

of someone called “Warren Hatch.” Happily, the error was quickly corrected. ORRIN earned Utah’s trust and found his way right here to this Chamber.

Some of his new Senate peers thought their new colleague should lay low and keep quiet about his principles. They had no idea what they were in for.

This Pittsburgh-born son of a metal lather was actually ready for action. Remember, ORRIN was once an amateur boxer. So he came to the Senate ready to brawl. In his very first term, he decided he had to take down this far-left labor reform law that would have hurt free enterprise and future prosperity. So he took on a couple of heavyweights—Robert Byrd, George Meany, and the whole machinery of Big Labor.

So this freshman became the public face and private backbone of the opposition. It was an epic showdown. ORRIN worked 18-hour days. He taught his whole staff how to draft amendments. He gave pep talks to his ragtag, bipartisan band of brothers—Dick Lugar, Howard Baker, and Fritz Hollings, from across the aisle—trying to keep everyone in the boat. And it worked. It withstood six cloture votes, breaking the record for a single bill, and they won. American prosperity was kept safe from a big power grab by union bosses.

It only seems fitting, decades later, that the other end of ORRIN’s Senate tenure would also be marked by a major, hard-won, right-of-center accomplishment to help advance prosperity for all Americans.

ORRIN has chaired three of the Senate’s most distinguished and critical committees—the HELP Committee, Judiciary, and, most recently, Finance. In this Congress, as Finance chairman, he led the charge to deliver once-in-a-generation tax relief to middle-class American families and tax reform to American job creators. This meant more late night and more painstaking negotiations. Chairman HATCH had to thread the needle, attending carefully to his colleagues’ needs and keeping their eyes on the prize. Once again, he got it done.

So what about the decades in between these two bookmarks? First and foremost may be Senator HATCH’s special devotion to the Federal judiciary—to its essential role in our constitutional order, to its need for the highest quality personnel. Well, over his Senate tenure, ORRIN has participated in the confirmation of more than half of all of the article III judges who have served in the United States of America in our Nation’s history. Let me say that again. ORRIN has met with, studied up on, questioned, or at least voted on more than half of all of the Federal judges in American history. That includes all nine Members of the current Supreme Court.

When he supported a particular nominee, such as Justices Thomas,

Gorsuch, and Kavanaugh, ORRIN has been a leading champion of their cause, even in the face of unfair slights and smears. Even in cases when he has felt compelled to vote against nominees, he has treated them and the process itself with the respect and dignity that it is due.

The pile of ORRIN’s legislative victories is almost as high as that tower of distinguished judges, and many of them are defined by one signature thread that connects much of his proudest work, his care for and commitment to serve the most vulnerable members of our society—the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Hatch-Waxman for generic drugs, some of the earliest work on AIDS research, and even his very recent work to designate 6-1-1 as the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline.

So ORRIN has led a bit of a double life here in the Senate, and I mean that in the best possible way. He has been every bit the principled fighter, as advertised. He has led the charge often and hasn’t flinched from the big battles, but at the very same time, there was ORRIN, constantly working quietly behind the scenes and across the aisle to tick off victories for vulnerable Americans who could have easily been left behind.

One perfect illustration of this was ORRIN’s friendship with the late Ted Kennedy. For many of the years they spent here in the Senate, it seemed like they managed to rank among each other’s closest friends, top collaborators, and most consistent sparring partners—all at the same time.

But that is ORRIN. He loves to give and take. He loves to discuss and debate. His colleagues and staff can rely on him equally to sit down and talk at length if they see an issue differently than he does. He does not dismiss or overrule. He wants to learn, persuade, and to be persuaded. It is no wonder that ORRIN’s peers are so fond of him and his team is so loyal to him.

I am speaking especially of Ruthie Montoya, ORRIN’s scheduler for more than three decades—a member of the Senate family in her own right. But you can’t help but respect ORRIN because his own respect for this institution and the dignity of every individual he meets is so evident.

Utahns know this better than anyone. They know they can run into their senior Senator on the sidewalk or out shopping, and he will stop and listen carefully to their thoughts and concerns and life stories—maybe over a Costco hot dog—and he will take it all to heart.

How could this be surprising? This distinguished Statesman grew up modestly. His mother had her hands full raising seven children, and his father supported the family with his work as a metal lather. The hours were long and the work was hard, but the life lessons were invaluable.

ORRIN worked his way through college and law school. When his scholar-

ship didn’t prove quite enough to support a young family, he worked as a janitor and attendant and still graduated with honors. That education has carried ORRIN far, but not as far as something else he gained in college.

It was in one BYU classroom that providence did ORRIN a great favor, with an assist from alphabetical order. Because “Hatch, Orrin” came after “Hansen, Elaine,” he found himself seated next to this pretty young lady and struck up a conversation. That seating chart kicked off a blessed marriage of 60-plus years and counting.

Not every young husband would have left a successful law practice on the east coast and started over in Utah to be closer to his wife’s family. Not every wife and mother would tolerate—let alone encourage and support—half a lifetime of public service 2,000 miles from where they planned to call home.

That loving partnership has brought six children, 23 grandchildren, and 24 great-grandchildren. ORRIN has been known to refer to his brood as “the Hatchlings.”

So it is our hope that the Senate’s great loss upon ORRIN’s retirement will at least be this great family’s loving gain.

We are sad to bid farewell to our artist-in-residence and his platinum records, to this former all-star missionary and LDS bishop who still practices what he preached, to this living example of the American dream at its most extraordinary—the Pittsburgh fighter who climbed up from working poverty and became “The Gentleman of the Senate,” where he dedicated his work to strengthening that ladder for the generations that would follow.

ORRIN has been so generous to his colleagues, to this institution, and to the State and the Nation he has served. He has given us so much. He retires with great congratulations on a most distinguished career and our very warmest wishes for a peaceful and happy retirement.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. SCHUMER. First, Mr. President, let me add my words of fond farewell to the senior Senator of Utah. Back in the good old days, we worked on a whole lot of things together, when the place was a little less partisan—immigration, patents, and so many other things. He was a fine legislator and a fine craftsman. I wish him and his entire large, beautiful family the best.

I also note that Leader MCCONNELL talked about the good bipartisan work we have created in the farm bill, something good for his State and something he has cared about for a long time. I hope the leader—and I will talk more about this later—will use the same bipartisan spirit and help us to deal with the appropriations bills that are still awaiting our agreement.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, let me talk a little bit about yesterday afternoon. Yesterday, Leader PELOSI and I met with President Trump about funding the government past next week. We gave the President two options to keep the government open. The first option: Pass the six bipartisan appropriations bills and a 1-year CR for the Department of Homeland Security only. And, if they don't like that one, a 1-year CR for the rest of government.

We told the President that both of these options would pass both Chambers. It was his choice to either accept one of those two options or shut the government down. Yesterday, unfortunately, it was clear that the President is clinging to his position of billions of dollars for an unnecessary, ineffective, border wall. President Trump will soon realize that his position will not result in a wall but will result in a Trump shutdown, and he seems to relish the idea, amazingly enough.

The President has called for a shutdown at least 20 times since he came to office. You can add at least five or six more times to that number from our meeting. Here is a direct quote from President Trump yesterday: "If we don't get what we want, one way or the other . . . I [President Trump] will shut down the government. . . ."

President Trump said:

I am proud to shut down the government. . . . [so] I will take the mantle. I will be the one to shut it down. I'm not going to blame you [meaning Democrats] for it. . . . I will take the mantle of shutting it down.

It was astounding that any President, even this one, would say that. No President should ever say that he or she would be proud to shut the government down. No President should so glibly use the American Government and the millions of workers who work so hard as a bargaining chip, but that is where President Trump is headed.

President Trump made clear that he will hold parts of the government hostage for a petty campaign pledge to fire up his base. That is all it is. He never researched the wall. He talked about it on the campaign and he said: Oh, Mexico will pay for it. If President Trump holds to this position—that unless he gets his wall, he will shut down the government—who will suffer needlessly? The American people.

Of course, Leader PELOSI and I had to spend much of the meeting trying to untie the knots in logic the President was tying himself in. President Trump started by bragging about how great border security is going under his watch. That, by the way, is with no wall. If it were truly the case as the President said, that border security is better than it has ever been, what is wrong with another year of the same funding? If things are going so great, why does he have to threaten to shut down the government for his \$5 billion wall? It makes no sense. None of it is based on fact.

Mr. President, there is no wall.

Mr. President, Mexico has not agreed to pay for it. None of that is true, and it is difficult—if nearly impossible—to negotiate with a President in front of the press who peddles such blatant and dangerous falsehoods.

Because Leader PELOSI and I simply didn't go along with him, President Trump threw a temper tantrum and promised to shut down the government unless he got what he wanted. Evidently, the Trump temper tantrum continued even after the meeting, with news reports saying he threw papers around the White House in frustration.

Why did he continue? Because someone finally spoke truth to power. Someone finally contradicted him when he throws around blatant falsehoods on such a regular basis. The President is so used to obsequious advisers who fail to dispel his false and made-up facts that he lives in a cocoon of his own mistruth. Leader PELOSI and I had to tell him, no, Mr. President, that is not true. We had to puncture that cocoon, and he threw a temper tantrum because of it.

It is unfortunate that we have arrived at this point. The President's advisers should have been telling the President the truth all along. Unfortunately, too many of my Republican colleagues in the Senate and in the House seem too afraid to tell the President when he is wrong, even though they know he is wrong. They find it easier to throw up their hands and wait for someone else to solve the problem or capitulate and agree with the President.

At the moment, Senator MCCONNELL, the majority leader of this body and my friend, is staying as far away as he can from the year-end spending fight. We didn't hear a peep about it today. Leader MCCONNELL says he doesn't want a shutdown, but he refuses to engage with the President to tell him what is transparently obvious to everyone else: There will be no additional money for the wall. We need to pass a continuing resolution for DHS or for all the remaining Agencies to keep the government open.

Leader MCCONNELL has an obligation as majority leader, and that is to help persuade President Trump to take one of the two options we offered. The idea that Senator MCCONNELL has nothing to do with appropriations as majority leader of the Senate, who still is on that committee, does not withstand the slightest scrutiny.

If, unfortunately, the President refuses to compromise, Leader MCCONNELL will not be able to avoid this issue. In the unfortunate event that President Trump causes a shutdown, the Democratic House will come into power January 3 and pass one of our two options to fund the government, and then it will fall right back in Leader MCCONNELL's lap.

My view is—for whatever it is worth to him—it is better to solve this now because the leader is going to be stuck with it 2 weeks from now, after an un-

fortunate government shutdown caused by his President, if he doesn't act now.

If I were a Republican, I would get involved right now and help pull the President back from the brink. Democrats have given him two reasonable options. We made it crystal clear that Democrats are for keeping the government open. We have no demands beyond that, only the President does.

If President Trump wants to continue his temper tantrum ahead of the holidays and cause a shutdown, it is now so clear it is solely on his back. We hope the President chooses one of the reasonable options we gave him yesterday, and we hope the country can avoid a Trump shutdown.

I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COTTON). Under the previous order, leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF A RULE SUBMITTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY TO RETURNS BY EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS AND RETURNS BY CERTAIN NON-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S.J. Res. 64, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 64) providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Department of the Treasury relating to "Returns by Exempt Organizations and Returns by Certain Non-Exempt Organizations."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The assistant Democratic leader.

CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW ACT

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, today, the Senate is voting on a resolution of disapproval that would rescind a dangerous decision made by the Treasury Department and restore a vital tool in the fight against illegal spending in U.S. elections.

In July, the Treasury decided to reverse decades of precedent and eliminate a requirement that certain tax-exempt organizations must report the identities of their major donors to the Internal Revenue Service as part of their annual returns.

Why is this important? Because the 501(c)(4) "social welfare organizations" and 501(c)(6) business leagues that now are no longer required to disclose their donors to the IRS are the very same groups that have poured nearly one billion dollars of dark money into U.S. elections since 2010.