

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

signed at the end of his first term and that he signed again at the beginning of his second term, called Making Federal Architecture Beautiful Again. And that Executive order mandates that classical and traditional architecture is the design for Federal buildings.

Shortly after President Trump signed that Executive order, I introduced the Beautifying Federal Civic Architecture Act, which would make it the policy of the United States that classical and traditional architecture should be the preferred design for all Federal public buildings.

My bill also directs architects and buildings to consult with local communities where building projects are taking place and to hear directly from them about what they want to see built in their own communities.

I hope that my bill will soon get a vote on this floor to codify and make permanent what President Trump has done in his Executive order.

But I want to spend a few minutes on the floor today explaining why beautiful architecture really matters and what is lost when we abandon it.

I have talked before on this floor about my background. I grew up in a trailer park, the son of a factory worker in a small town in Indiana. The neighborhood that I was raised in, I suppose, didn't exactly have what you would call beautiful buildings that you would look around and admire.

But I didn't have to travel too far away from that trailer park to see beautiful architecture. I got used to seeing the magnificent county courthouse—the Whitley County Courthouse—in Columbia City, IN, my hometown, that is right in the middle of the town square. Every time I saw it, from the time I was a little boy until even today, when I drive by it and see it regularly, I am always inspired by the dome of that beautiful courthouse building in my small town.

I was the first in my family to go to college. And when I got to Indiana University, I looked around, and there were several beautiful buildings on the campus. The building that I spent the most time in was Woodburn Hall, and the intricate mural that was painted in Woodburn 101, where I heard most of my boring political science lectures, was painted by Thomas Hart Benton. I remember looking at that incredible mural during those lectures and being inspired by something beautiful.

Now, my Fort Wayne office, which is my State headquarters, was also the same office that I occupied when I served in the House of Representatives for 8 years in my district. My office in the E. Ross Adair Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse, in downtown Fort Wayne, is another great, classical-style building that is built in my State.

When I say that these buildings are inspiring, I am referring to that feeling that you get when you see something beautiful, something that is built to last, something that is transcendent.

Beautiful buildings make us look upward, toward the heavens, reminding

us that there is something out there that is bigger than ourselves. That is the transformative power of beautiful architecture.

Across so much of Europe, you see these magnificent buildings that were built hundreds of years ago that are still standing today. We should still be able to build those same types of beautiful, long-lasting buildings in the United States of America.

Take a look at these two Federal courthouses, just as an example. Look at the Federal courthouse in my capital city, in Indianapolis, and then the Federal courthouse in Salt Lake City. And look at how the courthouse in Indianapolis looks sturdy and solid and how regal and beautiful it really looks with that design. It is a testament to the importance of the law.

And then take a look at the Federal courthouse in Salt Lake City—in downtown Salt Lake City—and you don't see any of that. In fact, frankly, it looks like a prison—I mean, literally. It lacks symmetry, and it is anything but beautiful. It is actually really gross, and a lot of people who live in Salt Lake City agree with that.

In fact, Indiana has a great track record of really building beautiful buildings, using classical architecture.

After I graduated college and worked at a few jobs here and there and moved back to start a family in my same hometown, outside of Fort Wayne, I went to work for a fifth-generation family commercial construction company called Hagerman Construction. They have built a lot of buildings from the early 1900s to today that use classical architecture styles.

But one of my favorite buildings that they ever built is the famous Lincoln Bank Tower in downtown Fort Wayne. It is built in art deco style, and it incorporates classical design elements. The Lincoln Bank Tower started construction in 1929, and it was finished in less than 1 year.

You think about that, and when I was working at that construction company, I used to talk to the project managers and the construction superintendents, and they used to tell me that there is no way you could build a building like the iconic and most beautiful building in downtown Fort Wayne, the Lincoln Tower, in less than a year.

In fact, it would take several years to build something like that today, and it would cost a whole lot more in today-dollars versus dollars in 1929 to do it. That is because of how much we have done that has created so much more redtape when you build buildings and all the hoops that you have to go through to build something as beautiful as something like that today.

Another example is the Christ Chapel at Hillsdale College. It is another beautiful, neoclassical building that happens to have been built by another company headquartered in Fort Wayne called Weigand Construction. It is truly one of the most beautiful build-

ings that I have ever seen or been in, in our great country.

Hoosiers know how to build beautiful things and build beautiful buildings. I am very proud of both of those buildings that have Hoosier roots.

As I said, I am the son of a factory worker and a nursing home cook. But though I come from humble beginnings, I couldn't help but be moved by these beautiful buildings in Indiana and other places I visited. Those beautiful buildings, which I still see today, made me realize that beautiful architecture really is for everybody.

They are not simply architecture—these big buildings, these beautiful buildings—they are not simply for rich people or the elites or the upper classes of our society. Everyone deserves to be surrounded by beauty, especially in this great country. That is especially true in Washington, DC, our Nation's Capital.

Washington, DC, is the most important and powerful city in the entire world, and I can't think of any other city that has been as consequential in world affairs as Washington, DC, the city that we are in today.

Given this city's power and importance, it should follow that DC would be beautiful, every bit of it. For large parts of DC, this city is truly magnificent.

Washington, DC, is home to some of the most beautiful buildings certainly anywhere in our country but anywhere around the world. We have the grandeur of the White House, the U.S. Capitol Building, the Library of Congress—truly one of my favorites—the Department of Agriculture, and many other beautiful buildings that make up this Capital City.

Because these buildings are built in classical and traditional styles, these buildings convey a sense of importance, power, and dignity. They tell us that those who pass through them and by them on sidewalks are important and that consequential things are happening inside of these buildings.

The old Senate Chamber, by the way, just down the hallway, is another incredible room that was designed by a brilliant architect named Benjamin Latrobe.

And when he built it, he talked about building the old Senate Chamber, and when he expanded it as the country expanded, he talked about how it represented a great and growing Nation. And then Dr. William Thornton was the original architect of the U.S. Capitol the guy who designed and built the place.

And he talked about how he designed it in a way for the Presiding Officer and I to be inspired as lawmakers to do good things. It just goes to show that architecture matters. And that is how we should think about the buildings all across Washington, DC, that they represent the very best of our Nation.

When President Trump decided to build a new White House ballroom, many of the so-called elites sneered at

it. They made fun of it. They said it was gaudy and imperial, but really it was nothing like that. In fact, most Americans saw the ballroom as a return to grace. Finally, the White House would have a beautiful place to gather a lot of people, fitting of the important role for our Nation's most famous building to bring people together in an even more beautiful place than what it already is.

I am glad that President Trump is making Washington, DC, and the White House even more beautiful than what it was before, but, tragically, DC is also home to some of the ugliest buildings that you can find anywhere. They are some of the ugliest buildings certainly that I have ever seen, and it is because we allow brutalism to infect our Nation's Capital. Brutalism is an architectural style that emerged in the 1950s.

Brutalist buildings all look alike because they are all alike. They are made out of raw concrete. They are big blocks of raw concrete, and they are ugly because of that. They look like they are built on top of each other.

In fact, the J. Edgar Hoover Building the home of the FBI is an ugly brutalist disaster. The Hubert Humphrey Building home to the Department of Health and Human Services looks straight out of a communist, nightmarish block. In fact, Dr. Ben Carson who used to serve in that building referred to it as "10 floors of basement," is what he called it.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development is another awful building. These brutalist buildings have no place in our Nation's Capital because our country is not ugly. Actually, Dr. Carson served in the HUD building, and he called that 10 floors of basement.

We deserve to be inspired by the buildings around us, not depressed by them. The buildings that we build leave an impact on all of us. The question to ask is, How did we get here? How did we allow a cult of ugliness to take over large parts of the United States?

And make no mistake, this didn't happen by accident. Cultural elites did this on purpose. They made our world uglier because when you do that, you change what citizens expect from public life. A world that looks ugly produces a culture that only sees ugliness.

That is why the targets of the ugliness were often Federal and civic buildings. When official government business takes place in ugly buildings, the citizens lose belief in their government's goodness. But I am telling you, because of President Trump's Executive order and the bill that I have introduced, we can really change that one building at a time.

President Trump is leading the charge with his White House renovations and his Making Federal Architecture Beautiful Again Executive order, and President Trump is making our country great and beautiful again. And

that is why it is really important that we pass my bill the Beautifying Federal Civic Architecture Act.

We need to make sure that classical and traditional architecture are the preferred design preferences for all Federal buildings and that residents have a say in the types of buildings that are built in their communities. Elitist architects shouldn't be allowed to steamroll over regular Americans and force anti-American building designs on all of us.

Our country is beautiful. Our country is the greatest country on Earth in the history of the world, and we owe it to ourselves and our children to build beautiful buildings that reflect who we really are as a country.

And sure, maybe sometimes building beautiful buildings will cost more than building ugly ones—I will grant you that—but beautiful buildings last. They are transcendent; it is worth it. That is what our country deserves, especially this great country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHMITT). The Senator from Virginia.

#### SUDAN

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I come before you today to mark the third anniversary and, unfortunately, the start of the fourth year of conflict of the war in Sudan.

Sudan is home to the largest humanitarian and displacement crisis in the whole world. This conflict and the resulting humanitarian crisis are largely being ignored by people across the world, including in our country, who are best positioned to make a difference.

The war in Sudan started because a few years back, one of the most brutal dictators of the 20th century was actually overthrown by civil society and young people in Sudan looking for a better country. It was an effort to move toward a democracy, but that move was suddenly halted by two generals, each of a separate warring party and, unfortunately, fueled by external actors.

The violence in Sudan has caused upwards of 15 million people to flee their homes—a quarter of the population—and has left literally half of the country's 50 million people on the brink of starvation and acute hunger. Yet, still now 3 years in—and I understand how they feel—the Sudanese people feel basically forgotten by the world.

Now, I have come to the floor previously to speak out on this issue, and I rise again today because this conflict cannot continue to be ignored. America must lead, not back away, in times like these when suffering and terror are at their peak.

At the heart of this crisis is the ongoing violence between the Sudanese Armed Forces—remnants of the previous government—called the SAF, and the Rapid Support Forces—another militia group—both fighting against each

other for control of the country. It is estimated that the fighting and resulting food crisis may have killed more than 100,000 Sudanese and left millions more on the verge of starvation.

The remarkable thing is that there are no good guys here. Both the SAF and the RSF have inflicted horrible atrocities on the people of Sudan. The U.S. Government has accused members of both SAF and the RSF of war crimes, while in January of last year, the State Department issued a determination that genocide had literally been committed by the RSF and its allied militias in the Darfur region of Sudan.

The World Food Programme, which we are huge supporters of, has declared a famine in parts of southern and western Sudan, and there is a high risk of this famine condition spreading across the balance of the country.

Sudan's economy has collapsed. Unemployment now is close to 50 percent of the whole population. A generation of children risk being denied education because of how dangerous it is to even go to school.

Conditions, unfortunately, may actually get worse. We have seen the war in Iran dramatically disrupt fuel and fertilizer shipments—particularly devastating as Sudan enters what should be its planting season in coming months. Globally, the United Nations has warned that the impacts stemming from these fuel, fertilizer, and supply chain disruptions would place more than, again, 45 million people in Sudan at risk of acute hunger.

Let's be clear. This is a catastrophe. In fact, more people die every day in Sudan than Gaza and Ukraine combined.

It is not a new issue. I pushed the Biden administration repeatedly. But the U.S. response in addressing the scale of suffering that we see remains, unfortunately, woefully inadequate.

First and foremost, the Sudanese people need humanitarian aid. They need aid workers, humanitarian organizations. And the local Sudanese volunteers, many who put their lives at risk on a daily basis, need the access to respond.

Unfortunately, the current administration dismantled USAID and the broader U.S. foreign assistance infrastructure, so there is no clear and coordinated diplomatic strategy for addressing this conflict, for rallying the international community, for coordinating with local responders and organizations on the ground.

Now, because of the war with Iran, foreign policy choices risk dramatically worsened conditions. When we dismantled USAID and the funding of the administration, we literally had a situation where American food and medicine that we had paid for were sitting on ships in the port of Sudan, and the workers that were literally paid a dollar or two a day to take that food and distribute it, because we shut down USAID, were left without any distribution network. So in some cases, this