

House to come together to pass the Leahy-Crapo Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act. I expressed hope because I thought there was a basis for compromise on a provision that had been a sticking point for House Republicans. I am dismayed that we have not seen progress toward that compromise despite my outreach and the urgency of the situations for thousands of victims of domestic and sexual violence.

Senator CRAPO and I included in our bill a key provision to allow tribal courts limited jurisdiction to consider domestic violence offenses committed against Indian women on tribal lands by non-Indians. The epidemic of violence against Native women is appalling, with a recent study finding that almost three in five Native women have been assaulted by their spouses or intimate partners. This provision would help end an untenable situation where non-Indians assaulting their spouses or intimate partners on tribal land are essentially immune from prosecution.

This is a commonsense proposal with important limitations and guarantees of rights, but I know that House Republicans have continued to object to it. That is why I was heartened when two conservative House Republicans with leadership positions introduced a bill providing a compromise on the tribal jurisdiction provision.

Representative ISSA of California and Representative COLE of Oklahoma introduced the Violence Against Indian Women Act, H.R. 6625. Their cosponsors include Republicans from North Carolina, Minnesota, and Idaho. They all have tribes within their States and are concerned about the violence our Senate bill is trying to combat. Their bill includes a provision that allows defendants to remove a case to Federal court if any defendant's rights are violated. This modification should ensure that only those tribes that are following the requirements of the law and providing full rights can exercise jurisdiction and that defendants can raise challenges at the beginning of a case.

Last week, I called on House Republican leadership to abandon their "just say no" approach to any grant of tribal jurisdiction and give serious consideration to the Republican compromise proposal introduced last week. I have heard that Republican leaders are meeting today to finally discuss the issue. It is my hope that they will show real leadership by supporting crucial protections for tribal women, rather than offering empty proposals that do not change existing law and will not move us forward or help us to address this crisis.

I have reached out to House leaders throughout the year and very recently to find a path forward on VAWA, and I know others have conducted similar outreach. While I am very disappointed that I have yet to see meaningful movement despite the opportunity for reasonable, bipartisan compromise to enact this needed legislation, I do be-

lieve House leaders still have an opportunity to do the right thing and pass VAWA, but that window is closing.

Passing the Leahy-Crapo VAWA bill will make a difference. It will lead to a greater focus on the too often neglected problem of sexual assault and rape. It will lead to important new programs to identify high risk cases and prevent domestic violence homicides. It will lead to better protections for students on campuses across the country and better housing protections for victims of domestic and sexual violence. These improvements are most meaningful if they apply to all victims. I am willing to explore compromise language to make progress, but we should not leave out the most vulnerable victims.

As partisan objections continue to hold up this bill, we continue to read each week about new and horrific cases of domestic violence and rape. It is heartbreaking that women continue to suffer as our efforts to compromise and pass this crucial legislation hit roadblock after roadblock. I hope that our last ditch effort will finally break this frustrating impasse.

TRAFFICKING VICTIMS PROTECTION REAUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, as the end of this Congress quickly approaches, I urge the Senate—Republicans, Democrats, and Independents—to come together and pass our bipartisan Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act.

More than a century after the Emancipation Proclamation and despite the fact that slavery is now illegal everywhere in the world, modern-day slavery, or human trafficking, still occurs throughout the world—including in the United States of America. The Polaris Project estimates that there are more than 27 million victims of human trafficking worldwide today. To put that in perspective, that is more people than the population of Texas.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act is a bipartisan bill that was carefully crafted with the input of victims and service providers to reflect critical improvements to existing law. I have worked hard to try to address concerns expressed by Republican Senators and to ensure bipartisan support for this legislation, which Congress has reauthorized three times before. The result is that our current bill, which was voted out of the Senate Judiciary Committee more than a year ago, now has 54 cosponsors—including 14 Republicans.

This bipartisan legislation seeks to stop human trafficking at its roots by supporting international and domestic efforts to fight against the causes and punish the perpetrators of trafficking. It also provides critical resources to help support victims as they rebuild their lives. We have included new accountability measures to ensure that Federal funds are used for their in-

tended purposes, and we have streamlined programs to focus scarce resources on the approaches that have been the most successful.

Earlier this week, several Senators spoke on the floor of the Senate in commemoration of Human Rights Day. I was pleased to see that Senator RUBIO, with whom I have worked on this issue, mentioned the need to pass our anti-trafficking bill by the end of the year. We agree that it is imperative for the Senate to act now so that we can take steps toward ending human trafficking and providing the survivors with the support they desperately need in order to get back on their feet.

I have checked with my caucus to see if we can move this bill today. I can report that every Democratic Senator has agreed to pass this legislation now by unanimous consent. I hope my friends on the other side of the aisle will join us to pass the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act without further delay.

This is the type of bipartisan bill about an urgent human rights issue that should pass by unanimous consent. I hope we can work together TODAY to make that happen.

The United States remains a beacon of hope for so many who face human rights abuses. We know that young women and girls—often just 11, 12, or 13 years old—are being bought and sold. We know that workers are being held and forced into labor against their will. No one should further delay action while these injustices continue. I am calling on Congress to do the right thing and enact the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act before the end of this year. Millions of people around the world are counting on us and they cannot wait.

NEWEST UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, last Friday, December 7, 2012, the new United States Courthouse in Cedar Rapids, IA was dedicated. This facility was built to replace the previous courthouse, built in 1932, that was closed due to the extensive flood damage that occurred in June 2008.

The new courthouse has five courtrooms and associated facilities for the United States Courts operations and also houses a number of Federal Government agencies. Groundbreaking took place in April 2009. The new courthouse opened to the public on November 5. It is my understanding the courthouse was completed within budget and on time.

At the dedication ceremony last week, the keynote address was delivered by the Honorable David R. Hansen, Senior United States Circuit Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Chief Judge Reade, Senator Grassley, Senator Harkin, Distinguished Members of the Federal and State Judiciaries, Mayor Corbett, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May It Please The Court:

We gather today to dedicate this, the newest United States Courthouse in these United States of America. It stands as a fitting testament to the Federal Government's Design Excellence program which employs the Nation's leading architects and designers to design the country's newest federal public buildings. In our case those professionals were William Rawn and Associates of Boston and OPN Architects of Cedar Rapids, and they have produced, with the excellent efforts of the Ryan Companies this beautiful, eye-catching, and awe-inspiring structure to house the components of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Iowa. The Northern District is composed of the northernmost fifty-two counties in this state, with the dividing line between the Northern and Southern districts basically along Highway Thirty. The best news is that it was done on time and within the budget.

Fifty years ago there were six Congressionally authorized federal court points across this district. They were in Dubuque, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Mason City, Fort Dodge, and Sioux City. Not one of them was a stand-alone United States Courthouse. All of them were buildings which principally housed the United States Post Office for that city and provided space for a courtroom and a judge's chambers, usually on the second floor, along with some jury space. Other non-court federal agencies were housed there too, and they were really federal buildings. The players in the federal court system had been and were scattered across the district as well, with the Clerk of Court in Dubuque, the Bankruptcy Referee in Fort Dodge, the United States Marshal in Dubuque; and the Probation Office in Waterloo. The United States Attorney was at times in Dubuque, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Mason City, Fort Dodge, and Sioux City. Over the years, and principally because of Judge Edward J. McManus's initiatives, the various court functions were centralized here in Cedar Rapids (for the eastern two-thirds of the district) and in Sioux City for the Western Division.

The centralization meant that the United States Post Office and Federal Building at 101 First Street SE, now City Hall, here in Cedar Rapids, soon became way too small for the Court and its offices, and we began our efforts to build a new courthouse to bring the Federal Court family under a single roof. It has taken more than twenty years' time, and a monumental flood to make this United States Courthouse a reality. It is also a reality because of the untiring efforts of the entire Iowa Congressional delegation to make it so, and of the unwavering support of this city's leaders, both public and private, for which the Courts are very grateful.

But what is a courthouse? Or more specifically, what attributes should a United States Courthouse have? Surely, as you can easily discern, a courthouse is stone and steel, glass and polished wood, art and architecture, pleasing lines and soaring columns. But it is all those things combined to inspire those who view it, those who work within it, and those who are called to it, to the pursuit of the most lofty goal of our democratic society—the attainment of justice for all. As the ancient writer in the Old Testament enjoined his readers—“Justice, Justice Thou Shalt Pursue.”

But it is not justice, in some raw or abstract sense, that is to be pursued in this United States Courthouse: It is as the inscription supporting the pediment of the

United States Supreme Court Building in Washington proclaims—It is Equal Justice Under Law—that is, justice based on an equality of treatment for those who seek it here, arrived at by applying the Rule of Law. It is a justice based upon our First Principles as outlined in the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. It is a justice arrived at by employing the statutory laws, both Federal and State, that our democratically elected representatives pass and our presidents and governors approve, all of them acting in the good faith pursuit of justice. It is a justice obtained by the systematic weighing of the merits of each seeker's claim to justice, pursuant to regularly established rules of procedure by experienced and highly trained judges and well-intentioned juries of the seeker's peers, together with the assistance of able lawyers, all of whom have sworn an oath to administer justice equally and to serve the rich and poor alike. Oftentimes the line between justice and injustice is not a bright one. Statues of Lady Justice are abundant—they always show her holding a balance scale. Sometimes the scales are shown to be evenly balanced and sometimes they are out of balance.

Those who come here seeking justice for themselves will sometimes leave disappointed, and they will go away mumbling that “Justice was not done” when they really mean “I didn't win”: But because one didn't win doesn't mean that justice under the Rule of Law wasn't administered in the process of deciding their claim to it. The justice to be obtained in this building is one informed by the law, based on human reason, and guided by ancient precepts and common sense. It is not an arbitrary judgment, nor is it dispensed at the whim of the one who has the power to dispense it, be it judge or jury.

Administering justice under law admits of no caprice and permits no whimsy. In order to be true to its purpose, it is to the tireless pursuit of justice that this building must be dedicated.

In his 1951 *Requiem For A Nun*, the American novelist William Faulkner described the courthouse in his fictional Yoknapatawpha County this way:

“But above all, the courthouse: The center, the focus, the hub, sitting looming in the center of the the county's circumference like a single cloud in its ring of horizon; laying its vast shadow to the uttermost rim of horizon; musing, brooding, symbolic and ponderable, tall as cloud, solid as rock, dominating all; protector of the weak, judicate and curb of the passions and lusts, repository and guardian of the aspirations and hopes”

Much of that description can be used to describe this real courthouse. It is the center, the hub, the focus of the Third Branch of government, the Judiciary, and of those who have business with it. It is symbolic of the majesty and grace of the law. It is nearly tall as cloud, solid as the tons of rock used to build it, and it may be seen by some as rather dominating in its appearance. It is emblematic of the trust and confidence the people of the United States place in the enduring National Government Lincoln described—“a government of the people, by the people and for the people.”

But it is more than it appears to be—it is more than the transcendent qualities it evokes when first seen. It is the place where the rights of all citizens are protected, where the passions of the majority are tempered by overarching fundamental principles, and as Faulkner wrote, it is a place where citizens with hopes and aspirations can repair for redress.

This courthouse is all those things and more. The “more” is a goal that those of us who helped design it made clear at the outset—it had to be as transparent as possible.

It was to be neither a castle on a hill nor a fortress of thick, impenetrable walls. Rather than Faulkner's brooding and formidable structure, we wanted one that, while imposing, was also open and inviting. We wanted the citizens to be able to see into the building, to see through it. As you approach the entry, coming down First Street, you can easily see, behind the glass wall, the entrances to each of the courtrooms. Once inside, you can appreciate the abundance of natural light everywhere. Every courtroom, every public space is filled with it. This is not a dark place, where the forces of evil can find repose. It has been purposely designed so that natural sunshine will light the way of all who enter its doors, of all who seek the truths to be found here, and of all who engage in the never ending pursuit of justice to which it is dedicated.

Thank you.

FHA EMERGENCY FISCAL SOLVENCY ACT

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President, today I wish to encourage my colleagues to pass the FHA, Emergency Fiscal Solvency Act, H.R. 4264.

Since 1934, the FHA has been helping stabilize the mortgage market by ensuring that qualified low-to-moderate income and first-time home buyers have access to mortgage credit. Since the beginning of the financial crisis, the FHA increased its market share from below 5 percent in 2006 to approximately 30 percent at its peak volume in 2009 in pursuit of that mission. This counter-cyclical expansion was essential to the mortgage market—especially for first-time homebuyers who comprised 78 percent of the single-family purchase loans insured by the FHA in 2011. According to Mark Zandi, Chief Economist at Moody's Analytics, without the FHA's counter-cyclical support, and I quote, “the housing market would have cratered, taking the economy with it.”

However, the FHA is now facing a potential crisis of its own—but this time we have the opportunity to act. On December 6, I held a hearing in the Banking Committee entitled Oversight of FHA: Examining HUD's Response to Fiscal Challenges. Through the course of the hearing, HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan described how loans made from 2000 to 2009—and especially those loans made at the height of the mortgage crisis from 2007–2009 before the ban on seller-funded downpayments took effect—were weighing heavily on the FHA's finances. As I stated in the hearing, I am very concerned about the FHA's condition and will not hesitate to take action to prevent the FHA from needing taxpayer support.

This is only an immediate first step. I fully intend to engage my colleagues on and off the Banking Committee to find bipartisan consensus to provide the FHA with the additional authorities Secretary Donovan described during our hearing and address any technical fixes to this language. While this bill is not perfect and the path forward will not be easy, it is essential that we come together to protect taxpayers and this essential program.