

but local protests shut that down. So who else has he been leasing his home to—Putin? I mean, maybe Trump's next business will be Airbnb for dictators.

Tax returns will not tell us everything, but we know that they will tell us something about what Trump is hiding. Donald Trump praises brutal dictators and murderers. He threatens our allies. He denigrates democracy right here at home. He is right out front with all of that stuff.

What is so bad that Donald Trump has to hide it? Would his tax returns show how deeply Donald Trump's personal, financial interests run directly counter to the national interests of the United States of America?

It is 8 weeks before a national election. Everyone wants Donald Trump to do what other candidates—Republican candidates and Democratic candidates—have done and disclose his financial information to the American people.

George W. Bush's IRS Commissioner has said: Trump should release his taxes, period.

The IRS Chief Counsel for Ronald Reagan has said the same thing: Trump should release his taxes, period.

TED CRUZ has released his taxes. John Kasich released his taxes. Jeb Bush released his taxes going all the way back to 1981.

Look, it is no surprise that Trump thinks the rules don't apply to him; he never does. But the American people are not going to buy a pig in a poke. He should release his taxes voluntarily. But since he will not, then we should pass the Presidential Tax Transparency Act and make him release those taxes.

No one knows what he is up to with Russia, Libya, or any other country. Let's take a look at his taxes and find out.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MINERS PROTECTION ACT

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, yesterday I joined Senator MANCHIN, Senator WARNER, Senator CAPITO, and others about the mine workers' pension. I come to the floor again today as I just cannot believe that my colleagues are going to go home. Some wanted to go today and make this the last day of session. Others are saying next week.

I think there is no excuse for this Senate to leave without taking care of the longtime—starting with Harry Truman—agreement we have made with the people who go down into coal mines and do their work. They powered this

country and have for decades. It is one of the most difficult, least safe jobs in the country.

On my lapel I wear a depiction of a canary in a bird cage that was given to me at a workers' Memorial Day rally. The mine workers stuck a canary down in the mines. One hundred years ago they had no union to protect them. They had no government that cared enough to protect them and their safety. They relied on this canary. If the canary died, they got out of the mines. They were on their own.

We know this proud history of mine workers in Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania, and Southwest Virginia. We have an obligation—the anti-labor sentiment in this body, particularly in Republican leadership—to these mine workers. When they negotiated their wages at the bargaining table, they gave up wages 20 years ago, 30 years ago, or 40 years ago. They gave up wages then so they would have pension and health care later. They were some of the most patriotic people—and have been.

When we had our rally the other day outside of the Capitol to at least push Senator MCCONNELL to do his job, to push this Senate to do its job. This is a Senate that has been out of session more than any Senate in the last 60 years. They simply don't want to do their job. Even forgetting about nominating, confirming, or at least having hearings on a Supreme Court nominee, forgetting about the Zika virus for a moment—this Senate simply isn't doing its job, and it starts down the hall in the majority leader's office.

They are simply refusing to bring to a vote this very simple bill to protect miners' pensions and health care. It doesn't cost taxpayer dollars. It is moving money from the abandoned mine fund into this UMWA pension and health care fund.

It is a betrayal of those workers. It is simply saying we don't care about those workers. I can't believe that this body doesn't seem to care much about workers, doesn't seem to care much about people who work with their hands, doesn't seem to care much about the safety of workers, doesn't seem to care much about the air they breathe and the conditions they work in.

This is finally a chance for this body to go on record saying: Yes, we actually think mine workers have dedicated their lives to working some of the most difficult jobs in our country, and we should live up to our obligation. Other than that, it is a betrayal of those workers, and it is coming straight out of the majority leader's office.

It is shameful that this Senate is thinking about going home without doing its work. I again ask the leader to schedule this bill so we can move forward.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DAINES). Without objection, it is so ordered.

OBAMACARE

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, as you hear in Montana and I hear in Wyoming weekend after weekend as we go home and we travel our States over the summertime, we are hearing from more people and seeing more articles in the newspaper about how the Obama health care law is falling apart. Every Member of this body—every Member of this body—probably hears the same stories I hear and have heard again today visiting with people from Wyoming—stories from people who can no longer afford their health care premiums, their health care coverage, the copays, the deductibles, and all of the things that have happened because of the Obama health care law.

I think it is interesting to reflect on that new survey done by the Gallup organization, a well-known pollster from around the country with a long history. They released numbers last week about what people are seeing around the country with regard to ObamaCare—the things we have been hearing at home every weekend.

The first thing we found is that more Americans disapprove of ObamaCare than approve of it. Now, it is interesting because the Senate minority leader, HARRY REID, was on the floor yesterday saying repeatedly: Isn't ObamaCare great? Well, I would say to my friend and colleague from Nevada: No, as a matter of fact, more Americans disapprove—thumbs down—of the Obama health care law than people who approve.

That is not what was supposed to happen—oh no. When the now minority leader—then the majority leader—came to the floor a number of years ago with a bill that was written behind closed doors in his office, when they forced this through the House and the Senate, they said it would be great. Senator SCHUMER, who may likely become the new leader of the Democrats in a new Senate after the minority leader retires, predicted from the floor—right over there—that the law was going to be much more popular as time went on. He said: "When people see what is in the bill, and when people see what it does, they will come around."

Well, it has now been 6 years. People have seen what is in the bill. Remember NANCY PELOSI saying: First you have to pass it before you get to find out what is in it. People have seen what is in it. They have not come around. People disapprove of the President's health care law—thumbs down—by 51 percent.

It is interesting that the numbers have actually gotten worse, in spite of

what the Senate minority leader said yesterday repeatedly, when he said: Isn't ObamaCare great? So 4 years ago, when Gallup asked the same question, the numbers were actually only 45 percent. Now it is 51 percent who disapprove. So it is actually heading backwards. ObamaCare is becoming more unpopular as time goes on and as people see that it has actually hurt them personally. Yes, that is what I said: It hurt them personally. The President's signature law is hurting them personally.

Let's take a look. How many people tell others the Obama health care law has hurt them personally—they and their families? A record number say that ObamaCare hurt their family—29 percent. Have people been helped by the health care law? Yes, but only 18 percent of people say they were helped by the health care law.

What I hear repeatedly in Wyoming—and I assume the Presiding Officer hears in Montana—is that the President should not have had to hurt this many Americans to help people who didn't have insurance. Why should they have hurt people who had insurance to help those who didn't? That is why this law continues to be so unpopular. It is a record number. It is not what the President or the Democrats said would happen with the health care law.

What does the President say about the law? He says: Forcefully defend and be proud. I think that is why we saw the minority leader on the floor yesterday saying: Isn't ObamaCare great? The minority party whip came to the floor on Tuesday, and he said the major aspects of the law are working. That is what he said. This doesn't look like a law that is working to me. More Americans have been hurt by the law than have been helped.

The Senator from Illinois said that the major parts of the law, the major aspects of the law are working. Well, what are the major aspects? Premiums, what people have to pay—but premiums are going through the roof. In Senator DURBIN's home State of Illinois, the average person in an ObamaCare exchange is going to be paying 45 percent more next year than this year. That is when they select their plans—November 1. When they go to the exchange to see what is available, they are going to find it 45 percent more expensive than this year. So it doesn't seem like the fundamental parts of the law are working.

Why did the rates go up? It is because of ObamaCare and the mandates that come from a Washington that decides it knows what is better for the people than they know themselves. They have to buy insurance the President says they have to buy, not what they think might work best for them or their families. That is why record numbers say ObamaCare has hurt their family. They can't buy what they want. They are paying a price that is too high. The deductibles are too high. The copays are too high. So we hear the stories of what is happening with ObamaCare.

There was one other question in this poll that I would like to point to. They asked all these American families about ObamaCare. They asked: In the long run—in the long run—how do you think the health care law will affect your family's health care situation? Will it make it better for your family, as the Democrats promised? Will it have no affect? Or will it actually make things worse for you and your family? Over one-third of Americans—36 percent—say the health care law will make health care for them and for their family worse. Less than one in four say it will make it better. So more say ObamaCare will make their family's health care situation worse.

Now, that is an overwhelming margin. It is even a higher margin than last year. So as people see the impact of the health care law, as they see the impact on themselves and on their families, they are looking at this and saying: Things are going to continue to get worse because premiums have continued to go up, copays have continued to go up, deductibles have been continuing to go up, and the options are fewer and fewer.

What does the administration say about that? Well, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Sylvia Burwell, wrote an op-ed that appeared in CNN 6 days ago. It was entitled: "The reality of the health insurance marketplace." That is what they called it: "The reality of the health insurance marketplace." She said that all these higher prices people are experiencing around the country—the reason people are saying it is worse for them and their family and that they have been hurt by the health care law—are "growing pains." That is what she said—"growing pains."

Well, as a doctor who practiced medicine for 25 years, I can tell you that growing pains generally happen when something is growing. But that is not what is happening here. What is actually happening here is that ObamaCare is shrinking. The ObamaCare exchanges are shrinking. Millions of Americans will have fewer choices this year when they go to the ObamaCare exchanges than they had to buy insurance last year. In about one out of every three counties in America, people are going to be limited to only one single ObamaCare coverage choice in 2017.

In her op-ed, the Secretary talked about the "health insurance marketplace." When there is only one company selling insurance to one-third of the country, that is not a marketplace, that is a monopoly. That is why so many people say that they and their families have been personally hurt by the law and they believe it is going to make things worse for their families.

This Democrats' health care law is turning the country into an ObamaCare wasteland—a wasteland without choices and without opportunities to make decisions about what is best for you and your family. That is

why the American people are so worried about the future of their health care and why there has been an incredible spike in the number of people who think that in the future, their health care will get worse.

People look at these unsustainable price increases and they say: What am I going to do? They can't afford the insurance now. Maybe they can make it through this year. What about next year?

People want and need relief because even if you are down to one choice, even if there is a monopoly and you are down to one choice, you have to buy it because if you don't, President Obama and the Democrats say "You must pay a fine. You must pay a penalty. You must pay a tax" even though you have no choice. That is the Democrats' plan for health care—fine and penalize and tax them, but we are not going to give them any choice. There is no marketplace; there is a monopoly.

People want and deserve relief, and Republicans are offering that kind of relief. We are offering relief by saying: If you live in one of those counties that have no choices, the penalties, mandates, and fines should not apply to you.

The Democrats say: Pay up anyway.

If you live in a location where the premiums have gone up over 10 percent, the Republicans say: You deserve relief from what President Obama and the Democrats have forced upon you.

The Democrats say: Tough. Pay up anyway. Pay the fine. Pay the penalty. Pay the tax.

The American people deserve relief. People around the country are frightened by what they are seeing. They are frightened by what is happening with the health care law and the impacts, and they can see it getting worse and worse.

This didn't have to happen. It didn't have to happen. When the President wrote this law and had HARRY REID's office behind closed doors—had it written over in that area, ignoring the pleas of the Republicans, ignoring the pleas of the American people, who said "Do not do this to us," the Democrats and the President said they know better than all of us.

They said: If you like your doctor, you can keep your doctor. That turned out not to be true.

They said: If you like your health care plan, you can keep your health care plan. That turned out not to be true.

Premiums will drop by \$2,500, they said, and that was per year. That turned out not to be true.

This health care law has been very damaging to so many Americans. There are people who need help, but the Democrats should not have hurt so many Americans who had insurance, who had something that worked for them, who had something they could afford, in an effort to help others who didn't have insurance. That is why people are desperately asking for relief

from a one-size-fits-all approach with Washington mandates, with unelected, unaccountable bureaucrats forcing more regulations on hospitals, on doctors, on nurses, and on nursing homes across the board. That is why the American people say the health care law is going to make things even worse.

It is very distressing to hear a Democratic Senator come to the floor and say “Isn’t ObamaCare great?” because the American people know it is not. They know they have been hurt, they have been harmed, they have been taxed, they have been penalized, and they have been forced to pay more. They have lost options, lost choices, and lost opportunities because of this law and this administration and the way this was passed—without listening to people from both sides.

I think it is time for the Democrats to stop trying to spin this destructive law. It is time for them to work with Republicans to give the American people what they wanted from the beginning. They wanted the care they need from a doctor they chose at lower costs, not a health care law that so many Americans believe is going to continue to make health care in this country worse.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The assistant bill clerk read the nomination of Susan S. Gibson, of Virginia, to be Inspector General of the National Reconnaissance Office.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 15 minutes for debate, equally divided in the usual form.

The Senator from New Jersey.

RUSSIA

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I rise to take a stand against Russia’s attempts to tamper with the American Presidential electoral process and to create chaos in our elections and, at the end of the day, to undermine the integrity of the results of our election to serve its own purposes.

I remind my colleagues that in 2012, I was the victim of such election tampering attempts. The Washington Post reported that while I was running for reelection and preparing to become

chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the CIA had credible evidence, including Internet protocol addresses, linking Cuban agents to planted stories in the United States and in Latin American publications.

It was reported that those connections were laid out in intelligence reports provided to U.S. Government officials and sent by secure cables to the FBI’s Counterintelligence Division. Despite all of our government’s capabilities, they supposedly could not find who was behind the smear. Maybe our government didn’t want to rock the boat as they were prepared to establish relations with Cuba, but you would think that our government would do everything possible against a foreign government that was trying to upset the election of a sitting Senator to affect U.S. policy.

Let’s be clear. In this new digital world of open and accessible personal information available to anyone who has the technical savvy to find it and use it for nefarious purposes, the election of anyone in this Chamber is at risk.

We need to take a stand in this election cycle. We need the administration to come forward and tell us what they know about Vladimir Putin’s efforts to influence our Presidential election. We need to know what Putin knows, and we must find out exactly who is behind it, what they have, and what their purpose is.

It is certainly more than my experience and more than the Republican nominee’s deplorable admiration for dictators and strongmen. It is about protecting the American political process from outside interference and influence.

Let’s be very clear. I know, from my experience that we cannot underestimate the tradecraft of seasoned operatives like Vladimir Putin. We certainly cannot be naive enough to praise them for perceived strength and conflate it with the ruthless abuse of power. There is a difference between tuggery and strength.

Let’s be clear. Neither the Cuban Government, which attempted to smear me, nor Putin is in any way a friend of the United States. In Putin’s case, he is, as my colleague from Arizona—who, like me, was sanctioned by Putin—has publicly called him, “a thug and a butcher.” He is, in fact, a dictator who has been connected to the brutal deaths of his enemies and now has shown a willingness to use cyber warfare to undermine our democratic process. He clearly is attempting to shake the bedrock integrity of our political system, as Cuban intelligence tried to undermine the integrity of my last election in an effort to prevent me from becoming chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

From my perspective, the purpose is not only to undermine credibility and faith but to create a result that would benefit Russia. These actions are beyond the scope of any acceptable inter-

national norm and cannot be tolerated. With a laptop, a computer code, and a KGB penchant to rebuild the Russian Empire, wage Cold War 2.0, and use every technological tool to tip the geopolitical balance in Russia’s favor, we cannot in any way praise Putin or anyone else who attempts to influence our election process for their leadership.

We have seen the manifestation of Putin’s methods in the latest cyber attack on the Democratic National Committee and in a long list of egregious conventional interventions, from the annexation of Crimea to the orchestrating of supposed-Russian separatists who shot down Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 over Ukraine, his invasion of eastern Ukraine through the use of irregular Russian forces, now his troops amassing along the Ukraine border, and his invasion of Georgia not long ago. You can see it in his efforts to undermine sovereign Baltic countries through broadcasting and cyber efforts against those governments.

We have seen it in his military and political maneuverings to maintain control of his naval base in the port city of Tartus in Syria by intervening, with Assad, in the Syrian civil war. In Syria, Putin has stepped up his support for his friend and dictator Bashar al-Assad.

While its own citizens are suffering severe economic hardships, and while innocent Syrian civilians continue to suffer under the barrel bombs and military campaigns of Assad, Putin continues to provide military and tactical support to this murderous regime, attacking schools and hospitals with cluster munitions and incendiary attacks. Further ignoring the basic rights of all people, as Russia sells weapons system to Assad, it refuses to grant asylum or basic humanitarian support to Syrian refugees, who are directly suffering under Russia’s continued involvement in their country.

I remind my colleagues that Putin is no friend to the United States. His brand of leadership is to be condemned in no uncertain terms and should be denounced in this Chamber and by all responsible American Presidential candidates.

He is not a strong leader. He is a ruthless dictator who clearly knows his tradecraft and has not only hacked into the Democratic National Committee’s computer files but has capitalized on whatever business ties Paul Manafort has or had to Russia to woo—seemingly, in effect—an American Presidential candidate who respects strongmen and bravado and effectively recruit him.

There is no room in this Chamber or in the American political landscape for the support of Putin’s actions or leadership. This former KGB agent has a clear purpose in mind. He is engaged in a Soviet Cold War style brand of dictatorial actions, including state-sponsored surveillance, censorship, and repression.

Just look at the record. Human rights groups continue to report that