



From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald

Election 2015

Welcome to our special issue on Election 2015, a campaign that took many twists and turns over 78 days before the voters elected a surprise Liberal majority on October 19. They did so because Justin Trudeau and the Liberals ran by far the best campaign, at both the strategic and retail levels.

The Liberals clearly won the ballot question of change, and offered a key differentiator, pledging stimulative deficits while the NDP echoed the Conservative platform of balanced budgets. The Liberals outflanked the NDP with progressive voters on the left, notably in Ontario, as Kathleen Wynne and the provincial Liberals did in 2014.

The campaign also featured a record five leaders' debates and Trudeau more than held his own in all of them, proving he belonged on the big stage. He took his momentum from the debates out onto the hustings, attracting growing crowds along the way. His retail game was easily the best of the three main leaders, while NDP Leader Tom Mulcair never really found his voice. And in Quebec, though Trudeau and Mulcair held similar moderate views on the niqab issue, only the NDP paid a political price for it, plunging 20 points in the polls in only three weeks. The NDP campaign went from Orange Crush to Orange Crash.

How the Liberals and NDP traded places, from third to first and first to third, is a story for the history books. In this issue, we offer a first draft of that history. Our team on this story is, quite simply, as experienced and authoritative as any in the business.

To begin, Susan Delacourt takes us behind the scenes of the Liberal campaign and tells us how Trudeau and his team did it. No one knows the Liberal Party, or the Trudeau entourage, better than this noted political author and columnist.

Geoff Norquay looks at the ballot ques-

tion in 2015, and writes that change trumped continuity, with Trudeau coming to personify change while Mulcair lost this debate decisively in the closing weeks of the campaign. Robin Sears writes of lessons learned for the NDP and the Conservatives, and the identity politics that hurt the NDP but came back to haunt the Conservatives in the end. David McLaughlin writes that stuff happens in elections, especially 78-day campaigns. And Marty Goldfarb, the dean of Canadian pollsters who worked for Trudeau's father, tells us how and why voters found their way back to the Liberal brand.

We also have five regional profiles—Charles McMillan on the Atlantic, Antonia Maioni on Quebec, Tom Axworthy and Rana Shamoon on Ontario, Dale Eisler on the Prairies and Greg Lyle on B.C.

Contributing Writer Kevin Lynch writes about the challenges of government transitions, something he knows a lot about as a former Clerk of the Privy Council and head of the Public Service. He writes that it's time for a governance re-boot, with an emphasis on risk management rather than risk avoidance. David Mitchell, former president of the Public Policy Forum, shares his thoughts on restoring trust in public institutions.

Then there was the social media effect. Catherine Cano writes that mainstream news organizations such as her own Radio-Canada have met the challenge of new media and are growing audience. Facebook's Kevin Chan argues that social media are the new platform for public engagement, while Andrew MacDougall observes that this is the new normal, and parties need to deal with it.

One of the new elements in this election was the millennial vote, and the coming of age of the cohort born in the 1900s. Our social media editor, Grace MacDonald, offers her take on how millennials voted and why.

And finally we are delighted to welcome Don Newman to our roster of writers. In his first column, Don looks at the pathway to power taken by Pierre Trudeau in the last century, and Justin Trudeau today. He concludes that the son had the more challenging path than the father, and may be the tougher and more resilient Trudeau for having earned his way to the top.

A special note of thanks to our remarkably talented writers and to the *Policy* production team for pulling most of this special issue together in only a week. Our peerless Associate Editor, Lisa Van Dusen, handles take-out length articles at wire service speed. And our graphic designer, Monica Thomas, has created another beautiful-looking edition, the largest in our three-year history. As it happens, the cover subject in this issue is the same as in our inaugural issue at the time of his election to the Liberal leadership in early 2013. Since then, *Policy* has become a must-read for Canada's political and public policy community. Thanks as well to Trudeau's photographer, Adam Scotti, for providing many of the action shots in this issue, as well as the cover image.

In our *Canada and the World* section, Jeremy Kinsman considers the existential moment in the European Union over the refugee crisis, which has seen millions of displaced and dispossessed persons migrate to Europe from the Middle East and Africa. Finally, two Canadian CEOs offer their thoughts on business issues connected to public policy. Sergio Marchi of the Canadian Electricity Association writes of the imperative of renewing the grid, an investment estimated at \$350 billion to 2030. And Claude Mongeau of CN reflects on a corporate journey from Crown Corporation to profitable private railway, and considers some of the challenges that lie ahead for a regulated industry. **P**