

Court File No.

FEDERAL COURT

B E T W E E N :

**ANDREW JAMES LAWTON and TRUE NORTH CENTRE FOR
PUBLIC POLICY**

Applicants

- and -

**CANADA (LEADERS' DEBATES COMMISSION/COMMISSION DES
DEBATS DES CHEFS) and THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CANADA**

Respondents

- and -

B E T W E E N :

REBEL NEWS NETWORK LTD.

Applicant

- and -

**CANADA (LEADERS' DEBATES COMMISSION/COMMISSION DES
DEBATS DES CHEFS) and THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CANADA**

Respondents

**RESPONDING MOTION RECORD OF THE RESPONDENT, LEADERS'
DEBATES COMMISSION**

October 6, 2019

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Respondents

**AFFIDAVIT OF MICHEL CORMIER
(Affirmed October 6, 2019)**

**I, MICHEL CORMIER, of the City of Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario, AFFIRM AS
FOLLOWS:**

1. I am the Executive Director of the respondent, Leaders' Debate Commission (the "Commission"). As such, I have personal knowledge of the matters to which I hereinafter depose. Where I do not have personal knowledge, I have stated the source of my information and believe it to be true.

A. Creation and Mandate of the Leaders' Debates Commission

2. In November 2017, the House of Commons' Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs (the "Committee") commenced a study about the creation of an independent commissioner responsible for organizing the federal leaders' debates in order to make the leaders' debates more predictable and reliable. The Committee heard testimony from the Minister of Democratic Institutions and from 33 witnesses over the course of eight meetings. The Committee also received written submissions from political parties and interested individuals. Thereafter, in January 2018, five roundtable discussions took place throughout Canada, and an online consultation was arranged whereby Canadians put forth over 400 comments, and an additional 14,000 emails were submitted through a letter writing campaign. I attach as **Exhibit "1"** a copy of the Leaders' Debates webpage from the Government of Canada, Democratic Institutions website. I attach as **Exhibit "2"** a copy of the Report of the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs dated March 2018.
3. As a result of this feedback, the Commission was established by Order in Council 2018-1322 dated October 29, 2018 (the "OIC"). The head of the Commission is the Right Honourable David Johnston. He is assisted by an Advisory Board, which provides advice to the Commission on how to carry out its mandate, and the Secretariat, which is responsible for all administrative support, financial monitoring, issues management, research and analysis, and parliamentary reporting. I attach as **Exhibit "3"** a copy of Commissioner David Johnston's biography. I attach as **Exhibit "4"** the biographies of the Advisory Board members: Chad Gaffield, Deborah Grey, Craig Kielburger, Jean LaRose, Megan Leslie, John Manley, and Louise Otis.
4. The Commission's primary responsibility is to organize two leaders' debates, one in each official language, for the 2019 federal general election during the general election period.

As described below, a guiding principle for the Commission is to ensure the debates are conducted and produced with high journalistic standards. I attach as **Exhibit “5”** a copy of the OIC.

5. Section 2 of the OIC sets out the Commission’s mandate, which is to:

- (a) Select and establish a seven-member Advisory Board;
- (b) Enter into a contract for the production of the debates;
- (c) Ensure the debates are broadcast and distributed widely and free of charge;
- (d) Ensure the debates reach as many Canadians as possible, including those living in remote areas, those living in official language minority communities and those living with disabilities, through a variety of media and other fora;
- (e) Engage with political parties and ensure that the criteria for participation of political parties in the debates be applied fairly and in full transparency;
- (f) Engage with Canadians to raise awareness about debates, and to ensure that Canadians know when, where and how to access the leaders’ debate;
- (g) **Ensure the debates are conducted under high journalistic standards;** and
- (h) Following the 2019 general election (and no later than March 31, 2020), provide a report to Parliament outlining findings, lessons learned, and recommendations to inform the potential creation in statute of a “built to last” Debates Commission.

6. Section 3 of the OIC provides that in order to fulfill its mandate, the Commission is to:

- (a) Conduct any necessary research or rely on any applicable research to ensure that the leaders’ debates are of high quality;
- (b) Develop and manage constructive relationships with key opinion leaders and stakeholders;

- (c) Conduct its activities in a manner that does not preclude other organizations from producing or organizing leaders' debates or other political debates;
 - (d) Ensure that the decisions regarding the organization of the leaders' debates, including those respecting participation criteria, are made publicly available in a timely manner;
 - (e) Ensure that the leaders' responses to the invitations to participate in the leaders' debates are made publicly available before and during the debates; and
 - (f) Conduct an evidence-based assessment of the leaders' debates that it has organized, including with respect to the number of persons to whom the debates were accessible, the number of persons who actually accessed them and the knowledge of Canadians of political parties, their leaders and their positions.
7. In fulfilling its mandate, the Commission is to be guided by the pursuit of the public interest and by the principles of independence, impartiality, credibility, democratic citizenship, civic education, inclusion and cost-effectiveness. One of the considerations in establishing an independent Commission to organize the leaders' debates was to ensure that the debates are produced with the highest journalistic standards. In particular, there has been a rising concern from the public about having faith in media institutions and in undistorted access to political leaders and the political process.
8. As such, the debates are to be conducted in a manner with high journalistic standards – which extends to all aspect of the debates, including media attendance and participation. It would be contrary to the OIC to allow the debates to become a forum for advocacy, social interest and/or political activist groups. This was one of the considerations in the House of Commons Committee Report, referenced above, which led to the Committee's recommendation to ensure the Commission maintained high journalistic standards in the organization of the debates. In particular, the Committee wrote:

The Committee was told that in the context of federal party leaders' debates, the maintenance of high journalistic standards was an important concern for broadcasters. The elements that need to meet high journalistic standards include the format, the staging (e.g., lighting, the set, the camera angles, etc.), the topics, the

questions and follow-up questions posed to the candidates and the moderator. The Committee agrees with broadcasters that the maintenance of high journalistic standards would be an important matter during any future debates.

B. My Background and Role with the Commission

9. I obtained my Bachelor of Journalism degree from Carleton University in 1979 and a Masters degree in Political Science (Foreign Policy Studies) from Laval University in 1986.
10. Prior to my appointment as Executive Director of the Commission, I served in a variety of roles in journalism and media in Canada and abroad. I served as Executive Director of News and Current Affairs at Société Radio-Canada, the French-language service unit of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (“CBC”). As Executive-Director of news and current affairs, I oversaw the revision of the journalistic standards and practices of CBC-Radio-Canada in 2017. Prior to that, I was a Parliamentary Reporter for CBC in Ottawa, the Bureau Chief for the Québec National Assembly for the CBC, and a foreign correspondent in Moscow, Paris, and Beijing for Société Radio-Canada and CBC.
11. I am also involved in several roles in respect of journalistic ethics, including:
 - (a) Serving as a member of the Board of the Canadian Journalist Foundation, a body dedicated to the improvement of journalism in Canada;
 - (b) Teaching a class on journalistic ethics at the Université de Montréal;
 - (c) Serving as a legal expert in respect of journalistic experts; and
 - (d) Member of an international drafting committee called the “Journalism Trust Initiative”, an organization led by Reporters Without Borders, European Broadcasting Union, Global Editors Network and Agence France Presse which aims to promote and reward compliance with professional journalistic norms and ethics.

C. The 2019 Federal Election Leaders’ Debates

12. The leaders' debates are scheduled for October 7, 2019 from 7:00pm to 9:00pm (English) and October 10, 2019 from 8:00pm to 10:00pm (French) at The Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Quebec in front of a live audience. The Commissioner decided that the following leaders of federal political parties met the criteria set out in section 2(b) of the OIC and were therefore invited to participated in the debates:
- (a) Yves-François Blanchet, Bloc Québécois ;
 - (b) Andrew Scheer, Conservative Party of Canada;
 - (c) Elizabeth May, Green Party of Canada;
 - (d) Justin Trudeau, Liberal Party of Canada ;
 - (e) Jagmeet Singh, New Democratic Party; and
 - (f) Maxime Bernier, People's Party of Canada.

D. Debates Producer

13. On July 31, 2019, the Debates Commission selected the Canadian Debate Production Partnership (the "CDPP") as the official producer for the federal leaders' debates. The CDPP was appointed as the producer of the debates on July 31, 2019 by Commissioner David Johnston, and comprises a group of partners who can offer the highest-quality journalism on television, radio, print and digital platforms. The CDPP includes CBC News, Radio-Canada, Global News, CTV News, Toronto Star and Torstar chain, HuffPost Canada and HuffPost Québec, La Presse, Le Devoir, and L'Actualité. I attach as **Exhibit "6"** a copy of this Press Release. Contrary to the assertions in the affidavit of Ezra Levant, the CDPP is not only composed "establishment media" or "legacy media" as it also includes digital platforms as partners.
14. The CDPP is responsible for the production, promotion and distribution of the debates. The CDPP chooses the hosts, theme of the debates, and coordinates the questions that will be asked of the leaders. It also oversees selecting a studio audience (with the assistance of a polling firm which selects an audience from a wide public sample).

15. It is important to note, and this will be developed further in my affidavit below, that accredited members of the media are not in the audience during the debate. Only members of the public, CDPP producers, and hosts form the audience for the debates.

E. Media Accreditation for the Debates

16. On September 23, 2019, the Commission issued a press release advising that media registration was open for the Commission's 2019 federal leaders' debates (applications could be made until October 4, 2019 at 11:59 p.m). The press release advised that media representatives who wished to cover the debates must apply for accreditation using the Government of Canada accreditation portal. A link to the accreditation portal was included in the press release, as were contact details for Collin Lafrance of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery Secretariat (the "Press Gallery Secretariat") for any questions regarding the accreditation process. I attach as **Exhibit "7"** a copy of the Press Release dated September 23, 2019.
17. The Commission used the services of the Press Gallery Secretariat to assist with the process of obtaining applications for accreditation from potential media representatives. Despite engaging the Press Gallery Secretariat and Summit Management Office of Global Affairs Canada to develop the media accreditation practice and procedure, the Commission retained the ultimate decision-making authority for media accreditation. However, given the Press Gallery Secretariat's logistical role in administering the accreditation portal, Collin Lafrance was responsible for communicating the final decision to the applicants.
18. The following procedure was followed in making determinations as to whether the applicants would be accredited:
 - (a) Applications were received through the accreditation portal, which was opened from September 23, 2019 until 11:59 p.m. on October 4, 2019. The Press Gallery Secretariat, at the direction of the Commission, conducted an initial review of the applications.
 - (b) Research was conducted on the applicant where the applicant's organization was unfamiliar or appeared to not be a professional media organization or journalist.

- (c) The Commission consulted with the Press Gallery Secretariat regarding the applicant, and whether or not the applicant was an independent media organization, or fell within the purview of an advocacy, research, or activist group.
- (d) The Commissioner deliberated whether to accredit the applicant, and conveyed the response to the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery so that the applicant could be informed of the decision.

F. Journalism is different from advocacy

- 19. The purpose of inviting media to apply for accreditation to cover the debates is to allow the Commission to deliver on its mandate to ensure that the leaders' debates are broadcast and reach as many Canadians as possible and to ensure that any reproduction of the leaders' debates is subject to only the terms and conditions that are necessary to preserve the integrity of the debates. In addition, it is to ensure that the debates maintain high journalistic standards throughout the event.
- 20. The Commission is not mandated to accredit any particular media organization.
- 21. The Commission, in consultation with the Press Gallery Secretariat and Summit Management Office of Global Affairs Canada, who the Commission determined were key opinion leaders, developed internal media accreditation guidelines and logistical procedures to further these objectives. The Commission decided, in order to further its mandate under Section 3 of the OIC, that only independent, professional media organizations and journalists would be accredited, while advocacy organizations, research-focused groups, and political activists would not. I attach as **Exhibit "8"** The Commission's Guiding Principles for Accreditation of Media Organizations and Journalists.
- 22. There is a difference between a journalist and an advocate. A journalist (or a news organization) may have a particular viewpoint. But a distinction is drawn between editorial pages of media organizations and the standards a journalist or reporter must apply when reporting on an issue. Media organizations have editorial pages and take positions on political, social and economic issues. Similarly, columnists may also take positions on various political and social issues.

23. However, when a journalist advocates for a viewpoint by way of petitions, lobbying and/or campaigning, the journalist or media organization crosses the line from reporter and becomes a partisan advocate, which impedes their ability to produce accurate and fair reporting.
24. The Canadian Association of Journalists sets out general ethical principles that journalists should uphold, including, but not limited to:
- (a) we [journalists] are not permitted to allow our own biases to impede fair and accurate reporting;
 - (b) as fair and impartial observers, we [journalists] must be free to comment on the activities of any publicly elected body or special interest group. But we cannot do this without an apparent conflict of interest if we are active members of an organization we are covering, and that includes membership through social media;
 - (c) we [journalists] lose our credibility as fair observers if we write opinion pieces about subjects we also cover as reporters.
 - (d) editorial boards and columnists or commentators endorse political candidates or political causes. Reporters do not.

I attach as **Exhibit “9”** the guiding ethical principles of the Canadian Association of Journalists.

G. Broadcast of the Debates

25. In order to carry out its mandate, the debates will be broadcast widely throughout Canada. Those organizations and individuals who are not physically present at either of the debates will have an opportunity to view (and report or comment on, if they wish) the debates through one of the various means through which the Commission has arranged to ensure the debates reach as many people as possible.

26. In particular, the English debate will be available: (1) for streaming on 13 platforms, including a variety of news websites and social media websites and across 12 networks; (2) by audio on CBC Radio One and Global News Radio Network; (3) in a variety of accessible formats, including closed captioning, described video, American Sign Language (ASL), and Quebec Sign Language (LSQ); and (4) in 10 other languages, including English, French, Plains Cree, Inuktitut, Ojibwe, Arabic, Cantonese, Italian, Mandarin and Punjabi.
27. Further, the French debate will be available: (1) for streaming on 18 platforms, including a variety of news websites and social media websites and across 8 networks; (2) by audio on ICI Radio-Canada Première; (3) in a variety of accessible formats, including closed captioning, described video, American Sign Language (ASL), and Quebec Sign Language (LSQ); and (4) in 9 other languages, including English, French, East Cree, Dene, Arabic, Cantonese, Italian, Mandarin and Punjabi.
28. There will also be free admission to a livestreaming of the debates in 24 Cineplex theatres across Canada, the Halifax Central Library, and McNally Robinson Booksellers. Further, the CDPP is making the livestream feed available to anyone who wishes to organize a livestream viewing party.

H. Media Presence at the Debates

29. The same procedure will be in place at both the English and French debates for accredited media organizations who are present. Upon arrival of the Party leaders, accredited media will have access to a media pen in order for media, and in particular broadcast journalists, to take photograph and video of the Party leaders entering the debate theatre. A production partnership option feed will also be available, where media will have access to the “pool feed”.
30. The actual debates are closed to the accredited media. Instead, the debates will be live-streamed on screens in media rooms, which are in a different room (but the same building) from the debates. Accredited media therefore have no more access during the debates than any other Canadian watching a live-stream.

31. After the debates have ended, the leaders will attend in the lobby of the museum for a media scrum with the accredited media. Accredited media will have 10 minutes per Party leader to ask questions, with a two-minute transition between leaders. The media scrum is an essential part of the debates and must maintain the same high journalistic standards as the rest of the event. Due to the time limit of 10 minutes per Party leader, it is not expected that each member of the media will have an opportunity to ask questions. It will be in the discretion of the Party leader regarding from whom they take questions.

I. Decision Regarding Accreditation of the Applicants

1. True North Canada

32. True North Canada describes itself on its website as being the combination of two organizations, which I describe further below:
- (a) True North Centre for Public Policy (True North Centre); and
 - (b) True North Initiative.
33. Andrew Lawton, on behalf of “True North News”, applied for media accreditation on September 24, 2019. To the best of my knowledge, “True North News” is not a legal entity. It was unclear what particular organization Mr. Lawton was applying on behalf of in the application for accreditation.
34. The Commission did not grant Mr. Lawton and True North media accreditation for the leaders’ debates because, upon research of the group that I will describe below, it is primarily involved in advocacy and political activism, as described below.
35. According to True North’s website “tnc.news”, TNCPP “conduct[s] policy research on immigration and integration issues and provide[s] timely investigative journalism on issues that affect Canada’s national security.” I attach as **Exhibit “10”** a copy of True North’s “About Our Team” website page
36. A review of True North’s activities online revealed that it is involved in political activism and advocacy. I attach as **Exhibit “11”** a screenshot of a petition on TNI’s website entitled “Stop the government from policing the internet!” I attach as **Exhibit “12”** a screenshot

of a petition on TNI's website entitled "Call on Conservative Premiers to oppose the carbon tax!"

37. True North has a Facebook page which appears to include content from both TNCPP and TNI. True North categorizes itself on its Facebook page as a "Nonprofit Organization" and "Educational Research Centre". I attach as **Exhibit "13"** a screenshot of True North's Facebook Page.
38. In response to Ms. Candice Lee Malcolm's affidavit at paragraph 4, I had conducted a corporate search of Truth North Centre for Public Policy. A corporate search of the applicant's name, True North Centre for Public Policy ("TNCPP"), shows that it is a not-for-profit corporation incorporated under the *Canada Not-for-profit Corporations Act*. I attach as **Exhibit "14"** a copy of TNCPP's federal corporation profile report. TNCPP's federal corporation profile report discloses that the corporation previously operated under the name "Independent Immigration Aid Association". Neither the applicant Andrew Lawton nor the affiant in the application, Candice Malcolm, are listed as directors of TNCPP on its federal corporation profile report.
39. TNCPP is also a registered charity with the Canada Revenue Agency under Registration No. 132703448 RR 0001. I attach as **Exhibit "15"** a copy of TNCPP's T3010 Registered Charity Information Return.
40. The group referenced on True North's website, True North Initiative ("TNI"), which conducts advocacy is also a not-for-profit corporation incorporated under the *Canada Not-for-profit Corporations Act*. I attach as **Exhibit "16"** a copy of TNI's federal corporation profile report. Candice Malcom, the affiant of the applicant in this application, is listed as the sole director of TNI.
41. One of the central obligations of the Commission's mandate is to ensure the debates are as freely and widely accessible as possible on a variety of platforms. True North, as others, will have free access to the broadcast of the debates and of the press conferences with the leaders free of charge on their choice of television, radio and digital platforms. It will have access to the same content as other journalists who are accredited to the debates and as the

public that watches the debates at home. Furthermore, True North is free to publish whatever it desires about the debates.

42. The affiant of the applicant, Candice Malcolm, stated at paragraph 6 of her affidavit that Mr. Lawton has received media accreditation to cover events from the Government of Canada, Government of the United Kingdom, and Government of the United States of America. Even assuming this is true, it bears no consequence to the Commission's decision in this instance. The Commission has been mandated, by Order in Council, to ensure the debates are conducted and produced with high journalistic standards. Those standards have been set with input from the Parliamentary Press Gallery, and True North, as a not-for-profit research and policy organization, did not meet those criteria. Having reviewed True North's record, there is nothing in the affidavit that provides what criteria was applied to obtain those accreditations in the other jurisdictions, nor do I know what criteria would have been applied or the nature of the event(s).
43. At paragraph 15 of Ms. Malcolm's affidavit, she indicates she was "surprised" by the reasoning provided for the decision because "other news media outlets that were granted Accreditation, such as the Toronto Star, publish that is Advocates on a regular basis as part of its mandate". From the Commission's point of view, mainstream media organizations like the Toronto Star or the Globe and Mail engage in reporting that aims to right wrongs and protect citizens from government or powerful private interests. This mission is carried out through fact-based journalism, and through its independent reporting, thereby effects change. This is outlined in the Toronto Star's editorial policy. True North does not have a similar editorial policy.
44. The concern with allowing an advocacy group to obtain media accreditation is that blurs the line between journalism and advocacy. Other advocacy groups, for example, like Greenpeace, the Canadian Taxpayer Federation or the Broadbent Institute, who also publish reports or cover matters of public interest, would then be eligible for media accreditation.

2. The Rebel Media

45. Kean Bexte, on behalf of Rebel Media, applied for accreditation on October 1, 2019. David Menzies, on behalf of Rebel media, also applied for accreditation on October 1, 2019.
46. The Commission did not grant Mr. Bexte or Mr. Menzies' media accreditation for the leaders' debates because, upon research of the organization, it is primarily involved in advocacy.
47. Rebel Media describes itself on its website in the "About Rebel News" section as "[t]he fearless source of news, opinion, and activism that you won't find anywhere else! Rebel News is different because of how you, our supporters, participate in shaping everything we do.", and states that "[t]hrough a mix of online engagement, commenting, advocacy, and events, we don't just report the news, we participate in it." I attach as **Exhibit "17"** a screenshot of Rebel Media's "About Rebel News" website page.
48. I reviewed Rebel Media's web page and their coverage of federal politics over from the last few months. I do not take issue with Rebel Media's viewpoint. However, Rebel Media has engaged in activities that go beyond journalism and reporting. In particular, Rebel Media initiated a petition for the current Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, to resign. I attach as **Exhibit "18"** a screenshot of the petition. Rebel Media also engaged in actively fundraising for this position. I attach as **Exhibit "19"** a screenshot of the petition. A video encouraging viewers to sign the petition and donate can be located at <https://www.rebelnews.com/rebel-reporter-pushed-to-the-sidewalk-for-asking-justin-trudeau-a-question> (starting at 5:59). Having a stake in the political outcome and advocating and supporting a particular political outcome through petitions and fundraising moves a media organization away from the strictures of journalism to lobbying.
49. Rebel Media's type of advocacy and activism is inconsistent with the fundamental values and ethical obligations of professional journalism. The Commission is committed to provide a journalistic level playing field during the debates, including during the interactions between journalists and the Party leaders following the debates.

50. Like True North, Rebel Media will have free access to the broadcast of the debates and of the press conferences with the leaders free of charge on their choice of television, radio and digital platforms. It will have access to the same content as other journalists who are accredited to the debates and as the public that watches the debates at home, and is free to publish whatever it desires about the debates.

J. Other Media Accreditation Applicants

51. The Commission also denied accreditation to two other advocacy groups and an individual who applied for accreditation who was not active as a journalist.
52. I attach as **Exhibit "20"** a full list of accredited journalists along with their media organization.

AFFIRMED BEFORE ME at the City of
Ottawa in the Province of Ontario this 6th
day of October, 2019.

Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022

A Commissioner for Oaths and Affidavits


MICHEL CORMIER

This is Exhibit "1" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019



A Commissioner, etc.

**Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
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Expires June 20, 2022**



[Home](#) > [Democratic Institutions](#)

Leaders' Debates

Leaders' debates play an essential role in Canada's federal elections. These debates engage Canadians in the electoral campaign. They help inform your vote by providing you with a forum to compare prospective Prime Ministers, while enhancing your knowledge of political parties and their policy platforms.

Given the importance of the debates, the Prime Minister has directed the Minister of Democratic Institutions to bring forward options to establish an independent commissioner to organize political party leaders' debates during future federal election campaigns.

On October 30, 2018, the Minister [announced the creation of a Leaders' Debates Commission](#).

This new Commission's initial mandate will be to organize two leaders' debates—one in each official language—for the 2019 federal general election. Expected to be fully in place by spring 2019, the [Leaders' Debates Commission](#) will be led by a Commissioner, and supported by a seven-member Advisory Board.

- [Information on the Commission's mandate, Commissioner and Advisory Board](#)
- [Placemat highlighting key notions and the phased approach of the Commission](#)

- Order in Council that created the Commission and sets its mandate

To help shape this announcement, the Government of Canada sought feedback through:

- an online consultation open to all Canadians;
- a series of roundtable discussions led by the Minister of Democratic Institutions, with participation from the media, academia and public interest groups; and
- a study by the House of Commons' Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs.

Participants expressed the following general sentiments:

- political party leaders' debates are an essential contribution to the health of Canadian democracy;
- there is broad support for and value in the creation of an independent commissioner that is guided by the public interest and that organizes debates in a manner that is fair, open, and transparent;
- there is a need for clear parameters surrounding the leaders' debates, such as format, content and participation; and
- the distribution for leaders' debates ought to be as broad as possible to maximize reach and accessibility for Canadians.

The three reports below detail feedback received through consultations, as well as findings and recommendations that are helping inform the Government of Canada's next steps.

Online Consultation

From January 11, 2018 to February 12, 2018, Canadians put forward over 400 comments, with an additional 14,000 emails submitted outside of the online consultation portal as the result of a form letter writing campaign.

Roundtable Discussions

In January 2018, five roundtable discussions took place across the country – in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. They all followed a common agenda and included participants in the fields of academics, broadcast services, journalism, as well as stakeholder groups and individuals with experience with political parties.

Study by the House of Commons' Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs

On November 21, 2017, the Committee began a study about the creation of an independent commissioner responsible for leaders' debates. It heard testimony from the Minister of Democratic Institutions and from 33 witnesses over the course of eight meetings. The Committee also received written submissions from political parties and interested individuals.

Date modified:

2019-06-12

This is Exhibit "2" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**



HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES
CANADA

THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONER RESPONSIBLE FOR LEADERS' DEBATES

**Report of the Standing Committee on
Procedure and House Affairs**

The Honourable Larry Bagnell, Chair

**MARCH 2018
42nd PARLIAMENT, 1st SESSION**

Published under the authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons

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The Creation of an Independent Commissioner Responsible for Leaders' Debates

Report of the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs

**Hon. Larry Bagnell
Chair**

MARCH 2018

42nd PARLIAMENT, 1st SESSION

NOTICE TO READER

Reports from committee presented to the House of Commons

Presenting a report to the House is the way a committee makes public its findings and recommendations on a particular topic. Substantive reports on a subject-matter study usually contain a synopsis of the testimony heard, the recommendations made by the committee, as well as the reasons for those recommendations.

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THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON PROCEDURE AND HOUSE AFFAIRS

has the honour to present its

FIFTY-FIFTH REPORT

Pursuant to its mandate under Standing Order 108(3)(a)(vi), the Committee has studied the Creation of an Independent Commissioner Responsible for Leaders' Debates and has agreed to report the following:

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LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of their deliberations committees may make recommendations which they include in their reports for the consideration of the House of Commons or the Government. Recommendations related to this study are listed below.

Recommendation 1

That the government should proceed with establishing a new entity to organize leaders' debates during federal elections and that entity should be established in time to organize debates during the 2019 federal general election;

That this new entity must be created in such a way to ensure its independence and neutrality;

That the new entity be mandated to educate Canadians about how debates are organized, when debates are occurring, and how Canadians can experience the debates.....21

Recommendation 2

That a new autonomous office be created by the government called Canada's Federal Party Leaders' Debates Commissioner (for short: "Debates Commissioner"). The office should be placed within Elections Canada/the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer for the purposes of sharing appropriate internal services and receiving administrative support from Elections Canada. However, the Debates Commissioner would remain autonomous from Elections Canada in fulfilling its roles and responsibilities. Elections Canada must be kept separate and insulated from any decision-making on the part of the Debates Commissioner regarding the leaders' debates;

That the first Debates Commissioner must be chosen by a unanimous decision of representatives of registered parties represented in the House of Commons within three months; or, if the consultations do not result in a unanimous decision, be named by the Governor in Council following a recommendation made by a panel composed of no fewer than three of the following individuals: the Broadcasting Arbitrator; the Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission; a former Chief Electoral Officer; a former Officer of Parliament; or a retired judge within Canada;

That upon the vacancy of the office of Debates Commissioner, or upon receipt of written notice of the planned resignation of the Debates Commissioner, the Government of Canada must initiate the process for choosing a succeeding Debates Commissioner within three months;

That following the commencement of the process for choosing a succeeding Debates Commissioner, he or she must be chosen by a unanimous decision of representatives of registered parties represented in the House of Commons within three months; or, if the consultations do not result in a unanimous decision, be named by the Governor in Council following a recommendation made by a panel composed of no fewer than three of the following individuals: the Broadcasting Arbitrator; the Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission; a former Chief Electoral Officer; a former Officer of Parliament; or a retired judge within Canada; and

That the Debates Commissioner establish an advisory panel that he or she will consult prior to making key decisions related to the organization, accessibility and broadcasting of the debates that the office organizes. This panel could be composed of the following individuals: broadcasters and media organizations; representatives of political parties; representatives of new media; representatives of groups with disabilities; citizens; civil society groups; representatives of universities; and other experts.....26

Recommendation 3

That the Debates Commissioner hold office during good behaviour for a term of five years or two elections, whichever is greater, but may be removed for cause by a resolution of the House of Commons of at least a majority of the recognized parties; and

That the Debates Commissioner, on the expiry of a first or any subsequent term of office, is eligible to be reappointed for a further term not exceeding five years or two elections, whichever is greater.26

Recommendation 4

That the Debates Commissioner be mandated to report back to Parliament after each federal general election.27

Recommendation 5

That the Debates Commissioner must consult with the advisory panel in setting any criteria for participation in debates organized by the Debates Commissioner. Further, the Commissioner should ensure that the criteria for participation in leaders' debates should be made public well in advance of the campaign period.29

Recommendation 6

That the Debates Commissioner be mandated to ensure that the leaders' debates are broadcast and otherwise made available in a fully accessible and timely manner; and

That the Debates Commissioner be required to consult with and receive feedback from the advisory panel about matters related to the accessibility of the debates that office organizes.....31

Recommendation 7

That the Debates Commissioner be required to organize a minimum of at least one debate in each official language during general election campaign periods.....31

Recommendation 8

That the broadcasting feed for any debate organized by the Debates Commissioner be made available free of charge to any outlet or organization that wishes to distribute the debate and that no restrictions be placed on the use of that debate content.35

Recommendation 9

That the government ensure that the Debates Commissioner has the required funding to organize, produce, and distribute the debates it organizes.37

Recommendation 10

That the Debates Commissioner be mandated to maintain high journalistic standards in the organization of leaders' debates.....37

Recommendation 11

That the Debate Commissioner be mandated to organize and conduct debates even if an invited participant declines to attend. In the event that an invited participant declines to attend a debate organized by the Debates Commissioner, the Committee considers that it is within the Debates Commissioner's purview to take actions the Commissioner deems appropriate to make that participant's absence well-known during the debate. To that end, the Debates Commissioner could, for example, visibly place an empty podium on stage.38

Recommendation 12

That Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs conduct a review of the functioning and operation of the office of the Debates Commissioner within five years of the first Debates Commissioner being chosen.39



THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONER RESPONSIBLE FOR LEADERS' DEBATES

On November 2, 2017, pursuant to its mandate under Standing Order 108(3)(a)(vi), the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs (“the Committee”) concurred in the Eighth Report from the Subcommittee on Agenda and Procedure and agreed to commence a study on the creation of an independent commissioner to organize political party leaders' debates during future federal election campaigns.¹

On November 21, the Committee began its study by hearing testimony from the Hon. Karina Gould, Minister of Democratic Institutions. Over the course of eight subsequent meetings, the Committee heard from 33 witnesses (see Appendix A) and received written submissions from political parties and interested individuals. The Committee thanks all those who participated in this study for their important and thoughtful contributions.

The Committee is pleased to report as follows:

BACKGROUND

i. Historical overview of televised federal party leaders' debates

Canada's first televised federal party leaders' debate took place during the 1968 general federal election campaign. This bilingual debate occurred on June 9, 1968, just over two weeks before Election Day on June 25, 1968.

The debate was held in Parliament's West Block.² The debate lasted two hours, and the participants for its duration were Mr. Tommy Douglas of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the Hon. Robert Stanfield of the Progressive Conservative Party, and the Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau of the Liberal Party of Canada. Mr. R  al Caouette of the Social Credit Party also participated in the debate but only for the last 45 minutes.³

1 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting No. 76, November 2, 2017.

2 The debate was held in Confederation Hall in West Block.

3 Youtube, “[1968 Canadian Federal Election Debate](#).”



The 1968 federal party leaders' debate was jointly broadcast on television by CBC/Radio-Canada and CTV, and could also be heard on short-wave radio broadcast by the CBC and the British Broadcasting Corporation.⁴ Canada's population at the time was about 20 million people,⁵ and newspaper reports prior to the debate noted that the Canadian audience was expected to be as large as 14 to 15 million people.⁶ As broadcasting of the proceedings of Canada's House of Commons did not begin until 1977, the 1968 debates presented an opportunity to watch interactions between national party leaders.

Following this initial federal party leaders' debate, no such debates were held during either the 1972 or 1974 general elections. Likewise, no debate was held during the 1980 general election. The table below provides information on the 12 general elections held between 1968 and 2015 in which there was at least one party leaders' debate.

4 Anthony Westell, "Millions in Canada and abroad expected to hear debate," *Globe and Mail*, June 8, 1968.

5 British Columbia Statistics, "[Census Population of BC and Canada 1871 to 2011](#)."

6 Ibid.

**Table 1: Past televised federal party leaders' debates in Canada
(1968 to 2015)**

General Election	Election Day	Date of Debate(s)	Number of Debates and Broadcasters	Debate Participants
28th	June 25, 1968	June 9, 1968	One: bilingual carried on CBC, CTV and Radio-Canada ⁷	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • R��al Caouette (Social Credit Party); • Tommy Douglas (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation); • Robert Stanfield (Progressive Conservative Party); and • Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Liberal Party of Canada).
Notes:				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mr. Caouette was only invited to participate in the last 45 minutes of the debate. 				
31st	May 22, 1979	May 13, 1979	One: in English and carried on CBC, CTV and Global ⁸	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ed Broadbent (New Democratic Party); • Joe Clark (PC); and • Pierre Elliott Trudeau (LIB).
Notes:				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Social Credit Party, which took six seats in the 1979 general election, was not invited to participate in the debate. 				
33rd	September 4, 1984	French: July 24, 1984; English: July 25, 1984; and bilingual: August 15, 1984	Three: French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA; English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and the broadcasters of the bilingual debate could not be found.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ed Broadbent (NDP); • Brian Mulroney (PC); and • John Turner (LIB).
Notes:				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The bilingual debate had a theme: women's issues 				

7 Anthony Westell, "Millions in Canada and abroad expected to hear debate," *Globe and Mail*, June 8, 1968.

8 "Trudeau thwarted in bid to extend the great debate – show must go on PM," *Edmonton Journal*, May 14, 1979. Note that no mention is made in news articles in the Library of Parliament's catalogue about the debate being broadcast on a French language channel.



General Election	Election Day	Date of Debate(s)	Number of Debates and Broadcasters	Debate Participants
34th	November 21, 1988	French: October 24, 1988; and English: October 25, 1988	Two: French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA; and English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global. ⁹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ed Broadbent (NDP); • Brian Mulroney (PC); and • John Turner (LIB).
<p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An estimated six million Canadians watched the English language debate and just under two million watched the French language debate.¹⁰ 				
35th	October 25, 1993	French: October 3, 1993; and English: October 4, 1993.	Two: ¹¹ English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; ¹² and French debate carried on at least Radio-Canada. ¹³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lucien Bouchard (Bloc Québécois); • Kim Campbell (PC); • Jean Chrétien (LIB); • Preston Manning (Reform); and • Audrey McLaughlin (NDP).
<p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the French language debates, Mr. Manning restricted his participation to making opening and closing statements through an interpreter. • Leaders of the Canada Party, Christian Heritage party, Green Party Libertarian Party, Marxist-Leninist Party, Natural Law Party and the Party for the Commonwealth of Canada held a debate in Ottawa, televised on CBC Newsworld on October 5, 1993.¹⁴ • The format of at least the English debate provided for questions from audience members for the first time.¹⁵ 				

9 "Six million turned on TV debate," *Globe and Mail*, 1988.

10 Ibid.

11 A third debate was held among leaders of smaller parties on October 5, 1993. See notes section of the 1993 general election.

12 Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, "[Public Notice CRTC 1995-44](#)," March 15, 1995.

13 Library of Parliament, "[Debate '93 93-10-03] [videorecording]," FC630 D43, transcription. Library collection states the recording of the debate was done by Radio-Canada; no confirmation could be found of whether TVA broadcasted the French language debate.

14 Daniel Drolet, "Citizen panel unmoved by debate," *Ottawa Citizen*, October 5, 1993.

15 Youtube, "[1993 Canadian Federal Election Debate](#)."

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General Election	Election Day	Date of Debate(s)	Number of Debates and Broadcasters	Debate Participants
36th	June 2, 1997	English: May 12, 1997; and French: May 13, 1997	Two: English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA. ¹⁶	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jean Charest (PC); • Jean Chrétien (LIB); • Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); • Alexa McDonough (NDP); and • Preston Manning (Reform).
<p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The English debate was divided into five thematic segments: jobs, health care and social programs, the economy, national unity, and how well Parliament serves Canadians. • The French debate had four thematic segments: unemployment, the economy and quality of life, the role of government, and the future of minorities. 				
37th	November 27, 2000	French: November 8, 2000; and English: November 9, 2000.	Two: English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA. ¹⁷	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jean Chrétien (LIB); • Joe Clark (PC); • Stockwell Day (Canadian Alliance); • Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); and • Alexa McDonough (NDP).
<p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The English debate was divided into four thematic segments: the future of Canada's public health care system, government finances, leadership and the political future, justice and society, and the role of government. • The French debate had four thematic segments: Canada's health system, public finances, leadership and the political future, justice in our society, and the role of government. 				
38th	June 28, 2004	French: June 14, 2004; and English: June 15, 2004.	Two: English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA. ¹⁸	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); • Stephen Harper (Conservative Party of Canada); • Jack Layton (NDP); and • Paul Martin (LIB).

16 Library of Parliament, "[Leaders debate 97-05-12] [videorecording]," FC635 N56, Transcript and "[Le débat des chefs 1997 97-05-13] [enregistrement vidéo]," FC635 N561, Transcription.

17 Library of Parliament, "[Debate 2000 2000-11-09] [videorecording]," FC635 D424, Transcript and "[Débat des chefs 2000 2000-11-09] [enregistrement vidéo]," V8528, Transcription.

18 Library of Parliament, "[Debate 2004 2004-06-15] [videorecording]," FC635 F43, Transcript and "[Débat 2004-06-15] [enregistrement vidéo]," V11162, Transcription.



General Election	Election Day	Date of Debate(s)	Number of Debates and Broadcasters	Debate Participants
38th	<p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The English debate was once again divided into four thematic segments. • The English debate also included a series of short one-on-one debates held between party leaders during each thematic segment. • The French debate had four thematic segments: Canada's health system, public finances, leadership and the political future, justice in our society, and the role of government. 			
39th	January 23, 2006	<p>French: December 15, 2005 and January 10, 2006; and</p> <p>English: December 16, 2005 and January 9, 2006.</p>	<p>Four:</p> <p>English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA.¹⁹</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); • Stephen Harper (Conservative Party of Canada); • Jack Layton (NDP); and • Paul Martin (LIB).
	<p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The English debate in December 2005 featured only questions submitted by the public and selected by the broadcasters. Over 10,000 questions were submitted. The January debate featured only questions crafted by the broadcasters. • The French debate in December 2005 also featured only questions submitted by the public, while the January 2006 debate featured only questions crafted by the broadcasters. 			
40th	October 14, 2008	<p>French: October 1, 2008; and</p> <p>English: October 2, 2008</p>	<p>Two:</p> <p>English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA.²⁰</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stéphane Dion (LIB); • Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); • Stephen Harper (CPC); • Jack Layton (NDP); and • Elizabeth May (Green Party of Canada).

19 Library of Parliament, "[Canada votes 2005-12-16] [videorecording]," JL198 2006 L42, Transcript, "[Canada votes 2006-01-09] [videorecording]: debate," JL198 2006 T96, "[Élections Canada 2006 2005-12-15] [enregistrement vidéo]," JL198 2006 D424, Transcription, and "[Élections Canada 2006 2006-01-10] [enregistrement vidéo] : le débat des chefs," JL198 2006 D424.

20 Library of Parliament, "[Election 2008 2008-10-02] [videorecording]," JL198 2008 L433, Transcript and "[Élections Canada 2008 2008-10-01] [enregistrement vidéo] : le débat des chefs," JL198 2008 D423, Transcription.

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General Election	Election Day	Date of Debate(s)	Number of Debates and Broadcasters	Debate Participants
40th	Notes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the English debate, leaders debated eight questions that were selected from over 45,000 questions submitted by the public. The questions were video recorded and played during the debate.²¹ 			
41st	May 2, 2011	English: April 12, 2011; and French: April 13, 2011	Two: English debate carried on CBC, CTV and Global; and French debate carried on Radio-Canada and TVA. ²²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); Stephen Harper (CPC); Michael Ignatieff (LIB); and Jack Layton (NDP).
	Notes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The format of both the English and French debates featured questions selected from public submissions. Leaders debated topics for a short period one-on-one, after which a four person debate was held on the topic. 			
42nd	October 19, 2015	English: August 6, 2015, September 17, 2015 and September 28, 2015 French: September 24, 2015 and October 2, 2015	Five: all five debates were carried on CPAC. The debate held on September 24, 2015 was carried on CBC, CTV, Global Radio Canada and Télé-Québec. The debate held on October 2, 2015 was carried on TVA.	6 August: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stephen Harper (CPC); Elizabeth May (Green); Thomas Mulcair (NDP); and Justin Trudeau (LIB) 17 September: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stephen Harper (CPC); Thomas Mulcair (NDP); and Justin Trudeau (LIB) September 24: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); Stephen Harper (CPC); Elizabeth May (Green); Thomas Mulcair (NDP); and Justin Trudeau (LIB) 28 September: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stephen Harper (CPC); Thomas Mulcair (NDP); and Justin Trudeau (LIB)

21 *CBC Digital Archives, "2008 leaders' debate."*

22 Library of Parliament, "[Canada votes 2011-04-12], Leaders' debate [videorecording]," V18437 Transcript and "[Élections 2011 le débat 2011-04-13] [enregistrement vidéo]," V18443, Transcription.



General Election	Election Day	Date of Debate(s)	Number of Debates and Broadcasters	Debate Participants
42 nd				<p>2 October:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gilles Duceppe (Bloc); • Stephen Harper (CPC); • Thomas Mulcair (NDP); and • Justin Trudeau (LIB) <p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The debate held on 6 August was hosted by Maclean's and had four topics: the economy; energy and the environment; the state of Canada's democracy; and foreign policy and security. • The debate held on 17 September was hosted by the <i>Globe and Mail</i> and its theme was the economy. • The debate held on 24 September had five topics: governmental services for Canadians; the economy; governance, democracy and institutions; the environment; and Canada's place in the world. • The debate held on 28 September was hosted by Munk Debates and its theme was foreign policy. • The debate held on 2 October had three topics: the economy and public finances; security and Canada's place in the world; and social policy and governance for Canadians.

Source: Table prepared by the author using numerous sources; consult footnotes.

ii. Organization and legal framework of debates

In Canada, federal party leaders' debates are not subject to any provisions of the *Canada Elections Act*²³ (CEA). All previous party leaders' debates have occurred during the election campaign period. While numerous elements of campaigns and the electoral process are regulated by the CEA, it does not create any legal obligations related to debates for political parties, candidates and/or third parties.

Under the *Broadcasting Act*²⁴ and its regulations, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the independent public authority responsible for regulating and supervising broadcasting and telecommunications in Canada, has issued a policy that requires broadcasters to cover election campaigns and give all

23 [Canada Elections Act](#) (S.C. 2000, c. 9).

24 [Broadcasting Act](#) (S.C. 1991, c. 11).

candidates, parties and issues equitable treatment. This policy states, however, that “equitable does not mean equal.”²⁵

Specifically, with respect to party leaders’ debates, the CRTC policy states that “debate programs do not have to include all parties or candidates.”²⁶ Rather, broadcasters must ensure that “in general, they are informing their audiences on the positions of candidates and parties on the main issues in a reasonable manner.”²⁷

During past elections, party leaders’ debates have been organized through negotiations between political parties and television broadcasters, along with other media organizations. These negotiations dealt with, among other things:

- Which party leaders would participate?
- How many debates would be held?
- When and where the debates would be held?
- What the format would be for each debate, including who would be the moderator?
- What media organization(s) would broadcast each debate?
- How the cost of each debate would be paid?

With the exception of the 2015 general election, during past general elections various news organizations²⁸ worked together to negotiate terms with political parties and to collectively broadcast the debates. Over time, this ad hoc group of English and French language broadcasters was dubbed the “broadcasting consortium.” The Committee heard from broadcasters that have participated in the consortium that while they were competitors, they nonetheless opted to work together to collectively broadcast party leaders’ debates because:

25 Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC], *Broadcasting Information Bulletin CRTC 2016-96A* citing the Policy with Respect to Election Campaign Broadcasting, Public Notice CRTC 1988-142, September 2, 1988, applicable to federal and provincial general elections.

26 CRTC, [*Election campaigns and political advertising*](#).

27 Ibid.

28 The news broadcasting organizations that have, from 1968 to 2015, been a partner in the so-called “broadcasting consortium” have included: CBC, CTV, Global, Radio-Canada, Télé-Québec and TVA.



- political parties did not want to participate in multiple debates;
- the individual broadcasters did not want to be pitted against one another for the right to hold a debate; and
- they wanted to reach as large an audience as possible when a debate is held.²⁹

iii. Role of federal party leaders' debates in Canada

During its study, witnesses who appeared before the Committee ascribed a variety of attributes to federal party leaders' debates. Witnesses said the debates:

- form part of the tradition of election campaigns and are important events for the public to understand their choices;³⁰
- serve an education function and help cultivate citizenship;³¹
- provide for meaningful public engagement and deliberation;³²
- provide unmediated access to party leaders;³³
- let citizens understand party policies and come to a judgment on the character of leaders;³⁴
- allow the public to compare and evaluate the ideas and performance of party leaders;³⁵

29 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 82, November 30, 2017, 1110 (Mr. Troy Reeb, Corus Entertainment Inc.).

30 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 80, November 23, 2017, 1155 (Mr. Paul Adams, Carleton University).

31 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 81, November 28, 2017, 1250 (Mr. Max Cameron, University of British Columbia).

32 Cameron, 1245.

33 Adams, 1255.

34 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 80, November 23, 2017, 1200 (Mr. Graham Fox, Institute for Research on Public Policy).

35 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 80, November 23, 2017, 1210 (Ms. Jane Hilderman, Samara).

- provide important information to citizens for only a modest expenditure of effort;³⁶
- give undecided voters an opportunity to compare the positions of the main political parties on key issues for society; and³⁷
- provide party leaders with a unique opportunity to reach out to and connect with a large portion of the electorate in both official languages.³⁸

However, several witnesses also asked the Committee to consider the interplay between a debate's education function and its entertainment value. The Committee heard that while debates do serve a civic education function, some witnesses considered them to be essentially media spectacles.³⁹ Furthermore, some witnesses stated that the debates can place excessive focus on party leaders⁴⁰ and that this could distort the public's understanding of the functioning of Canada's electoral system and the way citizens elect their representatives.

iv. Recent federal party leaders' debates

When party leaders' debates have been held during general elections, all matters related to a given debate have been decided through negotiations involving political parties and news/host organizations. The Committee was told by media organizations that have participated in organizing leaders' debates, that during such negotiations, political parties invited to participate in a leaders' debate often attempt to gain terms that each considers the most favourable, and will at times employ the threat of withholding their participation in order to gain more favourable terms.⁴¹

36 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 81, November 28, 2017, 1200 (Mr. Thierry Giasson, Université Laval).

37 Giasson, 1200.

38 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 81, November 28, 2017, 1155 (Mr. Vincent Raynauld, Emerson College; Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières).

39 Marland, 1245 and Adams, 1155.

40 Ibid.

41 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 82, November 30, 2017, 1100 (Ms. Jennifer McGuire, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation).



During 2015 general election, only one of out of the five leaders' debates held was organized by the broadcasting consortium.⁴² This made the 2015 election the first in which a debate (in this case, four debates) was organized by an entity that was not a partner to a larger broadcasting consortium. Some witnesses and Committee members stated the reason for this change was that the Conservative Party of Canada declined to participate in an English-language debate organized by the broadcasting consortium.⁴³

In place of having all debates organized by a consortium, a broad range of media organizations organized five party leaders' debates during the 2015 election campaign, two of which had themes ("Economy" and "Foreign Affairs"). The dates, formats and participants in the 2015 debates were negotiated between the host organizations and participating political parties.

Over the course of the Committee's study, a number of comparisons were drawn by witnesses between the 2011 and 2015 leaders' debates. The Committee heard that the combined television and digital viewership for the 2015 leaders' debates was around 10 million Canadians.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the Committee was provided with information on the expansive digital reach that digital-first media entities have in Canada. For example, in 2017, there were 30 million Canadian internet users and 29.3 million Canadian mobile device users; and in 2016, Canadians between the ages of 18 to 34 spent an average of five hours per day on the internet.⁴⁵

Regarding the 2011 leaders' debates, the Committee heard that the English-language debate reached over 10 million Canadians, while four million Canadians watched the French-language debate.⁴⁶ In comparing the 2011 and 2015 debates, the Committee was told that in 2015 only "a fraction of Canadians were reached when you compare the audience numbers with those of 2011,"⁴⁷ in another instance, the Committee heard that the viewership of the 2015 debates was "alarmingly low."⁴⁸

42 The French-language debate held on September 24, 2015 was jointly organized by the following media organizations: CBC, CTV, Global, La Presse, Radio-Canada and Télé-Québec.

43 For example, Adams, 1255.

44 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 83, December 5, 2017, 1100 (Ms. Catherine Cano, Cable Public Affairs Channel).

45 Kevin Chan (Head of Public Policy, Facebook and Instagram Canada), written submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, December 14, 2017.

46 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 82, November 30, 2017, 1115 (Ms. Wendy Freeman, Bell Media Inc.).

47 Maguire, 1100.

48 Freeman, 1115.

In discussing lessons learned from broadcasting the 2011 and 2015 leaders' debates, witnesses told the Committee that the options made available to Canadians for receiving their media information was rapidly evolving. This has a number of potential implications in relation to the Committee's study, including that advertising information about the debates and debate content should be accessible on multiple media platforms and be readily accessible to individuals both during the live broadcast and at times they consider convenient.

Furthermore, the Committee heard that the Canadian viewing audience has become increasingly fragmented. Some posited that this fragmentation added importance to the leaders' debates as a shared unifying experience among a critical mass of voters, especially when the debates were broadcasted by the major television networks.⁴⁹ Others emphasized that media organizations need to provide the debates to the public using a diversity of media formats in order to reach different audiences.⁵⁰

Overall, a key theme that emerged from witnesses in their evaluation of the 2011 and 2015 election debates was that emphasis needed to be placed on putting the Canadian public's interests first. This leads the Committee to believe that an important goal of its present study is to examine options for how federal party leaders' debates can be organized so that future debates can readily be accessed by as many Canadians as possible across a multiplicity of media platforms.

v. Exploring changes to how federal leaders' debates are organized in Canada

Having reviewed the history of federal party leaders' debates in Canada and examined the role that the debates have assumed, over time during election campaigns, a key question that emerged for the Committee was whether federal party leaders' debates could be considered a public good?

Specifically, should the organization of all aspects of the leaders' debates be left to the discretion of media/host entities and political participants, as is the current case, or should some or all aspects of leaders' debates be made subject to some type of more formal process, oversight entity and/or guiding framework?

During its study, those witnesses and interested parties who addressed the matter of whether leaders' debates could be considered a public good raised the point that numerous other aspects of the functioning of federal election campaigns in Canada have

49 Adams, 1220.

50 Fox, 1205.



already been made subject to formal regulation. In their view, providing some formality to leaders' debates would be consistent with Canada's electoral framework. Similarly, the Executive Director of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates expressed the view that the presidential debates in the U.S. were the last campaign event that belonged solely to the public.⁵¹

The Committee only heard testimony and written submissions to the effect that the current manner by which party leaders' debates have been organized and broadcast could benefit from an examination by Parliament, with a view of seeking improvements to the debate organizing process and/or product.

At the same time, a number of witnesses struck a cautionary tone in suggesting reforms. The Committee heard the concern that the creation of an entity responsible for aiding in organizing leaders' debates could lead to innovation being stifled or inhibited.⁵² Such an entity, according to one witness, ought to operate with a light touch and maintain organizational independence from debate participants.⁵³ One witness stated that while Parliament had a legitimate right to study proposing reforms to leaders' debates, it was difficult to envisage what changes could be made to improve the status quo.⁵⁴ Along the same lines, many witnesses spoke in favour of distinguishing between those aspects of the leaders' debates that offered the potential for improvement through formalization and those that should be left flexible and subject to negotiation between debate stakeholders.

In the following section of this report, the Committee will present its findings about changes that could be made in order to ensure that future leaders' debates reflect the public's interests and are broadly accessible. These findings are based on the various viewpoints and recommendations about reforming federal party leaders' debates made by witnesses appearing before the Committee and through written submissions to the Committee.

51 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 84, December 7, 2017, 1225 (Ms. Janet Brown, Commission on Presidential Debates).

52 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 85, December 12, 2017, 1140 (Mr. François Cardinal, La Presse).

53 Reeb, 1140.

54 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 81, November 28, 2017, 1305 (Mr. Paul Wells, Maclean's).

DISCUSSION

A. Mandate of an entity responsible for organizing federal party leaders' debates

In contemplating the merits of putting in place an entity responsible for organizing federal party leaders' debates, a natural starting point for the Committee was to gather views about the objectives and principles that would guide such a structure. The Committee frequently heard during its study that leaders' debates should place the interests of citizens first, as they are the key participants in Canada's democratic process.⁵⁵

In broader terms, the Committee was told that, in order for the debates to be considered as neutral and fair, they should be organized and delivered to the public in a way that provides predictability, participation, and partnership.⁵⁶ Regarding predictability, citizens would benefit from knowing if there is going to be a debate, what media platforms will carry it, when is it going to take place and where. Regarding participation, the Committee was told it would be desirable for clear criteria to be established for determining which parties may participate in a debate. And regarding partnership, it was important to consider how media organizations could be engaged to cooperate to ensure that the debates are made as widely available as possible to all Canadians.

The following is a list of further principles and objectives that witnesses suggested an entity responsible for organizing leaders' debates should be guided by:

Independent and neutral: The entity should abide by the principles of fairness, non-partisanship and transparency.⁵⁷ It should strive to establish itself as a trusted resource by participants and prove itself capable of producing a professional product.⁵⁸

55 For example, Giasson, 1205.

56 Cano, 1200.

57 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 82, November 30, 2017, 1210 (Mr. Stéphane Perrault, Elections Canada). Similarly, in a written submission to the Committee, the New Democratic Party (NDP) proposed the entity be fair and impartial, while the Liberal Party of Canada proposed the entity be independent.

58 Brown, 1205.



Educational:⁵⁹ The entity should be credible.⁶⁰ It should seek to ensure debates occur in a way that is respectful, dignified, and substantive,⁶¹ and that they inform the electorate of the range of political options they have to choose from.⁶² It should also ensure the debates provide information to citizens and facilitate their election decisions.⁶³

Open and transparent: The entity should ensure that decisions about the debates reflect the broadest public interest and be transparent and open to public engagement.⁶⁴

Flexible: The entity should be flexible in its role⁶⁵ and be light, adaptable and agile in structure.⁶⁶

Accessible and inclusive: The entity should make certain that the debates are made broadly accessible to the public;⁶⁷ that the official language rights of Canadians are respected; and that the debates are made accessible and inclusive to all Canadians, including, but not limited to, persons with disabilities, youth, women and Indigenous people.⁶⁸

The committee believes that debates are a public good and recommends:

Recommendation 1

That the government should proceed with establishing a new entity to organize leaders' debates during federal elections and that entity should be established in time to organize debates during the 2019 federal general election;

59 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 86, January 30, 2017, 1250 (Mr. Noel daCosta, Jamaica Debates Commission). Mr. daCosta told the Committee that the Jamaican Debates Commission holds moderated town halls where debates are watched communally and then discussed.

60 Azam Ishmael (National Director, Liberal Party of Canada), written submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, December 10, 2017.

61 Brown, 1240.

62 Perrault, 1210.

63 Giasson, 1200.

64 Cameron, 1255.

65 Fox, 1220.

66 Brown, 1250, among others. Ms. Brown stated: "When I saw that phrase in someone's testimony, I underlined it. I couldn't agree more."

67 Perrault, 1210 and Ishmael.

68 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 79, November 21, 2017, 1215 (Hon. Karina Gould, Minister of Democratic Institutions).

That this new entity must be created in such a way to ensure its independence and neutrality;

That the new entity be mandated to educate Canadians about how debates are organized, when debates are occurring, and how Canadians can experience the debates.

B. Establishing an entity responsible for organizing federal party leaders' debates

On the question of whether an entity responsible for organizing federal party leaders' debates should be established, witnesses and those submitting briefs either expressed no opinion or gave their views about the role such an entity could play.

Among those who favoured establishing an entity responsible for organizing at least some aspects of the federal party leaders' debates, three options were frequently mentioned. These were:

- creating a new independent leaders' debates facilitator or commissioner;
- creating a new leaders' commissioner or commission that would be housed within Elections Canada but would operate independently of Elections Canada and the Chief Electoral Officer (CEO); and
- assigning the responsibility of organizing the leaders' debates to the Broadcasting Arbitrator, a position that currently exists under section 332(1) of the CEA.

In general, most witnesses did not favour creating a large commission. Rather than creating an unwieldy decision-making entity, witnesses tended to favour a light and agile entity, one that could consist of as few as one person. For example, the Committee heard that the office of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates consists most of the time of an Executive Director and an assistant.⁶⁹ Furthermore, an organizing entity would need to be independent of the media and political parties in order to limit the incursion of strategic and business interests on the democratic role of debates.⁷⁰ The debates commissions in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago require their

69 Brown, 1210.

70 Giasson, 1205.



commissioners to adhere to a code of conduct that prohibits partisan activities.⁷¹ A new independent debate organizing entity could, instead, seek advice and receive input and feedback from an advisory panel of debate participant stakeholders that it could convene from time to time.

The establishment of an advisory panel composed of a diverse set of representatives was suggested by several witnesses. Appointments to the panel should be done using a formula that prevents partisanship.⁷² Membership on this panel could include:⁷³

- broadcasters and media organizations;
- representatives of political parties;
- representatives of new media;
- representatives of groups with disabilities;
- citizens;
- civil society groups;
- representatives of universities; and
- other experts.

A representative of the Canadian Association of the Deaf proposed that an accessibility advisory committee be established to advise the independent debate organizing entity, to ensure that the implementation of access services is being planned well in advance.⁷⁴ Similarly, in a written submission to the Committee, the Green Party of Canada suggested that an advisory broadcasting panel be formed to provide the debate organizing entity with expertise and capacity on running debates.

71 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, Evidence, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 86, January 30, 2017, 1110 (Ms. Catherine Kumar, Trinidad and Tobago Debates Commission) and daCosta, 1210.

72 Perrault, 1210.

73 The list for membership of an advisory panel is a compilation of suggestions made by Perrault, 1210; Cameron, 1255; and House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 83, December 5, 2017, 1235 (Mr. Frank Folino, Canadian Association of the Deaf).

74 Folino, 1235

The following section explains how a new leaders' debates facilitator or commissioner could be created through either a legislative or a non-legislative process and provides information on the role of the Broadcasting Arbitrator under the CEA.

i. Federal party leaders' debates facilitator or commissioner

Creating a role for an individual or small entity to be responsible for organizing leaders' debates could be accomplished through a legislative or non-legislative process.

A non-statutory entity could be created in a number of ways. In her appearance before the Committee, Minister Gould indicated that a non-legislative option for establishing an independent debate organizing entity could be through criteria created under government transfer payments known as grants and contributions.⁷⁵

Both grants and contributions are funding mechanisms that are subject to approval by a vote in Parliament. A grant is an unconditional transfer payment. To receive a grant, the applicant must meet pre-established eligibility requirements. These criteria assure that the grant objectives will be met. An individual or organization that meets the eligibility criteria for a grant can usually receive the payment without having to meet any further conditions. Grants are not subject to being accounted for or audited.⁷⁶

A contribution is a conditional transfer payment. For each contribution, specific terms and conditions must be met by the recipient before payment is given by the governmental department. Contributions, unlike grants, are subject to performance conditions that are specified in a contribution agreement. Prior to receiving a contribution, the recipient must provide a performance measurement strategy; performance indicators and targets; and internal audit and evaluation strategies. Furthermore, the government can audit the recipient's use of a contribution.⁷⁷

To create a statutory body responsible for organizing leaders' debates, legislation would need to go through the federal legislative process. Examples of independent oversight and/or administrative bodies with their powers and mandate established by statute include officers of Parliament, such as the CEO, the Conflict of Interest and Ethics Commissioner and the Information Commissioner.

75 Gould, 1225.

76 Lydia Scratch, *Grants and Contributions*, PRB 05-49E, Parliamentary Information Research Service, Library of Parliament, Ottawa, February 7, 2006.

77 Ibid.



In general terms, officers of Parliament carry out duties assigned to them by statute, report directly to one or both chambers of Parliament and not to a minister, and exercise independence from the government of the day. Statutory officers of Parliament are also usually Governor in Council appointments, usually involving consultation with recognized parties of either or both the Senate and the House of Commons and made after approval of the appointment by resolution of the Senate and/or the House of Commons.

Some witnesses spoke in favour of establishing a debates commissioner who would have the independence and broad support of political parties and comparisons were drawn with the support from political parties required to be an officer of Parliament.⁷⁸

ii. Broadcasting Arbitrator

The Committee heard that, should it recommend that an independent debate organizing entity be established, an option worth considering would be to assign the responsibility of organizing federal party leaders' debates to the Broadcasting Arbitrator.⁷⁹

Alternatively, the Acting CEO, Mr. Perrault suggested that the model of the Broadcasting Arbitrator could be emulated in the establishment of a new entity responsible for organizing federal party leaders' debates. A number of witnesses suggested this entity could be housed inside Elections Canada. In providing his suggestions, Mr. Perrault made it clear that it was Elections Canada's view that it must be kept insulated from any decision-making regarding the leaders' debates and that the CEO should not be involved in any matters that could be perceived as having an influence on the orientation of the campaign or the results of the election.⁸⁰

The Broadcasting Arbitrator is appointed to that role either through a unanimous decision of representatives of the registered political parties represented in the House of Commons, or, if consultations do not result in unanimity, through being named by the CEO.⁸¹ The Broadcasting Arbitrator holds office until six months after Election Day of the general election that follows his or her appointment and can only be removed for cause by the CEO.⁸²

78 Cameron, 1305; Giasson, 1305; Wells, 1305; and NDP written submission.

79 Perrault, 1215; Hilderman, 1215; and in a written submission to the Committee, the Bloc Québécois stated that the organization of federal party leaders' debates could be assigned to the Broadcasting Arbitrator.

80 Perrault, 1215.

81 *Canada Elections Act*, section 332(1).

82 *Canada Elections Act*, sections 332(2) and 332(3).

Between elections, the duties of the Broadcasting Arbitrator generally consist of meeting and consulting with representatives of all registered political parties on the allocation of broadcasting time and allocating broadcasting time to every registered or eligible party.⁸³ During the campaign period, the Broadcasting Arbitrator must inform the CRTC of guidelines regarding the allocation of broadcasting time and procedures for booking broadcasting time by registered and eligible parties.⁸⁴ He or she also arbitrates any conflicts that arise between a broadcaster or network operator and the representative of a registered or eligible party concerning the purchase of broadcasting time under the CEA.⁸⁵

Having considered the options provided to it by witnesses, the Committee recommends:

Recommendation 2

That a new autonomous office be created by the government called Canada's Federal Party Leaders' Debates Commissioner (for short: "Debates Commissioner"). The office should be placed within Elections Canada/the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer for the purposes of sharing appropriate internal services and receiving administrative support from Elections Canada. However, the Debates Commissioner would remain autonomous from Elections Canada in fulfilling its roles and responsibilities. Elections Canada must be kept separate and insulated from any decision-making on the part of the Debates Commissioner regarding the leaders' debates;

That the first Debates Commissioner must be chosen by a unanimous decision of representatives of registered parties represented in the House of Commons within three months; or, if the consultations do not result in a unanimous decision, be named by the Governor in Council following a recommendation made by a panel composed of no fewer than three of the following individuals: the Broadcasting Arbitrator; the Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission; a former Chief Electoral Officer; a former Officer of Parliament; or a retired judge within Canada;

That upon the vacancy of the office of Debates Commissioner, or upon receipt of written notice of the planned resignation of the Debates Commissioner, the Government of Canada must initiate the process for choosing a succeeding Debates Commissioner within three months;

83 *Elections Canada*, "[The Broadcasting Arbitrator: Appointment, Term of Office and Duties](#)," January 2015.

84 *Canada Elections Act*, section 346.

85 *Elections Canada*, "[The Broadcasting Arbitrator: Appointment, Term of Office and Duties](#)."



That following the commencement of the process for choosing a succeeding Debates Commissioner, he or she must be chosen by a unanimous decision of representatives of registered parties represented in the House of Commons within three months; or, if the consultations do not result in a unanimous decision, be named by the Governor in Council following a recommendation made by a panel composed of no fewer than three of the following individuals: the Broadcasting Arbitrator; the Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission; a former Chief Electoral Officer; a former Officer of Parliament; or a retired judge within Canada; and

That the Debates Commissioner establish an advisory panel that he or she will consult prior to making key decisions related to the organization, accessibility and broadcasting of the debates that the office organizes. This panel could be composed of the following individuals: broadcasters and media organizations; representatives of political parties; representatives of new media; representatives of groups with disabilities; citizens; civil society groups; representatives of universities; and other experts.

iii. Other considerations

Length of tenure: It was noted that the nature of the facilitator or commissioner's mandate may not necessitate an ongoing entity.⁸⁶

The Committee recommends:

Recommendation 3

That the Debates Commissioner hold office during good behaviour for a term of five years or two elections, whichever is greater, but may be removed for cause by a resolution of the House of Commons of at least a majority of the recognized parties; and

That the Debates Commissioner, on the expiry of a first or any subsequent term of office, is eligible to be reappointed for a further term not exceeding five years or two elections, whichever is greater.

86 Perrault, 1215.

Reporting obligations: A suggestion was made to the Committee that it consider whether a newly created leaders' debate organizing entity be required to report to Parliament. This feature would better ensure transparency in its decision-making.⁸⁷

The Committee recommends:

Recommendation 4

That the Debates Commissioner be mandated to report back to Parliament after each federal general election.

C. Powers of an entity responsible for organizing federal party leaders' debates

Organizing, producing and broadcasting a federal party leaders' debate involves numerous elements. During its study, the Committee heard a number of witnesses speak in favour of distinguishing between those aspects of the leaders' debates that offered the potential for improvement through formalization and those that should be left flexible and subject to negotiation between debate stakeholders.

The following sections provide information heard by the Committee about criteria for eligibility to participate in a leaders' debate, accessibility requirements of persons with disabilities, the number of debates to be held during an election campaign, decisions related to broadcasting leaders' debates, the enforcement of participation of invited party leaders and other miscellaneous matters.

i. Establishing criteria for participation by political parties in a federal party leaders' debate

A contentious matter that arises when organizing participants to hold a federal party leaders' debate is the question of which political parties can participate and cannot.

A number of witnesses who appeared before the Committee agreed that an option for resolving this matter would be to create a set of criteria or guidelines that each political party would be measured against in order to qualify to participate in a leaders' debate.⁸⁸ These witnesses stated that it may be worthwhile establishing a threshold which parties would have to meet or exceed in order to participate in a debate. The criteria should also have built-in flexibility in order to allow for the participation of emerging parties.⁸⁹

87 Ibid.

88 Fox, 1225; Hilderman, 1225; Adams, 1230; NDP; and May.

89 Perrault, 1210.



Parties would have to meet all or some of the following criteria:⁹⁰

- have had a sitting member of Parliament in the House of Commons at any time during the previous Parliament or at dissolution;
- have a certain total number of candidates vying to be elected or have candidates vying to be elected in a certain percentage of the total number of ridings in Canada, during either the most recent or the forthcoming general election;
- meet a threshold of aggregated public opinion support six months (or at another time) prior to a scheduled general election; and
- have garnered a specified percentage of the national vote at the most recent general election.

Some witnesses suggested that a party would have to meet a majority of the criteria or two-thirds of them in order to qualify to participate in a party leaders' debate.⁹¹

Mr. Perrault told the Committee that it was, in his view, preferable for Parliament to decide the criteria and have the independent debates organizing entity apply those criteria in a mechanical fashion, with no room for discretion.⁹² The reason for this was that should a debates organizing entity be created as a federal body, it would be subject to the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Mr. Perrault noted that past legal challenges to decisions surrounding leaders' debates under Charter failed on the basis that the debates were essentially private events, and not subject to Charter scrutiny.⁹³

In terms of when to make the criteria for being eligible to participate in a party leaders' debate known to the public and when to decide which parties will be eligible to participate, witnesses suggested that a debates organizing entity should seek to avoid becoming mired in controversy over this decision during the campaign period.⁹⁴ In the case of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates, criteria they employ for

90 Witnesses who proposed criteria were: Fox, 1230; Gould, 1255; and Elizabeth May (member for Saanich—Gulf Islands), written submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, December 11, 2017. Also, Brown, Kumar and daCosta told the Committee about the criteria in place in their respective jurisdictions.

91 Fox, 1245 and May.

92 Perrault, 1240.

93 Perrault, 1210.

94 Perrault, 1210 and Hilderman, 1235.

determining who will be invited to participate in the debates are generally issued one year before the debates.⁹⁵

The Committee recommends:

Recommendation 5

That the Debates Commissioner must consult with the advisory panel in setting any criteria for participation in debates organized by the Debates Commissioner. Further, the Commissioner should ensure that the criteria for participation in leaders' debates should be made public well in advance of the campaign period.

ii. Ensuring accessible federal party leaders' debates for Canadians with disabilities

After having heard compelling testimony during this study from representatives of organizations advocating for persons with disabilities in Canada, the Committee would be remiss if it did not provide additional information about the expectations of Canadians with disabilities with respect to the accessibility of leaders' debates and the electoral process in general. As detailed in the Chief Electoral Officer's 2016 report entitled *An Electoral Framework for the 21st Century*, many barriers currently remain that prevent disabled Canadians from fully exercising their constitutionally guaranteed right to meaningfully participate in the country's electoral process.

Representatives of organizations of persons with disabilities told the Committee that, in the design and delivery of party leaders' debates, accessibility for persons with disabilities has largely been an afterthought.⁹⁶ Regrettably, numerous examples were cited about campaign materials being distributed and events being communicated and held, and not just those related to the televised leaders' debates, in which the rights of persons with disabilities did not appear to be meaningfully taken into account.

The Committee was told that the following elements, if provided, would allow for more substantive participation by Canadians with disabilities:

95 Brown, 1200.

96 Folino, 1230.



- For television broadcasts, provide descriptive audio (or a narration overdubbed on top of a visual presentation).⁹⁷
- For television broadcasts, provide picture-in-picture onscreen sign language interpretation in ASL (American Sign Language) for English-language debates and in LSQ (langue des signes québécoise) for French-language debates.⁹⁸ Alternately, it was noted that a recent televised provincial leaders' debate in Quebec featured one sign language interpreter working in a neutral manner beside each party leader, live at the event.⁹⁹ The debates in Jamaica also have included live sign language interpretation.¹⁰⁰
- For television broadcasts, provide closed captioning in English and French.¹⁰¹
- Test websites that will host future leadership debates to ensure the best accessibility (e.g., must have adequate colour contrast, be readable by a screen reader and/or a screen magnifier, etc.)¹⁰²

Representatives of persons with disabilities further strongly suggested that an entity responsible for organizing leaders' debates should establish and actively consult an advisory committee consisting of individuals appointed by the self-representative organizations of people with disabilities.¹⁰³

The Committee agrees that leaders' debates must be accessible to as many Canadians as possible, and therefore the Committee recommends:

97 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 83, December 5, 2017, 1225 (Mr. Thomas Simpson, Canadian National Institute for the Blind).

98 Folino, 1230.

99 Folino, 1245.

100 daCosta, 1235.

101 Folino, 1230.

102 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 83, December 5, 2017, 1240 (Ms. Diane Bergeron, Canadian National Institute for the Blind).

103 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 83, December 5, 2017, 1235 (Mr. James Hicks, Council of Canadians with Disabilities).

Recommendation 6

That the Debates Commissioner be mandated to ensure that the leaders' debates are broadcast and otherwise made available in a fully accessible and timely manner; and

That the Debates Commissioner be required to consult with and receive feedback from the advisory panel about matters related to the accessibility of the debates that office organizes.

iii. Ensuring a minimum number of debates

During its study, witnesses frequently cited predictability as a potential improvement that a debate organizing entity could provide to the organization of federal party leaders' debates. A representative of a broadcasting organization that has participated in organizing debates in the past told the Committee that frequently, broadcasters spend a disproportionate amount of time and effort negotiating with political participants to find out if there will simply be a debate or not.¹⁰⁴

Providing predictability to the holding of debates is also an important feature of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates. The Committee was told that the Commission announces the dates and venues for the debates a year in advance.¹⁰⁵

When witnesses were asked if there is an ideal number of leaders' debates that ought to be held during an election campaign, they responded that at least one English-language debate and one French-language debate should be held.¹⁰⁶ Witnesses also agreed that no upper limit needs to be established on the number of leaders' debates held during a campaign period, with many stating that the more debates, the better.¹⁰⁷

The Committee recommends:

Recommendation 7

That the Debates Commissioner be required to organize a minimum of at least one debate in each official language during general election campaign periods.

104 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 82, November 30, 2017, 1140 (Mr. Michel Cormier, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)

105 Brown, 1205.

106 Hilderman, 1240; Fox, 1240; Adams, 1240; Giasson, 1205; and McGuire, 1120.

107 Reeb, 1110, among others.



iv. Decisions related to broadcasting the federal party leaders' debates

Organizing, hosting and broadcasting federal party leaders' debates is a complex affair involving numerous participants who often hold divergent interests. Political parties may attempt to gain partisan advantages while broadcasters, under the pressure of seeking audience and profit, may give preference to broadcast formats that feature spectacle and confrontation.¹⁰⁸ Discussions about hosting and broadcasting a debate need to resolve many key questions in order for the debate to proceed. These include but are not limited to:

- When and where will the debate be held?
- Who will be the moderator and what are the rules and format of the debate?
- Who will broadcast the debate?
- Who will pay for the debate to be produced?

Complicating matters are the ongoing demographic shifts in Canada's population and the evolving nature of the country's news media. The Committee heard that increasingly, when Canadians follow a live event, not only do they interact with each other on social media¹⁰⁹ but they expect to be able to interact with the event itself. Opportunities exist to increase the interactivity of future leaders' debates by, for example, allowing Canadians to pose questions to party leaders online.¹¹⁰

At the same time, the Committee heard that by increasingly engaging in news content on social media platforms, the Canadian population is being divided into smaller and smaller segments.¹¹¹ This trend led some witnesses to state that an important role debates can play is to create a collective shared national experience.¹¹² To accomplish this, the combination of media platforms on which leaders' debates are transmitted should have the potential to reach all Canadians.

108 Adams, 1155 and Giasson, 1205.

109 Raynauld, 1155.

110 Chan.

111 Cameron, 1245.

112 McGuire, 1100 and 1120.

(a) The role of an organizing entity for leaders' debates in making broadcasting-related decisions

Turning to the question of what aspects, if any, of hosting and broadcasting a federal party leaders' debate should be formalized and come under the purview of a debate organizing entity, most witnesses told the Committee they favoured, at most, light, flexible and adaptable regulation. The two concrete proposals brought up by witnesses for a potential role of a debate organizing entity in making decisions related to editorial aspects of the debates were:

- Parliament would establish overarching objectives that the debates must meet but then the entity, equipped with the proper expertise, would be given broad latitude to shape the format and editorial aspects of the debates, while respecting language requirements and accessibility considerations. In doing so, the entity would be required to receive input from participants and other stakeholders;¹¹³ and
- Mandate the entity to evaluate independent leaders' debate proposals and certify those that meet a certain standard or objectives as "must see".¹¹⁴

Additionally, while not a proposal for how debate organization could be managed per se, a representative of a broadcasting organization stated that the manner in which the French-language debates were organized during the 2015 general election campaign could represent a model to be emulated in the future. It involved many partners; the television signal was shared; and it implicated social media platforms.¹¹⁵

Overall, the Committee did not glean many views from witnesses about how an independent debates organizing entity could interact with debate participants in making decisions related to hosting and broadcasting leaders' debates. Witnesses did nonetheless provide multiple suggestions and/or objectives about how debates could be better organized or what features they would like to have added to future debates. These were:

113 Perrault, 1210 and 1255.

114 Wells, 1150.

115 Cormier, 1110.



- Hold leaders' debates that are broadly accessible to the public and presented in a multitude of media formats so that debate content is available to the largest possible audience, including persons with disabilities;¹¹⁶
- Hold leaders' debates that have the potential to reach each and every Canadian in the same time and in the same context, as part of a shared national experience;¹¹⁷
- Allow for a multitude of debate formats to target specific audiences;¹¹⁸
- Permit open access of debate content for viewing and following using live-streaming of the event across both broadcast and social networks.¹¹⁹
- Broadcast debate content live and in delayed time, while permitting editing of content into clips;¹²⁰
- Place no restrictions on accessing raw debate content, remove broadcaster logos from content and allow the dissemination of as many excerpts as desired of the debates;¹²¹
- Depoliticize the debate organization process;¹²²
- Ensure any rules or institutions that are created in relation to the debates remain technology neutral;¹²³
- Allow a full range of media organizations to provide significant input in decisions related to hosting, managing and broadcasting/disseminating the debates;¹²⁴

116 Perrault, 1210.

117 McGuire, 1100.

118 Fox, 1240.

119 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 85, December 12, 2017, 1115 (Ms. Bridget Coyne, Twitter Inc.).

120 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 85, December 12, 2017, 1130 (Mr. Yann Pineau, La Presse).

121 Cardinal, 1105.

122 Reeb, 1120.

123 Chan.

124 Reeb, 1140 and Cardinal, 1100.

- Incorporate audience questions into the debate experience;¹²⁵
- Supplement debate event coverage with social media data;¹²⁶ and
- Engage multiple partners, to the extent that no one set of stakeholders owns the debates and they are made accessible to all Canadians on any platform.¹²⁷

The Committee recommends:

Recommendation 8

That the broadcasting feed for any debate organized by the Debates Commissioner be made available free of charge to any outlet or organization that wishes to distribute the debate and that no restrictions be placed on the use of that debate content.

Some Committee members also posed questions to witnesses about the desirability of mandating at least one media organization to broadcast party leaders' debates. In response, representatives of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation responded that they were open to such a scenario¹²⁸ and representatives of the Cable Public Affairs Channel (CPAC) indicated they were open to ways they could contribute.¹²⁹ The representatives from Bell Media Inc. (CTV News) and Corus Entertainment Inc. told the Committee that they were against being mandated to broadcast the leaders' debates.¹³⁰

(b) Timing of leaders' debates

The subject of the timing of the debates came up infrequently during the Committee's study. The Committee heard that the debates should be scheduled in the last two weeks prior to Election Day¹³¹ or that, similarly, they should be held mid-campaign or later.¹³²

125 Coyne, 1120.

126 Ibid.

127 House of Commons, Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, *Evidence*, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, Meeting 83, December 5, 2017, 1210 (M. Peter Van Dusen, Cable Public Affairs Channel).

128 McGuire, 1130.

129 Cano, 1155.

130 Freeman and Reeb, 1155.

131 Adams, 1240.

132 McGuire, 1150.



No witnesses provided commentary or suggestions about the role an independent entity for organizing debates could have in respect of setting the date of a debate.

(c) Cost of the leaders' debates

In the past, federal party leaders' debates have usually been broadcast without commercial interruption. This means that the television networks that carried the debates had to displace scheduled programs and forego advertisement revenues for the duration of the debate.

Furthermore, it was left to the media/host entities that have produced the debates to pay for the costs related to production. The Committee heard that the average cost to produce a debate for the broadcasting consortium in 2011 was about \$250,000.¹³³ The past consortium debates were paid for by the participating news organizations and distributed for use by other media entities on a pay-to-use basis or, on occasion, for free.¹³⁴ The choice about whether a network or media organization would carry the debate was left to the individual media entity.

During the 2015 general election, CPAC served as the television carrier for all five party leaders' debates. A representative from CPAC told the Committee that their organization did not organize any debates, did not set rules or decide the format; instead, they delivered the content once the rules were established.¹³⁵

The question for the Committee to consider is how this model would apply if there were an organizing entity for party leaders' debates. Some witnesses suggested to the Committee that a model could be put in place whereby a broadcaster is tasked by the debates organizing entity with hosting a debate and then provides the transmission to any interested stakeholder or party.¹³⁶ In a written submission to the Committee, the Green Party suggested consideration be given to providing funding for commercial networks that carry the debates, in order to compensate for lost revenue.

The committee recommends:

133 McGuire, 1150.

134 Reeb, 1110.

135 Van Dusen, 1150.

136 Gould, 1240 and Fox, 1205.

Recommendation 9

That the government ensure that the Debates Commissioner has the required funding to organize, produce, and distribute the debates it organizes.

(d) Journalistic standards

The Committee was told that in the context of federal party leaders' debates, the maintenance of high journalistic standards was an important concern for broadcasters. The elements that need to meet high journalistic standards include the format, the staging (e.g., lighting, the set, the camera angles, etc.), the topics, the questions and follow-up questions posed to the candidates and the moderator. The Committee agrees with broadcasters that the maintenance of high journalistic standards would be an important matter during any future debates.

The committee therefore recommends:

Recommendation 10

That the Debates Commissioner be mandated to maintain high journalistic standards in the organization of leaders' debates.

v. Enforcement of Participation

During negotiations to organize a federal party leaders' debate, one of political participants' most powerful and contentious bargaining tools is the threat to withhold their participation. The decision of any political party to not participate in a party leaders' debate has profound impacts on the decision-making of other political participants and the media outlets seeking to host and broadcast a debate. Indeed, it is not difficult to envisage a future situation in which no federal party leaders' debates are held during an election campaign, as a result of key political parties declining to participate.

In seeking to identify solutions, the Committee heard about two approaches: imposing legal sanctions and leaving the matter to the court of public opinion.

Those witnesses who favoured prescribing some form of legal punishment suggested the following options for sanctioning the non-participation of invited political party leaders in federal party leaders' debates:

- establish a period of several days during which that leader's party could not broadcast advertising or a substantial but not debilitating penalty;¹³⁷

137 Adams, 1155.



- amend the CEA to provide for a reduction in the expected election campaign reimbursement for political parties whose leader declines to participate in a debate;¹³⁸

In contrast, a number of other witnesses held the view that no legal sanctions were necessary for the following reasons:

- any sanction imposed on a political party leader or party would be unenforceable,¹³⁹
- the better deterrent was for the individuals or party to pay some political price;¹⁴⁰ and
- create an incentive for party leaders to attend a debate by giving it public standing (e.g., have the debate approved by an independent debate organizing entity).¹⁴¹

The latter suggestions are similar to the operation of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates and the debate commissions in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The Committee heard that in the U.S., for example, facing the adverse public reaction to skipping a debate was a bigger enforcement mechanism than denying the candidate or political party of funding or advertising time.¹⁴²

The Committee agrees that the public expectation that invited political party leaders participate in debates organized by the Debates Commissioner should be sufficient to ensure that those leaders participate. At the same time, a priority objective of creating the office of the Debates Commissioner is to ensure that all invited party leaders attend the debates organized by the Commissioner. Therefore, the Committee recommends:

Recommendation 11

That the Debate Commissioner be mandated to organize and conduct debates even if an invited participant declines to attend. In the event that an invited participant declines to attend a debate organized by the Debates Commissioner, the Committee considers that it is within the Debates Commissioner's purview to

138 May.

139 Wells, 1150

140 Fox, 1220

141 Perrault, 1300.

142 Brown, 1225.

take actions the Commissioner deems appropriate to make that participant's absence well-known during the debate. To that end, the Debates Commissioner could, for example, visibly place an empty podium on stage.

vi. Miscellaneous matters

(a) Review of entity

It was suggested to the Committee that a debates organizing entity should undertake a post-debate evaluation of the accessibility and inclusiveness of the debate and that a report of the evaluation be tabled in Parliament.¹⁴³ The Committee heard that the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates undertakes complete reviews of each debate, studying elements of the debate that range from candidate criteria, debate venues, law enforcement, media and moderators.¹⁴⁴

The Committee recommends:

Recommendation 12

That Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs conduct a review of the functioning and operation of the office of the Debates Commissioner within five years of the first Debates Commissioner being chosen.

(b) Timeline for establishing an independent debate organizing entity

The Committee is keenly aware that the projected date for Canada's next federal general election is October 21, 2019. This date leaves a timeframe of about twenty months for a party leaders' debates organizing entity to be put in place prior to the start of the campaign period. The Committee received almost no testimony about when a debate organizing entity would need to be in place for it to carry out its duties in relation to the upcoming election. On November 21, 2017, Minister Gould commented that, depending on the entity's structure, the process for establishing the entity would need to unfold "in the coming months or so."¹⁴⁵

143 Hicks, 1235.

144 Brown, 1255.

145 Gould, 1215.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF WITNESSES

Organizations and Individuals	Date	Meeting
Hon. Karina Gould, P.C., M.P., Minister of Democratic Institutions	2017/11/21	79
Privy Council Office Allen Sutherland, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Machinery of Government		
As an individual Paul Adams, Associate Professor, School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University	2017/11/23	80
Institute for Research on Public Policy Graham Fox, President and Chief Executive Officer		
Samara Jane Hilderman, Executive Director		
As individuals Maxwell A. Cameron, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia Thierry Giasson, Full Professor, Département de science politique, Université Laval Alex Marland, Professor, Department of Political Science, Memorial University of Newfoundland Vincent Raynauld, Assistant Professor, Emerson College; Affiliate Professor, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières Paul Wells, Senior Writer, Maclean's	2017/11/28	81
Bell Media Inc. Wendy Freeman, President, CTV News	2017/11/30	82
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Michel Cormier, General Manager, News and Current Affairs, French Services Jennifer McGuire, General Manager and Editor in Chief, CBC News		

Organizations and Individuals	Date	Meeting
Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission Michael Craig, Manager, English and Third-language Television Peter McCallum, General Counsel, Communications Law		
Corus Entertainment Inc. Troy Reeb, Senior Vice-President, News, Radio and Station Operations		
Elections Canada Anne Lawson, General Counsel and Senior Director, Legal Services Stéphane Perrault, Acting Chief Electoral Officer		
Cable Public Affairs Channel (CPAC) Catherine Cano, President and General Manager Peter Van Dusen, Executive Producer	2017/12/05	83
Canadian Association of the Deaf Frank Folino, President		
Canadian National Institute for the Blind Diane Bergeron, Vice-President Engagement and International Affairs Thomas Simpson, Manager Operations and Government Affairs		
Council of Canadians with Disabilities James Hicks, National Coordinator		
Commission on Presidential Debates Janet Brown, Executive Director	2017/12/07	84
HuffPost Canada Andree Lau, Editor-in-chief	2017/12/12	85
La Presse François Cardinal, Editorial Page Editor Yann Pineau, Senior Director Continuous Improvement		

Organizations and Individuals	Date	Meeting
Twitter Inc. Bridget Coyne, Senior Manager Public Policy	2017/12/12	85
Jamaica Debates Commission Noel daCosta, Chairman Trevor Fearon, Resource Consultant	2018/01/30	86
Trinidad and Tobago Debates Commission Angella Persad, Immediate Past Chair Catherine Kumar, Interim Chief Executive Officer		

APPENDIX B

LIST OF BRIEFS

Organizations and Individuals

Bloc Québécois

Facebook Inc.

Green Party of Canada

Liberal Party of Canada

Misir Qureshi, Sacha

New Democratic Party

Thomas, Paul

Vezina, Gregory

REQUEST FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Pursuant to Standing Order 109, the Committee requests that the government table a comprehensive response to this Report.

A copy of the relevant *Minutes of Proceedings* (Meetings Nos. 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90 and 92) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

Hon. Larry Bagnell
Chair

DISSENTING OPINIONS OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION

The 2015 federal election saw an unprecedented five leaders' debates. CPAC carried all five debates live, new viewing formats were available, and Facebook and YouTube webcasted three of the debates. By all accounts, these leaders' debates were successful, reaching millions of Canadians through differing viewing formats.

However, now, after numerous broken promises and negative publicity on the Democratic Institutions file, including unsuccessful attempts to ram through substantive changes to how both Canadian Parliament and democracy works within completely arbitrary time frames, the Liberal Government is once again rushing to fulfill a poorly-considered promise.

The following dissenting opinions, thoughts, and concerns, set out the conclusions of the Official Opposition.

Not in Good Faith

This Committee was tasked with studying the creation of an independent commissioner to organize political party leaders' debates during future federal election campaigns, under the mistaken assumption that the Liberal Government was actually seeking its input and recommendations. However, despite this study not yet being complete, and not knowing the substance of the proposed recommendations, the Liberals somehow managed to slap an arbitrary \$6 million price tag on it in their recent Budget. Paul Wells, a *Maclean's* journalist who moderated one of the five party leaders' debates held during the 2015 election campaign, when he heard about the exorbitant price tag, tweeted "I was like, we could have run SIXTY DEBATES".

Further, the Minister of Democratic Institutions held a separate process for consultations on the organization of federal election debates and did not provide the Committee with a report of those findings. In fact, when a motion from the Official Opposition calling for the Committee to be fully briefed on all consultations prior to the completion of its report was put forward, the Liberal majority on the Committee voted this down.¹ This inevitably forced the Committee to make recommendations, without access to all relevant information.

The Committee heard testimony about debate commissioners in other nations, but in each case these were independent non-governmental organizations. None were created, funded or otherwise influenced by the government.^{2 3 4} The Committee is proposing the government proceed into unprecedented involvement of the State in federal elections.

¹ *Minutes of Proceedings*, February 1, 2018.

² PROC, *Evidence*, 7 December 2017 (Janet Brown, Executive Director, Commission on Presidential Debates)

³ PROC, *Evidence*, 30 January 2018 (Catherine Kumar, Interim Chief Executive Officer, Trinidad and Tobago Debates Commission)

⁴ PROC, *Evidence*, 30 January 2018 (Noel daCosta, Chairman, Jamaica Debates Commission)

These considerations have caused the Official Opposition to conclude that the Liberal Government is not approaching this Committee study in good faith, and has already come to predetermined conclusions.

History of Litigation and Potential Paralysis of Debates

Leaders' debates already have a history of being litigated in Canadian courts.

The Liberal majority's proposal is a prescription for paralysis because it will ensure that this pattern of court challenges will continue, increase and, now, succeed.

Government intervention in the organization of party leaders' debates during general elections will only stymie efforts to connect interested voters to campaigning politicians because the debates will simply get bogged down in litigation.

Typically, court proceedings have been in the form of a last-minute application by a minor party omitted from an otherwise agreed upon debate. Once, the omission of a Green Party leader even saw a private prosecution initiated against television broadcasters.⁵

One of the earliest court cases on debates, *Triege et al. v. Canadian Broadcasting Corp. et al.*,⁶ covered many of the issues which remain relevant up to this day. That decision serves as a prelude to the issues which lie ahead for Canadian politics.

In *Triege*, the Green Party leader's application was denied for, among other reasons, the fact that, as a private undertaking, the arrangements for party leaders' debates were not subject to constitutional challenges.

Subsequent cases concerning federal leaders' debates followed the lead of *Triege*, such as *National Party of Canada v. Canadian Broadcasting Corp.*,⁷ *Natural Law Party of Canada v. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*,⁸ *Gauthier v. Milliken et al.*,⁹ and *May v. CBC/Radio-Canada*.¹⁰

⁵ *R. ex. rel. Vezina v. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (1993), 84 C.C.C. (3d) 574 (Ont. C.A.), aff'g (1992), 72 C.C.C. (3d) 545 (Ont. Ct. Gen. Div.), aff'g an unreported decision (Ont. Ct. Prov. Div.).

⁶ (1988), 66 O.R. (2d) 273 (H.C.J.).

⁷ (1993), 144 A.R. 50 (Q.B.), aff'd (1993), 106 D.L.R. (4th) 575 (Alta. C.A.); application to expedite application for leave to appeal to S.C.C. denied, [1993] 3 S.C.R. 651.

⁸ (1993), [1994] 1 F.C. 580 (T.D.).

⁹ 2006 FC 570.

¹⁰ 2011 FCA 130.

Court cases in the intervening years on other aspects of the Canadian electoral system, including (but certainly not limited to) *Figueroa v. Canada (Attorney General)*,¹¹ means that leaders' debates will not only become subject to judicial oversight, by virtue of the Liberal majority's recommendations, but they will be challenged from an ever-growing number of angles.

At the end of the day, the critical final decisions on party leaders' debates will be taken by judges—not by the political parties, not by broadcasters, and certainly not by the commission the Liberal majority is proposing.

Judges have also recognized that this is not an ideal arrangement. Past rulings have hinted at the courts' aversion to having this responsibility.

In *Trieger*, Mr. Justice Campbell stated, "There is an obvious practical difficulty here that candidates and leaders cannot be forced to debate. Debates must be negotiated by agreement."

In *National Party of Canada*, the applications judge, Mr. Justice Berger, wrote:

Absent cogent evidence of mischief calculated to subvert the democratic process and absent evidence of statutory breach, this Court should not enter the broadcasting arena and usurp the functions of the broadcast media. The political agenda is best left to politicians and the electorate; television programming is best left to the independent judgment of broadcasters and producers.

Despite that, the Liberal majority is setting up a collision course in the courts over the leaders' debates in next year's general election. Perhaps that is why the Liberal Government has determined that it needs to earmark \$6-million for a sight-unseen debate commission—in order to pay the bills.

The Official Opposition believes that elections are best left in the hands of parties, candidates, and—most importantly—voters. The Liberal majority's proposal will work to diminish this cornerstone principle of democracy, and we cannot support it.

Journalistic Standards and Debate Broadcasting

The Official Opposition disagrees with the strong implication by broadcast consortium representatives that the debates held by non-consortium members during the 2015 general election did not meet the test of high broadcast and journalistic standards.¹² Furthermore, we

¹¹ [2003] 1 S.C.R. 912.

¹² PROC *Evidence* November 30, 2017 (Jennifer McGuire, General Manager and Editor in Chief, CBC News and Michel Cormier, General Manager, News and Current Affairs, French Services, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation;

do not agree that the members of the broadcast consortium together hold an exclusive monopoly on credibility, journalistic integrity, or high-quality digital broadcast capability.

Mr. Wells informed the committee of his opinion that,

The technological revolution that made 2015 possible is continuing and accelerating. Costs of mounting a live broadcast have collapsed to near zero. By 2019 and 2023, the number of organizations with the wherewithal to organize debates and to get them in front of audiences will be much bigger still than in 2015.¹³

The Official Opposition believes that claims by any media or technology organization that they alone are able to deliver a leaders' debate that meets some measure of "high journalistic standards" should be treated with cynicism.

The 2015 federal election featured five successful leaders' debates, only one of which was hosted by the broadcast consortium. Therefore, the suggestion that there was a problem with either the number or the quality of leaders' debates that needs to be addressed in the coming election by means of direct government intervention is simply ridiculous.

All individuals and organizations involved in the 2015 debate organization were well established individuals and entities in their fields, and the debates were broadcast across multiple television and internet platforms.

1. The first debate was produced by *Maclean's* Magazine and Rogers Media, a multi-platform communications enterprise which includes the Sportsnet, City, and OMNI television broadcasters. It was moderated by Paul Wells, a respected journalist with over two decades experience in Canadian politics. The debate included live translations into French, Italian, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Punjabi. It aired live on City TV stations (English), CPAC (English and French), and Omni Television stations (all other languages), was streamed live at the Maclean's website and on all the broadcasting networks' websites, on Facebook, on YouTube, and on Rogers Media news radio stations.
2. The second debate was moderated by *Globe and Mail* Editor-in-Chief David Walmsley, and produced by *The Globe and Mail* and Google Canada. It aired live on CPAC (English and French) with an additional English feed in Ontario on CHCH television, and streamed live on *The Globe and Mail's* website and on YouTube.
3. The third debate was hosted by the broadcast consortium (CBC/Radio-Canada, CTV, Global, Télé-Québec), and La Presse. This debate was held in French and was moderated by Radio-Canada journalist Anne-Marie Dussault. It aired live in French on Ici Radio-Canada Télé and Télé-Québec stations, and streamed on the participant networks' websites, in English on CPAC, CBC News Network, CTV News Channel, and on the participant networks' websites.

Wendy Freeman, President, CTV News, Bell Media Inc.; Troy Reeb, Senior Vice-President, News, Radio and Station Operations, Corus Entertainment Inc.)

¹³ PROC *Evidence*, November 28, 2017 (1145).

4. The fourth debate was bilingual and hosted by Facebook Canada and the Aurea Foundation, as part of the foundation's regular Munk Debates, and moderated by Munk Debates organizer Rudyard Griffiths. It aired on CPAC (English and French) with an additional English feed in Ontario on CHCH television, and streamed live on the Munk Debates website, and on Facebook.
5. The fifth debate, a French language debate, was hosted by private broadcaster TVA (Quebecor Media) and was moderated by TVA anchor Pierre Bruneau. It aired with simultaneous interpretation to English on CPAC, and in French on TVA stations, Le Canal Nouvelles, and streamed on the TVA Nouvelles website.

The Official Opposition notes that CPAC, the Cable Public Affairs Channel which presents Parliamentary, political and public affairs programming, was the only platform, whether television or internet-based, that broadcast live each of the five leaders' debates that were held during the 2015 federal general election. This was to their credit; CPAC took this action in service to the public even though CPAC was not a formal partner in organizing or broadcasting any of those debates.¹⁴ The Official Opposition hopes that CPAC will continue this practice.

The Official Opposition believes that, in the interest of ensuring that each election leaders' debate has a large potential television audience, the CBC and Radio-Canada, in their role as Canada's taxpayer-funded public broadcasters, should choose to broadcast all leaders' debates live, preferably on their main networks, and regardless of their involvement in the production of those debates.

Conclusion

Given the preceding opinions, thoughts, and concerns, including the history of litigation surrounding debates, the Liberal Government's broken promise that it would seek this Committee's input and recommendations prior to adopting a course of action, and the comical assertion that leaders' debates have a quality-control issue that will be fixed via *de facto* nationalization, the Official Opposition simply cannot support this proposed new process for federal election leaders' debates.

¹⁴ PROC, *Evidence*, 5 December 2017 (Catherine Cano, President and General Manager and Peter Van Dusen, Executive Producer, Cable Public Affairs Channel (CPAC))

This is Exhibit "3" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**

00087

Commissioner David Johnston

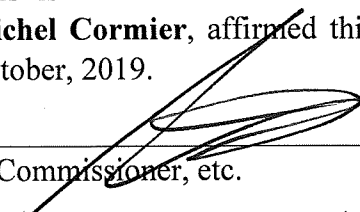
Commissioner David Johnston



The Right Honourable David Johnston was Canada's 28th governor general. During his mandate, he established the Rideau Hall Foundation (RHF), a registered charity that supports and amplifies the Office of the Governor General in its work to connect, honour and inspire Canadians. Today, he is actively involved as Chair of the RHF Board of Directors; serves as an Executive Advisor at Deloitte; and, Global Advisor to Fairfax. In 2018, he was appointed Colonel to the Royal Canadian Regiment. Prior to his installation as governor general, Mr. Johnston was a professor of law for 45 years, and served as President of the University of Waterloo for two terms, Principal of McGill University for 3 terms. He was president of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and of the Conférence des recteurs et des principaux des universités du Québec. He was the first non-U.S. citizen to be elected chair at Harvard University's Board of Overseers from which he graduated in 1963 magna cum laude and was twice named all-American in hockey and was named to Harvard's Athletic Hall of Fame. He holds degrees from Harvard, Cambridge and Queen's and has received 35 honorary degrees or fellowships. He has authored or co-authored 28 books. He has served on many provincial and federal task forces and committees, and has served on the boards of a number of public companies. He has been married for 54 years to Sharon and they have 5 daughters and 14 grandchildren.

00088

This is Exhibit "4" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**

00090

Advisory board

The Advisory Board will provide advice to The Leaders' Debates Commission on how to carry out our mandate.

Members

- [Chad Gaffield](#)
- [Deborah Grey](#)
- [Craig Kielburger](#)
- [Jean LaRose](#)
- [Megan Leslie](#)
- [John Manley](#)
- [Louise Otis](#)

Meetings

- [June 20, 2019](#)
 - [June 3, 2019](#)
 - [May 2, 2019](#)
 - [March 25, 2019](#)
-

Biographical notes

Chad Gaffield

Chad Gaffield is Distinguished University Professor at the University of Ottawa (Canada) where he holds the University Research Chair in Digital Scholarship. His publications include studies of socio-demographic change during the 19th and 20th centuries, childhood and family history during the initial decades of mass schooling, and the emergence and development of Canada's official language communities. In this work, he explores how digitally-enabled approaches enhance research, teaching and knowledge mobilization. Dr. Gaffield's awards include the Royal Society of Canada's (RSC) J.B. Tyrrell Historical Medal and the Antonio Zampolli Prize given by the international Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations. Dr. Gaffield has served as President of the Canadian Federation of the Humanities and Social Sciences (1996-1998); as President of the Canadian Historical Association (2000-1); as President and CEO of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2006-2013); and is currently the President of the Royal Society of Canada (2017-2019). Dr. Gaffield was appointed Officer of the Order of Canada in 2017.

Deborah Grey

Deborah Grey grew up in Vancouver, BC. She moved to Alberta as a young woman and was a high school English teacher before her election to the House of Commons as the Reform Party's first Member of Parliament in 1989. She served in Ottawa for over 15 years with the Reform Party/Canadian Alliance/ Conservative Party of Canada. In 2000, she was Canada's first-ever female Leader of the Opposition. She left public office in 2004. Some years later, Deborah was appointed to the Security Intelligence Review Committee. She is a member of the Privy Council, an Officer of the Order of Canada, and enjoys acting as Presiding Officer, swearing in new Canadian citizens. Deborah spends some of her time traveling as a professional speaker. She is semi-retired on Vancouver Island, and she and her husband, Lewis, continue to enjoy riding their Honda Valkyrie motorcycles.

Craig Kielburger

Craig's incredible journey started in his parents' living room. From visiting the most poverty-stricken and war-torn parts of the world to sitting on Oprah's couch to building a global organization, Craig has helped change millions of lives and inspired millions of others to make a difference.

00091

Over the past two decades, he and his brother, Marc—fellow WE co-founder—have grown the WE global community to engage over 4 million people in service, including 250,000 students who volunteer to earn their ticket to WE Day, the greatest celebration for social good in the world.

Their innovative social enterprise model, ME to WE, sustains the work of their charitable mission with socially conscious products and experiences. Their work has resulted in a holistic development model, WE Villages, to empower more than one million people in developing communities.

Craig is also the youngest-ever graduate of Kellogg’s Executive MBA program and has received 16 honorary doctorates and degrees for his work in education and human rights. He is a social entrepreneur, a powerful and internationally acclaimed speaker, and has authored 12 books, including his newest, WEconomy: You can find meaning, make a living, and change the world.

Today, he continues to inspire and empower people of all ages to take steps toward making a meaningful difference.

Jean LaRose

Jean La Rose is a First Nations citizen from the Abenakis First Nation of Odanak in Québec. He was raised in Ottawa where he studied Journalism at Algonquin College and obtained his Bachelor of Arts in Social Communication at the University of Ottawa/Université Saint-Paul.

Since November 2002 Jean La Rose has been the Chief Executive Officer of APTN. Since joining the network he has established it on a strong financial position for long-term growth. Mr. La Rose moved the network to a full high-definition platform, and now employs more than 150 people nationwide and provides production opportunities for over 100 Indigenous producers in Canada. He established APTN service in eastern, western and northern communities, became a founding member of the World Indigenous Television Broadcasters Network (WITBN), and as partner of 2010 Olympics led the first ever broadcast in eight different Indigenous languages, 14 hours per day.

Preparing APTN for future growth, he has developed the organization into an IP-based, multi-platform broadcaster. He has also overseen the purchase of the buildings APTN occupies in Winnipeg and the renovation of one to house the new state-of-the-art news studio. Moreover, two regional studios have been established as well as home offices for video journalists to broaden the network’s news reporting capabilities across the country.

Mr. La Rose sits on the Boards of Directors of Indspire, the National Screen Institute, Media Smarts, Mother Earth Recycling (a social enterprise located in Winnipeg). He was awarded a National Aboriginal Achievement Award (now known as Indspire Awards) for Media and Communications in 2011, and the CEO HR Champion of the Year Award from the Human Resource Management Association of Manitoba in 2015. He was also named “2016 Alumnus of the Year” by Saint-Paul University and received an Honorary Diploma in Journalism from “La Cité Collégiale” in Ottawa in 2015.

Megan Leslie

Megan began as head of World Wildlife Fund Canada in December of 2017 after nearly two years at the organization, first as a consultant on oceans governance, then as head of ocean conservation.

Before joining WWF, Megan was a Member of Parliament, representing Halifax for two terms, during which she was deputy leader of the official Opposition, environment critic and vice-chair of the government committee on environment and sustainable development.

In Ottawa, Megan introduced a motion and guided its unanimous passage to add plastic microbeads to the list of toxic substances under the Environmental Protection Act. She also worked across party lines to successfully expedite the passage of a bill to create Sable Island National Park Reserve.

Megan was raised in Kirkland Lake, Ont., where in high school she helped organize against toxic waste coming to her hometown, with placards reading “No, no. We won’t glow.”

After university and before entering politics, she was a community legal worker and presented at the 2005 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Montreal on the issue of energy poverty.

John Manley

Mr. Manley is a former Deputy Prime Minister of Canada. He was first elected to Parliament in 1988, and re-elected three times. From 1993 to 2003 he was a Minister in the governments of Jean Chrétien, serving in the portfolios of Industry, Foreign Affairs and Finance, in addition to being Deputy Prime Minister.

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Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Mr. Manley was named Chair of a Cabinet Committee on Public Security and Anti-terrorism, serving as counterpart to Governor Tom Ridge, the first U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security. In recognition of the role he played following 9/11, TIME Canada named him “2001 Newsmaker of the Year”.

After a 16-year career in politics, Mr. Manley returned to the private sector in 2004.

Since leaving government, Mr. Manley has continued to be active in public policy, as a media commentator, speaker and adviser to governments of differing political stripes.

From 2010 to 2018, he served as President and Chief Executive Officer of the Business Council of Canada. In addition Mr. Manley serves on the boards of several publicly traded companies and is active in the not-for-profit sector. He is Chair of CIBC, CIBC Bank USA and CAE.

An Officer of the Order of Canada, Mr. Manley has received honorary doctorates from Carleton University, the Universities of Ottawa, Toronto, Western Ontario, Windsor and York University.

Louise Otis

Louise Otis is an active judge, arbitrator and mediator in administrative and commercial matters. She is also Adjunct Professor at McGill University, Faculty of Law (McGill) and a Distinguished Fellow at the International Academy of Mediators ([IAM](#)), which sets the standards and qualifications of professional mediators in commercial disputes.

She is the President of the Administrative Tribunal of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development ([OECD](#)), President of the Administrative Tribunal of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie ([OIF](#)), and Deputy Judge of the European Organisation for the Exploitation of Meteorological Satellites Administrative Tribunal ([EUMETSAT](#)).

Louise Otis regularly participates in international governance and justice reform missions. At the international level, she has been involved in the reform of justice systems in different countries and international organizations.

Madame Otis worked as a lawyer between 1975 and 1990. In 1990, she was appointed a Judge to the Quebec Superior Court. Between 1993 and 2009, she was appointed a Judge at the Quebec Court of Appeal. The Quebec Court of Appeal has general appellate jurisdiction over all courts in Quebec and also performs judicial review in relation to all administrative tribunals. It is one of the two largest appellate courts in Canada, and hears matters governed both by civil and common law principles. Ms. Otis participated in over 3000 judgments in civil, commercial, administrative and criminal law.

Louise Otis instituted one of the world's first programs of integrated judicial mediation. In Quebec, all the courts and tribunals have since developed a judicial mediation program, integrated into the traditional justice system. Since 2004, at her instigation, a program of facilitation in criminal matters has also been launched in Quebec.

In 2009, Louise Otis founded the Canadian Conference for Judicial Mediation ([CCMJ](#)). In 2010, she co-founded the International Conference on Mediation for Justice ([ICMJ](#)). Since 1997, Louise Otis has conducted over 700 mediation sessions in civil and commercial matters and since 2009, she has presided over 50 arbitrations also in civil and commercial matters.

In 2017, Louise Otis was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Ottawa in recognition of her extraordinary contribution in the field of Justice.

In 2007, Louise Otis was appointed by the United Nations ([UN](#)) Secretary-General Kofi Annan, to a 5-member panel of independent international experts, in charge of redesigning the United Nations system of administration of justice. In 2008, the recommendations of the experts were approved by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

She has been mandated by the Government of Canada to establish strategic priorities for the development of the Rule of Law in Mali. She participated in linkage projects with China, Russia and Haiti.

She has created and facilitated intensive training courses in different countries. These courses focus on developing skills in dispute resolution, mediation, communication, especially how to overcome impasses in difficult and complex conflicts.

Louise Otis has spoken on Dispute Resolution Mechanisms at: the Council of Europe, the Harvard University Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the International Academy of Mediators, the American Bar Association, Section of Dispute Resolution, the Masters' Forum of Mediators at Pepperdine University, the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, the European Conference of Judges, the Brazilian Judicial institutions and various other national courts and tribunals.

This is Exhibit "5" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Shaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**

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PC Number: 2018-1322

Date: 2018-10-29

Whereas leaders' debates are an essential contribution to the health of Canadian democracy and are in the public interest;

Whereas it is desirable that leaders' debates reach all Canadians, including those with disabilities, those living in remote areas and those living in official language minority communities;

Whereas it is desirable that leaders' debates be effective, informative and compelling and benefit from the participation of the leaders who have the greatest likelihood of becoming Prime Minister or whose political parties have the greatest likelihood of winning seats in Parliament;

Whereas it is desirable that leaders' debates be organized using clear, open and transparent participation criteria;

Whereas it is desirable that there be a commissioner who is responsible for the organization of leaders' debates;

Whereas it is desirable that the commissioner responsible for leaders' debates have the benefit of the advice of an advisory board;

And whereas it is in the public interest that the Leaders' Debates Commission be established without delay;

Therefore, Her Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, establishes the Leaders' Debates Commission, in accordance with the annexed schedule.

Attendu que les débats des chefs contribuent de façon essentielle à la santé de la démocratie canadienne et qu'ils sont dans l'intérêt public;

Attendu qu'il est souhaitable que les débats des chefs rejoignent tous les Canadiens, y compris ceux qui vivent avec un handicap, ceux qui vivent dans des régions éloignées et ceux qui font partie de communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire;

Attendu qu'il est souhaitable que les débats des chefs soient efficaces et informatifs, qu'ils suscitent l'intérêt et qu'ils profitent de la participation des chefs qui sont les plus à même de devenir premier ministre ou dont le parti politique est le plus à même de remporter des sièges au Parlement;

Attendu qu'il est souhaitable que les débats des chefs soient organisés selon des critères de participation clairs, ouverts et transparents;

Attendu qu'il est souhaitable qu'un commissaire soit chargé de l'organisation des débats des chefs;

Attendu qu'il est souhaitable que le commissaire chargé des débats des chefs bénéficie des conseils d'un comité consultatif;

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Attendu qu'il est dans l'intérêt public que la Commission des débats des chefs soit créée sans délai,

À ces causes, sur recommandation du premier ministre, Son Excellence la Gouverneure générale en conseil crée la Commission des débats des chefs, conformément à l'annexe ci-jointe.

SCHEDULE

LEADERS' DEBATES COMMISSION

Commission

1 There is established a commission, to be known as the Leaders' Debates Commission, consisting of the Debates Commissioner, the Advisory Board and the Secretariat.

2 The mandate of the Leaders' Debates Commission is to

(a) organize one leaders' debate in each official language during each general election period;

(b) ensure that the leader of each political party that meets two of the following criteria is invited to participate in the leaders' debates:

- (i)** at the time the general election in question is called, the party is represented in the House of Commons by a Member of Parliament who was elected as a member of that party,
- (ii)** the Debates Commissioner considers that the party intends to endorse candidates in at least 90% of electoral districts in the general election in question,
- (iii)** the party's candidates for the most recent general election received at that election at least 4% of the number of valid votes cast or, based on the recent political context, public opinion polls and previous general election results, the Debates Commissioner considers that candidates endorsed by the party have a legitimate chance to be elected in the general election in question;
- (c)** ensure that the leaders' debates are broadcast and otherwise made available in an accessible way to persons with disabilities;
- (d)** ensure that the leaders' debates reach as many Canadians as possible, including those living in remote areas and those living in official language minority communities, through a variety of media and other fora;
- (e)** ensure that the leaders' debates are broadcast free of charge, whether or not the broadcast is live;

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(f) ensure that any reproduction of the leaders' debates is subject to only the terms and conditions that are necessary to preserve the integrity of the debates;

(g) ensure that high journalistic standards are maintained for the leaders' debates;

(h) undertake an awareness raising campaign and outreach activities to ensure that Canadians know when, where and how to access the leaders' debates; and

(i) provide advice and support in respect of other political debates related to the general election, including candidates' debates, as the Debates Commissioner considers appropriate.

3 The Leaders' Debates Commission is to

(a) conduct any necessary research or rely on any applicable research to ensure that the leaders' debates are of high quality;

(b) develop and manage constructive relationships with key opinion leaders and stakeholders;

(c) conduct its activities in a manner that does not preclude other organizations from producing or organizing leaders' debates or other political debates;

(d) ensure that the decisions regarding the organization of the leaders' debates, including those respecting participation criteria, are made publicly available in a timely manner;

(e) ensure that the leaders' responses to the invitations to participate in the leaders' debates are made publicly available before and during the debates; and

(f) conduct an evidence-based assessment of the leaders' debates that it has organized, including with respect to the number of persons to whom the debates were accessible, the number of persons who actually accessed them and the knowledge of Canadians of political parties, their leaders and their positions.

4 In fulfilling its mandate, the Leaders' Debates Commission is to be guided by the pursuit of the public interest and by the principles of independence, impartiality, credibility, democratic citizenship, civic education, inclusion and cost-effectiveness.

5 (1) The Leaders' Debates Commission is an agent of Her Majesty and, in that capacity, may enter into contracts or agreements with third parties in fulfilling its mandate.

(2) The Leaders' Debates Commission is to ensure that calls for proposals regarding the production of the leaders' debates identify clear criteria by which proposals will be evaluated, including the presentation of strategies to

- (a)** maximize the reach of the leaders' debates and engagement with Canadians, including those who may face barriers to voting;
- (b)** create momentum for and awareness of the leaders' debates before the debates take place and to sustain engagement of Canadians after the debates take place;
- (c)** make the leaders' debates more accessible to Canadians with disabilities, those living in remote areas and those living in official language minority communities; and
- (d)** ensure that the leaders' debates are reflective of high production and journalistic standards, while ensuring brand neutrality.

Debates

Commissioner

- 6 (1)** The Debates Commissioner is the director of the Leaders' Debates Commission and, in that capacity, conducts the ordinary business of the Commission and is responsible for the appointment of the members of the Secretariat.
- (2)** The Debates Commissioner is appointed to hold office during good behaviour, on a part-time basis, subject to removal for cause.

(3) The Debates Commissioner is to consider and apply as far as possible the advice provided by the Advisory Board, to ensure that the organization of the leaders' debates benefits from the expertise and experience of the members of the Advisory Board and that the leaders' debates reflect the public interest.

Advisory Board

7 The mandate of the Advisory Board is to advise the Debates Commissioner to allow the Debates Commissioner to fulfil his or her mandate.

8 (1) The members of the Advisory Board are appointed by the Debates Commissioner to hold office on a part-time basis.

(2) The Advisory Board is to be composed of seven members, and its composition is to be reflective of gender balance and Canadian diversity and is to represent a range of political affiliations and expertise.

9 (1) The Advisory Board is to meet at least four times in the period of one year before a general election and at least two times in the period of five months after a general election.

(2) The meetings of the Advisory Board are to be chaired by the Debates Commissioner.

Report

10 (1) The Leaders' Debates Commission is to provide to the Minister of Democratic Institutions, no later than five months after the day on which a general election is held, a report in both official languages that

(a) presents an in-depth analysis of the Leaders' Debates Commission's experience in organizing leaders' debates for the general election in question; and

(b) provides thorough advice with regard to the future of the Leaders' Debates Commission, recommendations regarding the scope of the Commission's mandate and a detailed rationale for those recommendations, as well as a discussion of key considerations, including operation in the full range of electoral contexts such as minority governments, and ways to encourage leaders' participation in the leaders' debates.

(2) The Minister of Democratic Institutions is to table the report in Parliament.

ANNEXE

COMMISSION DES DÉBATS DES
CHEFS

Commission

1 Est constituée la Commission des débats des chefs, composée du commissaire aux débats, du comité consultatif et du secrétariat.

2 Le mandat de la Commission est :

a) d'organiser un débat des chefs dans chaque langue officielle au cours de chaque période électorale d'une élection générale;

b) de veiller à ce que le chef de chaque parti politique qui répond à deux des critères ci-après soit invité à participer aux débats des chefs :

(i) au moment où l'élection générale en cause est déclenchée, le parti est représenté à la Chambre des communes par un député ayant été élu à titre de membre de ce parti,

(ii) il a l'intention, de l'avis du commissaire aux débats, de soutenir des candidats dans au moins quatre-vingt-dix pour cent des circonscriptions en vue de l'élection générale en cause,

(iii) ses candidats ont obtenu, lors de l'élection générale précédente, au moins quatre pour cent du nombre de votes validement exprimés ou les candidats qu'il soutient ont une véritable possibilité d'être élus lors de l'élection générale en cause, de l'avis du commissaire aux débats, compte tenu du contexte politique récent, des sondages d'opinion publique et des résultats obtenus aux élections générales précédentes;

c) de veiller à ce que les débats des chefs soient diffusés et autrement rendus disponibles, de manière accessible, aux personnes handicapées;

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d) de veiller à ce que les débats des chefs rejoignent le plus grand nombre possible de Canadiens, y compris ceux qui vivent dans des régions éloignées et ceux qui font partie de communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire, au moyen d'un éventail de médias et d'autres tribunes;

e) de veiller à ce que les débats des chefs soient diffusés gratuitement, que la diffusion soit en direct ou non;

f) de veiller à ce que la reproduction des débats des chefs soit uniquement assujettie aux conditions qui sont nécessaires pour en préserver l'intégrité;

g) de veiller à ce que des normes journalistiques élevées soient appliquées lors des débats des chefs;

h) de mener une campagne et des activités de sensibilisation pour que les Canadiens sachent quand, où et comment avoir accès aux débats des chefs;

i) d'offrir des conseils et du soutien dans le cadre d'autres débats politiques liés à l'élection générale, notamment les débats de candidats, lorsque le commissaire aux débats le juge indiqué.

3 La Commission :

a) effectue les recherches nécessaires ou s'appuie sur des recherches existantes, le cas échéant, pour que les débats des chefs soient de qualité élevée;

b) établit et maintient des relations constructives avec des leaders d'opinion et des intervenants clés;

00105

c) exerce ses activités de manière à ne pas empêcher d'autres organismes de produire ou d'organiser des débats des chefs ou d'autres débats politiques;

d) veille à ce que les décisions concernant l'organisation des débats des chefs, y compris celles portant sur les critères de participation, soient rendues publiques rapidement;

e) veille à ce que les réponses des chefs aux invitations de participer aux débats soient rendues publiques avant et pendant les débats;

f) évalue les débats qu'elle a organisés, en se fondant sur des données probantes, notamment le nombre de personnes à qui les débats étaient accessibles et le nombre de personnes qui y ont effectivement eu accès, ainsi que les connaissances des Canadiens au sujet des partis politiques, de leurs chefs et de leurs positions.

4 Dans l'accomplissement de son mandat, la Commission est guidée par la poursuite de l'intérêt public et par les principes de l'indépendance, de l'impartialité, de la crédibilité, de la citoyenneté démocratique, de l'éducation civique, de l'inclusion et de l'efficacité financière.

5 (1) La Commission est mandataire de Sa Majesté et, à ce titre, elle peut conclure des marchés ou des ententes avec des tiers pour l'accomplissement de son mandat.

(2) La Commission veille à ce que les demandes de propositions pour la production des débats des chefs fassent état des critères précis selon lesquels les propositions seront évaluées, notamment la présentation de stratégies visant à :

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- a)** augmenter autant que possible la portée des débats et la mobilisation des Canadiens, y compris ceux qui pourraient devoir composer avec des obstacles pour voter;
- b)** générer un effet d'entraînement en vue des débats des chefs, sensibiliser les Canadiens aux débats avant leur tenue et maintenir leur mobilisation par la suite;
- c)** améliorer l'accessibilité des débats des chefs aux Canadiens qui vivent avec un handicap, ceux qui vivent dans des régions éloignées et ceux qui font partie de communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire;
- d)** veiller à ce que les débats des chefs répondent à des normes élevées en matière de production et de journalisme et à ce que la neutralité quant à l'utilisation des marques soit respectée.

Commissaire aux débats

6 (1) Le commissaire aux débats est le directeur de la Commission et, à ce titre, il en dirige les affaires courantes et est responsable de l'embauche du personnel du secrétariat.

(2) Le commissaire aux débats est nommé à titre inamovible, sauf révocation motivée, et il exerce sa charge à temps partiel.

(3) Le commissaire aux débats tient compte des conseils fournis par le comité consultatif et, autant que faire se peut, les applique de telle sorte que l'organisation des débats des chefs bénéficie de l'expertise et de l'expérience des membres du comité et que les débats reflètent l'intérêt public.

Comité consultatif

7 Le mandat du comité consultatif est de conseiller le commissaire aux débats dans l'accomplissement de son mandat.

8 (1) Les membres du comité consultatif sont nommés par le commissaire aux débats et ils exercent leur charge à temps partiel.

(2) Le comité consultatif est composé de sept membres et sa composition reflète la parité entre les sexes et la diversité de la population canadienne et représente un éventail d'allégeances politiques et d'expertises.

9 (1) Le comité consultatif se réunit au moins quatre fois durant la période d'un an précédant l'élection générale et au moins deux fois durant la période de cinq mois suivant celle-ci.

(2) Les réunions du comité consultatif sont présidées par le commissaire aux débats.

Rapport

10 (1) La Commission présente au ministre des Institutions démocratiques, au plus tard cinq mois après la date à laquelle l'élection générale a eu lieu, un rapport dans les deux langues officielles, qui comprend :

a) une analyse approfondie de l'expérience de la Commission sur l'organisation des débats dans le cadre de l'élection générale en cause;

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b) des conseils détaillés sur l’avenir de la Commission, des recommandations sur la portée du mandat de la Commission — lesquelles sont accompagnées d’une justification détaillée — ainsi qu’une discussion sur les principaux facteurs à prendre en considération, notamment ses activités dans le cadre de tous les contextes électoraux, par exemple en présence d’un gouvernement minoritaire, et sur les moyens à utiliser pour encourager la participation des chefs aux débats.

(2) Le ministre des Institutions démocratiques dépose le rapport devant le Parlement.

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Date modified: 2017-04-31

This is Exhibit "6" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

Shaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022

00110

Leaders' Debates Commission names debates producer Français

OTTAWA, July 31, 2019 /CNW/ - Today, Commissioner David Johnston announces the Canadian Debate Production Partnership (CDPP) as the official producer for the federal leaders' debates in October 2019. The CDPP will promote, produce and distribute the French and English leaders' debates. The debates will be:

- Free to access and distribute: Anyone can broadcast it, for free. Anyone can stream it, for free. Anyone can host a live viewing party, for free
- Widely distributed on television, radio, digital and social streaming platforms to ensure access to a broad cross-section of Canadians across the country, on the platform of their choice
- Available in ASL, LSQ, closed captioning and described video
- Available in English, French, some Indigenous languages and non-official languages
- Produced by a large partnership with strong values of public service journalism, integrity and production quality

The CDPP comprises a group of partners who are able to offer the highest-quality journalism on television, radio, print and digital platforms. Together, the partnership brings a rich history of presenting high-quality, national-level event television, and innovative new methods to reach Canadians via platforms they choose. The CDPP includes:

- CBC News
- Radio-Canada
- Global News
- CTV News
- Toronto Star and Torstar chain
- HuffPost Canada and HuffPost Québec
- La Presse
- Le Devoir
- L'Actualité

00111

The debates will take place the second week of October, 2019. They will be held in the Ottawa/Gatineau area.

QUOTES

"Debates play an essential role in our democracy and we are delighted to have the experience of the CDPP to help deliver high quality, informative, transparent debates to Canadians. The CDPP is able to reach a large number of Canadians, across the country, on a variety of platforms. We respect their experience delivering quality political journalism, their rich history producing engaging and informative journalism and their journalistic integrity." – Commissioner David Johnston

"Our news organizations are focused on informing and engaging Canadians in their communities, country and world. An election is an important event in our democracy and the leaders' debates are important moments in election campaigns. As we create these debates, we will use the editorial and production expertise of our collective organizations to make sure Canadian interests are well-represented and access is available across all platforms: television, radio and online. In the Fall, we will have more to say about the debate format after we have conducted meetings with the political parties. We thank the Debate Commission for this mandate." – Jennifer McGuire, CDPP

ABOUT THE LEADERS' DEBATES COMMISSION

The core of the Leaders' Debates Commission mandate is twofold. First, organize two leaders' debates for the 2019 Federal General Election—one in each official language. Second, prepare a report to Parliament, following the 2019 debates, outlining findings, lessons learned, and recommendations for the future of the Leaders' Debates Commission.

SOURCE Leaders' Debates Commission

For further information: Contact for media only: Jill Clark, Senior Communications Advisor, Leaders' Debates Commission, (613) 943-5766, jill.clark@debates-debats.ca

This is Exhibit "7" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.

A Commissioner, etc.

**Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
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Expires June 20, 2022**

Media advisory: Media registration opens for the Federal Leaders' Debates 2019 Français

OTTAWA, Sept. 23, 2019 /CNW/ - The Canadian Debates Production Partnership's federal leaders' debates will take place on Monday October 7 (English debate) and Thursday October 10 (French debate), both at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Québec.

Leaders of the following parties have been invited to participate in the debates:

- Bloc Québécois
- Conservative Party of Canada
- Green Party of Canada
- Liberal Party of Canada
- New Democratic Party
- People's Party of Canada

Media representatives who wish to cover the debates **must apply for accreditation** using the Government of Canada accreditation portal: <https://accreditationcanada.gc.ca/ldc-cdc/>. The online portal is now open and will close on October 4, 2019, at 11:59 p.m. EDT.

Pick-up of media accreditation badges

Media representatives who have been approved for accreditation will be provided instructions through email on when and where to pick up their badges.

Note that accreditation badges must be worn by media at all times during the event. If your badge is lost or stolen, you must immediately inform the Accreditation Office.

Media centre services

Accredited media representatives will have access to a filing room equipped with power and Internet access. No printing services will be available for media.

Further information for the media will be made available soon.

SOURCE Leaders' Debates Commission

For further information: Leaders' Debates Commission, Jill Clark, Senior Communications Advisor, (613) 943-5766, jill.clark@debates-debats.ca; For questions on the accreditation process only: Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery Secretariat, Collin Lafrance, Collin.lafrance@parl.gc.ca, 613 290 8891

This is Exhibit "8" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.


A Commissioner, etc.

✓ Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
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Guiding principle for accreditation of media organizations and journalists at the leaders' debates

Leaders' Debates Commission

October 3 2019

The Commission's role

The Leaders' Commission has agreed, after discussion with the CDPP, the media group that produces the debates, to be responsible for the accreditation of journalists and media organizations that will cover the debates.

In doing so, the Commission has turned to two institutions with experience in this type of event: the Summit Management Office of Global Affairs, which is tasked with managing the accreditation process and the Parliamentary Press Gallery, which provide logistical advice on participation guidelines and logistical issues.

Ultimate decision-making in the accreditation rests with the Commission.

Principles and guidelines

The Commission has received a considerable number of accreditation requests, around 200 for the English debate and 150 for the French debate. These represent a various types of media.

In its consideration of these accreditation requests, the Commission has produced the following statement of principle, in consultation with the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Press Gallery:

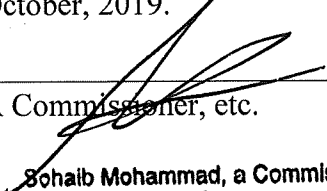
Journalistic independence is fundamental to the Commission. In order to protect this independence, the Commission has asked the Parliamentary Press Gallery Secretariat to be involved in media accreditation and to provide support and guiding principles. The Commission respects and maintains that accreditation will be granted to recognized professional media organizations.

This statement establishes clearly that the Commission will accredit journalists and media organizations that respect the recognized norms of independent journalism. It precludes media organizations that engage in advocacy and political activism.

Communication decisions

In communicating its decision to journalists or media organizations that will not be admitted to the debates, the Commission, in keeping with its mandate of transparency, will explain its reasoning clearly.

This is Exhibit "9" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**



ETHICS GUIDELINES

Submitted by the CAJ Ethics Advisory Committee, June 2011

PREAMBLE

This document – along with the accompanying “Principles for Ethical Journalism” – is intended to help both seasoned professionals and new journalists to hold themselves accountable for professional work. While many specific questions are considered here, it is impossible to capture all potential scenarios in a document such as this. Instead, it seeks to provide examples of the application of our general ethical principles, and to help journalists apply those principles and their best judgment when faced with scenarios not covered here. Updates will be issued periodically as new issues come under consideration by the association’s Ethics Advisory Committee; suggestions for additions or amendments should be directed to the committee chair or the CAJ president.

ACCURACY

- We are disciplined in our efforts to verify all facts. Accuracy is the moral imperative of journalists and news organizations, and should not be compromised, even by pressing deadlines of the 24-hour news cycle.
- We make every effort to verify the identities and backgrounds of our sources.
- We seek documentation to support the reliability of those sources and their stories, and we are careful to distinguish between assertions and fact. The onus is on us to verify all information, even when it emerges on deadline.
- We make sure to retain the original context of all quotations or clips, striving to convey the original tone. Our reporting and editing will not change the meaning of a statement or exclude important qualifiers.
- There is no copyright on news or ideas once a story is in the public domain, but if we can’t match the story, we credit the originating source.
- While news and ideas are there for the taking, the words used to convey them are not. If we borrow a story or even a paragraph from another source we either credit the source or rewrite it before publication or broadcast. Using another’s analysis or interpretation may constitute plagiarism, even if the words are rewritten, unless it is attributed.
- When we make a mistake, whether in fact or in context, and regardless of the platform, we correct* it promptly and in a transparent manner, acknowledging the nature of the error.
- We publish or broadcast all corrections, clarifications or apologies in a consistent way.
- We generally do not “unpublish” or remove digital content, despite public requests, or “source remorse.” Rare exceptions generally involve matters of public safety, an egregious error or ethical violation, or legal restrictions** such as publication bans.

FAIRNESS

- We respect the rights of people involved in the news.
- We give people, companies or organizations that are publicly accused or criticized opportunity to respond before we publish those criticisms or accusations. We make a genuine and reasonable effort to contact them, and if they decline to comment, we say so.
- We do not refer to a person's race, colour, religion, sexual orientation, gender self-identification or physical ability unless it is pertinent to the story.
- We avoid stereotypes of race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status. And we take particular care in crime stories.
- We take special care when reporting on children or those who are otherwise unable to give consent to be interviewed. While some minors, such as athletes, may be used to being interviewed, others might have little understanding of the implications of talking to the media. So when unsure, or when dealing with particularly sensitive subjects, we err on the side of seeking parental consent. Likewise, we take special care when using any material posted to social media by minors, as they may not understand the public nature of their postings.
- We do not allow our own biases to impede fair and accurate reporting.
- We respect each person's right to a fair trial.
- We do not pay for information, although we may compensate those who provide material such as photos or videos. We sometimes also employ experts to provide professional expertise, and pay for embedded activities. We are careful to note any such payments in our stories. (See TRANSPARENCY, below).
- It is becoming common to be asked for payments in foreign countries, whether it's for guides, to make connections, or to help a source travel to meet reporters. But it's important to question the subject's motives in such cases, and to be transparent in telling audiences what occurred (See TRANSPARENCY, below).

Right To Privacy

- The public has a right to know about its institutions and the people who are elected or hired to serve its interests. People also have a right to privacy, and those accused of crimes have a right to a fair trial.
- However, there are inevitable conflicts between the right to privacy, and the rights of all citizens to be informed about matters of public interest. Each situation should be judged in light of common sense, humanity and relevance.
- We do not manipulate people who are thrust into the spotlight because they are victims of crime or are associated with a tragedy. Nor do we do voyeuristic stories about them. When we contact them, we are sensitive to their situations, and report only information in which the public has a legitimate interest.
- Journalists are increasingly using social networking sites to access information about people and organizations. When individuals post and publish information about themselves on these sites, this information generally becomes public, and can be used. However, journalists should not use subterfuge to gain access to information intended to be private. In addition, even when such information is public, we must rigorously apply ethical considerations including independent confirmation and transparency in identifying the source of information. (See DIGITAL MEDIA, below.)

INDEPENDENCE

- We serve democracy and the public interest by reporting the truth. This sometimes conflicts with various public and private interests, including those of sources, governments, advertisers and, on occasion, with our duty and obligation to an employer.
- Defending the public's interest includes promoting the free flow of information, exposing crime or wrongdoing, protecting public health and safety, and preventing the public from being misled.
- We do not give favoured treatment to advertisers and special interests. We resist their efforts to influence the news.
- We pay our own way whenever possible. However, not all journalists or organizations have the means to do so. So if another organization pays our expenses to an event that we are writing about we say so, and this includes when covering industries such as travel, automotive, the military and foreign trade (See TRANSPARENCY, below). (There are some generally understood exceptions; for instance, it is common practice to accept reviewers' tickets for film previews, concerts, lectures and theatrical performances.)
- We do not solicit gifts or favours for personal use, and should promptly return unsolicited gifts of more than nominal value. If it is impractical to return the gift, we will give it to an appropriate charity.
- We do not accept the free or reduced-rate use of valuable goods or services offered because of our position. However, it may be appropriate to use a product for a short time to test or evaluate it. (A common exception is unsolicited books, music, food, or other new products sent for review.)
- We generally do not accept payment for speaking to groups we report on or comment on.
- We do not report about subjects in which we have financial or other interests, and we do not use our positions to obtain business or other advantages not available to the general public.
- We do not show our completed reports to sources – especially official sources – before they are published or broadcast, unless the practice is intended to verify facts. Doing so might invite prior restraint and challenge our independence as reporters.
- We gather information with the intent of producing stories and images for public consumption. We generally do not share unpublished information – such as notes and audio tapes of interviews, documents, emails, digital files, photos and video – with those outside of the media organizations for which we work. However, sometimes such sharing may be necessary to check facts, gain the confidence of sources or solicit more information.
- Columnists and commentators should be free to express their views, even when those views conflict with those of their organizations, as long as the content meets generally accepted journalistic standards for fairness and accuracy-

Conflict of interest

- As fair and impartial observers, we must be free to comment on the activities of any publicly elected body or special interest group. But we cannot do this without an apparent conflict of interest if we are active members of an organization we are covering, and that includes membership through social media.
- We lose our credibility as fair observers if we write opinion pieces about subjects we also cover as reporters.

- Editorial boards and columnists or commentators endorse political candidates or political causes. Reporters do not.
- We carefully consider our political activities and community involvements – including those online – and refrain from taking part in demonstrations, signing petitions, doing public relations work, fundraising or making financial contributions if there is a chance we will be covering the campaign, activity or group involved.
- If a journalist does choose to engage in outside political activity or espouse a particular political viewpoint, this activity could create a public perception of bias, or favouritism that would reflect on the journalist’s work. Any journalist who engages in such activities – including running for office – should publicly declare any real or potential conflicts.
- Our private lives online present special challenges. For example, the only way to subscribe to some publications or social networking groups is to become a member. Having a non-journalist subscribe on your behalf would be one solution, as would be joining a wide variety of Facebook groups so you would not be seen as favouring one particular constituency. (See DIGITAL MEDIA, below.)

TRANSPARENCY

- We generally declare ourselves as journalists and do not conceal our identities, including when seeking information through social media. However, journalists may go undercover when it is in the public interest and the information is not obtainable any other way; in such cases, we openly explain this deception to the audience.
- We normally identify sources of information. But we may use unnamed sources when there is a clear and pressing reason to protect anonymity, the material gained from the confidential source is of strong public interest, and there is no other reasonable way to obtain the information. When this happens, we explain the need for anonymity.
- We avoid pseudonyms, but when their use is essential, and we meet the tests above, we tell our readers, listeners or viewers.
- When we do use unnamed sources, we identify them as accurately as possible by affiliation or status. (For example, a “senior military source” must be both senior and in the military.) Any vested interest or potential bias on the part of a source must be revealed.
- We independently corroborate facts if we get them from a source we do not name.
- We do not allow anonymous sources to take cheap shots at individuals or organizations. (See FAIRNESS, above.)
- If we borrow material from another source we are careful to credit the original source. (See ACCURACY, above.)
- We admit openly when we have made a mistake, and we make every effort to correct* our errors immediately.
- We disclose to our audiences any biases that could be perceived to influence our reporting. (See CONFLICT OF INTEREST, above.)
- We openly tell our audiences when another organization pays our expenses, or conversely, when we have made payments for information.

PROMISES TO SOURCES

- We only promise anonymity when the material is of high public interest and it cannot be obtained any other way. (See TRANSPARENCY, above.) And when we make these promises to sources, we keep them.
- Because we may be ordered by a court** or judicial inquiry to divulge confidential sources upon threat of jail, we must understand what we are promising. These promises – and the lengths we’re willing to go to keep them – should be clearly spelled out as part of our promise. The following phrases, if properly explained, may be helpful:
 - **Not for attribution:** We may quote statements directly but the source may not be named, although a general description of his or her position may be given (“a government official,” or “a party insider”). In TV, video or radio, the identity may be shielded by changing the voice or appearance.
 - **On background:** We may use the essence of statements and generally describe the source, but we may not use direct quotes.
 - **Off the record:** We may not report the information, which can be used solely to help our own understanding or perspective. There is not much point in knowing something if it can’t be reported, so this undertaking should be used sparingly, if at all.
- When we are not willing to go to jail to protect a source, we say so before making the promise. And we make it clear that the deal is off if the source lies or misleads us.

DIVERSITY

- News organizations – including newspapers, websites, magazines, radio and television – provide forums for the free interchange of information and opinion. As such, we seek to include views from all segments of the population.
- We also encourage our organizations to make room for the interests of all: minorities and majorities, those with power and those without it, holders of disparate and conflicting views.
- We avoid stereotypes, and don’t refer to a person’s race, colour, religion, sexual orientation, gender self-identification or physical ability unless it is pertinent to the story. (See FAIRNESS, above.)

ACCOUNTABILITY

- We are accountable to the public for the fairness and reliability of our reporting.
- We serve the public interest, and put the needs of our audience – readers, listeners or viewers – at the forefront of our newsgathering decisions.
- We clearly identify news and opinion so that the audience knows which is which.
- We don’t mislead the public by suggesting a reporter is some place that he or she isn’t.
- Photojournalists and videographers do not alter images or sound so that they mislead the public. When we do alter or stage images, we label them clearly (as a photo illustration or a staged video, for example).
- We use care when reporting on medical studies, polls and surveys, and we are especially suspect of studies commissioned by those with a vested interest, such as drug companies, special interest groups or politically sponsored think tanks. We

make sure we know the context of the results, such as sample size and population, questions asked, and study sponsors, and we include this information in our reports whenever possible.

- When we make a mistake, we correct* it promptly and transparently, acknowledging the nature of the error. (See ACCURACY, above.)

DIGITAL MEDIA: SPECIAL ISSUES

- Ethical practice does not change with the medium. We are bound by the above principles no matter where our stories are published or broadcast.
- We consider all online content carefully, including blogging, and content posted to social media. We do not re-post rumours. (See ACCURACY, above.)
- The need for speed should never compromise accuracy, credibility or fairness. Online content should be reported ~~and edited~~ as carefully as print content, and when possible, subjected to full editing.
- We clearly inform sources when stories about them will be published across various media, and we indicate the permanency of digital media.
- When we publish outside links, we make an effort to ensure the sites are credible; in other words, we think before we link.
- When we correct* errors online, we indicate that the content has been altered or updated, and what the original error was. (See ACCURACY, above.)
- So long as the content is accurate, we generally do not “unpublish” or remove digital content, despite public requests to do so, including cases of “source remorse.” Rare exceptions generally involve matters of public safety, an egregious error or ethical violation, or legal restrictions** such as publication bans.
- We try to obtain permission whenever possible to use online photos and videos, and we always credit the source of the material, by naming the author and where the photo or video was previously posted. We use these photos and videos for news and public interest purposes only, and not to serve voyeuristic interests.
- We encourage the use of social networks as it is one way to make connections, which is part of our core work as journalists. However, we keep in mind that any information gathered through online means must be confirmed, verified and properly sourced.
- Personal online activity, including emails and social networking, should generally be regarded as public and not private. Such activity can impact our professional credibility. As such, we think carefully before we post, and we take special caution in declaring our political leanings online. (See CONFLICT OF INTEREST, above.)

**Note: The CAJ ethics committee is currently at work on guidelines for online corrections.*

***Note: For more information on legal implications on journalism practice see [the Canadian Journalism Project's law page at J-Source.ca](#).*

This is Exhibit "10" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

Sohalb Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022



About Our Team

True North Centre for Public Policy (True North Centre) is a registered Canadian charity, independent and non-partisan. We conduct policy research on immigration and integration issues and provide timely investigative journalism on issues that affect Canada's national security.

The True North Initiative is a not-for-profit advocacy organization that raises awareness around immigration and integration issues and advances Western democratic values.

Together, these organizations form True North Canada.

True North's Research and Journalism Fellows

Candice Malcolm: Author of the best-selling books, *Generation Screwed* and *Losing True North*, Candice is a nationally-syndicated columnist for

00127

the Toronto Sun. Candice knows how the deck is stacked against common-sense policies in Ottawa, as she has seen first-hand dozens of organizations pressuring the Canadian government towards irresponsible immigration policies. Candice is the Executive Director of the True North as an organization that would promote sound immigration policy, Canadian interests and the rule of law.

Anthony Furey: Author of “Pulse Attack The Real Story Behind the Secret Weapon that Can Destroy North America”, Anthony Furey is a national columnist for the Sun newspapers chain in Canada.

He’s also written for TIME, NY Daily News, Literary Review of Canada and other publications. He regularly appears on talk radio and has been featured on BBC, Fox News Channel and other channels.

Raheel Raza: Author of “Their Jihad... Not My Jihad”, Raheel Raza is a public speaker, Consultant for Interfaith and Intercultural diversity, documentary film maker, freelance journalist and founder of SAMA’ (Sacred Arts ad Music Alliance). She was appointed to and served three years on The Public Service Committee for Ontario College of Teachers.

Danny Eisen: Danny Eisen is a Toronto-based consultant and the cofounder of the Canadian Coalition Against Terror (C-CAT). C-CAT led the campaign for the passage of the Justice for Victims of Terrorism Act (JVTA), which was passed into law by Parliament in 2012. C-CAT also led the successful campaign in Canada to have 9/11 declared a National Day of Service.

Andrew Lawton: Andrew Lawton is a Canadian broadcaster and columnist, and serves as a journalism fellow at True North. He writes a weekly column

00128

for Loonie Politics and contributes monthly to The Interim. Most recently, he hosted the Andrew Lawton Show on 980 CFPL in London, and wrote a national column for Global News analyzing politics and culture, often with a focus on freedom of speech, limited government and combatting radicalism. His written work has been published across the world, including in the Washington Post, the National Post, the Toronto Sun, and the Edmonton Sun. Andrew has appeared as a commentator on CBC, CTV, TVO, CTS, and BBC World. Andrew ran as a Progressive Conservative candidate in Ontario's 2018 provincial election.

Leo Knight is a former Canadian police officer, security expert and media commentator. He is an expert on issues relating to crime and justice and the founder of www.primetimecrime.com.

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Expires June 20, 2022**

Stop the government from policing the internet!



As you're aware, True North relies heavily on social media platforms to get our news out to Canadians.

However, the Canadian government is pushing for social media censorship of "fake news".

Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale said the Trudeau government is looking "very, very carefully" at forcing social media companies to censor "toxic communications" on their platforms.

But what exactly is the government's definition of "toxic communications" or "fake news"?

Trudeau's Democratic Institutions Minister has even threatened to shut down social media companies during the election.

00131
Trudeau and his ministers have repeatedly made public statements about “protecting” democracy by censoring fake news on the internet.

Trudeau’s environment Minister, Catherine McKenna, once referred to True North’s Candice Malcolm’s reporting as “fake news”:



Catherine McKenna  

@cathmckenna

Unbelievable. Conservatives calling a price on pollution as the fight of their lives. How about join Canadians and fight for clean innovation & a healthy planet for our kids! And stop with the fake news. No tax grab. All money will stay in the province where it's collected!

2:31 PM - 15 Feb 2018

The Liberals have already announced \$7 million to educate Canadians on what to think when consuming news.

Could news outlets and organizations critical of the government, such as True North, be targeted for censorship on social media?

Social media companies already have meticulous processes to identify and remove extremist content and false reporting.

The government should NOT police the internet.

SIGN THE PETITION IF YOU AGREE:

Will you sign?

First Name

Last Name

00132

Email

Add signature

© True North Initiative 2019

This is Exhibit "12" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.

A Commissioner, etc.

Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
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Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022

Call on Conservative Premiers to oppose the carbon tax!



The carbon tax is a devastating tax grab that does nothing for the environment.

The federal government is punishing Canadians for driving their kids to hockey practice and heating their homes.

This is exactly why the Ford government in Ontario is taking Justin Trudeau's carbon tax to court.

Saskatchewan Premier Scott Moe, Alberta Premier Jason Kenney, New Brunswick Premier Blaine Higgs and Manitoba Premier Brian Pallister plan on siding with the Ontario government in this court case against Trudeau's carbon tax.

But what about the other conservative premiers in Canada?

PEI just elected Progressive Conservative Dennis King, and he immediately indicated that he wasn't going to fight the carbon tax in court.

00135,
Quebec's Premier François Legault has been suspiciously quiet on this issue.

Despite the cries from activists and leftist politicians, it's clear Canadians oppose this devastating tax grab.

It's time for conservative leaders in Canada to stand in unity against the federal carbon tax!

SIGN IF YOU AGREE:

78 signatures

Will you sign?

First Name

Last Name

Email

Address (Street, City, State, Postal code)

Country

This is Exhibit "13" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.

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Expires June 20, 2022

00137



True North
@truenorthcentre

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Andrew Lawton



Candice Malcolm



Anthony Furey

NEW VIDEO EVERY DAY!



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CONTACT INFO

m.me/truenorthcentre

<https://tnc.news>

MORE INFO

About

A group of concerned citizens standing up for sound immigration and security policies.

- The True North Initiative is an independent, non-profit research and educational organization dedicated to advancing sound immigration and security policies. Furthermore, True North is a platform for a robust discussion on immigration, security and Canada's role in the world.

[Privacy Policy](#)

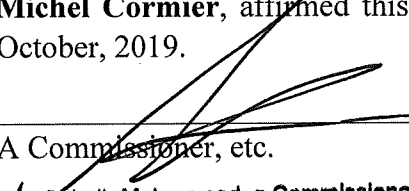
[Nonprofit Organization](#) · [Educational Research Center](#)

TEAM MEMBERS



Candice Nejatian

This is Exhibit "14" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.


A Commissioner, etc.

✓ **Shaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,**
Province of Ontario
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Federal Corporation Information - 264326-0

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Note

This information is available to the public in accordance with legislation (see [Public disclosure of corporate information](#)).

Corporation Number

264326-0

Business Number (BN)

132703448RC0001

Corporate Name

TRUE NORTH CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY

Status

Active

Governing Legislation

Canada Not-for-profit Corporations Act - 2014-07-24

Registered Office Address

10013 River Drive
Unit 2030
Richmond BC V6X 1Z3
Canada

i Note

Active NFP Act corporations are required to update this information. Changes are only legally effective when filed with Corporations Canada. A corporation key is required. If you are not authorized to update this information, you can either contact the corporation or contact Corporations Canada. We will inform the corporation of its reporting obligations.

Directors

Minimum 3

Maximum 7

Erynne Schuster
10013 River Drive
Unit 2030, IIAA
Richmond BC V6X 1Z3
Canada

Kasra Nejatian
10013 River Drive
Unit 2030, IIAA
Richmond BC V6X 1Z3
Canada

William McBeath
10013 River Drive
Unit 2030, IIAA
Richmond BC V6X 1Z3
Canada

i Note

Active NFP Act corporations are required to update director information (names, addresses, etc.) within 15 days of any change. A corporation key is required. If you are not authorized to update this information, you can either contact the corporation or contact Corporations Canada. We will inform the corporation of its reporting obligations.

Annual Filings

Anniversary Date (MM-DD)

07-24

Date of Last Annual Meeting

2017-02-05

Annual Filing Period (MM-DD)

07-24 to 09-22

Type of Corporation

Non-Soliciting

Status of Annual Filings

2019 - Overdue

2018 - Overdue

2017 - Filed

Corporate History

Corporate Name

History

1990-09-12 to 2014-07-24	INDEPENDENT IMMIGRATION AID ASSOCIATION
2014-07-24 to 2018-06-04	Independent Immigration Aid Association
2018-06-04 to Present	TRUE NORTH CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY

Certificates and Filings

Certificate of Continuance

2014-07-24

Previous jurisdiction: Canada Corporations Act - Part II (CCA-II)

Certificate of Amendment *

2018-06-04

Amendment details: Corporate name

* Amendment details are only available for amendments effected after 2010-03-20. Some certificates issued prior to 2000 may not be listed. For more information, [contact Corporations Canada](#).

[Buy copies of corporate documents](#)

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Date Modified:

2019-09-23

This is Exhibit "15" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.

A Commissioner, etc.

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Province of Ontario
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→ [T3010 Registered Charity Information Return](#)

Detail page

i Use this page to confirm a charity's status and Business/Registration number. The Charities Directorate has not necessarily verified the other information provided by the charity.

True North Centre for Public Policy

Business/Registration number:

132703448 RR 0001

Charity status:

Registered

Effective date of status:

1994-06-18

Sanction:

N/A

Language of correspondence:

ENGLISH

Designation:

Charitable organization

Charity type:

Relief of Poverty

Category:

Organizations Relieving Poverty

Address:

2030 - 10013 RIVER DR

City:

RICHMOND

Province, territory, outside of Canada:

BC

Country:

CA

Postal code/Zip code:

V6X0N2

Charity Email address:

STGEORGE@TELUS.NET

Charity website address:

View this charity's quick view information

Quick view

Links to Websites not under the control of the Government of Canada (GoC) are provided solely for the convenience of users. The GoC is not responsible for the accuracy, currency or the reliability of the content. The GoC does not offer any guarantee in that regard and is not responsible for the information found through these links, nor does it endorse the sites and their content. Users should be aware that information offered by non-GoC sites that are not subject to the Official Languages Act and to which the CRA links, may be available only in the languages used by the sites in question.

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Screen ID: CRA-HACC-DP

Date modified:

2018-10-24



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True North Centre for Public Policy — Quick View

[Charity's detail page](#)

Registration no.:

132703448 RR 0001

Charity status:

Registered

Effective date of status:

1994-06-18

Designation:

Charitable organization ⓘ

Website:

Reporting period views

Quick View

2017-12-31

2016-12-31

2015-12-31

2014-12-31

2013-12-31

Full View

2017-12-31

2016-12-31

2015-12-31

2014-12-31

2013-12-31

Reporting period ending: 2017-12-31

Programs and activities:

Ongoing programs:

Support and assistance to UK immigrants to the Lower Mainland, Vancouver Island and the rest of British Columbia

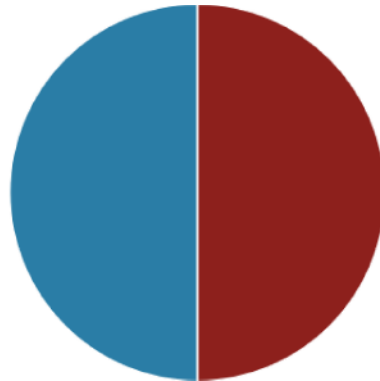
New programs:

Research on immigration and integration

Operations Outside Canada

0 country

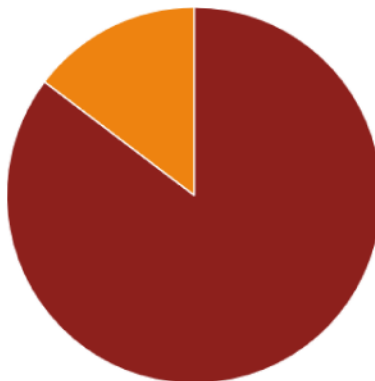
Revenue



■	Receipted donations	\$18,000.00	(50.00%)
■	Non-receipted donations	\$0.00	(0.00%)
■	Gifts from other registered charities	\$18,000.00	(50.00%)
■	Government funding	\$0.00	(0.00%)
■	All other revenue	\$0.00	(0.00%)

Total revenue: \$36,000.00

Expenses



■	Charitable programs	\$6,000.00	(85.30%)
■	Management and administration	\$1,034.00	(14.70%)
■	Fundraising	\$0.00	(0.00%)
■	Political activities	\$0.00	(0.00%)
■	Gifts to other registered charities and qualified donees	\$0.00	(0.00%)
■	Other	\$0.00	(0.00%)

Total expenses: \$7,034.00

Compensation

Total compensation for all
positions

Full-time employees
Part-time
employees

Professional and consulting fees	\$6,000.00
----------------------------------	-------------------

Compensated full-time positions:

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This is Exhibit "16" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Schalb Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**



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Federal Corporation Information - 935433-6

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Note

This information is available to the public in accordance with legislation (see [Public disclosure of corporate information](#)).

Corporation Number

935433-6

Business Number (BN)

816730121RC0001

Corporate Name

True North Initiative

Status

Active

Governing Legislation

Canada Not-for-profit Corporations Act - 2015-07-02

Registered Office Address

66 Portland St.
Th101
Toronto ON M5V 2M6
Canada

i Note

Active NFP Act corporations are required to update this information. Changes are only legally effective when filed with Corporations Canada. A corporation key is required. If you are not authorized to update this information, you can either contact the corporation or contact Corporations Canada. We will inform the corporation of its reporting obligations.

Directors

Minimum 1

Maximum 10

Candice Malcolm
66 Portland St.
Th101
Toronto ON M5V 2M6
Canada

i Note

Active NFP Act corporations are required to update director information (names, addresses, etc.) within 15 days of any change. A corporation key is required. If you are not authorized to update this information, you can either contact the corporation or contact Corporations Canada. We will inform the corporation of its reporting obligations.

Annual Filings

Anniversary Date (MM-DD)

07-02

Date of Last Annual Meeting

2018-01-01

Annual Filing Period (MM-DD)

07-02 to 08-31

Type of Corporation

Soliciting

Status of Annual Filings

2019 - Overdue

2018 - Filed

2017 - Filed

Corporate History

Corporate Name History

2015-07-02 to Present

True North Initiative

Certificates and Filings**Certificate of Incorporation**

2015-07-02

[Buy copies of corporate documents](#)[Start New Search](#)**Date Modified:**

2019-09-23

This is Exhibit "17" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.

A Commissioner, etc.

Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022

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This is Exhibit "18" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.

A Commissioner, etc.

Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
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for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022

PETITION: Justin Trudeau's racism has caused Canadians to lose faith in him — he MUST resign!

UPDATE: Rebel's Jessica Swietoniowski went to Toronto's Dundas Square to see what Torontonians think about Canada's "woke" prime minister's blackface costume scandal.

[CLICK HERE TO FUND OUR "TRUDEAU MUST RESIGN" BILLBOARD TRUCK](#)

UPDATE: As much as Liberals and certain members of the Media Party want to whitewash Justin Trudeau's brownface and blackface dress-up sessions, we think he needs to be held accountable when it comes to his odious actions.

That's why we brought our Jumbotron-equipped truck to Brampton, Ontario, to find out if residents would sign our petition (if you haven't signed yet, there's still time — you can add your name at the bottom of this page).

Also, if you can, please chip in to help us recoup the costs of this glorious digital ad truck — because, without your generous donations, we cannot tell the other side of the story. Thanks for your support!

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Did you see the stunning story last night about Justin Trudeau from Time Magazine?

It's Trudeau in full blackface — and then there's the added detail of him groping a woman's chest in the same picture.

This wasn't a picture dug up by a private investigator or hacked from someone's cell phone — it was there in plain sight in the yearbook of the Vancouver private school where Trudeau was teaching some 18 years ago. He was 29 years old.

This landed like a thunderbolt. And then almost immediately, as soon as the Time Magazine photo came out, so did another one.

Obviously, people have been holding on to these pictures, and have just decided to finally use them. These photos have been in the public domain for years — those yearbooks were personally seen by thousands of people and they were able to be seen by anyone who showed interest, and no-one published them.

So, why hadn't they been shown before? How did none of this come to light earlier?

Those are questions for the CBC and CTV and Global News, and the Toronto Star, and the rest of the Media Party to answer.

Nevertheless, Trudeau came out on his campaign jet and did a little press scrum, and there were some unbelievable moments in it:

"I attended an end-of-year gala where the theme was Arabian nights. I dressed up in Aladdin costume and put makeup on," Trudeau said.

Make-up?! No. Blackface is what it is. But he said make-up because it sounded less awful.

"I shouldn't have done that. I should have known better, but I didn't, and I'm really sorry," he continued.

It was 2001. This wasn't the fifties.

For years, Trudeau has been smearing people as racist when he's the racist one by his own confession. In fact, the 2019 Liberal campaign has basically been a hurricane of smears against any racism, real or imagined, in the Conservatives. So why didn't he clear the air before?

Well, it's obvious, because he thought he'd get away with it. Why on earth would he bring it up, when the rest of the media didn't bring it up, and it took an American to bring it up? Do you think Trudeau ever takes "responsibility"?

Should wearing blackface always mean that someone should resign?

Well, we don't make the rules. Trudeau did. The Media Party did. We've seen many resignations for less.

Blackface isn't just a costume; it has greater political meaning, mainly in the context of U.S. slavery. But it's pretty universally regarded as racist.

Let me help you with this. What if Stephen Harper had been caught doing this — not once, not twice, but three times? What would it have done to Harper? Or Trump?

How would it go down for a foreign meeting between Trudeau and an African or Arabian or Asian world leader? This is like Trudeau and feminism — he's blown himself up. And in a way, Canada, too.

I'm not sure if blackface should disqualify a man from public office. But I think lying about it should. Not just the lie about how many times you did it. But the entire lie of your public beliefs — that are clearly just a sociopath's deception, to project his own sins on his enemies, and to pre-empt any accusations against himself.

It's time for Justin Trudeau to resign.

This is Exhibit "19" to the Affidavit of
Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



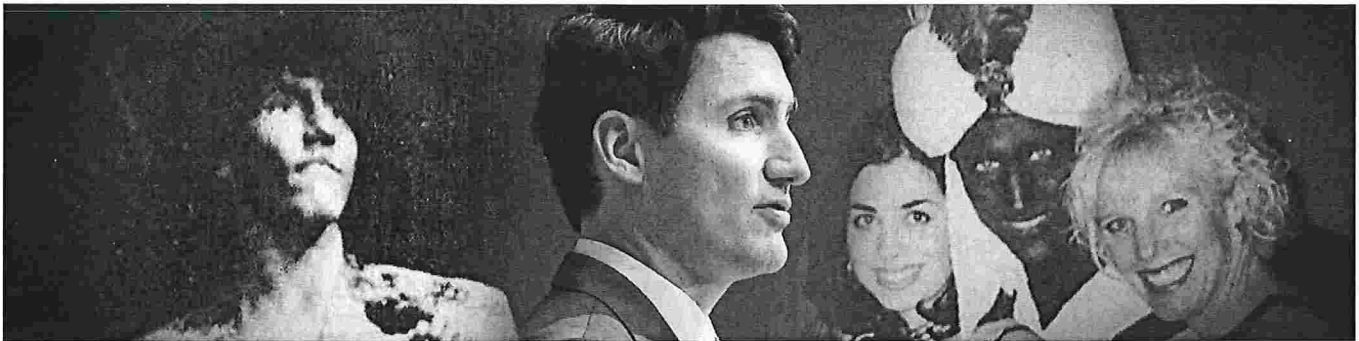
A Commissioner, etc.

Sohaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
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Michel Cormier, affirmed this 6th day of
October, 2019.



A Commissioner, etc.

**Shaib Mohammad, a Commissioner, etc.,
Province of Ontario
while a Student-at-Law
for Borden Ladner Gervais LLP
Barristers and Solicitors
Expires June 20, 2022**

First Name	Last Name	Agency	Debate	Tech or Reporter
Philippe	Bonneville	98.5FM Cogeco Montréal	Both	Reporter
Dave	Chan	Agence France Presse	Both	Tech Support
Geoffrey	Robins	Agence France Presse	Both	Reporter
Antje Petra	Sina	ARD German Radio and TV	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Annemarie	Kammerlander	ARD German TV - New York Bureau	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Christiane	Meier	ARD German TV - New York Bureau	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Peter	Reuther	ARD German TV - New York Bureau	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Ignacio	Valero	ARD German TV - New York Bureau	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Michelle	Hagan	Bloomberg	Both	Reporter
David	Kawai	Bloomberg	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Terry	Auciello	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Jennifer	Barr	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Bruce	Barrett	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Rosemary	Barton	CBC	Both	Reporter
P.O.	Bernatchez	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Susan	Bonner	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Gerry	Buffett	CBC	Both	Producer or other
Dinu	Cebzan	CBC	Both	Producer or other
David	Cochrane	CBC	Both	Reporter
Andrew	Coyne	CBC	Both	Reporter
Evan	Dyer	CBC	Both	Reporter
Kristen	Everson	CBC	Both	Producer or other
Shawn	Giacomini	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Eric	Grenier	CBC	Both	Reporter
Chris	Hall	CBC	Both	Reporter
Chris	Jackson	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Colin	Jeffrey	CBC	Both	Producer or other
Vassy	Kapelos	CBC	Both	Reporter
Andrew	Lee	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Peter	Leo	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Philip	Ling	CBC	Both	Producer or other
Christina	Lopez	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Paul	MacInnis	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Nha-Ling	Wong	CBC	Both	Producer or other

Sharon	Musgrave	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Angela	Naus	CBC	Both	Producer or other
Tom	Parry	CBC	Both	Reporter
Christian	Patry	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Jennifer	Rowley	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Rob	Russo	CBC	Both	Producer or other
John Paul	Tasker	CBC	Both	Reporter
Hannah	Thibedeau	CBC	Both	Reporter
Elise	Von Scheel	CBC	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Keith	Whelan	CBC	Both	Tech Support
TBA		CBC	Both	Producer or other
TBA		CBC	Both	Tech Support
Élizabeth	Séguin	CHIP 101.9 FM	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Ryan	Lowe	CityNews	Both	Tech Support
Cormac	MacSweeney	CityNews	Both	Reporter
Paula	Newton	CNN	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Julia	Vargas Jones	CNN	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Louis	Lacroix	Cogeco Nouvelles	Both	Reporter
Erica	Giancola	CPAC	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Camille	Martel	CPAC	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Barry	Acton	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Rachel	Aiello	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Annie	Bergeron-Oliver	CTV	Both	Reporter
Chris	Black	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Michel	Boyer	CTV	Both	Reporter
Stephane	Brisson	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Dave	Brunet	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Sam	Caldwell	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Peter	Carlson	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Carlo	Ciambella	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Michael	D'Alimonte	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Francois	D'Amours	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Jeff	Denesyk	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Dave	Ellis	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Scott	Ferguson	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Kevin	Gallagher	CTV	Both	Reporter
Rachel	Gilmore	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Mackenzie	Gray	CTV	Both	Reporter
Rachel	Hanes	CTV	Both	Producer or other

Robyn	Hinton	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Mark	Khouzam	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Jim	MacDonald	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Pam	MacKenzie	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Richard	Madan	CTV	Both	Reporter
Don	Martin	CTV	Both	Reporter
Kim	Martino	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Glen	McGregor	CTV	Both	Reporter
Tom	Michalak	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Reagan	Mitchell	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Ian	Mitchell	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Joyce	Napier	CTV	Both	Reporter
Brian	O'Connell	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Craig	Oliver	CTV	Both	Reporter
Scott	Plante	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Kiran	Rhines	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Noah	Richardson	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Scott	Rothenberg	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Evan	Solomon	CTV	Both	Reporter
Rachel	Swatek	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Derek	Thacker	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Molly	Thomas	CTV	Both	Reporter
Sarah	Turnbull	CTV	Both	Reporter
Ian	Urbach	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Peter	Warren	CTV	Both	Tech Support
Ian	Wood	CTV	Both	Producer or other
Blair	Gable	Freelance	Both	Tech Support
Mick	Gzowski	Freelance	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Jason	Unrau	Freelance	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Gerd	Braune	Freelance	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Benno	Schwinghammer	German Press Agency dpa	Both	Reporter
David	Akin	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Steve	Alexander	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Chris	Bassett	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Abigail	Bimman	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Frank	Boldt	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Kenton	Boston	Global TV	Both	Producer or other
David	de la Harpe	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Luigi	Della Penta	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Anna	Della Zazzera	Global TV	Both	Producer or other
Dawna	Friesen	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Michael	Haslett	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Michael	Hennigar	Global TV	Both	Producer or other

Rob	Kazemzadeh	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Mike	LeCouteur	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Rebecca	Lindell	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Bryan	Mullan	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Sharon	Murphy	Global TV	Both	Producer or other
Chrystal	Oag	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Jon	Obrien	Global TV	Both	Producer or other
Tony	Peng	Global TV	Both	Tech Support
Shauna	Rempel	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Janet	Silver	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Ward	Smith	Global TV	Both	Producer or other
Mercedes	Stephenson	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Deb	Zinck	Global TV	Both	Reporter
Zi-Ann	Lum	HuffPost Canada	English, October 7,2019	Reporter
Althia	Raj	HuffPost Canada	Both	Reporter
Charlie	Pinkerton	iPolitics	Both	Reporter
Joel-Denis	Bellevance	La Presse	French, October 10,2019	Reporter
Fanny	Levesque	La Presse	Both	Reporter
Mélanie	Marquis	La Presse	Both	Reporter
Catherine	Lévesque	La Presse canadienne	Both	Reporter
Lina	Dib	La Presse canadienne	Both	Reporter
Guillaume	Bourgault-Côté	Le Devoir	French, October 10,2019	Reporter
Hélène	Buzzetti	Le Devoir	English, October 7,2019	Reporter
Manon	Cornellier	Le Devoir	Both	Reporter
Marie	Vastel	Le Devoir	Both	Reporter
John	Geddes	Maclean's	Both	Reporter
Shannon	Proudfoot	Maclean's	Both	Reporter
Paul	Wells	Maclean's	Both	Reporter
Carl	Meyer	National Observer	English, October 7,2019	Reporter
John	Iverson	National Post	English, October 7,2019	Reporter
Dan	Donovan	Ottawa Life Magazine	English, October 7,2019	Reporter
Emma	Dykstra	Ottawa Life Magazine	Both	Reporter
Benoit	Belanger	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Stephane	Bernard	Radio-Canada	French, October 10,2019	Tech Support
Madeleine	Blais-Morin	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Louis	Blouin	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Jean	Brousseau	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Mathieu	Carli	Radio-Canada	French, October 10,2019	Reporter
Jean	Caron	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support

Pierre-Paul	Couture	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Tech Support
Philippe-Vincent	Foisy	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Vincent	Gaboury	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Virginie	Gagnon-Leduc	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Aude	Garachon	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Annie	Genest	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Daniel	Guilbeault	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Jérôme	Labbé	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Thierry	Laflamme	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Yves	Levesque	Radio-Canada	Both	Producer or other
Yves	Malo	Radio-Canada	Both	Producer or other
Julie	Marceau	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Christian	Noël	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Fannie	Oliver	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Alain	Paquette	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Olivier	Plante	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Daniel	Poirier	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
David	Richard	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Tech Support
Stéphane	Richer	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Benoît	Roussel	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Daniel	Thibeault	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Christine	Tremblay	Radio-Canada	Both	Producer or other
Stephane	Mahe	Reuters	Both	Tech Support
Carlos	Osorio	Reuters	Both	Tech Support
Paul	Chiasson	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Nathan	Denette	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Frank	Gunn	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Jonathan	Hayward	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Joanna	Smith	The Canadian Press	Both	Reporter
Justin	Tang	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Christopher	Wattie	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Bill	Curry	The Globe and Mail	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Janice	Dickson	The Globe and Mail	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Kristy	Kirkup	The Globe and Mail	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Daniel	Leblanc	The Globe and Mail	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Marieke	Walsh	The Globe and Mail	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Michelle	Zilio	The Globe and Mail	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter

Palak	Mangat	The Hill Times	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Andrew	Meade	The Hill Times	Both	Tech Support
Neil	Moss	The Hill Times	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Beatrice	Paez	The Hill Times	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Tessie	Sanci	The Hill Times	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Alex	Boutilier	Toronto Star	Both	Reporter
Bruce	Campion-Smith	Toronto Star	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Chantal	Hebert	Toronto Star	Both	Reporter
Tonda	MacCharles	Toronto Star	Both	Reporter
John	Bradley	TVA	Both	Producer or other
Sébastien	Chénier	TVA	Both	Tech Support
Raymond	Fillion	TVA	Both	Reporter
Michelle	Lamarche	TVA	Both	Reporter
Pierre	Parent	TVA	Both	Tech Support
Dylan	Robertson	Winnipeg Free Press	Both	Reporter
Dany	Bélanger	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Martin	Celestino	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Diane	Dulude	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Claude	Dubé	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
François	Goupil	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Gérald	Imbert	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Yvon	Innocent	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Maxime	Labrie	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Pierre	Lévesque	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Jacques	Racine	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Frédéric	Tremblay	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Raphael	Tremblay	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Serge	Brunet	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Francis	Rivière	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Adrian	Wyld	The Canadian Press	Both	Reporter
Sean	Kilpatrick	The Canadian Press	Both	Tech Support
Fred	Chartrand	The Canadian Press	Both	Reporter
Todd	Lamirande	Aboriginal Peoples TV	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Brendan	Hennigan	Aboriginal Peoples TV	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Joseph	Saunders	Aboriginal Peoples TV	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Nicole	Arams	CBC	Both	Producer or other
Anja	Karadeglija	The Wire Report	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Mariette	Belgraver	Aljazeera English Television	Both	Reporter

Michael	LaBella	Aljazeera English Television	Both	Reporter
John	Hendren	Aljazeera English Television	Both	Reporter
Ryan	Heath	Politico	Both	Reporter
Lisa	Fizzano	Radio-Canada	Both	Reporter
Patrice	Roy	Radio-Canada	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Maxime	Labrie	Radio-Canada	Both	Tech Support
Rosoly	Soriano-Castro	Eagle News Broadcasting corp.	English, October 7, 2019	Tech Support
Ralph-lauren	Castro	Eagle News Broadcasting corp.	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Andre	Lajoie	Eagle News Broadcasting corp.	English, October 7, 2019	Producer or other
Moran	Benedict	PBS Newshour	Both	Reporter
Emmanuelle	Latraverse	TVA	Both	Reporter
Quang Thinh	Vu	Vietnam News Agency Ottawa	Both	Reporter
Céline	Galipeau	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Josée-Marie	Robitaille	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Producer or other
Lyne	Fréchette	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Producer or other
Tasha	Kheiridin	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Christian	Doucet	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Producer or other
Michel	David	Radio-Canada	French, October 10, 2019	Reporter
Joel	Perron	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Austen	Ian	The New York Times	Both	Reporter
Murad	Hemmadi	The Logic	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Stephen	Maher	Freelance	Both	Reporter
Mike	O'shaughnessy	CBC	Both	Tech Support
Madelaine	Drohan	The Economist	English, October 7, 2019	Reporter
Peter	Duggeli	Swiss Broadcasting	Both	Reporter
Markus	Zeffler	Swiss Broadcasting	Both	Reporter
Justin	Ling	Freelance	Both	Reporter