

Appendices for Masks and Caricatures:
Prosopopoeia, Ethopoeia, and the Effect of Social Media on Canadian Political
Leaders' Debates

by

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1. Appendices

1.1. Social Media Page Likes and Followers for Political Parties and Leaders Participating in Canada's 2015 *Maclean's* Leaders' Debate and/or Canada's 2019 English-Language Leaders' Debate

1.1.1. Table 1: Facebook Page Likes and Followers of Canada's Political Parties and Leaders: October 2015 and October 2019¹

| | Facebook Accounts of Parties and Leaders | 2015-10-20 | 2019-10-11 | % Change of Likes ² from 2015 to 2019 |
|----------------------------|---|---------------|---|--|
| Conservative Party | Conservative Party @cpcpc | 184,948 likes | 456,579 likes 447,334 followers | 147% increase |
| Conservative Leader 2015 | Stephen Harper @RtHonStephenHarper | 247,059 likes | 310,205 likes ³ 300,320 followers | 26% increase |
| Conservative Leader 2019 | Andrew Scheer @AndrewScheerMP | N/A | 293,483 likes 309,905 followers | 19% increase from 2015 Stephen Harper |
| Liberal Party | Liberal Party @LiberalCA | 123,739 likes | 339,642 likes 338,251 followers | 174% increase |
| Liberal Leader 2015 & 2019 | Justin Trudeau @JustinPJTrudeau | 406,868 likes | 6,755,489 likes 6,894,961 followers | 1,560% increase |
| NDP Party | NDP @NDP.NPD | 108,363 likes | 125,913 likes 122,077 followers | 16% increase |
| NDP Leader 2015 | Tom Mulcair @TomMulcair | 107,037 likes | 100,714 likes ⁴ 94,057 followers | 6% decrease |
| NDP Leader 2019 | Jagmeet Singh @jagmeetndp | N/A | 237,361 likes 245,829 followers | 122% increase from 2015 Tom Mulcair |
| Green Party | Green Party @GreenPartyofCanada | 64,835 likes | 102,907 likes 101,623 followers | 59% increase |
| Green Leader 2015 & 2019 | Elizabeth May @ElizabethMayGreenLeader | 78,097 likes | 108,212 likes 106,598 followers | 39% increase |
| Bloc | Bloc Québécois @blocquebecois | 37,785 likes | 61,690 likes 59,947 followers | 63% increase |
| Bloc Leader 2015 | Gilles Duceppe @gilles.duceppe | 22,160 likes | 25,104 likes ⁵ 24,294 followers | 13% increase |
| Bloc Leader 2019 | Yves-François Blanchet @Yves-François-Blanchet-Bloc-québécois-364797800592456 | N/A | 8,284 likes 8,775 followers | 63% decrease from 2015 Gilles Duceppe |

¹ In examining Canada's political parties' and leaders' Facebook page likes and follows, only those political parties and leaders who participated in Canada's 2015 *Maclean's* Leaders' Debate and/or Canada's 2019 English-Language Leaders' Debate are included for consideration.

² Calculated percentage change of Facebook page likes from 2015 to 2019, as Facebook page follows were not available in 2015.

³ Date of capture for 2019 likes and followers for Stephen Harper was 2 November 2019, although he was no longer the Prime Minister or the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada.

⁴ Date of capture for 2019 likes and followers for Tom Mulcair was 23 October 2019, although he was no longer the leader of Canada's NDP.

⁵ Date of capture for 2019 likes and followers for Gilles Duceppe was 23 October 2019, although he was no longer the leader of the Bloc Québécois.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|-----|
| PPC | People's Party @peoplespca | N/A | 20,035 likes 21,755 followers | N/A |
| PPC Leader 2019 | Maxime Bernier @hon.maximebernier | N/A | 75,784 likes 78,706 followers | N/A |

1.1.2. Table 2: Twitter Page Followers of Canada's Political Parties and Leaders: October 2015 and October 2019⁶

| | Twitter Accounts of Parties and Leaders | 2015-10-20 | 2019-10-22 | % Change of Followers from 2015 to 2019 |
|----------------------------|---|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| Conservative Party | Conservative Party @CPC_HQ | 76,246 followers | 184,458 followers | 142% increase |
| Conservative Debate 2015 | CPC Debate @cpcdebate | 684 followers | N/A | N/A |
| Conservative Leader 2015 | Stephen Harper @PMHarper (2015) @stephenharper (2019) | 920,434 followers | 1,251,693 followers ⁷ | 36% increase |
| Conservative Leader 2019 | Andrew Scheer @AndrewScheer | 3,769 followers | 198,289 followers | 78% decrease from Stephen Harper |
| Liberal Party | Liberal Party @liberal_party | 160,948 followers | 301,452 followers | 87% increase |
| Liberal Leader 2015 & 2019 | Justin Trudeau @JustinTrudeau | 833,132 followers | 4,610,923 followers | 453% increase |
| NDP Party | NDP @NDP_HQ (2015) and @NDP (2019) | 125,312 followers | 226,419 followers | 81% increase |
| NDP Leader 2015 | Tom Mulcair @ThomasMulcair | 191,090 followers | N/A | N/A |
| NDP Leader 2019 | Jagmeet Singh @thejagmeetsingh | N/A | 250,398 followers | 31% increase from Tom Mulcair |
| Green Party | Green Party Canada @CanadianGreens | 105,818 followers | 183,499 followers | 73% increase |
| Green Leader 2015 & 2019 | Elizabeth May MP @ElizabethMay | 201,547 followers | 332,358 followers | 65% increase |
| Bloc | Bloc Québécois @BlocQuebecois | 11,521 followers | 19,747 followers | 71% increase |
| Bloc Leader 2015 | Gilles Duceppe @GillesDuceppe | 97,572 followers | 115,599 followers | 18% increase |
| Bloc Leader 2019 | Yves-François Blanchet @yfblanchet | 8,426 followers ⁸ | 20,609 followers | 79% decrease from Gilles Duceppe |
| PPC | People's Party @peoplespca | N/A | 27,590 followers | N/A |
| PPC Leader 2019 | Maxime Bernier @hon.maximebernier | N/A | 102,306 followers | N/A |

⁶ In examining Canada's political parties' and leaders' Twitter page followers, only those political parties and leaders who participated in Canada's 2015 *Maclean's* Debate and/or Canada's 2019 English-Language Leaders' Debate are included for consideration.

⁷ Date of capture for 2019 followers for Stephen Harper is 15 November 2019, although he was no longer the Prime Minister or leader of the Conservative Party of Canada.

⁸ Date of capture for 2015 followers for Yves-F. Blanchet is 14 January 2015, although he was not the Bloc Québécois Party leader at this time.

1.1.3. Table 3: Instagram Page Followers of Canada’s Political Parties and Leaders: October 2015 and October 2019⁹

| | Instagram Accounts of Parties and Leaders | 2015-10 | 2019-10-23 | % Change of Follows from 2015 to 2019 |
|----------------------------|---|------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Conservative Party | Conservative Party @cpc_hq | N/A | 28,543 followers | N/A |
| Conservative Leader 2015 | Stephen Harper @stephenharper | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Conservative Leader 2019 | Andrew Scheer @andrewjscheer | N/A | 60,598 followers | N/A |
| Liberal Party | Liberal Party @liberalca | N/A | 40,903 followers | N/A |
| Liberal Leader 2015 & 2019 | Justin Trudeau @justinpjtrudeau | 33,815 followers | 3,264,210 followers | 9,553% increase |
| NDP Party | NDP @ndpcanada | N/A | 15,784 followers | N/A |
| NDP Leader 2015 | Tom Mulcair @tommulcair | 7,633 followers | 6,998 followers | 8% decrease |
| NDP Leader 2019 | Jagmeet Singh @jagmeetsingh | N/A | 435,011 followers | 5,599% increase from Tom Mulcair |
| Green Party | Green Party @greenpartyofcanadaofficial (2015) @thegreenparty canada (2019) | N/A | 16,849 followers | N/A |
| Green Leader 2015 & 2019 | Elizabeth May @elizabthemay | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Bloc | Bloc Québécois @blocquebecois | N/A | 2,792 followers | N/A |
| Bloc Leader 2019 | Yves-François Blanchet @yfblanchetbq | N/A | 2,530 followers | N/A |
| PPC | People’s Party @peoplespca | N/A | 6,563 followers | N/A |
| PPC Leader 2019 | Maxime Bernier @hon.maximebernier | N/A | 14,686 followers | N/A |

1.2. Top Shared Debate-Related Facebook Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Leaders’ Debate

1.2.1. Table 4: Top 10 Shared Debate-Related Facebook Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Leaders’ Debate

| Rank | Party/Leader | Title | Date | Time | Type | Views | Reactions | Likes | Shares | Comments |
|------|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|---------|-----------|-------|--------------|----------|
| 1 | Conservative | Stephen Harper shows #ProvenLeadership and wins first debate! SHARE if you agree #elxn42 #macdebate – Prime Minister Harper wins first debate. | 2015-08-06 | 22:28 | Image | N/A | N/A | 6,742 | 2,945 | 1,923 |
| 2 | Trudeau | Real Change. // Changer ensemble. | 2015-08-06 | 22:37 | Video | 144,458 | N/A | 3,900 | 2,101 | 576 |
| 3 | Trudeau | A better Canada is always possible. | 2015-08-11 | 18:58 | Video | 109,469 | N/A | 3,944 | 1,918 | 435 |
| 4 | Trudeau | Trudeau to Harper: “Canadians know that | 2015-08-06 | 22:12 | Image | N/A | N/A | 9,432 | 1,662 | 984 |

⁹ In examining Canada’s political parties’ and leaders’ Instagram followers, only those political parties and leaders who participated in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Debate and/or Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate are included for consideration.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---|------------|-------|-------|--------|-----|-------|--------------|-----|
| | | you've let them down because you've chosen to give benefits and tax breaks to the wealthiest Canadians." – Justin Trudeau | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Green | "It has been our hallmark for generations that we can disagree w/o being disagreeable" – Elizabeth May. If you agree that Elizabeth May should be included to all the Debates, please click and share: http://www.greenparty.ca/en/invite-elizabeth | 2015-08-07 | 16:18 | Video | 76,992 | N/A | 2,122 | 1,546 | 235 |
| 6 | Conservative | Prime Minister Stephen Harper made the choice clear last night. Canadians need Proven Leadership to keep Canada safe, and our economy strong #clxn42 | 2015-08-07 | 12:30 | Video | 69,950 | N/A | 4,513 | 1,095 | 731 |
| 7 | Liberal | He did us proud. Share if you agree. – "This was prime time and Justin Trudeau was clearly ready." – Craig Oliver, CP24 | 2015-08-07 | 13:44 | Image | N/A | N/A | 2,826 | 1,092 | 304 |
| 8 | Mulcair | Tom Mulcair wins first leaders debate | 2015-08-07 | 15:14 | Image | N/A | N/A | 2,118 | 944 | 371 |
| 9 | NDP | 100,000 more reasons that Canadians are putting their trust in Tom Mulcair to bring change to Ottawa. | 2015-08-06 | 18:53 | Image | N/A | N/A | 1,610 | 827 | 391 |
| 10 | Green | After last night's performance in the Maclean's debate, it is clear Elizabeth May belongs in all the debates. Sign-on today to demand she be included in the remaining leaders' debates: green.ca/qUF . | 2015-08-07 | 14:23 | Image | N/A | N/A | 2,401 | 814 | 201 |

1.2.2. Facebook's Conservative Party of Canada – Parti conservateur du Canada @cpcpc



Figure 0-1: Facebook's Conservatives: Post Text: Stephen Harper shows #ProvenLeadership and wins first debate! SHARE if you agree #elxn42 #macdebate // Image Text: Prime Minister Harper wins first debate! Proven leadership for a strong Canada. // (2015-08-06; 22:28; 6,747 likes; 2,945 shares; 1,923 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada 2015a)



Figure 0-2: Facebook's Conservatives: Post Text: Prime Minister Stephen Harper made the clear choice last night. Canadians need Proven Leadership to keep Canada safe, and our economy strong. #elxn42. // Video: Harper states, "Ladies and gentlemen, this election is about who has the proven experience to keep Canada safe and our economy strong. We know that, beyond our shores, the global economy remains in a state of turmoil and uncertainty. <edit> Since the end of the global financial crisis, we have the best economic growth, the best job creation, and the best growth in middle class incomes among any of the advanced, developed nations. <edit> we have a balanced budget with lower taxes, increased money for the things that matter, transfers for health care, education, for infrastructure, and for benefits for families like yours. <edit> – there has been and there is no better place and no better prospects for your family than this country, Canada. On October the 19th I ask for your support so together we can continue to build the best country in the world." Video Text: Proven Leadership for a Strong Canada. (2015-08-07; 12:30; 69,950 views; 4,513 likes; 1,095 shares; 731 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada 2015c)

PROVEN LEADERSHIP FOR A STRONG CANADA

“This is an election about leadership on the big issues, the issues that affect us all: our economy, and our nation’s security.”

PM STEPHEN HARPER
AUGUST 2, 2015

Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada
Page Liked - 6 August 2015

This election is about leadership.

4.8K 681 comments 800 shares

Like Comment Share

Most relevant

Blair Good The only PM that will stand up to Quebec. The other parties want to turn Canada into one gig QUEBEC. 4

Joy O'Brien STEPHEN HARPER THE BEST PRIME MINISTER EVER, TOM MULCLAIR NOT EVEN A CANADIAN CITIZEN BORN IN FRANCE AND IS A DUAL CITIZEN SHOULD THINK HE SHOULD GIVE UP HIS FRENCH CITIZENSHIP IF HE WANTS TO LEAD CANADA. 1

Karin Pasnak The Debate proved to me to stick with Harper 7

Carl Millard Mr Harper all the way. 9

Rosemary Blanchard Burden Prime Minister Harper all the way, 8

Mike Jakeman Harper gets elected because he seen as an acceptable manager but without Jim Flaherty, who was a leader, even that is now coming into question. Harper is not a leader. He is arrogant, divisive and ridiculed throughout the world. His legacy will be telling and harmful to real Canadian values. 7

Michael Toohey Best leader Canada has ever had. Harper is arrogant, you my friend are arrogant. 2

Write a comment...

Figure 0-3: Facebook’s Conservatives: Post Text: This election is about leadership. // Image Text: Proven leadership for a strong Canada. “This is an election about leadership on the big issues, the issues that affect us all: our economy, and our nation’s security.” PM Stephen Harper. August 2, 2015. (2015-08-06; 20:59; 4,856 likes; 800 shares; 681 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada 2015b)

1.2.3. Facebook's Stephen Harper @RtHonStephenHarper

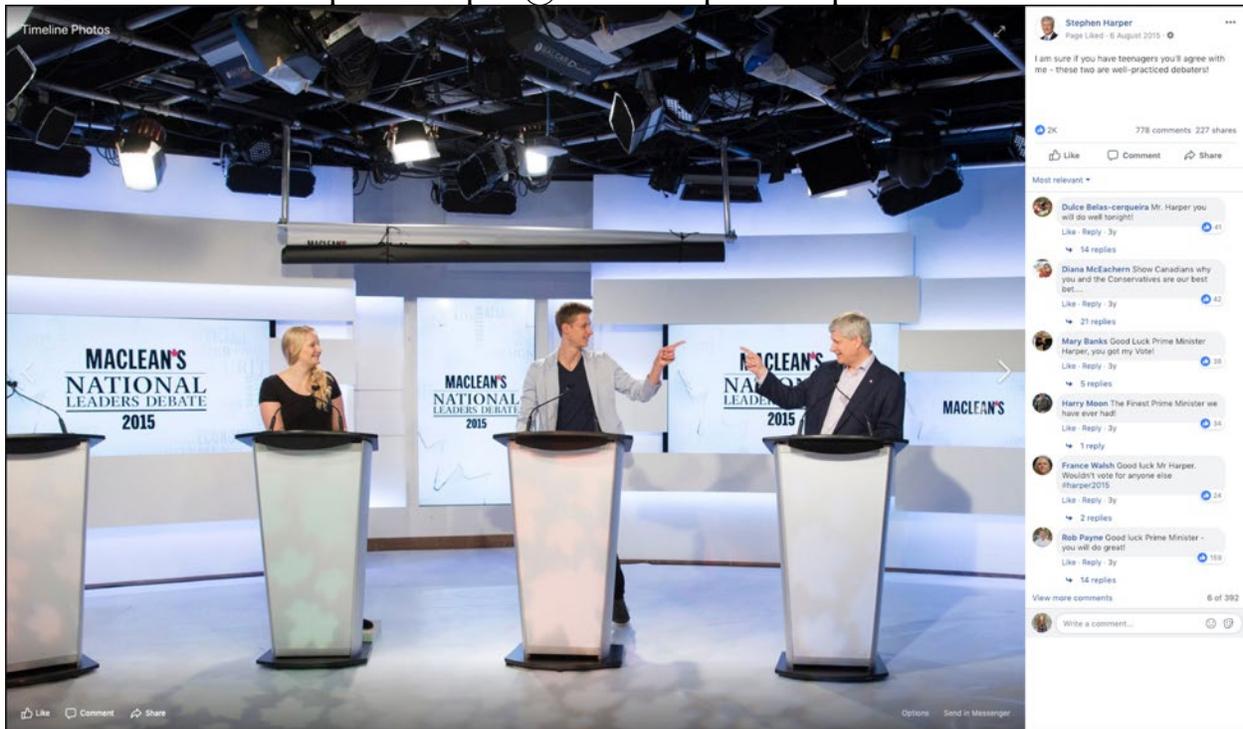


Figure 0-4: Facebook's Harper: Post Text: I am sure if you have teenagers you'll agree with me - these two are well-practiced debaters! (2015-08-06; 17:06; 2,037 likes; 227 shares; 778 comments) (Harper 2015a)

1.2.4. Facebook's Liberal Party of Canada / Parti libéral du Canada @LiberalCA



Figure 0-5: Facebook's Liberals: Post Text: He did us proud. Share if you agree. // Image Text: “This was prime time and Justin Trudeau was clearly ready.” – Craig Oliver, CP24. (2015-08-07; 13:44; 2,826 likes; 1,092 shares; 304 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2015b)

 **Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada** 8 August 2015 · 🌐

The reviews are in. Please share to show your support.



LIBERAL.CA

The Reviews Are In: First round goes to Trudeau
 "Trudeau Says Harper 'Disconnected,' Mulcair Offers 'False Hope' At..."

 2.1K  342 comments  655 shares

 Like  Comment  Share

Figure 0-6: Facebook’s Liberals. Post Text: The reviews are in. Please share to show your support. Web Link Text: The Reviews Are In: First round goes to Trudeau (2015-08-08; 09:00; 2,142 likes, 655 shares, 342 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2015c)

SHARE



"Trudeau lands best punches against solid foes" – Vancouver Sun, August 6, 2015

"Justin Trudeau: A pugilist comes to fight" – Maclean's, August 6, 2015

« Débat: Mulcair solide, Harper sur la défensive, Trudeau dynamique. » – L'actualité, 6 août 2015

"Trudeau Says Harper 'Disconnected,' Mulcair Offers 'False Hope' At Maclean's Debate" – The Canadian Press, August 6, 2015

"Trudeau comes out swinging..." – Reuters

« Trudeau a connu un débat dynamique... » – Alec Castonguay, L'actualité, 6 août 2015

"It was Cautious Tom and Fighting Justin." – Campbell Clark, The Globe and Mail, August 7, 2015

"Trudeau – who was the perceived underdog going in – consistently seemed to get the better of the one-on-one exchanges, particularly with respect to Senate reform and pipelines." – Michael Den Tandt, National Post, August 7, 2015

« Justin Trudeau m'a surpris avec son assurance et ses interventions solides pendant la première section sur l'économie. » – Gilbert Lavoie, Le Soleil, 6 août 2015

"Trudeau, who warmed up in the morning with a round of boxing, did the most sparring throughout the debate – repeatedly challenging both Harper and Mulcair and keeping pace with them on key files." – Elizabeth Thompson, iPolitics, August 7, 2015

"...Trudeau handled himself well." – Dan Leger, The Chronicle Herald, August 7, 2015

"I would be really surprised if this debate did not help the Liberals and Justin Trudeau." – Chantal Hebert, CBC's The National, August 6, 2015

« Justin Trudeau a montré une solide connaissance de ses dossiers. Il a manié les chiffres avec aisance. Il a distribué les coups avec aplomb. Bref, il a dissipé les doutes et affiché une belle assurance. » – Patrice Servant, Le Journal de Montréal, 7 août 2015

"[Trudeau] surprised the most, coming across as scrappy, eloquent and well-briefed." – Murray Brewster, Canadian Press, August 6, 2015

"[Justin Trudeau] was articulate, substantive and just feisty enough to get in Stephen Harper's face on the economy." – Michael Harris, iPolitics, August 7, 2015

"It changes the perception created by two years of Conservative advertising that Trudeau is not ready for prime time. Because this was prime time and Trudeau was clearly ready." – Craig Oliver, CP24, August 7, 2015

Figure 0-7: Facebook's Liberals: Web Link Content from Figure 0-6: The Reviews Are In: First Round Goes To Trudeau (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2015c)

THE PUNDITS AGREE
LES COMMENTATEURS
SONT D'ACCORD

Trudeau shows plan for real change.
Trudeau présente son plan pour
changer ensemble.

"This closer by Trudeau is head
and shoulders above the rest."
- ANDREW COYNE, NATIONAL POST

"Canada's Trudeau, under pressure,
comes out swinging in debate."
- REUTERS

"Justin Trudeau's close is excellent.
Only goosebumps moment tonight.
Good challenge of the Not Ready narrative."
- DAVID COLETTI, ABACUS

« Trudeau passe rapidement à
l'attaque tant contre Harper que
Mulcair sur économie. »
- EMMANUELLE LATRAVERS, RADIO-CANADA

"Justin Trudeau's closing statement easily
the best for swing voter/undecided."
- DAVID AKIN

"Trudeau knocks that one out of the park.
'You want a Number Mr. Mulcair, 9.
Supreme Court judges. 9.'"
- ROSEMARY BARTON, CBC

« Wow Trudeau est surprenant. Harper est
prévisible et Mulcair est sur les talons. »
- MARIE GRÉGOIRE, RADIO-CANADA

"Trudeau very strong on veterans.
Mulcair too unclear on Ukraine.
Harper doesn't win foreign policy section. Surprising."
- ASHLEY CSANADY, NATIONAL POST

Liberal

Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral
du Canada
Page Liked · 6 August 2015 ·

The pundits agree!

1K · 164 comments · 491 shares

Like · Comment · Share

Most relevant ▾

Blair Tullis Promise anything...deliver the opposite or nothing at all. One has only to look at Kathleen Wynne's government to see the duplicity of the Liberals.
Like · Reply · 3y · 1

Jean-Jacques Buraglia Why did he attack Harper on the Ethics and accountability issues?
Like · Reply · 3y

Charles G. McNamara This # should be, 1,000,000 votes for "JUSTIN" Make sure that the crooks are gone completely!
Like · Reply · 3y · 3

Steven Adams lol seriously? I supported the Liberals a lot more before the debate. He had poor points and only interrupted the other leaders constantly. That closing speech was just...well...bad.
If anyone gained votes from that debate, it's Elizabeth May, she abs... See more
Like · Reply · 3y

Bruce Hailey With Justin Trudeau as our next PM Canada can once again start to shine on the World's stage. Home and abroad, Justin will make us proud.
Like · Reply · 3y · 4

1 reply

Randy Cascadden That closing comments by Mr.Trudeau just blew my mind. Your father one of the BEST P.M.'S we've had would be so PROUD you .
Like · Reply · 3y · 5

View more comments 6 of 67

Write a comment...

Figure 0-8: Facebook's Liberals: Post Text: The pundits agree! // Image Text: The pundits agree. Les commentateurs sont d'accord. Trudeau shows plan for real change. Trudeau présente son plan pour changer ensemble. "This closer by Trudeau is head and shoulders above the rest." – Andrew Coyne, National Post. "Canada's Trudeau, under pressure, comes out swinging in the debate." – Reuters. "Justin Trudeau's close is excellent. Only goosebumps moment tonight. Good challenge of the Not Ready narrative." – David Coletto, Abacus. "Trudeau passe rapidement à l'attaque tant contre Harper que Mulcair sur économie." – Emmanuelle Latravers, Radio-Canada. "Justin Trudeau's closing statement easily the best for swing voter/undecided." – David Akin. "Trudeau knocks that one out of the park. 'You want a Number Mr. Mulcair, 9. Supreme Court judges. 9.'" – Rosemary Barton, CBC. "Wow Trudeau est surprenant. Harper est prévisible et Mulcair est sur les talons." – Marie Grégoire, Radio-Canada. "Trudeau very strong on veterans. Mulcair too unclear on Ukraine. Harper doesn't win foreign policy section. Surprising." – Ashley Csanady, National Post.

Surprising.” – Ashley Csanady, National Post (2015-08-06; 23:26; 1,001 likes, 491 shares, 164 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2015a)

1.2.5. Facebook’s Justin Trudeau @JustinPJTrudeau



Figure 0-9: Facebook’s Trudeau: Post Text: Real Change. // Changer ensemble. // Video: Trudeau states, “Mr. Harper has spent millions of dollars on attack ads trying to convince you that I’m not ready for this job. As silly as they are, they do pose an important question. How can you decide whether someone is ready to be your Prime Minister? Here’s what I think. In order to know if someone is ready for this job, ask them what they want to do with this job, and why they want it in the first place. I’m a 43-year-old father of three kids, and I love them deeply, and I want them to grow up in the best country in the world, one that we can all be proud of. What I learned from my father is that, to lead this country, you need to love this country, love it more than you crave power. It needs to run through your veins. You need to feel it in your bones. Mr. Harper and I part ways on many issues, but our differences go deeper than just policy. Mr. Harper is dead wrong about one thing. He wants you to believe that better just isn’t possible. Well, I think that’s wrong. We are who we are, and Canada is what it is, because in our hearts we’ve always known that better is always possible. An economy that works for the middle class means a country that works for everyone, a country that is strong not in spite of our differences, but because of them. The world needs more of both those things. And after ten years of Mr. Harper, so do we” (2015-08-06; 22:37; 144,458 views; 3,900 likes; 2,101 shares; 576 comments) (Trudeau 2015i)

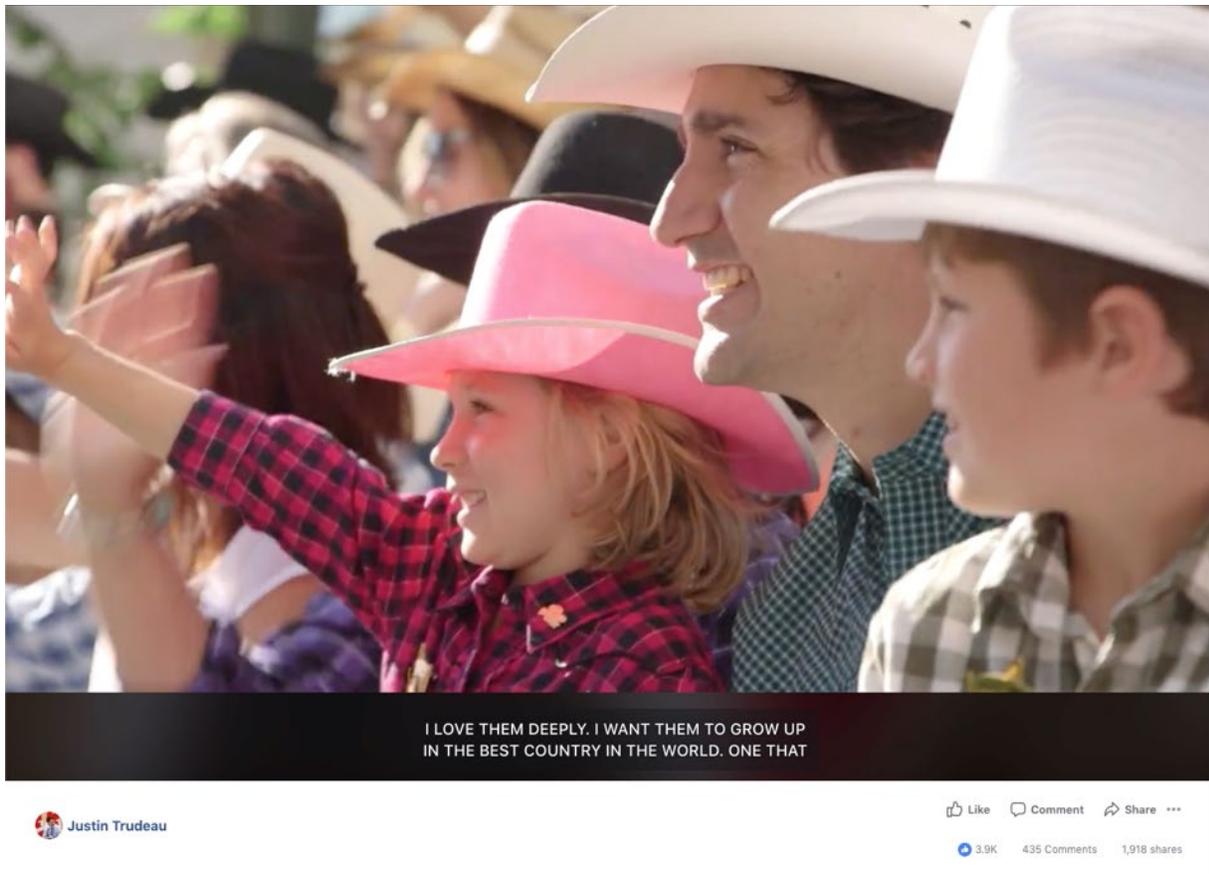


Figure 0-10: Facebook's Trudeau: Post Text: A better Canada is always possible. // Video: Trudeau states, "Mr. Harper has spent millions of dollars on attack ads," the image cutting to Harper's resumé attack ad against Trudeau, while Trudeau states, "trying to convince you that I'm not ready for this job." The image cuts to Trudeau smiling and shaking hands with people in a crowded room. Trudeau's voiceover continues, "Silly as they are, they do pose an important question. How can you decide whether someone is ready to be your Prime Minister?" The image returns to Trudeau speaking at the debate. He states, "Here's what I think. In order to know if someone is ready for this job, ask them what they want to do with this job, and why they want it in the first place." The image cuts to Trudeau holding his youngest son, Hadrien, in a park setting, giving a high-five to another toddler being held by his father. The image then cuts to Trudeau's daughter, Ella-Grace, and older son, Xavier, running to him, Trudeau lifting them up onto his lap while watching the Calgary stampede, with Trudeau's voiceover continuing. "I'm a 43-year-old father of three kids, and I love them deeply. I want them to grow up in the best country in the world. One that we can all be proud of." The image cuts to Trudeau in a suit, shaking hands with smiling supporters. Trudeau's voiceover continues, "What I learnt from my father is that to lead this country, you need to love this country. Love it more than you crave power. It needs to run through your veins. You need to feel it in your bones. Mr. Harper and I part ways on many issues, but our issues go deeper than just policy. Mr. Harper is dead wrong about one thing." The image then returns to Trudeau in the debate, stating, "He wants you to believe that better just isn't possible. Well, I think that is wrong. We are who we are, and Canada is what it is, because in our hearts, we've always known that better is always possible." The Liberal post ends with the upbeat

music increasing in volume, and an image of the red background with the Liberal logo in white lettering (2015-08-11; 18:58; 109,469 views; 3,944 likes; 1,918 shares; 435 comments) (Trudeau 2015s)



Figure 0-11: Facebook’s Trudeau: Post Text: Trudeau to Harper: // Image Text: “Canadians know that you’ve let them down because you’ve chosen to give benefits and tax breaks to the wealthiest Canadians.” – Justin Trudeau. (2015-08-06; 22:12; 9,432 likes; 1,662 shares; 984 comments) (Trudeau 2015l)



Figure 0-12: Facebook’s Trudeau: Post Text: Okay Facebook, I’m turning over my account to the Liberal Party’s campaign team for the #macdebate. Watch this page all night. #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 16:17; 3,023 likes; 101 shares; 388 comments) (Trudeau 2015f)



Figure 0-13: Post Text: De retour sur Facebook après le débat... et après un appel avec ma conseillère la plus importante. Merci Sophie. // Back on Facebook post-debate after calling my top advisor. Thanks Sophie (2015-08-06; 23:10; 3,500 likes; 144 shares; 301 comments) (Trudeau 2015c).

1.2.6. Facebook's Canada's NDP / Le NPD du Canada @NDP.NPD



Figure 0-14: Facebook's NDP: Post Text: 100,000 more reasons that Canadians are putting their trust in Tom Mulcair to bring change to Ottawa. // Image Text: Low-income workers who will get a raise under the NDP's \$15 federal minimum wage plan: 100,000. Canadians who will get a

raise under the Liberal plan: 0. It's time for change in Ottawa. NDP. (2015-08-06; 18:53; 1,610 likes; 827 shares; 391 comments) (Canada's NDP/Le NPD du Canada 2015a)



Figure 0-15: Facebook's NDP: Post Text: When it comes to making the right decisions, Justin Trudeau isn't up to the job. // Video Text: Why did Justin Trudeau vote for Stephen Harper's Bill C-51? Trudeau speaking: "Perhaps it was naïve." Video Text: When it comes to making the right decisions, Justin Trudeau isn't up to the job. It's time for change in Ottawa. Tom Mulcair NDP. (2015-08-11; 17:52; 588 likes; 682 shares; 437 comments) (Canada's NDP/Le NPD du Canada 2015c)

Canada's NDP / Le NPD du Canada
Page Liked · 6 August 2015

Calls for change are growing louder — and it isn't difficult to see why.

925 319 comments 344 shares

Like Comment Share

Most relevant

Spencer James I hope Mulcair hammers away @ Harper...BE RELENTLESS TOM! Canadians want a strong person to call him out on why he is so out of touch!
Like · Reply · 3y · Edited

Ed Sabourin The trouble here is they are not attack ads by the liberals or the NDP, rather just a reminder of the Tories past failures with most things they touch, provincial & federally the Tories have to be put in a closet with the Bloc Québécois, hopefully they don't reproduce lol
Like · Reply · 3y

5 replies

Daryl Azvedo Dery, deny.deny. It's the Tory way. Crookedest government Canada has ever seen by a country mile.
Like · Reply · 3y

Margaret J Nyland We know. We will not make the same mistake again.
Like · Reply · 3y

Tim Gullackson The Conservative government doesn't control the price of oil. The main reason Canada is in a mini recession. Businesses have made big cuts to try to survive and then the Ndp raises taxes 20% during a big downturn. That's how you kill an economy. If they win this election Canada will be in big trouble. The grass may seem greener on the Liberal and ndp sides but you will soon see it is not....
Like · Reply · 3y

Margaret J Nyland Mr Harper has a one track mind. ASK NOT WHAT LNG AND OIL CAN DO FOR CANADA...ASK WHAT
Write a comment...

Figure 0-16: Facebook's NDP: Post Text: Calls for change are growing louder – and it isn't difficult to see why. // Image Text: The economy has shrunk in each of the last five months. Many experts say that Canada is already in another recession. Stephen Harper's plan just isn't working. NDP. (2015-08-06; 14:27; 925 likes; 344 shares; 319 comments) (Canada's NDP/Le NPD du Canada 2015b)

1.2.7. Facebook's Tom Mulcair @TomMulcair



Figure 0-17: Facebook's Mulcair: Post Text: The reviews are in – Tom was “strong”, “prime ministerial”, and the “victor” in last night’s debate. #Ready4Change // Image Text: Tom Mulcair wins first leaders debate. “Mulcair was strong” – Laura Payton, CBC News. “prime ministerial” – Michael Den Tandt, National Post. “The strategic victor is Tom Mulcair’s NDP” – Nicky Woolf, The Guardian. #Ready4Change. NDP. (2015-08-07; 15:14; 2,118 likes; 944 shares; 371 comments) (Mulcair 2015g)



Figure 0-18: Facebook’s Mulcair: Post Text: Canadian’s are #Ready4Change. We are too. // Video: Mulcair states, “It is time for change – change that’s built on hard work, living within your means, and accountability. These are the values that have guided my 35-years of public service, and these are the values that will continue to guide me. My number one priority is to kickstart the economy and get Canadians working. We will invest in local infrastructure and help small businesses to create jobs. And we understand that good jobs and a clean environment go hand-in-hand. I have fought for Canada my whole life. I know that Canada is the greatest country in the world. But a lot has been lost under the Conservatives. I have the experience to replace Mr. Harper, and the plan to repair the damage that he has done. Canadians are ready for change. We’re ready too. I invite you to join us. Thank you.” (2015-08-06; 22:17; 3,379 likes; 673 shares; 555 comments) (Mulcair 2015a)



 Tom Mulcair

Like Comment Share ...

1.1K 190 Comments 423 shares

Figure 0-19: Facebook’s Mulcair: Post Text: “This election is about a choice - a choice between four more years of Stephen Harper or this extraordinary team of women and men dedicated to bringing positive change to Ottawa.” – Tom Mulcair in Toronto #Ready4Change // Video: Mulcair states: “Well, you know this is my first debate, and I am looking forward to it. I think that it is going to be an opportunity for Canadians to realize that this election is about choice. A choice between four more years of Stephen Harper or an extraordinary team of women and men dedicated to bringing positive change to Ottawa. We want to replace the politics of fear and division with the politics of hope and optimism. Mr. Harper has given us eight deficits in a row, \$150 billion in new debt added for the future generations to bear, and he’s got one of the worst job creation records in Canadian history, in fact he has the worst job creation record since the second world war, and one the worst economic records in a hundred years, you have to go all the way back to the crisis of the 1920s to find someone who’s got a worse economic record. So, we know we can do better. We can kickstart the economy, with investments in infrastructure, we can become a champion for manufacturing, we can lower the business tax rates for small and medium sized businesses and help create new jobs. They create 80 per cent of the new jobs. We have a clear plan, to help kickstart the economy, to create jobs, and to replace Mr. Harper’s politics of fear and division with our politics of hope.” (2015-08-06; 13:30; 18,000 views; 1,173 likes; 423 shares; 190 comments) (Mulcair 2015e)

1.2.8. Facebook’s Green Party of Canada – Parti vert du Canada
@GreenPartyofCanada



Figure 0-20: Facebook’s Green: Post Text: “It has been our hallmark for generations that we can disagree w/o being disagreeable” - Elizabeth May. If you agree that Elizabeth should be included to all the Leaders’ Debates, please click and share: <http://www.greenparty.ca/en/invite-elizabeth>. // Video: Crosstalk. May states: “I was just going to say isn’t it ironic that this segment was supposed to be on our democratic institutions, starting with clips about how much heckling there is in the House of Commons, how difficult it is to have a civil conversation. We can as Canadians, it’s been our hallmark for generations, that we can disagree without being disagreeable, and I would like us to be able to talk about what we do about fixing Parliament because that’s an urgent crisis.” Video Text: On October 19, vote for a Canada that works. Together. Green. Greenparty.ca (2015-08-07; 16:18; 76,992 views; 2,122 likes; 1,546 shares; 235 comments) (Green Party of Canada - Parti vert du Canada 2015b)

“Tonight confirmed why Elizabeth May should be in **all** the leaders’ debates and why the other party leaders are afraid to debate her.”



Green Party of Canada - Parti vert du Canada
 Page Liked · 7 August 2015 · Edited ·

After last night's performance in the [Maclean's](#) debate, it is clear Elizabeth May belongs in all the debates.

Sign-on today to demand she be included in the remaining leaders' debates: green.ca/qUF

2.4K · 201 comments · 814 shares

Like · Comment · Share

Most relevant ▾

Jim Burkitt She can out-debate any of those liars & thieves, because she is neither.

Write a comment... 🗨️ 📷 📺 🗣️

Figure 0-21: Facebook’s Green: Image Text: “Tonight confirmed why Elizabeth May should be in all the leaders’ debates and why the other party leaders are afraid to debate her.” Green. // Post Text: After last night’s performance in the Maclean’s debate, it is clear Elizabeth May belongs in all the debates. Sign-on today to demand she be included in the remaining leaders’ debates: green.ca/qUF. (2015-08-07; 14:23; 2,401 likes; 814 shares; 201 comments) (Green Party of Canada - Parti vert du Canada 2015a)



Figure 0-22: Facebook’s Green: Post Text: Demand that Elizabeth May be included in the remaining debates here: green.ca/qUF. // Video: May states, “This may, as we currently stand here on August 6th, be the only debate that involves all of us in an English-language debate, and maybe we won’t get a French-language debate. So, I appreciate the opportunity to speak directly to Canadians. I want to say that it will be a shame if we don’t have more debates, because as – as comprehensive as the questions were, we have not discussed social policy, we have not discussed how we respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, we’ve not discussed how we must expand our Medicare system to include pharmacare, what we should do for young people who are facing crushing levels of student debts, and their families. We have a lot of issues to discuss. Inequality. Everyone’s talking about the middle class, and I support the concern, but the 86 wealthiest families in this country have the same combined wealth as the 11.4 million dollar-million Canadians at the bottom. One-third of Canadians have the combined wealth as the top 86 families. We have to address this.” Video Text: On October 19 vote for a Canada that works. Together. Green. [Greenparty.ca](https://greenparty.ca). (2015-08-08; 10:42; 22,690 views; 1,170 likes; 655 shares; 140 comments) (Green Party of Canada - Parti vert du Canada 2015c)

1.2.9. Facebook's Elizabeth May @ElizabethMayGreenLeader



Figure 0-23: Facebook's May: Post Text: Tune in tomorrow! Elizabeth May joins the Maclean's National Leaders Debate tomorrow night, August 6, starting at 8 pm EDT. For more Information: <http://www.greenparty.ca/en/stand-with-elizabeth> // Image Text: Maclean's debate tomorrow. Elizabeth May debates Stephen Harper, Thomas Mulcair, Justin Trudeau. Green. (2015-08-05; 17:33; 1,704 likes; 730 shares; 208 comments) (May 2015a)



Figure 0-24: Facebook's May: Web Link Text: Elizabeth May. Invite Elizabeth | Green Party of Canada www.greenparty.ca. (2015-08-07; 16:37; 1,232 likes; 532 shares; 232 comments) (May 2015c)

The image shows a screenshot of the Green Party of Canada website. At the top left is the Green Party logo with the text "green PARTY OF CANADA". To the right of the logo are navigation links: "GET ORGANIZED", "MEMBERS", "CONTACT", "SEARCH", "SIGN IN", and "FRANÇAIS". Below these are two yellow buttons: "VOLUNTEER" and "DONATE". A green navigation bar contains the links "ELIZABETH", "PARTY", "VISION GREEN", "VOTING", and "YOUR RIDING".

The main content area features a large photograph of Elizabeth May speaking into a microphone. To the right of the photo is a dark grey box with the heading "Invite Elizabeth". Below the heading is text explaining that Thomas Mulcair and Stephen Harper are trying to block Elizabeth May from participating in all the debates, and that the Maclean's Debate is the last time she will go head-to-head with either of them. It states that Elizabeth's performance in the Maclean's Debate sent a clear message – she belongs at every debate. It asks for help to make that happen by signing on and demanding that Elizabeth be invited to all the debates.

Below the text is a sign-up form with four input fields: "First Name", "Last Name", "Postal Code", and "Email". A green button labeled "Add Your Name" is positioned below the "Email" field.

At the bottom of the page, there are two green sections. The left section is titled "Join the movement" and contains input fields for "Email" and "Postal Code", along with a "Get Started" button. The right section is titled "Then Donate" and features four buttons for donation amounts: "\$5", "\$15", "\$25", and "\$100", followed by a yellow "Next" button.

Figure 0-25: Facebook’s May: Web Link Content from Figure 0-24: Invite Elizabeth (May 2015c)



Figure 0-26: Facebook’s May: Post Text: Calling all Elizabeth May supporters! At 6:00 pm tonight, come to the Toronto broadcast studios at 33 Dundas St. E. to show your support before the Maclean’s National Leaders Debate. Wear green! Bring your friends! Then join us at the Imperial Pub, 54 Dundas St. E., to watch the debate, starting at 8:00 pm. For more information: <http://www.greenparty.ca/en/debate> // Image Text: Join Elizabeth tonight! Green. (2015-08-06; 12:50; 838 likes; 119 shares; 281 comments) (May 2015b)

1.3. Top Retweeted Debate-Related Twitter Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Leaders’ Debate

1.3.1. Table 5: Top 10 Retweeted Debate-Related Twitter Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Leaders’ Debate

| Rank | Party/Leader | Title | Date | Time | Type | Views | Likes | Retweets | Comments |
|------|--------------|---|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|----------|
| 1 | Trudeau | A better Canada is always possible #elxn42 | 2015-08-12 | 07:31 | Video | N/A | 621 | 378 | 50 |
| 2 | Trudeau | Stephen Harper broke his promise never to appoint a single Senator. 59 times. #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | 21:12 | Video | N/A | 258 | 356 | 22 |
| 3 | Liberal | He did us proud. Share if you agree. #elxn42 #cdnpoli | 2015-08-07 | 13:46 | Image | N/A | 232 | 343 | 30 |
| 4 | Trudeau | On the environment, Stephen Harper trusts his ideology. Liberals will trust science #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | 20:55 | Post | N/A | 359 | 339 | 28 |
| 5 | Trudeau | Trudeau to Harper: | 2015-08-06 | 22:01 | Image | N/A | 362 | 330 | 26 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|--|------------|-------|------------|-----|-----|------------|-----|
| | | “Canadians know that you’ve let them down because you’ve chosen to give benefits and tax breaks to the wealthiest Canadians.” – Justin Trudeau | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Trudeau | My number is 9. // Mon chiffre c’est 9. #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | 21:08 | Post | N/A | 233 | 308 | 18 |
| 7 | Trudeau | “Trudeau to Mulcair: #elxn42 #macdebate” Image Text: “My number is nine. Nine supreme court justices said one vote is not enough to break up this country and yet that is Mr. Mulcair’s position” – Justin Trudeau” | 2015-08-06 | 21:25 | Image | | 203 | 264 | 20 |
| 8 | Trudeau | Mr. Harper has failed our veterans by not giving them the service and the help they need. #elxn42 #cdnpoli | 2015-08-06 | 21:50 | Video | N/A | 263 | 263 | 19 |
| 9 Tie | Harper | I am sure if you have teenagers you’ll agree with me – these two are well-practiced debaters! #elxn42 #macdebate | 2015-08-06 | 17:04 | Image | N/A | 417 | 258 | 116 |
| 9 Tie | Trudeau | First round of the day. #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | 14:40 | Video | N/A | 365 | 258 | 73 |
| 10 | Trudeau | FACT CHECK – The Bank of Canada says Canada is again in a recession. #elxn42 #macdebate | 2015-08-06 | 20:28 | Image | N/A | 176 | 249 | 18 |
| 11 | Trudeau | FACT CHECK – Stephen Harper has the worst economic growth record of any PM since the Depression #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | 20:07 | Image Link | N/A | 174 | 245 | 18 |
| 12 | Trudeau | Trudeau to Harper: “You haven’t been able to get it done on | 2015-08-06 | 20:56 | Image | N/A | 196 | 227 | 22 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | the environment, Mr. Harper” – Justin Trudeau | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

1.3.2. Twitter’s Conservative Party @CPC_HQ and @CPCDebate (terminated)



Figure 0-27: Twitter’s CPC Debate: Post Text: .@pmharper shows #ProvenLeadership and wins first debate! RT if you agree #elxn42 #macdebate #cdnpoli // Image Text: Prime Minister Stephen Harper wins first debate! Proven leadership for a strong Canada. (2015-08-06; 70 favourites; 130 retweets) (CPC Debate 2015c)



Figure 0-28: Twitter’s CPC Debate: Web Link Text: With @PMHarper Canada is the most admired country in the world: tinyurl.com/pvakmyk #elxn42 #macdebate (2015-08-06; 33 favourites; 100 retweets) (CPC Debate 2015d)

Published Wednesday, July 15, 2015 8:53AM EDT

Canada is the "most admired" country with the "best reputation" in the world, according to an annual survey ranking the reputations of developed nations across the globe.

The 2015 report from the Reputation Institute ranked Canada as the most reputable country in the world, based on a variety of environmental, political, and economic factors.

The Reputation Institute's Fernando Prado says Canada offers "something good" in many different categories evaluated in the survey.

RELATED STORIES

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PHOTOS



Three year old Sam Kashfi smiles as he watches the annual Canada Day parade in Montreal, Wednesday, July 1, 2015. (Graham Hughes / THE CANADIAN PRESS)

"We all love Canada because of several things," Prado told CTV's [Canada AM on Wednesday](#). In particular, he praised Canada for its "effective government," "absence of corruption," "friendly and welcoming people" and welfare support system.

However, there were a few categories where Canada lags behind, Prado said, explaining that Canada has a perceived lack of strong brand names and companies, and is not considered a particularly important contributor to the global culture.

Despite its "less positive" scores, Canada's well-rounded performance in most categories helped it regain top spot on the Reputation Institute's list, after it fell to second place in 2014.

Canada held down top spot for three consecutive years prior to that, from 2011 to 2013.

"Overall, Canada is a country that can offer something good in all different aspects," Prado said.

The Reputation Institute surveyed approximately 48,000 residents of G8 countries to gather the data for its rankings. Survey respondents were asked to rank the reputations of the world's 55 wealthiest nations (based on GDP) in a variety of categories.

Norway placed second on the list, followed by Sweden, Switzerland, and Australia. The United States slotted into 22nd spot.

The Reputation Institute also produced a separate list ranking countries based on what their citizens said about their homelands. Australia ranked first on this "self-image" list, followed by Canada, Russia, India and Germany, with the U.S. in sixth place.

Russia had the largest gap between their self-image and how they are perceived by other nations. Russian citizens scored their country as the third-most reputable country in the world, but other nations ranked them 52nd out of 55 countries, ahead of only Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq.

The gap between internal reputation and external reputation was also large for China, India and the United States.

The Reputation Institute bills itself as "the world's leading research and advisory firm for reputation."

 20    20

   313

Figure 0-29: Twitter's CPC Debate: Web Link Content from Figure 0-28: Canada is the most admired country in the world content (CTV News 2015)



CPC Debate @cpcdebate · Aug 6

FACT: #LPC cut health care. #CPC fund health care #elxn42 #macdebate

6:20 PM - 6 Aug 2015 · Details

100 34

Figure 0-30: Twitter’s CPC Debate: Post Text: FACT: #LPC cut health care. #CPC fund health care #elxn42 #macdebate // Image Text: Liberals cut health care transfers by 30% in the 1990s. Justin Trudeau. Just not ready. Conservatives increased health care transfers by nearly 70%. Proven leadership for a strong Canada. (2015-08-06; 21:20; 34 favourite; 100 retweets) (CPC Debate 2015b)



CPC Debate @cpcdebate · Aug 6

Conservative support for Ukraine #elxn42
#macdebate

ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE:

- ✓ FOUR CF-18 FIGHTER JETS TO BALTIC AIR POLICING.
- ✓ HMCS FREDERICTON TO NATO MARITIME FORCES.
- ✓ DEPLOYED 120 CANADIAN ARMED FORCES MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE IN NATO TRAINING EXERCISES.
- ✓ NIGHT/THERMAL GOGGLES, TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS, COATS, PANTS, GORE-TEX BOOTS, AND GLOVES.
- ✓ PROVIDING EXPLOSIVE ORDNANCE DISPOSAL EQUIPMENT AND TACTICAL MEDICAL KITS.
- ✓ LEADING THE MILITARY POLICE TRAINING PROGRAM IN UKRAINE
- ✓ DEPLOYED 200 CANADIAN ARMED FORCES MEMBERS TO WESTERN UKRAINE FOR MILITARY TRAINING.
- ✓ CANADA-UKRAINE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT
- ✓ FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH, SECURITY ASSISTANCE, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, AND DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT.

PROVEN LEADERSHIP FOR A **STRONG CANADA**

Authorized by the Registered Agent of the Conservative Party of Canada

6:37 PM · 6 Aug 2015 · Details

📌 90 🗨️ 26

Figure 0-31: Twitter's CPC Debate: Post Text: Conservative support for Ukraine #elxn42 #macdebate // Image Text: Assistance to Ukraine: Four CF-18 fighter jets to Baltic air policing. HMCS Fredericton to NATO maritime forces. Deployed 120 Canadian armed forces members to participate in NATO training exercises. Night/thermal goggles, tactical communications systems, coats, pants, Gore-Tex boots, and gloves. Providing explosive ordnance disposal equipment and tactical medical kits. Leading the military police training program in Ukraine. Deployed 200 Canadian armed forces members to western Ukraine for military training. Canada-Ukraine free

trade agreement. Financial support for economic growth security assistance, humanitarian assistance, and democratic support. Proven leadership for a strong Canada. (2015-08-06; 21:37; 26 favourite; 90 retweets) (CPC Debate 2015a)

1.3.3. Twitter's Stephen Harper @StephenHarper (formerly @PMHarper)



Figure 0-32: Twitter's Harper: Post Text: I am sure if you have teenagers you'll agree with me - these two are well practiced debaters! #elxn42 #macdebate (2015-08-06; 17:04; 417 likes; 258 retweets; 116 comments) (Harper 2015b)

1.3.4. Twitter's Liberal Party @Liberal_Party



Figure 0-33: Twitter's Liberals: Post Text: He did us proud. Share if you agree. #elxn42 #cdnpoli // Image Text: "This was prime time and Justin Trudeau was clearly ready." – Craig Oliver, CP24. (2015-08-07; 13:46; 232 likes; 343 retweets; 30 comments) (Liberal Party 2015b)



Liberal Party
@liberal_party



The contradictions speak for themselves. Why does Tom Mulcair keep changing his position on debates? #NDP



8:12 PM · Aug 9, 2015 · [Twitter Web Client](#)

105 Retweets 57 Likes

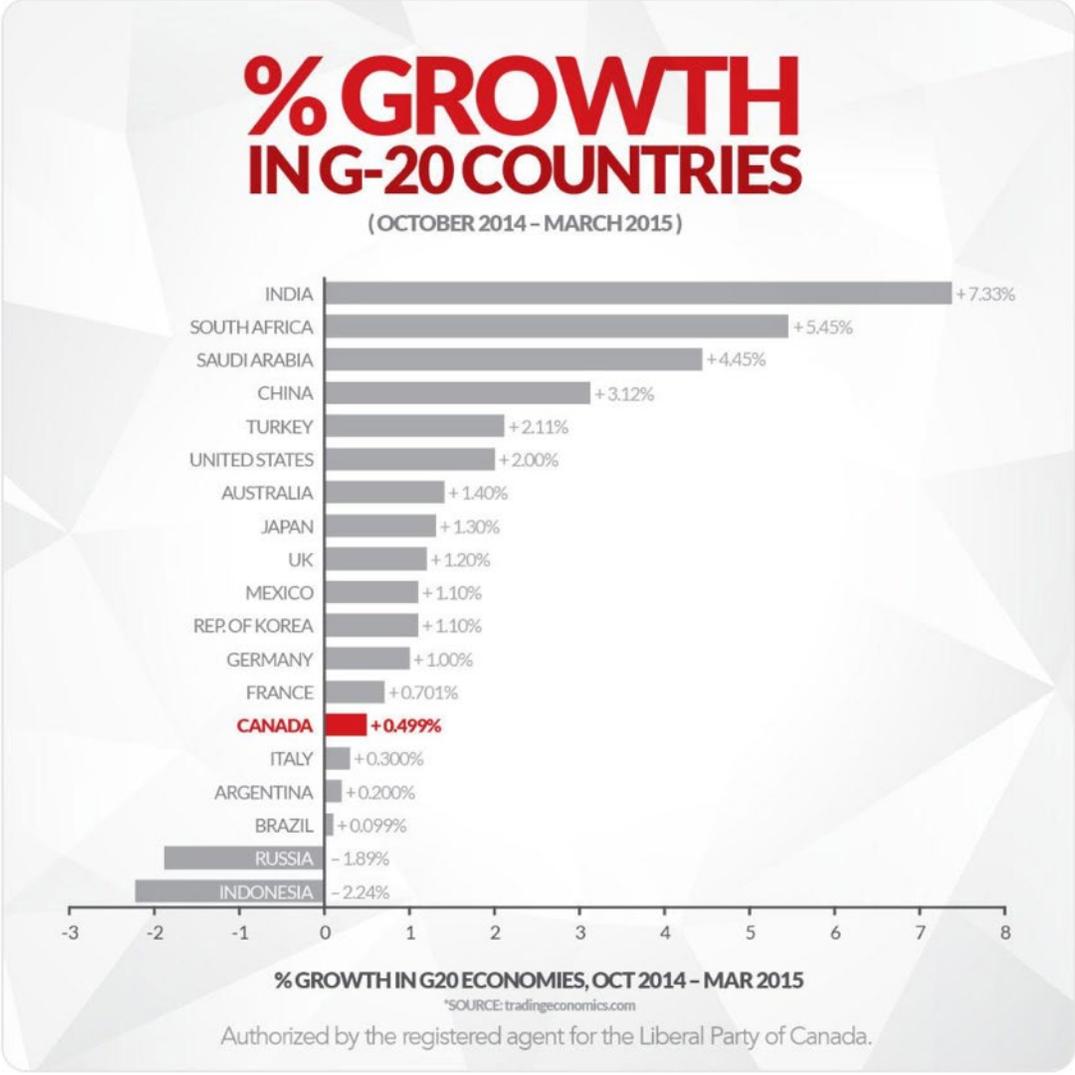


Figure 0-34: Twitter’s Liberals: Post Text: The contradictions speak for themselves. Why does Tom Mulcair keep changing his position on debates? #NDP // Video Text: Tom Mulcair on debates February 2015. Video: Mulcair states, “I’m a big fan of debates as you might of noticed, I enjoy the back and forth of a lively debate” Video Text: “Mulcair to skip debates that don’t include Harper.” – Globe and Mail – July 31, 2015. Video: Mulcair states, “And frankly if there was a leaders’ debate every week of the next election campaign, I’d be there front and centre.” Video text: “Tom Mulcair non-committal about Globe, Munk debates.” – CBC News – August 5, 2015. Video: Mulcair states, “I believe I am the only leader of a recognized party in parliament that has said I am willing to participate in a debate on women’s issues.” Video Text: “Mulcair’s attendance at women’s rights debate uncertain” – metronews.ca – August 4, 2015.

Tom Mulcair says whatever suits him at the time about debates. Wonder what he'll say tomorrow? (2015-08-09; 20:12; 57 likes; 105 retweets; 19 comments) (Liberal Party 2015c)

 **Liberal Party** @liberal_party · 6 Aug 2015

(2/2) Harper blames it on sluggish growth around the world, but that's obviously not the case. #Cdnpoli



| Country | % Growth |
|---------------|----------------|
| INDIA | +7.33% |
| SOUTH AFRICA | +5.45% |
| SAUDI ARABIA | +4.45% |
| CHINA | +3.12% |
| TURKEY | +2.11% |
| UNITED STATES | +2.00% |
| AUSTRALIA | +1.40% |
| JAPAN | +1.30% |
| UK | +1.20% |
| MEXICO | +1.10% |
| REP. OF KOREA | +1.10% |
| GERMANY | +1.00% |
| FRANCE | +0.701% |
| CANADA | +0.499% |
| ITALY | +0.300% |
| ARGENTINA | +0.200% |
| BRAZIL | +0.099% |
| RUSSIA | -1.89% |
| INDONESIA | -2.24% |

% GROWTH IN G-20 ECONOMIES, OCT 2014 - MAR 2015
*SOURCE: tradingeconomics.com
Authorized by the registered agent for the Liberal Party of Canada.

1 72 24

Figure 0-35: Twitter's Liberals: Post Text: (2/2) Harper blames it on sluggish growth around the world, but that's obviously not the case. #Cdnpoli // Image Text: % Growth in G-20 countries (October 2015-March 2015. Canada +0.499%. // (2015-08-06; 20:26; 24 likes; 72 retweets; 1 comment) (Liberal Party 2015a)

1.3.5. Twitter's Justin Trudeau @JustinTrudeau



Figure 0-36: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: A better Canada is always possible. #elxn42. // Video: Trudeau states, "Mr. Harper has spent millions of dollars on attack ads," the image cutting to Harper's resumé attack ad against Trudeau, while Trudeau states, "trying to convince you that I'm not ready for this job." The image cuts to Trudeau smiling and shaking hands with people in a crowded room. Trudeau's voiceover continues, "Silly as they are, they do pose an important question. How can you decide whether someone is ready to be your Prime Minister?" The image returns to Trudeau speaking at the debate. He states, "Here's what I think. In order to know if someone is ready for this job, ask them what they want to do with this job, and why they want it in the first place." The image cuts to Trudeau holding his youngest son, Hadrien, in a park setting, giving a high-five to another toddler being held by his father. The image then cuts to Trudeau's daughter, Ella-Grace, and older son, Xavier, running to him, Trudeau lifting them up onto his lap while watching the Calgary stampede, with Trudeau's voiceover continuing. "I'm a 43-year-old father of three kids, and I love them deeply. I want them to grow up in the best country in the world. One that we can all be proud of." The image cuts to Trudeau in a suit, shaking hands with smiling supporters. Trudeau's voiceover continues, "What I learnt from my father is that to lead this country, you need to love this country. Love it more than you crave power. It needs to run through your veins. You need to feel it in your bones. Mr. Harper and I part ways on many issues, but our issues go deeper than just policy. Mr. Harper is dead wrong about one thing." The image then returns to Trudeau in the debate, stating, "He wants you to believe that better just isn't possible. Well, I think that is wrong. We are who we are, and Canada is what it is, because in our hearts, we've always known that better is always possible." The Liberal post ends with the upbeat music increasing in volume, and an image of the red

background with the Liberal logo in white lettering (2015-08-12; 07:31; 621 likes; 378 retweets; 50 comments) (Trudeau 2015t)



Figure 0-37: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Stephen Harper broke his promise to never appoint a single Senator. 59 times. #elxn42 // Video Text: In 2006, Stephen Harper promised not to appoint a single Senator. Then, he broke that promise 59 times... and we know how that turned out. (2015-08-06; 21:12; 258 likes; 356 retweets; 22 comments) (Trudeau 2015j)



Figure 0-38: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: On the environment, Stephen Harper trusts his ideology. Liberals will trust science. #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 20:55; 359 likes; 339 retweets; 28 comments) (Trudeau 2015h)



Figure 0-39: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Trudeau to Harper: // Image Text: "Canadians know that you've let them down because you've chosen to give benefits and tax breaks to the wealthiest Canadians." – Justin Trudeau (2015-08-06; 22:01; 362 likes; 330 retweets; 26 comments) (Trudeau 2015k)



Figure 0-40: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: My number is 9. // Mon chiffre c'est 9. #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 21:08; 233 likes; 308 retweets; 18 comments) (Trudeau 2015p)



Figure 0-41: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Trudeau to Mulcair: #elxn42 #macdebate // Image Text: "My number is nine. Nine supreme court justices said one vote is not enough to break up this country and yet that is Mr. Mulcair's position" – Justin Trudeau (2015-08-06; 21:25; 203 likes; 264 retweets; 20 comments) (Trudeau 2015r)

↻ Gerald Butts 🇨🇦 and 1 other Retweeted



Justin Trudeau ✓ @JustinTrudeau · 6 Aug 2015

Mr. Harper has failed our veterans by not giving them the service and the help they need. #elxn42 #cdnpoli



💬 19 ↻ 263 ❤️ 263 ✉

Figure 0-42: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Mr. Harper has failed our veterans by not giving them the service and the help they need. #elxn42 #cdnpoli // Video: Trudeau states, "If we are going to send our troops overseas, we need to make sure we are properly taking care of them when they come home. And Mr. Harper has failed our veterans by nickel-and-diming them, by not giving them the service, the help that they need. And it's something that we should all be ashamed of, that this government, that likes to wrap itself in the flag, is actually not caring for those people who have fought, injured themselves, and – in many cases, died – under that flag." (2015-08-06; 21:50; 263 likes; 263 retweets; 19 comments) (Trudeau 2015o)



Justin Trudeau  @JustinTrudeau · 6 Aug 2015

First round of the day. #elxn42



 74

 259

 369



Figure 0-43: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: First round of the day. #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 14:40; 369 likes; 259 retweets; 74 comments) (Trudeau 2015d)



Justin Trudeau ✓ @JustinTrudeau · 6 Aug 2015

FACT CHECK - The Bank of Canada says Canada is again in a recession.

#elxn42 #macdebate



18 249 176

Figure 0-44: Twitter’s Trudeau: Post Text: FACT CHECK – The Bank of Canada says Canada is again in a recession #elxn42 #macdebate // Image Text: “We don’t believe we will be in a recession.” – Joe Oliver, July 3, 2015. (2015-08-06; 20:28; 176 likes; 249 retweets; 18 comments) (Trudeau 2015n)



Justin Trudeau ✓

@JustinTrudeau

🇨🇦 Officiel du gouvernement - Canada



FACT CHECK - Stephen Harper has the worst economic growth record of any PM since the Depression.

lpc.ca/am3f. #elxn42



Harper's Growth Record Is the Worst Since R.B. Bennett

Stephen Harper went to Russia this week to lecture G-20 countries about fiscal responsibility. It all rang a bit hollow because of his fiscal record here...

huffingtonpost.ca

8:07 PM · Aug 6, 2015 · Hootsuite

Figure 0-45: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: FACT CHECK – Stephen Harper has the worst economic growth record of any PM since the Depression. lpc.ca/am3f. #elxn42 // Web Link Text: Harper's growth record is the worst since R. B. Bennett (2015-08-06; 20:07; 152 likes; 235 retweets; 17 comments) (Trudeau 2015m)

Harper's Growth Record Is the Worst Since R.B. Bennett

Stephen Harper went to Russia this week to lecture G-20 countries about fiscal responsibility. It all rang a bit hollow because of his fiscal record here at home. In 2006 Harper was handed the most robust fiscal situation in the western world. And he blew it in less than three years.

By Ralph Goodale, Contributor

Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness

09/06/2013 05:34am EDT | **Updated** November 6, 2013

Stephen Harper went to Russia this week to lecture G-20 countries about fiscal responsibility. It all rang a bit hollow because of his fiscal record here at home.

In 2006, he was handed a steadily growing economy which had generated 3.5 million net new jobs, declining debt and taxes, a decade of balanced budgets, annual surpluses at about \$13-billion and fiscal flexibility projected ahead five years totaling \$100-billion. That's what Mr. Harper had to work with -- the most robust fiscal situation in the western world. And he blew it in less than three years.

He over-spent by three times the rate of inflation. He eliminated all the financial shock absorbers that had been built into Canada's budgetary framework to protect against adverse events. And he put this country back into deficit again -- a structural deficit -- BEFORE (not because of) the recession which arrived in late 2008.

Mr. Harper failed to anticipate that recession. As it began, he dismissed it as just "a good buying opportunity." When he couldn't deny reality any longer, his belated stimulus plan was slow, convoluted, intensely partisan and tainted with boondoggles like that "fake lake" in Toronto and multi-million dollar misappropriations for ornamental gazebos and sidewalks-to-nowhere in Muskoka.

It's now four full years since the recession ended, and still our national economy remains sluggish and uncertain with vast disparities among different regions, sectors and demographic groups.

This government has only one prescription for everything -- austerity, austerity and more austerity. To fix (or at least camouflage) his structural deficit, Mr. Harper took a slice out of future federal funding for healthcare and old-age pensions. This week at the G20, he re-attached himself to debt-ratio targets that are at least a decade old.

By doing so, he's admitting failure. He has failed to meet all debt reduction goals set out for Canada over the past decade, and he's now lowering the bar by which he wants to be measured.

Part of the problem is simple incompetence -- witness the bungled and deceitful F-35 fighter-jet fiasco, among others. And part of it is having no credible plan for economic growth. You cannot hack-and-slash your way to a better debt-to-GDP ratio. You have to make the Canadian economy grow at a stronger, sustained rate.

That's the message coming from the Bank of Canada this week. But it seems lost on this government. Mr. Harper has the worst economic growth record since the dismal days of R.B. Bennett.

But nevermind, he says, Canada is doing better than Spain. But we're not doing better than Australia or New Zealand or Norway or even the United States.

Canadians are weary of the grinding mediocrity that characterizes the Harper regime. We're constantly told to lower our expectations, settle for less. And a big part of that burden falls on Canada's middle-class:

- Middle-class incomes have been flat for years, while living costs and household debt have ballooned;
- 70% of those employed in the private sector cannot count on a company pension;
- 60% of middle-class parents worry about affording any kind of higher education for their kids;
- For the first time ever, over 50% of middle-class Canadians fear their children will not do as well as they did;
- More than 40% of empty-nester parents have had their adult children move back home because they can't afford to live on their own;
- Youth unemployment remains near recession-like levels and a whole generation of young Canadians are putting their lives on hold.
- The Harper Conservatives are oblivious to these realities. But middle-class Canada lives them everyday day.

They yearn for a government that will be on their side, encouraging them to be hopeful and ambitious once again -- about their own prospects and about the future of their country.

Figure 0-46: Twitter's Trudeau: Web Link Content from Figure 0-45: Harper's Growth Record Is the Worst Since R.B. Bennett (Goodale 2013)



Figure 0-47: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Trudeau to Harper: // Image Text: "You haven't been able to get it done on the environment, Mr. Harper" – Justin Trudeau (2015-08-06; 20:56; 196 likes; 227 retweets; 22 comments) (Trudeau 2015q)



Figure 0-48: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Okay Twitterverse, I'm turning over my account to @liberal_party's campaign team for the #macdebate. Watch this account all night. #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 16:49; 182 likes; 102 shares; 34 comment) (Trudeau 2015g)

Mike McNair and 2 others Retweeted



Justin Trudeau @JustinTrudeau · 6 Aug 2015

Back on Twitter post-debate after calling my top advisor. Thanks Sophie.



61 181 576

Figure 0-49: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: Back on Twitter post-debate after calling my top advisor. Thanks Sophie. (2015-08-06; 23:11; 576 likes; 181 retweets; 61 comments) (Trudeau 2015a)

1.3.6. Twitter's NDP @NDP HQ

The image shows a screenshot of a tweet from the NDP (@NDP). The tweet text is: "Honestly, Mr Harper, we really can't afford another 4 years of you." #Ready4Change #NDP #elxn42 #macdebate. Below the text is a video player showing a man (likely Mulcair) speaking at a podium. The background of the video has text that reads "MACLEAN NATIONAL LEADER". The tweet is dated 5:29 PM - 6 Aug 2015. It has 182 retweets, 90 likes, and 4 comments. The user profile shows the NDP logo and a verified account.

Figure 0-50: Twitter's NDP: Post Text: "Honestly, Mr Harper, we really can't afford another 4 years of you." #Ready4Change #NDP #elxn42 #macdebate // Video: Mulcair states, "What Mr. Harper fails to mention is that he's run up eight deficits in a row. He's added \$150 billion to Canada's debt in the last 10 years, and frankly, last week, as we headed into this campaign, in just one day he spent over a billion dollars. Honestly, Mr. Harper, we really can't afford another four years of you." (2015-08-06; 20:29; 90 likes; 182 retweets; 4 comments) (NDP 2015b)



Figure 0-51: Twitter’s NDP: Post Text: .@ThomasMulcair challenges Stephen Harper on his failed plan for Canada’s economy. #Ready4Change #macdebate // Image Text: “You are the only Prime Minister who when asked about recessions on his watch, has to ask: which one?” (2015-08-06; 20:30; 63 likes; 129 retweets; 2 comments) (NDP 2015c)



Governing is about setting priorities. RT if you agree w/
[@ThomasMulcair](#)'s focus on affordable childcare.
[#macdebate](#)

NATIONAL LEADERS DEBATE 2015

“Taxpayers have spent **\$1 billion** on the corrupt Senate under Mr. Harper. Think of the child care spaces that could have been created instead.

Tom
Mulcair
+NDP

9:22 PM · Aug 6, 2015 · [Twitter Web Client](#)

97 Retweets **51** Likes



Figure 0-52: Twitter's NDP: Post Text: Governing is about setting priorities. RT if you agree w/ @ThomasMulcair's focus on affordable childcare. #macdebate // Image Text: "Taxpayers have spent \$1 billion on the corrupt Senate under Mr. Harper. Think of the child care spaces that could have been created instead. Tom Mulcair NDP. (2015-08-06; 21:22; 51 likes; 97 retweets; 2 comments) (NDP 2015a)

1.3.7. Twitter’s Tom Mulcair @ThomasMulcair



Figure 0-53: Twitter’s Mulcair: Post Text: Canadians are #Ready4Change. We are too. #NDP #macdebate #elxn42 // Video: Mulcair states, “It is time for a change – change that’s built on hard work, living within your means, and accountability. These are the values that have guided by 35 years of public service, and these are the values that will continue to guide me. My number one priority is to kickstart the economy and get Canadians working. We will invest in local infrastructure and help small businesses to create jobs. And we understand that good jobs and a clean environment go hand-in-hand. I have fought for Canada my whole life. I know that Canada is the greatest country in the world. But a lot has been lost under the Conservatives. I have the experience to replace Mr. Harper, and the plan to repair the damage that he has done. Canadians are ready for change. We’re ready too. I invite you to join us. Thank you. (2015-08-06; 22:14; 224 likes; 217 retweets; 28 comments) (Mulcair 2015b)

Retweeted by Margaret E. Atwood and 2 others



Tom Mulcair @ThomasMulcair · 7 Aug 2015

The reviews are in — Tom was “strong”, “prime ministerial”, and the “victor” in last night’s debate. #NDP #macdebate



59 comments 151 retweets 135 likes

Figure 0-54: Twitter’s Mulcair: Post Text: The reviews are in — Tom was ‘strong’, ‘prime ministerial’, and the ‘victor’ in last night’s debate. #NDP #macdebate” // Image Text: Tom Mulcair wins first leaders debate. “Mulcair was strong” – Laura Payton, CBC News. “prime ministerial” – Michael Den Tandt, National Post. “The strategic victor is Tom Mulcair’s NDP” – Nicky Woolf, The Guardian. #Ready4Change. NDP. (2015-08-07; 15:18; 135 likes; 151 retweets; 59 comments) (Mulcair 2015f)

↳ Peter Julian and 1 other Retweeted



Tom Mulcair @ThomasMulcair · 6 Aug 2015

"This election is a choice—between four more years of Stephen Harper or this extraordinary team." #Ready4Change #NDP



19

121

117



Figure 0-55: Twitter’s Mulcair: Post Text: This election is a choice—between four more years of Stephen Harper or this extraordinary team.” #Ready4Change #NDP // Video: Mulcair states: “Well, you know this is my first debate, and I am looking forward to it. I think that it is going to be an opportunity for Canadians to realize that this election is about choice. A choice between four more years of Stephen Harper or an extraordinary team of women and men dedicated to bringing positive change to Ottawa. We want to replace the politics of fear and division with the politics of hope and optimism. Mr. Harper has given us eight deficits in a row, \$150 billion in new debt added for the future generations to bear, and he’s got one of the worst job creation records in Canadian history, in fact he has the worst job creation record since the second world war, and one the worst economic records in a hundred years, you have to go all the way back to the crisis of the 1920s to find someone who’s got a worse economic record. So, we know we can do better. We can kickstart the economy, with investments in infrastructure, we can become a champion for manufacturing, we can lower the business tax rates for small and medium sized businesses and help create new jobs. They create 80 per cent of the new jobs. We have a clear plan, to help kickstart the economy, to create jobs, and to replace Mr. Harper’s politics of fear and division with our politics of hope.” (2015-08-06; 13:23; 117 likes; 121 retweets; 19 comments) (Mulcair 2015d)

1.3.8. Twitter's Green Party @CanadianGreens



Figure 0-56: Twitter's Green Party: Post Text: Impressed by @ElizabethMay in the #macdebate? Join the movement today green.ca/volTW #elxn42 // Image Text: I'm In. Join the movement. Green.ca/volunteer. (2015-08-06; 21:50; 73 likes; 101 retweets; 2 comments) (Green Party Canada 2015a)



Figure 0-57: Twitter's Green Party: Post Text: We need to put power back where it belongs - in the hands of Canadians #macdebate #elxn42 #gpc green.ca/ov // Image Text: "We need to reduce the power of political parties and amplify the role of individual members of Parliament. Members of Parliament have to get back to actually representing their constituents." – Elizabeth May #elxn42. Green. (2015-08-06; 21:00; 51 likes; 89 retweets; 5 comments) (Green Party Canada 2015b)



Green Party Canada ✓
@CanadianGreens



Our policy on [#C51](#) is simple. Repeal it! [#macdebate](#)
[@ElizabethMay](#)



7:23 PM · Aug 10, 2015 · [Twitter Web Client](#)

80 Retweets **81 Likes**



Figure 0-58: Twitter's Green Party: Post Text: Our policy on [#C51](#) is simple. Repeal it. [#macdebate](#) [@ElizabethMay](#) // Video: May states, "C-51 creates a secret police under CSIS with no reporting requirements to the RCMP. None. And it will create separate security espionage groups not knowing what the other is doing. This legislation must be repealed. <edit> This is a disaster." Video Text: On October 19 vote for a Canada that works. Together. Green. Greenparty.ca (2015-08-10; 19:23; 81 likes; 80 retweets; 7 comments) (Green Party Canada 2015c)

1.3.9. Twitter’s Elizabeth May @ElizabethMay



Figure 0-59: Twitter’s May: Post Text: Q of the day: In the #Macdebate Harper said C51 includes oversight by judges. Does it really? #QPGPC #elxn42 #cdnpoli // Image Text: Elizabeth May’s question of the day. #QPGPC (2015-08-29; 19:09; 18 likes; 41 retweets; 12 comments) (May 2015f)



Figure 0-60: Twitter’s May: Post Text: @Tintie4 @christellar His excuse was absurd. #GPC is national party w elected MP. That has always been the requirement for debates. (2015-08-11; 18:45; 12 likes; 13 retweets; 2 comments) (May 2015e)



Figure 0-61: Twitter’s May: Post Text: @bethevoteca @UniforTheUnion I tried in the debate. We must address crushing student debt! (2015-08-11; 11:57; 7 likes; 9 retweets) (May 2015d)

1.4. Top Liked Debate-Related Instagram Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Leaders’ Debate

1.4.1. Table 6: Top 4 Liked Debate-Related Instagram Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2015 *Maclean’s* Leaders’ Debate

| Rank | Party/Leader | Title | Date | Type | Views | Likes | Comments |
|------|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|--------------|----------|
| 1 | Trudeau | Called my top advisor. Thank you Sophie. // Un appel avec ma conseillère la plus importante. Merci Sophie. #macdebate #cdnpoli #polcan #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | Image | N/A | 3,706 | 276 |
| 2 | Trudeau | Morning boxing session in Toronto. // Entraînement de boxe à Toronto ce matin. #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | Image | N/A | 2,033 | 161 |
| 3 | Mulcair | Canadians are #Ready4Change. We are too. #NDP #macdebate #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | Image | N/A | 232 | 7 |
| 4 | Mulcair | “This election is about a choice - a choice between four more years of Stephen Harper or this extraordinary team of women and men dedicated to bringing positive change to Ottawa.” - Tom Mulcair in Toronto #Ready4Change #NDP #Toronto #elxn42 | 2015-08-06 | Image | N/A | 146 | 2 |

1.4.2. Instagram’s Conservative Party @cpc_hq

Instagram’s Conservative Party was launched on 24 October 2016, after the *Maclean’s* leaders’ debate.

1.4.3. Instagram’s Stephen Harper @stephenharper

Instagram’s Stephen Harper was launched on 15 April 2013, but did not have *Maclean’s* leaders’ debate related posts on 6 August 2015, or the posts have since been deleted within the prescribed timeframe, with no record of debate related posts on archival sites.

1.4.4. Instagram's Liberal Party @liberalca

Instagram's Liberal Party was launched on 2 May 2016, after the *Maclean's* leaders' debate.

1.4.5. Instagram's Justin Trudeau @justinpjtrudeau

Instagram's Justin Trudeau was launched on 4 December 2012, after announcing he would run for leadership of the Liberal Party 2 October 2012. Trudeau won the leadership of the Liberal Party in April 2013.



Figure 0-62: Instagram's Trudeau: Post Text: Called my top advisor. Thank you Sophie. // Un appel avec ma conseillère la plus importante. Merci Sophie. #macdebate #cdnpoli #polcan #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 3,706 likes, 276 comments) (Trudeau 2015b)



Figure 0-63: Instagram’s Trudeau: Post Text: Morning boxing session in Toronto. // Entraînement de boxe à Toronto ce matin. #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 2,033 likes; 161 comments) (Trudeau 2015e)

1.4.6. Instagram’s Canada’s NDP @ndpcanada

Instagram’s Canada’s NDP was launched on 15 September 2014, but did not have *Maclean’s* leaders’ debate related posts on 6 August 2015, or the posts have since been deleted within the prescribed timeframe, with no record of debate related posts on archival sites.

1.4.7. Instagram’s Tom Mulcair @tommulcair

Instagram’s Tom Mulcair was launched on 4 May 2015. Mulcair won the leadership of the NDP on 24 March 2012.



Figure 0-64: Instagram's Mulcair: Post Text: Canadians are #Ready4Change. We are too. #NDP #macdebate #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 232 likes; 7 comments) (Mulcair 2015c)



Figure 0-65: 2015 Leaders' Debate Crowd (Kennedy 2015)



Figure 0-66: Instagram’s Mulcair: Post Text: “This election is about a choice - a choice between four more years of Stephen Harper or this extraordinary team of women and men dedicated to bringing positive change to Ottawa.”- Tom Mulcair in Toronto #Ready4Change #NDP #Toronto #elxn42 (2015-08-06; 146 likes; 2 comments) (Mulcair 2015e)

1.4.8. Instagram’s Green Party of Canada @greenpartyofcanadaofficial

Instagram’s Green Party of Canada was launched on 28 August 2014, but did not have Maclean’s leaders’ debate related posts on 6 August 2015, or the posts have since been deleted within the prescribed timeframe, with no record of debate related posts on archival sites.

1.4.9. Instagram’s Elizabeth May @elizabethemay

Instagram’s Elizabeth May was launched on 9 June 2019.

1.5. Top Shared Debate-Related Facebook Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate

1.5.1. Table 7: Top 10 Shared Debate-Related Facebook Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate

| Rank | Party/Leader | Title | Date | Time | Type | Views | Reactions | Likes | Shares | Comments |
|------|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|--------|--------------|----------|
| 1 | Conservative | Tonight’s debate made one thing clear: Andrew Scheer is the only leader that can be trusted to | 2019-10-07 | 21:00 | Image | N/A | 11,915 | 10,517 | 3,451 | 2,017 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|---|------------|---------|-------|-----|---------|---------|--------------|-------|
| | | help you and your family get ahead -- Andrew Scheer Wins Debate | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Conservative | Canadians are tired of Justin Trudeau's weak leadership. It's time to elect a strong Conservative government that will help you get ahead. – "Mr. Trudeau you're a phoney and you're a fraud and you do not deserve to govern this country." – Andrew Scheer | 2019-10-09 | 08:47 | Image | N/A | 6,234 | 5,537 | 2,622 | 1,225 |
| 3 | Trudeau | The best kind of debate prep: walking these two to school this morning! | 2019-10-07 | 16:0220 | Image | N/A | 130,994 | 111,376 | 2,422 | 7,600 |
| 4 | Conservative | Justin Trudeau has no record to run on and has no plan for Canada's future. The debate on Monday made one thing very clear: Andrew Scheer is the best choice for Canada. – "As Monday's debate unfolded, only Andrew Scheer emerged as the candidate worthy of the support of Canadians who value sensible general economic policies free of radicalism and extremism." – Financial Post, October 9 | 2019-10-10 | 08:01 | Image | N/A | 5,479 | 4,958 | 1,529 | 1,191 |
| 5 | Bloc | À la veille du débat en anglais, tenons-nous debout pour le Québec, pour les Franco- | 2019-10-06 | 15:51 | Image | N/A | 2,772 | 2,254 | 1,431 | 260 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|--|------------|-------|-------|---------|--------|--------|--------------|-------|
| | | Canadiens et pour les Acadiens. (Translated) On the eve of the debate in English, let's stand up for Quebec, for Franco-Canadians and for Acadiens. | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Trudeau | To be clear: We will NOT put a 50% tax on the sale of your home. | 2019-10-07 | 14:37 | Video | 146,000 | 4,818 | 4,011 | 1,294 | 1,623 |
| 7 | May | I was unfairly excluded from tonight's French language debate, which means I didn't get to offer French Canadians my plan or my perspective. But don't worry, the Green momentum won't be stopped - and I'll be there to hold them to account in the next one. Tune in Monday. | 2019-10-02 | 22:34 | Image | N/A | 3,454 | 2,370 | 1,200 | 494 |
| 8 | Green | At the debate tonight, Elizabeth explained why Scheer's brand of selfish policies are stopping us from lifting everyone out of poverty. | 2019-10-07 | 21:23 | Image | N/A | 3,987 | 3,073 | 1,159 | 458 |
| 9 | Trudeau | Do we go back to the Harper years when the Conservatives did nothing about climate change? Or fight for a better future? I'm for moving forward, for everyone. #ChooseForward | 2019-10-07 | 20:08 | Video | 302,188 | 15,710 | 12,873 | 1,095 | 2,220 |
| 10 | Scheer | Another week in the books! Momentum is | 2019-10-06 | 21:35 | Video | 66,000 | 5,167 | 4,462 | 1,061 | 1,095 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | building as more and more Canadians show their support for our plan to help you get ahead. Join me, and let's make life more affordable for everyone! | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

1.5.2. Facebook’s 2019 Conservative Party of Canada – Parti conservateur du Canada @cpcpc



Figure 0-67: Facebook’s Conservatives: Post Text: Tonight’s debate made one thing clear: Andrew Scheer is the only leader that can be trusted to help you and your family get ahead. // Image Text: Andrew Scheer Wins Debate (2019-10-07; 21:00; 11,915 reactions; 10,517 likes; 3,451 shares; 2,017 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada 2019a)



Figure 0-68: Facebook’s Conservatives: Post Text: Canadians are tired of Justin Trudeau's weak leadership. It’s time to elect a strong Conservative government that will help you get ahead. // Image Text: “Mr. Trudeau, you’re a phoney and you’re a fraud and you do not deserve to govern this country” – Andrew Scheer (2019-10-09; 08:47; 6,234 reactions; 5,537 likes; 2,622 shares; 1,225 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada 2019b)

Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada
- 10 October

Justin Trudeau has no record to run on and has no plan for Canada's future. The debate on Monday made one thing very clear: Andrew Scheer is the best choice for Canada.

5.4K reactions 1.1K comments 1.5K shares

Like Comment Share

Most relevant

Eloise Ludlow We need someone respectable..presentable..who tells it like it is and is logical...well spoken! Someone Canada can be proud of to govern and represent us..only Scheer fits the bill! Vote Scheer!
Like · Reply · 2w 99

4 replies

Glen Bohnet I'm hoping you crush him , and the green eats her words !!! I'm googling polls and what's up , so many saying we are behind 🍷
Like · Reply · 2w 3

4 replies

Daniel-Albert Blanchet Not for me, thank you very much, I have already made my choice, and you won't make me change my mind.
Like · Reply · 2w 4

5 replies

June Charbonneau What people seem to forget is that a debate requires candidates to answer questions in very little time. In that little time someone else

Write a comment...

Figure 0-69: Facebook’s Conservatives: Post Text: Justin Trudeau has no record to run on and has no plan for Canada’s future. The debate on Monday made one thing very clear: Andrew Scheer is the best choice for Canada. // Image Text: “As Monday’s debate unfolded, only Andrew Scheer emerged as the candidate worthy of the support of Canadians who value sensible general economic policies free of radicalism and extremism – Financial Post, October 9” (2019-10-10; 08:01; 5,479 reactions; 4,958 likes; 1,529 shares 1,191 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada - Parti conservateur du Canada 2019c)

1.5.3. Facebook’s 2019 Andrew Scheer @AndrewScheerMP

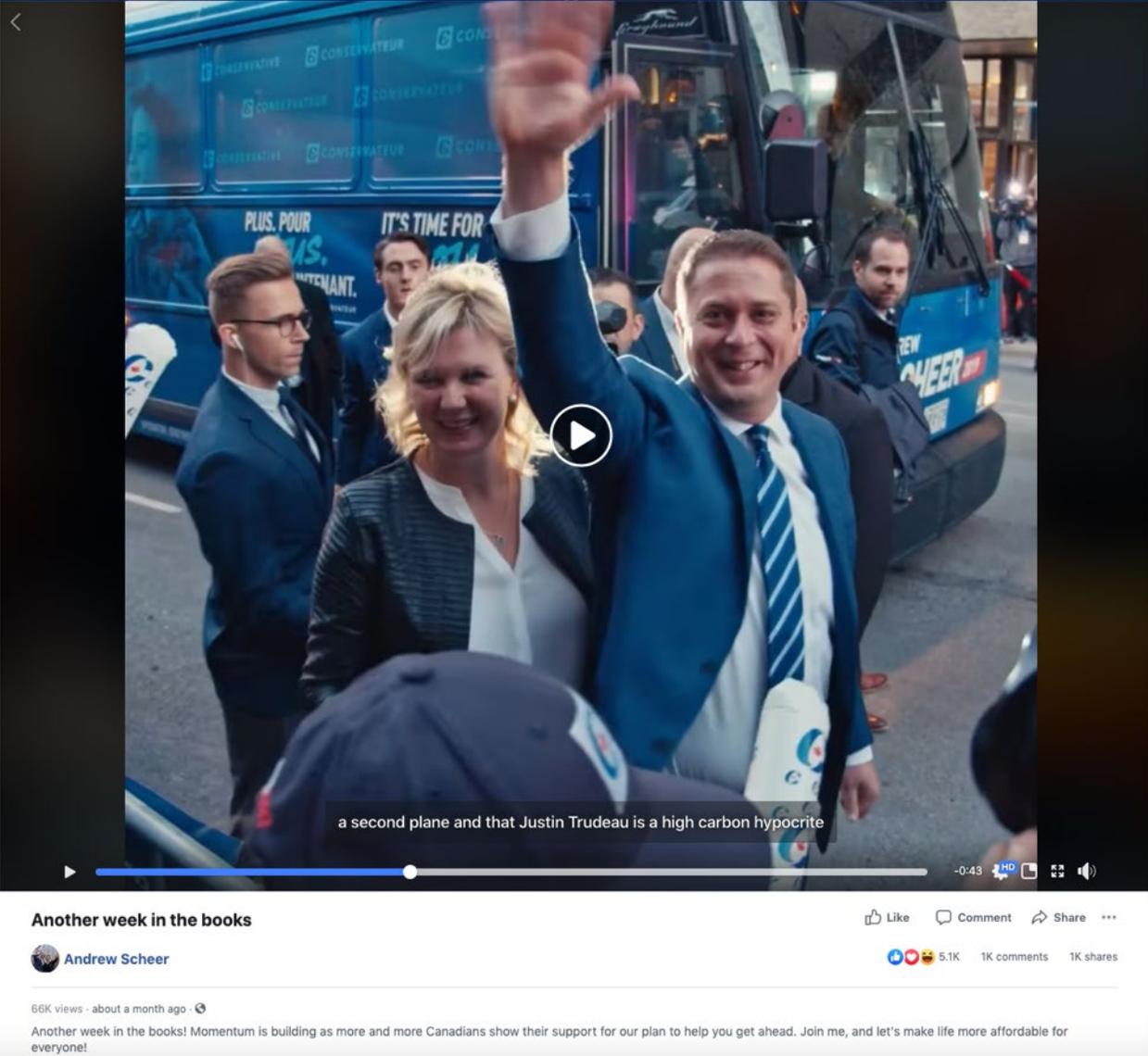


Figure 0-70: Facebook’s Scheer: Post Text: Another week in the books! Momentum is building as more and more Canadians show their support for our plan to help you get ahead. Join me, and let’s make life more affordable for everyone! // Video Text: “Another week in the books. I’m just about to take off from Toronto, going to spend a few hours with my kids tonight, and then tomorrow, and then back at it on Monday. We start off the week in Whitby, Ontario. Nous avons commence à Whitby, Ontario. We had our first French-language debate, the only one so far that Justin Trudeau showed up at. That’s where we found out that the Liberals have a second plane, and that Justin Trudeau is a high carbon hypocrite. Justin Trudeau est un faux-écologiste. The momentum is really building. More and more Canadians are realizing that Justin Trudeau is making life more expensive, that after the election, taxes are going to go up, especially his carbon tax, and their looking forward to a Conservative government that will live within its means, leave more money in your pocket, because it’s time for you to get ahead. Plus. Pour vous. Dès maintenant. Video Text: It’s time for you to get ahead. Conservative. (2019-10-06; 21:35; 66,000 views; 5,167 reactions; 4,462 likes; 1,061 shares; 1,095 comments) (Scheer 2019a)



Figure 0-71: Facebook’s Scheer: Post Text: Let’s do this. It’s time for you to get ahead!
#LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 (2019-10-07; 18:46; 10,484 reactions; 9,400 likes; 809 shares; 1,159 comments)” (Scheer 2019d)



Getting you home faster

Andrew Scheer

43K views · about a month ago

As Prime Minister, I will work to make your commute shorter and more affordable. Under Justin Trudeau, critical projects that will reduce your commute times aren't getting built. It's time for you to get ahead.

Like Comment Share

3.3K 774 comments 748 shares

Figure 0-72: Facebook’s Scheer: Post Text: As Prime Minister, I will work to make your commute shorter and more affordable. Under Justin Trudeau, critical projects that will reduce your commute times aren’t getting built. It’s time for you to get ahead. // Video: Scheer states, “In 2015 Justin Trudeau made a lot of promises to get elected. He said he would balance the budget. He said he would help the middle class. He even said he would be accountable and ethical. Now here we are just four years later, and he has broken almost every promise he has made to Canadians. Including his promises to build infrastructure. In 2015, he made billions in promises, claiming he’d make your commute easier. But critical projects that will reduce your commute times aren’t getting built. A new Conservative government will work with provincial and territorial governments to build those projects that make a difference in people’s lives. By reducing commute times and congestion and getting people home faster after a long day. Projects like the Ontario Line and the Yonge Subway Extension here in the GTA. And the Massey Tunnel Replacement in Vancouver. And the Third Link in Québec City. As Prime Minister, I will help make your commute shorter and more affordable. Because it’s time for you to get

ahead.” Video Text: It’s time for you to get ahead. Conservative. (2019-10-09; 08:45; 43,000 views; 3,396 reactions; 3,343 likes; 748 shares; 774 comments) (Scheer 2019g)

1.5.4. Facebook’s 2019 Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada @LiberalCA



Figure 0-73: Facebook’s Liberals: Post Text: Are we really surprised that the Conservatives have been caught lying to Canadians - again? // Web Link Text: Truth Tracker: Conservatives falsely claim Trudeau lowered taxes for millionaires (2019-10-09; 19:32; 1209 reactions; 896 likes; 584 shares; 922 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2019c)

WATCH LIVE

Aerial view as crews battle raging wildfires in California

POLITICS | Fact check

Truth Tracker: Conservatives falsely claim Trudeau lowered taxes for millionaires

Graham Slaughter CTVNews.ca Writer
@grahamslaughter | Contact
Published Tuesday, October 8, 2019 4:40PM EDT



Nanos on polling after the debate

From CTV News Channel, Pollster Nik Nanos breaks down the numbers after the English-language leaders' debate and if there was a winner.

Evan Solomon: 'It was a mess in there'

Evan Solomon, host of CTV's Question Period, says the debate format made it tough for leaders to have any real discussion.

Political strategists on how the leaders performed

Political strategists Tom Parkin, Jason Leiber and Jennifer Arp discuss how the party leaders performed during the debate.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 >

SHARE 13K

TORONTO — During Monday's election debate the Conservative Party joined other parties in live-tweeting the debate in real time on Twitter.

But those tweets weren't always reliable.

About 30 minutes into the debate, the Conservatives tweeted that it had been "confirmed by the media that Justin Trudeau lowered taxes for millionaires." The tweet then linked to a Canadian Press story from September.



More election coverage



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- How to follow election night with CTV News
- Truth Tracker: Keeping tabs on campaign misinformation
- What happens if no party wins a majority of seats? Minority possibilities, explained
- Party platforms: Promises made by major party leaders
- Ridings to watch: Battle grounds, tight races & hot issues
- Poll numbers: Stay updated with Nanos daily ballot tracking
- Profiles: In-depth look at each major party leader
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Related Links

- StatCan - Effective tax rates and high income Canadians, 2017

The problem: the story says no such thing.

The CP article is based on a Statistics Canada report that shed light on income growth in 2017. The report, which can be found here, showed that incomes among Canada's highest earners grew more than the rest of the country that year.

At the same time, the richest Canadians saw their total taxes drop.

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But it's not true to suggest that the Liberals "lowered taxes for millionaires." As the CP article points out, the Liberals increased the tax rate on incomes in the highest bracket in 2016 by creating a fifth tax bracket. The move pushed federal taxes even higher for the richest Canadians, up to 18.8 per cent from 18.4 per cent.

"He actually increased the tax rate on high income people," Moshe Lander, a professor of economics at Concordia University, told CTVNews.ca.

But despite the federal tax boost, the wealthiest Canadians still saw a decline in taxes due to tax reductions at the provincial level — particularly in Quebec.

In 2017, the richest Canadians' overall tax rate was 30.9 per cent, down slightly from 31.3 per cent in 2016.

The reason for that drop, Lander said, has a lot to do with tax avoidance — a perfectly legal practice whereby the individuals find legitimate ways to lower their tax burden.

"It's not because Trudeau lowered the tax on them. It's because they became more skilled at avoiding it," Lander said.

"When you're trying to squeeze the rich, that encourages them to hire tax accountants and tax lawyers to avoid the tax."

Last night, Green Party Leader Elizabeth May called for tighter tax rules on the wealthy. In her platform she has promised to put forward a reassessment of the Canadian tax system, close loopholes that benefit the wealthy and crack down on offshore tax dodging.

Lander said May's theory is "right but unimplementable" because of how much it would cost to operate.

FEDERAL ELECTION



Trudeau vows to 'fight for all Canadians' as Liberals win minority government



Live election results & real-time interactive map



The 6 biggest surprises of election night



Scheer praises party gains after Tories fall short of majority

"She is inherently contradicting herself somewhere. If you want to stick with the current tax code, then to reduce tax avoidance you need to hire thousands of more CRA employees to chase it, which is going to cost money, which is going to create a bigger deficit, more debt, and less room for saving the environment or whatever other policy she wants," Lander said.

According to the StatsCan report, Canada had 277,695 one-per-centers in 2017. Most of them lived in Ontario, Alberta, Quebec or B.C.

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See a story or post circulating on social media that you think may be disinformation or in need of fact-checking?

Let us know by sharing with us the link to the post or the source of the information.

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Please include your full name, city and province.

RELATED IMAGES



Conservative leader Andrew Scheer, right, and Liberal leader Justin Trudeau gesture to each other as they both respond during the Federal leaders debate in Gatineau, Que., on Monday, October 7, 2019. THE CANADIAN PRESS/Justin Tang

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NDP bleeds seats in Quebec as party sinks to fourth place



'Ottawa doesn't care': Western separatist movement gains traction as Albertans react to Liberal victory

Figure 0-74: Facebook's Liberals: Web Link Content: Truth Tracker: Conservatives falsely claim Trudeau lowered taxes for millionaires (see Figure 0-73) (see Figure 0-115) (Slaughter 2019)

CONSERVATIVE CUTS HURT KIDS.

Authorized by the registered agent for the Liberal Party of Canada.

Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada
 · 7 October · 🌐

Cuts to education, healthcare, and environmental protection - for our kids' sake, we can't afford for Andrew Scheer to do to Canada what Doug Ford has done to Ontario.

👍❤️👍 1.3K 997 comments
 370 shares

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Most relevant ▾

Nathan Polturak Cutting the child recreation and arts tax benefit hurt kids too. Thanks JT!
 Like · Reply · 2w 👍❤️👍 22
 ↳ 7 replies

B. J. Arquette So are the federal Liberals appealing to federal concerns or hoping for panic votes?
 You want my vote give me what your going to do, how your going to do it, and how your going to pay for it and reduce the deficit my grand kids are going to be screwed with.
 Please give me a reason to vote in support of something and not out of your assumption of my fear.
 Like · Reply · 3w 👍❤️👍 2
 ↳ 1 reply

Phil Heim Naaaaah, huge teachers unions that aren't accountable to the public and

Write a comment... 🗨️ 📷 📎

Figure 0-75: Facebook’s Liberals: Post Text: Cuts to education, healthcare, and environmental protection - for our kids’ sake, we can’t afford for Andrew Scheer to do to Canada what Doug Ford has done to Ontario. // Image Text: Conservative cuts hurt kids. (2019-10-07; 11:42; 1,356 reactions; 1,058 likes; 370 shares; 997 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2019a)



Figure 0-76: Facebook’s Liberals: Post Text: Who has the positive plan? Their words from the debate last night speak for themselves. // Image Text: women’s rights; climate change; billion trees; middle class; housing; succeed; climate change. Phoney; abuse; demo; mishandles; failing; threatening; doing nothing; fraud (2019-10-08; 22:22; 1,371 reactions; 1,055 likes; 286 shares; 722 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada | Parti libéral du Canada 2019b)

1.5.5. Facebook's 2019 Justin Trudeau @JustinPJTrudeau



Figure 0-77: Facebook's Trudeau: Post Text: The best kind of debate prep: walking these two to school this morning! (2019-10-07; 16:02; 130,994 reactions; 111,376 likes; 2,422 shares; 7,600 comments) (Trudeau 2019g)



Figure 0-78: Facebook’s Trudeau: Post Text: To be clear: We will NOT put a 50% tax on the sale of your home. // Video Text: Andrew Scheer is sending a letter to millions of Canadians with his latest lies about our platform. To. Be. Clear. We will not put a 50% tax on the sale of your home. Here’s what we will do: Lower the price of your first home by 10%. Give more money to people in places where houses cost more. Tax vacant homes owned by people who don’t live in Canada. Give Canadians an interest-free loan of up to \$40,000 to adapt their homes for climate change. Whatever mistruths you hear from Conservatives, know that we’re for moving forward – for everyone. Choose forward. Liberal. (2019-10-07; 14:37; 146,000 views; 4,818 reactions; 4,011 likes; 1,294 shares; 1,623 comments) (Trudeau 2019i)



Figure 0-79: Facebook’s Trudeau: Post Text: Do we go back to the Harper years when the Conservatives did nothing about climate change? Or fight for a better future? I’m for moving forward, for everyone. #ChooseForward // Video: Trudeau states, “Years from now, I want to look my kids in the eyes and say, we stepped up in the fight against climate change. That’s why we worked long and hard to build our plan. Of course, it’s not perfect, and we need to do more, but it’s a serious plan that will reduce pollution, and create jobs. In October, you get to choose, do we go back to the Harper years, when the Conservatives did nothing about climate change, or fight for a better future? I’m for moving forward, for everyone. Video Text: investing in renewables; ban single-use plastics; world class oceans protection plan; reduce pollution; create jobs. Liberal Choose Forward.ca (2019-10-07; 20:08; 302,188 views; 15,710 reactions; 12,873 likes; 1,095 shares; 2,220 comments) (Trudeau 2019d)

1.5.6. Facebook's 2019 Canada's NDP / Le NPD du Canada @NDP.NPD

What they're saying...

“Jagmeet had some of the best lines of the night. He had the lines that are going to play with the average Canadians. They were short, they were snappy, they speak to Canadians.”

– Mercedes Stephenson, Global News

NDP

Leaders Debate: What They're saying...

Canada's NDP / Le NPD du Canada

12K views · about a month ago

Last night, Jagmeet stood up for everyday people and showed how he'll make life better for families – and the response has been incredible.

Figure 0-80: Facebook's NDP: Post Text: Last night, Jagmeet stood up for everyday people and showed how he'll make life better for families – and the response has been incredible. Here's what they're saying about Jagmeet's performance at last night's debate. // Video Text: What's they're saying ... “In the winner category, you can put a check mark next to NDP leader Jagmeet Singh's name... He's risen to the occasion many times over the course of this campaign and I think that he did so again tonight.” – Vassy Kapelos, CBC News. “Jagmeet had some of the best lines of the night. He had the lines that are going to play with the average Canadians. They were short, they were snappy, they speak to Canadians.” – Mercedes Stephenson, Global News. “The most interesting person tonight was Mr. Singh. Of the leaders tonight he was the most comfortable on stage. If Twitter traffic matters, he dominated the night. Both in volume and positive coverage it was about Jagmeet Singh.” – Darrell Bricker, IPSOS. “Jagmeet Singh was pretty strong, hopeful, positive.” – Michel Boyer, CTV News. “Jagmeet Singh was the big winner, acting the most Prime Ministerial.” – André Picard, Globe and Mail. “Singh is strong tonight. He's picking up steam on the hustings. Natural campaigner. Tonight's zinger: Canadians

don't have to choose between Mr. Delay (Trudeau) and Mr. Deny (Scheer) on climate change action." – Mercedes Stephenson, Global News. "Singh lands a blow with the government's challenge to a compensation order for First Nations kids in care. He's heads and tails above the others on this file." – Robyn Urback, CBC News. "So far, Singh doing best tonight, I think. Exceeding expectations, seems at ease, repeatedly suggesting Trudeau too soft on rich and powerful." – Stephen Maher, Maclean's. "Singh's pretty darn good at this." – David Akin, Global News. "This is my first extended exposure to Jagmeet Singh. He is the only one on this stage I can relate to at all. I'm impressed." – Damien Cox, Toronto Star. "Jagmeet Singh is crushing this debate." – Lauren O'Neil, BlogTO. "Singh jumps in and points out that Trudeau and Scheer are fighting about 'who is worse for Canada.' Singh uses this to pivot to his platforms and how universal pharmacare and dental care will save families money." – Annie Bergeron Oliver, CTV News. "I think that the people feeling the best tonight are the New Democrats. They feel that Jagmeet Singh has had his best week this week, since becoming leader." – David Cochrane, CBC News. (2019-10-08; 13:57; 12,000 views; 453 reactions; 464 likes; 242 shares; 78 comments) (Canada's NDP / Le NPD du Canada 2019c)

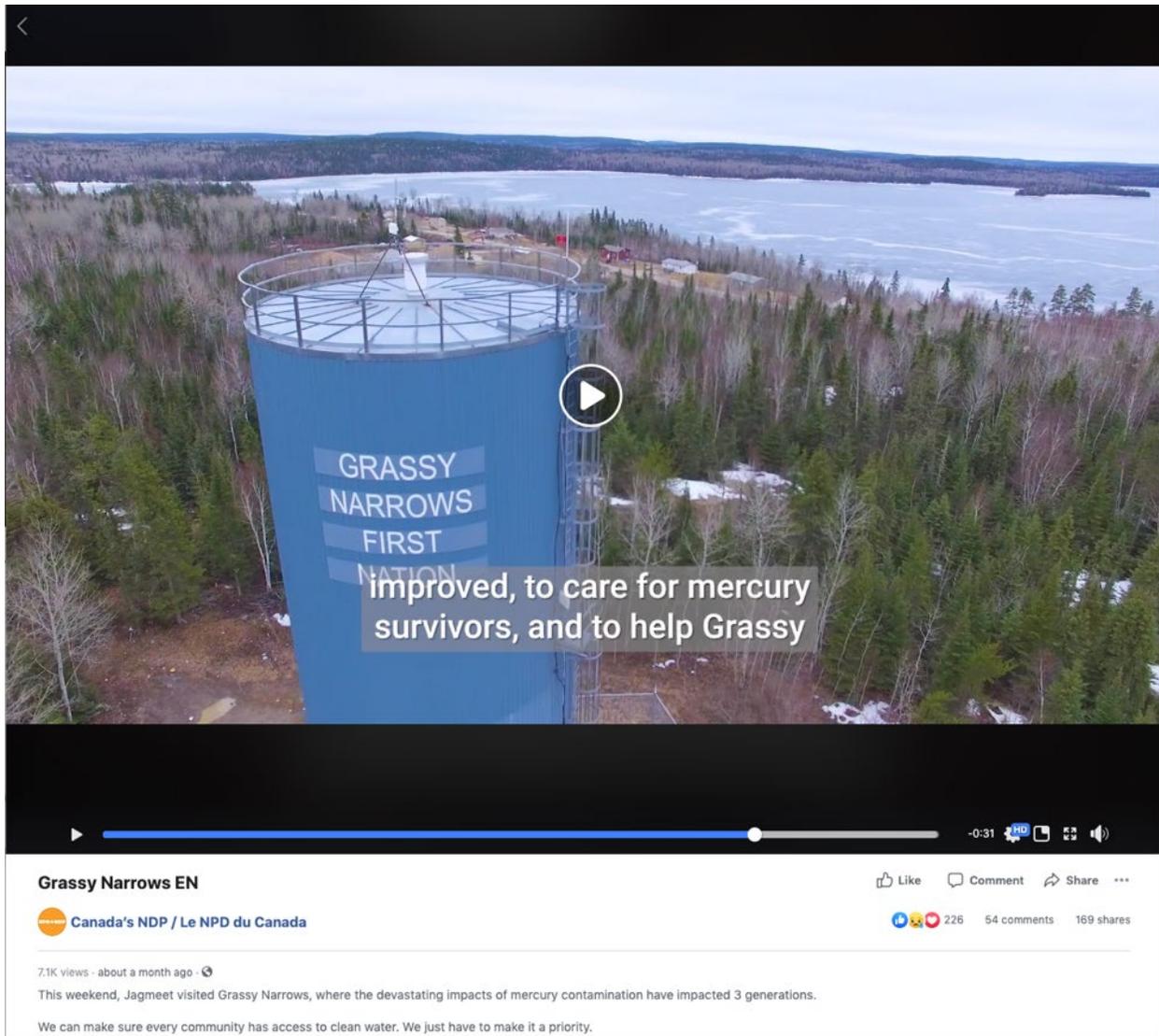


Figure 0-81: Facebook’s NDP: Post Text: This weekend, Jagmeet visited Grassy Narrows, where the devastating impacts of mercury contamination have impacted 3 generations. // Video: Various voices of Grassy Narrows. “There is nothing more important than clean water. My name is Judy Da Silva. My name is Darwin Fobister. Sharice Bruce. I am from Grassy Narrows. I live in a community that is very destroyed by the effects of mercury poisoning in the water. This water can kill us eventually. It’s already killing us slowly. As you get older you begin to face more health issues because of the mercury that’s in our bodies. I’m poisoned by mercury and I’m a mother of five. In the 1960s and ’70s, industrial pollution contaminated the water in Grassy Narrows with mercury, making it one of Canada’s worst environmental disasters. The contamination in this community of about 1,000 residents has affected three generations. When we found out the mercury was in the water it had a really devastating effect in our community economically, socially, and all that. It’s like a genocide of our people. A lot of our people have died from the mercury poisoning and still today they are. Ninety per cent of people tested in Grassy Narrows experience symptoms of mercury poisoning. Industry is given too much free rein on our lands to put their pollutants out there and their chemicals – and they need to put water first. No one should be without safe, clean water. For too long, Grassy Narrows First Nation, like

many Indigenous communities, has been left behind by governments. We have a responsibility to make sure the services of the community are improved, to care for mercury survivors, and to help Grassy Narrows children and youth get the support they need to thrive.” Video: Singh states, “Why is it that we ask the question whether or not Indigenous people should have clean drinking water? We’ve got to take a minute and think, why is that even a question? Yes, they deserve clean drinking water, yes, we can make it happen, it’s a matter of priority.” Video Text: Jagmeet Singh, NDP. In it for you. On se bat pour vous. (2019-10-07; 09:45; 7,100 views; 226 reactions; 159 likes; 169 shares; 54 comments) (Canada’s NDP / Le NPD du Canada 2019b)



Figure 0-82: Facebook’s NDP: Post Text: There are just two weeks to go until election day – and our team is out connecting with people in communities across Canada. Be a part of the campaign – volunteer today! ndp.ca/volunteer. // Image Text: Volunteer! NDP. (2019-10-07; 15:05; 56 reactions; 48 likes; 35 shares; 34 comments) (Canada’s NDP / Le NPD du Canada 2019a)

1.5.7. Facebook's 2019 Jagmeet Singh @jagmeetndp

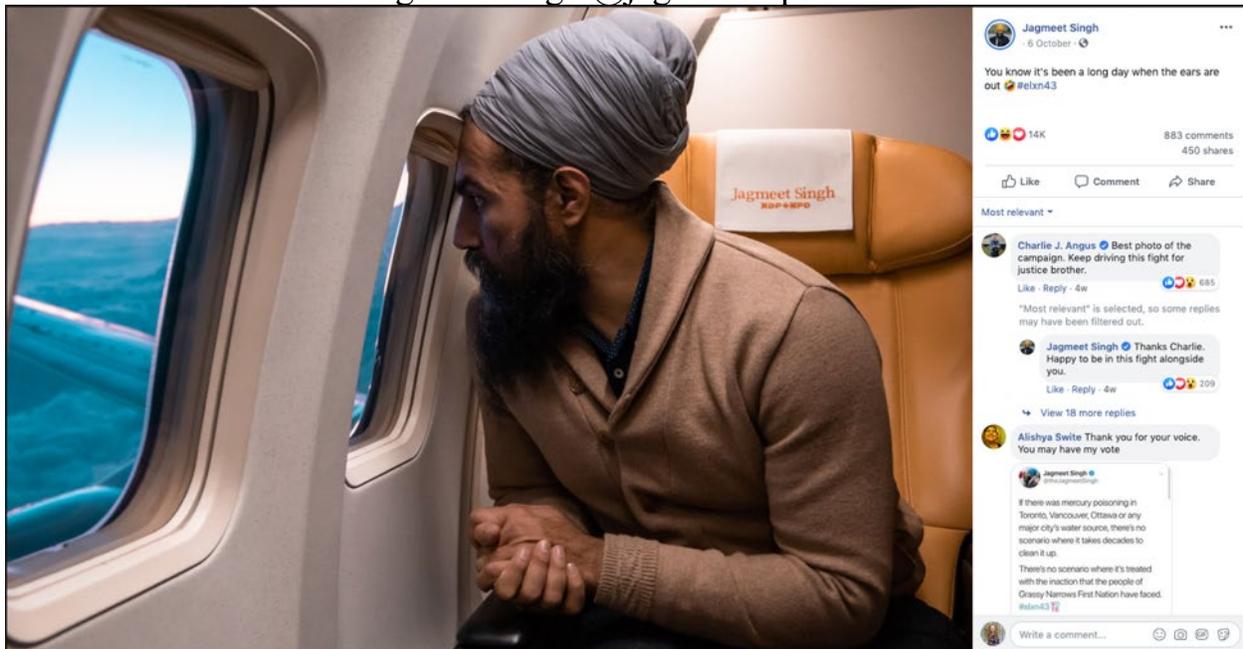


Figure 0-83: Facebook's Singh: Post Text: You know it's been a long day when the ears are out 🇨🇦 #elxn43 (2019-10-06; 17:54; 14,819 reactions; 11,412 likes; 450 shares; 883 comments) (Singh 2019a)



Jagmeet Singh

7 October at 21:59 · 🌐



Debate night is a wrap! I love every opportunity I get to share the stories of the people I've met across Canada – and offer our plan to make life easier for people, not the rich & powerful.



C'est fini pour le débat de ce soir! C'est très important pour moi de saisir chaque occasion pour partager les histoires des gens que je rencontre à travers le Canada et présenter notre plan pour rendre votre vie plus facile, pas celle des plus riches.

[See Translation](#)



👍❤️😮 8.2K

700 comments 374 shares

Figure 0-84: Facebook’s Singh: Post Text: Debate night is a wrap! I love every opportunity I get to share the stories of the people I’ve met across Canada – and offer our plan to make life easier for people, not the rich & powerful. CA C’est fini pour le débat de ce soir! C'est très important pour moi de saisir chaque occasion pour partager les histoires des gens que je rencontre à travers le Canada et présenter notre plan pour rendre votre vie plus facile, pas celle des plus riches. (2019-10-07; 21:59; 8,295 reactions; 7,070 likes; 374 shares; 700 comments) (Singh 2019e)



Figure 0-85: Facebook’s Singh: Post Text: We’re here & ready to go 🇨🇦 Arrivé et prêt à passer à l’action. (2019-10-07; 16:41; 5,818 reactions; 5,033 likes; 213 shares; 367 comments) (Singh 2019f)

1.5.8. Facebook’s 2019 Green Party of Canada – Parti vert du Canada
 @GreenPartyofCanada



Figure 0-86: Facebook’s Green: Post Text: At the debate tonight, Elizabeth explained why Scheer’s brand of selfish policies are stopping us from lifting everyone out of poverty. // Image Text: “Mr. Scheer, that may be the worst idea in your whole non-platform” is Elizabeth May’s best line, perhaps the best line in the history of Canadian politics. (2019-10-07; 21:23; 3,987 reactions; 3,073 likes; 1,159 shares; 458 comments) (Green Party of Canada 2019b)

Andrew Scheer won't win.

pass it on.

Green Party of Canada
Page Liked · 8 October · 🌐

Andrew Scheer will never be Prime Minister. He's proven he's not trustworthy. His climate non-plan ignores science. And he's been dog whistling to the far right.

People in Canada are so much better than that.

Vote for what you believe in.

👍❤️👍 2.6K 646 comments
993 shares

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Most relevant ▾

Linda Drought I Please dont join the Negative Nellie style Campaign. I care more about what candidate Does have to offer not what his opponent doesnt! Very American type campaign style
Like · Reply · 4w · Edited 10

↳ 1 reply

Lori Lee Miller That's what she said last night lol. I love Elizabeth May, especially because she actually knows how to directly answer a question, and then backs it up with facts. She really knows her stuff.
Like · Reply · 4w 30

↳ 1 reply

Melissa Bryner Mark I wish she wouldn't say this. It might give liberal voters a false sense of security and cause them not to vote.
Like · Reply · 4w 5

↳ 1 reply

Ellena Simunovic-Moscarella Let's hope but this kind of overconfidence is dangerous.....it's always possible. Ford won in Ontario and that should never have happened.
Like · Reply · 4w 7

↳ 3 replies

Write a comment...

Figure 0-87: Facebook’s Green: Post Text: Andrew Scheer will never be Prime Minister. He’s proven he’s not trustworthy. His climate non-plan ignores science. And he’s been dog whistling to the far right. People in Canada are so much better than that. Vote for what you believe in. // Image Text: Andrew Scheer won’t win. Pass it on. (2019-10-08; 14:01; 2,690 reactions; 2,206 likes; 993 shares; 646 comments) (Green Party of Canada 2019e)



Figure 0-88: Facebook's Green: Post Text: It's debate night! The only female leader, Elizabeth has been head of the Greens for 13 years, an MP for 8, and she's devoted her whole life to defending people + 🌍. To the other leaders: buckle up, boys! Pass this on to wish her luck! (2019-10-07; 14:44; 3,077 reactions; 2,406 likes; 682 shares; 257 comments) (Green Party of Canada 2019d)

1.5.9. Facebook's 2019 Elizabeth May @ElizabethMayGreenLeader

Green Party Canada @CanadianGreens

When 4 men talk about women's rights...

If only there was a woman there to weigh in.

#faceafaceTVA

Elizabeth May
Page Liked · 2 October · 🌐

I was unfairly excluded from tonight's French language debate, which means I didn't get to offer French Canadians my plan or my perspective.

But don't worry, the Green momentum won't be stopped - and I'll be there to hold them to account in the next one. Tune in Monday.

👍👎👏 3.4K 494 comments 1.2K shares

Like Comment Share

Most relevant ▾

Marjorie Lee I am from Québec and I was very angry that you were not included in the debate. Well, I speak English too so I get to hear you somewhere else. Me, my family and many of my friends are voting

Write a comment...

Figure 0-89: Facebook's May: Post Text: I was unfairly excluded from tonight's French language debate, which means I didn't get to offer French Canadians my plan or my perspective. But don't worry, the Green momentum won't be stopped - and I'll be there to hold them to account in the next one. Tune in Monday. // Image Text: When 4 men talk about women's rights... If only there was a woman there to weigh in. #faceafaceTVA (2019-10-02; 22:34; 3,454 reactions; 2,370 likes; 1,200 shares; 494 comments) (May 2019a)

Green Party Canada @CanadianGreens

Tired of the divisive politics you've seen this election?
Blame first past the post.
[@ElizabethMay](#): "It makes each party a rival of the other."
We need solutions, not bickering.
Greens fight for proportional representation.
#LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli

Elizabeth May
· 7 October ·

The debate tonight made one thing blatantly clear: we need proportional representation.
We can't solve the problems of our time without working together.

4K reactions 441 comments 847 shares

Like Comment Share

Most relevant

Curtis Young Here is a crazy idea! What if the greens and the NDP made an alliance to drop the weaker candidate in similar ridings (now, 2 weeks before the election) and support the other party.
Case in point, Cape Breton Canso and Sydney-Victoria. If L. Suitor (... See more)
Like · Reply · 4w · Edited 11

2 replies

Sunya Wright Justin promised us proportional representation!! Lies! Great job tonight, you were the best out there!
Like · Reply · 4w · Edited 15

1 reply

Taylor Southin I really wish the Green and NDP Parties would just merge already. I

Write a comment...

Figure 0-90: Facebook's May: Post Text: The debate tonight made one thing blatantly clear: we need proportional representation. We can't solve the problems of our time without working together. // Image Text: Tired of the divisive politics you've seen this election? Blame first past the post. @ElizabethMay: "It makes each party a rival of the other." We need solutions, not bickering. Greens fight for proportional representation. #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli (2019-10-07; 21:42; 4,088 reactions; 3,518 likes; 847 shares; 441 comments) (May 2019f)

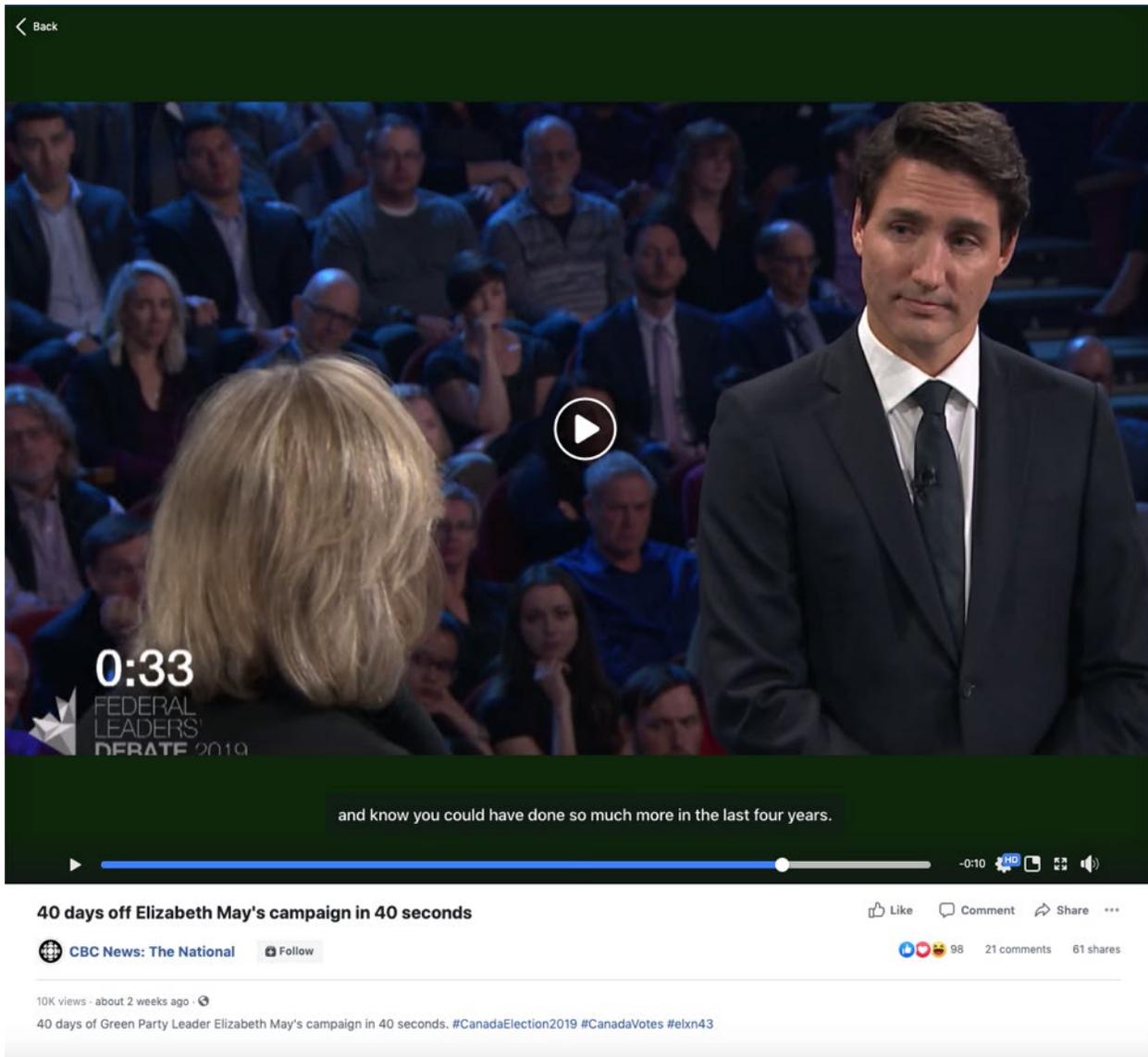


Figure 0-91: Facebook’s May: Post Text: 40 days of Green Party Leader Elizabeth May’s campaign in 40 seconds. #CanadaElection2019 #CanadaVotes #elxn43. // Video: May states, “This election is about telling the truth to Canadians about how serious the climate emergency really is. We need to move away from fossil fuels as quickly as possible. We’re certainly not a one issue party. Bring in real pharmacare. Cancelling tuition. We want to ensure that no one is left homeless and bring in a guaranteed livable income. I’m not a woman who would ever, ever, ever, retreat from the right of a woman to a safe and legal abortion and that’s our party policy. He’s not a separatist. We will not have a candidate who thinks they can work to break-up our country. That’s not on. Vote Green, it feels good. To avoid catastrophic levels of global warming, we must not build the Trans Mountain pipeline. It’s so heartbreaking for me to look at you today and know you could have done so much more in the last four years. Please God you don’t get a majority.” Video Text: Canada Votes 2019. CBCNews. (2019-10-21; 16:15; 98 reactions; 68 likes; 61 shares; 21 comments) (May 2019i)

1.5.10. Facebook's 2019 Bloc Québécois @blocquebécois



Figure 0-92: Facebook's Bloc: Post Text: À la veille du débat en anglais, tenons-nous debout pour le Québec, pour les Franco-Canadiens et pour les Acadiens. (Translated) On the eve of the English debate, let's stand up for Québec, for French-speaking Canadians and for Acadians. // Image Text: "Je souhaite juste que les francophones du Canada et les Acadiens aient le même traitement que les anglophones du Québec" (Translated) "I want French-speaking people in English Canada and Acadians to get the same treatment as English-speaking people in Québec." (2019-10-06; 15:51; 2,772 reactions; 2,254 likes; 1,431 shares; 260 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019a)



Figure 0-93: Facebook’s Bloc: Post Text: À jeudi! (Translated) See you Thursday! // “J’ai hate d’entendre ces messieurs nous dire la même chose qu’ils nous ont dit ce soir lors du débat en français jeudi.” (Translated) “I can’t wait to hear these gentlemen tell us the same thing they told us tonight in the French debate on Thursday.” (2019-10-07; 21:19; 1,631 reactions; 1,337 likes; 586 shares; 279 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019b)



Figure 0-94: Facebook’s Bloc: Post Text: Petit rappel 🇵🇸 (Translated) Little reminder 🇵🇸 // Image Text: Québec knows what’s right for Québec. Thank you. (2019-10-07; 19:23; 1,172 reactions; 929 likes; 387 shares; 166 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019f)

1.5.11. Facebook's 2019 Yves-François Blanchet @Yves-François-Blanchet-Bloc-québécois-364797800592456

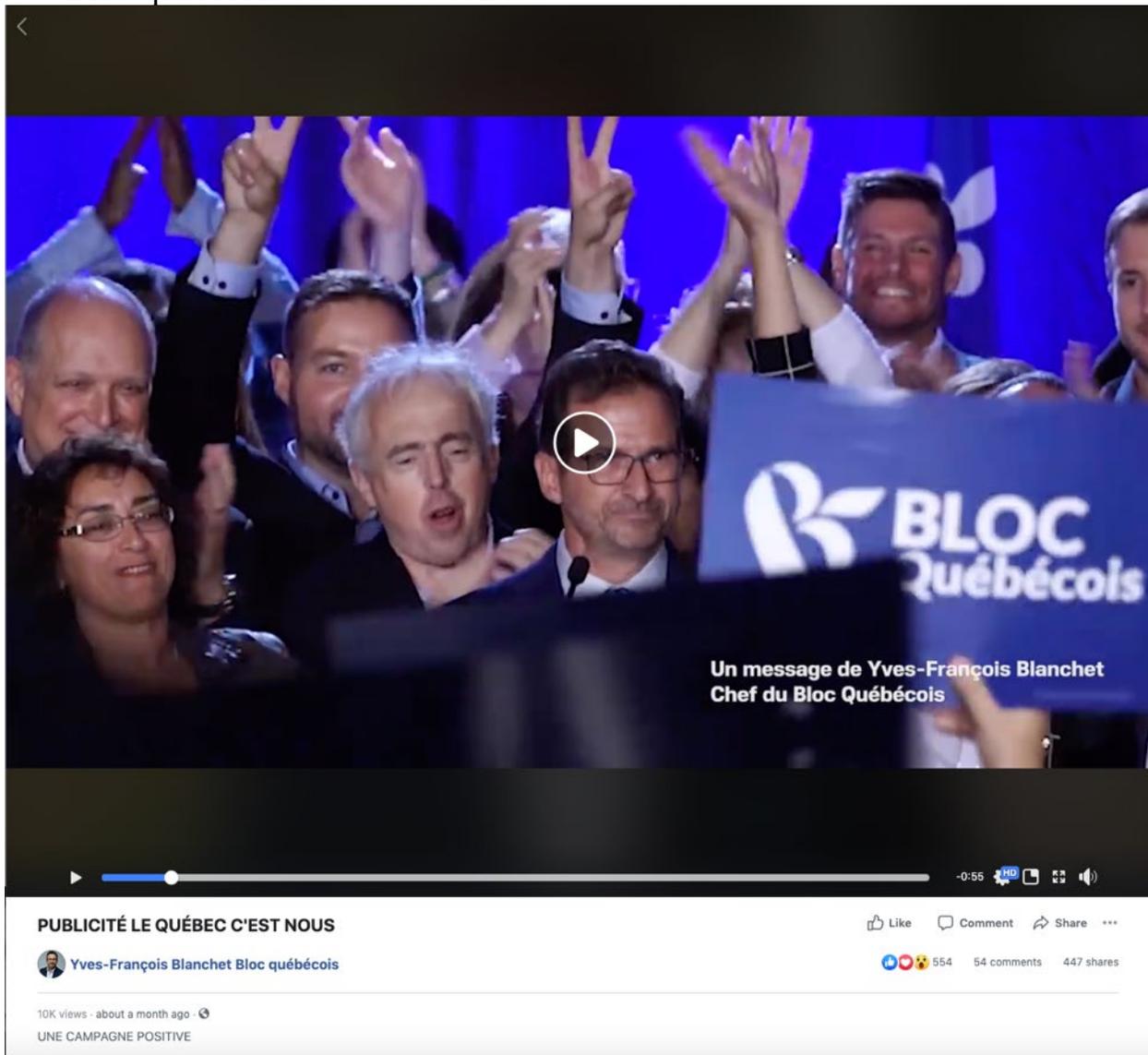


Figure 0-95: Facebook's Blanchet: "PUBLICITÉ LE QUÉBEC C'EST NOUS - UNE CAMPAGNE POSITIVE - Le Bloc Québécois mène une campagne positive et nous devons continuer ainsi à présenter des propositions fortes. Dignes, verts et généreux. Ne prêtez pas l'oreille aux campagne négatives. Elles démontrent que notre écoute de ce qu'est et veut une large part du Québec inquiète les partis qui le voient comme une minorité dont on tolère difficilement la différence. Vous le croyez aussi? Je vous invite à partager ce sommaire de notre vision, et à invitez vos gens à en faire autant. Nous avons moins d'argent que les adversaires? Nous avons le nombre et la passion pour le Québec. Juste pour le Québec! Parce que le Québec, c'est nous. Merci! (Translated) A POSITIVE CAMPAIGN The Bloc Québécois is running a positive campaign and we must continue to present strong proposals. Dignified, green and generous. Do not listen to the negative campaigns. They show that listening to what a large part of Québec is and wants worries the parties who see it as a minority whose difference is difficult to tolerate. Do you believe it too? I invite you to share this summary of our vision, and to invite your people to

do the same. We have less money than the opponents? We have the number and passion for Québec. Just for Québec! Because Québec is us. Thank you for your support!” // Video Text: L’énergie propre c’est nous. La vitalité des régions c’est nous. La langue, notre culture, la laïcité, c’est nous. Le Québec c’est nous. Bloc Québécois. Bloc.org. (2019-10-07; 13:54; 554 reactions; 419 likes; 447 shares; 54 comments) (Yves-François Blanchet 2019d)



Figure 0-96: Facebook’s Blanchet: Post Text: À deux jours du débat en anglais, je me demande pourquoi je suis le seul à revendiquer ce qui devrait être un hymne pour les fédéralistes et un début d’indication que leur fédération fonctionne. Nous sommes de la nation québécoise en quête d’un pays mais aussi frères et sœurs de tous les Français d’Amérique. Partagez... au Canada! 🌸 🌻 😊 (Translated) With two days to go before the debate in English, I wonder why I am the only one claiming what should be an anthem for the federalists and a beginning of indication that their federation is working. We are from the nation of Québec in search of a country but also brothers and sisters of all the French people in America. Share ... in Canada! // Image Text: “Je souhaite juste que les francophones du Canada et les Acadiens aient le même traitement que les anglophones du Québec” (Translated) “I want French-speaking people in English Canada and Acadians to get the same treatment as English-speaking people in Québec.” (2019-10-05; 22:03; 634 reactions; 472 likes; 323 shares; 71 comments) (Yves-François Blanchet 2019b)


Yves-François Blanchet Bloc québécois · 7 October · 🌐

En nous attaquant et traitant de tous les noms, en se la jouant paternalistes qui au mieux tolèrent notre nation, nos langue, valeurs et intérêts, les adversaires ont provoqué un ressac qui invite les Québécois à se demander ce qu'ils veulent. Ou pas. 🙌

By attacking us and dealing with all names, playing paternalistic that at best tolerate our nation, our language, values and interests, opponents have caused a surf that invites quebecers to wonder what they want. Or not. 🙌

⚙ · Hide original · Rate this translation



JOURNALDEMONTREAL.COM
Mon vote
 Pourquoi faire semblant d'être neutre? Personne n'est neutre, tout le...

👍❤️ 439 · 67 comments 148 shares

Figure 0-97: Facebook's Blanchet: Post Text: En nous attaquant et traitant de tous les noms, en se la jouant paternalistes qui au mieux tolèrent notre nation, nos langue, valeurs et intérêts, les adversaires ont provoqué un ressac qui invite les Québécois à se demander ce qu'ils veulent. Ou pas. 🙌 (Translated) By attacking us and calling us names, playing paternalistic who at best tolerate our nation, language, values and interests, opponents have caused a backlash that invites Quebecers to ask themselves what they want. Or not. 🙌 // Web Link Text: Mon vote (2019-10-07; 09:34; 439 reactions; 148 shares; 67 comments) (Yves-François Blanchet 2019c)

Mon vote

f PARTAGEZ SUR FACEBOOK t PARTAGEZ SUR TWITTER ✉ AUTRES



PHOTO COURTOISIE

Il y a un seul parti qui défend la laïcité à Ottawa...



RICHARD MARTINEAU

Lundi, 7 octobre 2019 05:00

MISE À JOUR Lundi, 7 octobre 2019 05:00

Jeudi, à 100 % Nouvelles, l'émission animée par Paul Larocque à LCN, j'ai dit que le Face-à-Face animé par Pierre Bruneau m'avait aidé à me faire une tête sur les élections fédérales.

« Comme plusieurs citoyens, je ne savais pas trop pour qui voter. Mais après le débat, les choses me sont apparues plus clairement, et maintenant mon choix est fait.

— Ah oui ? Sur quel parti ton choix se porte ? m'a demandé Paul à brûle-pourpoint.

— Euh... Je ne peux pas vraiment dire ça à la télé.

— Bien oui, tu peux... Alors pour qui vas-tu voter ?

— Pour le Bloc », ai-je lancé.

DEVOIR DE TRANSPARENCE

Après coup, je me suis dit : « Ouf, pourquoi avoir dit pour quel parti je pensais voter ? Traditionnellement, les gens qui sont appelés à commenter régulièrement l'actualité se gardent une petite gêne, afin de préserver l'apparence d'objectivité. »

Or, aujourd'hui, je me dis... Bof, pourquoi pas ?

Après tout, les commentateurs ne sont pas des êtres désincarnés, ce sont des citoyens, et comme tous les citoyens, ils ont des préférences et penchent plus d'un bord que de l'autre.

Pourquoi faire semblant d'être neutre ? Personne n'est neutre, tout le monde a ses allégeances. Aussi bien le dire, non ? C'est plus franc, plus honnête.

De toute façon, plus personne ne croit à l'objectivité, alors... Aussi bien assumer sa subjectivité. Comme ça, les choses sont claires.

Donc, à moins d'un revirement spectaculaire (« C'est jamais fini tant que c'est pas fini », comme disait Yogi Berra), je mettrai mon X à côté du candidat bloquiste de mon comté.

UN BESOIN DE COHÉRENCE

Et vous savez quoi ? Je suis le premier surpris.

Parce que s'il y a un gars qui n'a jamais cru en l'utilité du Bloc, c'est bien bibi.

Faire la promotion de l'indépendance à Ottawa, pour moi, c'est comme chercher tes clés de char à Longueuil alors que tu les as perdues à Lévis.

Pourquoi voter pour un parti qui ne prendra jamais le pouvoir ? Pourquoi choisir de rester assis sur les estrades quand tu peux chausser des patins et sauter sur la patinoire ?

Mais il y a eu la loi 21.

Désolé, les amis, mais je ne peux pas d'un côté, appuyer la loi 21 et de l'autre, voter pour un parti qui la trouve discriminatoire et s'apprête à la contester.

Un moment donné, il faut être cohérent.

C'est beau, la théorie des bretelles et de la ceinture, mais il ne faut pas se tirer dans le pied ni donner des munitions à nos adversaires.

Au cours des prochains mois, il va venter fort. On va se faire traiter de tous les noms : « Racistes », « Xénophobes », « Fascistes ».

Il sera important, alors, de parler d'une voix forte. Et de dire à Ottawa : « Non, nous n'avons pas honte de cette loi, et oui, nous sommes fiers de l'appuyer à 70 %... »

Or, il y a un parti qui va défendre la laïcité à Ottawa. Un seul.

Et j'espère qu'il parlera haut et fort. En notre nom.

VOTRE CHOIX

Et vous, avez-vous fait votre choix ? Ou hésitez-vous encore ?

Faites-le-moi savoir, je suis curieux !

Figure 0-98: Facebook's Blanchet: Web Link Content from Figure 0-97: Mon vote (Martineau 2019)

1.5.12. Facebook's 2019 People's Party of Canada @peoplespca



Figure 0-99: Facebook's PPC: Post Text: Maxime Bernier WILL be in the Leaders' Debates Commission debates! #PPC2019 #CDNPOLI #elxn43 // Image Text: Today, democracy won! (2019-09-16; 19:00; 1,633 reactions; 1,384 likes; 322 shares; 271 comments) (People's Party of Canada 2019a)

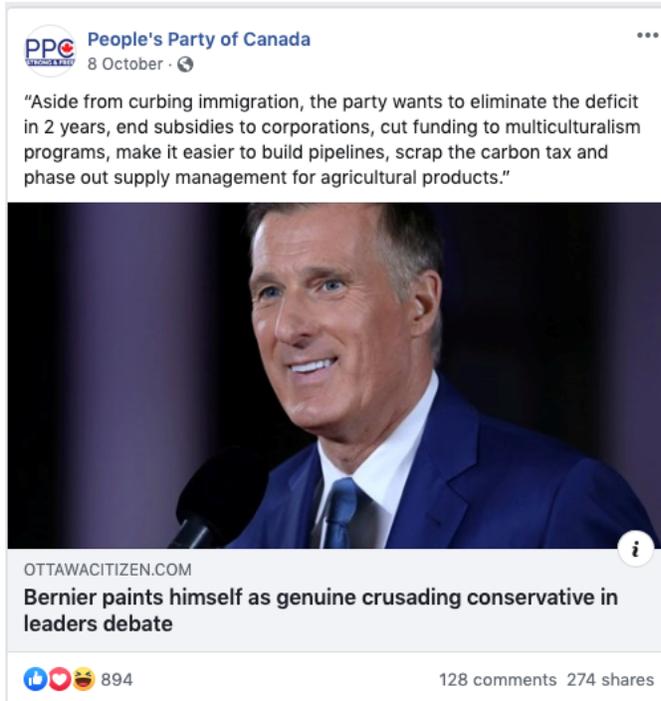


Figure 0-100: Facebook’s PPC: Post Text: “Aside from curbing immigration, the party wants to eliminate the deficit in 2 years, end subsidies to corporations, cut funding to multiculturalism programs, make it easier to build pipelines, scrap the carbon tax and phase out supply management for agricultural products. agricultural products.” // Web Link Text: Bernier paints himself as genuine crusading conservative in leaders debate. (2019-10-08; 11:30; 894 reactions; 792 likes; 274 shares; 128 comments) (People’s Party of Canada 2019f)

Bernier paints himself as genuine crusading conservative in leaders debate

THE CANADIAN PRESS Updated: October 7, 2019



People's Party of Canada leader Maxime Bernier speaks at a news conference after an English language federal election debate at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau on Monday. CARLOS OSORIO / REUTERS



SHARE



ADJUST



COMMENT



PRINT

OTTAWA — Maxime Bernier prides himself on being a man who says what he thinks — and the People's Party leader seized every opportunity to do just that during the federal campaign debate Monday.

From the beginning of the campaign, Bernier has said that his participation in the two official leaders' debates will be pivotal to his upstart party's chances in Oct. 21's vote. With little to lose and much to gain, he threw verbal darts at all of his rivals, advocating his small-government, pro-business, Canada-first agenda.

He declared himself the only real trailblazer among the six leaders on fiscal responsibility, Indigenous issues, the environment and dealing with newcomers to Canada.

Bernier unabashedly touted his party's plan to slash the number of immigrants and refugees Canada accepts each year to between 100,000 and 150,000 from about 350,000.

"I'm the only leader on this stage that wants to have a debate about immigration," he said.

Other leaders seemed fine that, singing the praises of Canadian diversity and brushing Bernier's immigration fixation aside.

Green Leader Elizabeth May denounced as "completely appalling" Bernier's inflammatory tweets about diversity and young environmentalist Greta Thunberg.

Andrew Scheer said Conservatives believe in making Canada stronger by welcoming people.

NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh told Bernier he didn't even deserve a platform. "And I'm happy to challenge you on that, because your ideas are hurtful to Canada."

When confronted, the People's Party leader wrapped himself in the cloak of free speech. "We have the right in this country to debate ideas, and that's what I'm doing."

Bernier was a senior figure in Stephen Harper's Conservative government, serving as minister in the industry and foreign-affairs portfolios.

He left the Conservatives in August last year, saying the party had all but abandoned its core principles. Soon after, the People's Party of Canada was born.

Aside from curbing immigration, the party wants to eliminate the deficit in two years, end federal subsidies to corporations, cut all funding to multiculturalism programs, make it easier to build pipelines, scrap the federal carbon tax and phase out supply management for agricultural products.

Bernier has proven consistently popular in his Quebec riding of Beauce and his fledgling party has mustered enough support to ensure the leader's participation in the official debates.

However, it is unclear whether this will translate into seats for the People's Party in the House of Commons. Facing a strong challenge from a longtime local mayor who has the Conservative nomination in Beauce this year, Bernier has spent a great deal of the campaign in his home riding.

But at the very least, millions heard Bernier's prescription for prosperity Monday.

He painted May and NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh as big-spending socialists who would damage the

"Look at your platform, Elizabeth," Bernier said. "It is not responsible. Our children will have to pay for that."

Bernier also tried to distinguish his policies from those of his old party, chiding Scheer for being soft on balancing the budget, failing to contain the national debt and inflating the cost of agricultural products by refusing to get rid of supply management.

"Andrew, are you a real Conservative?" Bernier asked. "No, I think you are a Liberal. Why are you pretending to be something that you're not?"

Scheer insisted his former colleague is the one with the identity crisis.

"I'm not sure which Maxime Bernier I'm debating tonight. Was it the Maxime Bernier from the 1990s who was a separatist? Was it the Maxime Bernier who was responsible for handing out corporate welfare? Was it the Maxime Bernier who defended supply management when it suited him?"

Then Scheer quickly pivoted to attack his main target, Justin Trudeau's Liberals.

During a discussion of the temperament a leader needs, Trudeau accused Bernier of trying to make Canadians more fearful and uncertain about globalization and the movement of people across borders.

Like Scheer, the Liberal leader, while chastising Bernier, got a dig in at his real rival.

"Mr. Bernier, your role on this stage tonight seems to be to say publicly what Mr. Scheer thinks privately."

This report by The Canadian Press was first published Oct. 6, 2019.

-Follow @JimBronskill on Twitter

Figure 0-101: Facebook's PPC: Web Link Content from Figure 0-100: "Bernier Paints Himself as Genuine Crusading Conservative in Leaders Debate" (Bronskill 2019)



Figure 0-102: Facebook's PPC: Post Text: Received the good news from the Leaders' Debates Commission as I'm about to board my plane for Saint John! // Video: Bernier states, "Hello everyone. I am very pleased with Mr. Johnston's decision to invite me to the leaders' debate. That was the right decision. Half of Canadians wanted to hear from us. And Canadians will be able to look at all the options. And I can tell you that the People's Party is a real national party with serious reforms that need to be done for a freer and a more prosperous country. See you soon. Thank you. (2019-09-16; 14:31; 869 reactions; 719 likes; 225 shares; 157 comments) (People's Party of Canada 2019c)

1.5.13. Facebook's 2019 Maxime Bernier @hon.maximebernier

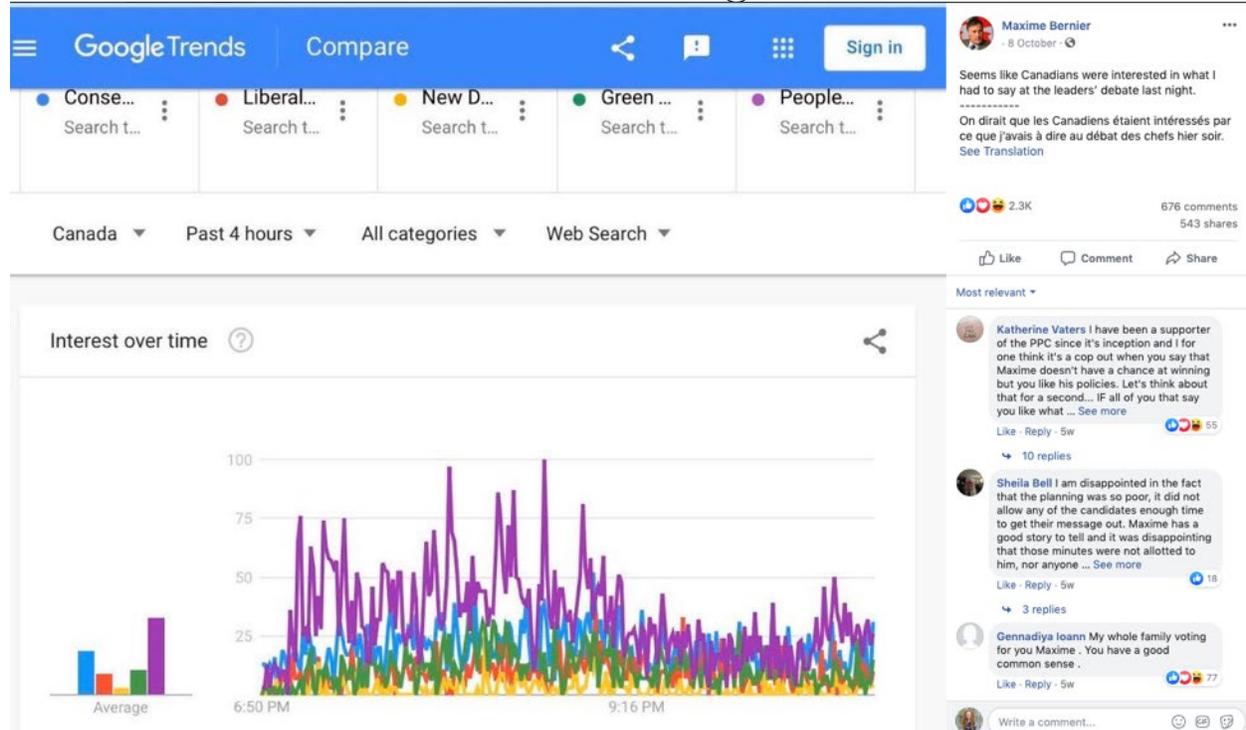


Figure 0-103: Facebook's Bernier: Post Text: Seems like Canadians were interested in what I had to say at the leaders' debate last night. ----- On dirait que les Canadiens étaient intéressés par ce que j'avais à dire au débat des chefs hier soir. // Image Text: Google Trends. Compare. Interest over time. (2019-10-08; 11:30; 2,336 reactions; 1,964 likes; 543 shares; 676 omments) (Bernier 2019i)



Figure 0-104: Facebook's Bernier: Post Text: Aside from curbing immigration, the party wants to eliminate the deficit in 2 years, end subsidies to corporations, cut funding to multiculturalism programs, make it easier to build pipelines, scrap the carbon tax and phase out supply management for agricultural products. // Web Link Text from Figure 0-101: Bernier paints himself as genuine crusading conservative in leaders debate (2019-10-08; 13:00; 1,478 reactions; 1,281 likes; 318 shares; 506 comments) (Bernier 2019h)

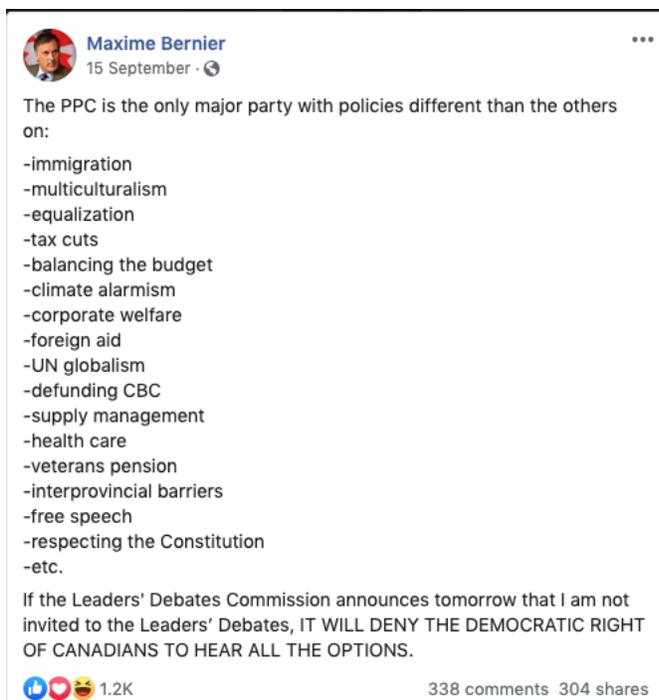


Figure 0-105: Facebook’s Bernier: Post Text: The PPC is the only major party with policies different than the others on: -immigration -multiculturalism -equalization -tax cuts -balancing the budget -climate alarmism -corporate welfare -foreign aid -UN globalism -defunding CBC -supply management -health care -veterans pension -interprovincial barriers -free speech -respecting the Constitution -etc. If the Leaders’ Debates Commission announces tomorrow that I am not invited to the Leaders’ Debates, IT WILL DENY THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF CANADIANS TO HEAR ALL THE OPTIONS. (2019-09-15; 14:33; 1,264 reactions; 1,119 likes; 304 shares; 338 comments) (Bernier 2019a)

1.6. Top Retweeted Debate-Related Twitter Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate

1.6.1. Table 8: Top 10 Retweeted Debate-Related Twitter Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate

| Rank | Party/Leader | Title | Date | Time | Type | Views | Likes | Retweets | Comments |
|------|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|---------|--------|--------------|----------|
| 1 | Singh | A man has no place in a discussion of a woman’s right to choose. #CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43 | 2019-10-07 | 20:41 | Post | N/A | 22,720 | 4,206 | 561 |
| 2 | Trudeau | To be clear: We will NOT put a 50% tax on the sale of your home | 2019-10-07 | 14:36 | Video | 300,400 | 5,522 | 1,816 | 1,862 |
| 3 | Trudeau | Andrew Scheer is against gay marriage, against a woman’s right to choose, against | 2019-10-07 | 19:40 | Video | 479,400 | 5,393 | 1,542 | 1,319 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|--------------|-------|
| | | stronger gun control, and against fighting climate change. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Conservative | Tonight's debate made one thing clear: Andrew Scheer is the only leader that can be trusted to help you and your family get ahead. #cdnpoli #elxn43 – Andrew Scheer wins debate | 2019-10-07 | 21:00 | Image | N/A | 4,686 | 1,283 | 2,791 |
| 5 | Trudeau | I asked you during the debate, @AndrewScheer and you still haven't answered: why are you offering millionaires a \$50,000 tax break and 17 billion dollars in cuts for everybody else? #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli | 2019-10-07 | 21:11 | Post | N/A | 5,771 | 1,279 | 1,175 |
| 6 | Singh | You don't have to choose between Mr. Delay (@JustinTrudeau) & Mr. Deny (@AndrewScheer). It's time to start fighting the climate crisis like we want to win by taking on the largest polluters & creating 300,000 new jobs in the clean energy economy of the future. #CanadaDebates2019 | 2019-10-07 | 20:12 | Post | N/A | 5,076 | 1,141 | 160 |
| 7 | Singh | What we're seeing tonight is Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Scheer arguing over what is worse for Canada. I believe we need to be fighting for what | 2019-10-07 | 19:52 | Post | N/A | 5,439 | 1,016 | 150 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|------------|-----|
| | | will be best for Canada. We need to demand more – not be scared into settling for less. #CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43 | | | | | | | |
| 8 | Conservative | SHARE this video if you think Justin Trudeau belongs in provincial politics. #cdnpoli #elxn43 | 2019-10-09 | 15:00 | Video | 48,600 | 1,865 | 988 | 424 |
| 9 | Trudeau | .@JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli – “Mr. Bernier, your role on this stage right now seems to be to say publicly what Mr. Scheer believes privately” – Justin Trudeau | 2019-10-07 | 19:21 | Image | N/A | 3,960 | 898 | 607 |
| 10 | Trudeau | Andrew Scheer confirmed on Quebec TV he would allow his MPs to reopen the abortion debate. A real leader would stop them. But the truth is he agrees with them. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli | 2019-10-07 | 20:37 | Image | N/A | 2,562 | 889 | 686 |
| 11 | May | So - after all the debates are over - the Conservatives will release their platform. This is a new low in respect for voters. #GPC #respect | 2019-10-10 | 14:02 | Post | N/A | 3,419 | 854 | 309 |
| 12 | Scheer | Another week in the books! Momentum is building as more and more Canadians show their support for our plan to help you get ahead. Join me, and let's make life more affordable for everyone! | 2019-10-06 | 21:37 | Video | 36,100 | 2,109 | 636 | 394 |

1.6.2. Twitter's 2019 Conservative Party @CPC_HQ



Figure 0-106: Twitter's Conservatives: Post Text: Tonight's debate made one thing clear: Andrew Scheer is the only leader that can be trusted to help you and your family get ahead. #cdnpoli #elxn43. // Image Text: Andrew Scheer wins debate. (2019-10-07; 21:00; 4,686 likes; 1,283 retweets; 2,791 comments) (Conservative Party 2019b)



Conservative Party
@CPC_HQ

.@JustinTrudeau and @TOAdamVaughan have a secret plan to tax the sale of your home at 50%. This is Trudeau's hidden agenda: tax hikes to pay for his massive deficits. You work hard, you increase the value of your home, and Liberals take 50%. How is that fair?
#NotAsAdvertised

Policy Proposal 2: Housing Affordability

Topic: **Housing Affordability** Theme: Affordable Home Ownership
Prepared by: **Adam Vaughan** Date: November 27, 2018

JUSTIN TRUDEAU NOT AS ADVERTISED

1. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

What is the problem / opportunity we're trying to solve? Describe briefly, 1 sentence.

Help first time home buyers purchase housing

What evidence substantiates this concern? Briefly provide several important facts, with reference to key sources.

People trying to buy their first home have had barriers put in place by government worried about high rates of personal debt, additionally in some urban areas market forces have pushed prices beyond the reach of Canadians and in particular first time buyers

2. APPROACH AND IMPACT

What did we say in the 2015 platform (if anything)?

We promised a National Housing Strategy that would address both the need for Affordable Housing and Housing Affordability.

What have we done since? What impact has this had? While we have made substantial investments and developed policy to support people who need affordable housing, most of these initiatives have supported below market access to rental housing for people who demonstrate core housing need. At the same time we have introduced stress tests to screen out high risk mortgages. This and volatile market forces in certain urban centres has created a situation where young Canadians and in certainly young families are worried that they will never be able to own their own home.

Proposed new initiative: Describe in a couple sentences how the proposal would work, the outcome it would have, and how it addresses the main problem. This should be written in people-oriented language.

A combination of tax measures, changes to mortgage rules and investment tools that support and stimulate savings for first time buyers is seen as the best way forward. We have to be very careful not to project too much capital into the market all at once. This increase risk and would likely stimulate inflation. We need to avoid a situation where good money chases bad.

TAX: Increasing the capital gains of speculation to remove multiple buyers from the market, restricting foreign investment to new construction and restricting the capacity of off shore capital to enter the re-sell market could reduce inflation. This might be achieved by significantly increasing Capital Gains Tax on 2nd, 3rd and 4th properties.

Campaign Platform 2019 **ON Caucus Submission** **2018-12-12**

Another idea that has emerged from housing town halls is a sliding scale on the Capital Gains Tax on the sale of principle residences. A 50% tax after one year of ownership, 25% after two years, 15% after 3 years, 10% after 4 years, 5% after five. The idea would be to hit speculators who quickly flip houses in hot markets. The funds could be invested back into enhanced savings programmes for first buyers

3:31 PM · Sep 12, 2019 · TweetDeck

1K Retweets 1.2K Likes

Figure 0-107: Twitter's Conservatives: Post Text: .@JustinTrudeau and @TOAdamVaughan have a secret plan to tax the sale of your home at 50%. This is Trudeau's hidden agenda: tax hikes to pay for his massive deficits. You work hard, you increase the value of your home, and

Liberals take 50%. How is that fair? #NotAsAdvertised. // Image Text: Policy Proposal 2: Housing Affordability. Topic: Housing Affordability. Prepared by: Adam Vaughan. Campaign platform 2019. “A 50% tax after one year of ownership” (2019-09-12; 15:31; 1,137 likes; 1,037 retweets; 535 comments) (Conservative Party 2019a)

Conservative Party @CPC_HQ

SHARE this video if you think Justin Trudeau belongs in provincial politics.

#cdnpoli #elxn43

SHARE THIS VIDEO

LIVE/DIRECT

0:54
FEDERAL LEADERSHIP DEB

There is a vacancy for the Ontario Liberal Leadership

AND MAKE JUSTIN TRUDEAU THE NEXT KATHLEEN WYNNE

▶ 48.6K views 0:08 / 0:16

3:00 PM · Oct 8, 2019 · [Twitter Media Studio](#)

988 Retweets **1.9K** Likes

Figure 0-108: Twitter’s Conservatives: Post Text: SHARE this video if you think Justin Trudeau belongs in provincial politics. #cdnpoli #elxn43 // Video Text: Share this video and make Justin Trudeau the next Kathleen Wynne. // Video: Barton states, “Mr. Scheer you have one minute to respond. Mr. Scheer.” Scheer states, “First of all Mr. Trudeau, you seem to be oddly obsessed with provincial politics. There is a vacancy for the Ontario Liberal Leadership if you’re so focused on provincial politics, go and run for the leadership of that party, Mr. Trudeau. (2019-

10-08; 15:00; 48,600 views; 1,865 likes; 988 retweets; 424 comments) (Conservative Party 2019c)



Figure 0-109: Twitter's Conservatives: Post Text: Justin Trudeau is a compulsive liar. #NotAsAdvertised #Elxn43 #cdnpoli #LeadersDebate2019 // Image Text: Trudeau is a compulsive liar" (2019-10-10; 20:38; 1,406 likes; 552 retweets; 657 comments) (Conservative Party 2019d)

1.6.3. Twitter's 2019 Andrew Scheer @AndrewScheer

Andrew Scheer ✓
@AndrewScheer

Another week in the books! Momentum is building as more and more Canadians show their support for our plan to help you get ahead. Join me, and let's make life more affordable for everyone!

36.1K views
Another week in the books!
0:03 / 1:09

Another week in the books

9:37 PM · Oct 6, 2019 · [Twitter Media Studio](#)

636 Retweets **2.1K** Likes

Figure 0-110: Twitter's Scheer: Post Text: Another week in the books! Momentum is building as more and more Canadians show their support for our plan to help you get ahead. Join me, and let's make life more affordable for everyone! // Video: Scheer states, "Another week in the books. I'm just about to take off from Toronto, going to spend a few hours with my kids tonight, and then tomorrow, and then back at it on Monday. We start off the week in Whitby, Ontario. Nous avons commence à Whitby, Ontario. We had our first French-language debate, the only one so far that Justin Trudeau showed up at. That's where we found out that the Liberals have a second plane, and that Justin Trudeau is a high carbon hypocrite. Justin Trudeau est un faux-écologiste. The momentum is really building. More and more Canadians are realizing that Justin Trudeau is making life more expensive, that after the election, taxes are going to go up, especially his carbon tax, and their looking forward to a Conservative government that will live within its means, leave more money in your pocket, because it's time for you to get ahead. Plus. Pour vous. Dès maintenant. Video Text: It's time for you to get ahead. Conservative. (2019-10-06; 21:37; 36,100 views; 2,109 likes; 636 retweets; 394 comments) (Scheer 2019b)



Figure 0-111: Twitter’s Scheer: Post Text: As Prime Minister, I will work to make your commute shorter and more affordable. Under Justin Trudeau, critical projects that will reduce your commute times aren’t getting built. It’s time for you to get ahead. // Video: Scheer states, “In 2015 Justin Trudeau made a lot of promises to get elected. He said he would balance the budget. He said he would help the middle class. He even said he would be accountable and ethical. Now here we are just four years later, and he has broken almost every promise he has made to Canadians. Including his promises to build infrastructure. In 2015, he made billions in promises, claiming he’d make your commute easier. But critical projects that will reduce your commute times aren’t getting built. A new Conservative government will work with provincial and territorial governments to build those projects that make a difference in people’s lives. By reducing commute times and congestion and getting people home faster after a long day. Projects like the Ontario Line and the Yonge Subway Extension here in the GTA. And the Massey Tunnel Replacement in Vancouver. And the Third Link in Québec City. As Prime Minister, I will help make your commute shorter and more affordable. Because it’s time for you to get ahead.” Video Text: It’s time for you to get ahead. Conservative. (2019-10-09; 08:44; 29,800 views; 1,586 likes; 453 retweets; 423 comments) (Scheer 2019h)



Andrew Scheer ✓
@AndrewScheer

Let's do this. It's time for you to get ahead!
[#LeadersDebate2019](#) [#elxn43](#)



6:51 PM · Oct 7, 2019 · [TweetDeck](#)

321 Retweets **1.5K Likes**

Figure 0-112: Twitter's Scheer: Post Text: Let's do this. It's time for you to get ahead!
[#LeadersDebate2019](#) [#elxn43](#) (2019-10-07; 18:51; 1,533 likes; 321 retweets; 220 comments)
(Scheer 2019e)

1.6.4. Twitter's 2019 Liberal Party @Liberal_Party



Figure 0-113: Twitter's Liberals: Post Text: "A Québécois is a Canadian and will remain a Canadian under my watch." - @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli" // Image Text: "By definition, a Québécois can do anything a Canadian can do, because a Québécois is a Canadian and will remain a Canadian under my watch. – Justin Trudeau (2019-10-07; 20:54; 3,151 likes; 611 retweets; 626 comments) (Liberal Party 2019a)



Figure 0-114: Twitter's Liberals: Post Text: We've invested \$2.7 billion since 2016 to strengthen First Nations water and wastewater systems. Since then, 87 long-term drinking water advisories have been lifted, and we will end the rest by 2021. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli // Image Text: We will eliminate all long-term drinking water advisories on reserve by 2021. (2019-10-07; 20:04; 1,187 likes; 436 retweets; 277 comments) (Liberal Party 2019b)



Liberal Party
@liberal_party



Are we really surprised that the Conservatives have been caught lying to Canadians - again?



Truth Tracker: Conservatives falsely claim Trudeau lowered taxes for millionair...
The Conservatives falsely claimed during Monday's debate that Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau lowered taxes for millionaires. In fact, he raised taxes on the ...
election.ctvnews.ca

7:32 PM · Oct 9, 2019 · [TweetDeck](#)

435 Retweets 1.1K Likes

Figure 0-115: Twitter's Liberals: Post Text: Are we really surprised that the Conservatives have been caught lying to Canadians - again? // Web Link Text from Figure 0-74: Truth Tracker: Conservatives falsely claim Trudeau lowered taxes for millionaires (2019-10-09; 19:32; 1,118 likes; 435 retweets; 275 comments) (Liberal Party 2019c)

1.6.5. Twitter’s 2019 Justin Trudeau @JustinTrudeau

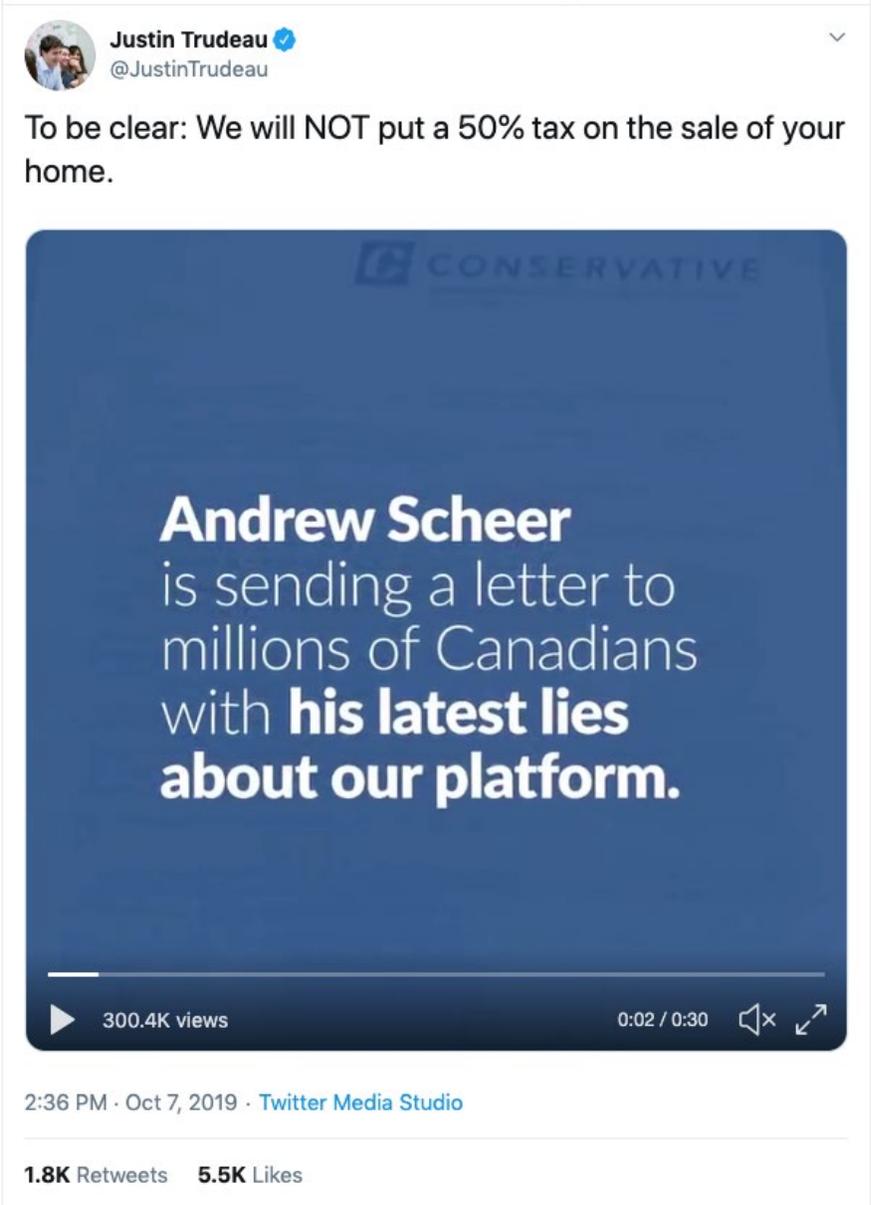


Figure 0-116: Twitter’s Trudeau: Post Text: To be clear: We will NOT put a 50% tax on the sale of your home.” // Video Text: Andrew Scheer is sending a letter to millions of Canadians with his latest lies about our platform. To be clear, we will not put a 50% tax on the sale of your home. Here’s what we will do: Lower the price of your first home by 10%. Give more money to people in places where houses cost more. Tax vacant homes owned by people who don’t live in Canada. Give Canadians an interest-free loan up to \$40,000 to adapt their homes for climate change. Whatever mistruths you hear from the Conservatives, know that we’re for moving forward—for everyone. Choose Forward. Liberal (2019-10-07; 14:36; 300,400 views; 5,522 likes; 1,816 retweets; 1,862 comments) (Response to Conservative’s Post in Figure 0-107) (Trudeau 2019j).



Figure 0-117: Twitter’s Trudeau: Post Text: Andrew Scheer is against gay marriage, against a woman’s right to choose, against stronger gun control, and against fighting climate change. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli // Video Text: Andrew Scheer: X Same-sex marriage, X Woman’s right to choose, X Gun control, X A price on pollution. Choose forward. Liberal (2019-10-07; 19:40; 479,400 views; 5,393 likes; 1,542 retweets; 1,319 comments) (Trudeau 2019c)



Figure 0-118: Twitter’s Trudeau: Post Text: I asked you during the debate, @AndrewScheer and you still haven’t answered: why are you offering millionaires a \$50,000 tax break and 17 billion

dollars in cuts for everybody else? #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli (2019-10-07; 21:11; 5,771 likes; 1,279 retweets; 1,175 comments) (Trudeau 2019e)



Figure 0-119: Twitter's Trudeau: Post Text: .@JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli // Image Text: "Mr. Bernier, your role on this stage right now seems to be to say publicly what Mr. Scheer believes privately. - Justin Trudeau (2019-10-07; 19:21; 3,960 likes; 898 retweets; 607 comments) (Trudeau 2019f)



Figure 0-120: Twitter’s Trudeau: Post Text: Andrew Scheer confirmed on Quebec TV he would allow his MPs to reopen the abortion debate. A real leader would stop them. But the truth is he agrees with them. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli” (2019-10-07; 20:37; 2,562 likes; 889 retweets; 686 comments) (Trudeau 2019b)

1.6.6. Twitter's 2019 NDP @NDP (formerly @NDP_HQ)

NDP @NDP

Don't want Mr. Delay OR Mr. Deny?
You don't have to settle for either guy.
If you want someone who will do something
To fight climate change, just pick Jagmeet Singh!

#CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43

MR. DELAY MR. DENY

9:54 PM · Oct 7, 2019 · [Twitter Web App](#)

437 Retweets 1.8K Likes

Figure 0-121: Twitter's NDP: Post Text: Don't want Mr. Delay OR Mr. Deny? You don't have to settle for either guy. If you want someone who will do something to fight climate change, just pick Jagmeet Singh! #CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43 // Image Text: Mr. Delay Mr. Deny (2019-10-07; 21:54; 1,757 likes; 437 retweets; 76 comments) (NDP 2019a)

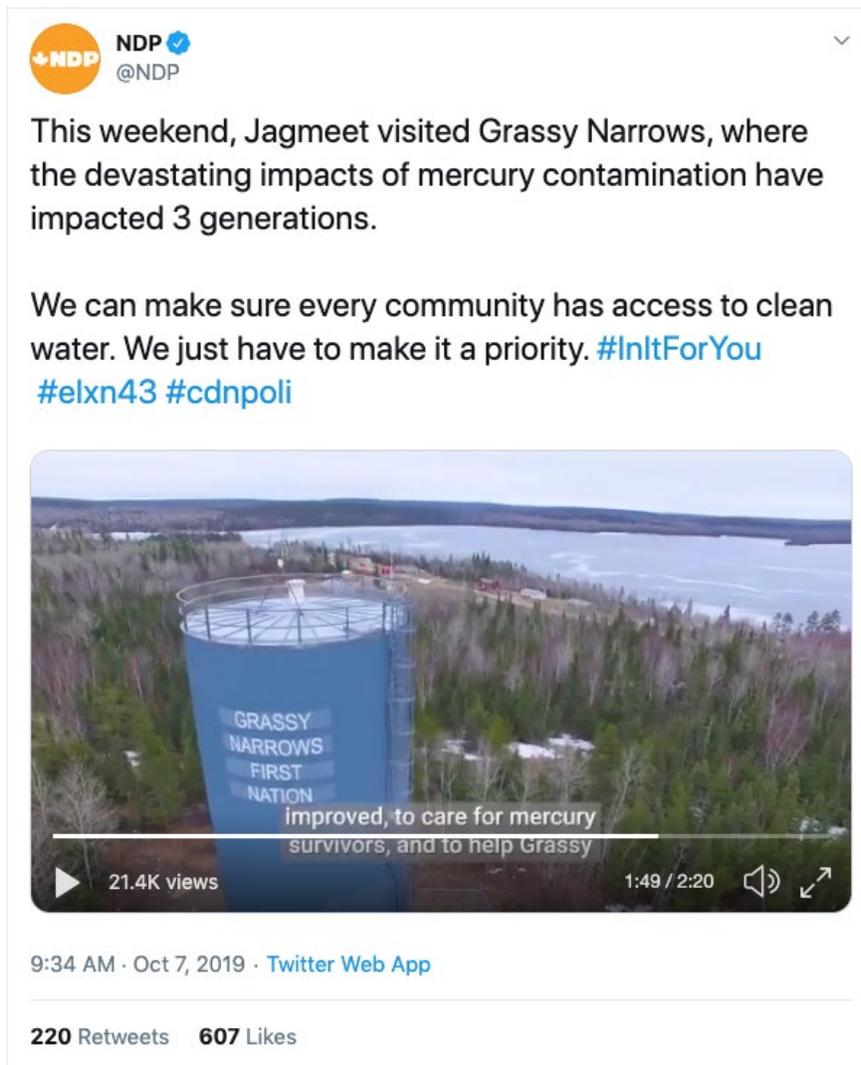


Figure 0-122: Twitter’s NDP: Post Text: This weekend, Jagmeet visited Grassy Narrows, where the devastating impacts of mercury contamination have impacted 3 generations. We can make sure every community has access to clean water. We just have to make it a priority. #InItForYou #elxn43 #cdnpoli // Video: Various voices of Grassy Narrows. “There is nothing more important than clean water. My name is Judy Da Silva. My name is Darwin Fobister. Sharice Bruce. I am from Grassy Narrows. I live in a community that is very destroyed by the effects of mercury poisoning in the water. This water can kill us eventually. It’s already killing us slowly. As you get older you begin to face more health issues because of the mercury that’s in our bodies. I’m poisoned by mercury and I’m a mother of five. In the 1960s and ’70s, industrial pollution contaminated the water in Grassy Narrows with mercury, making it one of Canada’s worst environmental disasters. The contamination in this community of about 1,000 residents has affected three generations. When we found out the mercury was in the water it had a really devastating effect in our community economically, socially, and all that. It’s like a genocide of our people. A lot of our people have died from the mercury poisoning and still today they are. Ninety per cent of people tested in Grassy Narrows experience symptoms of mercury poisoning. Industry is given too much free rein on our lands to put their pollutants out there and their chemicals – and they need to put water first. No one should be without safe, clean water. For too

long, Grassy Narrows First Nation, like many Indigenous communities, has been left behind by governments. We have a responsibility to make sure the services of the community are improved, to care for mercury survivors, and to help Grassy Narrows children and youth get the support they need to thrive.” Video: Singh states, “Why is it that we ask the question whether or not Indigenous people should have clean drinking water? We’ve got to take a minute and think, why is that even a question? Yes, they deserve clean drinking water, yes, we can make it happen, it’s a matter of priority.” Video Text: Jagmeet Singh, NDP. In it for you. On se bat pour vous. (2019-10-07; 21:34; 21,400 views; 609 likes; 220 retweets; 19 comments) (NDP 2019c)



Justin Trudeau did everything he could to keep SNC-Lavalin out of court – but he spent nearly a million dollars fighting Indigenous kids.

What kind of leader chooses to fight kids in court instead of help them? [#CanadaDebates2019](#)



7:58 PM · Oct 7, 2019 · [Twitter Web App](#)

214 Retweets 625 Likes

Figure 0-123: Twitter’s NDP: Post Text: Justin Trudeau did everything he could to keep SNC-Lavalin out of court – but he spent nearly a million dollars fighting Indigenous kids. What kind of leader chooses to fight kids in court instead of help them? #CanadaDebates2019 // Video Text: What kind of leader fights indigenous kids in court? Justin Trudeau: Not in it for you. (2019-10-07; 19:58; 24,300 views; 625 likes; 214 retweets; 26 comments) (NDP 2019b)

1.6.7. Twitter's 2019 Jagmeet Singh @theJagmeetSingh



Figure 0-124: Twitter's Singh: Post Text: A man has no place in a discussion of a woman's right to choose. #CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43 (2019-10-07; 20:41; 22,720 likes; 4,206 retweets; 561 comments) (Singh 2019c)



Figure 0-125: Twitter's Singh: You don't have to choose between Mr. Delay (@JustinTrudeau) & Mr. Deny (@AndrewScheer). It's time to start fighting the climate crisis like we want to win by taking on the largest polluters & creating 300,000 new jobs in the clean energy economy of the future. #CanadaDebates2019 (2019-10-07; 20:12; 5,076 likes; 1,141 retweets; 160 comments) (Singh 2019h)

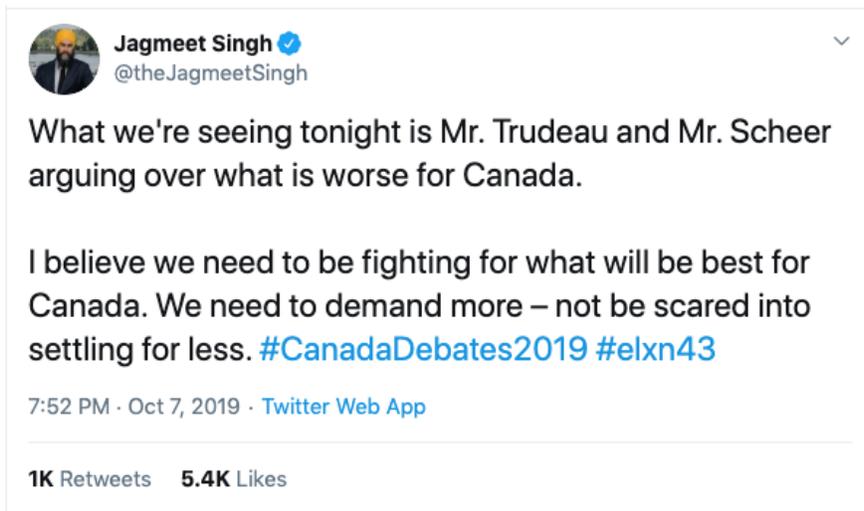


Figure 0-126: Twitter’s Singh: Post Text: What we’re seeing tonight is Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Scheer arguing over what is worse for Canada. I believe we need to be fighting for what will be best for Canada. We need to demand more – not be scared into settling for less. #CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43 (2019-10-07; 19:52; 5,439 likes; 1,016 retweets; 150 comments) (Singh 2019g)

1.6.8. Twitter’s 2019 Green Party @CanadianGreens



Figure 0-127: Twitter’s Green: Post Text: Pipelines Won’t Solve Climate Change 🙄 ♀ #LeadersDebate #elxn43 #cdnpoli (2019-10-07; 20:47; 951 likes; 226 retweets; 83 comments) (Green Party Canada 2019a)



Figure 0-128: Twitter’s Green: Post Text: Tired of the divisive politics you’ve seen this election? Blame first past the post. @ElizabethMay: “It makes each party a rival of the other.” We need solutions, not bickering. Greens fight for proportional representation. #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli” (2019-10-07; 19:46; 506 likes; 165 retweets; 49 comments) (Green Party Canada 2019b)



Figure 0-129: Twitter’s Green: Post Text: “You bought a pipeline. You can’t be a climate leader and buy a pipeline.” - @ElizabethMay Trudeau’s targets are a commitment to failure. #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli (2019-10-07; 20:10; 402 likes; 161 retweets; 17 comments) (Green Party Canada 2019c)

1.6.9. Twitter’s 2019 Elizabeth May @ElizabethMay



Figure 0-130: Twitter’s May: Post Text: So - after all the debates are over - the Conservatives will release their platform. This is a new low in respect for voters. #GPC #respect (2019-10-10; 14:02; 3,419 likes; 854 retweets; 309 comments) (May 2019g)



Figure 0-131: Twitter’s May: Post Text: In Canada, all parties represented in Parliament should be included in debates. By excluding a Green voice, TVA fails to offer the full picture that voters

are facing at the polls this election. <https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/the-green-party-wont-be-silenced-by-tva/> (2019-10-02; 17:51; 635 likes; 202 retweets; 68 comments) (see Figure 0-132) (May 2019b)

MACLEAN'S

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OPINION

The Green Party won't be silenced by TVA

Elizabeth May: Excluding Greens from debates isn't just anti-democratic, it does a disservice to Canadians. We won't back down.

by Elizabeth May Oct 2, 2019

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Green Party of Canada leader Elizabeth May speaks in Toronto prior to a fireside chat about the climate, Tuesday, Sept. 3, 2019. (Cole Burston/CP)

Elizabeth May is the leader of the Green Party of Canada.

The debate on debates has been a perennial nightmare of my life as leader of the Green Party. The world of murky criteria, back-room dealing, collusion between other parties to exclude Greens from debates, have been an anti-democratic scandal from 2008, 2011, and 2015. Unfortunately, I have been excluded from more debates than those which have included my voice. But with the newly formed Debates Commission, I thought that problem would be an issue of the past.

My resigned indignation at being excluded from the French TVA debate is not about me. It's about giving Canadians a choice—a choice to hear from every leader of Canada's major political parties. This is the first debate in which the Prime Minister is participating. It is a crucial moment for all Canadians.

In Canada, all parties represented in Parliament should be included in debates. By excluding a Green voice, TVA fails to offer the full picture that voters are facing at the polls this election.

MORE: The Elizabeth May show and the first leaders debate

There is another facet to my exclusion, too. As the only female leader, TVA, whether they intended to or not, are excluding 50 per cent of our population from being represented on the debate stage. And for this, I am disappointed in the other male leaders. To varying degrees they want to be seen as supporting the role of women in our society. In 2015, I was grateful for Justin Trudeau's support for my participation. He explained that he wanted his daughter to see a woman on stage. What has changed in 2019?

What this comes down to is doing what is right. What is fair. What is democratic.

And sadly, TVA chose not to do that with their debate. Instead of following the impartial non-partisan criteria set out by Federal Debates Commission, TVA chose to bend the rules to suit their interests.

I know that Greens will see real growth in French-speaking Canada this election. We've seen this growth over the past four years throughout Canada. In New Brunswick (Canada's only officially bilingual province) there are three Green MLAs in the legislature—two from prominently Francophone communities. In the 2017 by-election in St-Laurent, Green Party Deputy Leader Daniel Green came in third place ahead of the NDP. In the 2019 Outremont by-election, Mr. Green again placed third, ahead of the Conservatives and Bloc Québécois.

According to one recent poll, Greens are currently polling in second place in the province of Quebec. These numbers should be more than enough of a signifier to justify the inclusion of Greens in a Quebec-specific debate. Excluding Greens from debates isn't just anti-democratic, it does a disservice to the election process and the Canadian electorate as a whole.

After 13 years in federal politics, I know the larger parties wish that we would just go away. TVA's attempt to silence me, and as a result our many talented candidates across the country, will not stop us from fighting for what is right. Together, we will overcome this unfair disadvantage.

We are unabashed in our bold vision for Canada, and we won't back down. Even though it's not fair, I see TVA's exclusion as a sign that the Green Party of Canada is growing.

I encourage Canadians to watch the National Televised Leaders Debates on Oct. 7 in English and on Oct. 10 in French. This is a critical election, and Canadians have a real chance at making a difference. The likelihood of a minority government is high. Without the spectre of strategic and fear-based voting, we can all vote for what we want, in support of the values we share. I hope that after seeing what Greens stand for, you will consider casting your ballot for us on Oct. 21.

MORE ABOUT ELIZABETH MAY:

- [Where federal leaders travelled during the first half of the campaign](#)
- [Making hay out of Elizabeth May's straw](#)
- ['Who is Jagmeet Singh's wife?' and other Google searches during the first debate](#)
- [Shaking hands with the invisible Prime Minister](#)

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| Green Party | Green Party Of Canada | Leaders Debates | TVA Debate |

Figure 0-132: Twitter's May: Web Link Content from Figure 0-131: May - The Green Party won't be silenced by TVA (May 2019c)



Elizabeth May ✓
@ElizabethMay

Green Party exclusive middle seat in economy fully loaded! My husband @kidderjohn and I are off to Ottawa for my preparations for #leadersdebate2019. Watch as I try to add peace and loving kindness to 5 angry men. :) #GPC



3:00 PM · Oct 6, 2019 · [Twitter for Android](#)

162 Retweets 1.6K Likes

Figure 0-133: Twitter's May: Post Text: Green Party exclusive middle seat in economy fully loaded! My husband @kidderjohn and I are off to Ottawa for my preparations for #leadersdebate2019. Watch as I try to add peace and loving kindness to 5 angry men. :) #GPC (2019-10-06; 15:00; 1,575 likes; 162 retweets; 352 comments) (May 2019d)



Figure 0-134: Twitter's May: Post Text: If I become PM, I will encourage global philanthropy to support Canadian NGOs pushing for a clean energy economy and healthy biodiversity. We will protect the rights of civil society org's to comment on settled science under Canada's election and charitable laws. #GPC #climate (2019-10-07; 12:17; 762 likes; 145 retweets; 172 replies) (May 2019e)

1.6.10. Twitter's 2019 Bloc Québécois @BlocQuebecois



Figure 0-135: Twitter's Bloc: Post Text: Justin Trudeau va plus loin en anglais qu'en français. Il laisse entendre qu'il va contester la #Loi21 adoptée par l'Assemblée nationale et appuyée par 70% des Québécois et Québécoises. #polcan #débatdeschefs #elxn43 #leadersdebate2019” (Translated) Justin Trudeau goes further in English than in French. He hints that he will challenge Bill 21 adopted by the National Assembly and supported by 70% of Quebeckers. #polcan#débatdeschefs#elxn43#leadersdebate2019 (2019-10-07; 19:38; 215 likes; 172 retweets; 34 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019d)



Figure 0-136: Twitter’s Bloc: Post Text: “Les premières nations sont des nations. Le Canada est une nation. Le Québec est une nation. Et une nation ne laisse pas sa culture entre les mains d’une autre nation.” #ÉgalÀÉgal #polcan #débatdeschefs #elxn43 #leadersdebate2019 (Translated) “First nations are nations. Canada is a nation. Quebec is a nation. And one nation does not leave its culture in the hands of another nation.” #ÉgalÀÉgal #polcan #débatdeschefs #elxn43 #leadersdebate2019” (2019-10-07; 20:03; 227 likes; 86 retweets; 19 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019e)



Bloc Québécois 
@BlocQuebecois

[#Débatdeschefs](#) en anglais :

«J'ai hâte d'entendre ces messieurs nous dire la même chose qu'ils nous ont dit ce soir lors du débat en français jeudi.»

- [@yfblanchet](#)

[#polcan](#) [#elx43](#) [#LeadersDebate2019](#)

Translated from French by [Google](#)

[#Débatdeschefs](#) in English: "I look forward to hearing these gentlemen tell us the same thing they told us tonight during the debate in French Thursday." - [@yfblanchet#polcan#elx43#LeadersDebate2019](#)

9:04 PM · Oct 7, 2019 · [TweetDeck](#)

81 Retweets 227 Likes

Figure 0-137: Twitter's Bloc: Post Text: [#Débatdeschefs](#) en anglais: "J'ai hâte d'entendre ces messieurs nous dire la même chose qu'ils nous ont dit ce soir lors du débat en français jeudi." - [@yfblanchet](#) [#polcan](#) [#elx43](#) [#LeadersDebate2019](#) (Translated) [#Débatdeschefs](#) in English: "I look forward to hearing these gentlemen tell us the same thing they told us tonight during the debate in French Thursday." - [@yfblanchet](#) [#polcan#elx43#LeadersDebate2019](#) (2019-10-07; 21:04; 227 likes; 81 retweets; 16 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019c)

1.6.11. Twitter's 2019 Yves-F. Blanchet @yfblanchet



Yves-F. Blanchet  
@yfblanchet

À 2 jours du débat anglais, pourquoi suis-je le seul à revendiquer ce qui devrait être un hymne des fédéralistes et une indication que leur fédération marche? La nation québécoise envisage un pays mais est aussi sœur de tous les Français d'Amérique. Partagez... au Canada! 



Translated from French by Google

At 2 days of the English debate, why am I the only one to claim what should be a hymn of federalists and an indication that their federation is working? The Quebec nation envisions a country but is also the sister of all the French people in America. Share ... in Canada!  



9:48 PM · Oct 5, 2019 · Twitter for iPhone

189 Retweets 467 Likes

Figure 0-138: Twitter's Blanchet: Post Text: À 2 jours du débat anglais, pourquoi suis-je le seul à revendiquer ce qui devrait être un hymne des fédéralistes et une indication que leur fédération marche? La nation québécoise envisage un pays mais est aussi sœur de tous les Français d'Amérique. Partagez... au Canada! 🌐 🌟 (Translated) With two days to go before the English debate, why am I the only one claiming what should be a federalists anthem and an indication that their federation works? The Quebec nation envisions a country but is also the sister of all the French people in America. Share ... in Canada!" // Image Text: "Je souhaite juste que les francophones du Canada et les Acadiens aient le même traitement que les anglophones du Québec" (Translated) "I want French-speaking people in English Canada and Acadians to get the same treatment as English-speaking people in Québec." (2019-10-05; 21:48; 467 likes; 189 retweets; 33 comments) (Yves-F. Blanchet 2019a)



Figure 0-139: Twitter's Blanchet: Post Text: Troublant. Sa question était indigne, comme son tweet mercredi dernier. (Translated) Disturbing. His question was outrageous, as was his tweet last Wednesday. // Web Link: "Rappelons que la modératrice @althiaraj soupait en tête-à-tête

avec @gmbutts il y a quelques jours. Ça, c'est assez particulier mettons. Certains pourraient dire que ceci explique cela... #elxn43 (Translated) Remember that the moderator @althiaraj was having dinner with @gmbutts a few days ago. That's pretty special, let's say. Some might say this explains it... #elxn43 (2019-10-07; 22:39; 332 likes; 170 retweets; 37 comments) (Yves-F. Blanchet 2019b)



Yves-F. Blanchet   
@yfblanchet

Est-il étrange que le thème central de la campagne fédérale soit une loi déjà adoptée par une législature « provinciale »?
Ou juste révélateur de la coexistence forcée de deux nations, l'une conquérante, l'autre conquise.
Trudeau se range avec le Canada.

Translated from French by Google

Is it strange that the central theme of the federal campaign is a law already adopted by a "provincial" legislature? Or just revealing the forced coexistence of two nations, one conqueror, the other conquered.
Trudeau ranks with Canada.



Trudeau, Capitaine Canada contre la loi 21
Justin Trudeau s'est posé en champion des droits et libertés contre la loi 21 du Québec sur la laïcité, dans le débat des chefs en anglais, hier.
journaldequebec.com

9:25 AM · Oct 8, 2019 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

127 Retweets 343 Likes

Figure 0-140: Twitter's Blanchet: Post Text: Est-il étrange que le thème central de la campagne fédérale soit une loi déjà adoptée par une législature 'provinciale'? Ou juste révélateur de la

coexistence forcée de deux nations, l'une conquérante, l'autre conquise. Trudeau se range avec le Canada. (Translated) Is it strange that the central theme of the federal campaign is a law already passed by a 'provincial' legislature? Or is it just indicative of the forced coexistence of two nations, one conquering, the other conquered. Trudeau stands with Canada. (2019-10-08; 09:25; 343 likes; 127 retweets; 42 comments) (Yves-F. Blanchet 2019c)

ANTOINE
ROBITAILLE



Trudeau, Capitaine Canada contre la loi 21

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PHOTO AFP



ANTOINE ROBITAILLE

Mardi, 8 octobre 2019 05:00
MISE À JOUR Mardi, 8 octobre 2019 05:00

Justin Trudeau s'est posé en champion des droits et libertés contre la loi 21 du Québec sur la laïcité, dans le débat des chefs en anglais, hier.

Nulle surprise, car la laïcité à la québécoise, d'inspiration européenne, est considérée par une bonne partie des électeurs du ROC (rest of Canada) comme une discrimination officielle, inique.

Yves-François Blanchet a du reste souligné qu'il n'y avait pas de terme courant, accepté, pour bien traduire « laïcité » en anglais. Sur ce point aussi, il y a deux solitudes qui étaient très visibles, hier.

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Il faudra bien un jour – et on aurait aimé que le chef du Bloc le fasse plus clairement hier – que quelqu'un explique que plusieurs conceptions des rapports entre l'État et la religion en Occident existent et sont totalement démocratiques et légitimes. Par exemple, la Cour européenne de justice a approuvé la loi française qui bannit la burqa dans l'espace public.

Bien qu'on puisse la considérer comme pleine de défauts, la loi 21 est loin d'être cette sorte de loi de Nuremberg qu'elle semble être dans la bouche de ses contempteurs.

« Qui veut tuer son chien »

Dans le ROC, on a l'habitude, lorsqu'il est question du Québec, d'appliquer l'adage « qui veut tuer son chien l'accuse d'avoir la rage » et cela se vérifie de nouveau dans la manière dont cette loi est traitée sans nuance, à coup d'anathèmes.

En passant, le chef bloquiste Yves-François Blanchet, de manière certes malhabile, a bien fait de condamner le traitement injuste qu'on lui a réservé dans le ROC où on a laissé entendre, après le *Face-à-Face*, qu'une de ses phrases, « votez pour un parti qui vous ressemble », avait des accents racistes. « C'est au mieux malhonnête », a-t-il dit avec raison.

Trudeau défie Scheer

Mais revenons au chef libéral, qui a donc tenté de marquer des points en soulignant être le seul des chefs des partis pancanadiens à garder la « porte ouverte » à contester la loi québécoise sur la laïcité. M. Trudeau a au reste reproché à Jagmeet Singh de n'avoir pas fait de même.



Plus tôt, le chef néo-démocrate avait d'ailleurs dû essayer une question de type bazooka d'une des animatrices qui lui avait ni plus ni moins reproché d'avoir abandonné ses principes afin de gagner des votes au Québec. M. Singh a d'ailleurs semblé mortifié par la question, ainsi que par les attaques de M. Trudeau ; il a répété que la loi 21 le rendait « triste » et qu'il s'opposait aux lois qui « divisent les gens ». Un peu plus et il changeait de position en direct.

Sur la loi 21, le chef conservateur Andrew Scheer a insisté pour dire qu'il avait la même position en anglais et en français : qu'un gouvernement conservateur ne s'immiscerait pas dans la contestation et respecterait le choix des Québécois. Mais il a semblé surpris lorsque Yves-François Blanchet a soutenu que le lieutenant conservateur au Québec, Alain Rayes, était allé jusqu'à dire qu'un gouvernement conservateur « protégerait » la loi 21. M. Scheer, mal à l'aise, a simplement réitéré sa position.

Figure 0-141: Twitter's Blanchet: Web Link Content from Figure 0-140: Trudeau, Capitaine Canada contre la loi 21 (Robitaille 2019)

1.6.12. Twitter's 2019 People's Party of Canada @peoplespca



Figure 0-142: Twitter's People's: Post Text: It's happening! (2019-09-16; 13:32; 696 likes; 233 retweets; 59 comments) (PPC HQ - People's Party of Canada 2019a)



Figure 0-143: Twitter's PPC: Post Text: @mmccdenier @TVAreseau @munkdebate @MaximeBernier We need to hear all voices. That's what democracy is about. #PutMaximeBernierIn (2019-09-16; 21:06; 27 likes; 34 retweets; 0 comments) (PPC HQ - People's Party of Canada 2019b)



PPC HQ - People's Party of Canada

@peoplespca



2:01 PM · Sep 16, 2019 · [Twitter Web App](#)

25 Retweets 113 Likes

Figure 0-144: Twitter's PPC: Post Image; Oh yeah. It's all coming together. (2019-09-16; 14:01; 113 likes; 25 retweets; 7 comments) (PPC HQ - People's Party of Canada 2019c)

1.6.13. Twitter's 2019 Maxime Bernier @MaximeBernier



Figure 0-145: Twitter's Bernier: Post Text: Here's the People's Party of Canada ad that will air in the coming days on the CTV Network. Watch and SHARE! // Video: Bernier states, "Are you tired of the same thing over, and over again from the Liberals and Conservatives? They say anything to get elected. So how can you as a voter keep doing the same thing and expect a different result? I'm Maxime Bernier. The People's Party of Canada will reduce immigration, lower your taxes, and fight political correctness. It's time for a change. On election day, try something new. Find out more at PeoplesPartyofCandada.ca (2019-10-07; 12:18; 59,000 views; 2,764 likes; 1,440 retweets; 228 comments) (Bernier 2019f)



Maxime Bernier ✓
@MaximeBernier

Received the good news from the @debates_can as I'm about to board my plane for Saint John!



2:08 PM · Sep 16, 2019 · Twitter for iPhone

1.1K Retweets 3.4K Likes

Figure 0-146: Twitter's Bernier: Post Text: Received the good news from the @debates_can as I'm about to board my plane for Saint John! // Video: Bernier states, "Hello everyone. I am very pleased with Mr. Johnston's decision to invite me to the leaders' debate. That was the right decision. Half of Canadians wanted to hear from us. And Canadians will be able to look at all the options. And I can tell you that the People's Party is a real national party with serious reforms that need to be done for a freer and a more prosperous country. See you soon. Thank you." (2019-09-16; 14:08; 70,400 views; 3,421 likes; 1,114 retweets; 530 comments) (Bernier 2019b)



Figure 0-147: Twitter's Bernier: Post Text: It's sad to see [@theJagmeetSingh](#) repeat the lies and slanders of the far Left antifa crowd and call for censorship. I don't hate anyone. I love my country. And millions of Canadians agrees with PPC policies. Is he that afraid many more will find out during the debates? // Link Text from Figure 0-148: CBC News @ CBCNews – Sep 17. NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh says Maxime Bernier, the leader of the People's Party of Canada, promotes "an ideology of hate that spreads prejudice and disinformation." [@peterzimonjic #cdnpoli](https://cbc.ca/1.5287227) (2019-09-18; 09:03; 2,320 likes; 879 retweets; 257 comments) (Bernier 2019c)

Singh asks commissioner to rethink decision to allow Bernier to join election debates



Bernier promotes 'an ideology of hate,' Singh says

Peter Zimonjic · CBC News · Posted: Sep 17, 2019 5:11 PM ET | Last Updated: September 17



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh has written to David Johnston, the Commissioner of Leaders' Debates asking him to reconsider his decision to invite People's Party of Canada Leader Maxime Bernier to the federal leaders debates next month. (Canadian Press Photos)

267 comments

NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh has written to the Leaders' Debates Commissioner asking him to reconsider his decision to allow Maxime Bernier to participate in the federal election debates.

"I am troubled by your decision to allow the leader of the People's Party of Canada in the debates. It is wrong that Mr. Bernier be given a platform to promote an ideology of hate that spreads prejudice and disinformation," Singh said in his letter.

"Mr. Bernier has courted racists to run for his party. He frequently promotes damaging conspiracy theories on his social media pages. And he has been photographed with far-right hate groups with neo-Nazi ties."

Singh said that Bernier's Twitter attack last month on a 16-year-old Swedish climate activist was also out of line.

On September 2, Bernier posted a series of tweets in which he said [Greta Thunberg is "clearly mentally unstable"](#). Not only autistic, but obsessive-compulsive, eating disorder, depression and lethargy and she lives in a constant state of fear."

Singh also said that he disagreed with the commission that Bernier had met the benchmarks required for debate participation.

The commission considers three criteria when deciding which parties should be invited to the debates: whether a party is represented in the House of Commons by an MP who was elected as a member of that party; whether a party is planning to run candidates in at least 90 per cent of ridings; and whether a party has a "legitimate chance" of electing more than one MP.

While Bernier's party has yet to elect a MP under the PPC banner, the commission ruled that it did meet the other two criteria. The decision cited polling data suggesting it was possible that the party might elect more than one member.

The Leaders' Debates Commission was set up by the Liberal government after former prime minister Stephen Harper refused to participate in the English-language debate run by the consortium of TV networks during the 2015 election.

'I look forward to holding him to account': Trudeau

"Stephen Harper and the Conservatives gamed the system to cherry-pick which debates they wanted to do, and what that meant was, there was no national network debate in English that Canadians could watch," Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau said today in St. John's, N.L.

"We made a commitment in that election that we wouldn't let that happen again. That we would create an independent debate commissioner who would organise national debates, official national debates, and make determinations about the format, about who is included in an independent and responsible way," he added.



Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau says he's looking forward to holding People's Party of Canada Leader Maxime Bernier "to account publicly for his intolerant views" in two official debates next month during a news conference in St. John's Tuesday. 1:05

Former governor general David Johnston was appointed commissioner and tasked with establishing a debate in French and another in English. Trudeau has agreed to attend both debates, but did not attend [the Maclean's/Citytv debate](#) earlier this month and has not committed to the Munk debate on foreign policy.

Trudeau, however, said he was looking forward to debating the PPC leader. "As for Mr Bernier, I look forward to holding him to account publicly for his intolerant views and I certainly hope all other leaders will do the same."

'I'll be there ready to debate Justin Trudeau': Scheer

Green Party Leader Elizabeth May said the move to include Bernier in the televised English and French debates next month was a "fair decision."

"You couldn't find two party leaders more diametrically opposed than Max Bernier and me. But he has a right to be in the debates," said May at a campaign stop at the University of Waterloo.

"It's a fair decision ... And I respect it."

Once the news of Bernier's inclusion in the debates was made public, the Conservative Party of Canada was quick to object to the decision.

"It's no big surprise that Justin Trudeau's hand-picked debate panel used a Liberal-friendly pollster who attacks Andrew Scheer to ultimately justify Mr. Bernier's attendance at the debate," said Daniel Schow, press secretary to the Conservative leader — apparently referring to Frank Graves of Ekos.

Today Scheer brushed aside questions about Bernier's appearance, saying only that he is focused on debating Trudeau.

"I hope he attends the next one for the Munk debates on foreign policy. He's already missed the first one but I'll be there ready to debate Justin Trudeau and show Canadians why he has lost the moral authority to govern and how a new Conservative government will make life more affordable," Scheer said Today in Winnipeg.

Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet questioned Bernier's inclusion in the debates.

"I do believe that there might be some democratic principles involved here allowing Mr. Bernier to be part of the debates," Blanchet said Tuesday in Longueuil, Que. "However, there are many parties in Canada which have never got anybody elected, which are not invited. So how come Mr. Bernier is there and others are not there?"

"That's kind of uncertain as a decision. But I am not the one to make the rules."

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Figure 0-148: Twitter's Bernier: Web Link Content from Figure 0-147: Singh asks commissioner to rethink decision to allow Bernier to join election debates (Zimonjic 2019)



Figure 0-149: Twitter’s Bernier: Post Text: Scheer at the debate: PPC supporters come from “the darkest parts of Twitter.” He said this after paying his hired mudslinger Kinsella to fabricate this story and manipulate the media. Scheer and Trudeau practice the same kind of DIRTY POLITICS. #LibConCorruption (2019-10-19; 09:23; 1,752 likes; 811 retweets; 137 comments) (Bernier 2019j)

1.7. Top Retweeted Twitter Posts with the Hashtag #CanadaDebates2019



Figure 0-150: Twitter’s #CanadaDebates2019: “A man has no place in a discussion of a woman’s right to choose. #CanadaDebates2019 #elxn43” (2019-10-07; 20:41; 22,720 likes; 4,206 retweets; 561 comments) (Singh 2019c)



Figure 0-151: Twitter’s #CanadaDebates2019: “You know what would be better than all the white leaders congratulating @theJagmeetSingh on dealing w/ racism in the campaign? Actually coming up w/ a plan to deal with racism/white supremacy in their platforms. #elxn43 #CanadaDebates2019 #cdnpoli #leadersdebate2019” (2019-10-07; 19:34; 5,088 likes; 1,272 retweets; 62 comments) (Hudson 2019)



Figure 0-152: Twitter’s #CanadaDebates2019: “You don’t have to choose between Mr. Delay (@JustinTrudeau) & Mr. Deny (@AndrewScheer). It’s time to start fighting the climate crisis like we want to win by taking on the largest polluters & creating 300,000 new jobs in the clean energy economy of the future. #CanadaDebates2019” (2019-10-07; 20:12; 5,077 likes; 1,141 retweets; 160 comments) (Singh 2019h)

1.8. Top Retweeted Twitter Posts with the Hashtag #LeadersDebate2019

The image shows a screenshot of a Twitter post. At the top left is the profile picture of Maclean's Magazine, a black circle with a white 'M' and a red maple leaf. To its right is the name 'Maclean's Magazine' with a blue verification checkmark and the handle '@macleans'. The tweet text reads: ".@theJagmeetSingh on his climate plan: 'You do not need to choose between Mr. Delay and Mr. Deny. There is another option.'" followed by the hashtags #elx43 and #leadersdebate2019. Below the text is a video player showing a man with a beard and a yellow turban (Jagmeet Singh) in a dark suit, gesturing with his right hand. The video player has a progress bar at 0:06 / 0:35, a play button, and a view count of 302.5K. Below the video player is the caption 'Jagmeet Singh on his climate plan'. At the bottom of the tweet, it says '8:10 PM · Oct 7, 2019 · Twitter Media Studio' and '1.7K Retweets 5.8K Likes'.

Figure 0-153: Twitter’s #LeadersDebate2019: “.@theJagmeetSingh on his climate plan: ‘You do not need to choose between Mr. Delay and Mr. Deny. There is another option.’ #elxn43 #leadersdebate2019” (2019-10-07; 20:10; 302,500 views; 5,790 likes; 1,656 retweets; 187 comments) (Maclean’s Magazine 2019)



Justin Trudeau ✓
@JustinTrudeau

Andrew Scheer is against gay marriage, against a woman's right to choose, against stronger gun control, and against fighting climate change. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli



7:40 PM · Oct 7, 2019 · [Twitter Media Studio](#)

1.5K Retweets **5.4K** Likes

Figure 0-154: Twitter's #LeadersDebate2019: "Andrew Scheer is against gay marriage, against a woman's right to choose, against stronger gun control, and against fighting climate change. @JustinTrudeau #leadersdebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli" (2019-10-07; 19:40; 483,000 views; 5,364 likes; 1,524 retweets; 1,287 comments) (Trudeau 2019c)



Figure 0-155: Twitter’s #LeadersDebate2019: “You know what would be better than all the white leaders congratulating @theJagmeetSingh on dealing w/ racism in the campaign? Actually coming up w/ a plan to deal with racism/white supremacy in their platforms. #elxn43 #CanadaDebates2019 #cdnpoli #leadersdebate2019” (2019-10-07; 19:34; 5,088 likes; 1,272 retweets; 62 comments) (Hudson 2019)

1.9. Top Liked Debate-Related Instagram Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate

1.9.1. Table 9: Top 10 Liked Debate-Related Instagram Posts for Leaders and Parties in Canada’s 2019 English-Language Leaders’ Debate

| Rank | Party/Leader | Title | Date | Type | Views | Likes | Comments |
|------|--------------|--|------------|-------|-------|---------|----------|
| 1 | Trudeau | The best kind of debate prep: walking these two to school this morning! CA La meilleure préparation pour un débat : aller les reconduire à l’école ce matin! | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 181,464 | 2,647 |
| 2 | Trudeau | Préparation pour le débat. Debate prep. | 2019-10-02 | Image | N/A | 176,691 | 5,315 |
| 3 | Singh | You know it’s been a long day when the ears are out 😊 #elxn43 | 2019-10-06 | Image | N/A | 68,811 | 775 |
| 4 | Singh | Debate night is a wrap! I love every opportunity I get to share the stories of the people I’ve met across Canada – and offer our plan to make life easier for people, instead of protecting the interests of the rich & powerful. #elxn43 #CanadaDebates2019 CA C’est fini pour le débat de ce | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 68,211 | 802 |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---|------------|-------|-----|-------|-----|
| | | soir! C'est très important pour moi de saisir chaque occasion pour partager les histoires des gens que je rencontre à travers le Canada et présenter notre plan pour rendre votre vie plus facile, pas celle des plus riches. | | | | | |
| 5 | Scheer | Let's do this. It's time for you to get ahead! #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 CA Allons-y! Plus. Pour vous. Dès maintenant! #DébatDesChefs2019 #elxn43 | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 5,754 | 477 |
| 6 | Scheer | Heading into the debate with my better half on Thursday. CA En arrivant au débat jeudi avec ma douce moitié. #Latergram #Canada #bestwife #family #cdnpoli #polcan #elxn43 #meilleureépouse #famille” (5,268 likes; 142 comments) | 2019-10-13 | Image | N/A | 5,268 | 142 |
| 7 | Conservative | Tonight's debate made one thing clear: @andrewjscheer is the only leader that can be trusted to help you and your family get ahead. | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 4,570 | 432 |
| 8 | Green | Debate night! The only female leader, Elizabeth has been an MP for 8 years and devoted her life to defending the 🌍. She's 💯 sure to make a splash, laying down some hard facts and honest, ethical, caring leadership. 🇨🇦 Buckle up, boys! Watch at cbcnews.ca | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 3,175 | 132 |
| 9 | Bernier | I needed to make one last stop before turning in for tonight. We need more people like Dorothy in Canada. Je devais faire un dernier arrêt avant de me coucher ce soir. Nous avons besoin plus de gens comme Dorothy au Canada. | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 2,977 | 183 |
| 10 | Scheer | I kicked off National Newspaper Week with copies of the Fort Times, from my local community in Saskatchewan, and the @OttawaCitizen, where my dad worked as a librarian. Local papers are our communities' lifelines for keeping up with the news. #NewspapersMatter. CA J'ai donné le coup d'envoi de la Semaine nationale de la presse avec des exemplaires du Fort | 2019-10-07 | Image | N/A | 2,877 | 155 |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | <p>Times, de chez moi en Saskatchewan, et du @OttawaCitizen, où travaillait mon père comme bibliothécaire. Les journaux locaux sont vitaux pour que nous restions à l'affût de l'actualité.</p> <p>#LesJournauxComptent . . . #Canada #polcan #cdnpoli #elxn43</p> | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|

1.9.2. Instagram's 2019 Conservative Party @cpc_hq



Figure 0-156: Instagram's Conservatives: Post Text: Tonight's debate made one thing clear: @andrewjscheer is the only leader that can be trusted to help you and your family get ahead. // Image Text: Andrew Scheer wins debate (2019-10-07; 4,570 likes; 432 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada 2019b)



Figure 0-157: Instagram’s Conservatives: Post Text: Repost @andrewjscheer • • • Let’s do this. It’s time for you to get ahead! #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 CA Allons-y! Plus. Pour vous. Dès maintenant! #DébatDesChefs2019 #elxn43 (2019-10-07; 1,669 likes; 37 comments) (Conservative Party of Canada 2019a)

1.9.3. Instagram’s 2019 Andrew Scheer @andrewjscheer



Figure 0-158: Instagram’s Scheer: Post Text: Let’s do this. It’s time for you to get ahead! #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 CA Allons-y! Plus. Pour vous. Dès maintenant! #DébatDesChefs2019 #elxn43” (2019-10-07; 5,754 likes; 477 comments) (Scheer 2019f)

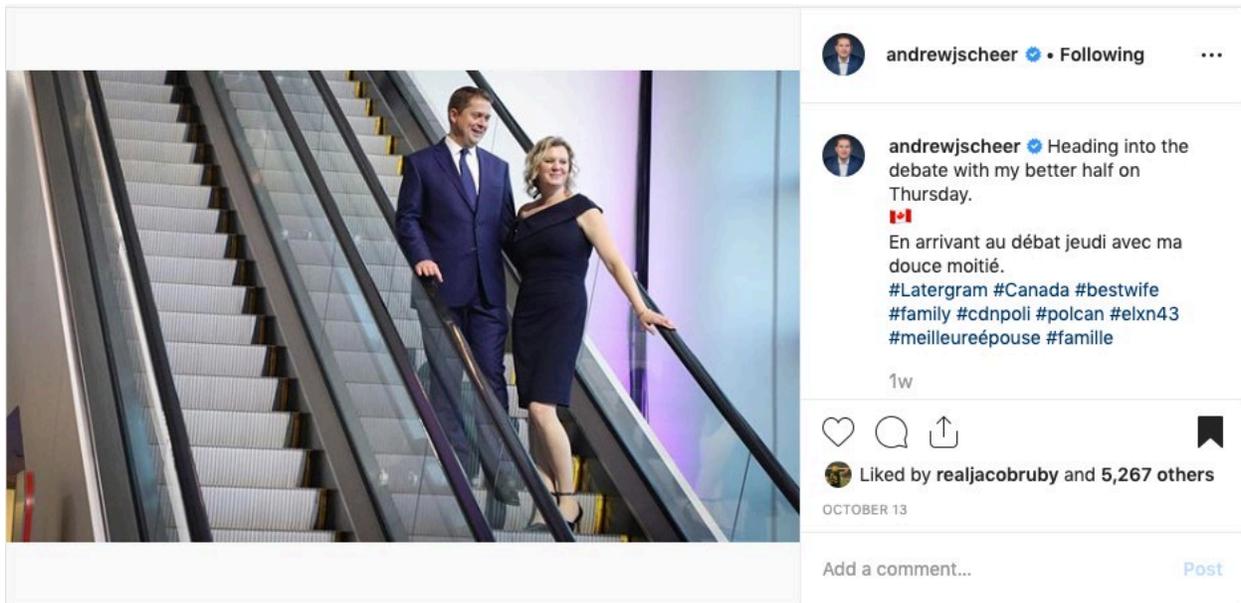


Figure 0-159: Instagram’s Scheer: Post Text: Heading into the debate with my better half on Thursday. CA En arrivant au débat jeudi avec ma douce moitié. #Latergram #Canada #bestwife #family #cdnpoli #polcan #elxn43 #meilleureépouse #famille (2019-10-13; 5,268 likes; 142 comments) (Scheer 2019i)

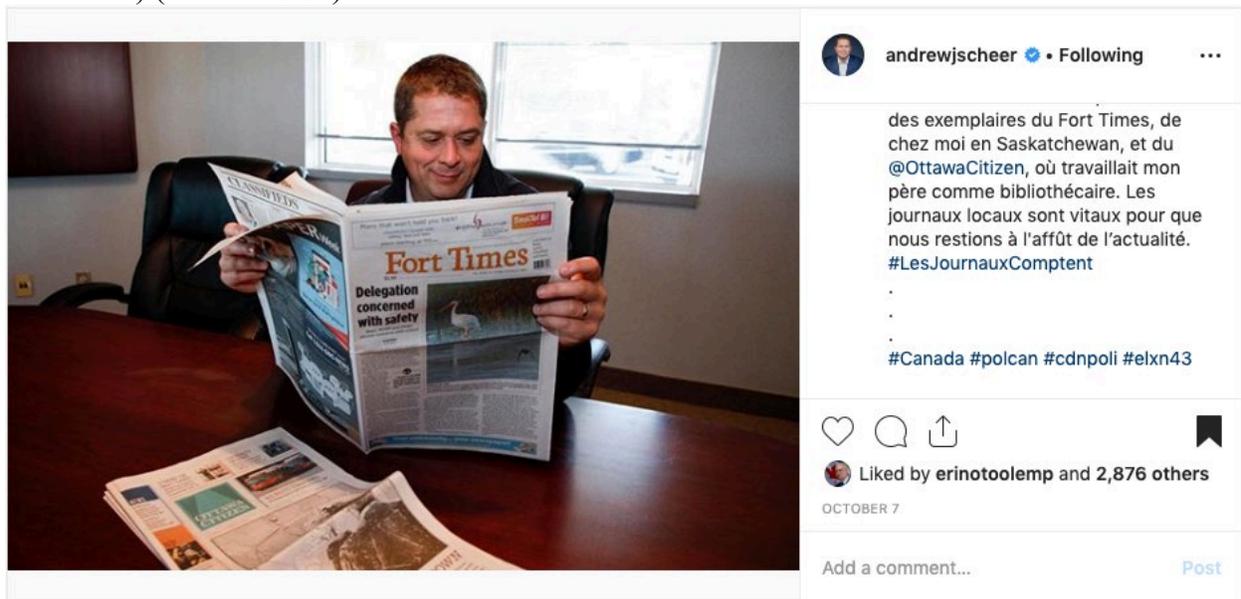


Figure 0-160: Instagram’s Scheer: Post Text: I kicked off National Newspaper Week with copies of the Fort Times, from my local community in Saskatchewan, and the @OttawaCitizen, where my dad worked as a librarian. Local papers are our communities' lifelines for keeping up with the news. #NewspapersMatter. CA J’ai donné le coup d’envoi de la Semaine nationale de la presse avec des exemplaires du Fort Times, de chez moi en Saskatchewan, et du @OttawaCitizen, où travaillait mon père comme bibliothécaire. Les journaux locaux sont vitaux pour que nous restions à l'affût de l’actualité. #LesJournauxComptent . . . #Canada #polcan #cdnpoli #elxn43” (2019-10-07; 2,877 likes; 155 comments) (Scheer 2019c)

1.9.4. Instagram's 2019 Liberal Party @liberalca



Figure 0-161: Instagram's Liberals: Post Text: In the past week, Liberal volunteers across the country made over 2 MILLION knocks & calls - a new record! Congrats to @lockhartalaina, @genevievehinse, @marcomendicino, @amarjeet_sohi, @sukhdhaliwal_mp, @richard.hebertlsj, and their awesome teams for being the top teams across the country this week. To all Liberal teams working hard to reach more Canadians than ever before - keep up the great work! — Au cours de la dernière semaine, les bénévoles libéraux d'un bout à l'autre du pays ont fait plus de 2 MILLIONS d'appels et de visites - un nouveau record! Cette semaine, @lockhartalaina, @genevievehinse, @marcomendicino, @amarjeet_sohi, @sukhdhaliwal_mp, @richard.hebertlsj et leurs fabuleuses équipes se sont les plus démarqués parmi toutes les équipes de partout à travers le pays. Félicitations! Et à toutes les autres équipes qui travaillent sans relâche pour interagir avec plus de Canadiens que jamais auparavant - continuez votre superbe travail, vous êtes indispensables! (2019-10-08; 1,267 likes; 57 comments) (Liberal Party of Canada 2019)

1.9.5. Instagram's 2019 Justin Trudeau @justinpjtrudeau



Figure 0-162: Instagram's Trudeau: Post Text: The best kind of debate prep: walking these two to school this morning! CA La meilleure préparation pour un débat : aller les reconduire à l'école ce matin! (2019-10-07; 181,464 likes; 2,647 comments) (Trudeau 2019h)

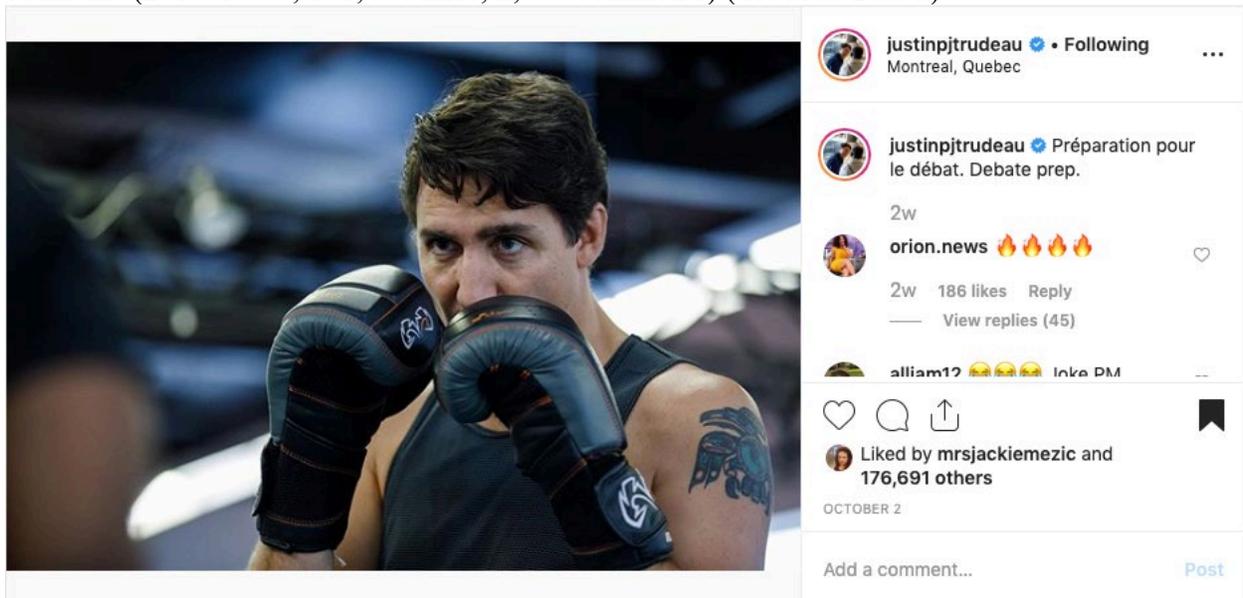


Figure 0-163: Instagram's Trudeau: Post Text: Préparation pour le débat. Debate prep. (2019-10-02; 176,691 likes; 5,315 comments) (Trudeau 2019a)

1.9.6. Instagram’s 2019 Canada’s NDP @ndpcanada



Figure 0-164: Instagram’s NDP: Post Text: Canvassing blitz with our candidates and their local teams! . Melissa Jean-Baptiste Vajda, NDP candidate for University– Rosedale Mark Cherrington, NDP candidate for Edmonton Griesbach Allison Brown, NDP candidate for Dufferin-Caledon Barrington Walker, NDP candidate for Kington and the islands Audrey Redman, NDP candidate for Edmonton Riverbend . Sign up now to give a few hours of your time and be part of the campaign team! Link in bio. #InItForYou #elxn43#cdnpoli (2019-10-07; 751 likes; 17 comments) (Canada’s NDP // NDP du Canada 2019b)

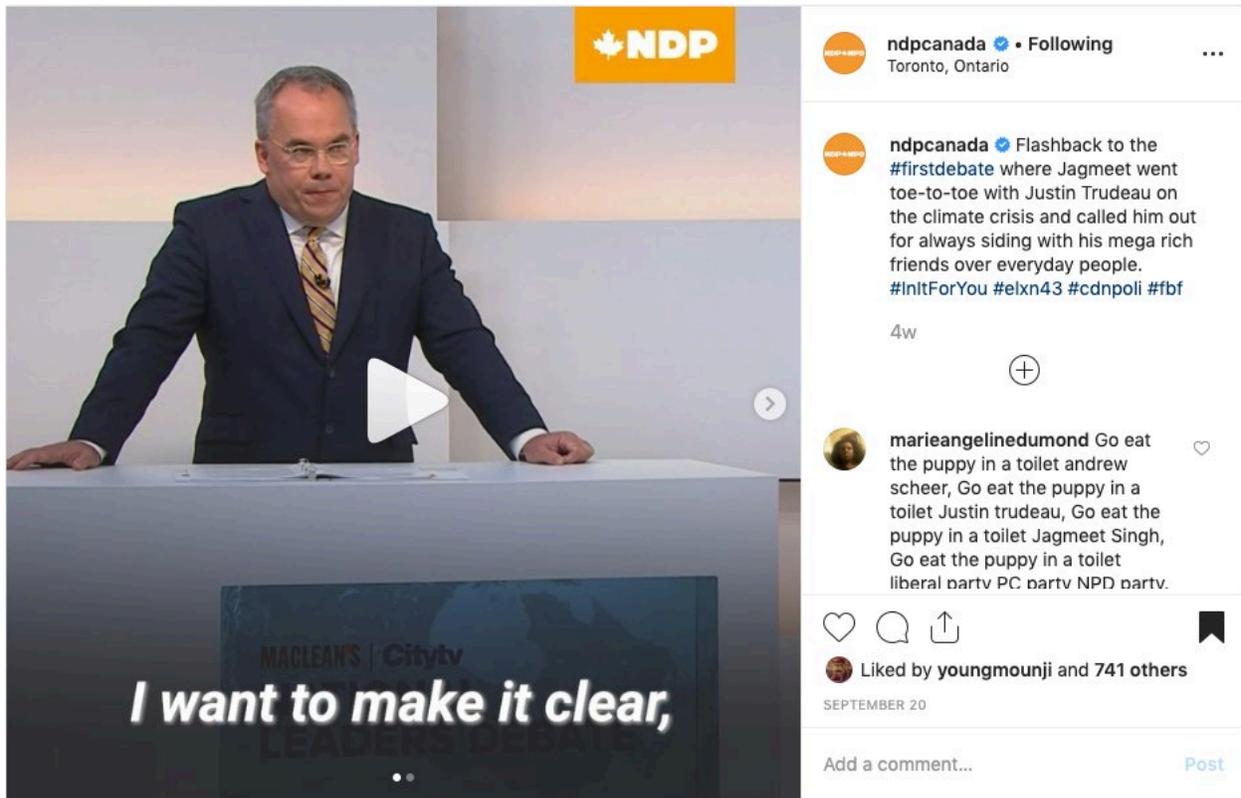


Figure 0-165: Instagram's NDP: Post Text: Flashback to the #firstdebate where Jagmeet went toe-to-toe with Justin Trudeau on the climate crisis and called him out for always siding with his mega rich friends over everyday people. #InItForYou #elxn43 #cdnpoli #fbf (2019-09-20; 742 likes; 42 comments) (Canada's NDP // NDP du Canada 2019a)

1.9.7. Instagram's 2019 Jagmeet Singh @jagmeetsingh



Figure 0-166: Instagram's Singh: Post Text: You know it's been a long day when the ears are out 🤔 #elxn43 CA Tu sais que c'est une longue journée quand les oreilles finissent par sortir 🤔 #elxn43 (2019-10-06; 68,811 likes; 775 comments) (Singh 2019b)



Figure 0-167: Instagram's Singh: Post Text: Debate night is a wrap! I love every opportunity I get to share the stories of the people I've met across Canada – and offer our plan to make life easier for people, instead of protecting the interests of the rich & powerful. #elxn43

#CanadaDebates2019 CA C'est fini pour le débat de ce soir! C'est très important pour moi de saisir chaque occasion pour partager les histoires des gens que je rencontre à travers le Canada et présenter notre plan pour rendre votre vie plus facile, pas celle des plus riches. (2019-10-07; 68,211 likes; 802 comments) (Singh 2019d)

1.9.8. Instagram’s 2019 Green Party of Canada @thegreenparty_canada (formerly @greenpartyofcanadaofficial)



Figure 0-168: Instagram’s Greens: Post Text: Debate night! The only female leader, Elizabeth has been an MP for 8 years and devoted her life to defending the 🌍. She’s 100% sure to make a splash, laying down some hard facts and honest, ethical, caring leadership. 🙌 Buckle up, boys! Watch at cbcnews.ca (2019-10-07; 3,175 likes; 132 comments) (Green Party of Canada 2019c)



Figure 0-169: Instagram’s Greens: Post Text: 🗣️🗣️🗣️🗣️ // Image Text: Tired of the divisive politics you’ve seen this election? Blame first past the post. @ElizabethMay: “It makes each party a rival of the other.” We need solutions, not bickering. Greens fight for proportional representation #LeadersDebate2019 #elxn43 #cdnpoli (2019-10-07; 1,668 likes; 46 comments) (Green Party of Canada 2019a)

1.9.9. Instagram's 2019 Elizabeth May @elizabethemay



Figure 0-170: Instagram's May: Post Text: Happy Thanksgiving! From our happy family to yours! counting my blessings. #love (2019-10-14; 335 likes; 26 comments) (May 2019h)

1.9.10. Instagram's 2019 Bloc Québécois @blocquebecois



Figure 0-171: Instagram's Bloc: Post Text: [#BlocQC](#) [#polcan](#) [#polqc](#) // Image Text: “J’ai hâte d’entendre ces messieurs nous dire la même chose qu’ils nous ont dit ce soir lors du débat en français jeudi.” (Translated) “I cannot wait to hear these gentlemen tell us the same thing they told us tonight during the debate in French on Thursday.” (2019-10-08; 279 likes; 14 comments) (Bloc Québécois 2019g)

1.9.11. Instagram's 2019 Yves-François Blanchet @yfblanchetbq



Figure 0-172: Instagram's Blanchet: Post Text: À deux jours du débat en anglais, je me demande pourquoi je suis le seul à revendiquer ce qui devrait être un hymne pour les fédéralistes et un début d'indication que leur fédération fonctionne. Nous sommes de la nation québécoise en quête d'un pays mais aussi frères et sœurs de tous les Français d'Amérique. Partagez... au Canada! ❁ ❁ (Translated) With two days to go before the English debate, why am I the only one claiming what should be a federalist's anthem and an indication that their federation works? The Québec nation envisions a country but is also the sister of all the French people in America. Share ... in Canada!" // Image Text: "Je souhaite juste que les francophones du Canada et les Acadiens aient le même traitement que les anglophones du Québec" (Translated) "I want French-speaking people in English Canada and Acadians to get the same treatment as English-speaking people in Québec." (2019-10-05; 285 likes; 21 comments) (Yves-François Blanchet 2019a)



Figure 0-173: Instagram's Blanchet: Post Text: À la veille du débat final, avec une brise au parfum de nation et d'espairs, je veux remercier les gens qui multiplient les messages de confiance. Je ne sais pas si je serai à la hauteur de vos vœux, mais ce petit homme, fils de ma fille, sera mon inspiration. Merci! ❤️☀️🍀 (Translated) On the eve of the final debate, with a nation-breeze and hopes, I want to thank the people who multiply the messages of trust. I do not know if I will live up to your wishes, but this little man, son of my daughter, will be my inspiration. (2019-10-09; 264 likes; 21 comments) (Yves-François Blanchet 2019e)

1.9.12. Instagram's 2019 People's Party of Canada @peoplespca



Figure 0-174: Instagram's PPC: Post Text: Maxime Bernier WILL be in the Leaders' Debates Commission debates! #PPC2019 #CDNPOLI #elxn43 // Image Text: Today, democracy won! (2019-09-16; 1,397 likes; 144 comments) (People's Party of Canada 2019b)



Figure 0-175: Instagram's PPC: Post Text: The HQ team is watching the debates from the government funded trailers outside the debate venue. How do you think Max is doing? #elxn43 #PPC2019 #CDNPOLI // Image Text: Maxime Bernier (2019-10-07; 1,233 likes; 243 comments) (People's Party of Canada 2019d)



Figure 0-176: Instagram's PPC: Post Text: We're less than 90 minutes away from a landmark moment in Canadian history. #elxn43 #PPC2019 #CDNPOLI #canadadebates2019 // Image Text: PPC dressing room (2019-10-07; 940 likes; 42 comments) (People's Party of Canada 2019e)

1.9.13. Instagram's 2019 Maxime Bernier @hon.maximebernier



Figure 0-177: Instagram's Bernier: Post Text: I needed to make one last stop before turning in for tonight. We need more people like Dorothy in Canada. Je devais faire un dernier arrêt avant de me coucher ce soir. Nous avons besoin plus de gens comme Dorothy au Canada. (2019-10-07; 2,977 likes; 183 comments) (Bernier 2019g)



Figure 0-178: Instagram's Bernier: Post Text: Final bit of pre-debate preparation. How do you guys think Max is doing this far? #elxn43 #PPC2019 #CDNPOLI (2019-10-07; 2,425 likes; 422 comments) (Bernier 2019e)



Figure 0-179: Instagram's Bernier: Post Text: Catherine et Johanne ont détourné mon Instagram. Voyons quoi d'autre qu'elles afficheront ce soir. Catherine and Johanne have hijacked my Instagram. Let's see what else they post tonight. #elxn43 #PPC2019 #CDNPOLI (2019-10-07; 774 likes; 29 comments) (Bernier 2019d)

2. Transcript of Canada's 2015 *Maclean's* Leaders' Debate

Tale of the tape: Read a full transcript of *Maclean's* Leaders' Debate (*Maclean's* 2015)

Every zinger. Every claim. Every bit of crosstalk. All recorded in our transcript of #macdebate by *Maclean's*

Aug 7, 2015

What did that leader say? Here's where to find out. Read our full transcript of #macdebate, separated by the four topics—the economy, the environment, democracy and foreign policy.

2.1. Contents

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2.2. Segment One: The Economy, Part One

Paul Wells: The longest election campaign in modern Canadian history has begun. Good evening. I'm Paul Wells, the Political Editor of *Maclean's* Magazine, and I am as surprised by all of this as you are. We've got the leaders of four national political parties together in one room. We don't know whether that will happen again before you vote. I don't think they know. But while they're here, let's make them work.

The leaders are: Justin Trudeau, the Leader of the Liberal Party; Elizabeth May, the Leader of the Green Party; Tom Mulcair, the Leader of the New Democratic Party; and Stephen Harper, the Leader of the Conservative Party.

Tonight's debate will cover four broad subjects at the top of voters' minds: the economy; energy and the environment; the state of Canada's democracy; and foreign policy and security.

Each segment will begin with questions from me to one of the leaders. Then another leader will respond to the first, followed by an extended discussion among all the leaders. We'll go through that process twice for each of our four subjects.

We drew lots to determine the random speaking order. Everybody here knows that order, but nobody in any of the parties has seen or heard the questions I'll be asking tonight. The parties have agreed that at any point I can intervene to direct the conversation.

So let's begin with our first topic, the economy.

Video: Narrator: If there's one topic on every voter's mind as this election approaches, it's the economy.

Male Speaker: We have dangerous economic winds blowing in Canada.

Narrator: The country's economic health is shaken. We're probably coming out of a mild recession. Oil prices have slumped. Exports are weak. How high should taxes be? What's Ottawa's proper role in the economy? Is Canada's wealth fairly distributed? That's the context for our discussion of economic choices.

Paul Wells: And as the luck of the draw would have it, the first question goes to the Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau. Mr. Trudeau.

Justin Trudeau: Evening, Paul.

Paul Wells: Canadians are feeling anxious about the economy. It shrank in May for the fifth month in a row. Manufacturing is hurting. The price of oil is down. Your economic plan is built around a middle class tax break. Is that really enough of a response, given the challenge that you say Canada faces right now?

Justin Trudeau: One of the things we've seen, Paul, is that for 10 years the approach that Mr. Harper has taken has simply not worked for Canadians. He has consistently chosen to give opportunities and tax breaks and benefits to the wealthiest Canadians in the hopes that that would create growth, but that's not happening, and that actually goes to the heart of the question that's being posed in this election campaign: Is Stephen Harper's plan working for you?

He took a decade of surpluses and turned it into eight consecutive deficits. We're the only country in the G-7 that's in recession right now. He has no plan to get out of it. And we just found that wages are falling as well. He may not feel that from 24 Sussex, but I know that you feel that at home.

That's why the Liberal Party has put forward a plan to invest in the middle class, to support the middle class, to create growth through strengthening the middle class and we're the only party up on this stage tonight that is committed to lowering taxes for the middle class by asking the wealthiest to pay more tax. There's a lot more elements to our plan and I'll be glad to talk about them tonight, but we know that when you put money in the pockets of middle class Canadians, the economy grows.

Paul Wells: A lot of people are saying – a lot of economists have said that median incomes have actually been on the rise since about 1990. Do you have a solution to a problem that isn't really there?

Justin Trudeau: Not at all. I think if you spend any time crossing the country, as I have, talking to people who are worried about saving for their own retirement, who are worried about having to make choices between their own opportunities and actually paying for their kids' education, people are worried that perhaps for the first time we have a generation of young people who aren't going to do better than the previous generation did. We need solutions for that, and it's not to continue to give benefits to the wealthiest, it's to actually bring a fresh approach, a new plan and a great team to actually change the course because the only risk right now would be sticking with what has been a failed plan for 10 years.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Trudeau. Again, as the luck of the draw has it, the first to respond is Stephen Harper.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, Paul, let me just correct a few facts. The context is this. Over the past 10 years, in a period of unprecedented economic instability, we have seen since the great global financial crisis Canada has the strongest economic growth, the strongest job creation record and the strongest income growth for the middle class among any of the major developed economies.

What we face right now, let's be clear on what the Bank of Canada said, over 80 percent of our economy is growing. In fact, our exports, non-energy exports are up 10 percent this year. Where we have weakness is obviously in the energy sector because of the fall in energy prices. But our view is, you know, we're going to have growth this year, we're going to have growth going forward. The way you deal with this is by sticking with a plan that is working, a low-tax, prudent plan that is working rather than go to a plan of high taxes and high debt and high deficits, which is failing – which is failing everywhere else.

Paul Wells: The vocabulary that you use to describe your opponents' plans is sometimes fairly grave. You've compared Canada under the Liberals or the NDP to Greece. You have called the

tax increases that Rachel Notley has introduced in Alberta a disaster. Will a few changes in tax rates at the margin actually have that kind of catastrophic effect?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, actually, I think, Paul, we need to be clear on what is being proposed. The other parties are proposing, literally, tens of billions of dollars of additional spending, permanent spending to be financed by permanently higher tax rates and permanent deficits.

Justin Trudeau: That's not true, Mr. Harper.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: And the fact is, Paul, we know where that leads you. Look around the world. Countries that are in that position have not recovered from the recession and are stagnating. This country has had the best performance of major developed economies, and we have some of the best prospects going forward, and that's why we should stay on course.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Harper. We're going to open it up to all the leaders now. Tom Mulcair, how do you – what do you think about these questions?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, I know that Canadians work hard to make ends meet and to take care of their families. That's how I was raised. On Mr. Harper's watch, we've lost 400,000 well-paid manufacturing jobs. There are 200,000 more unemployed today than when the crisis hit in 2008. Honestly, Mr. Harper's plan simply isn't working. We know that. Incomes are flat-lining, household debt is skyrocketing.

We have a plan to invest in the middle class and to create new jobs. We want to invest in infrastructure. We want to give a break to small and medium-sized corporations. Mr. Harper and Mr. Trudeau agree that tens of billions to the wealthiest corporations is the way to go. We

sincerely disagree, and we want to create one million \$15.00-a-day quality child care spaces. That's not just good for families. That's good for the economy as well.

Elizabeth May: You know, I was in the 2008 leaders debates and of course, Mr. Harper, Mr. Prime Minister, we were the two who were there, and I recall very clearly that Mr. Harper was still talking about if there's going to be a recession, we'd be in one already. I don't really think that he's got a good track record on spotting when this country is in a recession.

We're in a recession now. We have a weak and shrinking economy, and it's the wrong time for austerity measures. We need to build up Canada's economy through investment and right now there's no investment going on. There hasn't been investment for the last two or three years, not from the private sector that's sitting on \$630 billion of what Mark Carney called "the dead money." We need to make sure that this economy doesn't sputter to a halt. And that – if we stay with Mr. Harper's risky plans, that's where we're headed.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, let's be clear – let's be clear what the record is. We have 1.3 million net new jobs created since the global financial crisis — the best record by far in the G-7. That's why incomes are rising across the board in this country and have been rising. That's why we have manufacturing and other sectors outside of energy that are now expanding because – because we are able, because we have a balanced budget and are able to make investments in things like infrastructure, in health care, in benefits for families. Now is not the time to throw us back into deficit and to start to spend tens of billions of dollars we don't have, paid for by tax hikes. That is the wrong policy.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper, the reality is Canadians across this country know that times are tough, and the fact is you have completely become disconnected from the reality that people are facing right across the country. Your plan isn't working, and we know that. And the risk would be sticking with your plan.

Now Mr. Mulcair is good in his criticisms and his questions, but is not necessarily good at answering the own questions to him because what we've seen is that he's put forward plans for a \$15.00 minimum wage. He's talking about it across the country and what is actually the case is he's misleading Canadians. He's given Canadians who work in big box stores and behind checkout counters and in shops and coffee shops false hope because his minimum wage plan actually will only help less than one percent of every Canadian who earns minimum wage. And that kind of false advertising is simply irresponsible.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Under our plan to introduce a \$15.00 an hour federal minimum wage, over 100,000 Canadians will get a raise. Under Mr. Trudeau's plan, not a single Canadian will get a raise.

Justin Trudeau: Actually, under Mr. Trudeau's plan, 315,000 kids will be lifted out of poverty.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Mr. Harper has seen 400,000 well-paid manufacturing jobs lost during his mandate, and the jobs that are being created are mostly part-time precarious jobs. And it's not just the NDP that says that. One of Canada's leading banks, the CIBC, says that the quality of jobs being created today is at the worst level in a full generation. That's Mr. Harper's record.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Let me give you the fact. Let me give you the facts, Mr. Mulcair, from Statistics Canada. Ninety percent of the 1.3 million net new jobs created are full-time. Eighty percent of them are the private sector. Two-thirds of them are in high wage industries. That's why incomes have been growing in this country when they have not been growing in other countries.

And I'll tell you what won't grow our economy, the kinds of plans these guys are presenting where they want to increase CPP taxes — a hit of a thousand dollars for every worker making

\$60,000 a year and another thousand dollars on the employer if he wants to keep them on the payroll. These are not the ways you handle economic turbulence of oil low prices.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper, to talk about seniors and pensions —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: You move forward on low – with low taxes and stable policies.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper, you have chosen to raise the age of retirement from 65 to 67, which is taking tens of thousands of dollars out of the pockets of our most vulnerable seniors. You've categorically refused to actually engage with the kind of pension security that Ontario and other provinces are asking for. Canadians know that you've let them down because you've chosen to continue to give benefits and tax breaks to the wealthiest Canadians.

Canadians need help from their government. That's why our plan is focussed on strengthening the middle class with a more generous child benefit that'll lift 315,000 kids out of poverty and stop sending government cheques to millionaires, which is what you want to do, and actually, Mr. Mulcair agrees with you on that one.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Now let me be clear what we've actually done for seniors. Retirement age will not go up for over 10 – for 10 years, which is 2023.

Justin Trudeau: Oh, so it's for our grandchildren to worry about that one?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: OAS is increasing. We have brought in the largest increase to the Guaranteed Income Supplement for poor income seniors in 25 years. We brought in income-splitting for our pensioners — I know something the other parties oppose, but they appreciate it. We've made the rules for RRIFs more generous.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper – Mr. Harper, that is simply not true. Mr. Harper – Paul —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: We have —

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper has been putting that out —

Paul Wells: We're not halfway done this segment on the economy —

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper has been putting that out in misleading attack ads and none of the other parties have talked about touching — including Mr. Mulcair on this one — touching income-splitting for seniors.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Trudeau, you voted against income-splitting for pensioners.

Justin Trudeau: You are fearmongering on that, Mr. Harper, and that's irresponsible.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: You have spoken against income-splitting philosophically. You have promised to take it away from families who have a less generous income-splitting arrangement for pensioners. There is no reason pensioners should believe —

Paul Wells: Elizabeth May and then Tom Mulcair on this round.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — your change of — your change of story on this one.

Elizabeth May: With all due respect, Mr. Prime Minister, you are cherry-picking your data. Net new jobs as an indicator of the health of our economy isn't relevant when comparing it to other G-7 nations unless you correct for population growth. And comparing us to Germany, for instance, where they don't have new people joining the labour market constantly, compared to other economies in the G-7, we are doing very poorly indeed. We're in a recession under your watch for the second time.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Ms. May, I think the fact that we are able to bring in immigrants and see immigrants join our economy, that is part of our Economic Action Plan — investments in infrastructure, in innovation and in immigration to help drive — to drive our economy. That's why we have better results.

Paul Wells: Tom Mulcair —

Elizabeth May: We had a net loss in July.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: (Crosstalk, inaudible) in G-7 countries.

Paul Wells: — (crosstalk, inaudible) close out this segment.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Thank you, Paul. What Mr. Harper fails to mention is that he's run up eight deficits in a row. He's added \$150 billion to Canada's debt in the last 10 years, and frankly, last week, as we headed into this campaign, in just one day he spent over a billion dollars. Honestly, Mr. Harper, we really can't afford another four years of you.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: We have — we have a budget that is balanced now when other countries don't.

Paul Wells: And that wraps up very — very punctual of you all, I appreciate that. That wraps up the first round of questions on the economy, but we're only half done on this subject alone.

2.3. Segment One: The Economy, Part Two

The next question goes to Elizabeth May from the Green Party. Ms. May, the Green Party's policies call for a transformation of the Canadian economy from resource exports to high value-

added business, but that's a long-term project and Canada is facing trouble right now. What can the federal government do now this year to reanimate the economy?

Elizabeth May: Excellent question. I think we have to also bear in mind and keep in context that the oil sands are about two percent of our GDP. We've got a lot of economic activity. The Prime Minister is right, we're seeing other sectors begin to rebound and able to export. Our dollar shouldn't keep declining — I think this is a source of worry — but we can't just sit back and think that the current stagnant economy is going to fix itself. We need investment. We need investment from the public sector. We need to invest in a climate action plan. Frankly, we need an army of carpenters, electricians and contractors going out to plug leaky buildings. That's 30 percent of carbon pollution comes from the energy we waste and the money we waste heating the outdoors in the winter and cooling it in the summer.

And we also need to invest in municipal infrastructure. That infrastructure deficit is \$123 billion. We need to get at it as our bridges and roads are crumbling.

Paul Wells: Can you recruit your army of carpenters and without jeopardizing budget balance? How important is budget balance in the scheme of things?

Elizabeth May: In the scheme of things, not very. In a \$2 trillion economy – and I would differ, with all due respect to the Prime Minister, we are not going to see a balanced budget this year. The Parliamentary Budget Office just put out its new figures, but I wouldn't condemn them, and in my pre-budget advice to Finance Minister Joe Oliver, I said, really, this fixation on balancing the budget is being driven by the political imperative that the Conservatives created by saying in the last election we'll give you all these goodies once we balance the budget.

This year, they monkeyed with the budget. They put it out on April 21st, not because they needed to know where oil was going but because they wanted to book the sale of the General Motors

shares in the next fiscal year. So we sold 73 million shares in General Motors. Was that a good policy choice? I don't know, but fiddling with the books, so that that showed in this year's budget to help fake a balance and then the price of oil keeps dropping. We're not going to see a balanced budget.

But I don't condemn them for that. It's far more serious that \$150.00 – \$150 billion of federal debt has been accumulated under this Prime Minister.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Ms. May. And once again, by the luck of the draw, the first leader to respond to Ms. May is Tom Mulcair.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, Paul, I have a concrete plan to kick-start the economy and help the middle class. We're going to invest in infrastructure. We ask our municipalities and local governments to assume 60 percent of the cost for infrastructure with only eight percent of the tax base. That's not going to work.

We're going to reduce small business taxes because they're responsible for creating 80 percent of the new jobs. We'll put our effort there instead of what Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Harper have done, giving tens of billions of tax cuts that they both agree on for our largest corporations.

We're going to champion manufacturing and innovation, including green energy technologies, which will represent a \$5 trillion investment over the next 15 years around the world. We're not part of it because Mr. Harper doesn't believe in a positive role for government in that.

And we will help the middle class, because it is good for families and it's good for the economy, with one million \$15.00-a-day quality child care spaces across Canada.

Justin Trudeau: Now the challenge that we're facing right now in our economy is actually about creating growth. And one of the things that is so concerning with Mr. Mulcair's corporate tax hike is that it's a time in a recession where we need more growth. We need more investment. We need to create more jobs. So his plan to hike corporate taxes is simply pandering to the people who like to hate corporations, but we need that growth. We need that job creation.

But you're right, the money has to come from somewhere if we're going to invest in strengthening the middle class. And that's why I can't quite understand why Mr. Mulcair has ruled out doing what we're doing, which is asking the wealthiest one percent in this country to pay more tax, so we can give a big tax break to the middle class.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, the real question is after those tens of billions of tax cuts for the richest corporations, where are the jobs if that's such a good plan? On the question of personal income tax increases, we are firmly opposed to them. Look at a province like New Brunswick. They will have a tax rate of 58.75 percent. Now New Brunswick doesn't have a medical faculty. How is New Brunswick going to be able to attract and retain top level medical doctors when they're going to be told, "Oh, by the way, our tax rate is now going to be close to 60 percent?" We think that Canadians are paying their fair share. Canada's largest corporations are not paying their fair share. And yes, the NDP will bring up their taxes slightly.

Elizabeth May: And absolutely right, Mr. Mulcair, because when Jim Flaherty, the late and lamented, but when he cut those corporate taxes, he said these corporations were, in his words, "the job creators." Well, they've sat on that money. That's why Mark Carney called it "the dead money." \$630 billion in cash, an astonishing 32 percent of Canada's GDP, is sitting stagnant, not being used. It's absolutely appropriate to raise the corporate tax rate to about where it was in 2009. We'd still be very competitive within OECD countries. And we should do it as quickly as possible, so we have money to invest in getting the economy moving again.

Paul Wells: Stephen Harper, why not?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Let's be very clear, Paul, on the tax record, first of all. Yes, we have created the lowest tax environment for business investment across the G-7. That's one of the reasons we have the strongest employment growth in the G-7. We cut taxes, not just for big business, but we cut taxes many times for small business, and the NDP voted against that every single time. The reality is not only did these tax cuts help create jobs, but our tax revenues actually went up from the business sector.

We've done the same thing for people. We have cut taxes across the board with the vast bulk of those tax breaks for middle and low income Canadians.

What the other guys want to do is they want to impose both on workers and on employers big hikes to payroll taxes — CPP taxes, EI taxes. Those things would kill jobs, and they would hurt ordinary people.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper is once again eschewing the responsibilities that he has for the fact that he's had eight successive deficits. We're right now the only G-7 country in a recession, and wages are shrinking. He continues to try and tell people that we need to stay – stay the course, but people at home know that, know that we are not working, that this economy is not working for them.

We need a fresh approach. We need an approach that understands that the way to create growth in the Canadian economy is to strengthen the middle class, to make sure that people have jobs and confidence and a capacity to spend and be – be sure about the future that they're building.

Mr. Harper has continued to give tax breaks to the wealthiest, and that's not actually stimulated or helped our economy in anything. And that's why Canada is growing less and less fair, and

that's what we need to focus on because Canadians right across the country are looking for a change. They're looking for a better approach and a better plan for the economy, and that's exactly what the Liberal Party is putting forward.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, let's be clear. We have not only a balanced budget, we have the lowest debt levels in the G-7 by a country mile, by far. We have by far the best fiscal situation going forward. All analysts can see that.

Justin Trudeau: That's because of the (crosstalk, inaudible) of surpluses.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: We're creating jobs and —

Justin Trudeau: (Crosstalk, inaudible) deficits.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: And middle class incomes, unlike in almost every other country, they are rising and they are rising in significant part because of the tax breaks we've given to middle and low income Canadians that the opposition parties have consistently voted against and that they want to reverse.

Elizabeth May: But in terms —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Here's a fact, Paul, that Canadians know, that back in 2008 Mr. Harper was misleading. He said that we were not in a recession. In fact, it turned out we were in the worst recession since the 1920s. He's trying to hide the fact that we are in a deficit again. Every outside analyst agrees with that. The Parliamentary Budget Officer is categorical about that. It is eight deficits in a row. It is \$150 billion that he's added to the debt. And Mr. Harper's job creation record is the worst since the Second World War.

Elizabeth May: If I can just get to something —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Mulcair, just again clarification on the facts. The reality is that the figures out of the Department of Finance show that so far this year we are substantially in surplus, and in fact, well ahead of our budget —

Elizabeth May: But there's —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — projections, and those are the real numbers. And our debt levels are way below other developed countries.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Mr. Harper, you're trying to deny the fact that for the past five months those same statistics from the Canadian government have shown that for five months in a row the Canadian economy has shrunk. We are one month away from a technical definition of recession, but according to a lot of observers, we're already in a recession.

Elizabeth May: If I could just —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Mulcair, I'm not denying that. What I am saying is that that contraction —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: You're not denying that we're in a recession. That's good.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — is exclusively —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: At least you're denying —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — almost exclusively in the energy sector. The rest of the economy is growing. It's projected to grow this year —

Elizabeth May: Well, that was my —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — and into future years. And the way to handle a fall in oil prices is not tens of billions of dollars of increased taxes, increased borrowing and increased spending. That's how countries get themselves into serious long-term trouble.

Paul Wells: Elizabeth May has been trying to make a point.

Elizabeth May: Mr. Prime Minister, you made a promise in the Speech from the Throne in 2007 that you would tackle the barriers to trade and labour mobility within this country as an economic union, and it's squarely your responsibility. You said you would go to the trade and commerce clause of the Constitution if needed to be. And now here we are as a country, we have more barriers to trade within Canada than the 28 nation states of the European Union. Why over this period of time — where is your plan to break down the trade barriers within Canada that (crosstalk, inaudible) our economy?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, the fact of the matter — the fact of the matter, Ms. May —

Justin Trudeau: The problem Mr. Harper has on that one — the problem Mr. Harper has on that one is he simply refused to sit down and talk with the premiers over the past 10 years. It's just not showing leadership. We have a federation that needs people to sit down, talk about taxes, talk about barriers, talk about climate change, talk about how we're going to help Canadians get ahead in an uncertain economy, and he has simply refused to engage with provincial leaders whether it's on interprovincial trade barriers, whether it's on climate change, whether it's on training and job creation, and that's, quite frankly, not the kind of leadership that a broad and diverse country like Canada actually needs from a Prime Minister. If Mr. Harper would meet with the premiers more often, that would be wonderful.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: (Crosstalk, inaudible) Ms. May and Mr. Trudeau on trade. We have — the premiers and the federal government are working together on breaking down trade barriers.

We have the New West Partnership. We made significant progress in that area, but more importantly, under our government, we have increased the number of countries with which we've concluded trade deals from five to 44 — with the entire European Union, much of the hemisphere and now a foothold in Asia. No government has opened up trade opportunities for Canadian companies and Canadian workers like this government. That's a record we should be very proud of.

Elizabeth May: But the Canada-Korea deal, which —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, you know, Stephen Harper is the only Prime Minister in Canadian history who, when asked about the recession during his mandate, gets to say, “Which one?” He's just admitted that we've had five months of negative growth in a row, and yes, a lot of experts say we already are in a recession. Mr. Harper, we want to spend our time concentrating on creating jobs for Canadians. What we're seeing here tonight is that you're going to do everything you can to hang on to your job. I'm going to do everything I can to create jobs for average working class Canadians.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: And I'm going to stop you from hiking taxes on those average workers.

Elizabeth May: And with all due respect, your foothold in Asia was to sell us down the river on national sovereignty. You've bound this country without a single set of hearings in Parliament to a trade — not a trade deal, an investment treaty with China that binds us until the year 2045, and we can't get out of it. We need to insist on transparency because Beijing's going to be looking over the shoulder of the next Prime Minister and telling us what laws we're allowed to pass.

Paul Wells: With great regret, we're going to have to leave the segment of the debate on the economy, although I'm sure economic questions will come up in the rest of the night too. This concludes our first round on the economy. We'll continue after this break. Please stay with us.

2.4.Segment Two: The Environment, Part One

Paul Wells: Welcome back to the Maclean's National Leaders Debate. Our second segment will be on energy and the environment.

Video: Narrator: Two years ago, Conservative cabinet minister Joe Oliver called oil exports an urgent matter of Canada's national interest. But since then, the two biggest pipeline projects, Keystone XL and Northern Gateway, are stalled.

Unidentified Female: We're glad that this pipeline is on delay.

Narrator: It's almost four years since Canada withdrew from the Kyoto Accord.

Unidentified Male: The Kyoto Protocol is not where the solution lies.

Narrator: And now Environment Canada says we won't meet our targets for carbon emissions for 2020. What's the proper tradeoff in wealth-generating energy exports and the environment? Can Canada afford to clean up its act? Can it afford not to?

Paul Wells: My first question on this topic goes to Stephen Harper. Mr. Harper, you've been Prime Minister for a decade, and you want to be a different kind of Prime Minister on energy exports. You want Canada to be an energy superpower, but major export projects to the United States and China have stalled on your watch. What have you achieved in energy exports that beats the record of your predecessors? What do you have to show on this file for a decade's effort?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, in fact, our energy exports have increased, not just our — until recently, obviously — not just our oil and gas exports to the United States, but we've also seen increasing uranium exports and coal exports and others to Asia. But I would say this, Paul: the federal government does not build pipelines. We obviously favour seeing a diversification of our exports, but we — we establish an environmental assessment process. Companies have to go through that, and they are going through that process.

In terms of the Keystone pipeline, as you know, that's a — that's a situation under control of the United States. I've had many conversations with President Obama. He's not asking Canada to say anything. He's saying he will simply make a decision that's in the Americans' best interests. But as you know, there's overwhelming public support on both sides, so I'm very optimistic in the long run about the future of that project.

Paul Wells: Do you think we simply have to wait for a new President to get Keystone passed? And what if that President is a Democrat?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, that may be possible — that may be the case. But the reality is that there is overwhelming public support in the United States, including in Congress on both sides of the aisle. So I — I (sic) actually very confident, looking at the field, that whoever is the next President I think will approve — will approve that project very soon in their mandate.

Paul Wells: Have you found this to be frustrating? Joe Oliver, as we said in the intro, called the Northern Gateway project an urgent matter in Canada's national interest. And three years after he said it, it — it remains unfulfilled.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, but look. The project went through a rigorous environmental assessment with a time limitation, as we established. The assessment recommended some 200

conditions on the project. We approved the project subject to those conditions. It's now up to the – up to the proponent to fulfil those conditions. And that is how the system works in this country.

Paul Wells: Finally, if there had been a price on carbon, a nationally set price on carbon, four years ago, would Obama have – have approved Keystone XL by now?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Absolutely not. The President has never said that to me. On the contrary, the President's said that he will – he's told me what factors will influence his decision. It will be his own evaluation of the United States' best interests. Let's remember, the United States has not even agreed yet to – to have greenhouse gas emission regulations on their own oil and gas sector.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Harper. The first to respond to you on this is Elizabeth May.

Elizabeth May: Well, with all due respect, Mr. Prime Minister, your record on climate is a legacy of – litany of broken promises, including one that's directly relevant to the questions that Paul Wells was asking you about exports. You committed in 2008 not to export unprocessed oil, bitumen, to countries that have weaker emissions standards than Canada. That would obviously include China, the destination point for Enbridge and Kinder Morgan, which only the Green Party on this stage opposes. It makes no sense to export unprocessed oil to countries with poor environmental records.

You also committed to bring in a North America-wide cap-and-trade program working with partners. That was way back in another Speech from the Throne in 2008. Under John Baird as Environment Minister, you committed to oil and gas regs which we would see by 2010. And you also personally went to Copenhagen. It wasn't a previous promise from Jean Chretien; you were in Copenhagen and committed to what was, I hate to say, a very weak target. But we are not going to come anywhere near it by 2020. And there's just no credibility at this point. Canada

needs to take action. We're having a summer of extreme drought, raging wildfires, and really severe weather through our – all of our seasons. Canadians want action. Canada needs to take action so that we can defend ourselves from the changing global climate and from the impacts economically here at home.

Justin Trudeau: What Mr. Harper has consistently misunderstood about what happens in the 21st century is you cannot make a choice between what's good for the environment and what's good for the economy. Mr. Harper continues to say oh, we can't do anything on the environment because we'll hurt the economy. And not only has he not helped our environment, but he's actually slowed our economy. He cannot get our exports to market because there is no public trust anymore. People don't trust this government to actually look out for our long-term interest. We – he hasn't convinced communities of the rightness of his – his pipelines, of the proposals he supports. He hasn't been working with First Nations on the kinds of partnerships that are needed if we're going to continue to develop our natural resources.

Canada will always have an element of natural resources in our economy, but the job of the Prime Minister is to get those resources to market. And in the 21st century that means being smart and responsible about the environment. Mr. Harper's inability to understand that is exactly why he's so struggled to actually get our economy growing in a right way anymore.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, Mr. – Mr. Trudeau, let's be clear on what the record actually is. Not only do we take both the economy and the environment seriously; we are the first government in history to reduce greenhouse gas emissions while also growing our economy.

Elizabeth May: That's not true.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: And how have we done that? We do that through a sector-by-sector regulatory approach where we – where we regulate absolute reductions in emissions, and we do so in ways that we know will not kill jobs and will not burden taxpayers.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: The alternative presented —

Justin Trudeau: Nobody believes you.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — by all of these other parties is a carbon tax.

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair hasn't had a (crosstalk, inaudible) yet.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Ordinary workers and consumers —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Mr. Harper thought that by gutting our environmental laws, somehow he could get our energy resources to market better. How's that working out, Mr. Harper? None of those projects has gotten off the drawing board, and it's not hard to understand why. Canadians across the country want a clear, thorough, credible environmental assessment process. Canada can be a leader around the world. We can play a positive role. But with Mr. Harper, we've got the worst of all worlds.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, Mr. Mulcair —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Dirtier air and water, we've got more carbon pollution, and we're a laggard on the world stage.

Elizabeth May: And it's absolutely the only way that you can – with all due respect, Mr. Prime Minister, the only way you can take credit for the emissions drop, which only occurred in 2008 and '09, is the global financial crisis. That's the only thing that brought down our emissions. They would have gone up much more than they have now if not for the action of Ontario in shutting down coal-fired power plants, and British Columbia in bringing in a carbon tax. The cold, cruel reality is that, under your watch, greenhouse gases have been rising, carbon pollution has been rising. As soon as our economy began to recover in 2009, straight up line. Straight up.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, greenhouse gas emission have actually gone down, and the economy has actually grown. Those are the facts. Mr. Mulcair says the projects – various energy projects are going nowhere. No, they are all in an environmental process that is going forward. We make sure that we look at that process and make decisions. The problem is that the other parties have taken positions, depending on who they're speaking to in Mr. Trudeau's case, against every single one of these projects. By the way, not just oil projects but in British Columbia —

Justin Trudeau: That's not true, Mr. Harper.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — against natural gas projects. They have opposed the government's tax incentives to the na- to liquefied natural gas that is supported not only by the Province of British Columbia and industry, by Aboriginal communities and a broad cross-section of the British Columbia population.

Justin Trudeau: We have done nothing of the sort.

Elizabeth May: But Mr. Prime Minister, in all —

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper – Mr. Harper is continuing to invent attacks, and quite frankly, Canadians are tired of that kind of leadership. You haven't been able to get it done on the environment, Mr. Harper. You haven't been able to get it done on the economy. You haven't built the kind of balance that Canadians expect. If we're going to build strong communities, if we're going to create jobs for our children and grandchildren while protecting our air, our water, our land, we have to actually show leadership —

Elizabeth May: But – but —

Justin Trudeau: — and you have stepped back from any sort of —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Trudeau, under the government —

Justin Trudeau: — confidence building for government, for Canadians.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — emissions are down three percent.

Elizabeth May: No. No.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Under the Liberal government they were up —

Elizabeth May: No.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — 30 percent. That's the difference.

Elizabeth May: Mr. – but Mr. Prime —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Our resources —

Paul Wells: I've got a couple of quick questions. Mr. Harper, will Canada meet the targets that you went to Copenhagen to set for 2020?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: As you know, what happens with the targets, I – I believe we will, but we now are focussing on a 2030 target. That's what every country is doing. We've set a target in concert with our international partners, 30 percent over 20 – of 2005 levels by 2030. Look, we're going to have to obviously do more regulation. We're committed to doing that. We've announced some sectors. But there will also have to be technological transformation call. That's why we're investing over a billion dollars a year in energy tri- in energy technology projects, and —

Paul Wells: I covered the —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — and that's what has to happen.

Paul Wells: I covered the 2008 campaign. Your Minister at the time was promising regulations for the oil and gas sectors. When – when are they coming?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, I've been very clear that this is an integrated North American sector, and we need integrated North American regulations. I've made that proposal to our partners, both the United States and Mexico. They haven't yet accepted that, but we are ready to go, and we're continuing to try and engage (crosstalk, inaudible).

(Crosstalk)

Justin Trudeau: When Mr. Obama – when Obama first came to Ottawa, he actually was all about announcing a North American energy partnership. He was going to work with Canada. And that was eight years ago, and nothing has happened since. When Obama just announced

recently landmark legislation moving forward on climate change action, Canada is nowhere to be found. That's why the Liberal Party is proposing that we work again on a continental model, work with the United States and Mexico to address both energy and the environment —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well —

Justin Trudeau: — in a comprehensive way.

Paul Wells: Mr. Trudeau — and the question could also go to some of your colleagues — there's a bit of a paradox here because it sometimes sounds like you say if we put the right price on carbon, if we have the right social license, we could have pipelines going hither and yon. And yet what I hear from U.S. environmental groups is no, thanks, we don't want those pipelines, doesn't matter which government is propounding them.

Elizabeth May: And Canadians —

Paul Wells: — them.

Elizabeth May: — and British Columbians —

Justin Trudeau: The reason environmental groups in Canada and across the United States are so concerned about Canadian oil is because Mr. Harper has turned the oil sands into the scapegoat around the world for climate change. He is — has put a big target on our oil sands, which are going to be an important part of our economy for a number of years to come, although we do have to get beyond them. And his lack of leadership on the environment is hurting Canadian jobs and Canadian relations with other countries.

Paul Wells: Tom Mulcair.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Getting our resources to market is critical. But Mr. Harper's gotten the balance wrong. He's gutted our environmental legislation, and he knows that that's hurting jobs in our resource sector, it's hurting our economy, and frankly, it's hurting Canada's international reputation. Building on my experience as an Environment Minister, when I brought in overarching sustainable development legislation, I would enforce that type of legislation: make polluters pay for the pollution they create. And these projects would get looked at with a thorough and credible environmental assessment process.

Mr. Harper and Mr. Trudeau both agree with Keystone XL, which represents the export of 40,000 jobs. I want to create those 40,000 jobs here in Canada.

Elizabeth May: So Mr. Mulcair, will you stop the Kinder Morgan pipeline?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Mulcair says – Mr. Mulcair says he supports energy exports.

Elizabeth May: Are you opposing the Kinder Morgan pipeline as well?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Then he goes abroad, he and his party, to argue against Canadian energy exports. You know, a moment ago they talked about landmark decisions by the Obama administration in the United States. They're pushing ahead with coal – with national regulations of coal-fired electricity. We did that in Canada three years ago across several provinces —

Justin Trudeau: No. Mr. Mulcair – Mr. Harper, you did not do that.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: We did that in concert with the provinces —

Justin Trudeau: It was the Ontario government that worked very hard to do that —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — in Ontario, in Alberta, in Saskatchewan —

Justin Trudeau: — and you were blocking them —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — in Nova Scotia —

Justin Trudeau: — at every turn.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — and that's why – the reason we have the cleanest —

Unidentified Male: That might be —

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper, nobody believes you on the environment.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — electricity sector in the world (crosstalk, inaudible) coal-fired electricity before anyone.

2.5.Segment Two: The Environment, Part Two

Paul Wells: Now might be a good time to take – now might be a good time to take a brief pause because we're – it's time for the second round of questions on the same subject. So save your thoughts and you'll get a chance to express them. But this question goes to Tom Mulcair. Mr. Mulcair, let's talk about pipelines because it seems like that's what we're doing tonight. You've said you oppose Northern Gateway, Keystone XL, and, in its current formulation, Energy East. Should Canadians just assume that major energy export projects will be on hold for the duration of a Mulcair government's term in office?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: I believe that a clean environment and a strong economy do go hand in hand. What we especially said in the case of Northern Gateway — and I got a chance to visit the Douglas Channel — was there was no safe way to bring those large super tankers into that narrow channel. That just doesn't make any sense. What I have said in the case of Keystone XL

— you just heard me repeat it — part of sustainable development is creating those value-added jobs in your own country. You don't export them to another country.

By the way, that 40,000 job figure is Mr. Harper's own figure. Mr. Flaherty and him were boasting in the States that it would create 40,000 jobs there. I want to create those 40,000 jobs here in Canada.

With regard to Energy East, it could be a win-win-win: better price for the producers, more royalties for the producing province. It could also help create those jobs in Canada. And of course it could help with Canada's own energy security. But here's the rub. Mr. Harper has gotten the balance all wrong. He has scrapped a series of important environmental laws, starting with the Navigable Waters Protection Act. Species at Risk has been affected; fisheries. Instead of dealing with First Nations on a respectful, nation-to-nation basis, he spends a hundred million dollars a year fighting them in court. We'll take a different approach. We'll work with First Nations. It'll be a new era in relations with First Nations because they are the resource rulers in a lot of these cases. Mr. Harper's belligerent, butting – butting heads approach is not working, and that's why not one of those projects has gotten off the table.

Paul Wells: In a – in an interview with our colleagues at l'Actualité, you also said that, for Energy East to make sense, you've got to internalize the price of carbon in the price of the project. That sounds like a carbon price. Would that be felt by consumers at the gas tank?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Internalizing the cost, as I just said before with regard to sustainable development, making the polluter pay, that's a normal rule of sustainable development; otherwise, you're making everybody in society bear it. User pay, polluter pay – basic rules of sustainable development. I brought in overarching legislation in Quebec. It went so far as to change the Charter of Rights to include the right to a clean environment.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Mulcair. The first leader to respond to you will be Justin Trudeau.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Mulcair has been somewhat inconsistent on pipelines. In English he'll say that he supports the Energy East pipeline; in French he said that it's out of the question. And that kind of inconstancy, quite frankly, isn't the kind of leadership we need for Canada. You can't say one thing in English and its opposite in French. The fact is we need to restore public trust in our ability as a government to create a level playing field upon which proponents of a project can acquire social license, can gain the public trust from the communities it'll touch, by working in concert with First Nations, Metis Nation, and Inuit peoples to make sure the right partnerships are in place, and also to make sure that the scientific oversight and rules and guidelines are actually protecting Canadians.

This is about not just doing right by our environment; it's also about doing right by future generations. I have three kids, and I know I want my kids to grow up in a country as fresh and pure and clean as Canada was when – as we remember it to be and as it used to be. And for that to be – take hold, we have to have a government that's actually demonstrating leadership, that understands that you cannot make a choice between what's good for the environment and what's good for the economy. In the 21st century, they go together. Investing in clean tech, in jobs, investing in the kids of pollution reduction and emissions reductions that we need is what this country hasn't done well enough under Stephen Harper.

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, Mr. Trudeau, you do exactly what you accuse Mr. Mulcair of doing. You go to one part of the country, Atlantic Canada, you're for Energy East; you go to Quebec, and you're against it.

Justin Trudeau: Actually, Mr. Harper, your – your friends in New Brunswick —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: And the fact – the fact – the fact of the matter is —

Justin Trudeau: — attacked me mercilessly for —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — all of these – all of these – all of these parties have opposed all of these projects before we've even had environmental assessments. That's not the responsible way you do things. The government has environmental assessments. You do – take your – you take the evaluation based on that and you move forward. And that's – you know, that's taking the jobs and the economy seriously along with the environment. The way you don't deal with this problem is start imposing carbon taxes that will inevitably – they raise money for the government. They don't reduce emissions. They hit consumers, and they hit consumers hard.

Elizabeth May: Can I —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: The price of gas goes up, home heating, groceries, you name it. That is not the way to deal with emissions.

Elizabeth May: Can —

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper, Alberta and British Columbia and Quebec have a price on carbon right now. Is there a problem with that?

Justin Trudeau: Eighty-six percent of the Canadian economy.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, look, I would – I – I say this. First of all, different provinces have different approaches. Some of them I prefer more than others. I think what's important – Alberta have – previous government had a very limited carbon price that was about a tech fund within the industry, funding a tech fund. It was not about raising for – revenue for the

government, it was not about taking money out of the pockets of consumers. The tax – the carbon price proposals proposed by the other parties would involve tens of billions of dollars of revenue for governments. And —

Elizabeth May: No.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — Paul, I'll say what I've said to people across the country: a carbon tax is not about reducing emissions. It's a front. It is about getting revenue for governments that cannot control (crosstalk, inaudible).

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, I'll tell you one thing that is about lowering emissions, Paul.

Elizabeth May: I have to – I have to try to explain that the reason —

Paul Wells: We'll get —

Elizabeth May: — the Green Party opposes every single one of the pipelines that are proposed, risky pipeline schemes to get unprocessed oil out of this country — Mr. Mulcair's right. Every single one of these raw bitumen, unprocessed oil pipeline schemes is about exporting Canadian jobs. That's why the Green Party knows we can oppose every single one of them. And I would like to have Mr. Mulcair's answer clearly. Will you join us and fight against the risky pipeline and tanker expansion tripling the transport of unprocessed oil from Vancouver? Will you help us defend our coastlines?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: I share the same concerns as Miss May with regard to the Kinder Morgan pipeline that she just talked about. And in fact, that's another example of what Mr. Harper's done to our rules.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Against that one too.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Did you know that the groups that are involved in those processes, in those hearings for Kinder Morgan, are not even allowed to cross-examine the company's witnesses? That's a fundamental breach of the rules of natural justice, and that's why the public doesn't trust him anymore.

Elizabeth May: But do you oppose the pipeline? Do you oppose the pipeline and the tankers?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: See, here's the difference. Opposing these pipelines systematically in advance is just as wrong as supporting them —

Elizabeth May: So you're prepared —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — in advance because, in both cases, what you need is an objective study.

Elizabeth May: So you've just said that the process is flawed.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: In the case of Energy East, for example —

Elizabeth May: But we should wait for its result?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — where we would be replacing the super tankers that right now come down the St. Lawrence to Saint-Romuald across from Quebec City, we'd be replacing the extremely dangerous trains that are going through communities all across Canada. That's the type of evaluation that we should do — it's an objective evaluation — if we can get back to a credible system, which we've lost.

Unidentified Male: (Off microphone)

Elizabeth May: We have lost it, that's for sure.

Justin Trudeau: Canadians know that we need an actual approach that gets it, that restores that public trust that we have simply lost over the past years. Mr. Harper has failed on the environment, and therefore he's failed on the economy. Mr. Mulcair continues to – to say different things in both languages. But I will say that, on Energy East, I have consistently said that it needs to gain social license. And the Conservatives in New Brunswick, you know, criticized me roundly when they were in government. So I don't know what Mr. Harper's talking about in terms of that.

Elizabeth May: Energy East is still about export.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Actually, Mr. Trudeau, you said exactly the opposite in an interview with Radio Canada in Rimouski last fall, and it's easy to find that quote on line.

Elizabeth May: I'm still not sure where you stand on Kinder Morgan, because it's pretty straightforward. They plan to put three times as many tankers moving out Vancouver, loaded with diluted bitumen. It's very hazardous, risky material. And we know, wheth— regardless of what kind of process it goes through, it should not go ahead. It must be stopped.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: This is part of my track record, that people are free to consult. When it was the Rabaska liquefied natural gas plant across from Quebec City, and I was the Minister of the Environment, I didn't even want to look at it because of the danger of those tankers in the St. Lawrence, the same approach I took with regard to Northern Gateway and the tank— dangerous tankers in the Douglas Channel.

With regard to these other projects, we have to be able to look at them objectively with thorough, credible environmental assessment processes.

Elizabeth May: So you take no position.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: I am taking the position that you can study these thing— these projects. Ms. May takes the position that you can say no to them, all of them, in advance. Mr. Harper is taking the position that you can say yes to all of them in advance. We want a clear, thorough, credible process that the public can have confidence in.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: No, the position of the government is that we have a scientific expert evaluation of every project before we decide to proceed. That's how the government's – that's how the government has handled these projects. Mr. Mulcair, by his own admission, has already ruled out a number of projects before they even went through the process and is – and is positioning himself to be against others as well.

Elizabeth May: I'm an intervener.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: That – that is the record of the NDP. They're always for projects till they actually face one, and then they're against it. That's why in British Columbia they oppose even liquefied natural gas.

Elizabeth May: Mr. —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Mr. Harper, I actually have a track record that people are free to look at. And when I was the Minister of the Environment, we sometimes had tough projects. There was a project involving the bridge of the 25 between Laval and Montreal, lots of opposition to it. We went through a thorough evaluation process, we put down 18 conditions in the Order-in-

Council approving that project. The public that had been opposed to it was on side by the end of it because they knew they could have confidence in us respecting the environment.

Elizabeth May: But —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Respect for the environment and a strong economy are not opposites; they go hand-in-hand.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: And yet you oppose Northern Gateway before the evaluation —

Elizabeth May: But there's been something the Prime Minister said —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — and you – and your party propo— opposes liquefied natural gas projects in British Columbia, widely supported, important to the energy diversity strategy (crosstalk, inaudible) —

Elizabeth May: Mr. – Mr. Prime Minister —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: You'll have to show me where I opposed that, Mr. Harper.

Elizabeth May: — Mr. Prime Minister, where was your commitment you made at – at the G20 in Pittsburgh that you would end fossil fuel subsidies? You've just criticized the other opposition parties here be – over new subsidies to fossil fuels. That's what LNG is, it's fossil fuels. So you made a commitment globally, you've not eliminated the subsidies that go to the oil sands, but now you've added new subsidies that go to liquefied natural gas, which is fracked gas, which over its lifetime has the same carbon pollution footprint as coal.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, actually, neither of those things is true. First of all, the government has in fact eliminated subsidies to the oil sands and to the oil sector. We are

providing accelerated cost— capital cost allowance to provide clean, liquefied natural gas exports to help encourage that industry that is vital not just to British Columbia but to the energy – the energy sector in this country, and we’re doing so at a time when I have to remind people the energy sector has significant challenges. This is a good proj– these are good projects for the environment and for our economy.

Justin Trudeau: One of the things —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Mr. Harper’s plan is failing.

Justin Trudeau: — one of the things we’ve seen right across – right across the board from this government is a misunderstanding of the role of government around protecting our future and thinking long term. We have at the Liberal Party a very clear plan to reduce climate change emissions by – by – greenhouse gas emission and fight climate change by working with the provinces. As was pointed out, 86 percent of our economy have committed to put a price on carbon with the actions of four different provinces that have taken up the leadership that this government has simply not shown.

Unidentified Male: Mr. Trudeau —

Justin Trudeau: The Liberal Party is focussed on working with those provinces to make sure we do reduce emissions because that’s what actually Canadians expect in order to be good players in the global economy.

Paul Wells: Oh, I have so many questions, and I know so many of you have stuff to say, but we’re going to have to wrap up this segment on energy and the environment.

I want to remind our viewers who are watching on TV that, if you want to engage on social media and have your say on tonight's debate, you can do so on our Facebook page. So you can talk to other voters about what's going on here while you're watching on TV. Well, as for this week, and we'll talk about these issues all night, but it's time for another break. Stay tuned.

2.6. Segment Three: Democracy, Part One

Paul Wells: We've reached the halfway point of the Maclean's National Leaders Debate. Our next topic of conversation is Canada's democracy — how it works, why it doesn't always work as well as we hoped.

Video: Narrator: It's surprising how much time we've spent in recent years debating the institutions of Canadian democracy. The Senate is a mess. Can we clean it up? Should we shut it down? Is that even possible? There are serious questions about how closely our elections reflect the will of the voters. Is it time to replace our first-past-the-post electoral system? How can we fix decorum in the House of Commons and all the appointments a government makes in office? There's a lot to discuss.

Paul Wells: Our first question on this to Elizabeth May. Ms. May, you've called the government we have now an elected dictatorship and you've called for electoral reform, but this election will be won and lost under the current electoral system. Do you worry that Green candidates will take support away from other parties that could defeat this government? Might the Green Party help reelect this government?

Elizabeth May: When I refer to the government as an elected dictatorship, it's not personal in any way to the Prime Minister nor to his party. It's a reference to what's happened, a creeping growth, an unhealthy growth of power in the Prime Minister's Office, which goes along with less of a role for individual members of parliament in doing their fundamental job. The only job

description for a member of parliament is that found in the Constitution, which is to represent your constituencies.

So we need to actually revisit parliamentary democracy, understand that this election isn't about electing a prime minister — we don't do that in this country; we elect members of parliament. And their job is to find the government that will hold the confidence of the House, so we can work for Canadians.

As far as Greens being concerned about this, not at all. We have had success and we've now had election — my election in Saanich–Gulf Islands, but across provinces — in British Columbia Andrew Weaver, in New Brunswick David Coon, in Prince Edward Island Peter Bevan-Baker. All of us got elected by driving voter turnout.

So instead of fixating on this splitting the vote non-problem, vote-splitting, we need to focus on the real problem, which is 40 percent of Canadians in the last number of elections haven't voted. And vote abandoning, in my view, is a much bigger problem than vote-splitting, and we're going to do everything we can to reach out to young people, First Nations and those disadvantaged by the Conservative Fair Elections Act to get out a higher level of vote, so that Greens can win in the current system, but that so Canada wins with a healthier democracy.

Paul Wells: You've said we don't elect a prime minister, and that's true, but we saw quite a mess of a coalition crisis in 2008. Are we headed towards that sort of arbitrage among parties after the next election if there's no majority?

Elizabeth May: I can't tell you how committed Green MPs as a caucus will be to working with other parties, working across party lines to ensure that we go from a precarious, perhaps two-year minority parliament to a stable, productive, effective parliament, because you look at really great parliaments in this country, and I refer viewers back to Lester B. Pearson where the small

group of NDPers under David Lewis and Diefenbaker in the Conservatives and Lester B. Pearson delivered our social safety net.

Paul Wells: Justin Trudeau, you get to respond.

Justin Trudeau: Elizabeth May makes a number of great points, but one of the ones is something I hear about all across the country when I'm talking to young people, when I'm talking to people who are simply disillusioned and disenchanted with our political system, whether it's the negativity, the attack, the divisiveness that tends to be rewarded all too often with electoral success, that ends up making it more and more difficult to govern.

But one of the things that really frustrates a lot of people is when they see politicians pander, when they say one thing in one part of the country and a different thing in another part of the country. And one of the things that, unfortunately, Mr. Mulcair has been doing quite regularly is talking in French about his desire to repeal the Clarity Act, to make it easier for those who want to break up this country to actually do so, and in doing so, he's actually disagreeing with a Supreme Court judgment that said that one vote is not enough to break up the country. And anyone who wants to become Prime Minister not only should not say different things in French and in English, but should make sure that they side with the Supreme Court when it comes to unity of our country.

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair, you get to answer that.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, I've fought for Canada my whole life. I fought in the 1980 referendum. I fought in the 1995 referendum. I spent 13 years in the National Assembly in Quebec City, and I was always consistent fighting for Canada.

Now I can understand it's a bit frustrating for the Liberals that for the first time in a full generation, Quebecers voted massively for a federalist party, and they wanted nothing to do with the Liberals, and it's easy to understand why. You just heard it. The only two people I know in Canada who are anxious to start talking about separatism again are Justin Trudeau and Gilles Duceppe.

Mr. Trudeau has an obligation, if he wants to talk about this subject, to come clean with Canadians. What's his number? What is your number, Mr. Trudeau?

Justin Trudeau: First of all, Mr. Mulcair —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: You're not answering.

Justin Trudeau: — I don't question your patriotism.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: You haven't answered.

Justin Trudeau: The question is —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: What's the number, Justin?

Justin Trudeau: — why is your policy so reckless? You want a number, Mr. Mulcair?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Yeah, give us a number.

Justin Trudeau: I'll give you a number. Nine. My number is nine. Nine Supreme Court justices said one vote is not enough to break up this country, and yet that is Mr. Mulcair's position. He wants to be Prime Minister of this country, and he's choosing to side with the separatist movement in Quebec and not with the Supreme Court of Canada.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: So.

Justin Trudeau: And he's bringing this up. It's his policy to repeal the Clarity Act. He quietly put forward a bill in the House of Commons on that. He announced it very loudly —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Yes, it's really secret when you put it in the House of Commons.

Justin Trudeau: — in French. He very loudly announced it in French six weeks ago in — at the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade —

Paul Wells: Okay, so one —

Justin Trudeau: — and he won't talk about it in English.

Paul Wells: — one more chance, Mr. Trudeau, to name a margin above 50 percent that you think would be acceptable.

Justin Trudeau: The Supreme Court said very clearly that Mr. Mulcair's number is not the right one.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: He won't answer.

Justin Trudeau: What it also said is —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: He won't give a number.

Justin Trudeau: — a number is to be set in the context of the next referendum.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: If you want to take part in this conversation, you have to have a number.

Justin Trudeau: It is in the next referendum.

Paul Wells: While I'm at it, could I —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: If I can, Paul, look, I'm not going to question Mr. Mulcair's position as a longtime federalist — that is clear. What I think I do question, along with Mr. Trudeau, is why bring up a debate of the Clarity Act other than to satisfy the separatist elements within the NDP in Quebec? Nobody's talking about that. You know, we just had Quebecers massively reject that agenda. Nobody wants to raise this. Why would we go down the route of talking about how we — how we can best break up the country when in fact Quebecers clearly do not want to do that? I just don't understand it.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, if there's one thing that Mr. Harper and I —

Paul Wells: Let me try my luck — let me try my luck —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — do agree on, Paul —

Paul Wells: Since — since there's a debate among two of our leaders about the margin that would decide this question in sovereignty, let me put the question to the Prime Minister. As a Reform MP, you used to support a 50 percent margin in a referendum on sovereignty. I don't believe I've heard you give a number or revisit that question as Prime Minister.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, you haven't heard me revisit it, Paul, because I don't think it should be revisited.

Justin Trudeau: Indeed.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Look, what happened – what happened in 1995 — and we don't want that to happen again — where they tried to get 50 percent plus one by invalidating a whole bunch of federalist votes, so I do think we have to look very carefully at that if we ever have that problem again, but you know, I think Quebecers have firmly rejected that. They've gone through 40 years of a debate that has done nothing but damage to that province.

Justin Trudeau: Indeed, Quebec, and the irony —

(Crosstalk)

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Paul —

(Crosstalk)

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Why start promising that to separatists in Quebec?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — on that – on that, the Prime Minister and I agree that yes means yes. That's what he put in his bill. And to say otherwise, as Mr. Trudeau's doing while still refusing to give his number

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Mulcair —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — is a dangerous political game, and I'll tell you why.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Mulcair —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: If yes doesn't mean yes, then people could decide to vote yes as a way of sending a signal. That's why it's a dangerous political game, and that's why it's not a serious way to talk about a very serious subject.

But I'm so proud and I have confidence in Quebecers who have twice rejected separation, and I fought in both of those referendums.

(Crosstalk)

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Then why is Mr. Mulcair trying to throw gasoline on a fire that isn't even burning?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: (Crosstalk, inaudible) and I have confidence in them. Mr. Trudeau has lost confidence and he thinks that it's a winning situation for the Liberals to scratch that old wound. That's what they want to get back to.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Mulcair, you are the one who announced that position —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: What's your number, Justin?

Justin Trudeau: — on separation, on making it easier.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: What's your number?

Justin Trudeau: My position is the Supreme Court's position —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: What's your number?

Justin Trudeau: — that says the number should be set in the context of the next referendum if that ever comes. And your play to try and stoke up that separatist vote for the NDP by announcing at Saint-Jean-Baptiste that this is continuing to be your policy is not worthy of a prime minister.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: This has been our policy —

Justin Trudeau: No prime minister should make it easier —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — for 10 years, but there is —

Justin Trudeau: — for Quebec to separate from Canada, Mr. Mulcair.

Paul Wells: Elizabeth May, and then I want to take this (crosstalk, inaudible)

Elizabeth May: I was just going to say isn't it ironic that this segment was supposed to be our democratic institutions in this nation. We can as Canadians, it's been our hallmark for generations that we can disagree without being disagreeable and I would like us to be able to talk about what we do about fixing Parliament because that's an urgent crisis, and I don't believe —

Paul Wells: Let's —

Elizabeth May: — that we want to get ourselves mired into any threat of separatism.

Paul Wells: Let's do that because the Liberal Party has a project of electoral reform that Mr. Trudeau has said he wants the next election to be last under first-past-the-post. He doesn't want to have a referendum on any reform. Stephen Harper wants to insist that any change to the electoral system go through a referendum process. Why do you think that should — that should happen?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, I think it's a very fundamental change to the way our political system would work in this country. We have a Westminster system. Voters are able to elect governments. They don't elect coalitions that make up the government later. And you know, Canadians — Paul, this has come up before. It was subject of a referendum and plebiscite in

Ontario and Prince Edward Island and British Columbia. I have not found Canadians who want to make this fundamental change. In fact, whenever Canadians are asked, they reject it. We know the rules. Let's play under the rules that Canadians support.

Elizabeth May: That's not actually the case.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: What's interesting is to hear Mr. Harper say that today because when he brought in his Unfair Elections Act, he refused to even talk to Canadians about it. We stood up strong in the House of Commons and opposed it. We shut down travel by parliamentary committees. We used every tool in our parliamentary toolbox to stop him from trying to walk away with the next election by jiggling the rules. He's actually made it harder for whole classes of Canadians to vote, and that's not just our opinion; all of the experts who have looked at this Unfair Elections Act have said the same thing. So Mr. Harper, if you've become such a keen fan of making sure that no single party can change the rules, why did you go ahead and do just that with your Unfair Elections Act.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, the Fair Elections Act, the principal change it makes that Mr. Mulcair and the other parties oppose is that voters have to show ID to demonstrate who they are. And there's 40-some different pieces of ID that they can show. Canadians overwhelmingly support that. That's an important reform.

Elizabeth May: That change was made in 2007.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Ninety percent of – 90 percent of Canadians —

Elizabeth May: It wasn't made – it was already made before you introduced the Fair Elections Act.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — believe that you should be able to show – show identification and identify who you are before you vote. And frankly, I think voters should be worried about political parties who would not do that, who think it's fine to have people who can't identify themselves.

Elizabeth May: It's a big disappointment —

Justin Trudeau: This is a perfect example – this is a perfect example of how Mr. Harper creates strawman arguments, creates fears of massive voter fraud. When his party was pressed on examples of people fraudulently voting, they weren't able to prove anything. Indeed, some of his MPs mistakenly testified to things that they actually hadn't seen.

The fact of the matter is the jobs of Elections Canada and what we should look at as a goal as a country is to try and encourage as many people as possible to vote and the changes Mr. Harper has made to the Elections Act actually make it more difficult for students, for Aboriginal and indigenous communities, for many seniors to actually vote —

Elizabeth May: Homeless people.

Justin Trudeau: (Crosstalk, inaudible)

Elizabeth May: Much harder.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Trudeau – Mr. Trudeau —

Justin Trudeau: The fact is that we need to make sure that those voices are being heard because those voices are not just marginalised in voting rights, but in so many aspects of society and Mr. Harper apparently wants to keep it that way.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Trudeau, how would we know – how would we be able to identify voter fraud if we can't even identify who voters are? This is a —

Elizabeth May: Electoral —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — commonsense reform supported by 90 percent of Canadians, and we have made sure that there is ID that is applicable for every single category of Canadian, and it's why that policy is strongly supported.

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: This is an important reform.

Paul Wells: — the Fair Elections Act turns out to be full of surprises. One of the things it did was allow you to extend the election campaign to 11 weeks and prorate expenses to match. Did you have this kind of long election campaign in mind for two years?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Paul, we agreed – all of us here agreed to have an election debate this week months ago. Everybody knew an election would be on. The other parties were out campaigning. It's very simple. If we are going to be in an election campaign, we should be under the rules of the Election Act, not using parliamentary resources —

Justin Trudeau: So why were you putting up 24/7 on your website, Mr. Harper?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — but using resources that our party raises.

2.7. Segment Three: Democracy, Part Two

Paul Wells: We're going to continue this with a new round of questions, and by the luck of the draw, the first question goes to the Prime Minister Stephen Harper.

Mr. Harper, you used to promise that you wouldn't name senators if they hadn't been elected. Now, you're promising you won't name senators at all. You blame the courts for blocking reform, and you've asked the provinces to come up with ideas for reform. But the courts and the provinces didn't name the senators who are in trouble — you did. Do you owe Canadians an apology for putting Mike Duffy, Pamela Wallin and Patrick Brazeau in the Senate?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, first of all, I certainly did not name all of the senators that are in trouble. You know, the Senate has been an institution that has these kinds of problems for 150 years. I'd say for the first time, we actually have a Senate that now has clear rules and is enforcing those rules.

What I will say is this, Paul. My role is not to apologize for the bad actions of others. When bad actions arise, the role of a leader is to take responsibility and hold people accountable, and that's exactly what we're doing.

Paul Wells: Your policy now is not to name senators, essentially indefinitely. There's already a court case before a judge in British Columbia on the assertion that that simply won't work, that you can't empty out the Senate over time because it denatures the constitutional mandate of the Senate. Have you sought constitutional advice on whether you can go ahead with your new policy?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Oh, absolutely. Now you can't empty the Senate entirely, but we have — I've left 22 seats vacant already. The Prime Minister has the power to name those or not

name those in the Senate, and what we've been able to achieve with that is to begin bringing the costs of the Senate down. They've actually fallen by some \$6 million. I think those Senate vacancies will force most provinces, who by the way, almost all of them who have opposed Senate elections and Senate reform to, you know, come clean with that and explain why those senators aren't being elected — I gave them a chance; they won't elect them — and why they won't abolish. I think at time — I think over time public pressure will force this issue to be resolved. And frankly, I think the longer there are more vacancies, I think it will raise questions about why we continue with the Senate we do.

Paul Wells: Do you think one good way to come up with ideas with the provinces is to meet with the premiers to discuss this issue?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: No. I have talked to provinces individually over a long period of time. I know what the positions of the provinces are. They were also clear in court. There is nowhere near consensus on either reform or abolition, and I think opening up constitutional discussions is the wrong priority for the country. Our priorities are the economy and security. If the provinces really believe the Senate should be fixed, tell us how. They've opposed that. And if they don't, abolish it.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Harper. And the first response goes to Tom Mulcair.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, Paul, I guess you could say that there are broken promises and then there are broken promises. Mr. Harper promised solemnly to Canadians that he would never name an appointed senator. He's gone on to break a record and name 59 of them, and the list of Conservative senators under RCMP investigation continues to grow.

I'm looking for a mandate on October 19th to put an end to this mess once and for all. Canadians deserve better.

We think that there are three main things we can do with regard to our institutions. The first is to make sure that every vote counts with a proportional representation system. Open up Parliament, for example. Get rid of the secrecy of the internal committee that looks at how taxpayers' money is spent. We think taxpayers have a right to see how every single dollar is spent in that secret committee inside the House. And by the way, we do want to get rid of the Senate — abolition, pure and simple. Mr. Trudeau thinks we need better senators. I think we need only former senators.

Paul Wells: Mr. Trudeau.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper has just said it, his plan on Senate reform is to tell the provinces stop me before I appoint again. The fact is he made a solemn promise never to appoint a senator and he broke that promise on his very first day as Prime Minister by appointing Michael Fortier to the senator – to the Senate. And then he broke that promise 58 more times. So I can understand why nobody would believe him when he says he's not going to appoint any more senators right now.

Mr. Mulcair wants to open up the Constitution. The fact of the matter is when the Prime Minister – the next Prime Minister eventually sits down with the premiers to actually talk about things, I can tell you Canadians are going to want the Prime Minister and the premiers to talk about jobs, to talk about climate change, to talk about health care, not to talk about how to open up the Constitution to try and improve the Senate.

The fact is the Liberal Party actually took concrete action to remove senators from our caucus to make sure that any future appointments are done in a transparent, nonpartisan way —

Paul Wells: Eliz—

Elizabeth May: Yes.

Justin Trudeau: — to actually reform the Senate without diving into constitutional reform.

Paul Wells: Elizabeth May.

Elizabeth May: Yeah. Well, with all due respect, Mr. Prime Minister, whoever gave you the advice that simply announcing you wouldn't appoint senators is constitutional needs to go back to law school. What you're doing is unconstitutional, but the single biggest scandal that has yet occurred in the Canadian Senate was not the misspending. It was the really illegitimate notion that the Prime Minister's Office has the right to tell its Conservative senators how to vote. And for the first time in the history of this country, a bill passed in the House of Commons, a democratically elected House, passed Bruce Hyer's Climate Accountability Act, and when it went to the Senate, the Conservative senators were instructed to kill it at their first opportunity. This is the first time in the history of this country that appointed senators have killed a bill without a single day of study in the Senate of Canada.

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper, did you ask the senators to stop that bill?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: What I – we always ask senators to do — we cannot force them to do anything — what we ask them to do, Paul, is we ask them to support the party's position. The party didn't support that particular bill.

But what I would say is this: look at the facts of the Parliament under this government. This is often not reported. We have backbenchers operating and voting more freely than we've had in decades. We have more private members' legislation that has gone through Parliament under this government than multiple governments before us. That's the reality of the situation.

Justin Trudeau: You've also invoked closure —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Paul, I was there —

Justin Trudeau: — more than all previous —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Paul —

Justin Trudeau: — prime ministers combined.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — I was there with Jack Layton in front of the Senate the days those senators had the temerity to block a bill that had been adopted by those people who had been elected by the Canadian voting public. Ms. May is right, that was the first time in 75 years and on what subject? The most important issue facing future generations. I don't want my grandchildren to have to bear the burden for wrongheaded choices today.

Mr. Harper has just admitted that he asked the senators to vote to kill a bill adopted by the House of Commons. What greater proof of a lack of respect for our fundamental democracy than asking unelected people to defeat a bill voted upon and enacted by the elected Parliament?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Let's be very clear. We simply asked senators to stick to their principles and the fact of the matter is that private members' legislation has been blocked very frequently in the past by the Senate.

Elizabeth May: Never.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: The last time was 75 years ago.

Elizabeth May: Never.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: What is unprecedented would be government legislation. The reason —

Paul Wells: I do have a question —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — I don't have to name senators and we have 22 vacancies is we have a healthy government majority.

Paul Wells: I do have a question for Mr. Mulcair.

Justin Trudeau: You broke your promise 59 times.

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, can I lay out the record on that? Can I lay out the record on that?

Paul Wells: Yes, sir.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: For nearly three years, we left some 20 vacancies in the Senate, invited the provinces to fill those through elections. Only one did. Finally, to get government legislation moving in the Senate, I said in 2008 that I would appoint senators. And we've done so, and now we've — now that we don't need to, we have stopped.

But Mr. Trudeau, you talk about truth. You just said there are no Liberal senators.

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Go on the parliamentary website. There are 29 Liberal senators there working for the Liberal Party of Canada.

(Crosstalk)

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair, we're talking about Senate abolition. Your Premier Philippe Couillard has told *Maclean's* Magazine that no Quebec premier will ever support Senate abolition. Given that Quebec's assent to a major constitutional reform is usually required, is that not a problem?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, I was with Philippe Couillard just a few weeks ago, and it's a longstanding position and one that I quite understand. But we would take a completely different approach to dealing with the provinces. This issue of Senate abolition begins with a mandate. It's not because it's been there for a long time that we can't get rid of it. That would mean sitting down with the provinces and territories.

Now Mr. Harper has refused to attend a single meeting of the Council of the Federation since becoming Prime Minister. I'm going to hold two meetings a year — one in Ottawa and one in one or the other of the provinces on a rotating basis. I come out of provincial politics. I'm not afraid of sitting down with my provincial counterparts. On things like health care, we need a new accord, we need a modern accord. Of course I'm going to sit down with them instead of dictating a big cut like Mr. Harper did just a couple of years ago.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, health care – health care transfers have risen —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: On Senate reform, I would ask for mandate on October 19th, and I'd start the hard work that I've already started, in fact, in opposition of meeting with the premiers to try to get them onboard to get rid of this undemocratic, unaccountable institution that is a relic from our colonial past.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Mulcair, not only do you respect, as I do, the Government of Quebec's position against Senate abolition, it was your position for all the years you were in the Government of Quebec. You should be clear about that.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: And Mr. Harper's proving my point. It's a longstanding position. Since the unilateral patriation of the Constitution in '82, every successive Quebec government has said that. That's why I'm not at all hesitant to sit down again with my friend and former colleague Philippe Couillard and work on this very tough issue —

Paul Wells: Senate abolition —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — because I believe sincerely that the only way to deal with the Senate is to get rid of it. One billion dollars has been spent on the Senate on Mr. Harper's watch. He's done nothing about abolition. He's done nothing about reform. Can you imagine how many child care spaces we could have created with \$1 billion, Mr. Wells?

Paul Wells: I'm being reminded that Elizabeth May has not had much of a chance to address these questions.

Elizabeth May: I would appreciate that. The way that the Greens advocate that we change the way we make decisions in Canada to create a space where we could work together is to create a Council of Canadian Governments, which would include building on the Council of the Federation, but federal, provincial, territorial, representation from municipal and local governments as well as First Nations, Métis and Inuit around the same table. We need to deal with the Senate. It's not my top priority because it's hard. It's going to require opening up the Constitution. We think we should amend the amending formula, so that Canadians can change our Constitution by referendum instead of the antiquated formula we're saddled with today.

Paul Wells: Mr. Trudeau, the Prime Minister called you out. He said there's a lot of Liberal senators on the website. Is Larry Campbell in Vancouver a Liberal senator?

Justin Trudeau: Well, no. He is – he is not part of our caucus. We are – we have released the senators, so they can be independent. A number of them have chosen to be independent. Some have chosen to continue to call themselves Liberals, but unlike what Mr. Harper just said, which is that he directed those senators to vote along the party lines, I haven't done that, and I no longer have the power to do that over the senators who are now – who were formerly in the Liberal caucus because we feel that the decisions that are taken in the upper house should be independent of the political manoeuvrings that Mr. Harper has excelled at —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Actually, Mr. Trudeau, in the Senate —

Justin Trudeau: — over the past years. He has imposed them.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — Liberal senators vote the Liberal party line every single time.

Justin Trudeau: That's not true, Mr. Harper.

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair, about 20 seconds to (crosstalk, inaudible).

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: To listen to Mr. Trudeau, you'd somehow have to believe that the Liberal senators have somehow changed now that they're Senate Liberals. Here's the reality. During the most recent provincial election in Nova Scotia, the new Premier had all of the Senate Liberals up on stage to thank them for doing his fundraising. The bagmen of the Liberal Party are still in the Senate.

Elizabeth May: Here's a surprise for you.

Paul Wells: Okay, I'm afraid we've —

Elizabeth May: Larry Campbell's endorsed me in my riding. Just thought I'd throw that in.

Justin Trudeau: I don't think that's the answer.

Paul Wells: I'm afraid we've got to say bye-bye. Stay with us for the final round of the night and for closing remarks.

2.8.Segment Four: Foreign Policy, Part One

Paul Wells: And welcome back once again to the *Maclean's* National Leaders Debate. Our final topic for tonight's debate is on foreign policy and security.

If there ever was a distinction between the choices Canada makes abroad and the way we live at home, it vanished last October, when loners inspired by international terrorist movements murdered Canadian Forces soldiers in Ottawa and St-Jean-sur-Richelieu. Canadians' security is being challenged in Iraq and Syria. Our commitments to our allies are tested in eastern Europe. Our relations with the United States and with the world's rising powers are still another area of controversy. In our final segment, we'll discuss Canada in the world.

Our first question on this goes to Tom Mulcair. Mr. Mulcair, Canadians are reluctant to send soldiers into combat, but they have also always been willing to defend Canadian values by force when necessary. The NDP's historic reluctance about sending troops into combat has never been tested in power at the federal level. Would an NDP government ever send troops or jet fighters into combat? And if so, where?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Yes, we've shown that willingness in the past when it was based on a UN mandate, as in the case of Libya. We agreed with the first two parts of that, the two votes

in the House, and then we withdrew that when they changed the nature of the mission that they were asking us to support. Prime Ministers consulted me on sending in Canadian airlift capability into Mali, and we agreed with that. So yes, there will be times when that will be appropriate.

But before I would ever send in our brave women and men in uniform and risk their lives, I will think about them, I'll think about their families, and I'll make sure that we have a clearly defined mission and a clear exit strategy. That's why, when Mr. Harper started his most recent adventure in Iraq, we said no way, this is not something that Canada should be involved in. Now, every single person on this panel, Paul, agrees with the importance of fighting terrorism, but the question is when do we put Canadian troops in harm's way. And we thought the – thought that, in that case, it was inappropriate.

Paul Wells: All of Canada's traditional allies — the United States under a Democratic President, the United Kingdom, and France — support the – the mission against ISIS in Iraq, and to some extent in the – in Syria. Is that not a broad enough consensus for (crosstalk, inaudible)?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Multilateralism has always been a Canadian approach. But don't forget, you've just named a few NATO allies, but this is not a NATO mission. This is an American-led mission. This is not a United Nations mission, unlike the mission I just referred to in Libya a couple of years ago. So we think that we are taking a wrongheaded approach here, and we know that a lot of the horrors that we are seeing are the direct result of the last misguided war. And I think that, frankly, Canada got it right when we said that we would stay out of the 2003 war, and we are seeing the results of that wrongheaded decision now.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Mulcair. And the first response to you goes to Elizabeth May.

Elizabeth May: Thank you. Mr. Mulcair, with all due respect, that second vote, where every single New Democratic Party member voted for the continued – continued bombardment of Libya, took place after the mission had changed. The UN sanction and approval was for responsibility to protect, to protect civilians in Muammar Gaddafi's Libya from Muammar Gaddafi. At the moment that we as a country, Canada, said oh, the rebel forces, they're the legitimate new government of Libya, we did that knowing full well those rebel forces included al-Qaeda. I was the only Member of Parliament who voted against continued bombardment because it seemed pretty clear to me that, with a peace offer on the table, we should take that cease-fire and see if it would work. The warehouses full of armaments that belonged to Gaddafi in Tripoli and throughout Libya ended up being emptied out by hoodlums and terrorists, and ended up destabilizing Mali. And some of those very weapons ended up – ended up in the hands of ISIS.

So the question is how could we, as a country that has always stood for peacekeeping and cease-fires, why did every NDP member vote to continue bombardment when everything I just said was already clear?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, I guess, Paul, that the answer to that is that we're always going to evaluate it based on whether or not it is a United Nations mission. And indeed, when it had become clear that it had morphed into a mission for regime change, the NDP did not vote for it. So that shows the subtlety of our approach. Ms. May is opposed to every single possible use of our military. Mr. Harper is in favour —

Elizabeth May: That's not true.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — of every single possible use of our military. We're going to take a balanced approach that will take into account traditional Canadian values and multilateralism.

Paul Wells: Justin Trudeau, while I'm doing this tour of parties that aren't in government and asking about when they would use force, do you think that we need a United Nations mandate before we send Canadian troops abroad?

Justin Trudeau: No, I think it's certainly a clear indicator that we should be involved, but there are other situations in which we shouldn't. I mean, I've supported our engagement in Afghanistan. I certainly supported our engagement in Kosovo. And the fact is that I'm proud to actually have among us, in our great team of candidates, the former Commander of the Army, who was on the ground in Afghanistan. So the Liberal Party knows that Canada has an important role to play around the world in promoting peace and security.

Where I disagree with the Prime Minister on this current mission is not that Canada shouldn't have a role against ISIL. I absolutely believe we should. I just disagree on the approach that he's had. Unfortunately, Mr. Harper, as we've well seen, hasn't seen a war he hasn't wanted to get involved in, and that was very clear when he supported the – the – George W. Bush's war into Iraq, where he said in 2003 that Canada should be involved. The fact is Canada should have a role to play, but it needs to be the right one that's actually going to help the local forces fight and win the war for themselves. And that's why I've consistently supported training —

Paul Wells: Mr. Trudeau – Mr. Harper.

Justin Trudeau: — not combat missions.

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper, two of your opponents have said you – you haven't seen a war that you don't like. What do you – what do you make of that?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, I – I don't think this government's actually got involved in very many military actions, but we are certainly involved in one now against the – against ISIS,

the so-called Islamic State, in Iraq and Syria. And it's not true what Mr. Mulcair says. It's not a few NATO allies; all of our NATO allies support this. And not only our NATO allies. Virtually all of the countries of the region, a Muslim region, support this. The reason they support this is this organization has become the global nerve centre of a violent, jihadist movement that is not only threatening, literally slaughtering hundreds of thousands of people in Iraq and Syria before we intervened, but is a threat to the entire region and a threat to the entire globe. It has singled out Canada and Canadians by name, and has demonstrated the ability to carry out attacks in countries like ours. It would be absolutely foolish for us not – not to go after this group before they come after us. And look, I'm very proud of the – of the job that the men and women are doing, taking this on in concert with our allies, and – and I think it is very widely supported by Canadians because they – they understand that it's common sense.

Paul Wells: Mr. Trudeau —

Justin Trudeau: The Liberal Party —

Paul Wells: — this sounds like something one of my colleagues – a question one of my colleagues put to you. If not ISIL, then who? You know, when —

Justin Trudeau: The Liberal Party has been very clear. We support being part of the coalition against ISIL. We simply disagree that a bombing mission is the right way to go about it. When a Prime Minister chooses to send men and women of the Canadian Forces into harm's way, there has to be a clear plan, there has to be a clear expectation of success, and there has to be a reasonable justification of the specific action Canada's taking, not just these people are bad, therefore we need to do something, it doesn't really matter what. It means that we have to be thoughtful because our allies, and quite frankly, Canadians expect us to be thoughtful about our approach when we engage in international (crosstalk, inaudible).

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: But Mr. Trudeau —

Justin Trudeau: The other thing is, if we are going to send our troops overseas, we need to make sure we are properly taking care of them when they come home. And Mr. Harper has failed our veterans by nickel-and-diming them, by not giving them the service, the help that they need. And it's something that we should all be ashamed of, that this government, that likes to wrap itself in the flag, is actually not caring for those people who have fought, injured themselves, and —

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper.

Justin Trudeau: — in many cases, died—

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well—

Justin Trudeau: — under that flag (crosstalk, inaudible).

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — this government has — this government has made record investments in veterans. We're spending 35 percent more on the average veteran today directly than we were when we came to office.

But let me go back to the central question of the ISIS mission. What we are doing in ISIS is precisely the mission that the inter— our international allies think we should be doing. These are the pro— these are the priorities: hit them in the air, and help to train people, particularly the Kurds, on the ground. Mr. — Mr. Trudeau has provided no rational reason for why he is against that, other than to simply slag the military when asked why they shouldn't go there. This is a mission supported by Canadians and our allies, and it is in the vital security of — interests of this country. And if you're Prime Minister, you have to be able to make these kinds of decisions.

Elizabeth May: But it's a tricky area. It's murky, and the question of who's our enemy and who's our friend. We're bombing in Syria. We don't have permission from Bashar al-Assad, although, when you first said, Mr. Prime Minister, we'd wait for his permission, that was pretty strange because he's a butcher. The civil war that's been waging in Syria has caused massive humanitarian crisis, loss of life, four million Syrians who've taken refuge in other neighbouring countries. We stepped back and didn't do anything while that was going on. That wasn't ISIS murdering people; that was a civil war where the Sunni and the Shiite and the factions within the Muslim world are slaughtering each other, and ISIS is taking advantage of that. Are we on the side of Bashar al-Assad now? Are we going to help bomb ISIS, which we used to – frankly, there were some people who said ISIS was probably a helpful force because they were against Bashar al-Assad.

Paul Wells: Okay, but isn't it one of the awful tricks of history that most of the world's crisis areas are in tricky parts of the world? I mean —

Elizabeth May: It's very tricky, but that's why we have to look at what ISIS is doing. Why does this group of despicable thugs put their horrific acts on YouTube? Because they want to draw us into the region. They are following a very ancient and not official text of the – of their – which they claim is essentially a Muslim Book of Revelations that will lead them to certain results, but only if infidels are in the right place at the right time for them to attack. So we are actually doing what they want when we go in with bombing missions.

Paul Wells: One more question to Mr. Mulcair, in fact —

Elizabeth May: It helps them recruit.

Paul Wells: — my first question about a different part of the world, Ukraine and – and eastern Europe. Canada's part of a – of a NATO mission there. NATO's Article 5 says that, if our – if a

NATO nation is attacked, all NATO nations must respond. Would an NDP government uphold NATO's Article 5 in eastern Europe against Putin?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Of course Ukraine, not being a member of NATO, I'm not sure the — that the question would pertain. I guess what you're saying is if a NATO —

Paul Wells: Ukraine's neighbours.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Well, if — again, we will of course support NATO. We are proud members of NATO, and that's why I made reference earlier to the fact that that should be one of our multilateral cornerstones, is whether or not a mission is a NATO mission. And despite what Mr. Harper just said, the mission in Iraq is not a NATO mission, period. Full stop.

With regard to Ukraine, yes, Putin is a danger. We stand firmly with Ukraine against the aggression by Russia. But there are things that Canada can and should be doing. Now, our allies, again, have a rather complete list of people who are being sanctioned. There are two key players. One is Vladimir Yakunin; the other is Igor Sechin. Mr. Harper is sheltering them. They are not on Canada's list. So my question to you, Mr. Harper, is why are these two individuals being blocked by all of our allies and you're giving them a free pass.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, let me be very clear about how we have handled sanctions. And we have sanctioned a record number not just of Russian officials but of Ukrainian officials connected with the previous government, and Russian officials who are involved in Ukrainian territory. We have — all the allies have slightly different lists because the objective in all of these things is to make sure we do maximum damage to Vladimir Putin and to the Russian economy while trying to minimize damages to our own. Where all of our allies list people, we follow invariably with those lists, and they do the same thing.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Paul, these two individuals are on the lists of all of our closest allies. Mr. Harper is refusing them – to put them on the – on Canada’s list, and now he’s refusing to tell Canadians why.

Paul Wells: On that note, we’re going to wrap up this part of this segment on foreign policy and security, but we’re heading into one final round of questions, and that question goes to Justin Trudeau from the Liberal Party.

2.9.Segment Four: Foreign Policy, Part Two

Paul Wells: Mr. Trudeau, you’ve had to make difficult decisions on issues of war abroad and security at home: opposing the government’s decision to take part in the international action against ISIL in Iraq and Syria; supporting the anti-terrorism legislation, Bill C-51, in Parliament, even though you say you would change it later. Why do these issues raise the most persistent questions about your judgment?

Justin Trudeau: The fact is the Government of Canada and the Prime Minister is expected to do – to do two things by Canadians. The first one is to keep us safe; the second is to uphold and defend our rights and freedoms. Now, Mr. Harper doesn’t think we need to do anything more to protect our rights and freedoms, and Mr. Mulcair, with his position on counterterrorism laws, doesn’t think we need to do anything more on security. The Liberal Party has been very clear. We need to do both of them together. We supported that legislation because there were specific elements in there that immediately and concretely protect Canadian security, and we’re committed to repealing the problematic elements that have been highlighted and actually bringing in the proper oversight that our Five Eyes allies all have by elected legislators over our national security agencies to make sure that we are protecting; also, bringing in sunset and review clause, and making sure that we are narrowing and specifying the definitions.

We managed at committee to encourage the government to bring in significant amendments that removed a number of very problematic elements in it, and we will continue to be productive and constructive in not pretending that there's a political choice to be made. Perhaps it was naive. Perhaps there was something that I put forward and said, you know what, we can take a responsible position at a time of politics of attack and division, because Mr. Harper wants to be – everyone to be scared that there are terrorists hiding behind every leaf and rock; Mr. Mulcair wants us to be scared for our Charter and our basic rights and freedoms. The fact is any Canadian government needs to do them both together. And that is what the Liberal Party has demonstrated in the years following 9/11. That's what we continue to demonstrate in terms of getting that balance right.

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper, what do you make of Mr. Trudeau's responses on these key questions?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, I – look, I'll let Mr. Trudeau explain his own position. He's been both for and against the legislation at the same time. What I say is this, Paul. Our – our view is very clear, that security and freedom go hand-in-hand. We know that the international jihadist movement that we face is a very serious menace to this planet, including to this country. What we did in developing our legislation is we looked at what modern powers police and security agencies have across our allies, and we've made sure that we are up to those standards. We've also provided – Mr. Trudeau talks about oversight. We have moved our oversight in a very different direction, not having politicians do oversight. We have poli— we have oversight done by independent experts, by people who are experts in the field, an independent committee, and they are chaired. And – and those – chair – chaired by prominent former judges. I think that's – I think that is a robust system of oversight.

Justin Trudeau: When you look —

Paul Wells: When you support Parliamentary oversight —

Justin Trudeau: Exactly.

Paul Wells: — and processes like these —

Justin Trudeau: When you look to the core of Reform Party —

Paul Wells: — why did you change your mind? Is it because you don't like these politicians?

Justin Trudeau: — that was what it was all about.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: No, I've – I don't support this kind of oversight. I – I support parliamentarians' oversight on legislation. That is our – that is our role, to draft laws, to make laws. When it comes to the operations of government, the operations of security agencies, I don't think those things should be politicized or done by politicians. I think they should be done by experts and by judges —

Elizabeth May: There is no —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — who (crosstalk, inaudible) —

Elizabeth May: — expert oversight —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — and that's what's being done.

Elizabeth May: — there is no expert oversight —

Justin Trudeau: They – they need—

Elizabeth May: — of C-51. There's no oversight at all. And if you listen to security experts — and I urge anyone watching to go on line and find the evidence of Joe Fogarty, who is an MI5

agent from the UK doing liaison intelligence work with Canada — this C-51 Anti-terrorism Act makes us less safe. It is not confronting terrorism. It is very likely to make us less able to disrupt plots while, at the same time, eroding our freedoms. And under — Joe Fogarty's evidence under oath was that this legislation is dangerous, and that when asked by contacts and colleagues in the UK, is there anything Canada is doing that the UK should emulate, he said absolutely not, they're sitting on a tragedy waiting to happen.

Paul Wells: Tom Mulcair, I suspect you have something to say about all this.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: We all agree, Paul, that we have to, whoever forms government, make sure that we protect Canadians from terrorism. There's no disagreement on this panel about that. But we strongly believe that you have to do that without trampling on the rights and freedoms of Canadians. Now, when a series of former Prime Ministers, Supreme Court Justices, the top legal experts in the country all concur that Bill C-51 represents a real threat to our rights and freedoms with nothing in return, because there's nothing in there that wasn't already captured by existing legislation, then we have one clear answer to the Canadian voting public. The NDP will repeal Bill C-51.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Well, this is — this is an N—

Paul Wells: And not introduce any legislation to give any new tools to police or to CSIS?

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: If there is evidence that something's missing. For example, the Conservatives left completely silent the question of domestic radicalization. And the problem is of course some of the code words used by the Conservatives has been very worrisome. For example, President Obama will talk about working with houses of worship and religions leaders; Mr. Harper points out and singles out mosques. He knows why he's using that language. He has a backbencher who said that Muslim women should get the hell back where they came from, and

he's about to sign that person's nomination papers. I find that reprehensible and beneath the dignity of a Canadian Prime Minister.

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper, are you using code words against Muslim —

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Absolutely not. Look, Mr. Mulcair's mantra, the NDP's mantra, is the same on this every single time. Every — every piece of security legislation ever presented to Parliament the NDP has opposed. What we have done in the latest security legislation are things like: allowing security organizations to share information on terrorist threats; allowing them to intervene before plots develop to prevent the very kind of thing that happened in St-Jean in October. It is important — I believe it is important that we call the international jihadist threat exactly what it is. And anyone who thinks that is somehow labelling Islam, the vast — Muslims are the vast majority of victims of this movement. Muslim minorities are a particular focus of our international efforts to make sure we protect people, not just — not just in this country but around the world. If you're not prepared to call the threat we face by the name it is, you are not prepared to confront it, and we need to confront it as a country.

Paul Wells: Elizabeth May.

Elizabeth May: C-51 does not do the things the Prime Minister just said. This legislation fails, as Mr. Mulcair said, to bring in any efforts, which the UK have brought in in their legislation, to confront the risk of radicalization. We can abort terrorist plots without C-51. We got the — the air —

Paul Wells: Scarborough 18.

Elizabeth May: — the CA — the 18 in Toronto. We — we arrested young people who were about to leave Montreal. That was all before C-51 was passed. C-51 creates a secret police under

CSIS with no reporting requirements to the RCMP. None. And it will create separate security espionage groups not knowing what the other is doing. This legislation must be repealed, and then we should go back, look at the recommendations to anyone here — and I — and I hope to be playing a key role in the next Parliament. We must look at the — at the recommendations from the Air India inquiry, from former Justice John Major, we must look at the recommendations from the Maher Arar inquiry, and use those recommendations as the basis for drawing up legislation that could work. This is a disaster.

Paul Wells: Justin Trudeau, I want to come back on C-51. Are you surprised by the reaction to your stance — Liberal members cutting up their party cards, Liberal members leaving your party to support the NDP — over this issue?

Justin Trudeau: No. I — I think this is an issue that people are — are quite rightly worked up about. There's an awful lot of fear and division going on in politics these days, and one of the things that the Liberal Party is focussed on is taking responsible decisions. And that means there will be people disagreeing on the left and on the right with our positions. And I'm fairly — I'm fairly confident — I am confident — that we have the right position here. We need to talk a lot more about attacking — addressing radicalization, working with various communities to make sure that we are engaging in the kind of counter-radicalization that other countries have done successfully —

Paul Wells: Well — well, let me —

Justin Trudeau: — and that a country like Canada, particularly a country that is so strong, not in spite of our differences but because of those differences, we need to reduce the kind of politics of fear and division and actually work together to make sure that we're keeping Canadians safe. And that's certainly something that the Liberal Party knows we need to do a lot more of.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Let – let’s – let’s talk about —

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — the issue of preventing and countering radicalization. There are important measures in C-51 to stop the advocacy and promotion of terrorism. But the fact of the matter is the reason we have had such success in this country in breaking up plots before they have occurred — and we know what some of those are — is because our law enforcement and security agencies are working more closely with communities that are vulnerable than anywhere in the world, and they get great support. And that is because we have strong policies that promote multicultural and cultural integration in this country. And that’s why we don’t have the kinds of problems in Britain and elsewhere. And these are the ki— exactly the kinds of policies the Government of Canada and its agencies are doing today.

Paul Wells: Mr. Mulcair.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Mr. Harper’s approach has left us weaker and less respected on the world stage. For the first time since the United Nations was created, Canada missed its turn on the Security Council. And by the way, Mr. Harper, we weren’t thrown out by dictatorships. We were thrown out by long-time allies like Portugal and Germany, who simply don’t recognize the Canada that you’re projecting onto the world stage. We can get back to a Canada that’s respected on issues of international aid and development. We’ll put back the international aid budgets that Mr. Harper has cut. We’ll protect, defend, and promote those Canadian values on the international stage. We also will start to respect our international obligations, stop working against the world, start working for the planet. I would love nothing more than, as Prime Minister next December, to go to the International Conference on Climate Change in Paris and to do just that —

Paul Wells: Mr. Harper —

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — get us on track to deal with the very real issue of climate change.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Mr. Mulcair —

Paul Wells: — is Canada weaker and less respected on the world stage?

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Quite the contrary. Mr. Mulcair, according to the Reputation Institute, a recently published study — it's a widely regarded organization — Canada is the most admired – most admired country in the world because we take strong stands, we do what we believe is right.

Now, let's talk about the Security Council of the United Nations. There is a movement at the United Nations to isolate and denigrate the state of Israel. This government has taken a very clear position. We will not – we will not support that. It is wrong. This is the only country in the world whose existence is under threat. It is a friend and ally, one of the best friends and ally– the best friend and ally this country has —

Paul Wells: We've got 30 seconds and we cannot go over.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — in a very dangerous region, and we will never go —

Paul Wells: Tom Mulcair, very briefly. Justin Trudeau very briefly.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: — along with that anti-Israel position.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: I'll take no lessons from anyone on defending the right of Israel to defend itself. But we also take a very balanced approach. We want a safe state for Palestinians,

and a safe state for Israelis. That's a balanced approach. That's the type of approach Canada has always taken on the world stage —

Paul Wells: Justin Trudeau.

Justin Trudeau: And all —

Paul Wells: Thirty seconds.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: — that's the approach that we would take.

Justin Trudeau: — all parties are in agreement on this. We've been talking about international relations. We have the worst relationship with the United States that we've had in a long time. That's what we need to fix as well.

2.10. Closing Remarks

Paul Wells: We have covered so much ground over the last two hours. And now it's time to wrap things up with some closing remarks. Each leader will have two minutes, and we begin with Stephen Harper.

Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper: Thank you, Paul. Ladies and gentlemen, this election is about who has the proven experience to keep Canada safe and our economy strong. We know that, beyond our shores, the global economy remains in a state of turmoil and uncertainty. We have falling oil prices, we have market turmoil in China, we have yet another debt crisis in Europe. But through it all, since the end of the global financial crisis, we have the best economic growth, the best job creation, and the best growth in middle class incomes among any of the advanced, developed nations. While other countries are descending into spirals of debt and deficit, with tax hikes and cuts to their programs and services and economic stagnation, in this country we have a balanced

budget with lower taxes, increased money for the things that matter, transfers for health care, education, for infrastructure, and for benefits for families like yours.

The other parties want a different course. They would replace our low-tax, balanced budget plan. They want to spend tens of billions of dollars additional in permanent spending to be financed by high taxes, permanently high taxes, and permanent deficits. They would take away, in whole or in part, your Universal Child Care Benefit, income splitting for families and seniors, and tax-free savings accounts. They would hike taxes on business and on workers through increases – tax increases on the Canada Pension Plan, tax increases to employment insurance, and a carbon tax. Countries that have gone down the road of higher taxes and permanent deficits are failing around the world. You know. You know that today there is no – there has been and there is no better place and no better prospects for your family than this country, Canada. On October the 19th I ask for your support so together we can continue to build the best country in the world.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Stephen Harper. The next closing statement is Tom Mulcair.

Hon. Thomas Mulcair: Thank you, Paul. I'd like to begin by thanking Maclean's and Rogers for organizing tonight's debate, and thank all of you at home for joining us in the middle of the summer.

In this election, there is a clear choice: four more years of Stephen Harper's Conservatives, or my plan for positive change. Under Mr. Harper's plan, incomes are stagnant, household debt is skyrocketing. Mr. Harper has the worst job record since the Second World War. He's run up eight deficits in a row, and added \$150 billion to Canada's debt. Our – and these values – sorry. Mr. Harper's plan clearly isn't working. The list of Conservative operatives under RCMP investigation is continuing to grow. Some have even been sent to jail. The biggest risk for Canada is four more years of Mr. Harper's government.

It is time for a change – change that’s built on hard work, living within your means, and accountability. These are the values that have guided by 35 years of public service, and these are the values that will continue to guide me. My number one priority is to kick-start the economy and get Canadians working. We will invest in local infrastructure and help small businesses to create jobs. And we understand that good jobs and a clean environment go hand-in-hand. I have fought for Canada my whole life. I know that Canada is the greatest country in the world. But a lot has been lost under the Conservatives. I have the experience to replace Mr. Harper, and the plan to repair the damage that he has done. Canadians are ready for change. We’re ready too. I invite you to join us. Thank you.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Tom Mulcair. And the next round of closing remarks go to Elizabeth May.

Elizabeth May: Thank you, and I also want to thank *Maclean’s* and Rogers. This May, as we currently stand here on August 6th, be the only debate that involves all of us in an English language debate, and maybe we won’t get a French language debate. So I appreciate the opportunity to speak directly to Canadians.

I want to say that it will be a shame if we don’t have more debates, because as – as comprehensive as the questions were, we have not discussed social policy, we have not discussed how we respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, we’ve not discussed how we must expand our Medicare system to include pharmacare, what we should do for young people who are facing crushing levels of student debts, and their families. We have a lot of issues to discuss. Inequality. Everyone’s talking about the middle class, and I support the concern, but the 86 wealthiest families in this country have the same combined wealth as the 11.4 million dollar-million Canadians at the bottom. One-third of Canadians have the combined wealth as the top 86 families. We have to address this.

So I ask you to consider the Green Party. I ask you to get to know us. We are not what you think. We're not a one-issue party, we're certainly not a one-person party. I'm enormously proud to be joined by Deputy Leader, Member of Parliament for Thunder Bay–Superior North Bruce Hyer, by Deputy Leader Daniel Green in Quebec. We have exemplary candidates from coast to coast to coast: people like Claire Martin in North Vancouver; people like Gord Miller, former Environment Commissioner for Ontario, in Guelph. We're running strong candidates to be strong MPs because we want to work for you. We want to go to work for you in a more collaborative Parliament, one with greater respect, with civility in our discourse. We're willing to work across party lines to deliver what Canadians want. We believe in a Canada that works. We believe in a Canada that works together for all of us. Help us now. This is the election where we will get our country back.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Elizabeth May. I've almost never seen a bunch of politicians stick to their time as well as these ones are doing, and I very much appreciate it. Justin Trudeau, you get the last word.

Justin Trudeau: Mr. Harper has spent millions of dollars on attack ads trying to convince you that I'm not ready for this job. As silly as they are, they do pose an important question. How can you decide whether someone is ready to be your Prime Minister? Here's what I think. In order to know if someone is ready for this job, ask them what they want to do with this job, and why they want it in the first place.

I'm a 43-year-old father of three kids, and I love them deeply, and I want them to grow up in the best country in the world, one that we can all be proud of. What I learned from my father is that, to lead this country, you need to love this country, love it more than you crave power. It needs to run through your veins. You need to feel it in your bones. Mr. Harper and I part ways on many issues, but our differences go deeper than just policy. Mr. Harper is dead wrong about one thing.

He wants you to believe that better just isn't possible. Well, I think that's wrong. We are who we are, and Canada is what it is, because in our hearts we've always known that better is always possible. An economy that works for the middle class means a country that works for everyone, a country that is strong not in spite of our differences but because of them. The world needs more of both those things. And after ten years of Mr. Harper, so do we.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr.—

Justin Trudeau: That's why I'm in this. That's why I want to be your Prime Minister.

Paul Wells: Thank you, Mr. Trudeau. This concludes the first debate of this campaign. This whole experiment was a bit of a new experience for everybody concerned, and I want to thank the leaders for the leap of faith that they showed when they agreed to participate. Good luck on the campaign trail to all of you.

On behalf of *Macleans*, City and OMNI, I want to thank the viewers at home and on line for tuning in tonight. Be sure to visit the *Macleans* website for complete coverage of this campaign. Please stay tuned on OMNI. I'm heading over there right now for the City News special, Your Vote, Your Future. I'm Paul Wells. Good night from Toronto.

3. Transcript of Canada's 2019 English-Language Leaders' Debate

Federal Leaders' Debate 2019: Full Transcript (*Maclean's* 2019)

Everything you missed from the 2019 English federal leaders' debate. Find the full transcript [here](#).

by *Maclean's*

Oct 8, 2019

3.1. Contents

Theme One: Leadership in Canada and The World

Theme Two: Polarization, Human Rights, Immigration

Theme Three: Indigenous Issues

Theme Four: Affordability and Income Security

Theme Five: Environment and Energy

3.2. Theme One: Leadership in Canada and The World

Lisa LaFlamme: Welcome to the 2019 leaders' debate. I'm Lisa LaFlamme from CTV News, and I am one of the moderators tonight. Our audience is made up mostly of undecided voters gathered here in the round so they're right at the heart of this important night. One note, however: we have asked them to hold back their applause throughout the debate so we can keep things moving. And just a couple of more things to know before we get started. We're going to tackle five major themes tonight based on the questions Canadian voters want asked and debated. There were more than 8000. So the themes tonight reflect those questions. The leaders will answer them based on an order selected in a random draw. We all want a meaningful debate tonight. Viewers want answers, so the leaders have all agreed to respect the time they are allowed tonight. And believe me, we will all make sure they do.

Our first theme is leadership in Canada and the world, and our first question is from Reagan Lee (ph) right here in the audience. Regan.

Question: Good evening, leaders. Sorry. Many Canadians have felt the implications of a divided world, more so than 2015, from US protectionism to Brexit to our growing tensions with China. As Prime Minister, how would you effectively defend both the interests and values of Canadians on the world stage? Thank you.

Lisa LaFlamme: Reagan, thank you for that. And Mr. Trudeau, you are first to respond tonight. You have 45 seconds.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Thank you, Reagan, for being here tonight, and thank you all for joining us in this important moment to talk about the future of our country and compare and contrast the various plans that we have.

We know we live in a very challenging time right now, from protectionism to fear-based politics to the transformative technological change people are facing. We need to make sure that Canadians are equipped and tooled to be able to succeed in an uncertain world, and that's why, over the past four years, we've invested directly in Canadians, helped people be optimistic about their future, have the tools to succeed and the tools to see their kids succeed. We know the environment is a massive and pre—pressing challenge, and building a stronger economy for the future means protecting the environment for the future as well. These are the things we're going to be talking about tonight.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Trudeau, thank you for that. Mr. Bernier, your opportunity to respond.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Thank you. We are the People's Party, and we put Canada first. The other leaders on this stage are globalist. They spend your money to buy a seat at the UN Security Council, and also, they are giving your money to other countries to fight climate change in Asia and build roads in Africa. The UN is a dysfunctional organization, and we must be able to fight for our country. Actually, we are the only party that will have a foreign policies that is based on our security and prosperity for our country.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Bernier, thank you. The next opportunity for Mr. Singh to respond.

Jagmeet Singh: Thank you very much, Lisa. Thank you very much, Reagan, for your question. It's – I know it's tough to ask questions in front of a big crowd, so thanks for doing that. And thanks to Canada for joining and taking part in this discussion.

To me, leadership is about who you're fighting for, the choices you make, and whether you're doing what's right for people. And whether it comes to international affairs, standing up to Trump, making sure we fight to build better trade agreements that actually put Canadians first, for me, the question really comes down to do you have the courage to stand up to the powerful and wealthy interests, the corporations that are having too much influence of Canada. And I've seen so far in Ottawa, whether it's Liberal or Conservative governments, they haven't had the courage to stand up and fight for people. We're different. We're in it for you. I don't work for the rich and powerful; I work for people.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Singh, thank you. Mr. Scheer, your opportunity to respond.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Well, thank you very much. And of course I will always stand up for Canada and Canadians' interests and promote free trade and defend our interests all around the world. But Justin Trudeau only pretends to stand up for Canada. You know, he's very good at

pretending things. He can't even remember how many times he put blackface on. Because the fact of the matter is he's always wearing a mask. He puts on a reconciliation mask and then fires the Attorney General, the first one of Indigenous background. He puts on a feminist mask and then fires two strong female MPs for not going along with his corruption. He puts on a middle class mask and then raises taxes on middle class Canadians. Mr. Trudeau, you are a phoney and you are a fraud, and you do not deserve to govern this country.

Lisa LaFlamme: There will be an opportunity later, during the open debate, to defend each other. First of all, Ms. May, if you'd like to answer mi—Reagan's question.

Elizabeth May: I would actually like to answer Reagan's question, in contrast to what we just heard. But I want to start by acknowledging that we're on the traditional territory of the Algonquin peoples, and, to them, megwitch.

Canada's role in the world is an enviable one. We have a historic reputation for being an honest broker, for being a country that stands up for multilateralism. We have a commitment as a nation to meet the Sustainable Development Goals, which means our future as a world is built on ending poverty and encouraging the education of women and girls. That's a cornerstone. On top of that, we really need to renegotiate the World Trade Organization and make it an organization that promotes climate action. We need a World Trade and Climate Organization. We need to support the rule of law and human rights around the world because we are world leaders.

Lisa LaFlamme: Ms. May, thank you. Again, the question: how would you, as Prime Minister, protect Canadian interests and values on this changing world stage. Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: Prime Minister is a bit unlikely. However, first, good evening, everybody, and thank you for having me in – on behalf of the Bloc Québécois.

Having leadership, or showing leadership, sometimes mean not making mistakes. And arresting the Chief Financial—Financial Officer of Huawei might have been a big mistake, for which farmers growing soya or those doing pork or beef might have paid the price. When you're facing a powerful foe like China, you don't try to show biceps if you have only tiny biceps. and this is something that has to be learned. And we would support somebody with real leadership, not making mistakes.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Blanchet, thank you for that. Continuing with our theme, leadership in Canada and the world, it's now my opportunity to ask a question on behalf of Canadians, again to a leader chosen by a random draw. So this question is for People's Party Leader Maxime Bernier. Every other leader will then have the opportunity to debate him. But Mr. Bernier, you like to tweet, so let me read some of your tweets back to you. You called diversity in Canada a cult and extreme multiculturalism. You've used the words ghetto and tribes to describe newcomers whom you say bring distrust and potential violence. On Greta Thunberg, the 16-year-old climate change activist, you called her, quote, clearly mentally unstable. Are these the words of someone with the character and integrity to lead all Canadians and represent us on the world stage?

Hon. Maxime Bernier: First of all, thanks for the question. You must tell the truth to Canadians if you want to be the leader of this country. And what I'm saying about extreme multiculturalism, it is not the way to build this country. Yes, this country is a diverse country, and we must be proud of that, but we don't need the legislation like the Multiculturalism Act to tell us who we are. We are a diverse country, and we are proud of that.

What I'm saying, because it's in line with the immigration, I'm saying that we must have fewer immigrants in this country to be sure for these people to participate in our society. So it is a great country, but it's time to have a discussion about the immigration. We don't want our country to

be like other countries in Europe, where they have a huge difficulty to integrate their immigrants. And I'm a proud Canadian, and that's why I love this country, and I'm on – the only leader on this stage who wants to have a discussion about the level of immigration.

Lisa LaFlamme: So we're definitely going to have a lively debate tonight because now it is Mr. Singh's opportunity to debate Mr. Bernier on that very question, the temperament required for a good leader.

Jagmeet Singh: I mean, Mr. Bernier, after hearing what was just said, you could have just said hey, man, I messed up. Because those are pretty horrible tweets that you made. And really, for me, I mean, it should come as no surprise to you I believe a leader is not someone who tries to divide people or to pit people against each other. A true leader is someone who tries to find bridges, bringing people together. That's what a leader does. And a leader works for the people who need help, not helping those at the very top, which we've seen with governments in Ottawa for far too long. They've been working to make life easier for the multi-billionaires. They get massive corporate tax cuts. Billions of dollars go towards them. We see offshore tax havens continue. This is not the way to build a country.

Jagmeet Singh: The way to build a future is to help Canadians (crosstalk) need help. (Crosstalk).

Hon. Maxime Bernier: (Crosstalk) you want to help – if you want to help Canadians (crosstalk) you won't be able to help Canadians with your socialist policy. It will –

Jagmeet Singh: It's not going to help anybody.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — it will hurt everybody.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: It's not going to help anybody.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: It will hurt everybody. It's not the way to –

Jagmeet Singh: What you're going to do is not going to help anybody.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Weal—wealth and growth in this country. You must believe in people.

Jagmeet Singh: Mr. Bernier —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You must give back their money in their own pockets.

Jagmeet Singh: Mr. Bernier, you're not (crosstalk) people. What you're saying is not helpful.

Lisa LaFlamme: I'm just – I'm just going to remind everyone this is a debate, and the viewers do have a difficult time even hearing anything if you're talking over each other. So this is a portion where the leaders can debate Mr. Bernier, and it is now the opportunity of Mr. Scheer to debate Mr. Bernier on the question of leadership.

Andrew Scheer: Well, what Mr. Bernier fails to understand is that you can absolutely be proud of Canada's history, you can be proud of our identity, you can be proud of the things we've done and accomplished in the world, while at the same time welcoming people from all around the world. And that is something that has made Canada strong. People come to Canada because of our freedom – our freedom to do what we want —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Absolutely, Andrew, you're right. You're right.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — to be – to – to believe what we want, and freedom of speech.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: And that's why I want people to come to share our values, our Canadian values.

Hon Andrew Scheer: But you know, this —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Equality before the law —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — this —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — equality between man and woman.

Hon Andrew Scheer: But you – this —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: The separation of (crosstalk) —

Hon Andrew Scheer: Mr. Bernier, you have —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — and the (crosstalk) —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — you have changed – you have changed from someone who used to —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — who have support it. We want people to come here to share our values —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — believe – who used to believe —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — (crosstalk).

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Bernier, we'll —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — in an immigration system —

Lisa LaFlamme: — we'll let Mr. Scheer —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Yeah.

Lisa LaFlamme: — ask you question.

Hon Andrew Scheer: You have gone from someone who used to believe in a immigration system that was fair, orderly, and compassionate, and now you are making your policy based on —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — trying to get likes and retweets —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — from the darkest parts of Twitter.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Absolutely not.

Hon Andrew Scheer: We can be a country that —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Absolutely not.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — celebrates the contribution from people from all around the world.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: That's what I want to do. I want to celebrate what —

Hon Andrew Scheer: It's important – it's important —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — unite us. I don't want to celebrate (crosstalk) —

Hon Andrew Scheer: You can do that.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — on diversity.

Hon Andrew Scheer: You can do that without —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: We need to celebrate (crosstalk) —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — insulting people —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — to celebrate who we are —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — people who have come to this country.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — and we're not doing that (crosstalk).

Hon Andrew Scheer: That is the difference between Mr. Bernier and myself on this issue.

We believe – we believe in making Canada stronger by welcoming people, adding it to our country, and celebrating the things that have made us great as a nation.

Lisa LaFlamme: Now we're going to hear from Ms. May and Mr. Bernier, on the same question.

Elizabeth May: As I understand the question, Lisa. It was also about the characteristics of leadership. So let me just say up front I think leadership is service. I think the things that – that make a good Prime Minister is recognizing that we're public servants. We haven't won some kind of lotto. We don't get to lord it over everybody. We're here as your employee, and we want to work. And I have a little quibble with our introduction tonight saying who will get invited back. It's not to be invited to go to Parliament; it's to sign up to work and to be a public service. I believe in service leadership.

That said, I find the things that – that Maxime Bernier has said to be completely appalling, and – and he knows that I feel that way about the things he says in the House. We used to sit together. And generally, when he said anything —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Elizabeth – Elizabeth –

Elizabeth May: — I'd have to put my head in my hands —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Elizabeth —

Elizabeth May: — because it was so horrific. But —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I – I appreciate you, but you know, I don't share your policies.

Elizabeth May: I knew that.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I don't share your socialist policies because, you know, we – we won't be able to create any wealth with your policies. You have the same kind of policies in socialist countries like Venezuela. That won't create any wealth.

Elizabeth May: Well —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You must admit that.

Elizabeth May: No (crosstalk) —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You will spend —

Elizabeth May: — the climate crisis —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — \$60 billion.

Elizabeth May: — is the single biggest —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: That's your promises —

Elizabeth May: — economic opportunity —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — \$60 billion (crosstalk) —

Elizabeth May: — in a generation or more.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — that's not responsible.

Elizabeth May: And supporting immigration is what we need for this economy.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: And I'm support immigration. I support —

Elizabeth May: I'm proud of the fact that the European Greens —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You are not (crosstalk) —

Elizabeth May: — are the only party that would grow immigration, and so are we.

Lisa LaFlamme: Thank you, Ms. May. Now it is Mr. Blanchet's opportunity to debate with Mr. Bernier.

Yves-François Blanchet: How many seconds will we – will you leave me before you jump in? Somebody invoking the truth should not be somebody denying climate change. And the use of socialism seems to come a little bit too easy.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I don't deny climate change.

Yves-François Blanchet: Oh, you make —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I don't —

Yves-François Blanchet: — ten seconds. (Laughter). Immigration —

Lisa LaFlamme: See? And we worried they wouldn't pay attention.

Yves-François Blanchet: Immigration is not that much a matter of number; it's a matter of resources. We invest in it in order to have those persons welcome as well in Canada as they are in Quebec, with our desire for them to share our language, to share some of our values. And if we do have enough resources invested in that, this is workable. And you do not do it by saying or sending the message that they are not welcome —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No, everybody is —

Yves-François Blanchet: — here in Canada or in Quebec.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — welcome in – everybody is welcome in this country. And you know, 49 percent of all population believe that we must have fewer immigrants. They're not racist, they're not radical. So what you are saying, because I'm in line with the majority of our population, that I'm supposed to be a radical?

Yves-François Blanchet: Did anybody tell you —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No. We have the right – we have the right in this country —

Yves-François Blanchet: Did anybody tell you that your ancestors —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — to debate ideas, and that's what I'm doing.

Yves-François Blanchet: — were immigrants also?

Hon. Maxime Bernier: We have the right —

Yves-François Blanchet: We all are immigrants.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Absolutely. And we are proud. We are proud Canadians.

Lisa LaFlamme: OK, and the final debate on this subject goes to Mr. Trudeau, to Mr. Bernier: again, the temperament required for a good leader.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I think it's important to recognize that we're in a world right now where these discussions, this polarization, this fear of the other, has become easy currency for politicians who do want to strike up uncertainty in people's hearts and lift those anxieties and try to get people to vote against things.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Unfortunately, Mr. Bernier on this stage is playing that role of trying to – to make people more fearful about the migrations that are happening in the world and the opportunities around globalization and our ability to continue to redefine every single day what it is to be Canadian, what it means to be Canadian. And yes, it will evolve.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Monsieur Trudeau —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: It will transform itself as we – as we —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Mr. Trudeau —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — take leadership, as we move forward. And the values (crosstalk)
—

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You always (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — are universal values (crosstalk) —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — diversity.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — people around the world (crosstalk) —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: We must celebrate our history. We must celebrate who we are. And I'm proud Canadian like you. And you know, we built this country together, and we want this country to be like that in 25 years. We love this country, and it's not because I want to have a discussion about immigration that I'm a radical.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Bernier —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Only six percent —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — your role on this stage tonight seems to be —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — only six perc—

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — to say publicly what Mr. Scheer thinks privately.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No. Only six percent of our — six percent of Canadians wants more immigration, only six percent. So when you don't want to have a debate about that, you're not in line with the population. You just have unask—an unasked debate on that subject.

Lisa LaFlamme: OK. And on that, we want to hear from another Canadian tonight. There are obviously so many layers to the issue of leadership. So this question is coming from Susan Fernando (ph), who asks her question from Calgary. Again —

Question: Hi. I'm Susan Fernando in Calgary. More often than not, the provincial governments and federal government are on different wavelengths, no matter what the political party. Cooperation is key when it comes to issues of pensions, workers' rights, to education and health care. As Prime Minister, how would you demonstrate strong leadership when working with the provinces and territories?

Lisa LaFlamme: OK, thank you, Susan Fernando from Calgary. Again, based on a random draw, this goes to Mr. Bernier first, and then every other leader will have the chance to answer. Mr. Bernier.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: First of all, I will respect the Constitution. I will respect provinces, and that's very important. And I won't interfere in provincial jurisdiction. I won't interfere in health care because it is a provincial jurisdiction. And you know, we cannot in Ottawa solve the challenges that we're having for health care. And what we can do, we can transfer the money to the provinces. And what I will do, I will let provinces being able to deal with health care and with education. That's our Constitution. We'll transfer the GST so provinces will have the money to deal with that and they will be able to answer to your challenges.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Bernier, thank you. It's now Mr. Singh's opportunity to respond to Susan's question.

Jagmeet Singh: Thank you. I want to thank Susan for the question. Really she's touched on a lot of concerns that Canadians have. Things are getting harder than ever before, and she touched on a whole host of issues: pensions and – and health care. I want to talk – I want to single in on health care. To me, that's one of the biggest concerns I hear about when I meet with people across this country. And I think of the people that I meet, you know, the young boy that I met that has a chronic illness and has to pay for – his family has to pay for medication and injections and blood work. And he told me he's not worried about the illness but he is worried about being a burden to his mom and dad. So that young person, Mr. Trudeau is saying, you know, you're not worth universal pharmacare, that the big pharmacare companies – the big pharmaceuticals are more important. I want to say to that young person, with a New Democratic government, we will bring in universal pharmacare for all. You would use your health card, not your credit card, for medication.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Singh, thank you. Mr. Scheer, it's your opportunity now.

Hon Andrew Scheer: Well, Conservatives have always recognized the importance of working with provinces. We respect provincial jurisdiction. But we also understand that it will

take federal leadership to get certain things done, like interprovincial free trade, something that Mr. Trudeau has failed to accomplish.

But one thing I can promise voters across the country is that Premiers won't have to take a Conservative government to court to fight things like the carbon tax. And Mr. Trudeau has imposed his carbon tax on provinces that don't want to go along with his high-cost scheme. This carbon tax is increasing the cost of everyday essentials like gasoline, home heating, and groceries, and it will only go up after the next election. He is refusing to tell Canadians how high his carbon tax will go if he's re-elected. The Conservative government under my leadership will scrap the carbon tax.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Scheer, thank you. Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: Yeah, thank you, Susan, for the question. It's very important. And as Greens, cooperation is in our DNA. None of the problems we solve are going – we face are going to be solved if we keep arguing and fighting with each other, whether it's within Parliament in our different parties or between the federal government, the provinces and the territories.

The Greens are proposing a reinvigorated form of federalism. Modelled after what has been done in Australia, we want a council of Canadian governments. So the federal government, provincial, territorial, municipal, and the local orders of government need a seat at the table; so too do Indigenous leadership – First Nations, Métis, and Inuit – around the same table, finding common ground on urgent issues like health care, on the climate emergency, and working together in the public interest.

Lisa LaFlamme: OK, Ms. May. Thank you. Mr. Blanchet, your opportunity.

Yves-François Blanchet: Thank you. If I remember well, I've seen a study today about – from Mr. Eric Montigny saying that this campaign is not about federal issues but about provincial and Quebec issues. And this is not a surprise. If you want cooperation with provinces or Quebec, you need to respect the jurisdiction. And something that you have to stop doing – and this is one of the demands of the Government of Quebec in many – on many issues – is giving a hand to this – to s—our money being held hostage by the federal government and giving back to us with conditions. The money that has to be given to provinces in their own fields of jurisdiction should be given back without conditions.

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Blanchet, thank you. Mr. Trudeau, your opportunity now.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: In ten years of Stephen Harper's government, he chose to stop meeting with Premiers in First Ministers' meetings. And we restarted that when we took office in 2015. We were able to strengthen the CPP for a generation. We were able to sign historic health accords with massive investments in – in home care and in mental health. We were able to invest in infrastructure like housing and public transit across the country, and we continue to work with provinces on renegotiating a NAFTA that in—had everyone playing on one Team Canada.

But yes, with certain provinces right now, we are fighting on the defining issue of our time because Jason Kenney and Doug Ford and other Conservative Premiers don't want to do anything on climate change. And we need a government in Ottawa that is going to fight them and fight for Canadians on climate change, and that's exactly what we're going to do.

Lisa LaFlamme: We will have the open debate coming up very shortly. We are going to switch gears now, though, and give a leader a chance to ask any other leader a question on any topic they choose. Again, the order of this was chosen by random draw. The first leader this time is NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh. Mr. Singh, you have 30 seconds.

Jagmeet Singh: Thank you. My question is to Mr. Trudeau. You know, you talk often about how Conservatives cut taxes for the wealthy and cut education and health care and other services. I'd agree with you, and I've heard you say this often. So my question is you criticize Mr. Harper on his climate targets but you failed to achieve them. You criticize Mr. Harper on the fact that he cut health care funding; you also cut them. You criticize Mr. Harper and Conservatives on giving billions to billionaires and corporations, but you gave \$14 billion more. My question is this. Why do you keep letting down the people that voted for you?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: First thing we did was cut taxes for the middle class and raise them for the wealthiest one percent. And on climate change, after ten years of Stephen Harper doing nothing, in just four years we've reached three-quarters of the way to our 2030 targets, which we will meet and surpass. But we know that's not enough. We're going to continue to do more, like planting two billion trees, like moving forward on giving money up front so people can retrofit their homes, on making Canada net-zero by 2050. We know how important it is to move forward, and right now Mr. Scheer has promised that the first thing he would do is rip up the only real plan to fight climate change that Canada has ever had.

These are the things we're going to be moving forward on because Canadians expect us to. We lifted 900,000 people out of poverty with our investments in families, with the Canada Child Benefit, and things that actually, Mr. Scheer and Mr. Singh, the NDP voted against. We will continue to invest in families because it's creating jobs and helping people out of poverty because that's what Canadians expect, and that's what we will continue to do.

Lisa LaFlamme: Now the leaders have an opportunity to have the open debate on this question. It's for four minutes. Mr. Singh, you may begin.

Jagmeet Singh: Thank you. I just wanted to say, I mean, we look at the track record of this government, and in reality Statistics Canada points out in 2017 the wealthiest actually

paid less in tax and gained more in wealth. And when we look at one of the biggest problems that we're faced with as a country is offshore tax havens. Now, not only did your Finance Minister use offshore – offshore tax havens, but also the President —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: That's not (crosstalk).

Jagmeet Singh: — of the Treasury Board. She also used offshore tax havens. So how can you tell Canadians we don't have the money to fund things like universal pharmacare when your top two cabinet ministers don't pay their fair share?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Scheer, you might remember that – Mr. Singh, you might remember that summer (crosstalk) —

Jagmeet Singh: I'm very (crosstalk) Mr. Scheer.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Our – we – you – we had a huge fight with the wealthiest Canadians and the Conservatives when we closed tax loopholes that Mr. Scheer is going to reopen and give tax breaks worth —

Hon Andrew Scheer: So let's – let's —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — \$50,000 —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — let's dive deep in that.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — to the wealthiest Canadians.

Hon Andrew Scheer: You —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We're going to keep moving forward —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — you (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — in a way that invests in Canadians. And that (crosstalk) —

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Trudeau, we'll give Mr. Scheer an opportunity to respond.

Hon Andrew Scheer: You called small business owners tax cheats. You called entrepreneurs who've created jobs and opportunities in our society tax cheats, all the while protecting your trust fund and those of your billionaire friends. What we are doing is lowering taxes for all Canadians. We've got a universal tax cut —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: And cutting services.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — that will lower the first bracket that will save (crosstalk) for the average income couple. We are going to bring in —

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Bernier —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — tax credits for kids' sports —

Lisa LaFlamme: — would you like to interject?

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Yes, for sure. What they are doing, they are spending, spending, and spending.

Hon Andrew Scheer: Tax cuts are not spending.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Everybody here on this stage —

Hon Andrew Scheer: Ta—tax cuts are (crosstalk) —

Lisa LaFlamme: Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Everybody here on this stage –

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — are spending more money. And you know, you cannot create wealth when the government is spending money. You must have the right policies for the entrepreneur, actually. We want the private sector to be able to invest. The private sector works quite well.

Hon Andrew Scheer: That’s why we’re going to undo his tax hikes.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No, you won’t – you won’t balance the budget. You – nobody will balance the budget —

Hon Andrew Scheer: We’re going to undo his tax hikes.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I cannot understand —

Lisa LaFlamme: Ms. May, you’d like the opportunity.

Elizabeth May: Thank you. At the beginning of this segment, Mr. Singh pointed out that Mr. Trudeau has not changed the climate targets from those of Mr. Harper. It needs to be said very clearly, and I’m so disappointed because I believed the Liberals in 2015 that they would go with science-based, evidence-based policies. But the target —

Hon Andrew Scheer: Trudeau: not as advertised.

Elizabeth May: — that Mr. Trudeau is saying he will hit by 2030 is a target for losing the fight against climate change because it ignores the science, it ignores the IPCC advice. On this stage tonight, the Green Party's the only party with a plan, mission possible, that will –

Elizabeth May: — actually protect us –

Jagmeet Singh: You know that's not true.

Elizabeth May: It is true.

Jagmeet Singh: You know that's not true.

Elizabeth May: Yours is 38 percent –

Jagmeet Singh: (Crosstalk plan) —

Elizabeth May: — below 2005.

Jagmeet Singh: Our plan is to stay in line – in line with science. Our plan is this.

Elizabeth May: Which science did you find that (crosstalk) target?

Jagmeet Singh: (Crosstalk). Our plan is in line with the IPCC report —

Elizabeth May: Yes.

Jagmeet Singh: It's going to require the courage to fight big polluters. It's going to take the courage to stand up to the (crosstalk) lobbyists that Mr. Trudeau has caved in to and the reason why we continue to pay subsidies to the fossil fuel sector.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. – Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: We would immediately end those subsidies —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Singh, Ms. May —

Jagmeet Singh: — if (crosstalk) government.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — (crosstalk) the experts are agreed that what a climate plan needs to do is to be ambitious and doable. And of the plans that are forward here on this stage, there's only one plan that the experts have qualified as both ambitious and doable, and that is the plan that we have begun to put in place over the past four years.

Lisa LaFlamme: (Crosstalk) last word.

Hon Andrew Scheer: Mr. Trudeau's plan is failing. It is making everything more expensive for hardworking Canadians, and he has granted a massive exemption to the country's largest emitters.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: That's not (crosstalk).

Hon Andrew Scheer: Our plan takes the climate change fight global, recognizing that Canada can do more to fight climate change by exporting our clean technology and helping other countries —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — lower their emissions —

Lisa LaFlamme: And that concludes – that is all the time we have for the open debate. That concludes this segment. (Laughter). You had an opportunity, you’ve got to jump right in. So thank you all very much for the conclusion of that segment.

3.3. Theme Two: Polarization, Human Rights, Immigration

Althia Raj: Hello. I’m Althia Raj from HuffPost Canada, and the theme of this segment is polarization, human rights, and immigration. And we’ll begin with my question to NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh. Mr. Singh, I want to ask you about Bill 21. Your campaign is about courage, but you have not shown the courage to fight Quebec’s discriminatory law. It bars individuals who, like yourself, wear religious symbols from some provincial employment. If you were Prime Minister, would you stand back and allow another province to discriminate against its citizens? Aren’t you – and, frankly, the other leaders on the stage – putting your own parties’ interests in Quebec ahead of your principles and the equality rights of all citizens? You have a minute to answer.

Jagmeet Singh: Sure. It’s probably pretty obvious to folks that I am obviously against Bill 21. It is something that hurts me, makes me feel sad. I think about all the times I grew up being told that I couldn’t do things because of the way I looked, and I think about all the people in Canada that grow up being told they can’t achieve more because of their identity or who they are. And I think about the people in Quebec right now that are being told, just because they wear hijab, that they can’t be a teacher, or, if they wear a yarmulke, they can’t be a judge, and that’s hurtful and it’s wrong.

And it probably comes as no surprise that I’m opposed to laws that divide people. What I do every single day when I go to Quebec is I say hey, I’m here, I’m someone that believes in fighting climate – the fli—fighting the climate crisis. I’m someone that believes in, firmly and unequivocally, the rights of women, the right of women to choose and to build more access to

abortion services. I believe firmly in making sure we tackle the powerful corporations that are – that are influencing government and that are not allowing – that are challenging our ability to ensure that we build services that lift up people.

Althia Raj: Thank you.

Jagmeet Singh: I'm doing that every single day.

Althia Raj: Thank you. Mr. Scheer, you and Mr. Singh may debate this question.

Hon Andrew Scheer: Well, Mr. Singh, I just want to start off by congratulating you on the way that you have handled so many issues around race and identity. As someone who has been the victim of these types of – of racist acts in the past, I certainly believe you have handled it with a lot of class, especially as it relates to some of the scandals that have come out during this campaign.

I believe it's very important for – for people to understand that, while we will not intervene in this court case as a Conservative government, we do recognize, and the Conservative Party always stands for freedom and equality and individual liberty, and we —

Jagmeet Singh: Mr. Scheer, if I —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — make sure that this does —

Jagmeet Singh: I – I appreciate that.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — and we will not pursue this type of bill —

Jagmeet Singh: I appreciate that.

Hon Andrew Scheer: — at the federal level.

Jagmeet Singh: I want to just touch on – on one of the themes of this discussion is polarization. And while Bill 21 is going to single out people because of the way they look, another thing that’s happening in our country right now is that people are being pit against each other. And what’s happening is people are – who are – can’t find a home, can’t afford their bills, can’t get the medication or health care they need are being told that it’s not the fault of powerful corporations and those who are not paying their fair share, but it’s the fault of new Canadians, it’s the fault of a twelyear—12-year-old refugee or an immigrant who’s breaking his back working 12 hours a day. And that’s why it’s so important for us to tackle economic insecurity if we want to tackle the polarization.

Althia Raj: Thank you, Mr. Scheer and Mr. Singh. Ms. May, you may debate Mr. Singh on this question.

Elizabeth May: Yeah, if – I want to also echo Andrew’s comments because I think that Jagmeet has done, as we all have done through this rather strange period of an election campaign, confronting issues of – of privilege. And anyone with white skin has privilege. But when we look at Bill 21 in Quebec, I think it challenges all of us. Like the NDP, the Green Party opposes Bill 21. And then we’re left with the question of what is the best way for a federal government to protect human rights within Quebec – Quebeckers are fighting this out within Quebec. Quebec groups are going to court to say that Bill 21 discriminates.

Jagmeet Singh: Elizabeth —

Elizabeth May: And as that goes forward —

Jagmeet Singh: — thank you very much.

Elizabeth May: — we are, frankly, looking at a situation where we don't want to do anything that hurts —

Jagmeet Singh: I understand.

Elizabeth May: — that debate within Quebec.

Jagmeet Singh: I understand. But you know, what I – what I want to also just touch on, while Bill 21 is of course polarizing, on that point, I know you agree with me on this, that we've got to tackle those – the powerful corporations that are not paying their fair share, and that's part of the reason why people aren't able to earn a good living and part of the reason why people can't find housing or they can't get the medication they need, because those at the top aren't paying their fair share —

Elizabeth May: It's not even about paying their fair share.

Jagmeet Singh: — (crosstalk) we can't build in —

Elizabeth May: I think we'll agree on this —

Jagmeet Singh: — we can't even build in the services we need.

Elizabeth May: — they have —

Althia Raj: OK, thank you very much.

Elizabeth May: — they have improper access —

Althia Raj: Ms. May, thank you.

Elizabeth May: — (crosstalk).

Althia Raj: Ms. May, thank you. Mr. Blanchet, your turn —

Yves-François Blanchet: Yes.

Althia Raj: — to debate Mr. Singh.

Yves-François Blanchet: With 70 percent —

Jagmeet Singh: I'll give you more than ten seconds.

Yves-François Blanchet: You're nice. With 70 percent of the population of Quebec supporting the Bill 21, and 70 percent of the Members of Parliament in Quebec supporting Bill 21, it's not really a polarization issue in Quebec. That's the problem. The problem is that – and in English tonight it will be quite clear everybody here has problems with the very idea of, I will say, laïcité because there's no exact translation for that word in English. Everybody has a problem with it, but say in best of cases that they would tolerate it. But Quebec does not need to be told what to do or what not to do about its own value —

Jagmeet Singh: But Monsieur Blanchet —

Yves-François Blanchet: — nor its language —

Jagmeet Singh: But Monsieur Blanchet —

Yves-François Blanchet: — nor themselves as a nation.

Jagmeet Singh: — this – this is a bill that just says to people, because of the way they look, that they can't do a job. That's —

Yves-François Blanchet: You know this is —

Jagmeet Singh: — that's wrong.

Yves-François Blanchet: — not true.

Jagmeet Singh: And instead – instead of that —

Yves-François Blanchet: Madame, we know this is not true. And your tweet that —

Jagmeet Singh: — instead – instead of that —

Yves-François Blanchet: — that said (crosstalk) —

Jagmeet Singh: — instead of that, Monsieur Blanchet, what we should be doing —

Yves-François Blanchet: — (crosstalk) the way people look was wrong.

Jagmeet Singh: Monsieur – Monsieur Blanchet, instead of what we should be doing is let's protect women's rights. Let's build up more —

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) —

Jagmeet Singh: — protections for —

Yves-François Blanchet: — (crosstalk)

Jagmeet Singh: — a woman's right to choose.

Yves-François Blanchet: — (crosstalk) in the context I used it.

Jagmeet Singh: Let's – let's build up more protections for the LGBTQ community.
Let's build up more protections in society to build a society —

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) —

Jagmeet Singh: — where is the separation —

Althia Raj: OK, thank you —

Jagmeet Singh: — of church and state.

Althia Raj: — Mr. Blanchet, thank you. Mr. Singh. Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Singh can debate this question.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Singh, you have spoken very eloquently about discrimination and fought against it all your life. And that's why it's so surprising to have heard you say, like every other leader on this stage, the federal government under you would not intervene in the keel—question of Bill 21 in Quebec. It's a question where, yes, it's awkward politically because, as Mr. Blanchet says, it is very popular. But I am the only one on this stage who has said yes, a federal government might have to intervene on this because the federal government needs to protect minority rights, needs to protect language rights, needs to protect women's rights —

Jagmeet Singh: Of course.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — and needs to do that right across the country. You didn't say that you would possibly intervene.

Jagmeet Singh: But Mr. Trudeau, I mean —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You didn't even leave the door open —

Jagmeet Singh: — (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — and that's not (crosstalk).

Jagmeet Singh: Let's be honest for a second here. Every single day of my life is fighting a bill like Bill 21.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: So why won't you —

Jagmeet Singh: Every single day of my life —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — fight it if you form government?

Jagmeet Singh: — is — every single day of my life is challenging people who think that you can't do things because of the way you look. Every single day of my life I channel the frustrations of people who feel that as well, that many people across our country who are told that they can't achieve what they want because of how they look.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: So why not act on your —

Jagmeet Singh: I'm running to become Prime Minister of this country —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — convictions —

Jagmeet Singh: — and I'm going to Quebec —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — and leave the door open —

Jagmeet Singh: — and telling people I want to be your Prime Minister.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — to challenging it?

Althia Raj: OK. Thank you, Mr. Trudeau, Mr. Singh. Mr. Bernier, your chance to go head to head with Mr. Singh.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Yes. About the Bill 21, we must respect the Constitution. And we won't interfere at the federal level. That's the decision from the federal – from the provincial government. And that's what we must do. But also, Mr. Singh, you said that you didn't want me to be here on the stage to have a discussion with you. So you're for diversity, but what about diversity of opinion? I have the right to have another opinion about immigration, and I don't know why you're not – you – you are a leader and you must be – try to have everybody on your side, but are you believing in free speech —

Jagmeet Singh: Let me answer that question. I can answer that question.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — are you believing in free speech only when people are saying things that you want to hear?

Jagmeet Singh: You're asking the question; let me answer it. After a couple of minutes of this debate tonight, I think people can clearly see why I didn't think you should deserve a platform. The comments that you're making, the type of things you say – it's one thing to say that you disagree with somebody, that's fine, but when you incite hatred —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No, I don't. No, I don't.

Jagmeet Singh: — when you incite division —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: It's not – you cannot say that.

Jagmeet Singh: — when you saying things (crosstalk) you insult a young girl —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I just – I just want to have a debate.

Jagmeet Singh: — and ask about her mental stability, it shows a lack of judgment. You don't deserve a platform, and I'm happy to challenge you on that because your pl—your ideas are hurtful to Canada. I will always work to build unity and bring people together, unlike you —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: (Crosstalk) for people who agree with you.

Althia Raj: OK, thank you very much. Merci, Monsieur Bernier. Thank you, Mr. Singh. Continuing with our theme of polarization, human rights, and immigration, we have people watching this debate right across the country, including a big crowd at the Student Union building at the University of British Columbia. And our next question comes from Paige McDicken (ph), who joins us from Vancouver. Please go ahead, Paige.

Question: Hi, good evening. (Cheers). Hi, good evening. My name is Paige McDicken, and I'm here tonight at UBC but I live in Cold Stream, British Columbia. My question is along the lines of polarization. And to me, Canada feels more divided than ever before. If diversity is our strength but division is weakness, how will your leadership seek to provide a unified vision for Canada, and how will you ensure that all voices across the political spectrum are heard and considered? Thank you.

Althia Raj: Mr. Singh, you may begin. You have 40 seconds.

Jagmeet Singh: Sure. Paige, thank you so much for the question. I appreciate getting a chance to – to chat with you, and thanks for tuning in. When we talk about the divisions that we have in our – in our country, there are a lot of divisions, and – and they're growing. And I point to a lot of reasons for it: there's radicalization; there's – there's hateful discourse; there's a climate which allows people to be emboldened. But the other reason why people are being exploited into hating one another is because they're worried about the future. There's a lot of people that can't get the basic things that they need, like housing, like the health care they need, and it's really the neglect of federal governments that have brought us to this position. And I think the way we tackle a lot of the polarization is making sure people get the basic things they need, like housing —

Althia Raj: Thank you very much —

Jagmeet Singh: — health care —

Althia Raj: — Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: — and a good job.

Althia Raj: Mr. Scheer, your turn.

Hon Andrew Scheer: Well, it's very important that we understand why Canada is a country of such diversity. And it is because people come from all over the world to take refuge here, to build a better life here. It is because of our freedom. That is the common ground that everyone who has come here, no matter what generation, no matter from what part of the world,

can agree on. And it's important that we remember that, promote that, and ensure that people who come here embrace that aspect that makes our country so great.

But what is very dangerous is when you have a Prime Minister like Justin Trudeau, who uses legitimate issues like racism and hateful – hateful language to demonize anyone who disagrees with him. Calling people un-Canadian for disagreeing with his failure on the border —

Althia Raj: Thank you very much —

Hon Andrew Scheer: — does more to create —

Althia Raj: — Mr. Scheer. I'm sorry. Ms. May, your turn.

Elizabeth May: Thanks, Paige, and hey to UBC. Thank you. I raise my hands to the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh territory. We need the kind of leadership that lifts people up, that doesn't make people feel as if politics is rather disgusting and they'd rather not look at it. We have to restore the idea of real democracy, where every citizen has agency and power to work together. Mission possible for climate action we call all hands on deck. We're going to need everybody. And to have the kind of democracy that really reflects everyone, we need fair voting. We need to get rid—rid of first past the post because it creates each political party as rival, warring camps, even when the elections are over. We need to —

Althia Raj: Thank you very much —

Elizabeth May: — (crosstalk) democracy.

Althia Raj: — Ms. May. Monsieur Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: Yes. I believe that democracy grows on information. So translating

“voter pour des gens qui vous ressemblent” by “vote for people who look like you” is at best dishonest. May I remind you that in 2011 the exact same phrase was said by Michael Ignatieff and that in 2015 the exact same sentence was said by Thomas Mulcair. So people may recognize themselves into a party —

Althia Raj: Thank you very much, Mr. Blanchet. I’m sorry, you’re out of time. Mr. Trudeau.

Althia Raj: It’s 40 seconds for each leader.

Althia Raj: I’m sorry. It has moved on to 40, sorry. Everybody has the same time. It’s Mr. Trudeau’s time, thank you.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Thank you, Paige, for your question. It’s great to see everyone at UBC, one of my alma maters. It’s really important to recognize that, yes, we’re in a time of polarization and differences that get highlighted by the kind of debate going on at this stage and in this campaign about how we’re moving forward.

The reality is Canadians agree on most things. We want to raise our kids in a world that is getting better for them. We want to be able to pay for their futures. We want to be able to retire in comfort. We want to create opportunities for our neighbours as well. This is something that binds Canadians together right around the country. The fact that there is politics of fear and division that is continuing to dominate here underlies what we’re actually doing together –

Althia Raj: Thank you very much Mr. Trudeau. Monsieur Bernier.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Speaking about immigration it is not polarization. Actually Canada receives more immigrants per capita than any other western country, three times higher than the

US, so we must have a discussion about that. It is the equivalent of one Nova Scotia every three years, like the population of Nova Scotia every three years here in Canada. There are for mass immigration. I'm for a sustainable immigration, and that's why we must have fewer immigrants, a maximum of 150,000 a year, with more economic migrants for our country.

Althia Raj: Thank you very much, Mr. Bernier. We are moving on to a one-on-one format, followed by an open debate. We start with Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer. You may pick any leader of your choice and ask any question of your choosing. (Laughter). You have 30 seconds.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Mr. Trudeau, you broke ethics laws twice. You interfered in an ongoing criminal court proceeding. You shut down parliamentary investigations into your corruption, and you fired the only two people in your caucus who were speaking out against what you were trying to do just for telling the truth. Tell me, when did you decide that the rules don't apply to you?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Scheer, the role of a Prime Minister is to stand up for Canadians' jobs, to stand up for the public interest, and that's what I've done and that's what I will continue to do every single day. The way I have worked for Canadians is around investing in them, unlike the vision that you're putting forward of giving tax breaks that help people who are making \$400,000 K a year, \$400,000 a year more than someone making \$40,000 a year. You're offering a \$50,000 tax break, which is more money than most Canadians earn, to the wealthiest Canadians with your plan. Of course we don't entirely know your plan because you haven't released your costed platform yet, which I think is a disrespect to every Canadian watching.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Where is your costed platform?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Our costed platform came out two weeks ago.

Althia Raj: Mr. Scheer, you'll have a chance to rebut.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Our platform came out weeks ago and it is work—we worked with the Parliamentary Budget Officer, and we have a vision, but it is a different vision than yours because we're choosing to invest in people. You're choosing, just like Doug Ford did, to hide your platform from Canadians and deliver cuts and – cuts to services and cuts to taxes for the wealthiest. That's not the way to grow the economy.

Althia Raj: Mr. Scheer may begin to rebut, and anybody is free to join him.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You know you are making things up again. Half of your platform isn't even costed. You are making announcements without any details and without any numbers and –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: That is entirely untrue, Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You aren't telling Canadians how you're going to pay for it.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You're the one who's hiding your platform.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You aren't telling Canadians how you're going to pay for it, but we know that taxes will go up under your government if you are re-elected.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: (Crosstalk) we lowered taxes for the middle class and raised them on the wealthiest one percent, and you voted against that.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) you looked Canadians in the eye and you said that the allegations in The Globe and Mail were false. You said Jody Wilson-Raybould never came to you.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: They were false.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You said you never put pressure on her. We now know that those were all lies. You have failed to tell the truth in this corruption scandal.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Scheer, the responsibility of any Prime Minister is to stand up for jobs, and what you're saying is you would have (crosstalk).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) the CEO of SNC-Lavalin said they never threatened jobs or (crosstalk).

Jagmeet Singh: What we have here is Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Scheer arguing about who's worse for Canada. Really we've got to start presenting who is going to be best for Canada. (Laughter).

We think about what Canadians are going through, Mr. Scheer, your small tax cuts are not going to help a family that's struggling with the cost of child care, which costs thousands of dollars a month. Your small taxes aren't going to help out a family struggling with the cost of medication that can cost of hundreds of dollars a month.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Canadians are struggling to get by, and we're going to put more money in their pockets.

Jagmeet Singh: (Crosstalk) what we're providing is this, a plan to make sure families save money –

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) \$850 with the universal tax credit.

Jagmeet Singh: Let me finish my point here. We're going to save families money by investing in pharmacare for all, which is going to save families over \$500 a month.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: (Crosstalk) pharmacare is a provincial jurisdiction, Mr.

Singh, it's a provincial jurisdiction.

Jagmeet Singh: We'll invest in child care – let me finish my point here. We'll invest in child care, which is going to save families thousands of dollars a month, and we're going to make sure that those families that earn less than \$70,000 get dental care. That's going to save families at least \$1,240 a month.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Where will you find the money? Where will you find the money?

Jagmeet Singh: This is a Conservative spin. Where we are going to find the money is this. We're going to ask the wealthiest Canadians, the wealthiest Canadians –

Hon. Maxime Bernier: In our pockets.

Jagmeet Singh: — those who have wealth of over \$20 million, those who have fortunes of over \$20 million, we're going to ask them to pay a bit more. Yes, we think they should. That's only going to apply to a small number of –

Elizabeth May: You know what's fascinating about this, Jagmeet? You know what's fascinating about that proposal, because we have the same proposal in our budget. When the Parliamentary Budget Officer reviews them, guess what they find is the single biggest uncertainty when we go for revenues from the wealthiest. They're worried that they will hire lawyers and avoid paying that tax. If you go look at the Parliamentary Budget Office reviews, people said oh, well, the Green Party is proposing to spend a lot of money, yes, on pharmacare;

yes, on child care; abolishing tuition. The weakness, they say, in our revenue sources is that wealthy Canadians will continue to hire lawyers and evade their taxes. I think that's shocking. I think we need to say to people this is the most beautiful, blessed country on Earth, and if you have wealth you have obligation. You have responsibility. Pay your taxes.

Yves-François Blanchet: If I may I seem to remember that –

Jagmeet Singh: Everyone's got to contribute their fair share. It makes sense.

Yves-François Blanchet: I seem to remember that Mr. Scheer referred to the SNC-Lavalin scandal. I want to speak for 3,400 innocent people that did nothing wrong. When Mr. Trudeau tried to find a solution, he did it the wrong way and he admitted it. What you are doing, Mr. Scheer, is playing this old card. You're trading the idea that Quebec is corrupt. Those 3,400 people have done nothing wrong. Now the value of their shares are going down. Employees are leaving. Clients are leaving and we are losing it all because –

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Mr. Blanchet, with all due respect, there is never an excuse for a Prime Minister to interfere in an independent court case. We do not want to live in a country where someone –

Yves-François Blanchet: — (crosstalk) —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — can abuse the power of their office to reward their friends and punish their enemies, and it is essential that we preserve —

Yves-François Blanchet: — (crosstalk) innocent people pay the price for that.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I just want to add I knew that I was the only leader who said no corporation is above the law. I was the only one who said that.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That's not true.

Elizabeth May: I think I said that too, Max. (Laughter). It may be the only thing on which we agree, that no corporation is above the law, and we need an the inquiry into what went on in the SNC-Lavalin –

Hon. Maxime Bernier: It's a nice beginning.

Althia Raj: What a wonderful show of unanimity on this wonderful topic. (Laughter). That wraps up this topic and this segment. Thank you very much.

3.4. Theme Three: Indigenous Issues

Susan Delacourt: I'm Susan Delacourt from The Toronto Star. Welcome, leaders. I'm moderator for the next theme, which will be Indigenous issues. We're going to begin this segment, which was also chosen by random draw, with my question to Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer. Here it is. Mr. Scheer, you've said that a Conservative government would focus on practical things in its relationship with Canada's Indigenous people. As you pursue your promised energy corridor, practically speaking, how will you consult, accommodate, and obtain consent from Indigenous peoples? What will you do when your plans come into conflict with Indigenous rights and interests?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Thank you very much for the question. As someone who has 12 First Nations reserves in his riding, I understand the importance of balancing treaty rights and also the ability for Indigenous Canadians to participate in the economy. That really is the key. What I have said is that a Conservative government will ensure that the proposal for the national energy corridor takes into account Indigenous concerns by ensuring that a cabinet minister is responsible specifically for Indigenous consultations. Unlike the court ruling that found that the current

government mishandled the consultations under the TMX pipeline, we will ensure that it is dynamic, that is more than just ticking a box and listening to concerns. It's actually addressing those concerns. But we have to remember that we have to get to a place in this country where big things can get built again. Duty to consult means that concerns are heard and addressed, but that – also that we find a path to letting things get built in this country

Susan Delacourt: Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: Thank you. I am appalled by the fact that Mr. Scheer has forgotten that there was a duty to consult under the Harper government as well and that they also violated it in the findings of the court, identical to Trans Mountain on the case of Enbridge. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples needs to come into force of law in this country. I know you oppose it because of the debate we had at Macleans, but the reality of it is Section 35 of the Constitution already requires consultation, and it does not boil down to we will consult with Indigenous people until we get them to agree with us.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: No, but it also means –

Elizabeth May: It's about respect nation to nation of Indigenous territorial rights are inherent

Hon. Andrew Scheer: So what does free, prior, and informed consent mean for every single Indigenous community?

Elizabeth May: It means free, prior, informed consent –

Hon. Andrew Scheer: What about the dozens and dozens of Indigenous communities who want these projects to go ahead?

Elizabeth May: Why are you prepared to set aside the decision of the Human Rights Tribunal, to fight it in court just as Mr. Trudeau is, when they actually found as a matter of fact that our government committed acts that were reckless and willful in the violation of the rights of Indigenous children –

Hon. Andrew Scheer: There are dozens of Indigenous communities who want –

Elizabeth May: We must live up to that decision.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: There are dozens of Indigenous communities who want these projects to go ahead because they know that is the key to prosperity on their reserve.

Elizabeth May: The territory is a question of their fishing rights.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: They know that is the way for their young people to get jobs.

Elizabeth May: Territorial rights are inherently local.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You and others cannot define what free, prior, and informed consent is.

Elizabeth May: I don't want to argue, I'll let you talk, but –

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Blanchet, it is now your turn.

Yves-François Blanchet: You say, Mr. Scheer, that you want to respect provinces and Quebec jurisdiction – jurisdiction, sorry. But when it comes to this pipeline of yours and this corridor énergétique, which translates – the French translation, I'm sorry, in English is pipeline – you don't fear the idea of expropriating territories belonging to provinces and saying the Constitution

– yours, not mine – the Constitution says that I have the right to go through provinces, through Quebec, without their approval.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Yes (crosstalk).

Yves-François Blanchet: May I remind you that Quebeckers and the Prime Minister of Quebec said clearly that he does not want it.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: So that's completely false. What we're talking about here is addressing the environmental concerns and the Indigenous concerns up front, getting that out of the way so that there can be a geographic space where big projects can get built again, including Quebec sharing its hydro electrical energy –

Yves-François Blanchet: Now it belongs to Quebec and then it would not belong to Quebec.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: We're talking about the regulatory environment around it, and you know as well as I do that Quebeckers purchase a huge percentage of their energy from the United States. I've made my choice. I believe Quebeckers should get energy de chez nous, not buying energy from the United States. I've made my choice, Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) you have done and Quebec will make his.

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Bernier, I remind you this is about how will we respect Indigenous rights – oh, Mr. Trudeau, sorry.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Thank you. We all remember ten years of Stephen Harper, who did not respect Indigenous rights, did not respect Indigenous peoples, and, Mr. Scheer, you're putting forward exactly the same plan that didn't just fail Indigenous peoples, didn't just fail Indigenous communities and their kids, but they also failed to get important energy projects

built. We need to keep moving forward in a way that respects Indigenous peoples, respects that there's going to be a range of views, but is grounded in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples that you have consistently blocked through your party's actions. That is not respect for Indigenous peoples.

Perry Bellegarde, the Grand Chief – the head of the Assembly of First Nations, has said that no government has done more for Indigenous peoples than this government, and he's one of your constituents Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That's right. He comes from Little Black Bear in my riding. He's got my phone number.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: He'd love to talk to you. He asked me to give you a phone call.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) I have nothing to learn from Mr. Trudeau, who fired the first Indigenous Attorney General for doing her job. She said she would do politics differently, and you fired her when she did. You want to talk about getting pipelines built? You've cancelled two pipelines, and the one you bought you can't build. You've let tens of thousands of people in Alberta and Saskatchewan down, and you have failed to recognize that Indigenous communities are hurt by this –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I am accepting the fact that I'm going to be attacked for not building pipelines from some and for building pipelines from others, and the balance we need to take is (crosstalk).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) you're doing nothing.

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Bernier.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Mr. Scheer, you said that you're ready for building pipelines all across this country by the private sector, but at the same time you said you know Quebeckers are ready to buy oil and gas from Canada. I agree with that. I agree that Quebeckers know that it's safer to transport oil and gas by pipelines than by trains. But at the same time, the Quebec government said there is no social acceptability for a pipeline in Quebec. What will be your position on that? Do you think that you'll be able to use the Constitution, because after consultation, if we don't have any agreement, we must be able to use the Constitution Section 92.10 to be able to build a pipeline?

When you do that, the federal government will have the full authority, the full jurisdiction to approve pipelines, but what you're saying you're for pipelines but you don't have the courage to use the Constitution to be sure that we'll have pipelines in this country for the unity of our country and the prosperity of our country.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That's just not the case at all. I've always said that the federal government must stand up for federal jurisdiction. We respect provincial jurisdiction, and when you've got the best idea, I am convinced that I can get support for this project because Quebeckers prefer Canadian energy –

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You don't have the support in Quebec. You don't have the support in BC.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Quebeckers know that it's better to take energy from western Canada than the tanker after tanker of foreign oil coming up the St. Lawrence or oil and gas coming from Donald Trump's economy. I know Quebeckers will support this project because it will also allow them to share their hydro electrical power with other provinces as well.

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: I want to talk about a recent decision. The Human Rights Tribunal of Canada found that the Harper government and Mr. Trudeau's government wilfully and recklessly discriminated against Indigenous kids. These are kids that weren't getting equal funding. There's a landmark decision that said these kids should get equal funding, and it was received as finally some justice for those kids. Then Mr. Trudeau and his government are going to appeal that decision. He wanted to fight hard to keep SNC-Lavalin out of the courts, but he's going to drag Indigenous kids to court. That is wrong. How could someone do that? How could someone do that?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: This decision will have massive – huge ramifications for several aspects of the way the federal government provides services to Indigenous Canadians. It also is a very large, significant settlement amount, and I believe when you're dealing with these types of important public policy issues that it is legitimate to say that it should be reviewed – have a judicial review.

Jagmeet Singh: I disagree of course, but I want to talk about one other issue. We're talking about Indigenous issues. I went to Grassy Narrows again just recently. We've got a community impacted by mercury poisoning, and an Indigenous activist went to a private fundraiser where Mr. Trudeau mocked that Indigenous activist, saying thank you for your donation. Living with mercury poisoning, what kind of Prime Minister does that?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Because he's phony.

Jagmeet Singh: Living with mercury poisoning, what kind of Prime Minister does that?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Because he's a fraud. I wish I had that answer, but one that doesn't deserve to be re-elected.

Susan Delacourt: That's time for this section of the debate. The open debate is over, but we continue on our theme of Indigenous affairs. We have a question from an audience member here in Gatineau, Natasha Beatty. Go ahead, Natasha.

Question: Good evening. As a member of Beausoleil First Nation, my question is this. If elected, how would your parties work with provinces and territories on recognizing and affirming Indigenous rights, specifically noting the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's calls to action, and the calls for justice in the recent Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Inquiry? Megwitch.

Susan Delacourt: The leaders will all have a chance to answer this question – thank you, Natasha – starting with Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Thank you very much for the question. Of course there's a lot there for just 40 seconds. There are many areas in the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women report that Conservatives have been calling for for quite a while, including combating human trafficking, something that is very important. Also, we support preserving Indigenous languages by ensuring that the federal government does what it can to prevent some of these languages that are at risk of being lost, to preserve them. When we're talking about the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, we need to remember that when you talk about free, prior, and informed consent, that leaves a great deal of uncertainty about what that means. There are large numbers of Indigenous communities who want these energy projects to succeed, and we need certainty and clarity around that.

Susan Delacourt: Alright. We will now go to Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: Natasha, megwitch. It's an extremely important question, and Greens across the country are united in this. We will honour the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It must be brought into law in this country, and our existing web of laws and regulations, which were properly described by the Inquiry on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women as constituting structural violence, must be reviewed and brought up to the standard of the UN Declaration. We must bring in the recommendations of the Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls and the calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is not a short-term project. It is on us as settler Canadians to bring justice.

Susan Delacourt: Monsieur Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: We also support the Declaration of the United Nations on the Rights of Indigenous People. I do believe and I've spent the most beautiful moments of this campaign with people from the First Nations. They are nations as well as Canada is a nation and Quebec is a nation. A nation does not put its culture, its language, its heritage in the hands of another nation. So what they ask for – and they have to ask because we are no better than they are to represent themselves – is that all those reports and inquiries and declarations bring something real and respectful for them.

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Trudeau.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Thank you, Natasha, for your question. We have moved forward on reconciliation in ways that no previous government has been able to, but I am the first to recognize there is much more to do. We lifted 87 long-term boiled water advisories and we are on track to lifting 50 more, but we are continuing to invest in communities.

On the issue of child and family services, we recognize the tribunal's ruling that says that children need to be compensated, and we will be compensating them. But we've also moved

forward to end the tragedies by moving forward on legislation that keeps kids in care in their communities with their language, with their culture.

We also want to move forward with Grassy Narrows, with the community, on a treatment centre, and money is not the objection to investing in what they need in that treatment centre.

Susan Delacourt: Thank you. Mr. Bernier.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: No other leader is ready to build a new relationship with our First Nations. They all support the status quo, but the system is broken. We still have extreme poverty on reserve. We need a bold reform, and we are the only party that will try to implement property rights on reserve and also establish a new relationship based on self-reliance for these communities. We need to build a new system, working with them, but that's not what they want because we cannot fix the system right now if we don't do a bold reform, and we are ready for that.

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: (Off microphone) thank you so much for your question. Really it's a matter of respect and dignity. All of the issues that you've raised come down to that basic question of respect and dignity. One of the first things we would do, we wouldn't take Indigenous kids to court and challenge a decision that says they were wilfully and recklessly discriminated against. We wouldn't do that. We would immediately address issues of justice. That means implementing all the recommendations from the reports that are so powerful and have a guideline towards solving the problems. We'd make sure there's clean drinking water. I don't accept any excuses why we can't in 2019. We'd make sure that we implement clean housing, good quality housing and education and welfare services. We can do these things.

Susan Delacourt: Thank you. So now we have time for another leader-to-leader debate on any topic. Leading this one off will be Green Party Leader Elizabeth May. Elizabeth May, you have, I believe, one minute.

Elizabeth May: Thank you, Susan. My question is to Justin Trudeau. Picking up from this very fractious discussion on Indigenous issues, but let's face it, right now Indigenous peoples, the Assembly of First Nations are telling us their number one concern is the climate emergency. We need to focus on real solutions. It's not good enough to have better rhetoric than Mr. Scheer, with all respect to Mr. Singh. It's not about rhetoric. It's about a target that's grounded in science and to do with 60 percent reductions by 2030, not Mr. Singh's 38 percent, not your 30 percent. Will you, Mr. Trudeau, join with all of us in an inner cabinet that gets rid of the partisanship and says after this election we move to protect our children's future together?

Susan Delacourt: Mr. Trudeau. Mr. Trudeau, your answer.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We recognize that targets are important, and we're going to be surpassing the targets we inherited, but targets are not a plan. We have a real plan that has delivered over the past four years on our way to banning single-use plastics, on putting a price on pollution right across the money – the country – in a way that returns money to Canadians, that actually makes, unlike what Mr. Scheer is saying, most Canadians better off, 80 percent of Canadians better off, with a price on pollution than they will be when he rips up our climate change if he were to form government after this election.

We will continue to do the things that need to be done and bring Canadians along with it. Our plan is realistic and ambitious and doable. That is what Canadians need because the danger of not acting on the environment is tremendous. The danger of not having a plan for our future, either the environment or the economy, is going to be borne by our kids.

Susan Delacourt: Ms. May, you may now begin open debate. There is three minutes and forty-five seconds.

Elizabeth May: The science is clear. Your target is a commitment to failure. That's why it's so doable and achievable, because it doesn't do what the IPCC says we must do. We must go off fossil fuels as quickly as possible, and you bought a pipeline. You can't be a climate leader and spend ten to \$13 billion more on a project that by itself blows through our carbon budget. We have to –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: A slogan is not a plan, Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: No, we have a plan, get rid of fossil –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: A slogan is not a plan. It is an unrealizable plan. Canadians need that action –

Elizabeth May: Not, it has been assessed by (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — that is going to actually make us better, fight climate change, protect the environment, and build a stronger economy for our kids. We have done more over the past four years than any government in the history of Canada –

Elizabeth May: No, that's not true. Paul Martin did more, but that's alright. No one remembers the Paul Martin plan in 2005. It was better. But the reality is if you have a fire —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: There's much more to do. There's much more to do. He didn't deliver on that plan. Over the past four years we delivered on it.

Elizabeth May: If you have a fire in a four-storey building, getting a one-storey ladder doesn't do it.

Susan Delacourt: Can we get some other leaders in there? Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That is completely false, and just because you say something over and over and over again doesn't make it true. There is no Canadian –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: It would be nice for you to learn that, Mr. Scheer. (Laughter).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: There is no Canadian that believes they're going to be better off by paying a carbon tax. You have given a massive exemption to the country's largest polluters, and your plan is already failing.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: The economists, the experts, the Parliamentary Budget Officer points out 80 percent of Canadians are better off under our climate incentive.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) because he had to trust the numbers you gave him. Nobody believes your numbers, Justin, because you have this –

Susan Delacourt: One at a time. Mr. Singh and Mr. Bernier.

Jagmeet Singh: I want to say this directly to Canadians. You do not need to choose between Mr. Delay and Mr. Deny. There is another option. (Laughter). There is another option out there. We are committed to a real plan that's going to take on the biggest polluters. It's going to take on the powerful interests because that's what we need to do. If we want to build a better future, it's going to mean taking on the powerful.

Elizabeth May: What is your target?

Jagmeet Singh: That means we're going to have to cut our emissions by half.

Elizabeth May: You can take on the powerful, but you need to have a plan that is rooted in the target that saves our kids' future.

Jagmeet Singh: It means we're going to have to reduce our emissions by more than half. You've got to take on the powerful at the top. We're prepared to do that.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I just want to say (crosstalk). People must know that, Mr. Scheer and Mr. Trudeau, you're the same on climate change.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That's false.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You want to impose a carbon tax on Canadians and you want to impose more costly –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I think that's the most offensive thing you've said all night, Max, that we're the same on climate change.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You want to impose also a big tax on the big emitters, so you're the same on climate change and you won't be able to achieve your target.

Yves-Francois Blanchet: (Crosstalk) I'd like a few seconds with Mrs. May, please. I think you and I have to find some common grounds when we get into that House of Commons –

Elizabeth May: I don't think it will be on JNL Quebec and the fact that you're supporting a project that blows through more of the carbon budget against the will of many Quebeckers and threatens the St. Lawrence River.

Yves-Francois Blanchet: This is not what I had in mind, and I have provided answers to that. I think the goal should be down to almost nothing, not 30 percent, not 60 percent, almost nothing. What do you think about this idea of an equalization based on gas emissions? Those who are over the average emissions of Canada pay, and those who are under the average emissions get the money. The (inaudible) is for both parts.

Elizabeth May: What we have to do is work together. And with all due respect, that was the question I asked Mr. Trudeau. Are any of you prepared to accept the notion of changing status quo decision making so we form an internal cabinet based on (crosstalk)?

Yves-Francois Blanchet: (Crosstalk) does not help.

Susan Delacourt: Ladies and gentlemen, that's all the time we have. That concludes this round. Thank you very much, and on to the next one.

3.5. Theme Four: Affordability and Income Security

Dawna Friesen: Hello. I'm Dawna Friesen from Global News, and I'm moderating this segment on affordability and income security. Before I begin, I just want to say you've all been very vigorous in your debate. Some of your comments have gone a little long, so we're going to have to trim a bit in terms of time, but we will make sure that we keep those trims fair and equal.

On this topic, Ms. May, I have a question to you. Canadians are carrying \$2 trillion of household debt. That means the average Canadian owes about \$1.79 for every dollar of income he or she earns per year after taxes. It's never been this high. We are borrowing to live, something my parents told me was a terrible idea. You have made a bold promise to balance the federal budget in five years. How do you do that without causing more financial pain for Canadians and putting

people further into debt? What's the single biggest thing in your policy, in your platform, that will reduce household debt?

Elizabeth May: Thank you for the question. I'm very pleased that we are the party standing on stage today that has a full platform, has the budget numbers publicly accessible and approved as a budget that passes muster by Kevin Page and the Institute for Fiscal Studies and Democracy.

The way to bring more public service, to bring more help to Canadians, child care, banning tuition, investing in post-secondary education, pharmacare, dental programs for low-income Canadians, all things that make life more affordable, is not to have cuts but to go after places where there is revenue, offshore money that's being hidden, a financial transaction tax, going after one percent tax on people who have more than \$20 million in wealth, and a series of moves to increase the revenue coming into the Government of Canada. That is all of course based on the current economic situation. If we hit a recession, we would not slavishly or ideologically balance the books, but right now we think we'll have a balanced budget in five years.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Blanchet, your opportunity to debate Ms. May on this topic.

Yves-Francois Blanchet: It is really a bad idea to borrow to live. It is a no better idea to cut too strongly into services to people that mainly need it. What about the idea of cutting all subsidies to oil, as we propose to do, bringing a law on the floor about that? How about this idea we have, this green equalization, which brings money to the government? How about cutting into those foreign tax shelters, including the two new ones created by Mr. Trudeau? What about taxing and perceiving taxes from those giants on the web that steal the money from our advertizing companies?

Elizabeth May: D'accord. In our platform we call for taxes on the e-commerce companies, the virtuals, the Amazons and the Googles and the Facebooks that mine billions of dollars out of this country and pay virtually no tax. We agree with you, we have to cut all fossil fuel subsidies. As a matter of fact, that was a promise made by Mr. Harper in 2009, by Mr. Trudeau in 2015, but they've increased because we're subsidizing LNG, which I'd like to hear you answer where you are on JNL Quebec. We need to get rid of fossil fuels, and right now we're still giving public funds to pipelines.

Yves-Francois Blanchet: You know what, I was the Minister responsible for the –

Dawna Friesen: I'm going to move you on, I'm sorry. Mr. Trudeau, your chance to debate Ms. May on household debt.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We made a very different decision that Stephen Harper had in the previous ten years when we decided to invest in Canadians instead. That decision to invest in the middle class and people working hard to join it lifted 900,000 people out of poverty, including 300,000 kids. We gave more support for students going to school; we made more supports for seniors, and what that has done has actually grown our economy, more than a million new jobs created, most of them full time, over the past four years at the same time as we have reduced poverty, exceeding any targets that we had even set forward.

Elizabeth May: Can I –

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We've done that in a way that is responsible. The international (crosstalk).

Elizabeth May: This is a 40-second debate with eight seconds left for me.

Dawna Friesen: Ms. May, Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: Can I respond?

Dawna Friesen: Let's give the floor to Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: The concern I have about all these debates, by the way, and I'm sure a number of other leaders on stage share it, we don't have any section on health costs or health care in the course of two debates. I want to turn this to the affordability issue and how much more affordable life would be for Canadians with full, universal, single-payer pharmacare. It's in our platform, it's partially in yours. It's in Mr. Singh's. We need to deliver health care.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We've actually taken concrete actions towards that.

Elizabeth May: But where is the national health accord?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Lowering health prices, lowering prices for (crosstalk).

Elizabeth May: Are you prepared to accept Eric Hoskins' recommendation for universal, single-payer health care?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We have, we have accepted —

Dawna Friesen: I'm afraid time's up for you. Mr. Bernier, your chance to debate Ms. May on household debt.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Absolutely. I look at your platform, Elizabeth, and you know you will spend \$60 billion. Spending won't create any wealth. You cannot spend your way to prosperity. We need to have more private sector investment, and at the end you know that our

national credit card is full. We still have a deficit, and Mr. Trudeau just added \$70 billion on our debt, and you'll add another \$60 billion on our debt. It is not responsible. Our children will have to pay for that.

Elizabeth May: But you have your famous private sector having got massive tax cuts when you were in Mr. Harper's cabinet based on being told these were the job creators and it would be great when they got tax cuts. They have not invested in the economy. They're sitting on piles of cash. Mark Carney calls it the dead money. We need to get that money and do public sector infrastructure investments, like a national grid that will bring renewable energy from one part of the country to the other, no pipelines by the way, but we need an electricity grid that serves the needs of every province and every Canadian.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: What I like from you, Elizabeth, you don't want any subsidies to the oil and gas industry, and I don't believe in corporate subsidies, also in corporate welfare, so we can agree on that.

Dawna Friesen: Alright, let's move on to Mr. Singh, your opportunity.

Jagmeet Singh: Thank you. Ms. May, I actually really appreciate that you wanted to shift the discussion towards health care. I think it's one of the biggest concerns that families have. When we look at Canadians across this country, they can't get the medication they need. They can't get the dental care they need. They're struggling. I met a woman in my office in Burnaby who was covering up her mouth because she was embarrassed she had lost her teeth because she couldn't get the care she needed. That, to me, is heartbreaking in a country as wealthy as ours. I know, Ms. May, you're prepared to do this, but the problem is Mr. Trudeau does not have the courage to take on the insurance and the pharmaceutical lobbyists that don't want this to happen.

I'm going to make it happen. If you vote New Democrats, we're going to make sure we make these things happen because we don't work for the powerful and wealthy. We don't meet with pharmaceutical companies and then listen to them. We work for you. We work for Canadians. We're going to deliver on these things.

Elizabeth May: We have to have – I hope you'll agree with me that we need to renegotiate a new health accord. It's been left alone for too long. We need to get back at the table. The constituents in my riding – I just did eight debates with the local candidates in my riding.

By the way, all of you guys can be proud, except for your Mr. Blanchet, all of you can be proud of the candidates you have running locally because I've been in eight debates with them in the last week. One thing we heard from every constituent in every town hall meeting is we are suffering from a lack of family doctors. We need an investment in our health care. The wheels are falling off the bus. We need to invest.

Jagmeet Singh: Mr. Trudeau has continued the same cuts brought in by the Conservatives.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Scheer, your opportunity.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: The question was about affordability and household debt, and the entire theme of our platform is leaving more money in the pockets of Canadians so they can get ahead. It's time for Canadians to have a break. Our universal tax cut will mean \$850 in the pocket of a hardworking, average-income Canadian. We're going to bring back the children's fitness tax credit to make raising children more affordable. We're going to bring back the green public transit credit to make taking the bus or the train more affordable as well. We're going to

help fight climate change by bringing in the green home renovation tax credit, which will put money in the pockets of Canadians and help lower emissions, and we're going to pay for that –

Elizabeth May: It won't lower emissions. It will cause them to go through the roof.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: The way we're going to pay for those is by cutting corporate welfare and reducing Canada's foreign aid budget by 25 percent. We're going to stop sending money to the relatively well-off countries. We're going to bring that money back home so that Canadians can get ahead.

Elizabeth May: Mr. Scheer, that may be the worst idea in your whole non-platform is the cutting of foreign aid. I wear this little pin. This is the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations, to which this country is committed.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I believe it's time for Canadians to get a break.

Elizabeth May: Ending poverty within the next decade within Canada and globally is actually possible, but not if we ever have the misfortune of having your short-term, misguided, greedy and selfish policies.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I believe we should take that money and bring it back home so that Canadians can get ahead. It's not greedy to put money in the pockets of Canadians, Ms. May. I fundamentally disagree with you.

Elizabeth May: It destabilizes the world, what you're proposing.

Dawna Friesen: We're going to stop you there so that we can hear from another Canadian, please, on the theme of affordability. One of the many places Canadians are watching

tonight is in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. Here is the scene at the Copper House Restaurant, and earlier we heard a question on affordability from Scott Marsden.

Question: I'm Scott Marsden from Yellowknife. My question is what is your government going to do about the growing crisis of income inequality and affordability in Canada.

Dawna Friesen: Ms. May, first to you.

Elizabeth May: I've been in that restaurant. Hello, Yellowknife. Good to see you again. Look, we must act for income equality. We need to look at the fact that, over the years, the gap between the various wealthy, wealthiest Canadians and the average Canadians is continuing to expand. We're calling for a tax commission. We haven't had a proper tax commission since the 1960s to examine our tax code to see if it's still progressive, to find out if all these corporate boutique tax cuts that have piled up over one after the other after successive governments is taking money away from those Canadians who need it most and allowing those who really have massive income to continue, as many Auditor Generals have found, to be treated by Canadian Revenue Agency as if they have special status and don't have to pay their taxes.

Dawna Friesen: Ms. May, thank you. Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: First, I must say that if saying untrue things at the end of time is your way to do things, collaboration might be done already. However, about the issue, if the federal government was to respect jurisdiction of provinces, it would take less time, it would take less time, it would cost less money, and provinces and Québec could do what they have to do about health care, bringing the money that is owed to Québec and provinces. This is what has to be done. Lodging (ph) the buney—the money should be given to provinces and Québec because it is mostly, if not only, their jurisdiction that helps people.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Trudeau, to you. The question is about income inequality and what you would do.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We recognize that we need to help people more directly. That's why the first thing we did was lower taxes for the middle class and raised them on the wealthiest one percent. We're moving again forward with a tax break for low- and middle-income Canadians and nothing for the wealthiest, unlike Mr. Scheer's universal tax credit. We're also moving forward by increasing the Canada Child Benefit, which has lifted hundreds of thousands of families out of poverty, by 15 percent for kids under one. We're increasing the Old Age Security for seniors over 75. We're making sure that students have an easier time paying back their student debts by not having to pay back until they're making \$35,000 a year. We're investing in Canadians.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Trudeau, thank you. Mr. Bernier, your turn.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: First of all, I think it is important to be able to have a discussion about what is important for Canadians. We are the only party that will balance the budget in two years. All the other parties on the stage will spend and spend and spend. That is not a solution. The credit card is full. But we will do that without cutting services. We will cut corporate welfare, all the corporate welfare; \$5 billion that we can save there. All these political parties, the only promise that they do to, they do everything to get your votes. I'm promise you [sic] to do nothing except balancing the budget and after that, lower your taxes. That's the only responsible policy.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Bernier, thanks. Mr. Singh, to you.

Jagmeet Singh: I want to thank Scott for the question. Income inequality is massive. There's also massive wealth inequality. And these are not just esoteric academic discussions.

When those at the very top do not pay their fair share, when 87 families in Canada have the combined wealth of three provinces, it hurts families. It means we don't have the funds to invest in health care. It means we don't have the money to invest in things like dental care. So while Mr. Trudeau likes to talk a nice game, and I admit he says nice words, but what he's done is he's given \$14 billion to the richest corporations to buy private jets and limousines in the last Fall Economic Statement. We would instead invest in people, ask the super wealthy to pay their fair share and invest in programs to relieve the costs on families.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Singh, thank you. Mr. Scheer, your turn on income inequality.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Well, actually, Mr. Trudeau has his facts wrong again. Our universal tax cut drastically is – is much better for middle-income Canadians than his proposal. And he thinks that someone earning \$47,000 a year is somehow too rich for a tax cut. I disagree. We also recognize that you don't need to tear some people down to lift others up. Justin Trudeau's attack on small businesses, threatening them, making it harder for them to grow and expand and offer the types of opportunities that lead to the jobs that have much higher income earnings was precisely part of the problem over the last four years, all the while protecting people who have inherited trust funds. We will take a different approach. We will ensure that our entrepreneurs have the support they need to grow and succeed.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Scheer, thank you. We're going to move on now. I have a question for the Bloc Québécois leader, Yves-François Blanchet, after which each one of the leaders will have a chance to debate him one on one. Mr. Blanchet, Quebec is one of five provinces to receive federal equalization payments in 2019. It received \$13.1 billion, the highest amount of any province. That's a benefit of being part of a federal system where wealth is shared. You've referred to the money as an assistance cheque. Premier Legault has said he wants

to wean Quebec off equalization payments. Do you agree with that, and if so, what would, how would that make life more affordable for Canadians?

Yves-François Blanchet: Thank you for the question. First, the very system called equalization is based on some flawed reasonings [sic], flawed ways to analyze things, and this is why we propose something else that would progressively replace it. Oil provinces are very wealthy and have developed those resources with money from all across Canada, including Quebec. And today, they are using it as a threat over Quebec, which citizens do not want to be a passage for this oil through their territory because they rely on clean energy and believe this is the only responsible way to do things.

We propose a kind of equalization that would be based without any constitution change on how provinces perform in fighting climate change. Those who are over the average pay, those who are under the average receive the money, giving a strong encouragement for everybody to reduce

Dawna Friesen: Alright.

Yves-François Blanchet: — GHG emissions.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Blanchet, thank you. Let's go – the leaders will all have a chance to debate this one on one, one minute each, beginning with you, Mr. Trudeau.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Thank you, Dawna. Equalization exists so that every Canadian across the country, regardless of the province they're born into or live in, accesses the same quality of services right across the country. It is not a perfect system, but it is a system that ensures as much as we can equality of opportunity across Canada. We've continued to engage with provinces

across the country on updating the equalization formula in ways that are fair, and it is something that continues to bind this country together.

Unfortunately —

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) avenues —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — you, Mr. Blanchet, as a sovereigntist, —

Yves-François Blanchet: It's not entirely your money.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — are always looking for opportunities to create fights between Quebec and the rest of Canada to advance your separatist —

Yves-François Blanchet: Now, we have paid for development —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — agenda. Unfortunately, that's not something —

Yves-François Blanchet: — of oil in western Canada —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — that Canadians want.

Yves-François Blanchet: — and you make us pay again with this idea of buying a pipeline over there. And tell me something, what can a Canadian do that a Quebecker cannot do? Why would you, would we need from Canada —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I think by definition, a Quebecker can do anything a Canadian can do because a Quebecker is a Canadian —

Yves-François Blanchet: — that we can do ourselves (crosstalk) no less typical (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — and will remain a Canadian under my watch, Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: — do our own thing.

Dawna Friesen: Gentlemen, thank you. Mr. Bernier, you now have the opportunity to debate Mr. Blanchet.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Yes, speaking about the equalization, I'm the only leader who's ready to look at the equalization formula for being sure that the formula will be less generous and fair for every province. Let me explain. It is not fair to tax people out west and also in Quebec because Quebeckers, you know, are proud and they want to live in a richer province. So what we must do, we must give the right incentive to provinces to develop their own natural resources. That's so important to have a, to have a discussion about the equalization, and they don't want to have the discussion.

Yves-François Blanchet: You —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Let's be less generous and fair for every province.

Yves-François Blanchet: — we share this idea. We share this idea.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Why? Why? Because it is important when you have people in a, when you have people —

Yves-François Blanchet: What's the time? What's the time?

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — in Alberta, 20, yeah —

Yves-François Blanchet: Fifteen seconds.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — 20 percent of people —

Yves-François Blanchet: Fourteen seconds.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — (crosstalk) once to have the discussion. And let's —

Yves-François Blanchet: Ten seconds.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — have the discussion.

Yves-François Blanchet: Okay. Quebeckers receive less money from equalization per capita than anybody else who receives it in Canada. Do you mind about stopping those lines?

Dawna Friesen: Alright. Mr. Blanchet. Mr. Singh, your opportunity to debate.

Jagmeet Singh: Yes, I was thinking about ways we can make life more affordable, and this is where I think we can do a lot if we work together. This is one of the things I believe that we can, we can build a better Canada if we tackle some of the challenges that people are facing. One of the things that we hear about a lot in Quebec is the cost of health care and that it's not there for them when they need. If we work together, the universal pharmacare plan is one where we use the buying power of all Canadians, it's still delivered provincially, but we can actually buy medication for lower cost and it will —

Yves-François Blanchet: Actually, it is, it is —

Jagmeet Singh: — help out Quebec and (crosstalk) people.

Yves-François Blanchet: — delivered, it is delivered provincially, and dental care would be if we wanted to finance it a provincial jurisdiction. You have good ideas, but your ideas always interfere and infringe into jurisdictions which are those of provinces —

Jagmeet Singh: (Crosstalk) I want to work together.

Yves-François Blanchet: — and Quebec. So if you want to do that —

Jagmeet Singh: We got to work together.

Yves-François Blanchet: — do it for Canada. Take our part of the money, as the Constitution allows —

Jagmeet Singh: We can do that. (Crosstalk).

Yves-François Blanchet: — and send it to Quebec.

Jagmeet Singh: The other thing we need to do is, when we want to tackle the problems, is housing. Housing is something that's concerning a lot of people. Federal money used to be invested in building, in partnership with provinces to build housing. We want to do that again.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Scheer, thank you. Mr. — Mr. Singh, pardon me. Mr. Scheer, over to you.

Jagmeet Singh: I don't know how people are getting me mixed up. (Laughter) (Off microphone) on purpose today. (Laughter). What does it take?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I'm slightly taller than you, Mr. Singh. (Laughter). That must be it.

Jagmeet Singh: And stop running that (crosstalk) —

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Scheer, please continue the debate.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: It's important for Quebeckers to realize that, on so many issues, Mr. Blanchet agrees with Justin Trudeau. He will support Justin Trudeau's higher taxes, he'll support massive deficits that will continue to put pressure on Canadian taxpayers, meaning more and more of their dollar goes to pay the interest on —

Yves-François Blanchet: I just, I just (crosstalk) —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — the debt. And we know —

Yves-François Blanchet: — had to raise more money without —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — and we know – sorry, if I could continue, Mr. Blanchet —

Yves-François Blanchet: — raising taxes so you didn't listen or you didn't understand.
(Laughter).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — we know, we know that Mr. Blanchet's priority is working with the Parti Québécois on sovereignty. So we know that if votes for Bloc Québécois MPs mean that Justin Trudeau stays Prime Minister. Avec le Bloc, le plus ça change, le plus ça reste le même.

Yves-François Blanchet: And you know what? Do you remember that all those —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: We know that, that Mr. Blanchet —

Yves-François Blanchet: — all tho—all that you say you did for Quebeckers was done —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — he prefers, he prefers to purchase his oil and gas —

Yves-François Blanchet: — when Harper was in a minority government —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — from the United States.

Yves-François Blanchet: — all those changes were (crosstalk) by Bloc Québécois.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You prefer sending consumers' dollars to the United States to support that economy. I per—I pe—I prefer —

Yves-François Blanchet: You have a strange picture of reality.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — Canadian energy (crosstalk).

Dawna Friesen: You've talked over each other and you're both out of time. (Laughter). Thank you, Mr. Scheer. Ms. May, it's your turn.

Elizabeth May: Forgive me, Dawna, but Yellowknife, Rylund, I see you. Congratulations for being elected MLA. I'm just so excited.

Now, turning to equalization payments, we need equalization in Canada because we're a country, we're a family. We need to think like a family. Your proposal, Mr. Blanchet, would be to put an extra burden on those parts of Canada like Alberta that have the toughest challenge to meet the climate crisis. We're concerned as Greens that we work together, that we not alienate Alberta, that we —

Yves-François Blanchet: I had noticed that you had a strong sensibility for Alberta since your previous positions on oil were quite nice to them.

Elizabeth May: No, they're not. They're —

Yves-François Blanchet: However, however, in a family —

Elizabeth May: — we're shutting down the oil sands —

Yves-François Blanchet: — sometimes, in a family sometimes —

Elizabeth May: — by 2030. They don't find it nice.

Yves-François Blanchet: — in a family sometimes —

Elizabeth May: That's why they deserve fairness.

Yves-François Blanchet: — in a family sometimes one does not agree with others and he doesn't have to be forced to do what others say.

Elizabeth May: We are facing a climate emergency, and anyone who understands the science – and I hope you do because we all —

Yves-François Blanchet: And this is, this is a world —

Elizabeth May: — marched with Greta.

Yves-François Blanchet: — issue, and only countries do international affairs, provinces don't.

Elizabeth May: We have to pull our weight —

Dawna Friesen: Alright.

Elizabeth May: — as provinces and as nations and we do it together.

Dawna Friesen: We have to move along. Thank you for that. We will end this segment with another open debate. Yves-François Blanchet, it is your turn to ask any other leader a question on the topic of your choice. (Laughter).

Yves-François Blanchet: I wonder (inaudible). Mr. Scheer, you said in English a few months ago that you were strongly against the very idea of Bill 21 about laïcité of the state in Quebec. Then you said in French in Quebec that you would do nothing against that law. But your very close collaborator, Mr. Alain Rayes, said the day before yesterday that you would protect the Bill 21. He said that in French, I must admit. You would, you were the only one that would protect the Bill —

Dawna Friesen: Can you – can you get to the question, please?

Yves-François Blanchet: — 21. Please, how will you do that?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: It's very – this – the answer to this question is very simple, Mr. Blanchet, and you know that I've always been very clear on this issue. We will not intervene in the court case that is currently before the courts. The elected officials of Quebec have taken this decision and now it is before the courts —

Yves-François Blanchet: Mr. Rayes said that you would protect —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — and the courts, and the courts will —

Yves-François Blanchet: — protect the law.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — decide. That is —

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) the law?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — exactly what I've always said, in English —

Yves-François Blanchet: What will you do to protect this law?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — and in French. It's very important that a federal government respects and protects individual liberties and individual human rights. We will not pursue this court of action at a federal level.

Yves-François Blanchet: Your definition —

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Scheer has the floor.

Yves-François Blanchet: — (crosstalk) in the law.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: It's quite simple.

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) go in the same direction.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I just answered the question, Mr. Blanchet.

Dawna Friesen: Mr. Blanchet, Mr. Scheer has the floor.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: La même chose en français. M. Blanchet. It's the same thing in French. We will not intervene in this court case.

Yves-François Blanchet: That's not (crosstalk).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: The court case will – will decide this.

Yves-François Blanchet: You should talk to Mr. Rayes. He does not say the same thing as you do.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: It's exactly the same position, Mr. Blanchet. You're trying to create division, confusion where it doesn't —

Yves-François Blanchet: (Crosstalk) everything and not doing something against the law —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — where it doesn't exist.

Yves-François Blanchet: — does not mean that you will protect it. I would protect it. You would not —

Dawna Friesen: So we are open —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You won't be in a position to —

Dawna Friesen: — we are going to have an open debate. That was Mr. Scheer's time to answer, I apologize.

Yves-François Blanchet: Oh, I'm sorry. I will leave you some (crosstalk). (Laughter).

Dawna Friesen: We will now have the open debate. Mr. Blanchet, you may begin.

Yves-François Blanchet: OK.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Can I speak now, because you spoke during my answer?

Yves-François Blanchet: Please go ahead. (Laughter). We're still nice people.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: The issue on this has been exactly the same from the beginning. And Mr. Blanchet, I think you're trying to create confusion where there doesn't exist confusion. I have always been very clear, both in English and French, the — the answers have always been the same. This is something that at the federal level we will not pursue. The Conservative Party has always stood for individual liberty, for fundamental human rights. It was a Conservative Prime Minister that brought forward the Bill of Rights. The last Prime Minister from Saskatchewan —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Except, of course, Mr. Scheer —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — John Diefenbaker, and —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — you won't defend a woman's right to choose.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — we won't allow these types —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You — you dismissed LGBT —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — that is completely false.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — LGBT protections.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — it is completely false.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You haven't apologized —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Millions, millions —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — against LGBT Canadians years ago.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — millions of Canadians —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Will you – will you recognize and apologize for that?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — millions of Canadians, Mr. Trudeau, millions of Canadians have a different position on this issue. And like millions of Canadians, I am personally pro-life. It is OK in this country to have a difference of opinion, something you do not recognize.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Yes, but Canadians need to know —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) it's not OK for a man —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — Canadians need to know that their Prime Minister —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — (crosstalk) when a woman's going to be deciding.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — Canadians need to know that their Prime Minister —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: The laws and access on this issue —

Dawna Friesen: One at a time, please. One at a time, please.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — the laws and access on this issue have not changed for 30 years under Liberal Prime Ministers, under Conservative Prime Ministers. It will not change —

Unidentified Male: Mr. Scheer, let me (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Canadians need to know —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — once I am Prime Minister.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — that their Prime Minister will be there —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That is my position.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — to defend them. And you have been —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I have just answered that question.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — you have been not —

Dawna Friesen: Let me, let's, let's allow Mr. Singh —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — unequivocal on defending (crosstalk).

Dawna Friesen: — a moment.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You're signing (crosstalk) papers of people who want to take away (crosstalk) —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: What about your misogynist, racist candidate in Nova Scotia?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: OK.

Dawna Friesen: Can we – can we (crosstalk) no, nobody, nobody can hear what you're saying anymore.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You will be signing the nomination papers for people who have pledged —

Jagmeet Singh: A man has no place (crosstalk) —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — to take away rights from (crosstalk).

Jagmeet Singh: — around (crosstalk). (Laughter). (Applause).

Dawna Friesen: It's, I know, you're having a mini debate over here. Can we bring in Mr. Singh?

Jagmeet Singh: A man has no position in a discussion on a woman's right to choose. Let's be very clear on that.

Elizabeth May: How about a woman's right to speak in a debate? (Applause). I – it's been really interesting for most of this campaign to hear a lot of men arguing about what a woman's rights should be, but having all of you, except for Max, participated in the TVA debate where you were perfectly happy to keep women out, off the stage. I'm the only woman leader of a party. You participated in a debate which did not let our little girls see that there's a chance for a woman in this country to be Prime Minister, to run as the leader of a party. We must be clear as all leaders, and you are not clear, Andrew, that we will never allow a single inch of retreat from the hard-earned rights of women in this country, not one inch. (Applause).

Jagmeet Singh: This says to me that you're open to working with Mr. Scheer —

Elizabeth May: Sure. I would —

Unidentified Male: — and your own MPs could come up with a law against abortion and you said that you will tolerate it.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: This is – this is a typical Liberal —

Elizabeth May: No. No, I – I said we don't allow anyone to run —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — tactic. It's right out of the Liberal playbook.

Elizabeth May: — in our party who doesn't hold a pro-choice position.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: When they are in danger of losing an election —

Elizabeth May: We don't, sorry.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — they bring forth these types of (crosstalk).

Dawna Friesen: This clearly needs more time. I'm afraid we don't have more time.

Elizabeth May: (Crosstalk) unlike all the rest of you.

Dawna Friesen: Ms. May, thank you very much. We're going to have to move on. Thank you. That concludes our segment.

3.6. Theme Five: Environment and Energy

Rosemary Barton: Hi. everyone. I'm Rosemary Barton from CBC News. Our next theme – we've already talked about it a little bit, but now we will for real – the environment and energy. And we will start with a question from another Canadian. We're going to go to a gathering of people watching the debate, this time at the Halifax Central Library. We'll talk to Brittain Bancroft of Minto, New Brunswick is there and has this question. Over to you.

Question: Hi. My name is Brit Bancroft, and I'm from Minto, New Brunswick, and I believe we live in an age of climate crisis and this is the last election we have before point of no return is reached. Furthermore, I believe that for many larger corporations that pollute, the current system of fines and penalties associated with that polluting is just the cost of doing business. What concrete plans does each leader have to address big business polluting?

Rosemary Barton: Thank you, Brit. And the first answer goes to —

Yves-François Blanchet: That is —

Rosemary Barton: — Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: — very interesting. What is considered as the most progressive system to find climate change so far is this agreement between California and Quebec, this trade exchange system that forces businesses to lower their emission through time, and it works very well. And I was – I had the privilege of completing the negotiation of such a system and signing it. And it should be used elsewhere. Simple taxes that return into the pockets of people without any change in incentive are not the solution. Doing nothing, hoping that, you know, some spirit will come and solve the problem, is no solution either.

Rosemary Barton: That's it, Mr. Blanchet. Mr. Trudeau, over to you.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: As Mr. Blanchet said, Quebec and other provinces like BC have moved forward with putting a price on pollution. We've ensured that that price is put in right across the country because it is a mechanism that will both lower emissions and ensure that Canadians can afford this transition. The choice tonight is very clear between two parties that have very different views on climate change. Mr. Scheer wants to rip up the only serious plan on climate change Canada has ever had the day after the election, and we will continue to do more. We recognize we need to do more to fight climate change. That's why we're going to be surpassing our targets. That's why we're going to get to net zero by 2050.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Bernier.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: At the People's Party, we are the only real environmentalists party. Why? First of all, we want to do things that are possible. We want to do things that are possible to protect our health, our air, our environment, our water. All the other leaders claim to save the world and to save the climate. They cannot. Canada represents only two, 1.6 percent of the green gas emission [sic], and they claim also to be able to achieve the Paris Accord target; they cannot. They have to impose a carbon tax of \$300 a tonne to do that and they won't do it, they don't do it. They're hypocrites. We won't have a tax on carbon and we —

Rosemary Barton: Time's up. Time's up. Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: Thank you very much. Thank you, Brit, for your question. We are faced with a climate crisis; there's no question about it. We've got massive forest fires, which make it hard to breathe in some parts of Canada, in the west. We've got massive flooding, which means people are losing their homes, in the east. This is a serious crisis. Now, while Mr. Trudeau has said a lot of nice things, let's look at what he's done. He said that he's for the environment, but then he continues to exempt the biggest polluters from his price on pollution. He says he wants to fight the climate crisis and what does he do? He continues to subsidize oil and gas massively. He says he's a climate leader. What does he do? He buys a pipeline. There's a big gap between what Mr. Trudeau says —

Rosemary Barton: OK.

Jagmeet Singh: — and what he does.

Rosemary Barton: And Mr. Scheer, over to you next.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I find myself agreeing with you again, Mr. Singh. On the environment, like so many issues, Justin Trudeau says one thing and then does something

completely different. He's talking about hitting 2050 targets. He can't even meet 2030 targets. He talks about ripping up a real plan; his plan has been proven to fail. He has given – he has given a massive exemption to the country's largest polluters. They – and they were able to negotiate themselves up to a 90 percent exemption from his carbon tax. Meanwhile, hardworking commuters, moms and dads taking their kids to school or driving to work, they have to pay the full brunt of that.

Our plan is a real plan that takes the climate change fight global, recognizing that we could shut everything down here tomorrow

Rosemary Barton: That's it, Mr. Scheer. I'm dropping the hammer, coming to the end of the show. Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: Brit, thank you for the question. You, unlike everyone else on this stage, clearly understand that we're up against a real climate emergency. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has given us hard timelines, challenging targets. If we're going to do what's required, it isn't easy. We don't grade on a curve and say because a plan is less ambitious, it's therefore more doable. If it fails to meet the goal of holding global average temperature to no more than 1.5 degrees Celsius, we fail to give our kids a livable world.

Greta Thunberg is right. The house is on fire. Grownups then stand up and say kids, get to safety, we've got this. We'll take care of this for you.

Rosemary Barton: That's it, Ms. May. My turn now to ask a question, and this one goes to Mr. Trudeau, and the question is this, Mr. Trudeau. Last fall, the United Nations International Panel on Climate Change stressed the need to act quickly to limit further global warming. A report from Environment Canada says this country is warming twice as fast as the global average. You say you are committed to combating climate change, but your government still

proceeded with the purchase and approval of a new pipeline to the west coast. Given the timeline, and given what is at stake, should Canada not be moving more quickly away from further development of the oil and gas sector? And to that end, should the Trans Mountain Expansion be Canada's last pipeline?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We absolutely have to move faster. We absolutely have to do more, and that's why we put forward an ambitious plan to continue that is reasonable, that is, that is doable and is going to make sure that we get to not just surpass our 2030 targets, but go beyond it. We're banning single-use plastics, we're putting a price on pollution right across the country, and we are fighting those Conservative Premiers who do not want to do their part to fight climate change. We recognize that transition to clean energy will not happen overnight. While we do, we should have less oil by rail and we need to get to new markets so we can invest all the — all the resources, all the money coming in from this pipeline into that green energy transition, into fighting climate change.

I know that's a big piece of the way we move forward, how we invest in the new economy in that transition, and that's what we've done. The choice tonight is do we pick a government that doesn't believe in climate change or in fighting it or do we continue on the track we are —

Rosemary Barton: OK, we've got to end it.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — and be even more ambitious.

Rosemary Barton: I noticed you didn't answer the last part of that question, whether we were on our last pipeline. Mr. Bernier, your turn to debate Mr. Trudeau for one minute.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Mr. Trudeau, I think we agree that we don't agree on climate change. I believe that there's no climate emergency. You believe the opposite. But you won't be

able to achieve the Paris Accord target. I'm not saying that. That's the UN who said that. You need to impose a carbon tax over \$300 a tonne and you don't do that.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: In four years, Mr. Bernier —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Elizabeth May, just what — let me finish.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — we got three-quarters of the way there.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. — Mr. Trudeau, let Mr. Bernier finish.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Elizabeth, she's right and you're right. She has a radical plan to fight climate change. It will destroy the economy, but what about you?

Rosemary Barton: OK.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You won't be able to —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: In four years —

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Bernier, Mr. Trudeau (crosstalk) time.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — we made it three-quarters of the way to reaching those 2030 targets, and over the next 11 years, including by planting two billion trees, we're going to get there. But Mr. Sch—Mr. Bernier, what you don't understand, what Mr. Scheer doesn't understand, is you cannot build a plan for the future of our economy if you are not building a plan that protects the environment and fights climate change. That's where both of you are completely wrong.

Rosemary Barton: OK. Mr. Scheer, it's not your turn. Mr. Singh, your time to debate Mr. Trudeau.

Jagmeet Singh: Mr. Trudeau, I know that you say a lot of nice things and you've been saying a lot of great things on the stage today. But the problem is that you said a lot of these things in 2015 and you made it sound like you were going to make climate a big priority, but the reality is you did all these things, you bought a pipeline, you continue to subsidize oil and gas, and you continue to exempt the biggest polluters. So what's it going to take now for Canadians to believe that you're actually going to follow through on your promises? What's it going to take for you to follow through on these commitments, because your words are not good enough anymore?

Rosemary Barton: OK. Mr. Trudeau.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Singh, we have reached three-quarters of the way to achieving our 2030 targets and we're going to surpass them. And Mr. Singh, Canadians might be surprised to discover that your plan is to build a massive refinery in Alberta. And the only way to do that is with federal subsidies because there's no private business case for it. Your plan to build a refinery in Alberta is worse for the environment —

Jagmeet Singh: It's not our plan at all. That was not our plan.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — than building a pipeline to the (crosstalk) better place for our, our —

Jagmeet Singh: I don't know — that's no way our commitment —

Rosemary Barton: OK. Mr. Singh, Mr. Singh.

Jagmeet Singh: — not our plan. I don't know where you got that from. It's not our plan. We would immediately end fossil fuel subsidies, we'd immediately invest in clean energy

—

Rosemary Barton: That's it.

Jagmeet Singh: — we'd immediately do what's needed.

Rosemary Barton: That's time. Mr. Scheer, it's your turn to debate Mr. Trudeau. Same question.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: When Justin Trudeau took office, there were three major pipeline projects ready to go. Under his watch, all of them have failed. He had to take \$4.5 billion of Canadian tax money to put the Trans Mountain Pipeline on life support, and he did that by sending \$4.5 billion of taxpayers' money to another country, to the United States, to be invested in the oil and gas sector there instead of here in Canada. His answer for his rationale for having two campaign planes was that he bought carbon offsets, which is just a thing that privileged people can do —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: No. Mr. Scheer —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — to keep polluting.

Rosemary Barton: OK. Mr. Trudeau, Mr. Trudeau's chance to respond.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: (Crosstalk) I did not —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk) have to keep paying more.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer, Mr. Scheer, Mr. Trudeau's chance to respond.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Scheer, you did not buy carbon offsets for your transport because you don't believe that climate change is real. You need to —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: (Crosstalk)

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer, no one can hear you. Please.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — actually act in — you need to act in a way that is responsible, Mr. Scheer, and your plan is to rip up the only serious plan to fight climate change —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Your plan is failing.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — that Canada has ever had. Canadians know —

Rosemary Barton: OK. Time is up for you as well, Mr. Trudeau.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — how important this is.

Rosemary Barton: Ms. May, over to you.

Elizabeth May: To avoid catastrophic levels of global warming, we must double our current target, we must listen to science. We must not build the Trans Mountain Pipeline. It's not the last because it gets cancelled if we're serious. You can't negotiate with physics. You can't, as Prime Minister, you can't as leader of the Liberal Party. There's a carbon budget, it doesn't budget. And that's why it's so heartbreaking for me to look at you today and know you could have done so much more the last four years. Please God you don't get a majority this time around because —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: From the Rockies —

Elizabeth May: — you won't keep your promises.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — from the Rockies to the Bay of Fundy, Conservative Premiers have gotten elected on promises to do nothing on climate change, and we need a strong federal government to fight them to make sure that we are moving forward on protecting the future generations from the impacts of climate change.

Elizabeth May: But your goal is a target for failure. When you hang on to Harper's target of 30 percent by 2030, you are —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We are going to pass that target.

Elizabeth May: — pre-destining us. Well, you better get to double that target or you never get to carbon neutrality by 2050.

Rosemary Barton: Time is up, Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: This is (crosstalk).

Rosemary Barton: Time is up, Ms. May. Mr. Blanchet, you can talk to Mr. Trudeau.

Yves-François Blanchet: Mr. Trudeau, you claim to have done a lot, but Canada is the worst emitter of GHG in the G20 per capita. So that's not much of a success. But I have two questions from Quebec. First, will you agree with the demand of the Prime Minister of Quebec, Mr. Legault, that Quebec overview and environmental issues will have precedence over Canada's overview? Second question, do you promise, after this judgment in British Columbia to not ever try to have a pipeline cross Quebec, ever?

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: After ten years of Mr. Harper's failures to get things built because he did not understand you have to work with Indigenous peoples, you have to work with local communities, you have to respect environmental science, we brought in a process that does exactly that. And we work with the provinces on ensuring that there's not —

Yves-François Blanchet: Please answer. It's ten seconds.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — a duplication of environmental – environmental oversight. That's what Bill C-69 is all about. We know that the way we move forward is responsible and will be done —

Yves-François Blanchet: No answer.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — in partnership.

Rosemary Barton: And that's the time. Mr. Trudeau, it's now your chance to ask a question of any other leader. You have one minute to do so, sir.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We cut taxes for small businesses to nine percent. We cut taxes for Canadians. We know that tax breaks for wealthy do not work to grow the economy. Ten years of Mr. Harper's failure has done that. Yet Mr. Scheer's platform, what we've seen of it because most of it is still secret and will remain secret apparently, like Doug Ford – that didn't work out so well for Ontarians – is to reduce taxes for the wealthiest Canadians, the multimillionaires, by \$50,000, which is more money than most Canadians make in a year.

Rosemary Barton: Wrap it up.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Why the \$50,000 —

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer, you have one minute to respond.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — tax break for the wealthiest?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: First of all, Mr. Trudeau, you seem to be oddly obsessed with provincial politics. There is a vacancy for the Ontario Liberal leadership, and if you are so focused on provincial politics, go and run for the leadership of that party, Mr. Trudeau.
(Applause).

Secondly, your tax hikes, your tax policy has meant that 80 percent of Canadian families pay higher taxes today than when —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: That's not true.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — you first took office. That is exactly true.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: (Crosstalk) the Canada Child Benefit in that, the one measure —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That was a Conservative principle —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — that has lifted 300,000 people —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — that Liberals fought against, that you fought against.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: And that you voted against, Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Your signature achievement was taking a Conservative idea to send support directly to —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: So why did you vote against it, Mr. Scheer?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — parents. I voted against your tax hikes on Canadians, Mr. Trudeau.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You voted against the Canada Child Benefit that lifted 300,000 (crosstalk) —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: No, I did not. We are committed —

Rosemary Barton: OK. Gentleman, one at a time, one at a time.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — we are committed to protecting the — that benefit because it is based on a Conservative principle.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: You're offering (crosstalk).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: But we are going to lower —

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Trudeau, this is supposed to be Mr. Scheer's answer. We're going to move into open debate.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — taxes for all Canadians, with a universal tax cuts. We're going to bring back the children's sports —

Rosemary Barton: That's it.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — and fitness tax credit as well.

Rosemary Barton: That's it, Mr. Scheer. We've got three minutes on this, open debate.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Starting with me.

Rosemary Barton: Yes, that's right, sir.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: OK.

Rosemary Barton: Off you go.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Mr. Scheer, you did not answer the question —

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Trudeau first.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — on why you were lowering taxes by \$50,000 for multimillionaires in this country. Maybe you'll answer it tomorrow in the press conference, but you haven't answered it tonight.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That is just not true. You haven't answered a question your entire time as Prime Minister. I've sat across you. You never answer —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I answered more questions —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — a question. I'm answering —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — in – in the House of Commons —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — your question very, very (crosstalk).

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — than any other Prime Minister (crosstalk).

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Trudeau, let Mr. Scheer finish, please. Mr. Trudeau.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I am rolling back your tax hikes on entrepreneurs, on small business. You called them tax cheats. These are the people in our community —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: They're tax breaks for the wealthiest and cuts for services for everyone else.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — they are saving up money to open up a (crosstalk), investing in people's training —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: That's what you're offering.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — and education. You raised the taxes and called them tax cheats.

Rosemary Barton: Gentlemen, no one can understand anything. Mr. Blanchet wants in, Mr. Scheer. Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: You two should agree that you're both experts in multimillionaire. However, I have a suggestion for you. How about this idea which has been asked unanimously by Assemblée nationale du Québec of a single tax refund? That would save about \$400 million to our combined states. Is that not a great way to save money, make things simpler for people, companies, businesses and even government?

Hon. Andrew Scheer: So you're talking about the single income tax return for Quebeckers?

Yves-François Blanchet: Yes.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I am the only federal party leader that can deliver on that, Mr. Blanchet. That is something that I am committed to.

Yves-François Blanchet: You might find yourself in a position where you need me to do that.
(Laughter).

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I am committed to simplifying the lives of Quebeckers by ensuring that they only have to fill out one single income tax.

Jagmeet Singh: I want to clear up on something with Mr. Scheer.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Singh. Mr. Singh. Yes, go ahead.

Jagmeet Singh: You know, Mr. Scheer, you talk a lot about tax cuts, but this is the reality. The thing is – is that Canadians can look across this country and see what the impacts of a Conservative tax cut means. Translation: cuts to education, cuts to health care, vicious cuts to the most vulnerable people in society. That's what you do. And the thing is, Mr. Trudeau, you sound a lot different, you sound a lot better, but you've done much of the same. You're giving billions —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Nine hundred thousand people out of poverty.

Jagmeet Singh: — of dollars to the wealthiest and your —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: It's not nothing. We have —

Jagmeet Singh: — (crosstalk)

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Trudeau.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Three hundred thousand kids out of poverty is not nothing, Mr. Singh.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Trudeau.

Jagmeet Singh: (Crosstalk) cabinet ministers use tax havens.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer, you can respond, then Mr. Bernier.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: So under Trudeau's policy, Canadians are working harder and harder but they're barely getting by or falling behind. Our policy will leave more money in their pockets, and we're going to do that, Mr. Singh, by protecting services like health care and education. We're going to get the money to pay for it by cutting corporate welfare and reducing Canada's foreign aid budget by 25 percent. That is going —

Jagmeet Singh: (Crosstalk) the same thing and he didn't do it.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — to pay for our tax cuts for all Canadians to leave more money in their pockets so that they can get ahead.

Jagmeet Singh: Not going to work.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Bernier.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Mr. Scheer and Mr. Trudeau, it's all the same. It's all boutique tax credits. They won't cut tax for every Canadian. We have a platform with only two tax rates that would be fair for everybody so everybody will save. The cost of our tax reform would be \$35 billion, but we will do that only after balancing the budget. We'll use our (inaudible). It's the only responsible way to give more money —

Rosemary Barton: Ms. —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I got a question.

Rosemary Barton: No. You had your chance. Ms. May wants in. Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: With two weeks left in this election campaign, Canadians can know one thing. At this point, Mr. Scheer, with all due respect, you're not going to be Prime Minister. The question is going to be on a seat count —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: I'll put — I'll put a bet on that, Ms. May.

Elizabeth May: — if we have Mr. Trudeau in a minority or Mr. Trudeau in a majority, voting for Green MPs is your very best guarantee, Canada, that you don't get the government you least want.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer can respond to that and then we'll wrap it up.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Well, I'm going to prove you wrong on that, Ms. May. You just watch on October 21st.

Elizabeth May: Well, I'll — I'll lay you bets right now.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Mr. Bernier said something that's completely untrue. Under Justin Trudeau, we will see endless deficits, meaning more and more Canadian tax dollars goes to pay the interest on that debt. We'll balance the budget while still preserving —

Rosemary Barton: Time, time is up.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — core services.

Rosemary Barton: And it's Maxime Bernier's chance to lead this part of the debate. You can ask one question to any other leader. Thirty seconds, please.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Yes. (Laughter). Andrew —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Déjà vu.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — you are, you are calling yourself a Conservative, but you don't want to balance the budget in two years. You will have \$70 billion on our debt. You support the cartel in mill, dairy, and poultry, knowing that the Canadian family is paying more than \$400 a year for that. Andrew, are you a real Conservative? No. I think you are a Liberal. Why are you pretending to be something that you're not?

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: You want to talk about pretending to be something that you're not. I'm not sure which Maxime Bernier I'm debating tonight. Was it the Maxime Bernier from the 1990s who was a separatist or is it the Maxime Bernier who was minister responsible for handing out corporate welfare? Was it the Maxime Bernier who defended supply management when it suited him? The fact of the matter is —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: I'm the messenger.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — sorry, it's my — it's my time to respond to that question — the fact of the matter is there's a clear contrast in this election: Justin Trudeau's endless deficits and tax hikes to pay for it, or a Conservative plan that will leave more money in your pocket. We will lower taxes for all Canadians. We'll bring back popular tax credits like the kids' sports and fitness tax credit, we'll boost the RESP, we'll raise the age credit for seniors, and we'll bring in a

green home renovation tax credit. That, all the while cutting corporate welfare and Canada's foreign aid budget to bring that money back home so that Canadians can get ahead.

Rosemary Barton: Nine seconds. Well, let's do open debate. Off you go. You're starting that too. (Laughter).

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Thank you very much. I'm the Maxime Bernier who's there for Canadians, and I'm the Maxime Bernier who does not care about having real debates on real issues that are important for Canadians. You don't want to have debates —

Hon. Andrew Scheer: Maxime Bernier that says things on Twitter that immigration —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — you don't want to have debates on immigration.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — (crosstalk) for your life.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You don't want to have debates to help every Canadian and abolishing that cartel in supply management. You don't want to be able to cut foreign aid. You don't want to cut foreign aid.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: It's a signature part of our plan.

Rosemary Barton: Let's let Mr. Scheer respond, please.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: Yeah, it would be important to balance the budget —

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Scheer, then Mr. Singh. Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Maxime Bernier: — and we can do that.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: That's precisely not the case. We've said that, I've said that we'll cut Canada's foreign aid budget by 25 percent to pay for the tax cuts that we are going to bring in —

Hon. Maxime Bernier: You can save \$5 million there in balancing the budget.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: — we're bringing in important tax cuts so that Canadians can get ahead.

Jagmeet Singh: I want to just put in what this election's all about. This election's all about who's going to fight for you, who's going to stand up for you. And we've seen with Mr. Trudeau, he says nice words, but he gave \$6 billion in corporate loan write-offs last year, \$14 billion to the richest corporations. He keeps tax havens open, he keeps loopholes open. He hasn't closed them in four years. We're in it for people. We're not in it for the rich. We're going to deliver universal pharmacare for all, we're going to deliver dental care programs, we're going to invest in housing, we're going to fight the climate crisis like we need to win it.

That's what you get with New Democrats. I ask people to support New Democrats —

Rosemary Barton: Mr. — Mr. Trudeau can respond. Mr. Trudeau can respond. Sir.

Jagmeet Singh: — to hold to account this government, to form government in the next election.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: We have invested in Canadians. We made a very different choice than Stephen Harper did, very different choice than Andrew Scheer is proposing. We lifted 900,000 people out of poverty, we lifted seniors out of poverty, we're putting more money in the pockets of students, and we're seeing over a million jobs created, most of them full time, over the past year. But there is so — over the past four years — but there is so much more to do. And

that is what we have to stay focused on because the fight against climate change, the fight for the future of our economy matters, and that's the choice —

Rosemary Barton: Ms. May wants in. Then Mr. Blanchet.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: — Canadians need to make.

Rosemary Barton: Yes, go ahead.

Elizabeth May: We have completely mischaracterized our response to the climate emergency as something that somehow doesn't help the economy. You have the biggest global economic opportunity in the history of humankind —

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I agree.

Elizabeth May: — in moving all fossil fuels as quickly as possible.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: I agree.

Elizabeth May: But then you're keeping fossil fuels going because your target is exactly half of what's required. If this election is anything, it's about trust and ethics, and we are in a climate emergency. We need grownups in the room to take responsibility.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Blanchet.

Yves-François Blanchet: Mr. Singh said that he wants to fight for Canadians, and that's a good point. Who do we want to fight for? I want to fight for Quebeckers and Quebeckers only. If we agree with the Canadian government, then let it be. If we don't agree, we're going to fight, and

this is what Bloc Québécois has always done and I can't wait pour avoir ces gens-là dire en français ce qu'ils ont dit en anglais jeudi.

Rosemary Barton: Ils vont le faire. Mr. Scheer.

Hon. Andrew Scheer: The fact of the matter is under Justin Trudeau, life will continue to get more expensive. He will continue to raise taxes. His carbon tax will go up. He's afraid to tell you how much it will go up by. Under the Conservative plan, we'll balance the budget, protect core services, and lower taxes for all Canadians.

Rosemary Barton: Mr. Trudeau, Mr. Trudeau, five seconds to respond.

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau: Our price on pollution helps Canadians more than – than removing it does.

Rosemary Barton: OK.

Elizabeth May: Climate emergency —

Rosemary Barton: That's it. Thank you. That brings us to the end of this segment and to the end of this debate. We want to thank all of you, of course, for taking the time, our questioners tonight and all of you for watching live, in person, and on your various screens.

Just a reminder, as Mr. Blanchet hinted at, that French language debate is later on this week, Thursday at 8:00 p.m. Eastern. On behalf of all my wonderful moderators and everyone here, have a good night.

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