

All of this occurred when the chaos at our airports grew and essential workers went unpaid. Instead of agreeing to reforms, the White House took Executive action to skirt accountability.

What has happened to ICE? After the killings in Minneapolis and the violence in Chicago and other cities, ICE virtually disappeared. When the director of the Department of Homeland Security was forced to resign, we had a new director come on board—the Senator from Oklahoma. What has happened to him? They have gone radio silent.

The only evidence that the ICE agents are still around and working was when they were dispatched to airports. And for some reason—it may be part of the current charm offensive for ICE—they were told they don't have to wear a mask if they are in an airport. This makes no sense at all if you buy their explanation that the ICE agents are so vulnerable.

What happened when they were in the airport? It is reported that they arrested and detained over 800 people.

Remember what ICE was supposed to do? It was supposed to make us safe—safe in our homes and neighborhoods, safe across the United States. The President said over and over again: ICE is going to go after the worst of the worst. Rapists, murderers, terrorists, the criminally insane—we are going to go find them.

So what has happened in the months that ICE has been on this crusade? One out of seven people that they have detained or removed from the United States actually had a serious criminal record. It made no difference; the Stephen Miller plan is to put fear in the hearts of all the immigrants to the United States, and that is what they set out to do. It is not a question of safety in the neighborhoods; it is a question of whether or not we are going to tolerate immigration in America.

I think there ought to be some basics in a bipartisan agreement when it comes to immigration. Let me tell you what I think those basics are. We should never knowingly allow a dangerous person to come into this country. Second, if there is a person in this country that is seeking legal status and they do something serious, like commission of a crime or they are dangerous, they are gone—gone. Third, we cannot absorb at any one time all the people in the world who want to come to the United States. We need to have an orderly system. I think those three elements are the starting point of a bipartisan conversation.

When it comes to the future of immigration, I was involved several years ago with the Gang of 8—four Democratic Senators, four Republican Senators—among them, John McCain and CHUCK SCHUMER. We sat down for months and wrote up a bill: comprehensive immigration reform. It was supported by business and labor and

the agriculture groups, and by and large, it was bipartisan from start to finish. More money was put into border security than ever in the history of the United States.

That bill passed the U.S. Senate with a bipartisan vote. That should have been the beginning of a conversation that leads us away from where we are today, but what happened? It was sent to the Republican-controlled House of Representatives and, for a variety of political reasons, went nowhere.

It is time for us to return and visit that issue again for a comprehensive immigration reform plan. We have to tell Stephen Miller to cool it.

As far as I am concerned, to turn ICE loose on more and more communities is just to make people fearful and not solve the problem we face. We have to work together to solve it with a comprehensive plan, and we should be started on that immediately.

---

#### IRAN

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I will also tell you that when it comes to the future involvement of the United States, we have a serious question in the Middle East. I cannot tell you what the objective of the President is when it comes to the war in Iran. If you take a look at what happened today—we had a rollcall vote on my colleague Senator DUCKWORTH's motion that would have given Congress the authority to declare war, as the Constitution states in article I, section 8. It was defeated on a partisan vote once again. We have tried this two or three other times.

This is an effort to make sure that we have a conversation about the war in Iran. Do you know how many public hearings we have had in Congress about the invasion of Iran? None. Not one. We are virtually in a war that has gone on now for 70 days or so, and we have not debated it.

What is the purpose of our invasion of Iran? The President has given six, seven, eight different explanations, depending on the time of day. One day, it is to close the Strait of Hormuz; the next day, it is to open the Strait of Hormuz. One day, it is to get regime change in Iran; the next day, it is to reject the regime that is governing in Iran. The next day, we are going to eliminate missiles. And it goes on and on. You can't keep up with it.

The problem, of course, is that there is an impact on families all across the world but especially in the United States when it comes to the cost of living. When you ask American families "How are you doing?" they say "Not so well, thank you."

When we take a look at the cost of raising a family these days, we see the cost of groceries hitting an alltime high; we see our utility bills going up—in Illinois, they have gone up 15 percent this year over last year; we see the cost of gasoline going through the roof. It is over \$4 a gallon in Illinois and in some parts of Chicago, over \$5 a

gallon. That is a real hardship on working families.

Why are we in this mess with gasoline? Because of the invasion of Iran and the disruption of the flow of oil through the Strait of Hormuz into Europe and beyond. That is the reality of the President's invasion.

Did anyone in the White House or the Department of Defense sit down and measure the impact of what it would mean if we invaded Iran on the global economy? This morning, I heard on the radio someone predicting the possibility of a global recession.

Was that part of your calculation, Mr. President?

We don't know because we can't understand what the President's motives are on a day-to-day basis when it comes to the future of Iran.

Do we want Iran to have a nuclear weapon? Of course not. What have we done about it? Under the Obama administration, we negotiated international inspectors to go into Iran to see whether or not they were developing a nuclear bomb. I met with some of those inspectors on a regular basis. They were getting doors opened and questions asked and answered, photos being taken, and a reporting at the time.

What happened with President Trump in his first term? He eliminated the agreement that created the inspectors. Then what did he replace it with? Nothing. Nothing until he invaded Iran 2 months ago.

We need international inspectors in place to make sure that Iran does not develop a nuclear weapon, and we certainly are not moving in that direction with the President Trump invasion.

So we have the situation in which the President's chaos and cost-of-living increases and confusion have really created problems for families across the United States. It is time for us to remember that our goal is to make it better for those who are raising children and trying to feed a family. This war in Iran is not the answer to that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

---

#### IRAN

Mr. WELCH. Mr. President, we are now 46 days into President Trump's war on Iran and Lebanon. This war is wrong. This war is hurting the United States, our citizens, and our security. This war is destabilizing the Middle East and spreading to Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Jordan, and, of course, not to mention Lebanon.

This war has imperiled our economy, imposing unsustainable burdens on the American family. The average American family will pay \$2,000 more for gas each year if prices stay this high. The average Vermont household will pay another thousand dollars to heat their home this year. Farms across rural

America are going to pay tens of thousands of dollars extra for fertilizer because of the closure of the Strait of Hormuz.

The war is imperiling our world economy. The IMF has concluded that the growth in the economy around the world could drop by 2 percent, risking a global recession. Food prices are increasing around the world. In Sudan, the price for wheat is up 70 percent because of the war, and that is in a country on the brink of absolute starvation.

How did this happen? How did it happen? We got here because the President disregarded his own promises of staying out of Middle East wars. He disregarded the American people by not leveling with them about what his plan was and what his intentions were. He disregarded Congress entirely, and he has totally disregarded our allies. So is it any surprise that we find ourselves right now with President Trump stuck dealing with this situation that he created pretty much by himself?

Instead of consulting with our allies or even his own administration, the President relied on Prime Minister Netanyahu, inviting him to the Situation Room—never been done before.

Netanyahu assured him: No problem. You bomb, you bomb—the regime will collapse. You bomb, you bomb—the Strait of Hormuz will stay open.

President Trump accepted that advice and rejected the advice of his own Cabinet officials, who called that for what it was. The Netanyahu advice was farcical. We have seen what happened. Oil has gone from \$70 a barrel to a high of more than \$120 a barrel. Fertilizer prices have jumped from \$400 a ton to \$700 a ton. Helium prices, which none of us really thought much about, have gone up 100 percent, and that has created an enormous supply chain crisis for the semiconductor industry upon which all of us are dependent.

President Trump is now in the remarkable position of closing the Strait of Hormuz himself, supposedly for the stated purpose of opening it. For those of us who were here in the Vietnam years, that is very reminiscent of the administration position that we had to destroy a village in order to save it.

It has just become indisputably clear that the President and Secretary of War Hegseth really had no plan other than, as President Trump put it, to bomb Iran into the stone age. And that is what is happening. The bombing has been among the most intense bombing campaigns in the history of air warfare. The United States has carried out more than 13,000 airstrikes. Israel has carried out more than 10,000 strikes, dropping over 18,000 bombs. In the first 100 hours, the United States and Israel hit more targets in Iran than in the first 6 months of the bombing campaign against ISIS.

These strikes have taken a devastating toll on civilians and clearly civilian targets. Just talk about in Iran. U.S.-Israeli strikes have hit 60 hospitals; 44 schools, including that

girls school that was horrifying to all of us; the major B1 highway bridge, used by civilians, killing 13 civilians; major pharmaceutical plants that were producing anti-cancer drugs and had associated with them 200,000 jobs; desalination plants; sports stadiums; Tehran's synagogue.

While the President says the Iranian people are not our adversary, thousands of civilians have been killed in these strikes. On average, 10 children a day have been killed in U.S.-Israeli airstrikes. Nearly 40 percent of the attacks have taken place in the heart of Tehran, a dense urban area, and 95 percent of those killed by bombs are civilians.

This kind of bombing tells us that President Trump has made the Iranian people—the very people he promised to save—the adversary, the enemy, much more so than the ayatollahs.

It is time to end this war of choice, this war that was chosen by a very in-temperate decision by our President, this war that is making Americans less secure, and this war that is and will continue to impose extraordinary economic pain on our citizens.

It is very clear that President Trump and his negotiators—Mr. Witkoff and Mr. Kushner—have a fundamental misunderstanding of the regime they are dealing with.

In the course of this war, President Trump has changed the narrative. Three months ago, we were focused on the violence of the Iranian regime toward its own people. Today, with the closure of the Strait of Hormuz and the economic pain that the ayatollahs have been able to inflict on the world, the narrative is about the ayatollahs standing up to the United States and Israel.

Trump's bombing has damaged Iran, and it has hurt the Iranian people, but it has also given everyone and the ayatollahs leverage over our economy and the world economy. The threats that the President makes to the ayatollahs don't particularly move them, and it is something he doesn't understand. This is not a real estate deal. What the ayatollahs have shown—and this is horrifying—is that they are prepared to destroy their own country if that is what it takes for them to stay in power. So these threats the President makes fall on deaf ears.

As a first step in ending this war, I urge my colleagues to support Senator SANDERS' joint resolutions of disapproval, which we will be taking up later today. Those resolutions would stop the United States from sending bombs—thousands of bombs—and armored bulldozers to Israel.

These weapons are paid for by the American taxpayers. We will be sending bombs to Israel at a time when we are in a cease-fire, which I hope will continue. These bulldozers are being used, literally—literally—to bulldoze entire villages in Lebanon on behalf of Israel's intentions.

And I want to note that if this vote is successful on the JRDs, it would

simply force a debate. It wouldn't stop anything. It would require those of us in the U.S. Senate, those of us who by virtue of our election have the article I authority to declare war—it would require us to say yes or no on where we stand. It would require us to accept our responsibility under the Constitution to do our job on the most profound question that affects the people of this country, and that is when, whether, and why to commit this country to war.

I hope my colleagues will vote in favor of these JRDs, and I am disappointed that we rejected Senator DUCKWORTH's resolution. We need this cease-fire to continue. We need the bombing to stop and stay stopped.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

#### BEAUTIFYING FEDERAL CIVIC ARCHITECTURE ACT

Mr. BANKS. Mr. President, as you know, one of the great privileges of this job is to come down and to speak on this floor—the floor of the U.S. Senate—about the important issues of the day. What an honor it is as new Senators to come and look around and be stunned by this building, by this room, this floor.

There is something truly inspiring about such a beautiful room as this Chamber. In fact, I encourage everyone here—my colleagues, the pages, the staff, all of those in the Gallery who are with us today—to marvel at just how beautiful this room is. It is truly stunning.

Take a look around, and take it in. I have been here for a year and a half now. It never gets old, walking onto the floor of the U.S. Senate and being in this room, the Senate Chamber.

Look at the attention to detail, every bit of it, from the carpet to the ceiling, from the doors to the ornaments on the wall, the Senate floor is just one room in one of the most beautiful buildings in the entire world.

Beautiful architecture is a vital part of civic life. What any society builds is representative of the values that that society holds dear. A society that believes in its goodness and beauty will build beautiful things.

A great country will build great and beautiful buildings like this one, and then they will be shaped by them. In fact, it was the great Winston Churchill who said:

We shape our buildings and afterward our buildings shape us.

So well put.

But a society that has given up on believing in its goodness and beauty will fall into a cult of ugliness.

Sadly, the classical style of architecture that brought beauty to so much of the world has come under serious attack, and it is time to reverse that trend.

Last year, President Trump issued an Executive order just like one that he