

These two issues are not a coincidence. The fact that they appear in the same land mass is not coincidental; it is causal. The Federal Government is the cause for the impoverishment of this county and other communities in Utah and throughout the United States. Why? Because people can't own the land, can't develop the land, can't tax the land to fund their schools, their search and rescue services, or any other government priority. Nor can they access it for most economic purposes.

Finally, all of my other observations about this legislation notwithstanding, this is the Senate, and just like church is for sinners, the Senate floor isn't for perfect, hermetically sealed, finished bills. We are supposed to bring imperfect bills to the floor to debate and deliberate and amend and discuss and, ultimately, find consensus. That is why I and many of my colleagues have been trying to do exactly that in this very situation with this very bill.

I have a number of amendments. Many western State Senators do as well. Several Gulf State Senators have their own concerns about this bill in its current form. The way the process is supposed to work is that we bring this and other bills like it to the floor, and we offer up changes and see where the Senate is, see where the process goes, using reason, gentle persuasion, and awkward improvements to each piece of legislation as our guide. That is how it is supposed to work.

There are a number of Senators from western States, from Gulf States, and from States that really aren't in the West or the gulf that don't really have that much to do with Federal public land, but they can see the procedural and substantive defects of this bill. That is why many of us who really would like to make improvements to this bill have come together from different parts of the country.

The process of actually legislating has gone out of fashion in Washington and, quite regrettably, out of this Chamber in recent years, but it is something that I think the whole Senate would like to get back to—and I mean the whole Senate, Democrats and Republicans alike. This is an issue that is neither Republican or Democratic; it is not liberal or conservative; it is not Libertarian. It is not an ideological viewpoint. I know people within this

Chamber on virtually every point along the ideological political continuum who would very much like to see the Senate working as an actual legislative body rather than as a rubberstamp for whatever small handful of people happen to write out behind closed doors and decide must be the finished, perfect, hermetically sealed object of our vote. This is wrong. It is an insult, not just to the 100 Senators who are here. It is that to be sure, but nobody cares about that. It is more about those we represent, those who elected us. Those election certificates don't belong to us. They belong to the voters of our various States who expect us to represent them. Regardless of how we might vote on any particular piece of legislation, they expect us to have read it; they expect us to do our job by showing up and by offering to make it better where we see flaws and we see defects. There is no perfect bill, but we can still make legislation a lot less bad. We can make it better. We bring about actual consensus. Consensus is not found by ramming something through without an opportunity for amendment, debate, or discussion.

This is wrong. It has gone on for far too long. I have seen it under the leadership of Democrats and Republicans alike in this Chamber, and it has to end. It will end. The question is, How long is it going to take us and how much misery will the American people have to endure while most of their Senators are effectively locked out of meaningful legislative debate, discussion, and amendment? This is wrong, and it has to end.

The debate on this bill has now been extended by a whole extra day. There is no earthly reason why we can't use that extra day to work through a handful of 15-minute votes on a handful of amendments. It is just not that hard. In the amount of time that I have been speaking tonight, we could have processed a couple of amendments. In the amount of time that will be devoted only to hand-wringing and dismissal of legitimate concerns with this legislation, we could process any amendment that anyone wants to introduce, and this legislation could still be passed weeks before the House of Representatives is even poised to return. So why are we not doing this? There is no persuasive answer here.

We have to start doing our job. I look forward to working with our colleagues to get an agreement on some amendments so that we can give this legislation the due consideration and the careful deliberation that it deserves, that we deserve, that those who elected us deserve, and then move on to the important nominations pending before the Senate and to the National Defense Authorization Act that are next in line. In the meantime, I hope Democrats and Republicans alike can unite behind the fact that we can't skate forever under the mantra that the Senate is the world's greatest deliberative body when it does not deliberate. The good news is, it is entirely within our power to reclaim use of that title justifiably and with dignity.

I yield the floor.

---

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:32 p.m., adjourned until Wednesday, June 10, 2020, at 10 a.m.

---

#### DISCHARGED NOMINATION

The Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs was discharged from further consideration of the following nomination under the authority of the order of the Senate of 01/07/2009 and the nomination was placed on the Executive Calendar:

\*JOHN CHASE JOHNSON, OF OKLAHOMA, TO BE INSPECTOR GENERAL, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION.

\*Nominee has committed to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

---

#### CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate June 9, 2020:

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, AND APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 601 AND 9033:

*To be general*

GEN. CHARLES Q. BROWN, JR.