

THE PAUL MARTIN CABINET:

BUILT TO GOVERN



July 20, 2004

The new Liberal Cabinet has been crafted to withstand the rigors of minority government and return the Liberals to majority rule in the next election. With many new faces Mr. Martin has made a Liberal Government in his own image and, by putting strong new Ministers in key portfolios, he appears determined to deliver on his election promises. In appearance, at least, this is a new team with a strong core of experienced Ministers and accomplished new recruits. As importantly, Mr. Martin will be in a stronger position to move beyond the Chrétien era scandals that proved such a problem in the last election.

CABINET STRUCTURE

All Cabinets are a balance of regional interests, personalities, internal Party politics, and friendships. In the case of minority Cabinets the ability to manage the House of Commons agenda becomes a new factor and so the choice of House Leader becomes important. The House Leader not only manages Parliamentary procedure but also oversees everything to do with the Parliamentary Committees and ultimately plays an integral role in the policy agenda and the very survival of the Government. The choice of Hamilton's Tony Valeri as House Leader places a longtime Martin loyalist in that crucial role.

The **regional breakdown** of the Cabinet is as follows: **Quebec-7 and the Prime Minister; Atlantic Canada-6; Ontario-16 (with 10 from the Greater Toronto Area); Western Canada-8.**

Mr. Martin has moved to repair internal Liberal Party fighting by appointing a number of MPs who had supported other leadership aspirants to Parliamentary Secretary positions. By restoring Stéphan Dion to a Cabinet position as Environment Minister, Mr. Martin has healed a rift in his Quebec caucus and this appointment indicates that Mr. Martin is tempering any flirtation with soft nationalists. For Mr. Martin, the key political focus in Quebec must be expanding the Liberal base in and around Montreal, and finding a way to attract federalists among Quebec's francophone majority. Elevating Pierre Pettigrew to the prestigious post of Foreign Affairs is a step in this effort. Rebuilding the Liberal electoral position in Quebec is essential if the Liberals are to fashion a majority in the

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next election and determining whether Jean Lapierre his Quebec lieutenant is the person to do the job will be a question that Mr. Martin must answer quickly.

With a strong representation from urban Canada we can expect to see some initiatives on urban issues likely focusing on infrastructure projects related to transportation. Mr. Martin's creation of a new Minister of State for Infrastructure and Communities and the choice of Toronto's John Godfrey (one of four candidates supported by Toronto Mayor David Miller) is a strong statement in this regard. Putting the very political Jean Lapierre in charge of the Ministry of Transportation suggests there could be a lot of activity in this area.

Liberal success in BC has resulted in five Cabinet appointments from that Province: the former NDP Premier Ujjal Dosanjh taking on the politically critical Health Ministry, and, David Emerson, a former forest industry executive and senior provincial bureaucrat, taking on the powerful Industry portfolio. While Mr. Martin's attempt to build an electoral base in Western Canada failed, two key Ministers, Mr. Goodale in Finance and Ms. McLellan as Deputy PM, are from the West as is the Leader in the Senate, Jack Austin. Still, it remains to be seen whether these Ministers and the new Ministers from BC will help the Liberals establish a stronger base in Western Canada.

While the return of several Chrétien era Ministers may be read as an effort to heal Party divisions, the core group of long-time Paul Martin supporters still clearly run the show in Ottawa. Ministers Goodale, McLellan, Peterson, Volpe and Valeri are all longtime Martin allies in the Liberal Party.

Mr. Martin has deftly put former Tory Finance Critic and leadership candidate Scott Brison in charge of the scandal plagued Ministry of Public Works thereby separating Mr. Martin and the current regime him from the sponsorship

scandal – putting a former Tory in the position of dealing with the sponsorship issue is a clever political maneuver.

Giving the responsibility for negotiating changes in health care to a former NDP Premier is an equally effective political move: it insulates Mr. Martin from attacks from the left wing within his party and the NDP Opposition, and, when the Provincial Premiers try taking advantage of Mr. Martin's minority situation they have a former Premier standing in their way.

The strong representation from Canada's multicultural community should strengthen the Liberals political base in and around urban centers across Canada and the presence of hockey icon Ken Dryden will play well in both Montreal and Toronto.

The bottom line: this is a strong Cabinet that will attempt to move aggressively on policy initiatives and key election promises notwithstanding the limitations of a minority Government.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES MOVE TO CENTRE STAGE

When the Liberals lost their Parliamentary majority they also lost their control over Parliamentary Committees. The Liberals had already given up control over the choice of Committee Chairs by changing the rules to allow for the election of Chairs by Committee members. With the combined Opposition parties now having more seats on every Committee, Opposition members could theoretically be elected as Chairpersons.

To say there will be lots of 'horse trading' in this regard would be an understatement. In an environment where an election can be triggered at any time, the roles of Chair and Vice-Chair become important because of their impact on Committee agendas. The mix of political strategy, tactics, and policy is made even more

complicated by the personalities and ambitions of the players involved and the choice of which MPs serve on particular Committees. It makes for good political theatre where the motives of the players are not always easy to decipher.

Legislation aside, the Committee Chairperson and the Opposition majority can use the Committee to embarrass the Government. By launching inquiries, interrogating Ministers, or requesting civil service presentations, the Committees move from being the Parliamentary backwater to centre stage. Individual MPs have more power.

BEWARE THE BACKBENCHES

In a minority government not only can the Opposition Parties combine to stop legislation, but the Government's own MPs suddenly have a lot more power – their vote actually has some meaning to a Government trying to stay in power. With some backbench Liberal MPs miffed at not winning a Cabinet appointment, having loyalties to Mr. Chrétien or perhaps some leader in waiting, or simply looking for attention, they have to be watched and managed.

EXECUTIVE POWER

To avoid having their policy initiatives tied up in the House we can expect to see the governing Liberals moving forward on initiatives that do not require House approval. Measures that require only Executive or Cabinet approval offer the governing Liberals an attractive way to define their Government and Party without all the challenges and delays inherent in a minority Parliament. Identifying initiatives that will be implemented by Cabinet decision will become increasingly important and a challenge for all who deal with the Federal Government.

A complete list of Cabinet Ministers, Secretaries of State, and Parliamentary Secretaries can be found on pages 4,5.

OPPOSITION STRATEGY: STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

A unique feature of this Parliament is the potential for the two largest Opposition Parties working together. The Conservatives and Bloc Quebecois do not compete for the same voters or the same ultimate political prize. The Conservatives want to form the Government; the Bloc simply wants to keep a strong presence in Quebec. The only way both can reach their objectives is by weakening the Liberals and so we should not be surprised to see the two parties working co-operatively in Parliament. The NDP is in an awkward position because they do not have sufficient number of votes to help the Liberals, and yet on many elements of the Liberal election platform (particularly as it relates to health care) they are natural Parliamentary allies.

LET'S WAIT AND SEE

We will get a full measure of the Government and the dynamics of the new Parliament in October when the House of Commons resumes sitting and the Government presents a Speech from the Throne. We expect this delayed resumption of Parliament to be fractious and highly confrontational even though none of the Opposition parties want an early election. The Tories will move to establish their newly won position as a government in waiting and the Bloc's defence of the powers of Quebec could pose a problem to Federal Government initiatives, especially in health care.

In the meantime, all the Parties need time to deal with the results of the last election. The Liberals need to overcome internal fighting and the loss of seats in Quebec; the Conservatives will be busy consolidating their recent gains and planning a policy convention for the spring to define their new party and its platform, something they could not do before the last election; the NDP will be trying to get over their disappointingly small numbers; and, the Bloc will want to enjoy their good fortune for as long as is possible.

MINISTERS AND SECRETARIES OF STATE – JULY 2004

NAME	PORTFOLIO	PROVINCE
Rt. Hon. Paul Martin	Prime Minister	Quebec
Hon. Senator Jack Austin	Leader of the Government in the Senate	British Columbia
Hon. Jean Lapierre	Minister of Transport	Quebec
Hon. Ralph Goodale	Minister of Finance	Saskatchewan
Hon. Anne McLellan	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness	Alberta
Hon. Lucienne Robillard	President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs	Quebec
Hon. Stéphane Dion	Minister of the Environment	Quebec
Hon. Pierre Pettigrew	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Quebec
Hon. Andy Scott	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians	New Brunswick
Hon. Jim Peterson	Minister of International Trade	Ontario
Hon. Andy Mitchell	Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food	Ontario
Hon. Bill Graham	Minister of National Defence	Ontario
Hon. Albina Guarnieri	Minister of Veterans Affairs	Ontario
Hon. Reg Alcock	President of the Treasury Board and Minister responsible for the Canadian Wheat Board	Manitoba
Hon. Geoff Regan	Minister of Fisheries and Oceans	Nova Scotia
Hon. Tony Valeri	House Leader	Ontario
Hon. Aileen Carroll	Minister of International Cooperation	Ontario
Hon. Irwin Cotler	Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada	Quebec
Hon. Judy Sgro	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration	Ontario
Hon. Ruben Efford	Minister of Natural Resources	Newfoundland
Hon. Liza Frulla	Minister of Canadian Heritage and Minister responsible for the Status of Women	Quebec
Hon. Joe Volpe	Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development	Ontario
Hon. Joe Fontana	Minister of Labour and Housing	Ontario
Hon. Scott Brison	Minister of Public Works and Government Services	Nova Scotia
Hon. Ujjal Dosanjh	Minister of Health	British Columbia
Hon. Ken Dryden	Minister of Social Development	Ontario
Hon. David Emerson	Minister of Industry	British Columbia
Hon. Raymond Chan	Minister of State (Multiculturalism)	British Columbia
Hon. Claudette Bradshaw	Minister of State (Human Resources Development)	New Brunswick
Hon. John McCallum	Minister of National Revenue	Ontario
Hon. Stephen Owen	Minister of Western Economic Diversification and Minister of State (Sport)	British Columbia
Hon. Joseph McGuire	Minister of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency	PEI
Hon. Joseph Comuzzi	Minister of State (Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario)	Ontario
Hon. Mauril Bélanger	Deputy House Leader, Minister responsible for Official Languages, Minister responsible for Democratic Reform, and Associate Minister of National Defence	Ontario
Hon. Carolyn Bennett	Minister of State (Public Health)	Ontario
Hon. Jacques Saada	Minister of the Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec, and Minister responsible for the Francophonie	Quebec
Hon. John Godfrey	Minister of State (Infrastructure and Communities)	Ontario
Hon. Tony Ianno	Minister of State (Families and Caregivers)	Ontario

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES – JULY 2004

NAME	PORTFOLIO	PROVINCE
Hon. Diane Marleau	P.S. to the President of Treasury Board and Minister responsible for Canadian Wheat Board.	Ontario
Hon. Hedy Fry	P.S. to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration.	British Columbia
Hon. Robert Thibault	P.S. to the Minister of Health	Nova Scotia
Hon. Claude Drouin	P.S. to the Prime Minister with special emphasis on Rural Communities.	Quebec
Hon. Gerry Byrne	P.S. to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs.	Newfoundland & Labrador
Hon. Wayne Easter	P.S. to the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food with special emphasis on Rural Development.	PEI
Hon. John McKay	P.S. to the Minister of Finance.	Ontario
Hon. Jerry Pickard	P.S. to the Minister of Industry.	Ontario
Hon. Gurbax Singh Malhi	P.S. to the Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development.	Ontario
Hon. Larry Bagnell	P.S. to the Minister of Natural Resources.	Yukon
Hon. Walt Lastewka	P.S. to the Minister of Public Works and Government Services.	Ontario
Hon. Dan McTeague	P.S. to the Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ontario
Hon. Mark Eyking	P.S. to the Minister of International Trade with special emphasis on Emerging Markets	Nova Scotia
Hon. Eleni Bakopanos	P.S. to the Minister of Social Development with special emphasis on Social Economy	Quebec
Hon. Shawn Murphy	P.S. to the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans	PEI
Hon. Jim Karygiannis	P.S. to the Minister of Transport	Ontario
Hon. Susan Barnes	P.S. to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians	Ontario
Hon. Peter Adams	P.S. to the Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development	Ontario
Hon. Keith Martin	P.S. to the Minister of National Defence	British Columbia
Hon. Patricia Ann Torsney	P.S. to the Minister of International Cooperation	Ontario
Hon. Roy Cullen	P.S. to the Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness	Ontario
Hon. Sarmite Bulte	P.S. to the Minister of Canadian Heritage	Ontario
Hon. Marlene Jennings	P.S. to the Prime Minister with special emphasis on Canada-U.S	Quebec
Hon. Judi Longfield	P.S. to the Minister of Labour and Housing	Ontario
Hon. Bryon Wilfert	P.S. to the Minister of the Environment	Ontario
Hon. Dominic LeBlanc	P.S. to the Leader of the House	New Brunswick
Hon. Paul Macklin	P.S. to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada	Ontario
Hon. Raymond Simard	P.S. to the Deputy House Leader, Minister responsible for Official Languages and Minister responsible for Democratic Reform	Manitoba

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Campbell Strategies provides a broad range of government relations services covering all levels of government. Our unique experience enables us to effectively bridge the gap between the public and private sectors and assist our clients to communicate effectively in the political environment.

Barry Campbell served as a Member of the Parliament in the Liberal Government from 1993 to 1997. He served as Parliamentary Secretary to the former Minister of Finance, the Rt. Hon. Paul Martin.

Dick O'Hagan, a seasoned consultant with long experience in the public and private sectors, was an advisor in the Prime Minister's Office serving Prime Ministers Trudeau and Pearson.

Paul Brown served in the Conservative Government of Canada from 1984 to 1988 as Policy Advisor to the Industry Minister, Executive Assistant to the President of the Treasury Board, and Chief of Staff to the Minister of Labour.

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Patrick Gossage is one of Canada's most highly respected communications practitioners. He served as Prime Minister Trudeau's press secretary from 1976 to 1982 and Minister of Information at the Canadian Embassy in Washington.

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