

If we can commit to continuing to follow the fair and equitable approach that was exhibited when we fashioned the bill in committee, we can pass a farm bill that has a chance to become law. Let's not squander this opportunity.

Our farmers in rural America need this bill. Let's get it passed so that we can provide our farmers and ranchers with the certainty and predictability they need to succeed.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

FAMILY SEPARATION

Mr. UDALL. Mr. President, I rise today to talk about the immigration crisis that this President has generated.

The Nation has seen images of children trapped behind wire fencing and children sleeping on concrete floors. We have seen the tents hurriedly set up to house children separated from their parents. We have seen the video of Jessica, who doesn't know where her mother is and wants to talk to her. We have heard the audio of young children crying out for their mothers and fathers. We have heard the audio of a detention facility staff person telling the kids not to talk to the press, claiming it will hurt their immigration case.

As of June 12, on American soil, over 100 babies under the age of 1 year are being held in detention by the American Government. We think this can't be happening in the United States of America, but it is.

Last Friday, Senators HEINRICH, BLUMENTHAL, and I visited President Trump's tent city in Tornillo, TX, and we toured a Border Patrol station in Clint and El Paso and a port of entry in El Paso. We were turned away from Tornillo on Friday, so I went back Saturday and got inside to see the children. We all went to these government facilities to get answers, but we came up short.

Most pressing, we still don't know when or how all the thousands of children taken from their parents will be reunited. We don't know how children whose parents have already been deported will be reunited. We have parents scared that they will never see their children again.

The confusion, chaos, and incompetence with which the President's zero tolerance policy was executed is only outmatched by the confusion, chaos, and incompetence with which reunification is being handled.

The immediate priority must be to get these children back to their parents as soon as possible. We know we are doing damage to these children

every day that they are not with their families. We know this. Pediatric and mental health professionals all agree. The American Academy of Pediatrics condemned the administration because those doctors know that separating families can result in "irreparable harm." That is a quote from the American Academy of Pediatrics—"irreparable harm" to separated children.

Last weekend, I saw children detained in the tents in Tornillo who were able to talk to their parents only twice a week for 10 minutes. I saw astounding young children—children 3 to 10 years old—who had crossed the border without their parents. I saw families from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, fleeing violence and persecution, locked in detention at Border Patrol. I met Jade Gabriela, who is not even 2, and her father, detained in El Paso, both of them trying to escape the brutality and gangs in Honduras.

President Trump claims there is a border crisis, but communities on the border dispute this. I am a Senator from a border State, and I dispute this. I represent border communities, and I have been to the border many, many times recently and over the years. President Trump has not. He should come see for himself and see the humanitarian crisis he has created.

Detention facilities for children are overwhelmed. We have heard from a whistleblower in New York that there is not enough staffing at her facility because of all the young children coming in. These internment camp-like facilities—as former First Lady Laura Bush has compared them to—are costing Americans and American taxpayers millions of dollars. The Tornillo tent city costs \$400,000 every day. The President's poorly conceived Executive order directs the Department of Homeland Security Secretary to set up even more family detention facilities on military bases.

Zero tolerance has overwhelmed the U.S. attorney's offices on the border. Now, instead of prosecuting violent criminals for serious crimes, Federal prosecutors are wasting resources, focusing instead on criminally prosecuting mothers and fathers for misdemeanor improper-entry violations. There is a call to take military JAG lawyers away from their more important duties to handle the flood of immigration cases and recall prosecutors from their posts in Indian Country, where they are so sorely needed. All systems are bursting at the seams thanks to the President's made-up crisis, cruelty, and bureaucratic incompetence.

As of today, there is no clear path forward to reunite families. There is no timeline. Tuesday, Secretary Azar of Health and Human Services admitted in his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee that there is no timeline. The Department of Health and Human Services is prohibited under the Flores case from reuniting children with parents who are in detention.

The President wants to keep zero tolerance in place and continue to prosecute and keep parents in detention with their children. Not only is this cruel and un-American, but I think the Federal judge in Flores is going to reject the President's request to allow children to be jailed with their parents longer than 20 days.

The President has doubled down on zero tolerance. Like many of his policies that are hastily implemented and borne of his divisive agenda, there is no plan B if the court refuses, as it should, to allow children to be jailed with their parents.

There is an obvious solution. Successful alternatives to detention have demonstrated compliance rates of 99 percent with court appearances and ICE appointments. These programs are both effective and cost a fraction of what it takes to detain families. Why doesn't the President use these programs and save taxpayers millions of dollars? Because he thinks it doesn't appear tough and takes away his bargaining chip of detained children that he thinks he can use to get his wall.

In the President's rush to gain political traction, he has created a humanitarian and moral crisis within our own borders, the likes of which we have not seen since we interned families of Japanese heritage during World War II.

I can tell you that I will not back down from this fight. More importantly, I can tell you that the American people and New Mexicans are with me. It is the voices of the American people that forced the President to retreat from his brutal family separation policy, and it is those voices that will prevail in the end.

The administration is trying its hardest to hide what is going on from the American people, but the American people are demanding answers. We all must continue to speak out until we have policies in place that make sure families stay together, lawfully and humanely. We need alternatives to detention, and we need to stand up for due process.

As Americans see images of separated children and family detention camps, they turn to Congress, and they turn to the judicial system as well. A Federal judge recently issued a ruling barring family detention and ordering reunification within 30 days, but the Trump administration may fight this ruling—just like they are fighting to overturn Flores, which came out of a Supreme Court case.

RETIREMENT OF JUSTICE ANTHONY KENNEDY

Mr. UDALL. Mr. President, today, Justice Kennedy has announced he is retiring. I had some very strong disagreements with his rulings, especially on campaign finance reform, but I thank him for his service. He was a thoughtful Justice. I am very concerned with the process to replace him.