

### Report of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation respecting its participation at the Democratic National Convention

### **Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group**

Charlotte, North Carolina, United States of America September 3-6, 2012

### Report

#### **DELEGATION MEMBERS AND STAFF**

From September 3-6, 2012, the Honourable Janis Johnson, Senator, and Mr. Gord Brown, M.P., Co-Chairs of the Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group (IPG), represented the Canadian Section of the IPG at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Charlotte, North Carolina. The delegation, which was part of the National Democratic Institute's (NDI's) International Leaders Forum (ILF), was accompanied by Ms. June Dewetering, Senior Advisor to the Canadian Section.

#### THE EVENT

At the DNC, which is held every four years, the Democratic Party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates are nominated, and the Democratic Party's platform is formulated and adopted.

The NDI is a non-partisan, non-governmental organization focused on the promotion of democratic societies with open, multi-party political systems that recognize and encourage human rights. With a focus on establishing and strengthening democratic institutions and practices, the NDI works with partner organizations from more than 100 countries in building political and civic organizations, safeguarding elections, and encouraging citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

As noted earlier, the delegation from the Canadian Section of the IPG participated at the DNC through the NDI's ILF. Formed in 1983, the NDI first hosted international visitors at the 1984 DNC, providing them with an opportunity to share in the convention's activities. As well, the ILF provides an opportunity to acknowledge global efforts directed at democracy development.

#### DELEGATION OBJECTIVES FOR THE EVENT

Canada and the United States share a mutually beneficial relationship. According to recent figures, an estimated 8 million American jobs depend on trade with Canada, and an estimated 2.5 million Canadian jobs depend on trade with the United States. As well, in 2011, bilateral trade was valued at more than \$700 billion, which is more than \$1.9 billion each day or \$1.3 million each minute. Moreover, at present, 35 U.S. states have Canada as their primary foreign export market.

The IPG aims to find points of convergence in respective national policies, to initiate dialogue on points of divergence, to encourage the exchange of information and to promote better understanding among legislators on shared issues of concern. Members

of the IPG's Canadian Section meet regularly with their federal counterparts and, in recent years, have attended meetings of governors and state legislators. At these events, Canadian delegates engage in conversations that help the Canadian Section to achieve its objectives and that explain the nature and scope of the bilateral relationship.

Members of the Canadian Section of the IPG found the 2012 DNC to be a valuable opportunity to observe the U.S. political process and to meet with some of the U.S. federal legislators who were attending the convention. Feeling that members of the Canadian Section were able to achieve their objectives for the event, the Canadian Section intends to attend future DNCs.

#### **ACTIVITIES DURING THE EVENT**

As part of the NDI's ILF, delegates attended sessions focused on various electionrelated and other topics, including campaign ads, polls and debates. In particular, the following sessions took place:

- The 2012 Campaign: The Role of Primaries, Nominating Conventions and Presidential Debates
- The 2012 Campaign in Ads, Anecdotes and Media Perspectives
- How They Would Govern
- New Frontiers in Polling
- 21<sup>st</sup> Century Campaigns
- Investing in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Cities
- Global Responses to Poverty and Human Development
- The Next Administration and the U.S. Role in the World.

This report summarizes the sessions that were part of the ILF program; it does not summarize the political speeches.

#### INTRODUCTION

## Honorable Madeleine Albright, Former U.S. Secretary of State and Chair, National Democratic Institute

- From the beginning, the United States' democratic process has been a model for people everywhere.
- A democracy is the most equitable and effective means of government.
- Voters should not be shy about demanding the best.
- The 2012 election will be the 57<sup>th</sup> occasion on which the American people have freely selected the nation's chief executive.
- A political party's platform and the speeches at its convention are important.

### THE 2012 CAMPAIGN: THE ROLE OF PRIMARIES, NOMINATING CONVENTIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

Eugene Robinson, of *The Washington Post*, posed questions to:

- Honorable Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr., Commission on Presidential Debates and former Chairman, Republican National Committee
- > Honorable Paul Kirk, former Senator and Commission on Presidential Debates
- Honorable Howard Dean, former Governor of Vermont and former Chairman, Democratic National Committee
- Elaine Kamarck, Harvard University and former White House Senior Policy Advisor.

*Eugene Robinson*: Is it the role of the Republican primaries to drive presidential candidates to extremes, making it impossible for them to agree afterward and thereby leading to gridlock?

#### Howard Dean

- There is some truth to the notion that the Republican primaries led some presidential candidates to say things that they otherwise might not.
- The activists in political parties play an important role in the primary process.

#### Paul Kirk

- It is not necessarily the case that the Republican primaries led some presidential candidates to say things that they otherwise might not.
- The purpose of presidential primaries is to engage more people in the political process.
- In general, activists get very involved in the political process.
- "Gerrymandering" is not helpful when the goal is to build a stronger democracy, since moderates are "squeezed to the side."

#### Elaine Kamarck

- Participation in Congressional primaries is relatively low, at 3% of the voting population on average and 7.5% in highly contested areas in 2010.
- The U.S. political system is entrepreneurial in the sense that anyone who wants to run for the U.S. Congress can do so.

*Eugene Robinson*: Does the primary process lead people to adopt polarized positions in order to "outflank" their opponents?

#### Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr.

- An "infrastructure" should be established in the primaries that can be used in the general election.
- Presidential nominee Governor Mitt Romney's experience during the primaries has prepared him well for the debates with President Barack Obama.
- In general, participants at political conventions are to the right or to the left of the average.
- The difficulties that Republicans have with the Latino vote started before Presidential nominee Governor Romney's position on immigration.

*Eugene Robinson*: Why are Iowa and New Hampshire permitted to have such significance in the political process?

#### Paul Kirk

- There is too much money in politics and too much is spent on negative ads.
- Small states are easier to engage.
- When defining a political party's values and vision, it is important to gather the input of the grassroots.

#### Elaine Kamarck

- Iowa and New Hampshire are the easiest places in which to do hand-to-hand, person-to-person politicking.
- Until 1972, the primaries did not matter; after that, Iowa and New Hampshire took on a significance that was not intended.

#### **Howard Dean**

- There is a need to start with small states, where it is possible to conduct "retail politics."
- It is important to have geographic and racial diversity.

*Eugene Robinson*: Are political conventions more than an opportunity to share information?

#### Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr.

- Political conventions are always more important for the person who is challenging an incumbent president.
- The political convention is the only time, every four years, that activists get together.
- At political conventions, much occurs that is not televised.

#### Paul Kirk

- Political conventions should be viewed in the context of the general election to win the presidency.
- Political conventions are an opportunity to unite the party.
- If it is not possible to govern your "own business," you are less likely to have the chance to govern the nation.

Eugene Robinson: In 2016, what is the expected duration of the national convention?

#### Howard Dean

- In 2016, the DNC is likely to be three days in duration.
- Political conventions are like an unfiltered infomercial.

#### Elaine Kamarck

- Although some may think that political conventions are obsolete because the nominee emerges during the primary, it is important to note that this outcome does not always occur; recall 1972, 1976 and 1980, and recall that the convention plays a legal role regarding nominations.
- The political convention is where a party comes together every four years.
- The political convention provides an opportunity to speculate about "future talent."

#### Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr.

- The news networks cover most of the important elements of a political convention.
- The political convention is the "showcase" for "new talent" in a political party.

#### Eugene Robinson: Why are debates important?

#### Paul Kirk

- People are "turned off" by the proliferation of paid political advertisements.
- The political debates provide an opportunity for Americans to see the presidential and vice-presidential nominees in their least "packaged," or most "unvarnished" environment; in essence, the debates are unique "windows of opportunity."
- The political debates provide Americans with an opportunity to observe differences between the political parties; in 2012, the choice cannot be clearer.

#### Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr.

- Although the first presidential debate occurred in 1960 between Senator John Kennedy and Vice-President Richard Nixon, the United States did not have another debate for 16 years.
- After pardoning President Richard Nixon, President Gerald Ford debated presidential nominee Governor Jimmy Carter.
- In 1980, John Anderson who was the third candidate participated in the first presidential debate, although President Carter would not debate with him and presidential nominee Governor Ronald Reagan; by the second debate, his support had fallen to a level that precluded his participation in the next debate, so President Carter debated presidential nominee Governor Reagan.

#### Eugene Robinson: What is your favourite "debate moment"?

#### Howard Dean

• A favourite debate moment occurred between vice-presidential nominees Senator Lloyd Bentsen and Vice-President Dan Quayle, when the former indicated that the latter was not President John Kennedy.

#### **Elaine Kamarck**

• A favourite debate moment occurred in the 1984 debate between presidential nominee former Vice-president Walter Mondale and President Ronald Reagan, when the latter indicated that he would not make an issue of his opponents' youth and inexperience.

#### Eugene Robinson: What is the function of the "spin room"?

#### Elaine Kamarck

- The function of the "spin room" is to identify, to the media, the moments that matter: your candidate's best moments and your opponent's worst moments.
- "Spin" is about the night of the debate and the subsequent 5-6 days when people are "mulling over" the debate.

#### Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr.

- In the 2008 election, 38% of the votes were cast prior to election day; this year, that proportion may be 40%.
- Given growth in advance voting, there is some question about whether the debates should be held earlier.

#### Howard Dean

- In Vermont, a vote can be changed if the initial vote was cast with an absentee ballot.
- Early voters generally are not going to change their mind about the candidate they support.
- This election is polarized, with 45% supporting each party; the remaining 10% are not likely to vote early.

#### **CAMPAIGN 2012 IN ADS, ANECDOTES AND MEDIA PERSPECTIVES**

Mika Brzezinski, of MSNBC, and former member of the House of Representatives Joe Scarborough, also of MSNBC, provided their own views and posed questions to:

- Mark Halperin, Author, TIME Magazine, Time.com and MSNBC
- John Heilemann, Author, *New York* Magazine and NYMag.com
- Sam Stein, The Huffington Post
- Michael Steele, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

### *Joe Scarborough*: What is the media's responsibility to "officiate" a campaign, with – for example – the identification of factually inaccurate ads?

#### John Heilemann

- Journalists are not policy experts, and may not feel able to assess veracity.
- When working to a deadline, there may not be time to check for accuracy, which gives rise to such language as "arguably false."

#### Joe Scarborough: Is the media objective?

- Mika Brzezinski
- It may be the case that no one thinks that the media are objective.
- News coverage is diluted by "stuff" that is not news, such as entertainment.

#### Sam Stein

• The media bias is toward conflict, rather than toward left or right.

#### Joe Scarborough

• The networks are overwhelmingly liberal.

### *Joe Scarborough*: Should media clarify their "bias" by saying "this is what I believe," rather than giving a false sense of objectivity?

#### Mark Halperin

- The focus should be solutions.
- Every Republican thinks that the "deck" is stacked against him/her "media-wise."
- There is a pro-conflict bias in the media.
- The country needs a well-informed electorate that is provided with credible, objective information.

### *Mika Brzezinski*: To what extent would transparency regarding media views be helpful?

#### Mark Halperin

• Objective people are needed.

#### Mika Brzezinski

• The media do not need to have sandwich boards declaring views; what is needed, instead, is for the views not to be hidden.

#### **Michael Steele**

- Often, the media "buys into the narrative" of the political class, regardless of truth.
- The media may not tell the truth if lying furthers a particular narrative.

#### Sam Stein

• Trust and credibility with viewers and readers needs to be established.

# *Joe Scarborough*: Why are presidential candidates able to get away with staying away from the press and instead using the Internet to communicate their message?

#### Mark Halperin

- Presidential candidates are risk-averse, and the media have lost their credibility.
- Regarding presidential candidates, the media try to "slip them up" and to embarrass them.

#### John Heilemann

- For the media, access is fundamental.
- Over time, fewer news sources can afford to send media on the campaign trail with candidates, and those that are sent are often young and inexperienced; candidates may be hesitant to talk to such individuals.

#### Mika Brzezinski

- Candidates decide whether to do a particular interview in part on the basis of the interviewer's credibility.
- Presidential nominee Governor Romney does only Fox interviews.

#### Michael Steele

 Since the best defence is a good offence, candidates should not "run away from" smart reporters.

#### Joe Scarborough: What were the decisive moments in the 2008 campaign?

#### Sam Stein

- SuperPACS or Super Political Action Committees have introduced tremendous upheaval into the way elections evolve.
- SuperPACS can "buy" state elections.

#### Joe Scarborough: Does the media have a responsibility to "cry foul"?

#### John Heilemann

- Voters do not make the link between "Restore Our Future" and presidential nominee Governor Romney's SuperPAC.
- Many ads seem to be anonymous in the absence of "I am \_\_\_\_\_ and I endorse this ad."

#### Sam Stein

• Reporters have an obligation to try to get information for their viewers and readers.

#### Michael Steele

• The press targets donors.

### *Mika Brzezinski*: Are voters expected to suspend their disbelief about the relationship between political candidates and SuperPACS?

#### John Heilemann

• What is good for one is good for the other.

### *Joe Scarborough*: Are both political parties being more "fast and loose" with the truth than ever before?

#### Michael Steele

- Political ads are designed to get a visceral reaction, leading to conversation when one person poses a question to one or more others: "did you see that ad"?
- Ads are designed for the 30-second opportunities during television shows that are watched by voters.

#### Sam Stein

• Regarding dishonesty, the benefit exceeds the cost.

#### HOW THEY WOULD GOVERN

Norman Ornstein, of the American Enterprise Institute, and John Fortier, of the Bipartisan Policy Center, moderated a discussion with:

- > Tom Daschle, former Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate
- Scot Lehigh, *The Boston Globe*
- > Vin Weber, former member of the U.S. House of Representatives
- > John Podesta, former White House Chief of Staff
- > Ryan Lizza, *The New Yorker*.

*Norman Ornstein*: What comments can be made about the reality that, when presidential nominee Governor Romney was the governor of Massachusetts, the state legislature was 85% Democratic?

#### Scot Lehigh

- When he was governor of Massachusetts, presidential nominee Governor Romney had a good Cabinet and little patronage; that said, on a number of issues – "Romneycare" excluded – Governor Romney would make proposals and little would happen with them.
- While he was governor, presidential nominee Governor Romney was somewhat more comfortable dealing with Republicans in the Massachusetts legislature.

# *Norman Ornstein*: In the event that he wins the presidency, how would presidential nominee Governor Romney deal with this particular group of Republicans in the Congress?

Vin Weber

• If he is elected president, presidential nominee Governor Romney would have problems dealing with conservative Republicans.

# *John Fortier*: In the event that he wins the presidency, would presidential nominee Governor Romney be more likely to deal with leadership, like Speaker John Boehner, or with members of the Tea Party?

#### Vin Weber

• If he is elected president, presidential nominee Governor Romney would likely reach out to members of Congress.

# *Norman Ornstein*: Does the Romney campaign realize that, if presidential nominee Governor Romney is elected president, work must get under way immediately on fiscal issues?

#### Vin Weber

• If the Republicans want to implement an agenda, decisions will likely be made by leaders in the Senate.

### *Norman Ornstein*: Would vice-presidential nominee Representative Paul Ryan be a good liaison with Congress?

#### Ryan Lizza

- The Republican Party is very much led by its Congressional "wing."
- It is not entirely clear why presidential nominee Governor Romney picked Representative Ryan as his vice-presidential running mate; it could be because of his Congressional link, because of his conservative "credentials" or because of his intellectual leadership.

## *Norman Ornstein*: Is vice-presidential nominee Representative Ryan a Tea Party icon?

#### Ryan Lizza

- Vice-presidential nominee Representative Ryan is aligned with the conservative faction of the Republican Party.
- Vice-presidential nominee Representative Ryan has "scuttled" three separate attempts to deal with fiscal issues, including the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform and the Gang of Six.
- Fiscal proposals do not go anywhere without vice-presidential nominee Representative Ryan's "stamp of approval."

#### Vin Weber

- Vice-presidential nominee Representative Ryan "schooled himself" in "growth economics," not in "austerity economics."
- Vice-presidential nominee Representative Ryan's "credentials" do not link back to the austerity "wing" of the Republican Party.

# *John Fortier*: If he is re-elected as president, what would be President Obama's relationship with Congress, what would be the role of the Senate and would President Obama be able to "work across the aisle" successfully?

#### Tom Daschle

- Since, in his second term, President Obama would know that he would not be facing voters a third time, he could perhaps be more statesmanlike and less politicized.
- Leadership and personalities matter.
- In the 113<sup>th</sup> Congress, a number of issues will have to be addressed, including tax reform and the "fiscal cliff."
- A "better .chemistry" in the second four years than in the first four years is unlikely.

## *Norman Ornstein*: With some Senators focused on solutions, a growing presence of the Tea Party in the Senate and polarization in the House of Representatives, what does the future hold?

#### **Tom Daschle**

• The future is likely to be complicated; while many personalities are the same, some are new and are more strident

#### Norman Ornstein: What comments can be made regarding Speaker Boehner?

#### Vin Weber

- Speaker Boehner is a legislator, and he knows how to work with legislators on both sides of the aisle, if required; it is required.
- The downgrade in the U.S. sovereign credit rating may lead to behavioural change.
- At times, it is easier to "do a great big deal" than to "do a number of smaller deals."

#### John Podesta

• The power equation will change, with Congress having to address the "fiscal cliff" and other issues.

#### Tom Daschle

• President Obama should not be so aligned with an issue that Republicans find that they cannot support it, as was the case with healthcare/Obamacare.

#### John Fortier: What would be President Obama's priorities if he is re-elected?

#### Ryan Lizza

- Regardless of who is elected, it is clear that the president will have to address the "fiscal cliff" as an early, if not first, priority.
- After the "fiscal cliff" is resolved, immigration, climate change and nuclear proliferation should be the focus.
- In terms of foreign policy, the pivot to Asia is an issue that must be addressed.

### *Norman Ornstein*: Does the United States need to reach out to the rest of the world in seeking financial support for foreign aid?

#### Vin Weber

- Presidential nominee Governor Romney has a robust foreign policy advisory organization.
- In the Republican Party, there is a breadth of thinking about foreign aid issues.
- Budget reductions can be self-destructive.
- Governmental foreign assistance is being "boosted" by foreign assistance from the private sector.

#### *John Fortier*: Can anything that occurred during presidential nominee Governor Romney's time as governor of Massachusetts provide insights regarding his foreign policy?

#### Scot Lehigh

• Presidential nominee Governor Romney does not really have any substantive differences with President Obama in terms of foreign policy.

#### Tom Daschle

• U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has done an amazing job.

### *Norman Ornstein*: Does re-election as president for a second term lead to a relatively greater focus on foreign policy?

#### John Podesta

• The challenges are domestic.

#### Tom Daschle

• Domestic challenges are often paramount.

#### **NEW FRONTIERS IN POLLING**

Katty Kay, of BBC, moderated a discussion with and posed questions to:

- > Peter Hart, Hart Research Associates
- Stan Greenberg, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research
- > Jon Cohen, *Washington Post*
- > Whit Ayres, North Star Opinion Research.

#### Peter Hart

- By a two-to-one margin, U.S. survey respondents believe that the United States is "on the wrong track."
- U.S. survey respondents are not optimistic about the economy.
- In the United States, the "trust bank" is broken.
- U.S. survey respondents believe that the United States' place in the world is falling while China's place in the world is rising.
- An increasing number of U.S. residents think that the next generation will be worse off than this generation.
- For U.S. residents, it is common to have an immediate family member who is facing, or has faced, foreclosure and/or job loss.
- If U.S. residents have confidence in the nation's economy, an incumbent president tends to do well on election day; from that perspective, "things do not look good" for President Obama and the Democrats.
- During the 2012 election, youth and Hispanic voters who have historically supported Democrats and President Obama are less involved than in the past.
- How voters feel about the nominees from the perspectives of like and trust is important; another focus is the nominee who voters feel will get the United States "moving" again.
- About 36% of U.S. survey respondents had a more negative opinion of presidential nominee Governor Romney because of his refusal to share his tax returns.

#### Stan Greenberg

- There is a need to look at what has happened to the United States over the last 30 years, and to make the middle class "central" to politics and policies.
- Increasingly, the "middle-class dream" is less likely to be realized.
- In the United States, indebtedness is rising, the number of jobs is falling and purchasing power has been declining for quite some time; these realities predate the global financial and economic crisis.
- Many Americans believe that former President George W. Bush is responsible for the United States' economic difficulties.
- On average, those who find a job following unemployment are earning 20% less.
- People want to know what their president will do in the long term.

#### Whit Ayres

- Because of such factors as unemployment and underemployment, American voters are scared, and from a political perspective people react differently when they are scared.
- In comparing President Obama and presidential nominee Governor Romney, the former has a relatively poor rating on the issue of "handling" the economy.

#### Jon Cohen

- For more than a year, President Obama has had overwhelmingly negative numbers regarding his "handling" of the economy.
- According to U.S. residents who were surveyed, presidential nominee Governor Romney has a lead regarding the ability to "handle" the economy, while President Obama has a lead regarding an ability to understand people's economic concerns as well as regarding empathy and likeability.
- Many voters have already decided the candidate for whom they will be voting; there is a tremendous amount of "partisan lock-in."

#### Katty Kay: What is changing with polling?

#### Whit Ayres

- Cell phones are changing polling, and there is a need to ensure "cell phone sampling."
- Robocalling does not work with cell phones.
- People do not want to talk to pollsters on the phone, which may increase polling through use of the Internet.

#### Katty Kay: How do pollsters find those who are "worth" polling?

#### Stan Greenberg

- There are not very many swing voters.
- For purposes of polling, contact is being made by cell phone and using the worldwide web.
- Demographic change is affecting polling.
- The most important consideration is the "narrative frame": what are the key issues in the election?

#### Whit Ayres

• Polling in third world countries is very difficult, although cell phones are relatively prevalent.

#### Peter Hart

• Increasingly, polling is occurring before opinions have had an opportunity to "settle."

#### Jon Cohen

- Over time, it has become easier to collect data.
- In order to ensure a random sample, adults with cell phones must be surveyed.
- There is no reliable sample of the American electorate.
- People look at polls for different reasons; that said, polls should not be considered as having predictive power but instead as having explanatory power.
- Polling methodology is key: are cell phones included in the sample? Are both urban and rural dwellers included in the sample?

#### *Katty Kay*: What do campaigns do with poll information?

#### Whit Ayres

• Campaigns use poll information to assess the issues that are important to voters and the messages that resonate with them.

#### **Peter Hart**

• President Obama and presidential nominee Governor Romney need to provide guidance and leadership about where the United States is going.

#### 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY CAMPAIGNS

Riz Khan, of Al Jazeera English, posed questions to:

- Gigi Sohn, Public Knowledge
- > Mindy Finn, Twitter
- > Andy Bleeker, Hill & Knowlton.

#### Riz Khan: What has changed in how issues are addressed?

#### Gigi Sohn

- Technology has levelled the playing field and increased accountability for politicians.
- Technology reveals "back-room deals."

### *Riz Khan*: How are organizations reacting to technology being the "great equalizer"?

#### Mindy Finn

- Technology is a great leveller; it equalizes opportunity, but not necessarily outcome.
- Money is no longer the deciding factor regarding who will win the election.
- The grassroots can come together online and can speak more loudly than money; that said, they will not always prevail.
- Technology breaks down walls and transcends time.
- The great majority of organizing happens online.

#### *Riz Khan*: How have presidential campaigns changed?

#### Andrew Bleeker

- Many of the "fundamentals" of campaigns are the same; money still matters, and there is a need to register voters, and to get them to show up and vote.
- It is important to keep in mind the three Ms: message, money and mobilization.
- Mobilization online has helped with mobilization offline.
- With digital technology, it is possible to get the message out quickly without an advertising budget.

### *Riz Khan*: In light of what is considered to be increasing voter apathy, is it likely that digital technology will lead to more people voting?

#### Andrew Bleeker

• Digital technology will likely change voter turnout, but it should be remembered that the states control how and when to vote.

• It is important to get people excited and then to leverage that excitement.

#### Mindy Finn

- A crisis is equal parts danger and opportunity.
- People should communicate with others in the way that they would like others to communicate with them.

#### Gigi Sohn

• It is important to engage, keep it interesting and make it personal.

### INVESTING IN 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY CITIES

Charles Ogletree, of Harvard University, posed questions to:

- > Anthony Foxx, Mayor of Charlotte, North Carolina
- > Michael Nutter, Mayor of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- > Matteo Renzi, Mayor of Florence, Italy
- > Annise Parker, Mayor of Houston, Texas.

#### Charles Ogletree: In what ways are cities like laboratories?

#### Anthony Foxx

- Cities are laboratories.
- A city's infrastructure and design provide information about what the leaders were thinking about the city's future.
- The goal is to not unduly affect the environment and to promote sustainability.

#### **Michael Nutter**

• Cities are incubators of innovation.

#### **Annise Parker**

• The goal is to be green and sustainable.

#### Matteo Renzi

- Cities are incubators of innovation.
- A focus of some cities is cultural preservation.

### *Charles Ogletree*: To what extent and how do cities compete for business and residents?

#### **Michael Nutter**

- Cities compete for business and residents with other regions in the United States and around the world.
- Cities should focus on encouraging innovation and entrepreneurship, and on establishing an environment that facilitates job creation.

#### Annise Parker

- Cities may operate from a regional perspective.
- Cities compete with other cities around the world.

#### **Anthony Foxx**

• Cities should focus on amenities that provide a high quality of life and on an environment that supports businesses.

#### Matteo Renzi

• In Italy, it is hard to win against the red tape of bureaucracy.

#### Charles Ogletree: What are the priorities of cities going forward?

#### Annise Parker

• In addition to attracting "the best and the brightest" from around the world, cities should also "grow their own talent."

#### **Anthony Foxx**

• There is a need to address achievement gaps in school.

#### Michael Nutter

- Diversity including in respect of gender, race and religion should be viewed as a strength.
- Small businesses should be encouraged to export.
- Since the world is "shrinking," there is a need to get to know each other.

#### Matteo Renzi

- In Florence, the past is linked to the future.
- Cities are capitals of globalization.

#### Charles Ogletree: What challenges will be faced by cities in the next decade?

#### **Anthony Foxx**

- There is a need to rethink local government; the lines of political government matter less now than has historically been the case.
- People might come to a region but not necessarily into the city.

#### Michael Nutter

- Investments in education are needed in order to be innovative.
- The manner in which education is funded should be reconsidered.
- Education should be considered as part of the national defence of the United States.

#### Annise Parker

- The focus over the next decade should be education and investments in the rebuilding of America, including highways, bridges and water systems.
- There should be transparency regarding spending, and taxpayers should have the sense that their tax dollars are well-spent.

#### Matteo Renzi

• Over the next 10 years, the focus should be on sustainability, education and culture.

#### GLOBAL RESPONSES TO POVERTY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Michael Elliott, of ONE Campaign, posed questions to:

- > Morgan Tsvangirai, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe
- > Tom Daschle, former Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate
- > David Miliband, Member of the U.K. Parliament
- > Ashley Judd, actor and humanitarian.

### *Michael Elliott*: What should the international community do to help the development of nations like Zimbabwe?

#### Morgan Tsvangirai

- Leadership helps to determine whether a country emerges from, or remains in, poverty.
- There has been a paradigm shift in Africa over the last ten years.
- Issues like HIV can be addressed with international assistance.

• Nations should be helped to help themselves; local communities should be empowered and given the capacity to deal with their own problems.

### *Michael Elliott*: Is the reality that "smart" foreign assistance has had demonstrable benefits resonating in Washington, D.C.?

#### Tom Daschle

- Politicians in the United States and in other countries are more likely to focus on domestic and local, rather than international, issues.
- There is a need to show the benefits of investments in foreign assistance.
- The United States needs to be a partner in helping developing countries help themselves.
- Foreign assistance can be a bipartisan issue.

## *Michael Elliott*: Is the reality that "smart" foreign assistance has had demonstrable benefits resonating with Americans?

#### Ashley Judd

- In educating people about the benefits of foreign assistance, it is important to share "the narratives," to use social media effectively and to reach out to youth.
- Poverty needs to be transformed into resiliency and hope.
- There are many "insertion points" at which "the narrative," or path, can be changed from negative to positive.

## *Michael Elliott*: What are the lessons learned from the past 20 years about preventing poverty?

#### **David Miliband**

- The debate has changed over the past 20 years; the focus now is development and trade rather than aid, and the responsibility of countries for themselves rather than the responsibility of the West and donor countries.
- Western governments "are on the retreat," in part because of donor and development "fatigue"; as Western countries retreat, other countries including China are engaging.
- Civil society needs to apply more pressure.

## *Michael Elliott*: Why are western governments "retreating" from foreign assistance?

#### Tom Daschle

- Western governments are "retreating" from foreign assistance for reasons that include the economic situation in some countries that have normally been donors as well as experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- As Western governments are "retreating" from foreign assistance, private-sector involvement is growing.
- Private-public partnerships are part of the "foreign assistance equation."
- There is little political debate about the issue of foreign assistance.

### *Michael Elliott*: To what extent are partnerships between donors and recipients important?

#### Morgan Tsvangirai

• Mutual interest is an important influence in the formation of partnerships.

### *Michael Elliott*: What comments can be made about "multiple points for intervention"?

#### Ashley Judd

- Empathy is very important.
- It is "the narrative" that touches people.
- Everyone is a citizen of the world.

#### THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION AND THE U.S. ROLE IN THE WORLD

Richard Wolffe, of MSNBC, moderated a discussion with:

- Honorable Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State and Chair of the NDI
- > Honorable Michèle Flournoy, former U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
- > Senator Dianne Feinstein, U.S. Senate
- > Honorable Jacob Lew, White House Chief of Staff
- > Honorable Tim Roemer, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives
- > Honorable James Steinberg, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State.

#### *Richard Wolffe*: What can be said about the United States' position in the world?

#### Jacob Lew

- There was no constituency for U.S. global engagement 10 years ago; now, the United States is an indispensable nation in global affairs.
- The United States is working to restore its standing in the world.

- In 2008, President Obama faced great challenges, including wars, strained alliances, and a global financial and economic crisis; now, the Iraq war has ended, Osama bin Laden is dead and the Taliban has been "pushed back" in Afghanistan.
- The Asia-Pacific region is important for the United States' future security and prosperity.
- The United States is "harnessing" its economic "power," including through signing free trade agreements, increasing exchanges and collaboration on research and development, and supporting the dignity of people around the world.
- As the wealthiest nation on earth, the United States has a moral obligation to help others.

### *Richard Wolffe*: Does the United States have the "international infrastructure" that is needed to deal with problems?

#### Madeleine Albright

- With technology, it is possible to always know everything about everything that is happening everywhere.
- Institutions were created in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that are not working particularly well in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; there is not very much faith in many institutions.
- The system was set up to deal with nation states, and nation states are not the only "actors" now, since for example non-governmental organizations play a role.
- Many issues require the participation of many nations and a variety of stakeholders.

### *Richard Wolffe*: What are the limits of American leadership in respect of the Arab Spring?

- Michèle Flournoy
- The challenge in Syria is enormous.
- President Obama has tried to operationalize the notion of "smart power."

#### Richard Wolffe: Is a diplomatic surge rhetorical?

#### **James Steinberg**

• Efforts are under way to "rethink" the way that the United States does diplomacy and development.

#### Richard Wolffe: What can be said about the Middle East?

#### **Dianne Feinstein**

- Pakistan is a nuclear power with several dozen warheads.
- Syria is a very serious situation, as is Egypt.

#### Richard Wolffe: What tools could the United States use to influence Iraq?

#### Tim Roemer

• The United States is building allies on an issue-by-issue basis, and is using both "hard" and "soft" powers.

#### James Steinberg

• The emergence of new powers is not occurring at the expense of the United States.

### *Richard Wolffe*: Are there significant foreign policy differences between President Obama and presidential nominee Governor Romney?

#### **Dianne Feinstein**

• The United States needs to establish a "big relationship" with China; there is no reason for the two countries to be anything other than allies.

#### Madeleine Albright

- There are differences between President Obama and presidential nominee Governor Romney regarding their foreign policy.
- Presidential nominee Governor Romney's people are "living in a different century," and the nominee has a one- or two-dimensional view of the meaning of "security."

#### Tim Roemer

• President Obama and presidential nominee Governor Romney have different foreign policy views.

### *Richard Wolffe*: In light of U.S. budget pressures, how does development "survive"?

#### Michèle Flournoy

• There will be challenges in Congress, but there are some "communities" in the United States that support development.

#### Richard Wolffe: What can be said about the pivot to Asia?

#### **James Steinberg**

- The stage is being set that will affect Asia for decades to come, and a U.S. presence there is important.
- India is an increasingly important "actor" in the Asia-Pacific region.

#### Richard Wolffe: What can be said about Iran?

#### **Dianne Feinstein**

• Iran must be prevented from becoming a military nuclear power.

#### Richard Wolffe: What can be said about India?

#### Tim Roemer

- There is a need for balance in foreign policy; a rebalancing is not a pivot.
- The United States should not ignore the European Union, Mexico, Canada, and other countries and regions.
- The United States should work more closely with India, but also with others in the Asia-Pacific region.

#### Madeleine Albright

- "Economic statecraft" requires more "players," including the private sector.
- The system must adjust to a whole new set of stakeholders.

Respectfully submitted,

Hon. Janis G. Johnson, Senator Co-Chair Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group Gord Brown, M.P. Co-Chair Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group

### **Travel Costs**

ASSOCIATION	Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group
ACTIVITY	Democratic National Convention
DESTINATION	Charlotte, North Carolina, United States of America
DATES	September 3-6, 2012
DELEGATION	
SENATE	Hon. Janis G. Johnson, Senator, Co-Chair
HOUSE OF COMMONS	Mr. Gordon Brown, M.P., Co-Chair
STAFF	Ms. June Dewetering, Senior Advisor
TRANSPORTATION	\$3,899.82
ACCOMMODATION	\$2,095.35
HOSPITALITY	\$Ø
PER DIEMS	\$1,212.17
OFFICIAL GIFTS	\$Ø
MISCELLANEOUS/REGISTRATION FEES	I \$1,588.52
TOTAL	\$8,795.86