From: Schultz, Gregory C. EOP gregory\_c\_schultz@ovp.eop.gov



Date: July 17, 2015 at 9:10 AM

To: rhbdc@icloud.com



Hey Hunter -- I know you were involved on this a little bit -- so wanted to pass along from Vinay (speech writer). The first 15 minutes went great.....and then he just couldn't end the speech

--

Greg Schultz Senior Advisor to the Vice President Special Assistant to the President 202-456-3639

----Original Message----

From: Reddy, Vinay [mailto:Vinay\_C\_Reddy@ovp.eop.gov]

Sent: Thursday, July 16, 2015 7:34 PM

To: Ricchetti, Steven J. EOP; Kaufman, Edward E. EOP; Donilon, Michael C. EOP; Graves, Donet D. Jr. EOP; Schultz, Gregory C.

**EOP** 

Subject: Re: Remarks by the Vice President to Generation Progress Make Progress National Summit

He went off script almost every 2 to 3 paragraphs and did all the self-referential stuff we cut out. This speech was pretty much everywhere, including why the Democratic Party should look to itself in curbing dark money "not that I am talking about any particular person."

From: McCormick, Mike

For Immediate Release

Sent: Thursday, July 16, 2015 07:29 PM

Steven; Schrum, Michael; Schultz, Greg; Sheth, Tushar; Spector, Stephen; Suntum, Peggy Subject: Remarks by the Vice President to Generation Progress Make Progress National Summit

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Vice President

June 16, 2015

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN AT THE

GENERATION PROGRESS'S 10TH ANNUAL

"MAKE PROGRESS" NATIONAL SUMMIT

Washington Convention Center

Washington, D.C.

4:58 P.M. EDT

THE VICE PRESIDENT: (Applause.) You keep that up, I'll start to inhale. (Laughter.) Flattery is something you should never inhale. (Laughter.)

Folks, before I begin, the reason I'm a few minutes late, as you've all probably heard, there's been a terrible tragedy that has taken place, occurred earlier today at two military centers in Chattanooga, Tennessee. We don't have all of the details, or that many details. As I'm speaking, I was supposed to be in a meeting with the President of the United States and FBI Director Comey, which I'll be briefed on as I get back. But what we do know is four Marines were killed and others were injured. And I don't have much more information at this point. But my heart goes out to their families and these young Marines were part of your generation that is probably the most incredible generation that this country has seen. Over 4.3 million since 9/11 signed up and said, send me. Almost certain they'd be put in harm's way.

And so their families have already given a lot to the country. And now this -- but we will get to the bottom of it. And I ask you to keep their families in your prayers.

Well, that was a great introduction. I appreciate it very much. And, Kish-la, you are working on something that has been a project of mine and near and dear to my heart since I was in undergraduate school before there was a thing called It's On Us, and before there was an issue of people who were willing to face the reality that -- of the millions of women who were being victimized by social standards and cultural standards that are antiquated and had to be changed.

And I want to thank Neera for her leadership of this entire organization; and Anne Johnson for her leadership of Generation Progress on everything from student loan reform to It's on Us. It's really great to be back here.

And in a sense, if you excuse, as we used to say in the Senate, a point of personal privilege, you take me back. You remind me of why I got involved in the first place. I was going to say it wasn't too many years ago, but it was 200 years ago, I sat where you are. (Laughter.)

And I know you've had a full day. You've heard from a lot of great American leaders today, and you've gotten a chance to speak to each other in breakout sessions.

And I basically came to say thank you. You've shown your passion on issues that are the same issues that animated my passion and my concern when I was a kid in Wilmington, Delaware, getting involved in public issues.

For me it started with the Civil Rights Movement. But it moved on from there. And when I got to the Senate as a 29-year-old kid -- or I just had turned 30 by the time I got sworn in, the first bill I ever introduced in the Senate was a bill to -- for the student loan program for middle-class guys like me and my sister because I remember when we talk about student loans and access to college, we think of it only in terms of the qualified student will be denied an opportunity. But like a lot of you, I think of it in terms of the mother and father who dream of opportunities for their kids but feel incredibly inadequate because somehow they can't find the resources to get their child to school.

I remember when my father went to get a loan for me to get to college, I was a pretty good athlete and had some opportunities. But I still needed money. And my dad -- I went down to where he worked and walked in and asked his secretary where he was. And she said, he's outside, honey, on the side of the building. And I walked around to see him, and my dad was pacing back and forth. This is an absolutely true story.

And he saw me and looked up. He said, Joey, Joey, I'm so sorry. And I thought, God, what happened to my sister, my mother? That was the day before cell phones. Did something happen? I said, what's the matter, Dad?

He says, honey, I went to bank to try to borrow money to get you to school. They wouldn't lend me the money, honey. I'm so ashamed. I'm so ashamed. I'm so sorry.

When we don't give a child who is qualified an opportunity, it not only deprives that child of an opportunity, it deprives the parent of the dignity that they're entitled to be accorded. Because there is nothing worse for a parent than looking at their child when they're in need or they're sick or otherwise and know there's nothing they can do to help.

So that's the first bill I ever introduced, all the way to It's On Us, and when I wrote the Violence Against Women Act. (Applause.) No, no, I don't say -- I'm not saying that for -- I hope it doesn't come out the wrong way. I'm not saying that for credit, but I want to remind you of why what you're doing is so important.

When I wrote that act no one was for it. Every women's organization opposed it -- or initially because they thought it would take the focus off of other issues from gender equality to women's rights related to reproduction.

And I was told there was nothing we could do about it. But I didn't believe that, like you don't believe it. And we persisted. Criminal justice reform -- for 17 years I was Chairman and Ranking Member of the Judiciary Committee. And what you're focusing on was my passion for all those years from reform to dealing with gun violence, which I've been in some cases extremely successful on -- in the Biden crime bill -- which expired under George Bush, to the efforts to rewrite legislation which we've not been able to get passed in this administration.

Immigration reform, which is an issue of my first campaign because Chavez was trying to organize farmers into my agricultural state of Delaware. And the way -- (applause) -- the way migrant workers were treated was an abomination; to LGBT rights, which for me for the past three decades has been the civil rights issue of our generation.

And look, ultimately all this is about making sure that people are afforded the dignity they deserve and the middle class has an even shot, a level playing field -- which they don't have anywhere near now. The deck is stacked against them.

I know I'm referred to -- and it's almost a joke in Washington -- I'm Middle Class Joe. In Washington that's not a compliment. It means you're not sophisticated. But I am middle class. The reason I always talk about the middle class and have my whole career is simple: When the middle class does well, the wealthy do very well, and the poor have a way up. That's what it's about.

And there are all the things that are animating your passions. It's a very simple proposition. My father used to say every single person is entitled to be treated with dignity. And the absence of economic opportunity -- absent economic opportunity there is no way to be afforded the dignity people deserve. So I applaud your passion. I really mean this. I applaud your passion. And I urge you to never, ever, ever apologize for it. Never, never try to explain it away. Because passion is what ultimately changes circumstances in this country.

And what I'd like to talk to you about today is how you translate that passion into real meaningful progress for the country. It's the only thing I probably know more about than you because I've been hanging around a long time. (Laughter.)

It takes a lot of moral and political courage. It's about asking what you are willing to lose over as much as what you're willing to fight for. Because I got elected when I was a 29-year-old kid not old enough to be sworn into the Senate, since that day, everybody who ran for office in Delaware would come to me and say, what's the secret? Because obviously if I won, there had to be a secret that I found out. (Laughter.) No, I'm serious. I'm serious. What do I have to know most?

I said, you have to look at one thing -- and I urge you all to think about this -- whether you ever run for office or not, what are you willing to lose over? What is so important to you that you'd rather lose than capitulate?

Because if you can't answer that question, you're all in the wrong endeavor. You won't be happy if you have to constantly compromise what you believe because of pressure and interest groups and money.

Because here's the truth, no major issue of the day, no major issue of the day do the American people disagree with any of the things we're fighting for you and me. Marriage equality, immigration reform, raising the minimum wage, early childhood education, gun violence prevention -- I could go on and on.

Somewhere between 55 percent and 90 percent of the American people agree with what you're fighting for, what we are for on every one of those issues.

So it's not a question of convincing the American people we're right on the issues we're for. It's a question of demanding political courage from elected officials to meet the expectations of the American people -- courage they'll only find if the people -- you -- demand them to demonstrate it.

And you should be proud of how you've already moved this country. You particularly in this room, but your generation. We had a huge victory on marriage equality last month. It was a horrific battle waged for decades and decades by heroic women and men of the LGBT community, as well as straight people. Some of them risked their -- literally risked their lives for the fight by coming out.

But your generation -- you were the cultural tipping point. You changed the nature of the discussion in America. You altered it. Now there's full-fledge acceptance. It's because of you guys.

But we still need you, because today, while there's freedom to marry in 50 states, or marriage to be recognized, in more than half those states, marriage can be recognized but that very same day, you could be fired from your job just because you are LGBT, just because you're any one -- you're a lesbian or you're gay, you're transgender. No explanation is required in 32 states -- you're fired. It's outrageous.

The reason why it persists, in my view, is because the American people don't know it can be done, even in those states. That's where you guys come in. You have the passion and the energy to bring to the people of those states the knowledge that this can happen.

I got roundly criticized for coming out when others didn't -- anyway -- coming out -- (laughter) -- on television for marriage equality. No, no, no -- here's the point I want to make. (Laughter.) Thank you, but I don't -- I realize I'm an unusual politician trying to dampen applause, but -- (laughter) -- but all kidding aside, guys, I was absolutely certain. I was taking no chance. As a matter of fact, I made a bet with some very prominent people you would know if I mentioned their names that, overwhelmingly, the American people agreed with me. And they did, because they're decent.

So one of the things you can do better than anyone else is give voice to what's happening. Because the American people at their core are basically decent. And once you give voice to it, consistently enough, unrelentingly enough, the public will demand of their leaders that they respond.

Fighting unemployment discrimination is the next big fight. But just as you made marriage equality the case of your generation, you can make gun-violence prevention the case of your generation now. (Applause.) No, you can.

The so-called Biden crime bill that passed in the early '90s, we had extensive -- we made great progress. We eliminated assault weapons. We had extensive background checks, and so on and so forth. But in order to get it done -- and, by the way, crime dramatically dropped during that period. But what happened? In order for me to get it done, I had to agree that it had to be reauthorized in 10 years or I couldn't have gotten it passed. Ten years came around and it happened on a Republican watch. The tragedy of Al Gore having lost that election to the Supreme Court was tragic, because it would have been very different the previous eight years.

But it all got wiped out. And then look -- as the President said, in this great country of ours, why are we the only great civilized country where there is carnage after carnage and no response? After 20 children and six adults were massacred in Newtown, the President asked me, based on my work back in the '90s, to put together a legislative agenda of sensible gun control that we believed the American people would accept -- from banning military-style assault weapons to strengthening background checks to making schools safer, mental health services, and so on.

So with a lot of help from a really brilliant staff, I put together a package. We announced it to the American people and we went on the road to sell it. And we sold it, overwhelmingly to the American people. But Congress -- we called on Congress to pass it, it didn't move it all. It didn't move at all.

We're waging aggressive effort to make the case to the people, and collectively, we succeeded. Ninety percent of the American people, 85 percent of households with members of the NRA supported our background check legislation -- let me say that again. Ninety percent of the American people in red-red states, 85 percent of the households with an NRA member in it supported rational proposal we put forward on background checks.

But those public officials who were asked to step up, for the first time they didn't have to worry about being out-spent, because of a guy I like a lot -- he's a Republican, but he's first-rate -- Michael Bloomberg, and because of two really fine people, Congresswoman Gabby Giffords and Mark Kelly. (Applause.)

But combined, it was the first time in a legislative shootout that the NRA was out-spent. And we still failed. Why? Well, in my opinion, because of the political influence of extremely powerful groups -- not just NRA, but the gun lobby, the manufacturers. Enough elected officials were unwilling to risk their seats based on past examples, rather than do what they knew was the right thing to do, and even what their people wanted to do.

Folks, I've observed that there's a consistent attribute of human nature that affects the decisions not only of elected officials but all of us. It's called rationalization. Never underestimate the ability of the human mind to rationalize. I don't know how many members told me, Joe, I can't take the risk, because if I lose you won't have me here to help on food stamps, you won't have me here to help on -- because they did other good things. It's called rationalization. And you're all susceptible to it -- everybody is.

So something I urge you to do is, first, understand and expose those elected officials who are otherwise pretty good people, some of them; who are -- no, they are, by the way -- who engage in this rationalization. And they'll do it with you. "I can't do it in my state because of" they told me -- when I introduced the gun legislation, my state, if I'm not mistaken, had the third-highest percentage of gun ownership of any state in the nation. The NRA went at me hammer and tong and nail; told all the hunters in my state and the duck hunters that I was going to take away their shotguns.

But I'm living proof to tell you there's nothing special about me. If you go out and you make the case, and it's common sense, and you stand by your convictions, we can win. And if you now help us make the case on rational gun policy -- what it should be, it makes so much -- it makes it so much more difficult for elected officials who don't have enough courage sometimes to not rationalize.

The same goes with climate change. Environmental awareness is what got my generation involved in public life, along with the Civil Rights Movement, back in the '70s. It was one of the three issues I ran on -- civil rights, ending the war in Vietnam and the environment -- because I come from a corporate state with a lot of smokestacks.

But as important as it was for my generation, it's so much more important now for you, your children, your grandchildren, your grandchildren. Climate change is real. It's as real as gravity. (Applause.) It's real.

But why do most Republicans, who know that and understand the danger, why do they continue to persist in this fiction? Since day one of this administration, with your insistence, the President has carried out the most consequential efforts in history to curb carbon

pollution and make our communities more resilient to extreme weather, to develop renewable energy here at home. But again, I think the coordinated, city-by-city, state-by-state, national attacks on common sense provided by billionaires and multimillionaires and interest groups has been extremely effective.

And what happens again? What's the rationale when you speak to a congressman or a senator you know knows better -- you know knows better? Well, they'll say, you know, we can't do that extreme climate legislation because we'll lose jobs here at home, it's going to hurt our economy. They say it would cost ordinary people opportunity -- which you know none of which is true. None of which is true.

So you and I, all of us -- particularly you -- we have to change the calculus. We have to make it impossible for an entire political party to deny climate change as it ravages our cities, our heartlands, our coasts. We'll win this fight, but we need to win it sooner than later, because every month, every year makes a difference.

That's why we need you so badly. We need you to keep making the case and demand elected officials confront the truth. Take away their ability to rationalize. Point out to them that more jobs will be created in eliminating the damages of climate change and mitigating them than will be kept by not doing anything about it.

Same thing on immigration. We, as a nation, we are the nation we are because we're immigrants. I know that sounds like the usual stuff. I recently had the opportunity to meet with Lee Kuan Yew before he died. If you know anything about him, he was referred to as the Henry Kissinger of the East. He was the President of Singapore, brilliant guy. He wrote extensively on the future of India, China, the United States and Russia. I urge you to read some of his stuff. He recently passed away. I was coming from Mumbai, India, heading to Japan to meet with Abe. And I got a call, would I stop in Singapore and sit down and meet with Lee Kuan Yew.

And I was honored to do it. And we were talking about how rapidly Xi has consolidated power in China. And he knows I know Xi better than anybody, only because I spent more time with him than anybody when he was Vice President. And so we were talking about how quickly he consolidated power. And I said to him, about five minutes into what ended up an hour-and-a-half conversation -- I said, Mr. President -- I said, what are the Chinese doing now -- meaning, what are they contemplating next? He said, they're in the United States, they're looking for the buried black box. True story.

I looked at him like you're probably looking at me but I can't see with the lights. (Laughter.) And I smiled and I said -- this was the time that aircraft went down in the ocean there, they couldn't find the black box. And I said, Mr. President, I'm sorry, I'm confused. He said, they're looking for that box that's buried in the United States that contains the secret that allows America to be the only country in history to be able to constantly be able to remake itself.

And I said, well, Mr. President, I'm old enough to presume to give you an answer. They'll find two things in that black box. One is: Stamped in the DNA of every naturalized and native-born American is the absolute skepticism for orthodoxy. As bad as our elementary school education or any other education level may be, a child is never criticized for challenging orthodoxy in America. Think about that. Unlike any other country in the world, including Britain, France -- anywhere else. That's how we make new things -- you break old things. You challenge orthodoxy.

And I said the second thing they'll find is they'll find beginning before the Declaration, an unrelenting stream of immigration, not in trickles but in great waves, throughout the history of our country. And why that's important, Mr. President, is we are able to basically cherry-pick the best talent from every culture.

And I really mean this. A lot of people think that people sit around -- a bunch of poor folks from Guadalajara, sitting around a handhewn table in their kitchen, saying, I got a great idea. Let's sell everything we have, go to a country that doesn't want us where we don't speak the language. Won't that be fun? (Laughter.) The people who leave to come here are the people with the best imaginations, the greatest amount of courage, the best initiatives. (Applause.) That's a fact. That's who we are.

So what we're doing is robbing ourselves of the lifeblood of innovation, ingenuity, progress. Blocking immigration reform ignores -- over 70 percent of the American people already agree with us. So why isn't it being done? Well, here, there's resistance that's more

tnan one reason. It's not just interest groups. I nere's a deep-seated antipatry, some of it bordering on nate and racism, tnat creates stereotypical images about immigrants. All you have to is listen to the Republican nominating fight right now. I mean it sincerely. Think about it. (Applause.)

But, folks, at the end of the day, what's thwarting our ability to legislate based on the clear consensus is the increased power and influence of special interest groups, particularly focused on state legislative bodies.

If we Democrats have made any mistake, we focus on only the makeup of the Congress, makeup of the Senate. But the Koch Brothers can go into Illinois and pick eight, 10 Senate seats, spend 250,000 bucks a seat, which is more than anybody usually raises, spend less than \$4 million or \$5 million and change the dynamic in the states.

We've got to get smarter. All the action isn't only here in Congress and federally. I could go on, but I won't. Let me ask you a rhetorical question. If you could do only one single thing -- only one -- to increase fairness, equity, opportunity to the middle class, pass rational gun control, deal with immigration, et cetera, what would it be? I can tell you what one thing I would do. It would be get private money out of the political process. (Applause.)

The first bill ever introduced that I'm aware of -- at least in the generation at the time -- was a bill I introduced in 1973 calling for a limitation on how much could be spent in a congressional election, in a Senate election, guaranteeing that challengers would have as much money as the incumbent, and capping it.

I ran in 1972 as a middle-class kid who had just paid off his college and law school loans with a law firm that was just getting onto its feet. And I was able to run a campaign because I could organize people with \$300,000 -- and I won in a year when Nixon was running, when my opponent was at least twice as well-funded as I was, and was a 40-year incumbent who had an 81-percent favorable rating.

Today, I asked myself if I were in the same exact position -- 29 years old in the state of Delaware, little state -- and I wanted to run for the United States Senate with the same ideas and the same ability to organize, could I possibly do it? I would have to raise multiples of \$300,000. And per capita, Delaware is one of the most expensive campaigns in the nation because it's the only place where there's no television, and you have to pay for 10 million people -- 9 million of whom, if they voted for you, would be indicted, because it's Philadelphia television.

So, folks, what are we doing? What are we doing? We're cutting off access for so many of you, for so many bright, young minds, who the only way they can get engaged is you have to go where the money is. And where the money is, there's almost always, implicitly, some string attached. No one buys anybody directly. That doesn't happen; if it does, it's rare. But it's awful hard to take a whole lot of money from a group that you know has a particular position, and then if you conclude they're wrong, vote no.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I predict one day the American people are going to wake up and they're going to demand change. Today, it's going to require a constitutional amendment. I introduced the first constitutional amendment on this, limiting dollars, with a guy named Fritz Hollings from South Carolina. So everybody, when I raise it these days, they say, no, no, no we can't do that.

So what do we have to do? Whether they're running for the Senate or Congress or President -- well, I can't disarm, I've got to do the same thing. Now, we can argue our interest groups are better than their interest groups. We can argue they're less self-serving than the other team's -- that may be -- it's all true.

But, guys, why do you think the middle class thinks things aren't on the level? What chance do you think we have to get the kind of income tax system that I've been fighting for my whole life? What do you think the chances of getting that are? People aren't going to supply money against their own interests. They're not bad people.

But I've been pushing to change for my entire career -- the way we treat unearned income. It's outrageous. It's outrageous. But the

people with a whole lot of money are the people with a lot of unearlied income, as is defined in the code. With are they going to give you the money?

And, folks, we ought to start in our own party. You ought to be demanding of all of us -- all of us -- because at least in our own party fights among ourselves in primaries, that we adhere to a policy that doesn't rest on millionaires and billionaires. They're good people. They're not bad, per se -- no, I really mean it. But it's a hell of a way to run a democracy.

And so the first place you've got to start is in the Democratic Party. No matter how much you love me or somebody else, you have to demand of us that we demonstrate we understand. We can do something about the corrosive impact of massive amounts of money. We can demand that people who we support don't yield to millionaires and billionaires. Take their money in limited amounts. But what are we doing?

I know a lot of people are going to read into this part of what I'm saying something I'm not intending. I'm not talking about any individual. I really am not. But if we can't even start in our own party, I'm willing to start in -- have people starting their own party and say, okay, the general election, don't disarm and do it there -- but in our own party.

Look, we can get support even when we're outspent significantly -- and this is not hyperbole -- if we have you; we, the party, have you; you, the young, passionate advocates. If I get a chance to go on television with millions of dollars, or I'm able to put 2,000 volunteers on the street. I take 2.000 volunteers -- for real.

And so, folks, don't underestimate your ability to influence all of us who are tempted to yield to the temptation to go ahead and do the same thing and again, rationalize. Rationalize. If I don't, I'm not going to be able to win, and all the good I can do will be gone, even though the way I have to do it is going to -- even if it doesn't compromise me -- convince average middle-class people that I don't care about them, and they therefore will not trust me.

We have to speak up. We have to speak up. I know a lot of what I just said probably sounds Pollyanna-ish to you. But I've been around longer than all these other guys. I'm telling you it can be done. It always is done by generations like yours.

I'll end by taking you back. In 1972, as a 29-year-old kid, the war in Vietnam was raging. The women's movement was -- you were criticized if you raised the issue. The environmental movement was, and everybody -- the chant in the late '60s when I was in law school is "drop out." Politics was viewed as dirty and corrupt -- and corrupting.

So the temptation of that generation to drop out was no less than the temptation of your generation to say, be damned with it, it's not worth it. It can't happen. But a whole bunch of us disagreed, and we changed things.

We ended a war. We completed the Civil Rights Movement as it was pictured at the time. We generated the genuine beginning of the women's movement and the environmental movement -- not me, my generation.

But if you go back and look at what the odds were, they were slim to none. So the only message I want to leave you with is you have the talent, the intellect, the passion, and the commitment. I don't want you to get discouraged. I don't want you to get discouraged. I promise you if you keep doing what you're doing, if you generate and increase your numbers, if you never apologize for your passion, if you always gird yourself against the temptation to rationalize, if you're actually willing to listen to the other side to generate a consensus, this could all get done.

Ultimately that's the only way we can make progress in this country. How can we govern the most heterogeneous democracy in the world, the history of the world without generating consensus?

people in this room already have. There's even more reason now to be idealist and optimistic and tenacious and passionate and principled than any time.

Think of it this way, folks, and I'll get out of your hair. If you're ever going to be involved in public affairs in whatever fora, this is the time to do it. Because things are changing. They're changing. They're going to change no matter what you do. The question is how they change.

There's very few periods in American history -- I call them inflection points -- I remember my physics professor defining what an inflection point was. He gave us the metaphor. He said, it's like driving down the highway at 60 miles an hour, both hands on the wheel and you abruptly turn it 10 degrees to the right or left. You can never get back on the path you were on. Well, that's what's happened. Not because of Barack Obama and Joe Biden or anyone else, because these are moments of great change.

William Butler Yeats in a poem he wrote called Easter Sunday 1916 talks about the First Rising in Ireland in the 20th century. And he wrote a line. He said, "all's changed -- changed utterly. A terrible beauty has been born."

Well, that description is more apt to today in world and national politics than it was then. All has changed in the last 15 years. But if we have our hands on the wheel, we have -- unlike in periods of status quo -- we have a chance to bend history just a little bit, just a little bit. But it's only going to be done by you. I mean this sincerely. It's only going to be done by young, decent, passionate people of principle. That's how all change has taken place in America.

So let me conclude by saying I came to thank you and tell you we badly, badly need you. So don't get despondent. Don't disengage. Disrupt the status quo. Make noise. (Applause.) Take everybody on. And don't ever settle for it can't be done. (Applause.)

God bless you all and may God protect our troops. Thanks.

END 5:40 P.M. EDT