

And neither of these pursuits will be made easier or safer by an overly aggressive use of our military, active duty or National Guard. The United States has a long and, to be fair, sometimes troubled history of using the armed forces to enforce domestic laws. The issue for us today is not whether this authority exists, but whether it will be wisely administered.

I remain confident in the professionalism of our men and women in uniform. They will serve with skill and with compassion. They will obey lawful orders. But I am less confident in the soundness of the orders they will be given by this commander in chief, and I am not convinced that the conditions on our streets, as bad as they are, have risen to the level that justifies a heavy reliance on military troops. Certainly, we have not crossed the threshold that would make it appropriate to invoke the provisions of the Insurrection Act.

Furthermore, I am deeply worried that as they execute their orders, the members of our military will be co-opted for political purposes.

Even in the midst of the carnage we are witnessing, we must endeavor to see American cities and towns as our homes and our neighborhoods. They are not “battle spaces” to be dominated, and must never become so.

We must ensure that African Americans—indeed, all Americans—are given the same rights under the Constitution, the same justice under the law, and the same consideration we give to members of our own family. Our fellow citizens are not the enemy, and must never become so.

Too many foreign and domestic policy choices have become militarized; too many military missions have become politicized.

This is not the time for stunts. This is the time for leadership.

IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH

(By James Mattis)

I have watched this week’s unfolding events, angry and appalled. The words “Equal Justice Under Law” are carved in the pediment of the United States Supreme Court. This is precisely what protesters are rightly demanding. It is a wholesome and unifying demand—one that all of us should be able to get behind. We must not be distracted by a small number of lawbreakers. The protests are defined by tens of thousands of people of conscience who are insisting that we live up to our values—our values as people and our values as a nation.

When I joined the military, some 50 years ago, I swore an oath to support and defend the Constitution. Never did I dream that troops taking that same oath would be ordered under any circumstance to violate the Constitutional rights of their fellow citizens—much less to provide a bizarre photo op for the elected commander-in-chief, with military leadership standing alongside.

We must reject any thinking of our cities as a “battlespace” that our uniformed military is called upon to “dominate.” At home, we should use our military only when requested to do so, on very rare occasions, by state governors. Militarizing our response, as we witnessed in Washington, D.C., sets up a conflict—a false conflict—between the military and civilian society. It erodes the moral ground that ensures a trusted bond between men and women in uniform and the society they are sworn to protect, and of which they themselves are a part. Keeping public order rests with civilian state and local leaders who best understand their communities and are answerable to them.

James Madison wrote in Federalist 14 that “America united with a handful of troops, or without a single soldier, exhibits a more forbidding posture to foreign ambition than America disunited, with a hundred thousand veterans ready for combat.” We do not need

to militarize our response to protests. We need to unite around a common purpose. And it starts by guaranteeing that all of us are equal before the law.

Instructions given by the military departments to our troops before the Normandy invasion reminded soldiers that “The Nazi slogan for destroying us . . . was ‘Divide and Conquer.’ Our American answer is ‘In Union there is Strength.’” We must summon that unity to surmount this crisis—confident that we are better than our politics.

Donald Trump is the first president in my lifetime who does not try to unite the American people—does not even pretend to try. Instead he tries to divide us. We are witnessing the consequences of three years of this deliberate effort. We are witnessing the consequences of three years without mature leadership. We can unite without him, drawing on the strengths inherent in our civil society. This will not be easy, as the past few days have shown, but we owe it to our fellow citizens; to past generations that bled to defend our promise; and to our children.

We can come through this trying time stronger, and with a renewed sense of purpose and respect for one another. The pandemic has shown us that it is not only our troops who are willing to offer the ultimate sacrifice for the safety of the community. Americans in hospitals, grocery stores, post offices, and elsewhere have put their lives on the line in order to serve their fellow citizens and their country. We know that we are better than the abuse of executive authority that we witnessed in Lafayette Park. We must reject and hold accountable those in office who would make a mockery of our Constitution. At the same time, we must remember Lincoln’s “better angels,” and listen to them, as we work to unite.

Only by adopting a new path—which means, in truth, returning to the original path of our founding ideals—will we again be a country admired and respected at home and abroad.

(At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

• Mr. TESTER. Mr. President, I was absent when the Senate voted on vote number 112 to invoke cloture on Executive Calendar #697, Michael Pack, of Maryland, to be Chief Executive Officer of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. On vote number 112, had I been present, I would have voted no on the motion to invoke cloture on Mr. Pack.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. TESTER. Mr. President, I was absent when the Senate voted on vote number 113 to confirm Executive Calendar #697, Michael Pack, of Maryland, to be Chief Executive Officer of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. On vote number 113, had I been present, I would have voted no on the motion to confirm Mr. Pack. •

BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I rise to submit to the Senate the budget scorekeeping report for June 2020. This is my first scorekeeping report since I filed the deemed budget resolution for fiscal year 2021 on May 4, 2020, as required by the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2019, BBA19. The report compares current-law levels of spending and revenues with the amounts agreed to in BBA19. In the Senate, this information is used to determine whether budg-

etary points of order lie against pending legislation. The Republican staff of the Budget Committee and the Congressional Budget Office, CBO, prepared this report pursuant to section 308(b) of the Congressional Budget Act (CBA). The information included in this report is current through June 1, 2020.

In general, my filing of May 4 established the following enforceable budgetary levels: (1) allocations for fiscal year 2021 for the Committee on Appropriations; (2) allocations for fiscal years 2021, 2021 through 2025, and 2021 through 2030 for committees other than the Committee on Appropriations; (3) aggregate spending levels for fiscal year 2021; (4) aggregate revenue levels for fiscal year 2021, 2021 through 2025, and 2021 through 2030; and (5) aggregate levels of outlays and revenue for fiscal years 2021, 2021 through 2025, and 2021 through 2030 for Social Security. Allocations and aggregates for fiscal year 2020 were not overridden by this filing and continue to be enforced under the fiscal year 2020 deemed budget that was filed on September 9, 2019.

The figures underpinning the new enforceable levels are based on the discretionary spending limits set forth in the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2019 and CBO’s March 2020 baseline, adjusted to reflect legislation enacted between the publication of the baseline and my May 4 filing. Enforceable figures in this filing exclude the direct budgetary effects of provisions in legislation enacted after the release of the baseline that were designated as an emergency pursuant to section 4112 of the fiscal year 2018 congressional budget resolution, H. Con. Res. 71, 115th Congress.

Budget Committee Republican staff prepared Tables A-G.

Table A gives the amount by which each Senate authorizing committee exceeds or falls below its allocations for budget authority and outlays under the fiscal year 2020 and fiscal year 2021 deemed budget resolutions. This information is used for enforcing committee allocations pursuant to section 302 of the CBA. To date, eight committees are out of compliance with their allocations for fiscal year 2020, however no committees have breached their newly released allocations this cycle.

Tables B and C provide the amount by which the Senate Committee on Appropriations is below or exceeds the statutory spending limits. This information is used to determine points of order related to the spending caps found in sections 312 and 314 of the CBA. The tables show that the Appropriations Committee is compliant with spending limits for fiscal years 2020 and 2021. The figures included in Table C reflect advanced and permanent appropriations that have already been enacted but will become available for obligation in fiscal year 2021.