 2:33 p.m./

14 **THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please.

15 This sitting of the Foreign Interference  
16 Commission is back in session.

17 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Good afternoon.

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Thank you.

19 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** So it's Mr. Krongold  
20 that is conducting the examination.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** The Commission's next  
22 witness today is Han Dong. If the witness could please be  
23 affirmed.

24 **THE REGISTRAR:** May I please have your full  
25 name, and spell your last name for the record, please?

26 **MR. HAN DONG:** Han Dong, D-o-n-g.

27 **--- MR. HAN DONG, Sworn/Assermenté:**

28 **THE REGISTRAR:** Thank you very much.

1 You may proceed.

2 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Thank you.

3 --- EXAMINATION IN-CHIEF BY MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:

4 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Good afternoon, Mr.  
5 Dong.

6 MR. HAN DONG: Good afternoon.

7 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Could the Court  
8 Operator please bring up document WIT 10?

9 --- EXHIBIT No. WIT 10 EN:

10 Statement of Anticipated Evidence:  
11 Han Dong

12 --- EXHIBIT No. WIT 10 EN:

13 Déclaration de preuve anticipée : Han  
14 Dong

15 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Mr. Dong, do you recall  
16 that you were interviewed by Commission counsel on February  
17 21<sup>st</sup>, 2024?

18 MR. HAN DONG: I do.

19 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. And you've had a  
20 -- and this is a Statement of Anticipated Evidence that was  
21 prepared by Commission counsel after that meeting?

22 MR. HAN DONG: Yes.

23 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: And you've had a chance  
24 to review this document for accuracy?

25 MR. HAN DONG: Yes.

26 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: All right.

27 Could the clerk please bring up HDD 6?

28 --- EXHIBIT No. HDD 6:



1                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Thank you.

2                   I'm going to start very briefly with your  
3 background, Mr. Dong. I understand you were born in 1977?

4                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

5                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. And during  
6 university you got involved in Liberal Party politics?

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

8                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You were introduced to  
9 politics through a gentleman by the name of Ted Lojko, who  
10 we'll hear from later today?

11                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's correct.

12                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. You ended  
13 up working on campaigns, as I understand it, at both the  
14 federal and provincial levels?

15                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

16                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. For the Liberal  
17 Party?

18                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

19                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you worked as a  
20 political staffer, and were ultimately recruited to work for  
21 a provincial MPP at Queen's Park in 2005, is that right?

22                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's correct.

23                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. In 2014 you were  
24 elected the Liberal MPP for Trinity-Spadina?

25                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes, that's right.

26                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you ran again in  
27 2018, as I understand it?

28                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.



1                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. And there was  
2 an election, I think it was June 2018?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think that's right.

4                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And you were not  
5 successful in that election campaign?

6                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** That's correct.

7                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I understand that Mr.  
8 Lojko was your campaign manager in both of those elections,  
9 is that right?

10                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

11                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So you were out of  
12 office after the 2018 Ontario election. And then in June  
13 2019, the Liberal MP in Don Valley North, Geng Tan, announces  
14 he's not running again.

15                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

16                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you throw your hat  
17 in the ring at the end of June 2019, is that right?

18                  **MR. HAN DONG:** In June, yes.

19                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. There is  
20 ultimately a contested nomination contest for that riding, or  
21 for representation of the Liberal Party in that riding, is  
22 that right?

23                  **MR. HAN DONG:** That's correct.

24                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And it's you and who  
25 were running against each other?

26                  **MR. HAN DONG:** It was me and Ms. Bang Gu  
27 Jiang.

28                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And I understand that

1 the nomination contest was held on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019?

2 MR. HAN DONG: That's right.

3 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: I want to ask you a  
4 little bit about busing irregularities ---

5 MR. HAN DONG: Okay.

6 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: --- at the 2019 Don  
7 Valley North nomination contest, okay?

8 MR. HAN DONG: Yeah.

9 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: When you met with  
10 Commission counsel on February 21<sup>st</sup> this year, we discussed  
11 whether you were aware of any irregularities in the May 2019  
12 DVN nomination contest. Is that right?

13 MR. HAN DONG: That's right.

14 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Right. And we also  
15 discussed how your wife had rented a bus on behalf of the  
16 campaign to transport voters to the nomination contest.

17 MR. HAN DONG: Yes, we discussed that, but  
18 later on I was reminded there were two buses.

19 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: And that's one of the  
20 things you clarify in your supplement.

21 MR. HAN DONG: That's right.

22 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay.

23 MR. HAN DONG: I understand that you've also  
24 recently recalled that beyond the two buses that your wife  
25 was involved in procuring for the campaign, there was another  
26 bus that you became aware of bringing voters to the  
27 nomination contest.

28 MR. HAN DONG: That's right.

1                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. What can you  
2 tell us about that bus?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Well, I was the candidate. I  
4 was told by the campaign that there were students coming in a  
5 bus to vote. I was reminded recently that -- by my wife  
6 that, you know, there was a bus came in with students.

7                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** There was a bus coming  
8 with students?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Or there was a bus, you know,  
10 with students coming in to vote.

11                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Can I just get a  
12 little more detail about that?

13                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Sure.

14                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Where were these  
15 people, students at; what institution?

16                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I -- so I didn't see them, but  
17 I was told that they came from a residence -- a students'  
18 residence in the riding.

19                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** What's the residence?

20                   **MR. HAN DONG:** It's the residence at Seneca  
21 College.

22                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Residence at  
23 Seneca College?

24                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

25                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** What school were they  
26 students at?

27                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I believe it was a private  
28 school.

1                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. What private  
2 school was it?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think it's called the NOIC.

4                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** NOIC?

5                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

6                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you know what that  
7 stands for?

8                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think it's New Orient -- I  
9 don't know what IC stands for; maybe International College?

10                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And had you ever  
11 had any connection to the students from NOIC?

12                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I had -- during my campaign I  
13 remember visiting the residence and had a conversation with  
14 the students that came to the gathering. And I asked --  
15 encouraged them to volunteer for my campaign, and for those  
16 who are eligible, I encouraged them to register as -- members  
17 so they can vote.

18                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So they can vote in the  
19 nomination contest.

20                  **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

21                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Tell me about  
22 this meeting with NOIC with these students. When did that  
23 occur, approximately?

24                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't remember clearly but  
25 it was in the summer, between June and September.

26                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. How many  
27 students were in attendance?

28                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't remember. It's very

1 vague. Probably 20; 20 students.

2 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. How did you come  
3 to be at this school; were you invited there?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** It was arranged by my  
5 campaign. You know, it was a relatively short period of time  
6 for the nomination race, so my campaign, myself, did our best  
7 to reach out to all kinds of groups in the riding, and the  
8 school's included.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So your campaign  
10 arranged this for you to go to a school ---

11 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

12 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- to solicit support  
13 from students?

14 **MR. HAN DONG:** To ask for volunteers and  
15 support if they were eligible.

16 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And who on your  
17 campaign suggested this, or organized this?

18 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't remember but, you  
19 know, we had a small but very effective campaign team, so it  
20 could be one of them.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And who was that  
22 campaign team?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** I remember my wife was taking  
24 part in the campaign team, Ted Lojko, Elizabeth Petowski  
25 (phonetic), she was there. Yeah. Oh, and Jonathan Tsao, who  
26 eventually became my EA.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And these students who  
28 you spoke to, what language did they speak?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** They spoke -- I remember some  
2 of them spoke good English, but Mandarin.

3                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And what country  
4 do you believe they were nationals of?

5                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think -- assume that they  
6 were from PRC.

7                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. So international  
8 students from China?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Although I can't be sure that  
10 they were all international students. As I said, it's a  
11 private school.

12                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Fair enough.

13                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

14                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** This information about  
15 a bus coming to the nomination campaign. As I understand it  
16 from your supplementary statement, the purpose of them coming  
17 there was to vote, presumably. Is that right?

18                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

19                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And how did you  
20 find out about that bus having been at the nomination  
21 campaign?

22                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I was told by my campaign  
23 staff afterwards.

24                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Again, do you  
25 recall who told you about it?

26                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't. I don't know.

27                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And when were  
28 you told about this bus having come?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I can't remember exactly when,  
2 but it was shortly after the campaign, and we talked about  
3 the nomination campaign, and that came up.

4                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And when you say  
5 shortly after the campaign, does that mean shortly after  
6 September 12th, 2019?

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

8                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And -- so just  
9 so I understand it. Someone on your campaign staff said,  
10 effectively, during the nomination vote a bus showed up with  
11 a bunch of international students or students from NOIC,  
12 something to that effect, that tweaked the connection for you  
13 between campaigning at NOIC and the folks who arrived to vote  
14 for you?

15                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

16                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Do you know who  
17 arranged or paid for the bus?

18                   **MR. HAN DONG:** You mean the bus with the  
19 students?

20                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yes.

21                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't.

22                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you know what kind  
23 of bus it was? Like anything you can tell us about that bus.

24                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Like I said, I was busy  
25 shaking hands at the door so I didn't see the bus, but I was  
26 told it was a school bus. So I -- at the time, I assumed it  
27 was a shuttle bus by -- provided by the school.

28                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Do you know if

1       there was any coordination between your campaign and whoever  
2       sent the bus?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't know.

4                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. And when  
5       did you first convey this information about there being a bus  
6       containing international students that voted in your  
7       nomination race? When did you first convey this information  
8       to the Commission?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think it was -- when did I  
10      first? It was quite recent. It was, like I said, you know,  
11      after the interview I was reminded by my wife that there was  
12      a bus that came in, and that was when.

13                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Like was it yesterday  
14      that that information was conveyed to the Commission?

15                  **MR. HAN DONG:** It was yesterday that as a  
16      supplementary information.

17                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And when did your wife  
18      remind you about this?

19                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Sorry?

20                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yesterday was  
21      April 1st.

22                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Right.

23                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** When did your wife  
24      remind you about this bus?

25                  **MR. HAN DONG:** It was after our initial  
26      interview. So after the 21st ---

27                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

28                  **MR. HAN DONG:** --- but I don't -- I don't



1 have -- I don't remember exact -- which day.

2 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** It's been about six  
3 weeks since April 1st.

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** M'hm.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I'm sorry. It's been  
6 about six weeks since February 21st when you were  
7 interviewed. Roughly when in that period of time do you  
8 think that you had this conversation?

9 **MR. HAN DONG:** I think that it was closer to  
10 yesterday, so maybe -- I really don't remember, but it feels  
11 like the -- towards the end of March.

12 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I'm sorry?

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** It feels like it was towards  
14 the end of March.

15 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Towards the end of  
16 March. Okay. I understand that you were on a delegation to  
17 China from March 22nd to March 30th.

18 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Was it while you were  
20 China that you had ---

21 **MR. HAN DONG:** No. I think it was before  
22 that.

23 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. So before  
24 March 22nd?

25 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

26 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Did you take any  
27 steps to advise the Commission by yesterday about this  
28 information?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No. I spoke to my lawyer  
2 about this.

3                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I'm not going to  
4 ask you about that.

5                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Okay.

6                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** To put this in context,  
7 I take it you're aware that since February of 2023, there  
8 have been allegations in the media about irregularities in  
9 the 2019 Don Valley North nomination contest; right?

10                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Okay.

11                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Are you aware of there  
12 having been media reporting about irregularities in that  
13 nomination contest?

14                  **MR. HAN DONG:** To February 2023?

15                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yeah.

16                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

17                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And are you  
18 aware that those irregularities have specifically been, the  
19 reporting about those irregularities have specifically been  
20 around busing in foreign students?

21                  **MR. HAN DONG:** No, I don't know what those  
22 irregularities were referring to.

23                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. So you were --  
24 all right. Were you following David Johnston's report about  
25 ---

26                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Well, I read parts of it.

27                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You read parts of it?

28                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

1                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Were you  
2 following his testimony at PROC?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall ---

4                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

5                   **MR. HAN DONG:** --- watching it.

6                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you recall whether  
7 he ever said that there were irregularities around the  
8 nomination meeting and the busing of people and students in  
9 relation to Don Valley North in 2019?

10                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall.

11                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. When did you  
12 first become aware that there were allegations of  
13 irregularities around busing in foreign students in Don  
14 Valley North in 2019?

15                  **MR. HAN DONG:** It was in Mr. Johnston's  
16 report I saw that he mentioned irregularities, but I never  
17 connected irregularities to busing of students.

18                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did you read any of the  
19 media reporting that discussed that?

20                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

21                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you know when you  
22 read the media reporting discussing irregularities around  
23 students.

24                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I couldn't give you a date.

25                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

26                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Couldn't give you a date.

27                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Was it before you spoke  
28 to the Commission six weeks ago?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

2                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yeah. Okay. When we  
3 interviewed you about six weeks ago, you'll recall that we  
4 discussed international students volunteering and voting in  
5 your nomination campaign?

6                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes, we did.

7                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And we discussed busing  
8 as well?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I remember with discussing  
10 busing of seniors.

11                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. The subject of  
12 busing came up though.

13                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

14                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you told us about  
15 the bus, and now you've clarified you think it was two buses  
16 that your wife rented. Right?

17                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

18                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And we asked you about  
19 irregularities that were described by David Johnston. Right?

20                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Right.

21                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And the thrust of your  
22 response was you'd like to know what the irregularities were.

23                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

24                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Did you  
25 understand from all of that context, the media reporting,  
26 David Johnston's report, maybe his testimony before PROC, to  
27 the extent you were aware of it, did you understand from  
28 those questions that we were interviewing you because we were

1       trying to get to the bottom of what happened in the Don  
2       Valley North nomination contest?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

4                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Did you  
5       understand that our investigation included looking at  
6       allegations of irregularities around busing in international  
7       students when you were interviewed?

8                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I didn't pay attention to, you  
9       know, busing international students because at the time I  
10      still -- I didn't understand it as a irregularity.

11                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You didn't understand  
12      it as an irregularity?

13                  **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

14                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Why didn't you tell the  
15      Commission about this earlier?

16                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Earlier? Well, first of all,  
17      I -- like I said, I was reminded after the interview, and,  
18      you know, to me international student, I had met them,  
19      canvassed them, sign up. They show up to vote. To me, it's  
20      pretty regular. Yeah.

21                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Why did you tell us  
22      about it yesterday?

23                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Why did I tell you about it  
24      yesterday? I was having a conversation with my lawyer, and I  
25      said -- you know, it just -- it came to me ---

26                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Just a second,  
27      Mr. Dong.

28                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** If we can just make sure

1 Mr. Dong is reminded not to be speaking about the contents of  
2 our discussions. I mean, the point is that it came up in our  
3 discussion, that's fine, but I wouldn't want him talking  
4 about our discussions.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you have any sense  
6 why your wife reminded you about this?

7 **MR. HAN DONG:** We were talking about, you  
8 know, this case and upcoming -- this ongoing inquiry. It's a  
9 regular topic of our conversation, and she reminded me.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Can I roll things back  
11 a bit?

12 I wanted to ask, why did you decide to spend  
13 part of your time during the nomination campaign visiting a  
14 school for international students?

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** Why did I spend time visiting  
16 international students?

17 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yeah. Well, why did  
18 you solicit support for your nomination campaign from  
19 international students?

20 **MR. HAN DONG:** Well, it was a short period of  
21 time for the campaign and I was reaching out to as many  
22 groups as I can, senior groups, student groups, looking for  
23 volunteers and they live in the riding, urge them to vote.  
24 And I encouraged them to sign up as a Liberal -- as Liberal  
25 members.

26 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** We may hear some  
27 evidence from Mr. Lojko that nomination campaigns don't  
28 usually target high school students because they're typically

1 not motivated or reliable voters. Do you agree with that  
2 sentiment?

3 **MR. HAN DONG:** To me, when I met them, they  
4 looked very interested. I remember like when I meet with, in  
5 general, high school students, they -- my impression is  
6 they're interested in the process and they would like to  
7 volunteer, so I can tell you why that was Mr. Lojko's  
8 observation.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You don't share that  
10 view.

11 **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm a candidate. I'm out on  
12 the street knocking on doors and the operation of the  
13 campaign is up to the manager.

14 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Could we call up  
15 document CAN 4728?

16 **--- EXHIBIT No. CAN 4728:**

17 Foreign Interference in the 2019  
18 Federal Campaign of Dong Han - CNSB  
19 23/19

20 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So this is a redacted  
21 intelligence document. First of all, in fairness to you, I  
22 should make clear that we received your Supplementary  
23 Statement of Anticipated Evidence before this document would  
24 have been made available to you and your counsel.

25 I also want to emphasize that this is an  
26 intelligence document. It's heavily redacted. And the  
27 assertions or statements made in here are not proven facts,  
28 okay. And in fact, right on the front page, if you could

1 page down, please, you'll see -- stop. You'll see about the  
2 third line down -- sorry, the first readable sentence, it's a  
3 portion of a sentence, but it says "it was alleged that the  
4 PRC interfered in the Don Valley North Liberal nomination of  
5 September 12, 2019 remain unsubstantiated".

6 So there's a little bit of grammatical  
7 collision there, but I think the point that it remains  
8 unsubstantiated is included in that statement.

9 The reason I want to ask you about this  
10 document is just to get your comments as someone who may have  
11 firsthand knowledge about some of this information.

12 So if we could flip to the second page,  
13 please.

14 And what this is, is there's a box here which  
15 is redacted information, and the italicized text there is a  
16 summary that's been provided. What that says is:

17 "The redacted text references  
18 campaign efforts of Han Dong to  
19 register new Liberal Party members,  
20 including international students, to  
21 vote in the nomination race."

22 First of all, do you agree that there were  
23 campaign efforts of Han Dong to register new Liberal Party  
24 members to vote in the nomination race?

25 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

26 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And do you agree  
27 that there were -- that you made efforts to register new  
28 Liberal Party members, including international students, in



1 the nomination race?

2 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I'm going to  
4 turn next to one of the topical summaries that has come out.  
5 And this is titled "Don Valley North DVN Liberal Party  
6 Nomination Race in 2019".

7 And in fairness to you, sir, you received  
8 this document and had a chance to review it for the very  
9 first time this morning and, of course, that information is  
10 all coming after you'd provided us with your supplementary  
11 statement.

12 **MR. HAN DONG:** M'hm.

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And again, I should be  
14 very clear, there's a whole page of caveats here which I  
15 think we've heard earlier in the day, but this is essentially  
16 a summary of intelligence holdings produced by the Government  
17 of Canada. It's subject to many, many caveats.

18 And again, I'm not suggesting to you that the  
19 intelligence discussed here is proven fact. Again, what I'm  
20 hoping you'll provide is any firsthand information that may  
21 shed light on what is said here.

22 So if we can flip to the second page, I  
23 wanted to take you to -- I guess let's call it 2.1. You see  
24 the first indent, the indented number 1? There's a line that  
25 says, "Intelligence reporting indicated". This is obviously  
26 in relation to Don Valley North nomination contest 2019.

27 "Intelligence reporting indicated  
28 that buses were used to bring

1 international students to the  
2 nomination process in support of Han  
3 Dong."

4 Do you have any comments about the  
5 truthfulness of that statement?

6 I'm sorry. Not commenting on the  
7 intelligence reporting, of course, but on whether buses were  
8 used to bring international students to the nomination  
9 process in support ---

10 **MR. HAN DONG:** Well, to the best of my  
11 knowledge, there was one bus.

12 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** In support of Han Dong, I -- I  
14 just know that they -- I was told that they came in to vote  
15 and how they voted and whether in support of me or my  
16 opponent, I really -- there's no way for me to find out.

17 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** There's no what?

18 **MR. HAN DONG:** There's no way for me to find  
19 out how they voted.

20 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Were they  
21 students who you think were the same ones who you solicited  
22 for your support?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** I didn't see them, so I can't  
24 confirm.

25 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. But I'm just  
26 trying to understand. You seem to have made the link between  
27 what you were told about this bus of students arriving and  
28 going to this school to solicit support from the students.

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Right.

2                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Can you tell us  
3 anything about why you drew that link?

4                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Because I -- when my wife  
5 reminded me that there was a bus with students came in, I  
6 asked -- I said, you know, "Where they came from?". And she  
7 indicated it was from Seneca residence, and that's when I  
8 draw the connection. I was there to canvass for their  
9 support.

10                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And this is when you  
11 talked to your -- I'm just trying to understand because you -  
12 - the -- you were told by someone on your campaign I think  
13 you said shortly after September 12th, 2019 ---

14                   **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

15                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- about a bus having  
16 arrived.

17                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Right.

18                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And did you understand  
19 at that time that it was from Seneca College?

20                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall but, you know,  
21 when I talked to my wife recently about the -- when she  
22 remind me about the bus, I asked her where was the bus from  
23 and she said it was from the Seneca residence.

24                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I'm sorry. There was  
25 another line there I wanted to take you to. It's subpoint 2:  
26 "Some intelligence reporting also  
27 indicated that the students were  
28 provided with falsified documents to

1 allow them to vote despite not being  
2 residents of DVN. The documents were  
3 provided by individuals associated  
4 with a known proxy agent."

5 And then there's a footnote explaining what a  
6 proxy agent is.

7 Do you have any knowledge of the information  
8 in this bullet point?

9 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I'm going to turn to  
11 another subject.

12 And I should just state, and this is not for  
13 your benefit, Mr. Dong, that the document we've been  
14 referring to is CAN.SUM.00001.

15 **--- EXHIBIT No. CAN.SUM 1:**

16 Topical Summary: Don Valley North  
17 Liberal Party Nomination Race in 2019

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I don't expect you to  
19 make sense of that, Mr. Dong.

20 I understand that when you were -- well,  
21 let's skip ahead. You were, of course, elected.

22 **MR. HAN DONG:** Sorry. Can we just go back to  
23 the last point?

24 I think because you were asking about the  
25 Seneca bus and when you showed me the documents about busing  
26 students, I automatically understood as you meant the bus was  
27 the bus that I was talking about. So I made an assumption  
28 that the bus mentioned in the document you just showed me is

1 the bus that we were discussing earlier. Maybe I shouldn't  
2 have made that automatic assumption.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** That's okay. I think -  
4 - I see, so you're saying that in point, I guess 2.1, ---

5 **MR. HAN DONG:** M'hm.

6 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- that first sentence  
7 that we read, it refers to busses, ---

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- and you made the  
10 assumption, if that's the right word, that that was referring  
11 to the bus from Seneca that you were made aware of?

12 **MR. HAN DONG:** That we were talking about  
13 earlier. That's why I made a correction that it was one bus.

14 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yes.

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** But it's -- I don't think it's  
16 fair for me to make that assumption.

17 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. I see your  
18 point.

19 And I think on the next bullet point, I  
20 already asked you if you had any comments about that, but is  
21 there something else you wanted to say about 2.2?

22 **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

23 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I'm going to  
24 turn then to another subject. You were, of course, elected  
25 to be the MP. Well, you ultimately ran the -- won the Don  
26 Valley North nomination race, and then won in the General  
27 Election in 2019 and became the MP for Don Valley North.

28 I understand that when you were serving as --

1 or as you've been serving as an MP, you have had  
2 communications with consular officials from a variety of  
3 countries, including from the People's Republic of China. Is  
4 that right?

5 **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

6 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And when we interviewed  
7 you, we talked about your conversations with the PRC Consul  
8 General, specifically about the "Two Michaels"?

9 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Michael Spavor and  
11 Michael Kovrig?

12 **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I'm going to  
14 take you to another topical summary. This one is titled  
15 *Intelligence Relating to Han Dong and Communication with*  
16 *People's Republic of China Officials Regarding the "Two*  
17 *Michaels"*

18 And I'm going to, of course, make the same  
19 caveats as before. This is a summary of Government of Canada  
20 intelligence holdings. There's an entire page of  
21 qualifications. And I should perhaps note that one of those  
22 is that the document does not indicate whether the  
23 information being described was translated from another  
24 language.

25 I'm, again, not suggesting that what's  
26 written here is true or is a proven fact, and the purpose of  
27 what I'm about to ask you is just to get your first-hand  
28 information on the subjects discussed.

1           My first question for you is, when you spoke  
2 to the Consul General for China about the "Two Michaels",  
3 what language were you speaking in?

4           **MR. HAN DONG:** Mandarin.

5           **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Mandarin?

6           **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah. Mostly Mandarin.

7           **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. So if we  
8 can flip to the second page, you'll see there are six points  
9 here. And what I'm going to ask you is essentially whether  
10 there is any correspondence between what's written in this  
11 document and any conversations you had with the Consul  
12 General about the "Two Michaels". Okay?

13          **MR. HAN DONG:** Okay.

14          **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So point number one  
15 says:

16                        "In early 2021, Han Dong (henceforth  
17                        Dong), MP for Don Valley North,  
18                        expressed views in private on a range  
19                        of topics, including the state of the  
20                        PRC-Canada relationship."

21           Is there any correspondence between that and  
22 your conversations with the Consul General?

23          **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall that  
24 conversation. After the news article came out, I confirmed  
25 with my office that it was likely that we had a conversation  
26 in, you know, early 2021.

27          **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Are you able to  
28 say one way or another whether that conversation might have

1 included discussions about the state of the PRC-Canada  
2 relationship?

3 **MR. HAN DONG:** It's possible. I don't  
4 remember, but it's possible.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. The next  
6 sentence is:

7 "Dong made it clear he was not  
8 speaking on behalf of the Government  
9 of Canada but sharing his personal  
10 views on the matter."

11 Do you recall, or could that have been  
12 something that you said in this ---

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** It could.

14 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Point two:

15 "[Mr.] Dong's comments focussed  
16 primarily on the House of Commons'  
17 Uyghur Genocide in Xinjiang motion."

18 Again, ---

19 **MR. HAN DONG:** It's possible. I don't recall  
20 specifically, but, it's possible.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

22 "The 'Two Michaels' (Michael Kovrig  
23 and Michael Spavor) were also raised  
24 in the broader context of Sino-Canada  
25 relations."

26 **MR. HAN DONG:** I always bring up -- advocate  
27 for early release of the "Two Michaels", so it's possible.

28 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And I'm sorry,





1 "More precisely, MP Dong's reference  
2 to the detention of the 'Two  
3 Michaels' came in the context of MP  
4 Dong noting the difficulty of getting  
5 people to change perspectives once  
6 particular positions solidified."

7 I'm going to keep going, because that seems a  
8 little general.

9 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:**

11 "MP Dong expressed the view that even  
12 if the PRC released the 'Two  
13 Michaels' at that moment, opposition  
14 parties would view the PRC's action  
15 as an affirmation of the  
16 effectiveness of a hardline Canadian  
17 approach to the PRC."

18 Is that something you recall saying, or think  
19 you might have said?

20 **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm trying to translate this  
21 into Chinese and it just doesn't make any sense. So I --  
22 actually, I don't remember, but it doesn't make a lot of  
23 sense here ---

24 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

25 **MR. HAN DONG:** --- when I read this right  
26 now.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** It doesn't make a lot  
28 of sense in what way?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Well I think, you know,  
2 whenever I talk about the "Two Michaels", I will make -- I  
3 will try to show that, you know, early release of the "Two  
4 Michaels" is good for the relationship between two countries,  
5 therefore it's something that the Chinese Canadian media  
6 would like to see. So I -- but I'm a little confused by the  
7 information here. I don't quite get the logic here.

8                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Is it -- it might be  
9 hard to interpret exactly what the summary means. I  
10 appreciate that. But is what's said there, do you feel like  
11 it's consistent or inconsistent with the sentiments that you  
12 would have expressed in a phone call with the Consul General?

13                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm not sure. It doesn't --  
14 like I said, I don't remember, but I mean, the logic here  
15 kind of doesn't add up for me.

16                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Point five:  
17                   "MP Dong stressed that any  
18                   transparency provided by the PRC in  
19                   relation to the 'Two Michaels', such  
20                   as a court hearing or a court date,  
21                   would help to placate Canadian public  
22                   opinion and provide some valuable  
23                   talking points to his own political  
24                   party against the opposition."

25                   So same question. Is that something you  
26 recall saying or you think you might have said?

27                   **MR. HAN DONG:** The first half of the  
28 sentence, you know, stressed the transparency, such as a

1 court hearing, a date, I think it's possible that I would  
2 advocate for that. And I'm not sure about the second part.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Can you help us  
4 out at all about the second part? In terms of whether that's  
5 something, if you don't recall, well ---

6 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall saying that.

7 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You don't recall saying  
8 that?

9 **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

11 Number 6:

12 "MP Dong also noted that a Canadian  
13 hardline approach to the PRC would be  
14 detrimental to Sino-Canada  
15 relations."

16 **MR. HAN DONG:** It's possible. I mean, I  
17 don't recall saying that exactly, but it's possible.

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I'm going to  
19 move on to another subject now. I'm going to rewind the tape  
20 a little bit. And I want to just focus your attention on the  
21 period when you were out of government.

22 So I think it was roughly about June 2018  
23 when -- whenever the Ontario Provincial Election occurred,  
24 until when you won your seat for the first time as an MP on  
25 October 21st, 2019.

26 **MR. HAN DONG:** Okay.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So in this period, from  
28 June 2018 until October 21st, 2019, did you have any contact

1 with PRC consular officials?

2 **MR. HAN DONG:** Not that I recall.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Not that you recall?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** Not that I recall.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Finally, I wanted to  
6 ask you about Michael Chan. I understand that you've known  
7 him -- well, how long have you known him for?

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** I remember, I worked on his  
9 very first bi-election. That was in 2007.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yeah.

11 **MR. HAN DONG:** I met him before events. So  
12 it's safe to say, you know, a little bit before 2007.

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And you both  
14 would have been at Queens Park at the same time I take it?

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** I was -- I was a PHAT person  
16 until 2014, elected as an MPP. So yeah, you know -- and he  
17 was elected in 2007, and worked in his capacity as an MPP and  
18 later on, cabinet minister.

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. After you lost  
20 in the 2018 provincial election, what was the nature of your  
21 relationship with Michael Chan at that point?

22 **MR. HAN DONG:** It was -- I -- I don't  
23 remember we met or chatted often after 2018's defeat. There  
24 could be, you know, phone calls or meetings to talk about the  
25 state of Chinese community. Yeah, it wasn't very often. I  
26 respect him as a senior leader in the community.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did he play any role in  
28 your decision to run for the Liberal nomination in Don Valley

1 North?

2 **MR. HAN DONG:** In my decision? No. But he  
3 did call me as soon as Mr. Geng Tan announced that he is not  
4 seeking re-election. Michael was one of the first one to  
5 call me to tell me that information.

6 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did he play any role in  
7 the nomination campaign in Don Valley North in 2019?

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** I remember he came to my  
9 announcement seeking nomination, and then later on probably  
10 came out once or maybe twice to canvass with me at the door,  
11 but that's it.

12 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Thank you very  
13 much, Mr. Dong.

14 **MR. HAN DONG:** Okay.

15 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I have one question for  
16 you, Mr. Dong.

17 **MR. HAN DONG:** Sure.

18 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** And I'm going back to  
19 the first topic that have been explored by M. Krongold. At  
20 the time that the allegation of irregularities surfaced in  
21 the media, did you try to get more information about what  
22 they were all about?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** I did. I remember I did ask  
24 some of the key peoples in my campaign, Ted, including, my  
25 wife as well, asked them -- asking them if they remember or  
26 spotted any irregularities of what this could be referring  
27 to, and the answer was no.

28 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Yeah, but at the time

1 did you look at the media's news that have been forwarded or  
2 not at all?

3 **MR. HAN DONG:** I remember reading the news  
4 articles, and I remember we were talking about how these  
5 pictures were pulled off my, like, social media page. And  
6 that's when I learned a bit more about, you know, rented two  
7 bus and they're not the same bus at the picture shows. And -  
8 - so that's the time that we, you know, we raised about the  
9 media reporting.

10 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Okay. So at that point  
11 in time, did you realise that actually the allegations were  
12 in relation to international students transported by buses?

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** The media article said that,  
14 yes.

15 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Okay. And you knew that  
16 right after the media reported these allegations?

17 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah, as alleged by the  
18 article, yes.

19 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Okay. Can you tell me  
20 when it was, approximately?

21 **MR. HAN DONG:** I think the news article, to  
22 my memory, it was in February 2023. February 2023.

23 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Yeah. Thank you.

24 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I just wanted to  
25 indicate that the second topical summary referred to is  
26 CAN.SUM 2. Thank you.

27 **--- EXHIBIT No. CAN.SUM 2:**

28 Topical Summary: Intelligence

1 Relating to Han Dong and  
2 Communication with PRC Officials  
3 Regarding the "Two Michaels"

4 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

5 So we'll begin the cross-examinations. The  
6 first one is counsel for Michael Chong.

7 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GIB van ERT:**

8 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Good afternoon. Sir, do  
9 you accept that the People's Republic of China is attempting  
10 to interfere in Canadian democracy?

11 **MR. HAN DONG:** I have seen reports about  
12 that. I personally haven't seen any evidence of it.

13 **MR. GIB van ERT:** So you don't accept it or  
14 you do?

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** I -- I have never personally  
16 seen any evidence of it.

17 **MR. GIB van ERT:** That's not the question I  
18 asked you. I haven't seen any evidence of it personally  
19 myself, but we have very serious allegations, and we're all  
20 here because every federal political party agreed that a  
21 judge needed to be appointed to investigate these very  
22 issues.

23 So I'll ask you again. Do you accept ---

24 **MR. HAN DONG:** It's possible.

25 **MR. GIB van ERT:** It's possible. It's  
26 possible. All right.

27 Now, I understand that you do not believe  
28 that there was any interference in your nomination contest.



1       Isn't that right?

2                   **MR. HAN DONG:** To the best of my knowledge,  
3       yes.

4                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. If it turns out  
5       that you're mistaken about that, and in fact there was  
6       interference by the PRC, if that turns out to be true, do you  
7       accept that that would be foreign interference in our  
8       democracy?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Could you ask the question  
10      again? Sorry.

11                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes. If it turns out,  
12      despite your belief that this didn't happen, if it turns out  
13      that in fact it did happen, do you accept that that would be  
14      an outrageous intervention by the PRC in our democracy?

15                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

16                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. And if turns  
17      out that the People's Republic of China helped you to your  
18      seat in the House of Commons in this way, do you accept that  
19      the people of Canada have the right to know that?

20                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

21                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. And do you  
22      accept that if voters at your nomination contest, or on  
23      polling day, knew that you were getting this sort of help  
24      some of them might not have supported you?

25                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I think that's a fair  
26      statement, yeah.

27                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. Do you accept  
28      further that the Canadian Security Intelligence Service is

1 obliged by its statutory mandate to investigate threats to  
2 the security of Canada ---

3 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

4 **MR. GIB van ERT:** --- to investigate this  
5 sort of allegation?

6 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

7 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. Some members of  
8 your party, or maybe I should say your former party, have  
9 suggested that to raise concerns about foreign interference  
10 in your nomination contest is a kind of anti Chinese racism  
11 or Sinophobia. Do you agree with me, sir, that it was not a  
12 matter of racism on the part of the CSIS on the part of our  
13 intelligence agencies to explore this matter and try to get  
14 to the bottom of it?

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** I haven't seen any concrete  
16 evidence, so I can understand why those comments were made.

17 **MR. GIB van ERT:** I'm not sure I understood  
18 your answer. You can understand why which comments were  
19 made?

20 **MR. HAN DONG:** The comments that you just  
21 referred to some members of the Liberal Party ---

22 **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right.

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** --- see this as a anti Asian  
24 sentiment.

25 **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. But my question  
26 for you is, sitting her now, you've just told me that you  
27 accept that the service has a statutory duty to investigate  
28 threats to the security of Canada. If the service this

1 matter in Don Valley North, it's not being racist in doing  
2 so, it's just doing its job. Don't you agree?

3 **MR. HAN DONG:** I think that's -- I think CSIS  
4 has a duty to investigate any ridings or, you know, election  
5 races, and if they receive credible information that, you  
6 know, there was signs of foreign interference.

7 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes, I quite agree. And in  
8 doing so, it's not acting in a racist way, it's just doing  
9 its job.

10 **MR. HAN DONG:** That's right.

11 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you.

12 And do you accept, finally, that if ordinary  
13 Canadians reading these reports in the media are alarmed and  
14 concerned and worried, that isn't necessarily coming from a  
15 place of anti-Chinese racism; that's a good-faith concern, at  
16 least in some cases -- hopefully in all cases -- for the  
17 health and integrity of our democracy. Do you accept that,  
18 sir?

19 **MR. HAN DONG:** I accept that, yeah.

20 **Mr. GIB van ERT:** Thank you.

21 Let's come onto the buses, please. When you  
22 met with the Commissioner, you recalled one bus. As of today  
23 we're up to three, right?

24 **MR. HAN DONG:** When I had the interview, my  
25 memory had one bus. And then quickly, you know, I correct my  
26 records and it was two buses that my campaign rented.

27 **MR. GIB van ERT:** You say you did so quickly?

28 **MR. HAN DONG:** Sorry?

1                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** You say you corrected this  
2 quickly?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think it was within days  
4 after the interview I -- you know, I corrected that it was  
5 two buses my campaign rented.

6                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. Well, we only  
7 found out about it yesterday for it being a second bus. And  
8 then it turns out that a third bus came up over lunch.  
9 Doesn't seem very quick to me, sir. Are you saying that the  
10 Commission hasn't informed us in time, or is it instead that  
11 maybe you didn't inform the Commission as quickly as you  
12 could?

13                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I forgot exactly when we  
14 correct the records as to how many buses my campaign rented,  
15 whether it was one or two, I forgot exactly when. But, no,  
16 we volunteered to correct that record.

17                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. The third bus  
18 is apparently associated with a school, a high school, called  
19 NOIC Academy, right?

20                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

21                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. And that school  
22 is located at 50 Featherstone Avenue, Markham, right?

23                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Right, that's the current  
24 address but previously it was in North York.

25                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Previously being in  
26 2019?

27                   **MR. HAN DONG:** In 2019.

28                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Where was it located in

1 2019?

2 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall but I ---

3 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Was it in your riding?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** The residence is in my riding.

5 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes, but was the school in  
6 your riding?

7 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall, but the  
8 residence was in my riding.

9 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes, but I want to know  
10 where the school was, because the school when it was located  
11 at 50 Featherstone, which is its current location, is not in  
12 your riding; it's in the riding of Mary Ng. At the time, in  
13 2019, when you went to campaign at this school, was it in  
14 your riding or in someone else's riding?

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't recall its previous  
16 address, but I think they moved to Markham in the last -- I  
17 think it was after 2019.

18 **MR. GIB van ERT:** So I'm not concerned with  
19 its exact address, but I want your evidence; I want you to  
20 tell the Commissioner, under oath, whether that school in  
21 2019 was located in your riding?

22 **MR. HAN DONG:** I can't give you that  
23 information because I don't recall, but I can tell you for  
24 sure that the residence is in the riding, and that is the  
25 address that would -- as part of eligibility.

26 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Sir, in 2019 when you were  
27 campaigning for the nomination, were you in the habit of  
28 leaving your riding and campaigning in neighbouring ridings?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I always campaign in my  
2 riding.

3                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** That's not what I asked  
4 you. I asked you whether you were in the habit of leaving  
5 your riding and campaigning in neighbouring ridings.

6                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

7                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Did you ever do so?

8                   **MR. HAN DONG:** During my nomination race?

9                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes.

10                  **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

11                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** But you're not sure whether  
12 this school that you attended was in your riding or not?

13                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I attended the residence at  
14 Seneca, that's where I first met the students. I did not  
15 meet them at their school.

16                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** I see, all right. So  
17 you're saying that you attended at their residence and the  
18 residence is in your riding.

19                  **MR. HAN DONG:** That's correct.

20                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. Who organized  
21 for you to go to the residence of a bunch of students to  
22 campaign there?

23                  **MR. HAN DONG:** My campaign staff organized  
24 the gathering -- or, sorry; organized my meeting with the  
25 group of students. They probably contact someone that, you  
26 know, is looking after these students. I can't give you more  
27 information than that.

28                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** You met them at their

1 residence?

2 **MR. HAN DONG:** I met them at their residence.

3 **MR. GIB van ERT:** In their rooms?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** To the best of my recollection  
5 was not -- no, not at their room. It was like a meeting  
6 space at the residence.

7 **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. Turning to  
8 these other two coaches, you say that your wife organized the  
9 rental of those, right?

10 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

11 **MR. GIB van ERT:** And they travelled around  
12 on nomination day, the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, and picked up  
13 voters, right?

14 **MR. HAN DONG:** To the best of my knowledge,  
15 they had prearranged pickup spots, mainly at senior homes  
16 where previously I canvassed. So I don't -- I mean, I was at  
17 the nomination meeting shaking hands, but I have reason to  
18 believe that it was prearranged and then it wasn't them  
19 driving around the neighbourhood picking up random people.

20 **MR. GIB van ERT:** How many stops did they  
21 make?

22 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't know.

23 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Are you -- have you made  
24 any investigations into it? You know this has been hanging  
25 over you for nearly a year, or more than a year now. Have  
26 you made any investigations into how many stops these buses  
27 made; whether they stayed in the riding or not?

28 **MR. HAN DONG:** So to the best of my

1 knowledge, there are three senior homes that -- actually,  
2 maybe two senior homes, they would have picked up senior with  
3 prearrangement.

4 **MR. GIB van ERT:** And you're sitting here now  
5 and telling the Commissioner, with confidence, that that is  
6 true?

7 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes, yes.

8 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Have you sought to obtain  
9 any manifests or any documents about these buses to know for  
10 sure where they travelled, where they stopped, who they  
11 picked up?

12 **MR. HAN DONG:** No, I -- you know, again, I'm  
13 going by memory and that's what my -- that's what I remember.

14 **MR. GIB van ERT:** You're going by memory.

15 **MR. HAN DONG:** It was arranged to pick up  
16 seniors at their senior homes.

17 **MR. GIB van ERT:** According to your memory?

18 **MR. HAN DONG:** According to my memory.

19 **MR. GIB van ERT:** And you don't have any  
20 documents to confirm your memory?

21 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't have any documents.

22 **MR. GIB van ERT:** And you haven't sought to  
23 obtain any documents?

24 **MR. HAN DONG:** Not my job as a candidate, and  
25 that's -----

26 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Well, your job at the  
27 moment, sir, is to give evidence to a judicial inquiry.

28 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.



1           **MR. GIB van ERT:** Have you made any efforts  
2 to find documents to back up your memory? Which at times  
3 seems a little weak, if you don't mind me saying.

4           **MR. HAN DONG:** I do my best to -- but I have  
5 not -- I have not, you know, asked for any document to prove  
6 where the bus stops were.

7           **MR. GIB van ERT:** Sir, did you go to New York  
8 in the summer of 2019?

9           **MR. HAN DONG:** Twenty nineteen (2019)?

10          **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes.

11          **MR. GIB van ERT:** No, I travelled to New York  
12 earlier than that. I think I remember it was -- like, the  
13 weather was cold; earlier in 2019.

14          **MR. GIB van ERT:** Sorry; earlier than 2019?

15          **MR. HAN DONG:** No, no, earlier in 2019.

16          **MR. GIB van ERT:** Oh, earlier.

17          **MR. HAN DONG:** Probably -- I can't -- I don't  
18 remember which month, but I remember it was -- like, it was  
19 colder.

20          **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. At some point  
21 in 2019 you were in new York. Did you have a meeting while  
22 you were there with an official of the PRC's United Front  
23 Work Department?

24          **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

25          **MR. GIB van ERT:** Are you sure?

26          **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

27          **MR. GIB van ERT:** Have you ever met someone  
28 from the United Front Work Department?

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No, not to my recollection.

2                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right.

3                   Finally, sir, in your Statement of  
4 Anticipated Evidence, you seem to express some disappointment  
5 or frustration that a conversation you had with the Consul  
6 General in Toronto was recorded. You recall that?

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't -- we can -- I mean, I  
8 don't ---

9                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Well, let me put it to you  
10 this way.

11                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't know which sentence  
12 you're referring to.

13                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Let me put it to you this  
14 way. Do you have any objection to having had a phone  
15 conversation with this official recorded?

16                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think it's common -- it's  
17 reasonable to assume that, you know, any Canadian having  
18 their -- if that's true, having their phone tapped it would  
19 not be very appreciative, it doesn't matter who they're  
20 talking to.

21                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes, of course you don't  
22 know whether your phone was tapped or whether instead ---

23                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't.

24                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** --- whether instead the  
25 phone of the person you were speaking to was tapped.

26                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't. I don't know that.  
27 But I don't know if that's true, if my phone was listened to  
28 by somebody.

1                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. You've been  
2                   very helpful.

3                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

4                   Before you start, I have one question. Do I  
5                   have to understand that the two buses that have been rented  
6                   by your wife were used to transport senior citizens?

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

8                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Okay. The two of them?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Two of them.

10                  **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

11                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Let me just additional; they  
12                  were arranged to pick up seniors, but we didn't turn away  
13                  anybody who wants to get on the bus and go to the nomination  
14                  votes. So we don't turn away. That's my understanding.

15                  **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** It's your turn now.

16                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Thank you.

17                  --- CROSS EXAMINATION BY MR. NANDO de LUCA:

18                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Mr. Dong, have you  
19                  received any subpoena or summons from the Commission to  
20                  provide your evidence here today or to provide any documents  
21                  or information in connection with this Inquiry?

22                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I think I was summoned to come  
23                  here and be a witness.

24                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And when was that,  
25                  sir?

26                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I read the summons yesterday.

27                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry?

28                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I read the summons yesterday.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Is that, to your  
2 understanding, the first time you received it or you ---

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** First time I have seen it,  
4 yeah.

5                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay.

6                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Probably received it earlier  
7 by my, you know, lawyers, but....

8                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And it's been  
9 widely reported that the Canadian security officials reported  
10 foreign interference concerns surrounding your nomination  
11 campaign in the fall of 2019. You've heard evidence about  
12 that today, and I believe on previous days. You're aware of  
13 those reports?

14                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Are you referring to media  
15 reports?

16                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Yes, among others.

17                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

18                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And my question to  
19 you is were any such concerns about your nomination process  
20 or your campaign's nomination, were they raised with you or  
21 discussed with your campaign during 2019?

22                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Sorry, I don't understand your  
23 question.

24                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Did anyone, for example,  
25 CSIS, the RCMP, or any other police or security agencies,  
26 discuss with you or your campaign irregularities relating to  
27 the 2019 nomination contest?

28                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And did any  
2 individuals that work for the Liberal Party, or in the Prime  
3 Minister's Office, discuss any concerns about irregularities  
4 regarding that nomination process with you or your campaign  
5 in 2019?

6                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

7                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay.

8                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Not that I know.

9                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And are you aware that,  
10 and I think you are, that prior to this Commission the Right  
11 Honourable David Johnston was appointed on March 15, 2023 as  
12 Independent Special Rapporteur to look into foreign  
13 interference in the 43rd and 44th general elections?

14                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm aware of that.

15                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Are you aware that  
16 Mr. Johnston issued a first report on May 23, 2023 in  
17 connection with his mandate?

18                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm aware of that.

19                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And perhaps while  
20 I ask the next question if I could ask that COM, quadruple  
21 zero, 104 be called up, which is a copy of the report. And I  
22 would ask that once that's up we go to page 23 at the end,  
23 towards the end of it.

24                   Do you have that before you, Mr. Dong? It's  
25 coming up soon. Twenty-three of the report. Do you have  
26 that?

27                   Okay. At the very end, you'll note, and I'm  
28 going to quote, it says, and this'll continue into page 24.

1 This is -- Mr. Johnston says:

2 "In reviewing the intelligence, I did  
3 not find evidence that Mr. Dong was  
4 aware of the irregularities or the  
5 PRC Consulate's potential involvement  
6 in his nomination."

7 Do you see that?

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** I see that.

9 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. I want to ask you  
10 some questions about that.

11 **MR. HAN DONG:** Sure.

12 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** First, were you ever  
13 contacted by Mr. Johnston or anyone on his behalf in  
14 connection with his investigation that led to his first  
15 report?

16 **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

17 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And would you agree with  
18 Mr. Johnston's suggestion that you were not personally aware  
19 of any irregularities or the PRC Consulate's potential  
20 involvement in your nomination?

21 **MR. HAN DONG:** I agree with that.

22 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And Mr. Johnston,  
23 if we go back to page 23, he also, same -- last paragraph, he  
24 also says the following:

25 "[The]irregularities were observed  
26 with Mr. Dong's nomination in 2019,  
27 and there is well-grounded suspicion  
28 that the irregularities were tied to

1 the PRC Consulate in Toronto, with  
2 whom Mr. Dong maintains  
3 relationships."

4 Do you see that statement?

5 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes, I do.

6 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Do you agree with  
7 the statement?

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** I -- I don't know what I'm  
9 agreeing to because I don't know -- I'm not -- I am not privy  
10 to any documents that supports this statement. So ---

11 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay, so let's break it  
12 up a little bit.

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** --- I don't know.

14 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Do you agree -- do you  
15 know what irregularities Mr. Johnston is referring to?

16 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't.

17 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And do you know who  
18 observed them?

19 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't.

20 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Do you know what the  
21 irregularities were that were tied to the PRC Consulate in  
22 Toronto?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't.

24 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** What about the last  
25 statement? Is it correct that you maintain relationships  
26 with individuals at the PRC Consulate in Toronto?

27 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah. I agree with that,  
28 yeah.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Who in particular?  
2                   Can you give us some names?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I had a conversation with  
4                   Consular General Han Tao. You know, his office will call my  
5                   office to arrange a phone call and we talk, and especially  
6                   around the Chinese holidays. Yeah.

7                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Anyone else of note that  
8                   you regularly stay in contact with?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No. No, not -- nothing --  
10                  nobody I recall that I would have any conversation with.

11                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Now, Mr. Johnston  
12                  has been quoted in the press as indicating that the reason he  
13                  did not contact you regarding his first report is because he  
14                  was aware that you had litigation outstanding against the  
15                  Global News Corporation and Corus Entertainment regarding  
16                  stories they ran about you suggesting that you were somehow  
17                  involved in the foreign interference campaign. Do you know  
18                  anything about that?

19                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I vaguely remember that.

20                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. So I understand  
21                  that Mr. Johnston didn't actually speak with you, but were  
22                  there any attempts to speak with you? Did he or his staff  
23                  ask for an interview?

24                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Not to -- not to my knowledge.

25                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Is it correct that  
26                  you commenced such litigation against Global and Corus?

27                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes. We're -- the matter is  
28                  before the court.



1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And what stage is  
2                   that at, sir?

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** We're in discovery.

4                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Has a trial date  
5                   been set?

6                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't -- I -- I'm not sure  
7                   if we -- I can ---

8                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** You don't know?

9                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't know.

10                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And Mr. Dong,  
11                  switching subjects. On February 22, 2021, there was a motion  
12                  that passed in the commons by a vote of 266 to 0 on a multi-  
13                  party basis. It was a motion sponsored by MP Michael Chong,  
14                  which basically recognised that the PRC had engaged in acts  
15                  of genocide against the Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims, and  
16                  condemning such actions. Do you recall that motion, sir?

17                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I recall that motion.

18                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. You didn't vote on  
19                  that motion did you?

20                  **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't think I did. I  
21                  abstained.

22                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And why didn't you vote  
23                  in connection with that motion, sir?

24                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Because I haven't seen any --  
25                  I haven't seen documents to convince me yes, there is a  
26                  genocide, or no, there isn't a genocide.

27                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay.

28                  **MR. HAN DONG:** So I think the fair thing for

1 me to do is to abstain.

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. So your abstention  
3 was deliberate in a sense, it was a conscious decision to  
4 abstain?

5 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

6 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And isn't also  
7 correct that two years later, on February 1, 2023, there was  
8 a Liberal private members motion which built on Mr. Chong's  
9 original motion also condemning the treatment of Uyghurs ---

10 **MR. MATTHEW FERGUSON:** Commissioner, I  
11 believe we're approaching or outside of the scope of this ---

12 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I'm sorry. I was  
13 looking at ---

14 **MR. MATTHEW FERGUSON:** Matthew Ferguson for  
15 Commission Counsel. I believe we're a bit outside of the  
16 scope at this point.

17 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I tend to agree. So  
18 maybe you can explain where you're going.

19 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Well ---

20 **MR. GREGORY TZEMENAKIS:** If I may,  
21 Commissioner. I want to remind my friend that he is  
22 venturing into parliamentary privilege. The member benefits  
23 from privilege of the house, including his thought process  
24 and his deliberations as to why he did or did not vote in  
25 respect of a particular matter, and that privilege should be  
26 respected by the member and by the Commission, please, and my  
27 friend.

28 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** With respect, on the

1 privilege point, I'm not asking him to disclose what he said  
2 or didn't say in the house. I'm asking for matters of record  
3 and what his reasoning was. With respect to the relevance  
4 point, I think it's relevant to understand and for this  
5 Commission to know the extent to which -- in connection with  
6 the issues that the Commission is considering foreign  
7 interference, the extent to which Mr. Dong has been prepared  
8 to or not to speak out against foreign actors such as the  
9 PRC.

10 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** He gave -- he already  
11 gave the answer in terms of why he didn't vote in favour of  
12 the motion that had been presented. So I suggest that you  
13 move on another topic.

14 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Can I get an  
15 answer to the question about the second follow up motion, the  
16 Liberal motion, to follow on Mr. Chong. Did you vote on that  
17 one, sir?

18 **MR. HAN DONG:** Which motion are you talking  
19 about?

20 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** There was a motion  
21 presented, a private members motion, on February 1, 2023,  
22 which ---

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** I think my voting record is  
24 public, and you can find out how I voted.

25 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay, fair enough.  
26 Sir, you resigned from the Liberal caucus on  
27 March 2023?

28 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And did you  
2 discuss resigning with anyone from the Liberal Party, the  
3 Prime Minister's Office, or any other minister's office?

4                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Not with -- not with PMO.

5                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry, I didn't  
6 understand the last ---

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Not with the Prime Minister's  
8 Office.

9                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** What about anyone else in  
10 the Liberal Party?

11                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I definitely talked to the  
12 whip.

13                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry?

14                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I talked to the whip.

15                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay.

16                   **MR. HAN DONG:** You know, I went to the House  
17 and made a statement. So.

18                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** That was your ultimate  
19 decision. In terms of the wisdom or not of resigning from  
20 caucus, was that informed -- was your decision informed by  
21 anyone other than you?

22                   **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Sorry, with respect to my  
23 friend, again I think we're in the same territory that is  
24 outside the scope. So I join the other calls for my friend  
25 to stay inside.

26                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** The fact of the matter  
27 is, Your Honour, that the witness has resigned from caucus  
28 amid these allegations, and I think it's relevant to

1 understand whether or not the Liberal Party agrees, shares in  
2 the concerns, or not, being one of the actors that's  
3 implicated, or that's at least involved in these concerns  
4 about foreign election interference.

5 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I permit the question  
6 but it's going to be the last one, because your time is over.  
7 But I permit this question. So you have to answer.

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** What's the -- could you  
9 restate the question?

10 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sir, I'll move -- the  
11 question related to -- was a lead-in to the following.

12 You've been out of caucus since March 2023.  
13 You've indicated in the press that you hope to rejoin caucus  
14 and that you also had a meeting with Minister LeBlanc back in  
15 September expressing the hope that you would rejoin caucus,  
16 and he indicated that he would speak to the Prime Minister  
17 about it.

18 Has anything come of that discussion?

19 **MR. HAN DONG:** No, I don't have anything to  
20 share on that.

21 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** You're still out of the  
22 caucus though; correct?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm an independent member.  
24 Yes.

25 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And do you wish to rejoin  
26 caucus, sir? Old question. It's that same question. You're  
27 now prepared to answer it?

28 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah, I'm prepared to rejoin

1 the caucus.

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry, I didn't hear  
3 that. Sorry.

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** I'm prepared to rejoin the  
5 caucus.

6 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Would you like to is what  
7 I asked.

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** Oh, I thought you asked me if  
9 I'm prepared. Yes, I would.

10 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Thank you.  
11 Those are my questions. Thank you.

12 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.  
13 So Human Rights Coalition.

14 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. SARAH TEICH:**

15 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Good afternoon, Mr. Dong.

16 **MR. HAN DONG:** Good afternoon.

17 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** I want to dig a bit more  
18 into the allegations of coercion. In cross-examination of  
19 the panel this morning, Mr. Ishmael agreed that although the  
20 ballot box is secret, it may be possible for authoritarian  
21 regimes to find out how someone voted, and he agreed that  
22 even the fear of these possibilities might make members of  
23 diaspora communities vulnerable to coercion in a nomination  
24 race or election. Do you agree with him?

25 **MR. HAN DONG:** That's a long sentence. There  
26 are a lot of elements to it. I guess everything -- anything  
27 is possible.

28 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Do you believe this could

1 have happened in the context of your nomination contest?

2 **MR. HAN DONG:** Again, it's possible, but I  
3 didn't see any evidence to support that.

4 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** If it happened, would you  
5 have seen evidence of it?

6 **MR. HAN DONG:** Not necessarily. But like I  
7 said, I haven't seen any evidence.

8 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Does your campaign staff  
9 screen volunteers?

10 **MR. HAN DONG:** What do you mean, screen?

11 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Do they screen -- do they  
12 conduct background checks?

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** No, we don't conduct  
14 background checks. I mean, they ask questions. You know,  
15 their name, you know, their availability, what they like to  
16 do. This kind of stuff.

17 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Does that check look into  
18 the issue of foreign interference?

19 **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't believe so. Not the  
20 2019 nomination. No, I don't believe so.

21 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Do you think it would be  
22 valuable to do that in the future?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** Sure. But I don't know what  
24 that means, so I don't know what -- like, are you saying that  
25 you requiring every candidate's campaign to do background  
26 checks on their volunteers?

27 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** I don't know what other  
28 campaigns do. I'm asking you ---

1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I don't know ---

2                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** All right.

3                   **MR. HAN DONG:** --- what that means. Yeah.

4                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Well I'm asking you if you  
5 think it would be valuable for your campaign to look into  
6 this issue as part of its screening next time?

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I think that's something to be  
8 kept in mind. Yeah.

9                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** All right. No further  
10 questions. Thank you.

11                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Thank you.

12                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

13                   It's now for Government of Canada.

14                   **MS. TAWNI PROCTOR:** We have no questions.

15                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** No questions. And for  
16 counsel for Mr. Dong.

17                   **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. MARK POLLEY:**

18                   **MR. MARK POLLEY:** So, Mr. Dong, let's start  
19 with this question. The series of questions around busses.  
20 I mean, you remember Mr. Van Ert asked you some questions  
21 about whether you might have documents and records of who was  
22 on busses. Do you remember him asking you those questions?

23                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

24                   **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And he also raised the  
25 issue of -- talked about where the bus might have stopped as  
26 well. Had you ever -- have you been asked that question  
27 before, about where busses stopped? Where the busses rented  
28 by your campaign may have stopped?



1                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Have I ever been asked that  
2 question?

3                   **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Yeah.

4                   **MR. HAN DONG:** Not that I recall.

5                   **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And the question of who was  
6 on the busses that your campaign rented, was anyone asking  
7 you that question at any time before today?

8                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No, I don't recall right now.  
9 But I know the bus was rented for seniors.

10                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** All right. And did -- was  
11 anyone asking you to see if you could go find documents, as  
12 Mr. Van Ert suggested you could go find documents? Before  
13 today, was anyone asking you that question?

14                  **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

15                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Okay. And you raised a  
16 point, I think it was in response to the Commissioner's  
17 question to you, which was you said something about a picture  
18 that came from your social media. What did you mean by that?

19                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Well in the -- in a February  
20 news article, various pictures were used. I recall a few  
21 pictures with students holding my signs in front of a bus  
22 with myself. I recognized those -- that picture. And a  
23 couple others were taken off of my social media.

24                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And when you ---

25                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Facebook.

26                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** --- read the -- sorry.

27                  **MR. HAN DONG:** Facebook.

28                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Facebook. And when you

1 read the article and looked at the picture, what was -- was  
2 there something wrong with the picture in terms of the  
3 article?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah, obviously, for example,  
5 the signs had my name and the Liberal Party logo at the  
6 bottom. It's a clear indication that was after nomination,  
7 after I was nominated. So it has nothing to do with the  
8 nomination. And I recognized these pictures were taken after  
9 September 12<sup>th</sup>.

10 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** All right. And so -- and  
11 where did that lead you in terms of trying to figure out this  
12 issue about busses?

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** Well I asked my campaign --  
14 people who worked on my campaign, including my wife, you  
15 know, "Do you have any recollection of a bus rental and what  
16 not?" And we found out that there were two busses rented and  
17 the expenses were filed with Elections Canada, and that's  
18 been documented.

19 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Okay. And so were any  
20 busses rented by your campaign to transport foreign  
21 international students?

22 **MR. HAN DONG:** Not to my knowledge.

23 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And again, we heard about a  
24 bus, or busses, that transported foreign international  
25 students, potentially. Did your campaign organize that or  
26 pay for that, as far as you know?

27 **MR. HAN DONG:** As far as I know, no.

28 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And you were asked

1 questions about where you canvassed and campaigned. Do you  
2 ever campaign outside of your riding in terms of a nomination  
3 contest?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

5 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Sorry, in 2019, did you  
6 ever campaign for any purpose outside of your riding?

7 **MR. HAN DONG:** No. That's a waste of time.

8 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And do you know of any non-  
9 residents from your riding that managed to vote in your  
10 nomination?

11 **MR. HAN DONG:** People who don't live in the  
12 riding?

13 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Right.

14 **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

15 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And did you know -- again,  
16 as you -- either at the time or when you dug it into it over  
17 the period since these newspaper articles came out, have you  
18 ever learned of any breaking of the rules by anyone on your  
19 campaign?

20 **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

21 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And have you investigated  
22 that? Have you asked questions to try to figure that out?

23 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah. I checked with my key  
24 campaign workers, such as CFO and, you know, campaign  
25 manager. Yeah.

26 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** You also heard a  
27 suggestion, or you saw it up on the screen in a document you  
28 saw today, I think for the first time, but, about fake IDs,

1       that someone -- that people were given fake IDs. Have you  
2       ever heard that that happened on your -- during your  
3       nomination?

4                   **MR. HAN DONG:** No.

5                   **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And what would happen if  
6       you did find out about something like that?

7                   **MR. HAN DONG:** I would be the first one  
8       condemning it. I think it's an insult to our democratic  
9       system. I think if someone wants to use that to take  
10      advantage of the process, then I'll be the first one  
11      condemning it.

12                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Let's talk about the "Two  
13      Michaels" topic that you were asked about as well.

14                  So you've talked about talking to people at  
15      the -- well, the Consul General, for example. Why would you  
16      ever be talking to the Consul General?

17                  **MR. HAN DONG:** As a member of a riding that  
18      has a large portion of Chinese Canadian residents, it's part  
19      of my job. I see it as part of my job to talk to foreign  
20      diplomats, PRC in this case.

21                  **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Why is that part of your  
22      job?

23                  **MR. HAN DONG:** One is to exchange, you know,  
24      you know, views on the state of, say anti-Asian racism. I  
25      think that's a common interest.

26                  The other thing, from time to time we help  
27      constituents to obtain visas, advocate on their behalf if  
28      they face difficulties with their local consulate. Yeah, so

1 my office will act in that capacity.

2 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And so that's connected to  
3 you being an MP, you're saying?

4 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yes.

5 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Do you have any other roles  
6 that would cause you to have connections with Chinese  
7 officials, or diplomats, or China in any way?

8 **MR. HAN DONG:** I was elected by my  
9 Parliamentary colleagues to be the co-chair of Canada-China  
10 Legislative Association. So it's within my responsibility to  
11 have regular conversations with the Chinese Ambassador.

12 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** When you say ---

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** And also the counterpart,  
14 which is the China-Canada Legislative Association.

15 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And when you say your  
16 colleagues, which colleagues elected you?

17 **MR. HAN DONG:** MPs and Senators.

18 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Okay. Who is the -- your --  
19 -- the other co-chair of that ---

20 **MR. HAN DONG:** Co-Chair Senator Paul  
21 Massicotte.

22 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And do you -- we've heard a  
23 lot and talked about your connection with Chinese Canadians  
24 in your riding. Do you have connections with any other  
25 community within your riding?

26 **MR. HAN DONG:** Yeah. In my riding, there's a  
27 significant Armenian community. The community centre is  
28 there. So I have regular conversations with the Armenian

1 Ambassador. In fact, I'm a co-chair of the Canada-Armenia  
2 Friendship Group.

3 Also that I had, you know, regular  
4 conversation with, not the current, but the previous High  
5 Commissioner to Sri Lanka, as well as I'm an executive on the  
6 Canada-Ukrainian Friendship Group. So I've had opportunity  
7 to meet with Ukrainian Parliamentarians and Diplomats.

8 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** And last, when we talk  
9 about -- talked about the call you may have had with the  
10 Consul General at some point, that we saw details reported on  
11 the screen again, you said that conversation would have been  
12 in Mandarin?

13 **MR. HAN DONG:** Most likely, yes.

14 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Okay. And at any time,  
15 would you ever have been saying to the Consul General --  
16 well, sorry, let me ask it this way. Did you -- what was  
17 your message to him when you talked about the "Two Michaels"?

18 **MR. HAN DONG:** I've always advocated for  
19 their early release and improvement of their condition, and  
20 you know, I would -- when Chinese Diplomats, including him,  
21 compare the "Two Michael" case with Meng Wanzhou, who was  
22 detained at the time, I would have pointed out the difference  
23 in judicial process after lack of transparency on the Chinese  
24 part.

25 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** Okay. I have no further  
26 questions. Thank you.

27 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

28 Re-examination, Maître Krongold?

1                   **MR. KRONGOLD:** No. Thank you.

2                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** No re-examination. So  
3 it's time for a break. We'll come back at 4:20.

4                   **THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please.

5                   This hearing is in recess until 4:20.

6 --- Upon recessing at 4:20 p.m.

7 --- Upon resuming at 4:21 p.m.

8                   **THE REGISTRAR:** Order please.

9                   This sitting of the Foreign Interference  
10 Commission is back in session.

11                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Thank you,  
12 Madam Commissioner.

13                   The Commission's next witness is Ted Lojko.  
14 If the witness could please be sworn.

15                   **THE REGISTRAR:** Good afternoon. Could you  
16 please state your name and your -- spell your last name for  
17 the record, please?

18                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Sure. My name is Ted Lojko.  
19 The last name is L-O-J-K-O.

20 --- MR. TED LOJKO, Sworn:

21 --- EXAMINATION IN-CHIEF BY MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:

22                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Could you please bring  
23 up document WIT 21.

24                   Mr. Lojko, you were interviewed by Commission  
25 Counsel on about March 5th, 2024?

26                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yeah.

27                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. And this  
28 interview summary you're looking at here was generated from

1 that interview?

2 MR. TED LOJKO: Correct.

3 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Have you reviewed the  
4 interview summary for accuracy?

5 MR. TED LOJKO: I have.

6 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: All right. And is it  
7 accurate to the best of your knowledge, information, and  
8 belief?

9 MR. TED LOJKO: It is.

10 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. Do you have any  
11 corrections, additions, or deletions you would like to make  
12 to the summary?

13 MR. TED LOJKO: No, I do not.

14 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: All right. And will  
15 you adopt it as part of your evidence before the Commission?

16 MR. TED LOJKO: Sure.

17 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: I just want to turn  
18 very briefly to your background, sir. You've been involved  
19 in electoral politics since the mid 1970s. Is that right?

20 MR. TED LOJKO: Approximately, yes.

21 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. And you've  
22 worked on over 30 provincial and federal nomination and  
23 election campaigns. Is that right?

24 MR. TED LOJKO: Correct.

25 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: And I understand you've  
26 worked, perhaps mainly with Liberal candidates, but also with  
27 candidates from the Conservative and NDP from time to time?

28 MR. TED LOJKO: I help people that I believe



1 should be getting elected, yes.

2 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. So I'm sorry,  
3 maybe assisted the campaigns but didn't work for them. Is  
4 that ---

5 **MR. TED LOJKO:** sorry?

6 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You assisted those  
7 campaigns but you didn't work on them, work for them? Is  
8 that ---

9 **MR. TED LOJKO:** I assisted on those  
10 campaigns, but yes, I did not work for them, no.

11 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay, fair enough. I  
12 understand you were Han Dong's campaign manager when he ran  
13 to be an MPP in Ontario in both 2014 and 2018?

14 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

15 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And in 2019, you were  
16 Mr. Dong's campaign manager in his bid for the federal seat  
17 in Don Valley North?

18 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And that you were his  
20 campaign manager both in the nomination contest and in the  
21 general election?

22 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes.

23 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And finally, you were  
24 his campaign manager in his successful bid for re-election in  
25 2021?

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. And I  
28 understand that you still do some part time communications

1 work for Mr. Dong's parliamentary office?

2 **MR. TED LOJKO:** On a part-time basis, yes.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. I want to ask  
4 you about the voting rules in a Liberal Party of Canada  
5 nomination race in 2019. How familiar are you with the --  
6 with what the nomination rules were in 2019 for Liberal Party  
7 candidates?

8 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Fairly familiar.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And why is that?

10 **MR. TED LOJKO:** As the campaign manager, you  
11 are responsible to make sure that the rules are adhered to  
12 and the timeframe is adhered to, and that all people involved  
13 also understand the rules.

14 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. And do  
15 campaigns and nomination contests have scrutineers?

16 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes. All nominations have  
17 scrutineers from both parties, as well as the -- well, the  
18 Liberal Party also has their scrutineers.

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yes. And would you be  
20 involved in consulting with scrutineers if rules issues came  
21 up in the course of the nomination campaign?

22 **MR. TED LOJKO:** No. That is normally the  
23 role of the chief scrutineer, which basically the candidate  
24 appoints. But they -- I sit through those briefings when he  
25 outlines the parameters of who is eligible to vote, yes.

26 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. One thing I  
27 noticed in your interview summary is that you say that you  
28 believe that international students would not have been

1 eligible to vote in the 2019 Liberal nomination contest  
2 unless they were living on their own.

3 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So we would be canvassing  
4 door-to-door. We would sign up individuals that wanted to  
5 become members, but realistically, unless they were permanent  
6 residents and had some form of ID, they would not be eligible  
7 to vote.

8 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And you -- do  
9 you think that an international student would be eligible to  
10 use an address from their educational institution, from like  
11 an -- a residence from an educational institution?

12 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So some of the international  
13 students may be permanent residents, but international  
14 students, as an international student without any permanent  
15 residency in Canada would not be eligible to vote and they  
16 would be blocked at -- within the voting room.

17 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** So is it your  
18 understanding that a student would have to be a permanent  
19 resident of Canada to vote in a Liberal nomination contest in  
20 2019?

21 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Permanent resident not only  
22 of Canada, a permanent resident of Don Valley North, yes.

23 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And how would someone  
24 demonstrate their residency in order to qualify for the  
25 Liberal nomination contest?

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So they may have signed up as  
27 a member of the Liberal Party, but when they go to vote, they  
28 would go to the specific voting station based on their last

1 name, and at that point they would have to show a piece of ID  
2 with their name and their address.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I know that the  
4 phrase "permanent resident" is used in a legal context.  
5 Would a voter have to show like a document from the  
6 Government of Canada showing they were actually a permanent  
7 resident in the federal law sense of the word?

8 **MR. TED LOJKO:** No. The Elections Canada  
9 Rules would kick in at that point. So a person could  
10 actually swear that they were a permanent resident, but  
11 realistically if they had a driver's licence, and they had  
12 their name, and they basically wanted to vote, quite honestly  
13 the party -- and if they were on the party list, they would  
14 be eligible to vote.

15 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Well, what about  
16 vouching?

17 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Sorry?

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** What about the vouching  
19 rules?

20 **MR. TED LOJKO:** The vouching rules only --  
21 the vouching rules are only there for somebody that knows the  
22 other person well. So if your spouse came in and you were a  
23 eligible voter and you had proper ID, you could vouch for  
24 your spouse and say that "she left or he left their ID at  
25 home and they live with me." And then you can actually go to  
26 credentials, not at the actual voting station, at the  
27 credential station, to vouch for that particular person, and  
28 they would then be eligible to vote based on the fact and

1 eligible voter with proper ID was vouching for them.

2 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And what about using  
3 like a piece of mail to demonstrate your place of residence?  
4 Is that something that's permissible?

5 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Under the Elections Canada  
6 Rules, there is -- any government ID or any official letters,  
7 I guess, are valid to show your residency, yes.

8 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And are the --  
9 are those Elections Canada Rules also the ones applicable in  
10 a Liberal nomination contest?

11 **MR. TED LOJKO:** The nominations are governed  
12 by Elections Canada, yes.

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. What do you mean  
14 they're governed by Elections Canada?

15 **MR. TED LOJKO:** We have to abide by the Rules  
16 of Elections Canada, both -- not only in the procedures but  
17 also in the financial reporting.

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I just want to make  
19 sure I understand your evidence properly.

20 Could we go to paragraph 16 of WIT 21. So  
21 just right at the bottom of page 3. I'm sorry -- yes,  
22 paragraph 16. Thank you.

23 So what it indicates there is:

24 "Mr. Lojko believed that  
25 international students would not be  
26 eligible to vote in the nomination  
27 contest unless they could prove they  
28 were living on their own with an

1 address in the area. Liberal Party  
2 rules required documented proof of  
3 residency within the geographic area  
4 (riding). He..."

5 Meaning you:

6 "...thought many international  
7 students would not have proof of  
8 residency because they would be  
9 living in residence with their  
10 educational institution."

11 Can you just explain what you meant by that?

12 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Sure. There is a lot of  
13 international students that have dual citizenship. They are  
14 permanent residents or their parents are permanent residents,  
15 but they're also classified as international students. But  
16 realistically, somebody living in a residence would have a  
17 hard time proving that they actually -- that is their  
18 permanent residence. So it would be very difficult to get  
19 past credentials at that point.

20 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. I wanted to turn  
21 to Mr. Dong's nomination campaign when about signing up  
22 members in particular of the Chinese Canadian community.

23 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Sure.

24 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** What can you tell us  
25 about what the campaign strategy was?

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** There were two Chinese  
27 Canadian candidates at that time, Han Dong, and the other --  
28 and the other candidate. Obviously, the strategy was to look

1 at other ethno-cultural communities that we could tap into,  
2 and that is what we focussed on primarily.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. The riding of  
4 Don Valley North, as I understand it, is around 30 percent  
5 Chinese Canadian. Is that ---

6 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

7 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- your understanding?  
8 Okay. Did the campaign try to sign up any Chinese Canadians?

9 **MR. TED LOJKO:** We focussed -- Han and his  
10 wife focussed on seniors partially because Han's mother was  
11 part of one of the Tai Chi clubs, or whatever else, in  
12 through that area there. And they outreached to a couple of  
13 the seniors community centres, I guess, as did the other  
14 candidate that was seeking the nomination.

15 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And how would  
16 that outreach happen? Was it door-to-door, was it soliciting  
17 groups? How did it ---

18 **MR. TED LOJKO:** In relation to seniors?

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yes.

20 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So normally, we would find  
21 out at a community centre when they were having their Tai Chi  
22 classes or they were having gatherings at that point, and  
23 that's when Han and his wife normally would go and visit them  
24 and say that they were seeking -- Han was seeking the  
25 nomination.

26 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And is there an  
27 advantage to soliciting support from groups instead of  
28 individuals door-to-door?

1                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** It's easier to get out the  
2 vote when you have a group of individuals that need  
3 assistance, such as transportation and whatnot, as well as  
4 communication. So yeah, there is an advantage to going after  
5 groups of individuals rather than going door-to-door. If you  
6 go door-to-door very few people actually -- they may sign up  
7 the membership, but traditionally speaking very few people  
8 actually end up participating in the process.

9                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And is that an  
10 issue that nomination campaigns have to deal with, not just  
11 signing up voters but getting them out to the vote?

12                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Every nomination and every  
13 election has to try to get out the vote. And so they focus  
14 on the individuals that they signed up to try to get them to  
15 come to the nomination or the election, yes.

16                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. We've heard  
17 evidence today from Mr. Dong that he solicited support from  
18 Chinese international students who attended a private high  
19 school. Were you aware of him campaigning to solicit the  
20 support of international high school students?

21                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** I was aware that he was  
22 canvassing in different buildings and different areas. I  
23 don't believe that he was actually soliciting international  
24 students. I think he was basically signing up young people.  
25 Whether they were international students or not international  
26 students, I don't think he was aware, nor was I aware.

27                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Are you aware of  
28 him attending any high schools to solicit support?



1                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Public schools?

2                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Private schools,  
3 actually.

4                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Private schools? In all  
5 honesty, I -- I'm -- I was not aware.

6                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Were you aware of him  
7 attending any residences where students, high school students  
8 included, might be living?

9                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** No, but I do know that he did  
10 go into various buildings. Anytime that it rained, he would  
11 go into various buildings and they would target in areas  
12 where we thought the nomination may be occurring, which was  
13 obviously the Armenian Centre, possibly around Seneca  
14 College, some of the bigger buildings in that area where we  
15 anticipated that the party may hold a nomination meeting, and  
16 it would be much easier to get people to go around the corner  
17 than halfway -- into different areas. So I'm not aware  
18 specifically what buildings he went into.

19                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Were those  
20 visits that were arranged by the campaign in some way?

21                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Normally, Han canvassed with  
22 friends, and it honestly depended on the day or the day of  
23 the week when he was going. Normally on a Saturday, he would  
24 go to various households. If it's a rainy day, he would go  
25 into buildings.

26                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. So I'm just  
27 trying to understand the distinction here. Is there a  
28 distinction between -- when you say "canvassing" I sort of

1 think going door-to-door ---

2 MR. TED LOJKO: Yeah.

3 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: --- as opposed to  
4 actual planned events that a candidate might attend. Is  
5 there a distinction there?

6 MR. TED LOJKO: No. There was no actual  
7 planned events as such. There was no group gatherings that -  
8 - to my knowledge, but there was, you know, targeted areas  
9 that we thought we would be able to sign up members in.

10 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. So there were no  
11 planned events for anyone that -- where Mr. Dong solicited  
12 support for his nomination? Or no ---

13 MR. TED LOJKO: With the exception of  
14 possibly the seniors Tai Chi class or those types of things,  
15 where we knew every Wednesday they would be meeting there, or  
16 there may have been some coffee parties at that point, but I  
17 have no clue. I'm sorry. I am not aware of any specific  
18 gatherings that were arranged by the campaign.

19 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. So your  
20 understanding is Mr. Dong would have been going sort of door-  
21 to-door in these areas where there might have been  
22 international students I guess. Is that ---

23 MR. TED LOJKO: He would be going door-  
24 to-door wherever people lived, yes.

25 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. But no planned  
26 events with high school students, to your knowledge?

27 MR. TED LOJKO: There was no specific plan to  
28 go after young people or high school students or

1 international students. We would basically try to solicit  
2 whatever memberships we could at that time, yes.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Why would a nomination  
4 campaign not spend time targeting high school students?

5 **MR. TED LOJKO:** There's a very low voter  
6 turnout with younger people. They may or may not sign up  
7 memberships. You got to remember that the Liberal Party  
8 allows memberships of 14 years of age and over. If the  
9 parents sign up a young person, there's a better tendency  
10 that those people will come up. If you just go into a high  
11 school and standing in front of the high school and just  
12 signing up people at that point, your voter turnout it's  
13 extremely low.

14 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Do you find that  
15 they're enthusiastic and motivated voters? High school  
16 students that is.

17 **MR. TED LOJKO:** I don't think high school  
18 students really understand the nomination process, they  
19 understand the election process and probably get more  
20 involved in that than obviously in a nomination.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Mr. Dong told us  
22 that someone from the campaign arranged for him to solicit  
23 support from high school students from a high school with the  
24 initials NOIC. Do you have any knowledge about that  
25 occurring?

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** No, I do not.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Do you think  
28 that anyone from the campaign might have made arrangements to

1 do that?

2 **MR. TED LOJKO:** I -- if they were going  
3 inside a building, they would have had to have had  
4 permission. So that's a possibility, yes.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Mr. Dong has also given  
6 evidence that he was told that a bus organized -- that their  
7 bus was organized that transported some of these students to  
8 the nomination meeting and that they voted in the nomination  
9 contest. Is that something you recall or know anything  
10 about?

11 **MR. TED LOJKO:** I do not recall a bus coming  
12 to the nomination meeting specifically with young people, no.

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Mr. Dong said  
14 that he was told by someone within the campaign about this  
15 bus having come to the vote. Did you hear anything about  
16 that from anyone on the campaign?

17 **MR. TED LOJKO:** No, I did not.

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Have you made  
19 any inquiries of other members of the campaign about these  
20 subjects?

21 **MR. TED LOJKO:** As of yesterday, yes.

22 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And what did you  
23 -- what inquiries did you make?

24 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Most of the people that I  
25 spoke to that would have been privy to the outside and what  
26 may have occurred outside were not aware of any bus.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Last all, I wanted to  
28 ask you about a topical summary that's been produced on Don

1 Valley North.

2 I think it's CAN.SUM 1. Sorry, that's not  
3 for you, Mr. Lojko.

4 Okay.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And while we're calling  
6 it up, I'm going to give the standard caveat here. This is a  
7 summary of Government of Canada Intelligence Holdings. There  
8 is a page of caveats which ought to be considered, and  
9 certainly not suggesting that anything stated here is proven  
10 fact. But I would like to know what you could tell us, as  
11 someone with firsthand knowledge about these subjects.

12 So if we can go down to the second page,  
13 please, to point 2.1, it reads:

14 "Intelligence reporting indicated  
15 that buses were used to bring  
16 international students to the  
17 nomination process, in support of Han  
18 Dong."

19 Is there anything you can tell us about that?

20 **MR. TED LOJKO:** That may or may not be true,  
21 but I was not aware of buses specifically for students or  
22 international students.

23 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Were you aware of any  
24 other means of transporting students or international  
25 students to the nomination contest?

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So basically every campaign  
27 provides transportation to voters to bring them to the voting  
28 station, whether it's during an election or during a

1 nomination. If I was aware that there was a cluster of  
2 people that needed transportation in larger groups, we would  
3 arrange for transportation of that type. I was not aware  
4 that there was a cluster of students or young people in any  
5 particular area, and so we did not arrange any  
6 transportation.

7 There are other buildings that we did arrange  
8 transportation, but they were all privately -- private cars  
9 and private vans.

10 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. The second point  
11 here says:

12 "Some Intelligence reporting also  
13 indicated that the students were  
14 provided with falsified documents to  
15 allow them to vote, despite not being  
16 residents of DVN."

17 Is there anything you wish to tell us about  
18 that statement?

19 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So that makes no sense  
20 whatsoever, and I'll tell you why that makes no sense.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Please.

22 **MR. TED LOJKO:** First of all, there are only  
23 three entities who have access to who is on the membership  
24 list: There is Han Dong, the candidate, there is the other  
25 candidate, and there is the Liberal Party. For them to be  
26 able to provide -- to know who's on that list makes no sense.

27 But then you take it the next step there  
28 where they are provided falsified documents. So first of

1 all, who are you providing the falsified documents to, and  
2 second of all, anybody that was signed up, signed up by going  
3 door to door, would have already been on the list, so it was  
4 an assumption that they've already put their address on that  
5 membership list and would not have needed to have falsified  
6 documents.

7 So the whole thing makes no sense whatsoever,  
8 especially when you're talking about a known proxy agent that  
9 would somehow have access to a list that is safely guarded by  
10 three entities involved with the membership list.

11 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And point number three  
12 here says:

13 "Intelligence reported after the  
14 election indicated that veiled  
15 threats were issued by the PRC  
16 Consulate to the Chinese  
17 international students, implying  
18 their student visas would be in  
19 jeopardy and that there could be  
20 consequences for their families back  
21 in the PRC if they did not support  
22 Han Dong."

23 Is there anything you can tell us about that  
24 statement, sir?

25 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Sure. So first thing is what  
26 I've already stated: How would anybody know who was on --  
27 who was a member on that list when there's only three  
28 entities that have a copy of that membership list, and once

1 the nomination is over, that nomination list ceases to exist.

2 But honestly, and second of all, the student  
3 visa aspect; student visas are issued by the Canadian  
4 government, not by the Chinese government. So the two --  
5 that particular line, to me, makes very little sense.

6 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Thank you very  
7 much, sir. Those are my questions.

8 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you. So for the  
9 first cross-examination will be conducted by counsel for Han  
10 Dong.

11 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** I have no questions.  
12 Thank you, Commissioner.

13 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** For the Conservative  
14 Party?

15 (SHORT PAUSE)

16 --- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. NANDO de LUCA:

17 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Good afternoon, Mr.  
18 Lojko.

19 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Good afternoon.

20 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** If I understood your  
21 evidence correctly -- or maybe I'll ask you; am I correct  
22 that in the Liberal Party only members can vote at a  
23 nomination meeting?

24 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes.

25 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And the objective  
26 of a nomination candidate is to get support from existing  
27 members and to sign up new members to vote; correct?

28 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.



1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And do you recall  
2 approximately how many members of the Liberal Party there  
3 were for Don Valley North at the start of the nomination  
4 contest between Mr. Dong and his opponent? I've forgotten  
5 the name; sorry.

6                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Honestly, I can't.

7                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And is it fair to  
8 say that both Mr. Dong's nomination campaign and his opponent  
9 signed up new members?

10                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** Absolutely.

11                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. But you wouldn't  
12 be able -- I take it from the answer you gave me, you  
13 wouldn't be able to give us a sense as how many new members  
14 were set up or signed between the two campaigns during that  
15 period.

16                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** It would have been an equal  
17 amount of members signed up, but I have no idea how many were  
18 actually signed up, in retrospect.

19                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Now, when you say an  
20 equal amount, you're venturing an assumption as to roughly  
21 how many each campaign would have signed up.

22                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** Absolutely.

23                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. But in terms of an  
24 overall number as to how many the total would have  
25 represented, in terms of the new signups over who were  
26 originally members, you wouldn't be able to help us; correct?

27                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** I would assume there was a  
28 significant amount more people that were signed up than the

1 old -- than the previous members, yes.

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** So just to make sure, you  
3 believe that between the two, Mr. Dong and his opponent,  
4 collectively the members that they signed up -- the new  
5 members that they signed up collectively were more than what  
6 the original membership role would have suggested?

7 **MR. TED LOJKO:** In all probability, yes.

8 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And what do you  
9 base that on?

10 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Based -- it's a basic  
11 assumption because the list expanded and when we had to enter  
12 the membership databases.

13 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And let me ask you  
14 about those membership databases. Is that something that --  
15 in terms of signing them up or entering those names, is that  
16 something that you would have overseen as campaign manager  
17 for the new members that you managed to sign up?

18 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes. I don't specifically do  
19 the data entry but basically I oversee to make sure that it  
20 is all done properly, yes.

21 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And would there be  
22 a list somewhere, either as part of Mr. Dong's campaign or  
23 with the Liberal Party of Canada, that would reflect how many  
24 new members were signed up for that nomination contest?

25 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Absolutely. The Liberal  
26 Party would have that list, yes.

27 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And would Mr.  
28 Dong's campaign have had it at any point in time?

1                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** We get the list only once the  
2 -- once the -- I was going to say the writ; once the  
3 nomination is called. At that point there's -- within 48  
4 hours, 72 hours -- I'm not exactly sure -- we get a copy of  
5 the final list in order to be able to access all the members  
6 to try to solicit their support.

7                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And do you recall  
8 if you retained a copy of that list?

9                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** We did.

10                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry; you did?

11                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes, we did.

12                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And were you  
13 asked, as part of this process, or did you voluntarily turn  
14 over any such list that reflected the membership as a result  
15 of that nomination contest?

16                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** I don't understand your  
17 question.

18                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sorry. The list that you  
19 just described, ---

20                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yeah.

21                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** --- for me, that you said  
22 you kept a copy of at some point, do you still have a copy of  
23 it?

24                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** No, I do not.

25                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay.

26                               Where did that list go? Who has that?

27                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** The party would have the  
28 list.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Right.

2                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** We would have destroyed the  
3 list at that point because it was irrelevant for the next  
4 stage of the campaign.

5                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And so I take it  
6 then that, that was the question I asked, you wouldn't have  
7 been in a position to turn over any such list that you had at  
8 any point in time to the Commission; correct?

9                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** No.

10                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. But you do believe  
11 that there's a list or a database that reflects all the new  
12 names that were signed up by the two campaigns in connection  
13 with that 2019 nomination contest; correct?

14                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** I believe that the Liberal  
15 Party, at that time, had a copy of the list.

16                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Right.

17                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** Whether that list is still  
18 available, I question that it's still available after nine  
19 years, quite honestly.

20                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Am I correct that  
21 in -- well, I'm going to put it this way. In the  
22 Conservative Party, becoming a member requires purchasing a  
23 \$15 membership with the member's personal credit card or a  
24 cheque from a Canadian ---

25                  **MR. TED LOJKO:** Right.

26                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** --- bank account. And am  
27 I correct that in the Liberal Party membership process, that  
28 there is no fee to do so?

1                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** That changed about eight  
2 years ago or something like that. Yes.

3                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** What do you mean that  
4 changed? There is now, or?

5                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** There used to be a membership  
6 fee, and that membership fee has been waived.

7                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And you think that  
8 happened eight years ago?

9                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** I'm not exactly sure when  
10 that happened, but it was a while back, yes.

11                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. But it was before  
12 the 2019 election?

13                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Absolutely.

14                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And the 2019 nomination  
15 contest?

16                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

17                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And do I  
18 understand from that, that today it would be possible to join  
19 the Liberal Party of Canada without having a Canadian credit  
20 card or a Canadian bank account?

21                   **MR. TED LOJKO:** That is correct.

22                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Thank you. Those are my  
23 questions.

24                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.  
25 Counsel for Michael Chan?

26                   **MR. GIB van ERT:** No questions for this  
27 witness, Commissioner.

28                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Human Rights Coalition?

1 --- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY/CONTRE-INTERROGATOIRE PAR

2 MS. SARAH TEICH:

3 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Good afternoon. If we can  
4 pull up a witness statement, WIT 21? I have a clarifying  
5 question on paragraph 42. I'll just wait for that to load.  
6 Thank you.

7 --- EXHIBIT No. 21 EN:

8 Interview Summary: Ted Lojko

9 --- EXHIBIT No. 21 EN:

10 Résumé d'entrevue : Ted Lojko

11 Mr. Lojko, you shared that there are no  
12 background checks on volunteers. And I'll read directly from  
13 this:

14 "Generally, if there is a suspicious  
15 individual - for instance someone who  
16 wants access to a database - the  
17 campaign will 'move them out the  
18 door'."

19 Is there anything else that would flag an  
20 individual as suspicious?

21 **MR. TED LOJKO:** There are many things that  
22 would -- that the campaign has to look at. If people are  
23 being harassed in the campaign, if there are people in there  
24 that are soliciting for -- soliciting their point of view,  
25 they are also looked at very suspiciously as well. And,  
26 quite honestly, we try to make sure that everybody feels  
27 comfortable volunteering in a campaign without being  
28 intimidated by other people. If somebody is asking to access

1 the database, the database is only used by X amount of people  
2 and we do not allow anybody access to the computer.

3 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Thank you. When you say  
4 harassed, do you mean within the campaign office? Or would  
5 that include, for example, volunteers harassing voters or  
6 potential voters to vote for Mr. Dong?

7 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Harassed within volunteers.  
8 So if somebody is harassing a young woman or anything, or a  
9 young male for that matter, we -- as the Campaign Manager, it  
10 comes to my attention, and normally I have to deal with that  
11 particular individual. If that persists, then basically  
12 sometimes we have to ask them to leave. Yes.

13 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** All right. Thank you.  
14 Can we pull up the topical summary again?  
15 Thank you. And I'd like to go back to that point about  
16 intelligence reported that veiled threats were issued. If we  
17 could go back to that? Yes, point three. Thank you.

18 Mr. Lojko, you shared that this makes no  
19 sense for two reasons, essentially that only three entities  
20 have access to the list and that student visas are issued by  
21 the Canadian Government, not the Chinese Government.

22 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Sure.

23 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Did I get that right?

24 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yeah.

25 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Beyond access to the list,  
26 volunteers go door knocking; right?

27 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes.

28 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** So isn't it possible that a

1 volunteer goes door knocking and coerces a Chinese  
2 international student that way?

3 **MR. TED LOJKO:** I don't understand the  
4 question, sorry.

5 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Well a volunteer doesn't  
6 necessarily need access to the list to coerce a potential  
7 voter if volunteers are engaged in door knocking. Isn't that  
8 right?

9 **MR. TED LOJKO:** So normally when volunteers  
10 go door knocking, they go with a candidate or his wife, kind  
11 of thing; right? Because the potential members are going to  
12 be voting for that particular individual. We just don't send  
13 out squads of people just knocking on arbitrary doors. So we  
14 do not intimidate people at the door, especially when you  
15 have the candidate and people that really should know what  
16 they're doing at the door. So no, we do not intimidate  
17 people to become members, because it serves no purpose.

18 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** All right. So by  
19 extension, if coercion happened with door knocking, Mr. Dong  
20 would know about it? Is that right?

21 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

22 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** And is there also -- do you  
23 also have volunteers engaged in phone calls?

24 **MR. TED LOJKO:** I'm sorry?

25 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Do you also have volunteers  
26 engaged in phone calls?

27 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Yes.

28 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Is it possible that



1 volunteers could engage in coercion via phone calls?

2 **MR. TED LOJKO:** That may occur. Some of our  
3 volunteers, especially our seniors, are very animated in some  
4 of their calling. I have no idea what some of the -- what  
5 some of the conversations are because I do not speak either  
6 Mandarin, or Iranian, or Armenian, and some of them -- some  
7 of the older types tend to be on the phones longer than they  
8 need to.

9 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** The point about you said  
10 student visas are issued by the Canadian Government, not the  
11 Chinese Government, wouldn't you agree that there are other  
12 ways that students can be threatened by the Chinese  
13 Government if they don't vote a certain way?

14 **MR. TED LOJKO:** That is possible, but my  
15 comment was in relation to if there were members, how would  
16 they have access to the list in the first place?

17 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Right. But ---

18 **MR. TED LOJKO:** And then -- and how -- and  
19 therefore, you know, if they were on the list, how would you  
20 basically try to intimidate them if you didn't even know that  
21 they were on the list?

22 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** That's right. But we have  
23 established just now that volunteers have access to voters or  
24 potential voters by door knocking, albeit with Mr. Dong,  
25 and/or phone calls; right?

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** No. I didn't say that.  
27 Basically during an election period, we have a list of  
28 eligible voters. During the nomination process, we basically

1 do not have a list of potential voters or residents.

2 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Okay. Volunteers still  
3 engage in door knocking and phone calls during nomination ---

4 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Correct.

5 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** --- contests. Isn't that  
6 right?

7 All right. No further questions. Thank you.

8 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

9 Government of Canada, any questions?

10 **MS. LAURA DOUGAN:** None for this witness.

11 Thank you.

12 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** And any re-examination?

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** No, thank you.

14 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** So we are ahead of our  
15 time by three minutes. We'll take a short recess just  
16 because there's another witness. Ah no -- yes. Yes, yes,  
17 yes.

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** We may be able to  
19 continue. I see the next witness, Michael Chan, is in the  
20 hearing room.

21 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Is he? Okay. Perfect.

22 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Certainly in your  
23 hands.

24 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** No need for a recess.  
25 Perfect.

26 **MR. TED LOJKO:** Thank you.

27 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you, sir.

28 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Madam Commissioner, I

1 just wanted to indicate as well -- it's okay, please go  
2 ahead, Mr. Chan -- that my colleague is going to be sitting  
3 up with Mr. Chan to assist him in viewing any documents that  
4 he needs to.

5 Can we bring up document WIT-17?

6 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** just a moment. He has  
7 to be sworn in.

8 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Oh, sorry. I knew I  
9 missed something.

10 **THE REGISTRAR:** Good evening, Mr. Chan.  
11 Could you please state your name, your full name, and spell  
12 your last name for the record?

13 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** My name is Michael Chan,  
14 also known as K-W-O-K C-H-I. C-H-A-N is my last name.

15 --- MR. MICHAEL CHAN, Affirmed:

16 **THE REGISTRAR:** Thank you very much.  
17 Counsel, you may proceed.

18 --- EXAMINATION IN-CHIEF BY MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Thank you. If we could  
20 bring up WIT 17?

21 --- EXHIBIT No. WIT 17.EN:

22 Interview Summary: Michael Chan

23 --- EXHIBIT No. WIT 17.FR:

24 Résumé d'entrevue : Michael Chan

25 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Mr. Chan, in the  
26 meantime, do you recall being interviewed by Commission  
27 counsel on February 20<sup>th</sup> of this year?

28 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

1                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And the document  
2 before you is an interview summary that was generated from  
3 that discussion?

4                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

5                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Right. And have you  
6 had a chance to review it for accuracy?

7                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I did.

8                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And is it accurate to  
9 the best of your knowledge, information, and belief?

10                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

11                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you have any  
12 corrections, additions, or deletions you'd like to make?

13                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

14                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And do you adopt it as  
15 part of your evidence before the Commission?

16                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

17                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Wonderful. Just to  
18 briefly discuss your background, Mr. Chan, you immigrated to  
19 Canada in 1969, I understand?

20                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

21                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. Your  
22 professional background is in the insurance industry? Is  
23 that right?

24                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes. I stopped in 1975.

25                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And I understand  
26 you got involved in Liberal Party politics in about 1984?

27                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes, about that time.

28                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you've been

1 involved in campaigns for, I take it, it'd be dozens of  
2 Liberal politicians at both the federal and provincial levels  
3 in Ontario?

4 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes, many.

5 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You served as an  
6 Ontario MPP from 2007 to 2018?

7 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right.

8 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you were in Cabinet  
9 with several different Ministerial portfolios essentially  
10 throughout your time at Queen's Park?

11 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes, I was a Minister for  
12 11 years.

13 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You retired from  
14 provincial politics in June 2018?

15 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right.

16 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And that was --  
17 coincided with the 2018 Ontario General Election, as I  
18 understand it?

19 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right, because  
20 before election, I declared I'm not running. So retired.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And I understand you  
22 moved over to municipal politics in October of '22?

23 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right.

24 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you are currently  
25 the Deputy Mayor of the City of Markham?

26 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That is right.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I want to ask you a  
28 little bit about your relationship with Han Dong.

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Okay.

2                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you recall when or  
3 in what circumstances you first met him?

4                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Many years ago.

5                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay.

6                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I understand he worked for  
7 the government or the Liberal Party. And, yeah, many years.  
8 And, you know, I know his wife, you know, Sophie, as well.

9                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You know his wife,  
10 Sophie, ---

11                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** M'hm.

12                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- as well?

13                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah. M'hm.

14                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And did you know  
15 Mr. Dong before he was elected as an MPP in 2014?

16                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes. I -- because in  
17 government, we run into people. So I might have kind of,  
18 like, ran into him. And yeah, I would say I knew him before  
19 that.

20                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And he was -- I  
21 gather at that time he was a political staffer and you were  
22 an MPP?

23                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right. M'hm.

24                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Did your  
25 relationship with him continue after he became an MPP in  
26 2014?

27                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Of course. You know, he's  
28 an MPP. I'm also an MPP, by the way. And we see in the

1 House. Not together, but you know, we kind of run into each  
2 other. I mean, frequently, I would say.

3 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I'm sorry?

4 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** We run into each other, I  
5 mean, you know, many times.

6 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. You ran into  
7 each other many times. Yeah.

8 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** M'hm.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And what was the nature  
10 of your relationship, let's say going up to the period when  
11 you both left office in 2018?

12 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I would say, like, a  
13 business colleague, you know, political colleague, and you  
14 know, you say hello when you see each other and sometimes you  
15 -- we met. You know, we met in festivals, and events, and  
16 people inviting us to go there and, you know, I may make a  
17 remark, he may make a remark. So those are the I would say  
18 very standard routine encounterings.

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And I understand  
20 you both left provincial politics in June 2018.

21 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** M'hm.

22 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Ultimately, Mr. Dong  
23 decides to run for the federal Liberal nomination in Don  
24 Valley North.

25 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

26 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did you play any role  
27 in encouraging Mr. Dong to run for the Liberals in Don Valley  
28 North?

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I was the one who called  
2 him and I think one day, it's a sunny -- I think it's a sunny  
3 day, and it's warm, so it's in the summer time, and I heard  
4 from the radio that the previous MP, Geng Tan, is not  
5 running. It was on the radio. So I picked up the phone and  
6 called Han Dong, "Look, Han, you know, Geng Tan said he's not  
7 running. You should consider." And I remember he said --  
8 his response was, "Oh, I'm --" you know he was on a fishing  
9 trip.

10                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** He was on a fishing  
11 trip. Yeah.

12                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah.

13                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And why did you  
14 encourage him to run?

15                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Oh, again, I know him and  
16 I think he's an experienced politician. You know, he worked  
17 in the Provincial Government. And one thing I think he  
18 should be good, his language, the communication, because he  
19 speaks fluent English, his Mandarin is very good, and also,  
20 his Cantonese is also very good. So I think that he would be  
21 a good person to be in the political arena.

22                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Did you have any  
23 involvement in Han Dong's nomination campaign in 2019?

24                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I would say no because I  
25 was busy, I was travelling very heavily out of the country,  
26 and in terms of nomination, no. Perhaps I may have attended,  
27 so for a curtesy, a press conference that he's running or  
28 something like that. But in terms of actual, like,



1 involvement, no.

2 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Do you recall if you  
3 were present for his nomination announcement?

4 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: I -- present? Can you  
5 repeat your question please?

6 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Do you recall if you  
7 were present when he announced that he was running for the  
8 nomination?

9 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: I can't recall. I can't.  
10 I'm sorry.

11 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. Have you  
12 attended a lot of nomination announcements?

13 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: In my ---

14 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: In your life.

15 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: --- political career?

16 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Yeah.

17 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Oh, yes. Of course.

18 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay.

19 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Yes.

20 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Did you do anything  
21 else to support his campaign?

22 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: I think I attended his  
23 campaign office opening. That would be at the election time.  
24 And I may have knocked on doors for him maybe one or maximum  
25 two times. And basically, I did it -- I was busy, by the  
26 way, so I -- it's probably a curtesy, kind of, like,  
27 supporting him. Something like that.

28 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Do you recall if you

1 were at the nomination contest meeting where he was ---

2 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I cannot recall, but I  
3 would be inclined to tell you I wasn't there.

4 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you have any first-  
5 hand knowledge about any irregularities in the nomination  
6 contest?

7 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Definitely no.

8 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. We've heard some  
9 evidence this morning from Mr. Dong about Chinese  
10 international students who were living at Seneca College who  
11 appear to have been bused to the 2019 DVN Nomination Contest.

12 At the time in 2019, I understand you were a  
13 Governor of Seneca College?

14 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

15 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Did you know  
16 anything about the bussing of Chinese international students  
17 to Han Dong's nomination vote?

18 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Definitely no.

19 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. You mentioned  
20 that at the time the nomination was going on, you were  
21 working overseas?

22 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah, I was travelling  
23 overseas.

24 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Travelling overseas.

25 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I'm not working there.  
26 Yeah.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** No, fair enough. Okay.  
28 And what is it you were doing overseas?

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I tried to set up a  
2 certification center for -- in the Country of Cambodia. And  
3 allow me to explain. The certification center is goods that  
4 is going out of the country or coming into the country, they  
5 need to be certified so that, you know, that can be used for  
6 within that country. And in the moment -- at that moment,  
7 there is no certification center in Cambodia. And what the  
8 country did is, all the goods they produce, they have sent to  
9 perhaps Thailand, or Vietnam, and you know, through those  
10 countries, that would be certified, and then go to other  
11 countries. So it makes sense. And it makes very good  
12 business sense if I can set it up.

13                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And when was it  
14 that you were working on this business opportunity?

15                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I travelled there many  
16 times, 2019. I would say that idea came out in late 2018 and  
17 then, you know, we started working on it. That's why I  
18 travelled so often, so many times, there.

19                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** The 43<sup>rd</sup> General  
20 Election was October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2019. Do I have that day right?  
21 Was -- were you still working on this business through to  
22 election day?

23                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

24                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And how much  
25 time were you spending travelling in that period?

26                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I -- well, I tried to get  
27 the documents so that I could show you. I travelled from  
28 late 2018 to October or November 2019. I travelled there

1 eight or nine times.

2 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: And then ---

3 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: And long-distance  
4 travelling, by the way.

5 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: I'm sorry?

6 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: It's long-distance  
7 travelling.

8 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: It is long distance.  
9 Yes. In this period of time from late 2018 to late 2019, did  
10 you have any contact with officials from PRC?

11 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Oh, yes. M'hm.

12 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay. And what was the  
13 purpose of that contact?

14 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: You see, the certification  
15 center is a business for the local Cambodian people, and also  
16 the technology is from China, meaning there is some Chinese  
17 investment in this project. So I -- because it's -- I think  
18 this is a very significant project. So I think that it's  
19 important to pay a visit to the Chinese Ambassador in  
20 Cambodia. And his name is Wang, Wang Wentian.

21 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: I'm sorry, how do we  
22 spell his last name? W-A-?

23 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: W-A-N-G.

24 MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD: Okay.

25 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: And then somehow I  
26 discovered that Mr. Wang, he used to work in Ottawa. Right  
27 here in the Embassy. And so then I was kind of able to get  
28 to another person, he's the Deputy Consul General. His name

1 is Mr. Zhuang. Z-H-U-A-N-G. Something like that. And at  
2 that time, he was the Deputy Consul General working in  
3 Toronto. So I kind of, like, you know, contacted him and  
4 asked him, you know, "Look, can you be kind enough to kind  
5 of, like, make a reference so that I can go to Cambodia and  
6 have a meeting with Ambassador Wang?"

7 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. And just to have  
8 the spellings here, I understand the PRC Ambassador to  
9 Cambodia is first name W-E-N ---

10 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** W-A-N-G. Wang.

11 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Oh, I'm sorry. Okay.  
12 And then his other names, I have one, W-E-N and then T-I-A-N?  
13 Is that correct?

14 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah, I don't know.

15 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** You're not sure.

16 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** If there's a mistake, I  
17 can follow up and give you the right name. I'm sorry.

18 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. That's  
19 fine.

20 So you -- so as I understand what you're  
21 saying, you -- the PRC Ambassador to Cambodia, Mr. Wong, used  
22 to work in ---

23 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Ottawa.

24 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And you reached out to  
25 the PRC Deputy Consul General, Mr. Zhuang, ---

26 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** M'hm.

27 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** --- to help you arrange  
28 a meeting with Mr. Wang?

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That is true.

2                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Why would you  
3 need to involve the PRC Ambassador to Cambodia to help you  
4 with a business in Cambodia?

5                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** It's quite customary, you  
6 know, when you're doing business. I was the International  
7 Trade Minister before for Ontario and it's quite common that  
8 we kind of, like, get assistance of Diplomats or Consuls to  
9 promote the business, to promote one particular business.  
10 It's very common.

11                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** I understand that you  
12 did ultimately, as I understand it, meet with Mr. Zhuang?

13                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

14                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** In Canada?

15                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah, here.

16                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** And that meeting  
17 happened in Canada?

18                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

19                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** In the GTA?

20                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** In the GTA. Yes.

21                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Was anybody else  
22 present for that meeting?

23                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Mr. Zhao Wei.

24                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Zhao Wei?

25                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** M'hm.

26                   **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you know why Zhao  
27 Wei was there?

28                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I don't have an idea.

1 Usually, you know, I -- in 2019 on, I was a private citizen.  
2 So I went there alone. But then when I was a Minister for  
3 the Provincial Government, when I meet foreign diplomats, I  
4 usually brought my assistants. Meaning that I don't meet  
5 them alone. I meet them, you know, with assistants. But  
6 regardless who am I meeting, or regardless which country's  
7 diplomat I'm meeting. But for this particular one, I went  
8 alone, but then I met both Mr. Zhuang and Mr. Zhao Wei.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did you know that Zhao  
10 Wei would be there?

11 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

12 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Had you met him before?

13 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I -- did I meet him  
14 before? Yeah, I may run into him. You know, I -- during my  
15 time in the Provincial Government, on record I went to 7,000  
16 events. So I met a lot of people. I met a lot of diplomats  
17 of many, many countries. Of course, those from China, I meet  
18 them more often because the background of myself and also the  
19 businesses I'm bringing in.

20 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Do you have --  
21 do you know why Zhao Wei was there, specifically?

22 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No, I -- you know, he was  
23 there, but, you know, and I don't -- I can't give you an  
24 answer because I don't know.

25 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Do you remember when  
26 that meeting with Mr. Zhuang and Zhao Wei occurred?

27 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** It's cold, so it has to be  
28 in the wintertime. Perhaps January, or February, or March.

1 But I think it's around that time.

2 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. When you -- did  
3 you have any other meetings where Zhao Wei was present in  
4 this period of time? So late 20 ---

5 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** After that? After that  
6 meeting?

7 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Yes. Sure.

8 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Okay.

9 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Or sorry, I don't -- I  
10 just want to focus you on the period from late 2018 to late  
11 2019. You've told us about one meeting where Zhao Wei was  
12 present. Any other meetings where he was present in that  
13 period?

14 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No. Not that I can  
15 recall. No.

16 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** All right. When you  
17 met Zhao Wei and Mr. Zhuang on this occasion about, I gather,  
18 your Cambodia business, did you discuss with him or with them  
19 anything related to Han Dong?

20 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No. No. Definitely, no.

21 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did you discuss  
22 anything at all related to the nomination race in Don Valley  
23 North?

24 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

25 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Anything related to  
26 Canadian elections?

27 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

28 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Did you meet with other



1 PRC Consular officials in addition to the people we've spoken  
2 about?

3 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Twenty-nineteen (2019)?  
4 In and out, in and out, in and out. I -- if I -- I -- no. I  
5 don't think so, because I worked and I spent so much time in  
6 foreign countries, I come back here -- no. The answer is no.

7 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Can I just get  
8 one point of clarification? In your witness summary, and it  
9 is WIT 17, it's right at the last paragraph, that's it,  
10 there's a reference here to an Ambassador LI, L-I, who is  
11 identified as the Chinese Ambassador to Cambodia?

12 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** The spelling is wrong. It  
13 should be Wang. W-A-N-G.

14 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. So it's not  
15 Ambassador Li, L-I?

16 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No, it is wrong.

17 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay, that's an error.  
18 Yes? It was an error?

19 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Oh yeah, that's an error.

20 **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Okay. Thank you very  
21 much, those are my questions, sir.

22 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Thank you.

23 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

24 Cross-examination. First one is counsel for  
25 Han Dong.

26 **MR. MARK POLLEY:** No questions. Thank you.

27 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** No questions.

28 Counsel for Michael Chong.

1 (SHORT PAUSE)

2 --- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GIB van ERT:

3 MR. GIB van ERT: Sir, how many times have  
4 you met Zhao Wei?

5 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: How many times? I run  
6 into him in public once -- four or five times over the years.

7 MR. GIB van ERT: Four or five times in  
8 your...?

9 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Over perhaps two or three  
10 years.

11 MR. GIB van ERT: In your entire life, four  
12 or five times?

13 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Yeah, yeah, yeah.  
14 Because I went to so many events and, you know, it can be 300  
15 people in there, it can be 800 people in there, and he may be  
16 there. You know, I met him in -- I met him in public place.

17 MR. GIB van ERT: Thank you.

18 I'll ask the Court Operator to turn up COM  
19 67, please.

20 --- EXHIBIT No./PIÈCE No. COM 67:

21 Article: CSIS warned Trudeau about  
22 Toronto-area politician's alleged  
23 ties to Chinese diplomats [The Globe  
24 and Mail]

25 MR. GIB van ERT: I'm showing you a report  
26 from the *Globe and Mail*.

27 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Okay.

28 MR. GIB van ERT: Oh, I may have the number

1 wrong; sorry.

2 (SHORT PAUSE)

3 MR. GIB van ERT: I'm going to try to do it  
4 without the document. Sir, do you recall in February 2023  
5 the *Globe and Mail* -- ah, here it is. I understand you have  
6 some vision issues so I'm going to try to help you without  
7 the document but it's there now if we need it.

8 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Thank you.

9 MR. GIB van ERT: Do you recall the *Globe and*  
10 *Mail* reporting that there had been a CSIS brief alleging that  
11 you had had meetings that were clandestine in nature and  
12 election related with Mr. Zhao Wei? Do you recall that  
13 report?

14 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Can someone get the  
15 document I can see exactly ---

16 MR. GIB van ERT: Yeah, let's try to get it  
17 for you.

18 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Yes. It's moving now.

19 MR. GIB van ERT: It's moving now, that's  
20 right. And at the bottom of page 2, it's the paragraph that  
21 begins -- oh, slow down. Ah, there we are. It's the  
22 paragraph that begins -- the last paragraph on that page, it  
23 begins, "In 2019." I'll read it for you, sir:

24 "In 2019, Mr. Chan had a number of  
25 meetings with Mr. Zhao that were  
26 described in a CSIS 2020 briefing  
27 package as 'clandestine in nature'  
28 and were allegedly election related,

1 the source said."

2 My question for you, sir, is do you deny the  
3 truth of that statement?

4 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Definitely.

5 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you.

6 Sir, the David Johnston report says this --  
7 and I can take you to it if you need to but it's a very short  
8 quote.

9 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Okay.

10 **MR. GIB van ERT:** So perhaps I'll just try  
11 reading it to you.

12 Mr. Johnston, at page 29 of the report, in  
13 case anyone wants to make a note, said this:

14 "Attempts at foreign interference are  
15 ubiquitous, especially from the PRC.  
16 Successive federal governments have  
17 known about it for years." (As read)

18 My question for you is; do you accept the  
19 People's Republic of China has attempted to interfere in  
20 Canadian elections?

21 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Over the years I have read  
22 many, many report similar to the one you just showed me. In  
23 term of, like, do I accept foreign interference? Well, if  
24 any country, whether it's China or India or Iran or Singapore  
25 or Korea or Japan, that interfere with Canadian election, I  
26 condemn it; it's not good.

27 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes. Let me ask my  
28 question again because I want to rephrase it for you.

1                   Mr. Johnston seems to be saying here that the  
2                   People's Republic of China is doing it, and my question for  
3                   you -- I understand you have condemned it. My question for  
4                   you is, do you agree with Mr. Johnston, or do you accept his  
5                   conclusion that PRC is engaged in such interference, or do  
6                   you say that you don't believe that's true?

7                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I -- Mr. Johnston is a  
8                   very respected person. I respect him. Actually, I met him.  
9                   I met him before, and he's really a nice person. And look;  
10                  he has all those information delegated by the government for  
11                  him to address, and I mean, I -- I mean, some of those  
12                  information document, I have not read it. So I think Mr.  
13                  Johnston is entitled to his finding. But then now you're  
14                  asking me a question that I don't have information in front  
15                  of me. I don't have those information, so I cannot really  
16                  give you an answer to it.

17                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** All right. Does it trouble  
18                  you, sir, that Mr. Johnston, having the information that he  
19                  does, more than you have, more than I have, ---

20                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No, no.

21                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** --- that he ---

22                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** He had a job to do, yeah.  
23                  I mean, he was delegated to look into the matter.

24                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** Yes. And just one final  
25                  question is -- you're absolutely right, he was tasked with  
26                  that job.

27                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** M'hm.

28                  **MR. GIB van ERT:** He was given access to

1 information that you and I don't have, and he concluded that  
2 the PRC is engaging in foreign interference in this country.  
3 And my question for you is, does that concern you; does that  
4 worry you? A lot of other Canadians are worried, and I want  
5 to know if you are too.

6 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Of course.

7 **MR. GIB van ERT:** Thank you. Thank you,  
8 that's very helpful.

9 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

10 Conservative Party?

11 **(SHORT PAUSE)**

12 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. NANDO de LUCA:**

13 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Good afternoon, Mr. Chan.

14 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Good afternoon, sir.

15 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** I just want to see if I  
16 can summarize what you indicated earlier, because I just want  
17 to make sure I have these points out in your evidence.

18 You indicated, I believe, that you were often  
19 out of the country in 2018 and 2019; is that correct?

20 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

21 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And you were  
22 attempting, if I understood correctly, to set up a business  
23 to certify goods going in and out of Cambodia?

24 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That is true.

25 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And did you  
26 establish that business?

27 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Me?

28 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Yes.

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Establish? No, it's in  
2 partnership, you know, with local Cambodian, myself, and also  
3 a business people -- business person in China.

4                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. So you had an  
5 interest, some sort of a financial interest in that business?

6                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** It's not set up yet  
7 because of COVID-19. Will be set up; I would love to have  
8 some interest.

9                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. So you didn't --  
10 you were overseas trying to set it up in 2018 and '19 but as  
11 of today it's not up and running?

12                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No, because it's almost  
13 done ---

14                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Right.

15                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- and then COVID hit.  
16 And then everything stop.

17                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Right.

18                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** And then you probably  
19 aware, China took longer time to address COVID-19 and the  
20 country was kind of at lockup, and so -- and then the whole  
21 thing kind of like pending. And I may even go next month to  
22 try to finalize it, if I can.

23                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Yeah, but COVID's over  
24 here, and it was over in China even a year ago. No?

25                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I think they kind of like  
26 -- we opened up maybe a year earlier than China.

27                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And does this  
28 business, even though it hasn't started, does it have a name?

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Not yet. Okay? We tried  
2 to get a name called CXE (phonetic), but then, no, not done  
3 yet. We still have to get there to finalize it.

4                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. I just want to put  
5 a button on the names of the individuals because we heard a  
6 few names that assisted you or that you sought to elicit the  
7 assistance of in 2018 and '19. Can I get your interview  
8 summary put up again in paragraph 32?

9                   Maybe you can have a look at that again.

10                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah.

11                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** So -- and I'll ask you  
12 these questions.

13                  Whose assistance were you ultimately looking  
14 for; was it the Ambassador's or the Deputy Consul General's?

15                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Oh, the Ambassador.

16                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And did you end up  
17 meeting with the Ambassador?

18                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

19                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And that was Ambassador  
20 Wang; correct?

21                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right.

22                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And at that  
23 meeting, was the Deputy Consul General Mr. Zhung also there?

24                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No. I met Ambassador Wang  
25 in Cambodia ---

26                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Right.

27                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- together with the  
28 partner or possible partner from China and also the Consul of



1 Cambodia.

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And what was Zhao  
3 Wei's and the Deputy Consul General Zhung's involvement in  
4 that process?

5 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Nothing.

6 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Nothing at all.

7 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No. I just kind of like  
8 ask Deputy Consul General Zhung to kind of like refer me to  
9 Ambassador Wang once the reference for the contact is made,  
10 so when I get to Cambodia, I arranged a meeting and talked to  
11 Ambassador Wang.

12 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. So if I understand  
13 it, the Deputy Consul General Zhung was the one who set up  
14 the meeting or made the introduction for the Ambassador in  
15 Cambodia?

16 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Did he set it up? Not  
17 necessary.

18 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Did he make the  
19 introduction?

20 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** He made the introduction,  
21 definitely.

22 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And what was --  
23 what was Zhao Wei's role? Because you said he was at a  
24 meeting.

25 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** He just at the meeting.

26 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Which meeting was that?

27 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** The meeting in Toronto in  
28 here.

1                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** With the Deputy Consul  
2                   General?

3                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** That's right.

4                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. Sir, switching  
5                   topics, do you recall a series of protests in Hong Kong from  
6                   the early -- mid-2019 into mid-2020?

7                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes.

8                   **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. And do you recall  
9                   making statements about those protests?

10                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I -- yeah, yeah.

11                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Public statements.

12                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah, public.

13                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. I'm going to refer  
14                  you to one of them.

15                                 Can I ask for COM multiple zeros 101 to be  
16                                 called up, please?

17                   **--- EXHIBIT No./PIÈCE No. COM 101:**

18   Article: Hong Kong Canadians question  
19   alleged pro-Beijing backing for  
20   prominent Liberal candidate [Global]

21                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And I'd ask to go to page  
22                  9 of 17 of that document once it's up.

23                                 Sir, do you have it in front of you?

24                  **MR. HOWARD KRONGOLD:** Excuse me. Could I  
25                  just ask if this document was on the list submitted by  
26                  counsel?

27                  **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** I didn't submit the list,  
28                  so I don't know, but if it wasn't, can I have leave, Your

1 Honour? This is -- these are statements that he made.

2 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Yeah, I think the issue  
3 is more a question of looking at the document. Is it the  
4 reason?

5 Yeah, because -- is it possible to find a way  
6 of doing it?

7 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Oh, sorry. Is there a  
8 concern with reading the document?

9 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Yes.

10 **MS. ERIN DANN:** Yes, we tried to print, but  
11 perhaps you can just -- the court operator can try and ---

12 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** I can do it this way. I  
13 can read a statement. I'm just going to ask you if that's a  
14 statement that you made. And you can follow along if you can  
15 there.

16 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Okay. You ask the ---

17 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Okay. So this is a  
18 statement that's been attributed to you, and so listen to it.  
19 This is a quote:

20 "We support Hong Kong's police  
21 strictly handling unrest. Hong  
22 Kong's government carefully defending  
23 the rule, China's government  
24 carefully observing Hong Kong." (As  
25 read)

26 That's a quote that's attributed to you. Do  
27 you recall saying that, sir?

28 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I make the public

1 statement all in Chinese, okay.

2 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Right.

3 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** And this is a translation  
4 of what I have said. And right now, I just cannot recall the  
5 translation is the exact translation of what I have said. By  
6 the way, I tried really to get my -- get the whole -- my  
7 public statement whole to be here, but anyway, it can be more  
8 or less, you know.

9 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** More or less, does that  
10 reflect your sentiments? You espoused a get tough approach  
11 on the protestors in Hong Kong? Would that be fair?

12 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I don't think that I used  
13 the word "tough", okay. What I can remember my public  
14 statement is unrest there and is quite bad. I actually kind  
15 of like thinking about the unrest locally here with the truck  
16 unrest and also the unrest in America which is June the 6  
17 when I compare that. Those are all no good. And what I  
18 meant is that we need the police to maintain -- to maintain  
19 the law and order.

20 I think that's -- that was my remark and  
21 intent, you know, which is few years ago.

22 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Last question.

23 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yes, sir.

24 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sitting here today, do  
25 you agree with how the government in China dealt with the  
26 protests in Hong Kong between 2019 and 2020?

27 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I don't -- I don't think  
28 that your question related to our election during the '19 and

1 2021, but I'll answer that anyway. Can you repeat your  
2 question one more time?

3 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Sure.

4 Do you agree with -- you indicated to me at  
5 the outset that you recall the protests in Hong Kong between  
6 2019 and 2020. And we had -- I asked you if this was a  
7 correct quote or a translation of a quote attributed to you,  
8 and you indicated more or less and you put a gloss on it.

9 I'm asking you a different question now.

10 Generally speaking, do you agree with how the government in  
11 China dealt with the protestors in Hong Kong between 2019 and  
12 2020?

13 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I think the unrest in Hong  
14 Kong is dealt with by the policemen of Hong Kong.

15 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Without any influence by  
16 the government of China, the PRC government.

17 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** I do not know. I cannot  
18 tell. I don't know. I wasn't in Hong Kong police.

19 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** And do you agree with how  
20 the police dealt with it?

21 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Yeah. I mean, you know,  
22 the police are there, you know, to maintain law and order, I  
23 think. I mean, it apply to every other country, including  
24 Canada.

25 **MR. NANDO de LUCA:** Thank you very much, sir.

26 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Thank you.

27 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

28 The Human Rights Coalition.

1 --- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. SARAH TEICH:

2 MS. SARAH TEICH: Good afternoon, Mr. Chan.

3 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Good afternoon.

4 MS. SARAH TEICH: So I understand that you  
5 requested an introduction to Ambassador Wang and you, in  
6 fact, met with him following that introduction; correct?

7 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Ambassador Wang in  
8 Cambodia, yes.

9 MS. SARAH TEICH: Yes.

10 Was this introduction of value to you?

11 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: The meeting definitely is  
12 valuable because it enhanced the promotion of that business,  
13 yes.

14 MS. SARAH TEICH: Are you appreciative of the  
15 value you received from Chinese officials?

16 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: It is a referral. As I  
17 said before, we as -- you know, on trade in my past  
18 experience as a Trade Minister getting diplomats and  
19 councillors involved introduction and making the connection,  
20 I mean, again, is common, of course, is variable and with the  
21 business can be made and done. You know, that promote  
22 economy. Yes.

23 MS. SARAH TEICH: Did you feel they did you a  
24 favour?

25 MR. MICHAEL CHAN: Again, you know, I mean,  
26 the -- you can consider it as a favour, but again, it's  
27 common. It's very common ---

28 MS. SARAH TEICH: Do you feel ---

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- in international trade  
2 or doing business.

3                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** I understand.  
4                   Do you feel it would be disloyal not to  
5 acknowledge the favour?

6                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** When someone do you a  
7 favour, remember it.

8                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Do you feel it would be  
9 disloyal not to return the favour?

10                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Can you repeat your  
11 question?

12                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Do you feel it would be  
13 disloyal not to return the favour?

14                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Not necessarily. It  
15 depend on what being asked.

16                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Isn't your subsequent  
17 behaviour consistent with the way that China treated you,  
18 which was very nicely?

19                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** China treated me very  
20 nicely? I don't -- I don't think anything special. I mean -  
21 --

22                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Is it your ---

23                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- your question is very  
24 strange.

25                  **MS. SARAH TEICH:** I'd still like you to  
26 answer it, if you don't mind.

27                                Isn't your subsequent behaviour consistent  
28 with the way that China treated you, which was nicely?

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** My subsequent -- can you  
2 repeat? I'm sorry.

3                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Well, haven't you said  
4 anything supportive of China? Have you done nothing to show  
5 your appreciation?

6                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** You mean after this  
7 particular favour ---

8                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Yes, that's ---

9                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- and have I done  
10 anything for the Chinese -- the China; right? Is that ---

11                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Yes, that's right.

12                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- your question?

13                   No.

14                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** And when it comes to China,  
15 because you are grateful for them, for the value you  
16 received, you're not objective on China. Is that not right?

17                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Again, your previous  
18 question is about someone give me a -- someone give me a  
19 favour, do me a favour. And do I get that the -- return the  
20 favour?

21                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Yes, that's right.

22                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Since after that meeting  
23 and have I engaged the Chinese people? No. No. The  
24 answer's no.

25                   **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Haven't you said anything  
26 supportive of China? Wouldn't that be considered a favour?

27                   **MR. MATTHEW FERGUSON:** Madam Commissioner,  
28 Matthew Ferguson, Commission counsel.



1 I'd just remind my friend that we're focused  
2 on the 2019 and 2021 elections and we're a bit outside the  
3 scope.

4 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** I agree. And you have  
5 asked the question on a few occasions now, so I will ask you  
6 to move on.

7 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Sure.

8 You mentioned you met with Zhao Wei. In the  
9 conversations that you had with Zhao Wei, did you pick up  
10 that he was involved in foreign interference?

11 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No. No.

12 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** Did it ever occur to you  
13 that he was a foreign interference operative?

14 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

15 **MS. SARAH TEICH:** All right. No further  
16 questions. Thank you.

17 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you.

18 AG?

19 **MS. HELENE ROBERTSON:** No questions. Thank  
20 you.

21 **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** No questions?

22 Counsel for Michael Chan? Mr. Chapman?

23 **--- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:**

24 **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** For the record, my name is  
25 Chapman, initial J.

26 Mr. Chan, I'm just going to ask you about  
27 some of the allegations that have been made against you in  
28 press reports. And I'm not going to flash up the documents

1 because it's late in the day, so I'm just going to sort of  
2 read out some of the allegations and ask you about it.

3 There's an article by Mr. Cooper of Global  
4 News in February 2023 that suggested that Chan had  
5 orchestrated Tan's ouster with a campaign that persuaded  
6 Justin Trudeau's aides to back Yaodong instead. And that Tan  
7 would be Geng Tan, who had previously been the member for Don  
8 Valley North.

9 Is that true? Were you part of some sort of  
10 campaign?

11 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Absolutely not true. I  
12 mean, this is -- to me, is a fabricated story. I don't know  
13 why Mr. Cooper would do that.

14 And by the way, counsel, can you raise your  
15 voice a bit so that I can hear ---

16 **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** Okay.

17 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** --- better?

18 **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** And did you have any  
19 discussions or interaction with the Prime Minister's Office  
20 or his political operatives with respect to Geng Tan's  
21 future?

22 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

23 **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** The second article I want  
24 to refer you to is a February 13th, 2023 article that my  
25 friend, Mr. De Luca, had referred you to where there was a  
26 suggestion that you had had meetings with Zhao Wei that were  
27 election related. And ---

28 **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

1                   **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** No.

2                   And the third article I wanted to refer you  
3                   to is November 7th, 2022 article. Although it doesn't deal  
4                   with you specifically, it talks about the possibility that in  
5                   2019 there may have been a fund of perhaps \$250,000 that may  
6                   have been possibly directed towards 11 candidates.

7                   Do you have any knowledge or involvement with  
8                   that?

9                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No. This is -- you know,  
10                  I don't understand why these things were kind of like tied to  
11                  me. I mean, the -- I mean, you know, this is kind of like  
12                  bad actor or reporting. And I absolutely don't know and,  
13                  look, you know, media reporting it and it just so outrageous.  
14                  To get my name in there is -- is murderous.

15                  **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** Now, Mr. Chan, did you  
16                  receive a summons that compelled you to testify here today?

17                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Can you repeat?

18                  **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** Did you receive a summons  
19                  from the Commission that compelled you to testify here today?

20                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** No.

21                  **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** Are you appearing  
22                  voluntarily?

23                  **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Oh, yeah. Yeah.

24                  **MR. JOHN CHAPMAN:** Thank you. Those are my  
25                  questions, sir.

26                  **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** Thank you, sir.

27                  Re-examination?

28                  So thank you, Mr. Chan.

1                   **MR. MICHAEL CHAN:** Oh, thank you.

2                   **COMMISSIONER HOGUE:** We are done for the day,  
3 so thank you.

4                   It's 9:30 tomorrow morning, so see you all  
5 tomorrow.

6                   **THE REGISTRAR:** Order, please. À l'ordre,  
7 s'il vous plait.

8                   This sitting of the Foreign Interference  
9 Commission has adjourned until tomorrow at 9:30 a.m. C'est  
10 séance du la Commission sur l'ingérence étrangère est levée  
11 jusqu'à demain à 9h30.

12 --- Upon adjourning at 5:44 p.m.

13

14                   **C E R T I F I C A T I O N**

15

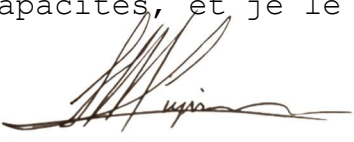
16 I, Sandrine Marineau-Lupien, a certified court reporter,  
17 hereby certify the foregoing pages to be an accurate  
18 transcription of my notes/records to the best of my skill and  
19 ability, and I so swear.

20

21 Je, Sandrine Marineau-Lupien, une sténographe officiel,  
22 certifie que les pages ci-hautes sont une transcription  
23 conforme de mes notes/enregistrements au meilleur de mes  
24 capacités, et je le jure.

25

26



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27 Sandrine Marineau-Lupien

28