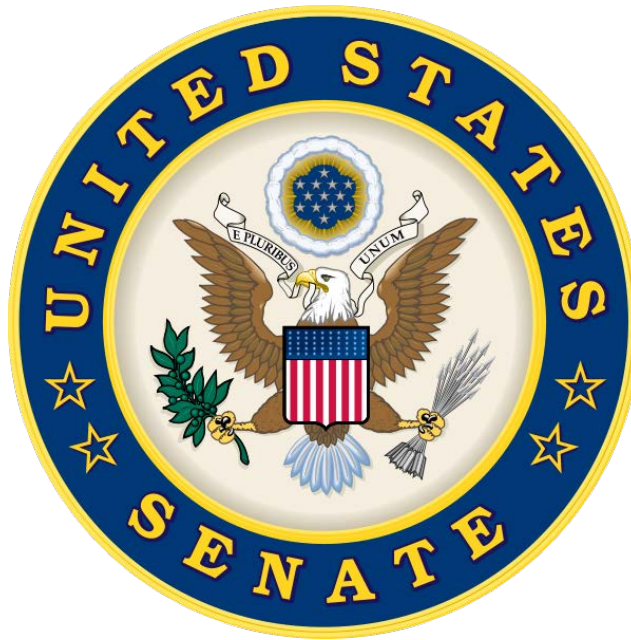


Senator Joseph I. Lieberman

A Final Report to the People of Connecticut



December 31, 2012

To the People of Connecticut:

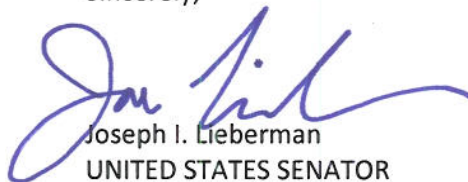
As my 24 years in the United States Senate draw to a close, I want to thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve as your Senator. This has been an extraordinary privilege. During my career, I have literally seen the best America has to offer, as I have toured our state when Nutmeggers showed their resilience in the face of disaster, and as I have visited with the young Americans from Connecticut who volunteer to defend our great nation overseas.

I have asked my staff to prepare this final report to the people of Connecticut, describing the legislation that I have introduced on your behalf and what happened to it.

I am grateful to have had the opportunity to serve on the Committees on Armed Services, Environment and Public Works, Small Business, and especially as Chairman of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs. Among my top priorities in the Senate has been to improve the health, safety, education, and economic well-being of our citizens, to preserve the freedoms that we all cherish, and to protect the beauty of our nation's irreplaceable natural treasures.

I thank you again for giving me the privilege of representing you in the Senate. I have seen our nation become ever more free, open, and prosperous; and I am confident that the next generation of American leaders will ensure that it is even more so in the years to come.

Sincerely,



Joseph I. Lieberman
UNITED STATES SENATOR

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Serving Connecticut in the Senate

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman fought for funding for such Connecticut priorities as economic growth, technological research and development, transportation, universities, agriculture, and community development. Some of these programs have affected the daily lives of Connecticut's citizens, such as Low-Income Home Energy Assistance, while others were investments in transportation systems that will make the state's roads, railways, and airports more competitive for decades to come.

SUPPORTING THE ECONOMY

Managing the Post-Cold War Transition

One of the challenges facing Connecticut industry during Joe Lieberman's first Senate term was that, as the Cold War drew to an end, the state was hit hard by a sharp drop in defense shipments, leaving many skilled workers without employment. In response, Senator Lieberman introduced the Defense Diversification and Worker/Community Protection Act of 1990, which was designed to smooth the transition from defense to civilian production for both businesses and individuals. Portions of the bill were incorporated into the Senate's defense authorization bill that year but did not survive in the final version of the law.

In response to the prior year's setback, Senator Lieberman introduced the Industrial Diversification and Economic Adjustment Act in 1991, which proposed a three-pronged approach by targeting programs of defense industries, defense-dependent communities, and defense workers. In recognition for his leadership on the issue, Senator Lieberman was appointed as the lead Democrat on a Defense Diversification Task Force in 1992. The Task Force's recommendations were largely incorporated into the defense appropriations bill that year, including \$472 million in funding for workers and communities, \$882 million for industry, \$294 million for military personnel, and \$120 million for civilian community programs.

In 1992, Senator Lieberman also secured passage of the Small Business Defense Economic Transition Act, which guaranteed loans and technical assistance to small businesses, defense workers, and military employees adversely affected by the reduction of defense spending.

In the years that followed these early efforts, the Connecticut defense industry shed thousands of jobs but eventually enjoyed a revival as the state's workers continued to build the best military equipment in the world, to include everything from billion dollar submarines to the M4 carbines carried by individual soldiers into combat.

Promoting Research, Development, and Innovation

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman's signature contribution to the economic policy debate in Congress has been his work on federal support of research and development (R&D).

Beginning in 1990, Senator Lieberman began offering legislation to expand and extend the tax credit in support of research and development activities in a discussion draft of what became the Economic Growth Act of 1991, a bill that would have expanded and made permanent the R&D tax

credit. That year, he also introduced legislation that would allow an enhanced R&D tax credit to consortia, incentivizing corporations to pool their resources and expertise in developing new products. Over the years, Lieberman led repeated efforts to extend the R&D tax credit and repeatedly attempted to make it permanent.

Senator Lieberman also worked to reinvigorate the nation's federal laboratories. In 1992, he partnered with Senator David Pryor (D-AR) to introduce a bill that would encourage greater cooperation between the Department of Defense research and production facilities and United States industry in order to enhance technology transfer and their mutual technological and productive achievements. The bill's substance was incorporated into the defense authorization act that year.

Another Lieberman initiative came in 1996, when Senator Lieberman teamed with Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME) to form the Manufacturing Task Force. This effort was a response to their concerns that government-industry economic partnerships on R&D, technology development, and exports increasingly were being threatened by growing partisanship in Congress. Over the years, the task force has served as a vehicle to argue for greater public-private partnerships in support of technological innovation.

Three years later, Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of the Federal Research Investment Act, introduced by Senators Bill Frist (R-TN) and Jay Rockefeller (D-WV). This bill reflected portions of an earlier proposal by Senator Lieberman, along with Senators Phil Gramm (R-TX), Pete Domenici (R-NM), and Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), to authorize significant increases in the research and development funding of such non-defense research agencies as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), National Institutes of Health (NIH), National Science Foundation (NSF), National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). The 1999 version of this bill would have increased funding for these agencies at 2.5% above the rate of inflation, doubling R&D spending over the course of 11 years. Despite having more than 40 cosponsors in the Senate, the bill ultimately died in the House of Representatives.

Although the Federal Research Investment Act was defeated in the House, Senator Lieberman teamed with Senators Pat Roberts (R-KA) and Bingaman to introduce a defense innovation-focused amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act when it was on the floor in 1999. The defense innovation provisions of the bill would have required the Defense Department to forecast the most dangerous threats the United States will face in the next 20-30 years and what technologies will be needed to prevail against those threats as a planning roadmap for defense R&D. In addition, the Act required the Defense Department to assess the current state of the laboratories, policies, and organizations that make up its innovation system, as well as to formulate a blueprint for its future structure.

In 2002, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR) to introduce the 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act. Nanotechnology refers to the science and engineering of manipulating atoms or molecules to build new materials or products at the nanoscale (i.e., at the level of one to one-hundred billionth of a meter); and this bill would have established a national nanotechnology research and development program based on the National Nanotechnology Initiative (NNI) created under President Clinton in 2000. NNI has generally been perceived as being successful with respect to its mission of focusing and coordinating nanotechnology R&D efforts across the federal government. Although the bill was passed unanimously out of the Commerce Committee on

September 17, 2002, it did not receive floor consideration until 2003, when similar legislation was signed into law.

After his success with the nanotechnology bill, Senator Lieberman, in 2004, released a white paper entitled "Offshore Outsourcing and America's Competitive Edge: Losing Out in the High Technology R&D and Services Sectors." The paper delved into the loss of jobs overseas in the high-end services and R&D sectors. The report concluded that the United States may be in danger of losing critical parts of its innovation infrastructure, the ability to compete in the global marketplace in key high-end goods and services, and the capability to preserve good paying jobs. It also contained a number of recommendations to address offshore outsourcing, including more federal and private sector R&D investment, an expanded safety net for displaced workers, bigger investments in science education, and stiffer enforcement of trade agreements. As a result of this paper, Senator Lieberman introduced a bill to establish a Commission on the Future of the United States Economy.

In his final term in the Senate, Lieberman continued to work through the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010 to introduce bill language strengthening the United States semiconductor industry, which provides critical components for both defense and civilian use. The inflow of counterfeit semiconductors and other electronics threatens the reliability of U.S. weapons systems, and Senator Lieberman believes this is an area that will require continued vigilance in the years ahead to maintain our cutting edge.

Enterprise and Empowerment Zones

To further economic and urban development, Senator Lieberman was one of the Senate's chief advocates of empowerment zones beginning in his first term. Beginning in 1989, he and Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) introduced various versions of the Enterprise Zone Improvements Act, which would have encouraged business investment in economically depressed regions. The bill would have specified 50 distressed urban and rural regions as federal enterprise zones and provided a zero capital gains rate for the sale of a business in an enterprise zone that has been held for at least two years. The bill would also have allowed a deduction of up to \$50,000 a year for the purchase of stock in companies located in an enterprise zone and established a five-percent tax credit for workers in enterprise zones.

In 1992, Lieberman partnered with Senator Bob Kasten (R-WI) and started the year with a step forward when the Senate endorsed a resolution urging the creation of enterprise zones. Later in the year, the Senate incorporated provisions of their Enterprise Zone Job Creation Act into the Urban Aid bill, ultimately designating 50 economically distressed urban and rural areas.

Five years later, Lieberman returned to the question of Enterprise Zones with the Community Empowerment Act of 1997, when he joined with Senators Spencer Abraham (R-MI) and Carol Mosley-Braun (D-IL) to create additional empowerment zones and enterprise communities with the goal of encouraging the cleanup of contaminated brownfield sites. The brownfields provision of the bill was successfully included in the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997.

Near the end of his Senate career, Senator Lieberman continued his strong support for urban revitalization efforts by cosponsoring the Empowerment Zone and Renewal Community Enhancement Act of 2007, a bill introduced by Senators Blanche Lincoln (D-AR) and Olympia Snowe (R-ME). The legislation sought to strengthen and expand two of the government's central programs for revitalizing

impoverished urban and rural communities: the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community program and the Renewal Community program.

Capital Gains

Senator Lieberman consistently advocated reducing capital gains taxes to cut the cost of capital and spur investment in U.S. companies, much in the model of the President Kennedy's pro-growth economic strategy.

Senator Lieberman's first effort was to introduce the Economic Growth Act of 1991, which would target a capital gains tax cut for manufacturing firms. Specifically, it would have established a new rate of 21 percent for stock held for three years and 15 percent for stock held for six years with a similar rate for corporate capital gains. The bill included other provisions that Senator Lieberman believed would spur economic growth: it would have expanded and made permanent the research and development tax credit; made permanent the exclusion for employer-sponsored education programs; modified antitrust restrictions to help companies pool capital resources to get new products into production; and allowed the Defense Advanced Research Production Agency (DARPA) to undertake "dual use" civilian and defense research. Finally, the bill would have established an "IRA" for manufacturers to save the equivalent of the annual depreciation allowance for a period of five years and allow withdrawal of those funds for investment in new equipment or job training.

In 1993, Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of the Enterprise Capital Formation Act, which provided targeted capital gains incentives for emerging growth industries; and he played a leadership role in getting it included as part of the 1993 Omnibus Reconciliation Act.

Senator Lieberman's efforts culminated in the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997, which incorporated most of the provisions of a broad-based capital gains bill that he introduced earlier that year with Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), including cutting the capital gains tax rate from 28 percent to 20 percent. Also in 1997, Senator Lieberman cosponsored a bill to reform the corporate alternative minimum tax by reducing differential tax treatment for capital intensive firms.

E-Commerce

As American consumers increasingly turned to e-commerce in the late 1990s, Senator Lieberman believed it was the responsibility of Congress to build a regulatory framework that kept pace with the rapidly changing times.

In 1998, he partnered with Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) to introduce the Internet Fairness and Responsibility Act (NetFAIR), which, along with counterpart proposals introduced by Senators Ron Wyden (D-OR) and John McCain (R-AZ), formed the basis of the Internet Tax Freedom Act. This was a major win for the consumers and small businesses that benefit from e-commerce. The final version of the bill included Senator Lieberman's proposed three-year moratorium on state or local taxation of the Internet and NetFAIR's formal Commission to survey existing taxation laws and proposed model state legislation to unify the treatment of Internet and Internet-related activities with a uniform set of terms and definitions.

The following year, Senator Lieberman supported the Millennium Digital Commerce Act, which eliminated a major barrier to e-commerce by providing for the legal recognition of electronic signatures in contracting and by creating a consistent, but temporary, national electronic signatures law to preempt a multitude of sometimes inconsistent state laws. While the bill gave electronic signatures more legal certainty, it also provided for consumer protection. It dealt with electronic signatures only in creating contracts – not records, and would preempt state law only until the states enact their own statutes and standards as provided for by the Uniform Electronic Transactions Act (UETA).

Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator McCain again in 2001 on this issue when he introduced a resolution expressing the sense of Congress of the importance of promoting electronic commerce. The resolution called on the Secretary of Commerce and the United States Trade Representative to make the promotion of cross-border trade via electronic commerce a high priority and to encourage members of the World Trade Organization to promote the development of infrastructure necessary to conduct e-commerce; promote the development of trade in goods and services via e-commerce; ensure that products delivered electronically receive the most beneficial treatment available under trade agreements relating to similar products that are delivered physically, including market access and nondiscriminatory treatment; and refrain from adopting measures that would constitute actual or potential trade barriers to electronic commerce.

Individual Development Accounts

In 2000, Senator Lieberman introduced the Savings for Working Families Act, which would have provided the working poor with tax-free savings accounts, called Individual Development Accounts (IDAs). These accounts would be supported with matching funds, provided chiefly by a small federal/state program and private foundations, dedicated to asset building for education, home ownership, and business capitalization. Under the bill, the government would provide tax credits to cover matching funds for IDA accounts, program administration, and literacy training.

On March 14, 2007, the Senator reintroduced the Savings for Working Families Act of 2007, a proposal to expand the availability of IDAs for low-income savers. The bill was introduced with six original cosponsors. By October 6, 2008, the legislation had 26 cosponsors, the most it has ever achieved in the Senate. The cosponsors included 17 Democrats and 8 Republicans. The bill had strong support among low-income advocates, as well as the financial community.

Working for Small Business

Senator Lieberman served on the Senate Small Business Committee for the entire duration of his career and worked during that time to stand up for small businesses in Connecticut. During his first term, he focused on responding to a credit crunch that was then affecting businesses in the state, negotiating with the Small Business Administration (SBA) to certify Connecticut banks to increase small business lending in the state and successfully introducing a bill with Senator Dale Bumpers (D-AR) to add additional funding for SBA-supported loans. Senator Lieberman also worked to provide small businesses with greater access to capital by successfully introducing legislation to provide capital gains tax deferrals for investments through intermediaries that support minority-owned small businesses.

Acknowledging the importance of a clearly understood regulatory structure, Senator Lieberman also worked in the early 1990s to offer legislation establishing an office in the Environmental Protection

Agency that would serve as a liaison to small business, while also creating Small Business Assistance programs in each state to help small businesses comply with federal Clean Water Act requirements.

In 1999, Senator Lieberman secured one of his flagship small business efforts, the Women's Business Centers Sustainability Act, which reauthorized the Small Business Administration's primary support program for women small business owners. In the same year, the Senator had secured funding for the first two Women's Business Centers in Connecticut.

During the first decade of the new century, Senator Lieberman turned his focus to reducing the liability and regulatory burdens for small business. He repeatedly joined Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) to introduce legislation that would limit punitive damages against small businesses; modify joint liability rules to ensure that small businesses found responsible for only a small part of a plaintiff's harm would not be required to pay the entirety of damages; and prevent product sellers from being held liable for problems for which they weren't responsible. He also joined with Senator George Voinovich (R-OH) to successfully introduce legislation simplifying and reducing the federal paperwork burden on small businesses.

When the economic crisis hit in 2008, Senator Lieberman worked to include small business provisions into the American Recovery Investment Act and then, in 2009, was an original cosponsor of the Small Business Job Creation and Access Act to extend critical lending enhancements in that bill.

INVESTING IN CONNECTICUT'S FUTURE

Through his past position as a member of the Environment and Public Works Committee, and his use of the Appropriations process, Senator Lieberman has been able to steer untold billions in federal funding to Connecticut over his career in the Senate. These funds have had a dramatic impact on Connecticut and have made it a safer and better place to live and raise a family. Not only has he altered the way people in Connecticut view our transportation system, but he has helped make cities more livable, preserved their heritage, reconnected them with nature, and ensured that Connecticut received an adequate share of transportation funds.

The Environment and Public Works Committee, which Senator Lieberman was a member of for his first 20 years in the Senate, is responsible for two major pieces of legislation that are drafted every few years: a highway bill, and a Water Resources Development Act (WRDA). He had a hand in drafting three transportation bills and six WRDAs, all of which contained significant funding for projects across Connecticut. He also worked with colleagues on the Appropriations Committee to include significant federal funding for Connecticut in the form of earmarks. Despite attacks from some members of both parties, Senator Lieberman has always believed that earmarks are a constitutional duty of Congress to direct funding; and, as long as there is disclosure as to what is being requested by each member, they should continue to be used to fund important needs in each state. Failure by Congress to earmark funds has given greater power and authority to the Administration and agencies, which are often unaware of the needs of individual states.

On all three transportation bills that Senator Lieberman worked on, including two of which he was appointed a Conferee (TEA-21 in 1998 and SAFETEA-LU in 2005), Senator Lieberman was able to enact legislative changes that increased the percentage of funding that went to Connecticut annually.

SAFETEA-LU included a 19% increase in funding for Connecticut as a result of Conference Committee negotiations by Senator Lieberman.

During his first term, Senator Lieberman helped secure over a billion dollars to electrify the Northeast Corridor north of New Haven, with much of that funding being used in Connecticut, so trains can rapidly travel from Boston to Washington, D.C. Also during his first term, Senator Lieberman helped secure millions for Riverfront Recapture to connect the City of Hartford with the Connecticut River, as well as funding to finish the lowering of I-91 which made that possible. He was also able to secure passage of \$7 million to finish the Connecticut portion of the Appalachian Trail in the Northwest corner.

During consideration of TEA-21 in 1998, Senator Lieberman was able to increase funding by 35% for the program that prevents transportation-related air pollution, which is a significant issue for a downwind state like Connecticut. He also inserted provisions that funded linear parks and bike and pedestrian paths in Hartford, Winsted, Torrington, Wallingford, Meriden, New Haven, and Hamden. Senator Lieberman worked with his colleague Senator Dodd to ensure that the New Britain-Hartford Busway was selected as a New Starts project and, in so doing, secured over \$275 million in dedicated New Starts funding for the project, which will allow commuters along I-84 to avoid significant congestion during morning and evening rush hours.

In Stamford, Senator Lieberman championed the Stamford Urban Transitway and helped secure close to \$50 million for its construction. He also secured tens of millions for improvements to the Transit Center in Stamford, including a nearly \$11 million TIGER grant, well over \$50 million to reduce congestion along I-95, over \$10 million to reconfigure rail underpasses, and millions for Mill River Park. He also secured a WRDA authorization which would allow the Army Corps to restore the Mill River to its natural state, which the Corps has been actively pursuing.

In Bridgeport, Senator Lieberman helped push through over \$50 million for the Bridgeport Intermodal Transportation Center, a nearly \$11 million TIGER grant for improvements to the Steel Point area, over \$10 million to reconfigure and widen corridors throughout the city, including Seaview Avenue and Barnum Avenue, and millions for the dredging of Bridgeport Harbor and to construct ferry terminal facilities.

In Hartford, Senator Lieberman worked to transform the city and reconnect it with the Connecticut River. He secured over \$20 million for road improvements in the planned Adriaen's Landing/Front Street area, including a pedestrian bridge connecting the Science Center and Convention Center. He secured over \$5 million for the High Street Public Safety Complex, a \$10 million TIGER grant for downtown Hartford, over \$10 million for road improvement in the Coltsville Corridor, and nearly \$5 million for Mark Twain Drive.

In New Haven, Senator Lieberman secured tens of millions for the Pearl Harbor Memorial/Q Bridge replacement project, as well as the I-91/I-95 Interchange project, which, combined, is one of the largest transportation projects in Connecticut history. He also secured millions, including a \$16 million TIGER grant, for the transformation of Route 34, over \$5 million for the Farmington Canal Greenway, and over \$10 million for the Bus Maintenance Facility.

In Central and Western Connecticut, Senator Lieberman was also the leader in securing funding for the relocation of Route 72 in Bristol, streetscaping efforts and transit facility construction in

Torrington, the construction of an intermodal transportation center in Vernon, the construction of a bus terminal, parking garage, and road improvements (totaling nearly \$27 million) in Middletown, nearly \$8 million in bridge and rail improvements in Enfield, millions for the establishment of a Naugatuck River Greenway in Waterbury, tens of millions for the widening of I-84, and over \$5 million for the widening of Route 34 in Derby.

In Eastern Connecticut, Senator Lieberman was instrumental in pushing for streetscaping improvements along Storrs Road in Mansfield, securing final passage of funding for the Storrs Center, \$2 million for the Willimantic River Trail in Windham, \$1 million for the widening of Route 82 in Norwich, and the construction of the Norwich Intermodal Center.

ENHANCING CONSUMER PROTECTIONS

Drawing from his experience as Connecticut's Attorney General, Joe Lieberman worked in the Senate to provide consumers with greater protections against exploitation by unscrupulous business practices. Throughout the years, he worked on legislation that capped credit card interest rates; promoted competitive airline fair pricing; and cracked down on advance fee loan scams that charge up-front processing costs but rarely extend loans. Two major areas that he focused on, though, were consumer health protections and fair cable and communications practices.

Consumer Health

One of Senator Lieberman's first major consumer health efforts focused on Alar, a chemical that was primarily used to enhance the appearance and growth of apples but was found to be carcinogenic. After investigating the issue as a member of the Environment and Public Works Committee, Senator Lieberman, in 1989, introduced legislation to permanently ban the substance, leading the manufacturer to reach an agreement with the Environmental Protection Agency to eliminate Alar from use on foods. As a result of his work on Alar, the Senator worked on bills in the following years that would require public notifications of chemical applications on lawns or public spaces and to provide greater authorities to prohibit the use of pesticides that pose a threat to human health.

In 1990, Senator Lieberman began working on the issue of lead poisoning, introducing legislation that would prohibit the use of lead in several consumer products and require the creation of an inventory of products in which lead appears. In addition, the following year Senator Lieberman cosponsored legislation that would revise federal drinking water standards to require that communities remove lead pipes from their public water systems. Senator Lieberman's work on lead exposure reached fruition in 1992 when the bill that he and Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) had introduced on the issue was incorporated into the law.

In 2001, Senator Lieberman returned his focus to the issue of safe drinking water, when he joined Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA) to introduce legislation amending the Safe Drinking Water Act to ensure that drinking water consumers are informed about the risks posed by arsenic in drinking water.

Cable Television

In his first year in the Senate, Joe Lieberman worked with Representative Chris Shays (R-CT) to introduce the Cable Consumer Protection Act, a bill that would have allowed state and local

governments to re-regulate cable television rates. He also supported efforts that year specifying that cable television carriers must continue to provide access to local news broadcasters. Although his first effort on cable consumer protections did not achieve success, he and Representative Shays re-introduced the legislation and in 1992 secured a provision of the law that required the Federal Communications Commission to exercise significantly greater regulatory power over cable providers, while empowering localities to set even higher standards for customer service.

REINING IN THE DEFICIT

During his time in the Senate, Joe Lieberman worked on the federal deficit and national debt over three major periods. In the early years of his career, he championed efforts to bring the budget into balance, culminating in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. As the work of the Clinton Administration and Congress bore fruit at the turn of the century, Senator Lieberman worked to prevent Congress from spending away the surplus on ill-timed tax cuts or wasteful programs. Finally, after the 2008 economic crisis and subsequent recessions, Senator Lieberman worked on proposals to bring the budget back into balance in a manner that would not threaten the recovery.

In 1993, Senator Lieberman embarked on a series of proposals that would reduce the deficit. First, as an individual senator, he introduced the Federal Spending and Deficit Reduction Act, a bill that would have cut \$100 billion from the deficit. This proposal formed the basis for his negotiation as a member of a group of six senators who developed a broader package of legislation that would achieve slightly more in deficit reduction. In light of gridlock over how to reduce the deficit, Lieberman also partnered with Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) to introduce the Federal Government Streamlining and Efficiency Act, a bill that would have established a commission to propose a deficit reduction package that would be subject to an up-or-down vote in both chambers of Congress without amendment. This effort helped spur the Clinton Administration's National Performance Review, which reported a package of reforms to improve government operations and save \$108 billion.

As a series of deficit reduction agreements and renewed economic growth brought the federal budget into surplus in the final years of the decade, Senator Lieberman argued for the postponement of tax cuts until true progress was made in deficit reduction. When the Republican-controlled Congress voted to dedicate surplus funds toward tax cuts on the basis of shaky budgetary assumptions, Senator Lieberman helped organize the call among his colleagues for President Bill Clinton to veto the bill, which he did. In the years that followed, Senator Lieberman continued to fight for directing government funds toward deficit reduction, rather than irresponsible tax cuts, although the Republican majority carried the day on this issue, setting a fiscally unsound policy through the first decade of the new century.

The danger facing the nation's finances did not become fully apparent until the 2008 fiscal crisis sent the economy into a prolonged recession, followed by a sluggish recovery. In the early days of the crisis, Senator Lieberman supported the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act and other efforts to restart economic growth, but he also saw the need to set a course for reining in the deficit without threatening the recovery. In early 2009, Senator Lieberman joined Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) to propose the Second Look at Wasteful Spending Act, a bill that would have given the President the authority to require that Congress vote on whether to continue unnecessary spending programs.

After that effort, Senator Lieberman joined forces with Senator George Voinovich (R-OH) as the lead cosponsor of the Securing America's Future Economy Commission Act, which would have

established a commission to develop legislative recommendations for handling America's fiscal imbalances. Also in 2009, he joined with Senator Kent Conrad (D-ND) to introduce the Bipartisan Task Force for Responsible Fiscal Action Act, which was the precursor for the Simpson-Bowles Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform created by President Barack Obama in April 2010.

How to handle the deficit remained the major challenge facing Congress during Senator Lieberman's final term, and he endorsed the July 2011 Budget Control Act under the hope that the Joint Select Committee it mandated could develop a plan for long-term deficit reduction. When the committee failed, Senator Lieberman instead offered his own Deficit Reduction Implementation Act, which would have allowed any bipartisan gang of 12 senators to offer a bill achieving \$1.5 trillion in deficit reduction for up-or-down consideration.

FIGHTING FOR HEALTH CARE

Senator Lieberman has worked throughout his Senate career to make the delivery and quality of health care services the best they can be for all Americans. Throughout contentious fights over health care reform, he has always worked to develop bipartisan compromise, while also seeking to both shore up Medicare for current beneficiaries and ensuring that the program is sustainable for future generations.

Health Care Reform

Repeated fights over health care legislation jolted American politics throughout Joe Lieberman's career in the Senate. His approach through these struggles has been to identify proposals that can expand coverage to more Americans, improve the quality of care, and lower systemic costs that risk making health care unaffordable for too many in the long run.

In 1990, Senator Lieberman introduced his first major health care proposal when he teamed with Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) to introduce a bill that would allow individuals with less than a year to live to collect the proceeds of life insurance policies. In light of the extraordinary costs associated with end-of-life care, this proposal would have allowed terminally ill individuals to access the funds to care for themselves and their families. When the senators reintroduced the bill in 1992, it ultimately received 72 cosponsors in the Senate but was prevented from final passage by opponents in the House.

In 1993, Senator Lieberman joined that year's debate over the Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals by joining with Senators Sam Nunn (D-GA) and David Durenberger (R-MN) to introduce the Managed Competition Act, a bipartisan alternative to the Clinton proposal. Like President Clinton's bill, the Managed Competition Act would have provided for comprehensive health care reform, but relied less on bureaucracy and government regulation and more on market forces to achieve results. Ultimately, neither the bill nor the President's proposal was adopted in the Senate.

After a decade in which managed care took on an ever-greater role in the American health care system, Senator Lieberman, in 1999, joined with a moderate, bipartisan group of senators to introduce the Promoting Responsible Managed Care Act. This bill would have established an enhanced grievance process, health plan liability for economic damages, enhanced civil enforcement, information requirements for beneficiaries, as well as important benefit protections such as guidelines for breast

surgery. The moderates offered their bill as a substitute to a Republican health care bill; but it died on the Senate floor, along with the other proposals debated that year.

After repeated setbacks to ambitious health care reform proposals, Senator Lieberman, in 2000, turned his attention to incremental improvements. In April of that year, he joined with Senators Chuck Grassley (R-IA), Richard Bryan (D-NV), and Bob Kerrey (D-NE) to introduce legislation seeking to reduce errors in the medical system that, according to a report that year, cause as many as 98,000 deaths per annum. The Stop All Frequent Errors (SAFE) Act was not acted upon that year, but Senator Lieberman successfully introduced language in the Defense Authorization bill directing the Secretary of Defense to implement similar patient care reporting and management requirements as required under the SAFE Act.

Between 2004 and 2008, Senator Lieberman worked with a bipartisan group of senators to introduce a series of proposals that would realign programs within the National Institutes of Health to improve the flow of knowledge from NIH to the American public, while also bringing together government officials, patient advocacy groups, and researchers in order to more effectively work together. The American Center for Cures Act of 2005 was introduced with the support of Senators Thad Cochran (R-MI), Tom Carper (D-DE), and Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R-TX). Eventually, Lieberman partnered with Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) to convert the bill to cover not only the NIH, but all governmental agencies, although it never received a vote in the Senate.

In 2007, Senator Lieberman was one of the 17 eventual cosponsors of the Healthy Americans Act of 2007. Developed by Senators Ron Wyden (D-OR) and Bob Bennett (R-UT), this bill was the first bipartisan comprehensive health care reform bill to be introduced in the Senate since the early 1990s. At the time, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that if the Wyden-Bennett proposal were fully implemented, it was projected to cover nearly 247 million individuals, or over 99% of the nation. Although the bill did not receive serious consideration at the time, its elements were largely incorporated into the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (Affordable Care Act) that Congress debated and adopted in 2009-2010.

In February 2009, Lieberman joined Senator Wyden and other cosponsors of the Healthy Americans Act to reintroduce the legislation for consideration during the debate on health care reform. Throughout the debate that year, Senator Lieberman focused his energies on several bipartisan proposals that would enhance delivery system reforms and contain costs. On December 24, 2009, Senator Lieberman, along with 59 of his colleagues, voted for the passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.

Strengthening Medicare

The debate over Medicare has been central to the health care system throughout Senator Lieberman's career. Established in 1965, Medicare is a national medical insurance system that covers some 50 million Americans, including those aged 65 and older and younger Americans with disabilities. Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman has worked to make Medicare work better for Americans by maintaining and expanding coverage while also developing options to make the program sustainable for future generations.

After provisions of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 threatened to impose significant cuts to health care providers, Senator Lieberman joined successful efforts in 1999 to maintain spending for teaching hospitals, nursing homes, and community health centers. In the years since, these and other provisions of Medicare have required continuous modification, with Senator Lieberman's support, to avoid excessive cuts that would ultimately deprive beneficiaries of urgently needed services.

In 2003, Senator Lieberman played a very active role working to improve the Prescription Drug and Medicare Improvement Act. Although he supported the bill as it was initially introduced in the Senate, he also cosponsored three Senate amendments to the bill: one offering a guaranteed federal fallback drug insurance plan to all Medicare beneficiaries, one to permit open enrollment in all Medicare drug plans until 2008, and one to provide data on drug comparison studies to Medicare patients so they would have complete information on which drugs were expected to work best for them. Senator Lieberman was disappointed that each of these proposals was defeated, which further exacerbated the financial difficulties that Medicare's prescription drug coverage has faced; but he still believes that providing the underlying benefit to American seniors was the right decision.

In 2011, as he neared the end of his Senate career, Lieberman grew increasingly concerned that Medicare was on a fiscal path that would ultimately render the program insolvent and unavailable for future generations of Americans. The Medicare primary insurance fund faced the largest financial shortfall of its history in 2011, running a deficit of \$34.1 billion and, under the worst-case scenario, could be insolvent as early as 2016. Medicare is now one of the greatest drivers of our unsustainable federal debt and simply will not survive without intervention to save the program.

As a result of these problems, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator Tom Coburn (R-OK) that year to offer a comprehensive reform proposal that could save \$600 billion over a decade by making incremental changes that would maintain Medicare's most important benefits, while also sustaining the program for decades to come. These reform proposals included: replacing Medicare's complicated cost-sharing requirements with a unified annual deductible and a maximum out-of-pocket limit for enrollees; gradually increasing the eligibility age to reflect gains in life expectancy; and requiring higher-income Americans to pay the full cost of the premiums for their Medicare Part B and Part D benefits.

Military & Veterans Health

As a member of the Senate Armed Service Committee, Senator Lieberman worked throughout his career to provide quality health care benefits for beneficiaries of the Department of Defense's health care programs and military retirees who are enrolled in the TRICARE system. These efforts included requiring annual physicals for students between the ages of 5 and 11 years old at Defense-run schools, fighting for full funding of veterans programs in the New England area, and allowing for concurrent receipt of veteran's disability and military retirement pay.

In the final decade of his service, Senator Lieberman placed particular emphasis on caring for soldiers and veterans who have suffered traumatic brain injury and post-traumatic stress disorder, the signature injuries of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2007, he joined with Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA) to pass legislation reforming the military's mental health system. The Mental Health Care for Our Wounded Warriors Act, incorporated into the National Defense Authorization Act for that year, authorized the establishment of a center for excellence in combat-related mental health conditions and

brain injuries. In addition, that year the senator successfully introduced legislation requiring a review of the mental health needs of the women who serve in the Armed Forces, as well as the creation of an acute and chronic pain management program to understand how to make the care of chronic pain as cost-effective and dependence-free as possible.

In 2010, the Senator saw two proposals that he championed signed into law. First, the Honoring Our Nation's Obligations to Returning Warriors Act increased funding for mental health treatment for service members. Second, Senator Lieberman introduced the TRICARE Mental Health Care Access Act with Senators Claire McCaskill (D-MO) and Susan Collins (R-ME), which increased access to mental health treatment for military retirees.

Mental Health

Between 1999 and 2000, Senator Lieberman led an aggressive effort to reduce the inappropriate use of restraints in mental health institutions. This effort resulted in a combination of legislative and administrative remedies to prevent mental health institutions from providing adequate treatment to their patients. The centerpiece legislation in this effort was the Freedom from Restraint Act, which Senator Lieberman introduced with Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT), which would strengthen Medicare and Medicaid restrictions against the excessive use of restraints, as well as new reporting requirements. This legislation spurred two major developments: first, after receiving testimony from Senators Lieberman and Dodd on the importance of the issue, the Senate Appropriations Committee dedicated some \$8.5 million in funding to combat the use of restraints for the coming fiscal year; second, the Health Care Financing Administration issued a regulation adding restrictions on the use of restraints by health care institutions that receive Medicare or Medicaid financing. Finally, Senators Lieberman and Dodd introduced legislation that would prevent mental health institutions that receive federal grants from using restraints inappropriately. For this effort, the National Mental Health Association recognized Senator Lieberman as one of its legislators of the year.

Fighting Disease

Senator Lieberman has supported funding to fight various diseases throughout his career, with a particular focus on Lyme Disease, AIDS, breast cancer, Fragile X syndrome, tuberculosis, autism, Alzheimer's, and juvenile diabetes. These efforts have involved directed funding through a variety of bills, as well as resolutions expressing the sense of the Senate and participating at various events to raise awareness of the importance of research.

Making Government Work: The Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee

When he arrived in Washington, Senator Joe Lieberman (ID-CT) followed in the footsteps of one of his mentors, former Connecticut Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-CT), by serving on the Governmental Affairs Committee (GAC). This decision was based, in part, on the advice of Senator John Glenn (D-OH), chairman of GAC between 1987 and 1995, who recommended the committee's broad jurisdiction over government operations as a way to pursue multiple and varied interests. It was impossible for Senator Lieberman to know at the time that his service on the Committee would result in landmark, bipartisan legislative achievements, including the reorganization of the federal government in response to the catastrophic terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The Senate subsequently added homeland security to the Committee's portfolio, changing the Committee's name to the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (HSGAC). As chairman of the Senate's main oversight committee, Senator Lieberman also worked across party lines to investigate the Enron scandal, the government's disastrous response to Hurricane Katrina, the growth of violent Islamist extremism, the Fort Hood, Texas, and Benghazi, Libya, terrorist attacks, and the effectiveness, efficiency, and accountability of federal agencies across the board.

RESPONDING TO SEPTEMBER 11: ESTABLISHING THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE REFORM, AND CYBER SECURITY

After the attacks of September 11, Senator Lieberman experienced the same feelings so many other Americans felt – shock, anger, remorse, and a determination to prevent a similar attack from ever occurring again. As chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, Senator Lieberman was uniquely positioned to act in response to the terrorist attacks and the uncertainty that followed, even as his own office in the Hart Senate Office Building was closed due to possibility of anthrax contamination. The legislation that he spearheaded in response to September 11th resulted in the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, known as the 9/11 Commission. Based upon the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission's report to Congress, he also authored the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act, which reorganized the intelligence community, to include establishing the Office of the Director of National Intelligence and the National Counterterrorism Center.

What Could Have Gone So Wrong? Creating the 9/11 Commission

Within weeks of the attack, Senator Lieberman and Senator John McCain (R-AZ) concluded that an independent, bipartisan commission would be necessary to investigate the events leading up to and surrounding the September 11, 2001, attacks. The Senator and his staff on the Governmental Affairs Committee were preparing for a hearing scheduled for September 12, 2001 on the security of critical American infrastructure. After the attacks occurred, Senator Lieberman decided to carry on with the planned hearing, even though the Capitol complex had been evacuated just the day before, because he

felt it was more important than ever to understand the threats facing the nation, whether the nation was prepared for them, and because he refused to be intimidated by terrorists.

At the second in a series of homeland security hearings Senator Lieberman undertook in the fall of 2001 and winter of 2002, he stated that – although the attacks 11 days earlier had clearly demonstrated that the government had not done enough to protect its citizens – his objective was not to assign blame, but to prevent future attacks. That was the argument he made for a special commission to investigate how the attacks could have happened.

Senators Lieberman and McCain introduced their commission bill in December 2001, but the bill stalled in the face of bitter opposition by the Bush Administration. The families of the 9/11 victims, however, were determined to get answers and launched an effective lobbying campaign for the bill. In June 2002, a contingent of family members traveled to Washington to stage a public rally in support of creating the Commission. Senator Lieberman and other commission supporters addressed the rally, and the families' persistent and poignant advocacy helped convince the House of Representatives to pass a version of the commission legislation as part of the Intelligence Authorization Act in July. Senator Lieberman immediately began a push to add his commission legislation as an amendment either to the Senate intelligence authorization bill or to the bill creating a Department of Homeland Security.

In September, Senator Lieberman secured a vote on his commission legislation, as an amendment to the pending homeland security legislation; and, despite continued White House opposition, the Senate endorsed the Lieberman-McCain proposal with a 90-8 majority on September 24. Finally, in the waning days of the 107th Congress, Senators Lieberman and McCain negotiated an agreement with the Bush Administration on the final issues in dispute; and the legislation was included in the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003, which was signed into law on November 27.

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, better known as the 9/11 Commission, held its first hearing on March 31, 2003, in New York City, under the leadership of Chairman Thomas Kean and Vice Chairman Lee Hamilton. After a two-year investigation, the Commission released its final report and recommendations in late July 2004. The report immediately became a best seller. The report found that the terrorists were able to exploit huge communications gaps among the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and other intelligence agencies. Each agency had a tidbit of information which, if combined and analyzed, might have enabled the intelligence community to “connect the dots” and prevent the attacks. As part of his response, Senator Lieberman successfully fought for the establishment of an Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection Directorate inside the soon-to-be proposed Department of Homeland Security, an all-sources center to analyze all of the intelligence the government collects related to terrorism on our homeland.

Building Consensus for a Department of Homeland Security

The series of hearings in 2001-2002 on the nation's homeland security vulnerabilities laid the groundwork for Senator Lieberman's proposal to create a Department of Homeland Security. The senator was inspired by the recommendations of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, which, even before 9/11, had urged the creation of a unified department to reinforce our domestic defenses. On September 21, 2001, former Senators Gary Hart (D-CO) and Warren Rudman (R-NH), who had chaired the so-called Hart-Rudman Commission, presented their findings at a Committee hearing,

concluding that the nation would be struck by a major terrorist attack and was not adequately prepared. Senator Lieberman concurred with the central recommendation of the Hart-Rudman Commission to establish a single cabinet department to coordinate the activities of two dozen agencies responsible for protecting the American homeland and responding to emergencies, including the Federal Emergency Management Agency, Coast Guard, Customs Service, Border Patrol, and Immigration and Naturalization Service. President George W. Bush had announced the night before that he was appointing former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge as his White House homeland security advisor; but Lieberman noted Congress needed to establish a permanent department in the law, with clear funding and authorities.

On October 11, 2001, one month after the attacks, Senator Lieberman joined with Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) to introduce the Department of National Homeland Security Act of 2001. This proposal served as the cornerstone for the congressional debate that led to the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and proposed consolidating the authorities, personnel, functions, and assets of about two dozen agencies and offices into the new department to strengthen the nation's ability to prevent dangerous people from crossing our borders and to establish a single focal point for the federal government's response to both man-made and natural disasters.

Throughout 2001 and 2002, Senator Lieberman and the Governmental Affairs Committee continued to shine a spotlight on the country's domestic security vulnerabilities and gather expert recommendations on how best to close those gaps, holding a total of 19 hearings on the issue. President Bush and Republicans initially opposed a new homeland security department, and Senator Lieberman's bill was approved in Committee on a party-line vote but did not immediately advance. When the Bush Administration reversed course and issued its own proposal for a homeland security department, Senator Lieberman worked with the Administration to combine the best of both bills. The Senate ultimately passed the bill by a vote of 90-9. After House approval of the final version on November 25, 2002, President Bush signed into law the Homeland Security Act of 2002, landmark legislation fundamentally reorganizing the federal government to meet the threat of terrorism and other threats to our homeland security in the 21st Century. Based largely on the bill first introduced by Senators Lieberman and Specter a year earlier, and twice approved by the Governmental Affairs Committee, the law resulted in the most significant reorganization of our nation's government in a half century.

After establishment of the Department of Homeland Security, Senator Lieberman worked aggressively to oversee the fledgling department. Throughout 2003, the senator ceaselessly advocated for adequate funding for the Department and raised questions about the nation's defenses against bioterror and the security of the nation's schools.

In 2004, the Senator continued to press for adequate funding for the Department – and especially first responders. He worked to improve a number of substantive homeland security programs, including: homeland security grants for first responders, aviation security, bioterror preparedness, terrorist watch lists, and port security. Senator Lieberman pursued these issues through legislation, oversight letters, amendments, and hearings. Ultimately, he was able to address a number of homeland security concerns in the course of his work on intelligence reform legislation, including provisions on transportation strategy, aviation security, and interoperability for first responders.

In 2005, the Committee officially gained oversight responsibility for most of DHS and was rechristened as the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (HSGAC) – the result of a Senate resolution enacted late in 2004 in response to recommendations from the 9/11 Commission.

Senator Lieberman continued to advocate for additional funding for first responders and to improve communications between those on the front lines of the war on terror. He sought equitable distribution of homeland security grant money; and he drew public attention to the lack of money available for rail, transit, and port security. He continued his efforts to persuade the Administration to equip the public health system with the tools to, if necessary, respond adequately in the event of a bioterror attack, worked to reach accord on bipartisan chemical security legislation, and criticized the Administration for its slow progress in securing the government's computer networks and information.

In 2006, Senators Lieberman and Susan Collins (R-ME) won Committee approval of their chemical security legislation, the Chemical Facility Anti-Terrorism Act. Key provisions of the bill were included in the annual DHS appropriations bill, giving DHS new authority to require that chemical facilities complete a vulnerability assessment, security plan, and an emergency response plan. The Committee held hearings on, and developed, bipartisan port security legislation, advocated for increased funding for transit security, and continued to work for adequate resources for homeland security first responders.

In his role overseeing DHS, Senator Lieberman focused early on U.S. defenses against biological terrorism, a threat that had a personal element when his office in the Hart Building was evacuated for months to guard against anthrax-laced letters that arrived in some senators' mailrooms, as well as the broader attacks of late 2001. In the immediate wake of those attacks, the senator introduced legislation providing incentives for bio-warfare countermeasure research and supported the Bioterrorism Preparedness Act of 2001. One element of Senator Lieberman's plan, entitled "Project BioShield," was endorsed by the Bush Administration and eventually enacted into law in 2004, enabling the government to contract with bio-tech and pharmaceutical firms that develop countermeasures to stockpile these remedies. After the program stalled, Lieberman led an investigation into Program Bioshield that increased pressure on the Department of Defense and Department of Health and Human Services to unite their anthrax vaccine stockpiles to save money, minimize waste, and enhance future effectiveness.

Unifying the Intelligence Community

When the 9/11 Commission released its best-selling final report, in July 2004, and recommendations after two years of intensive investigation, Senator Lieberman immediately got to work on enacting those recommendations. Between July and September, the Committee held eight hearings on various aspects of the commission's intelligence recommendations. They received input from experts and officials and sought the expertise of their colleagues on other committees, all of which would inform their legislative approach.

In September, Senate leadership assigned the Governmental Affairs Committee, now with Senator Collins as Chairman and Senator Lieberman as Ranking Member, the specific task of developing legislation to implement those recommendations.

As a result of their efforts throughout the summer, Senators McCain and Lieberman introduced legislation in early September that addressed all of the 41 recommendations contained in the 9/11 Commission's final report, covering subjects ranging from intelligence reform, border and transportation security, information sharing, and outreach to the Muslim world. Many of the provisions from this legislative initiative were incorporated into the intelligence reform bill that Senators Collins and Lieberman introduced on September 15. The bipartisan bill would establish a Director of National

Intelligence with strong authorities to serve as the chief intelligence advisor to the President and established a National Counterterrorism Center to forge unity of effort in the intelligence community, as recommended by the 9/11 Commission. The bill also contained sections mandating an information-sharing network and creating a Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board.

After being unanimously approved by the Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee, the Collins-Lieberman bill was approved by the Senate by a 96-2 majority after various amendments, including a large chunk of the McCain-Lieberman bill that addressed additional Commission recommendations. Through the remainder of the year, Senator Lieberman worked with Senator Collins to manage a contentious and difficult conference negotiation with the House, which had adopted a significantly weaker version of the reform legislation. After the 2004 election, the conferees agreed to a compromise version of the bill, the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, which received a supportive vote of 89-2 in the Senate and was signed into law on December 17.

Investigating Homegrown Islamist Extremism

Democrats regained control of the Senate in the 2006 elections; and between 2007 and 2012, Senator Lieberman led the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee in an investigation of the threat facing the United States from homegrown terrorism and domestic radicalization inspired by violent Islamist extremism. The Committee held a series of 14 hearings examining the root causes of violent domestic radicalization, the tactics and measures used by U.S. law enforcement at every level to prevent and deter homegrown terrorism, the role of the Internet in self-radicalization, and the threat of homegrown terrorism to military personnel.

Chairman Lieberman and Ranking Member Collins released a May 2008 bipartisan staff report entitled “Violent Islamist Extremism, The Internet, and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat” that concluded: “No longer is the threat just from abroad, as was the case with the attacks of September 11, 2001; the threat is now increasingly from within, from homegrown terrorists who are inspired by violent Islamist ideology to plan and execute attacks where they live. One of the primary drivers of this new threat is the use of the Internet to enlist individuals or groups of individuals to join the cause without ever affiliating with a terrorist organization.”

In February 2011, Senators Lieberman and Collins released a bipartisan report entitled “A Ticking Time Bomb: Counterterrorism Lessons from the U.S. Government's Failure to Prevent the Fort Hood Attack.” This report focused on the November 5, 2009, shooting at Fort Hood, Texas, by then-Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan, who killed 13 people and wounded 29 others. After a 14-month investigation, Senators Lieberman and Collins concluded that the Department of Defense and the FBI “collectively had sufficient information necessary to have detected Hasan’s radicalization to violent Islamist extremism but failed both to understand and to act on it.” The investigation found specific and systemic failures in the government’s handling of the Hasan case and raised additional concerns about broader systemic issues within the FBI and the Department of Defense.

In February 2012, Senators Lieberman and Collins released “Zachary Chesser: a Case Study in Online Islamist Radicalization and Its Meaning for the Threat of Homegrown Terrorism.” This staff report was based on correspondence between Chesser and Committee staff and Chesser's prolific online writings before he was convicted of terrorism related charges and sentenced to 25 years in prison. The

report traces Chesser's quick trajectory from average American high school student to convicted terrorist, thanks to the Internet.

Preventing a Cyber 9/11 – Cybersecurity Reform

The Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee began holding periodic hearings on cybersecurity in the late 1990s, before the Committee's jurisdiction expanded to cover homeland security. At the time, Senator Lieberman worked with the Committee's Chairman, Senator Fred Thompson (R-TN), to offer the Government Information Security Act in response to widespread reports of dangerously inadequate security in government computer systems. Adopted as an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001, the bill established a comprehensive framework for establishing and ensuring the effectiveness of controls over information resources that support federal operations and assets, provided effective government-wide management and oversight of information security risks, and provided for the maintenance of minimum controls required to protect federal information and information systems.

Although this first step was essential, it was insufficient, as the great majority of our nation's critical infrastructure is owned and operated by the private sector. Especially in the years after the attacks of September 11, 2001, Senator Lieberman believed it was essential to develop a public-private partnership to ensure the protection of this critical infrastructure – to include the power generation, telecommunications, our financial and transportation systems, and more.

In 2010, Chairman Lieberman, Ranking Member Susan Collins, and Federal Financial Management Subcommittee Chairman Tom Carper (D-DE) introduced the Protecting Cyber Space as a National Asset Act to provide the government with a clear structure for dealing with cybersecurity, including the security standards for the most critical infrastructure owned by the private sector. The bill was passed out of Committee but was not taken up by the full Senate before the congressional session ended.

In February 2011, the three senators reintroduced their cybersecurity legislation, now called the Cybersecurity and Internet Freedom Act, which was very similar to the Cyber Space as a National Asset legislation. Since other committees had related jurisdiction, Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) directed all committees of jurisdiction to come together and produce a single piece of legislation. That bill, the Cybersecurity Act of 2012, was introduced in February 2012 by Senators Lieberman, Collins, Jay Rockefeller (D-WV), and Dianne Feinstein (D-CA). This bill, which reflected the combined work of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, Commerce Committee, and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, was subject to months of additional negotiations with privacy and civil liberties groups, senators from both parties, and industry representatives.

As a result of these negotiations, Senator Lieberman and his partners introduced a revised version of the bill with the same name in July 2012 in a good faith effort to find common ground with opponents of the bill. The bill, as introduced, would have established a robust public-private partnership to improve the cybersecurity of our nation's critical infrastructure. Significantly, industry would develop voluntary, as opposed to mandatory, cybersecurity practices; and a newly established, multi-agency government council would ensure that these practices were adequate to secure systems from attacks. Private owners who chose to participate in the voluntary cybersecurity program established by the legislation would receive various benefits, such as limited liability protection from punitive damages

arising from an incident related to a cybersecurity. Finally, the bill would promote the sharing of cyber threat information, while protecting privacy and civil liberties.

The Senate debated the Cybersecurity Act the week of July 27; and, while a majority of senators supported the bill in an August 2 vote, the 52-46 tally fell short of the 60 needed to invoke cloture, or end debate, due, in part, to opposition from the Chamber of Commerce. After the November elections, another vote was held on November 14; and the bill went down again, this time by a vote of 51-47. At that point, Senator Lieberman strongly urged the President to use his existing authorities to the maximum extent possible to protect the cyber systems of the nation's most critical infrastructure by executive order.

Responding to Hurricane Katrina

After Hurricane Katrina ravaged the Gulf Coast in August 2005, claiming more than 1,800 lives, Senator Lieberman persuaded then Chairman Collins to launch a major investigation into how the American government at all levels failed so dramatically to safeguard its citizens from a predicted storm. Over the course of the investigation, the Committee held 22 hearings, interviewed 345 witnesses, and reviewed over 800,000 documents. In addition, the Committee issued a document subpoena to the Department of Justice, while Senator Lieberman asked that subpoenas also be filed against the White House and Department of Homeland Security. When the Committee issued its final report, "Hurricane Katrina: A Nation Still Unprepared," Senator Lieberman filed additional views that extensively criticized the White House's handling of the crisis and the lack of cooperation from the Bush Administration during the Committee's investigation. The bipartisan report was the most comprehensive evaluation of the Katrina catastrophe that emerged at the federal, state, or local level.

Based on the recommendations they had made in their report, Senators Lieberman and Collins introduced the Post-Katrina Emergency Management Reform Act of 2006, which was incorporated into that year's appropriations bill for the Department of Homeland Security. This legislation strengthened the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) within DHS, reversed the Department's misguided decision to separate the agency's preparedness and response functions, and strengthened FEMA's regional task forces so that federal and local officials are united in their efforts and familiar with the needs of specific regions. It ensured that FEMA was led by a leader with expertise in emergency management and gave FEMA clear authority to proactively position resources prior to a storm actually landing.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND GOVERNMENT ETHICS

Campaign Finance Reform

Senator Lieberman's early work on campaign finance reform was informed by the critical role he played in the Governmental Affairs Committee's investigation into campaign finance following irregularities in the 1996 elections. The senator demonstrated his independence during these hearings, while the Republican majority sought to tar the Clinton Administration and many Democrats largely defended it. The Committee failed to achieve a bipartisan consensus on its report, and Senator Lieberman concluded in the wake of its party-line votes that it was essential to work across the aisle to make democracy work for Americans.

As a direct result of the investigation, Senator Lieberman authored a provision of the law aimed at restricting the ability of political organizations to use Section 527 of the tax code to claim tax exemption for their campaign activities without complying with federal election laws. This legislation ultimately became the first significant campaign finance reform legislation enacted in over 20 years when it passed the Senate as an amendment to the Defense Authorization bill in June 2000. As a result of this law, many 527 groups, for the first time, had to publicly disclose their funding sources during the 2000 election cycle.

Senator Lieberman also partnered with Senators Russell Feingold (D-WI) and McCain to introduce legislation that would ban soft money, or unregulated contributions, from campaigns and limit the ability of outside groups to run campaign advertisements thinly disguised as issue ads. This legislation never passed Congress.

After his success in banning so-called “stealth” PACs, Senator Lieberman served as one of the lead cosponsors of the McCain-Feingold Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act that was signed into law in spring 2001. McCain-Feingold banned soft money from campaigns and established more effective regulations for candidate ads that masqueraded as issue ads. During consideration of this bill, Senator Lieberman worked with Senator Fred Thompson (R-TN) to cosponsor an amendment that was motivated by his dismay at seeing some of the most egregious actors in the 1996 fundraising scandals escape without any significant punishment. The amendment strengthened the Justice Department's ability to prosecute those who break current campaign finance laws, specifically by authorizing felony prosecutions in such cases, and requiring the Sentencing Commission to promulgate a sentencing guideline for campaign finance violations.

Senator Lieberman also worked with Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) and House leaders to negotiate a compromise that exempted purely state and local legislators and political action committees (PACs) from the Section 527 disclosure mandate, while also making funding disclosures more accessible to, and usable by, the public.

Although Senator Lieberman again partnered with Senators McCain and Feingold to introduce the Presidential Funding Act of 2003 and the 527 Reform Act of 2004, the campaign finance reform effort had reached its high-water mark. Neither of those bills were adopted by Congress; and, in 2010, the efforts of reformers such as Lieberman, McCain, and Feingold were dealt a significant blow by a series of judicial rulings that rolled back key elements of the campaign finance legislation adopted over the prior decade. In his final term in office, Senator Lieberman voted in support of the DISCLOSE Act, which would have established greater disclosure requirements in the wake of fewer restrictions on campaign donations by private corporations and labor unions.

Governmental Ethics and Official Accountability

The senator's work on ethics and accountability received unprecedented attention in the summer of 1998, when he was the first Democrat in the Senate to publicly criticize the behavior of President Bill Clinton in the Monica Lewinsky scandal. Despite their work together over the years, Senator Lieberman believed that Congress could not credibly deal with the issue without “placing the common good above any partisan or personal interest,” as he said in his initial remarks on the subject. With possible impeachment looming, Senator Lieberman worked with Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA) to

develop a proposal that would have dramatically reduced the time required for the eventual trial and, when it was rejected, negotiated with Senator Feinstein and other members on a resolution censuring the President. In the wake of the scandal, Senator Lieberman cosponsored legislation with Senators Specter (R-PA), Carl Levin (D-MI), and Collins to reauthorize a special counsel law that would be less susceptible to partisan abuse.

Senator Lieberman also worked to strengthen the powers of inspectors general, who are the executive branch's watchdogs for waste, fraud, and abuse. In 2000, he authored provisions of a bill that created a training academy and forensic laboratory for inspector general investigators. Two years later, he partnered with Senator Thompson to introduce legislation giving law enforcement authority to inspectors general, allowing qualified agents to carry firearms while engaged in official duties, to seek and execute arrest warrants, and to make arrests without warrants when necessary. In 2007, the Committee gave unanimous approval to bipartisan legislation that would significantly strengthen the Inspector General (IG) system. The Inspector General Reform Act, sponsored by Senators Claire McCaskill (D-MO), Collins, Lieberman, and Tom Coburn (R-OK), sought to improve government accountability by guaranteeing that qualified individuals are appointed as IGs, that IGs remain independent of inappropriate pressure or influence, and that all IG reports and audits are easily accessible to the public. The bill passed in 2008.

In 2006, in the wake of the Jack Abramoff lobbying scandal, Senators Lieberman, McCain, and Collins worked to draft a bill, the Lobbying Transparency and Accountability Act, to ban lobbyists' gifts to Members of Congress and amend the Lobbyist Disclosure Act to require lobbyists to file semiannual reports detailing for the first time campaign contributions, payments for events to honor Members or to groups controlled by Members, and donations to presidential libraries or inaugural committees. The bill also would forbid lobbyists from paying for or arranging congressional travel; require quarterly, electronic, and greater disclosure from lobbyists about their activities; slow the revolving door between Congress and the lobbying firms of K Street; and require disclosure of the legislative sponsors of earmarks. This legislation was folded into a package of ethics reforms drafted by the Rules Committee, S. 2349, and was passed by the Senate in March 2006. The House equivalent was weaker, and a conference committee never convened.

In the next Congress, the 110th, the bill became part of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007, which Senate leaders designated as their number one priority for that Congress. Introduced on January 4, 2007, the bill passed the Senate two weeks later on January 18, by a vote of 96-2. The House didn't act until later in the year; and the President signed the bill into law on September 14, thanks in part to Senator Lieberman's leadership in managing the bill.

In 2012, Senator Lieberman returned to a topic that he had initially proposed during his first term – how to expand the legal accountability of Members of Congress. As Chairman of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, he managed the Senate's consideration of the Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge (STOCK) Act, a bill that eliminated ambiguities in current insider trading rules to restrict members of Congress from profiting on information they learn as part of their jobs. Although the Senate was so hamstrung by partisan infighting that it was unable to agree on much that year, senators were eager to demonstrate, especially in an election year, that they were not profiting personally from their jobs as public servants, as alleged by a CBS 60 Minutes report, and were accountable to the public. Senators Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) and Scott Brown (R-MA) introduced competing legislation. Senator Lieberman redrafted the measure and shepherded it through the Senate

as one of the body's few legislative accomplishments in 2012. After some delay, the legislation was finally adopted by the House and signed by the President into law.

GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT

Electronic and Open Government

In addition to supporting strong Freedom of Information Act and governmental reporting requirements, Senator Lieberman worked between 2000 and 2003 to achieve one of his signature legislative accomplishments, the E-Government Act.

In 2000, when the Internet was still a relatively new tool, Senator Lieberman established himself as the Senate's strongest advocate of "e-government," or the use of information technology to more efficiently deliver government services and information, expand public access, and increase citizen participation in government. Through proposed legislation, speeches, and a first-of-its-kind interactive website soliciting suggestions from the public, Senator Lieberman provided one of the most forceful voices arguing that government should join the rest of society in reaping significant benefits from the cyber-age. Working with Chairman Thompson, he launched a first-of-its-kind Internet legislative comment tool, which allowed interested Americans to learn about a broad array of legislative options and proposals related to e-government legislation and to express their views and share their own insights.

In May 2001, Lieberman introduced the bipartisan E-Government Act to create a Federal Chief Information Officer (CIO) and provide focused, top-level leadership on e-government and information technology issues. The CIO would allocate money from a substantial E-Government fund to support interagency projects and other innovative programs. The bill also addressed privacy concerns, an impending shortage of skilled information technology professionals in the federal workforce, electronic rule-making, and an online government portal.

The Committee reported out the bill in March 2002 and subsequently entered into negotiations with the White House and Senator Thompson to resolve concerns. The E-Government Act of 2002 passed the Senate on June 27 and was signed into law on December 17, 2002, culminating three years of work. The final version of the legislation improved the organization and delivery of information and services over the Internet and established a new information technology management framework to transform the way government operates.

Improving the Postal Service

One of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee's most important, if lesser known, responsibilities is overseeing the United States Postal Service (USPS), the largest postal service in the world. In 2011, the USPS processed 167.9 billion mail pieces, 40 percent of the world's mail volume, utilizing some 546,000 career employees and no taxpayer funding. With the growing role of the Internet and diminished mail volumes, the Postal Service was facing such great shortfalls in revenue that it proposed to reduce services dramatically.

Under Senator Lieberman's leadership, the Senate, in April 2012, approved the 21st Century Postal Service Act, a bill that would ensure the future of the USPS for millions of American people and businesses. Senator Lieberman developed the bill with Senators Collins, Carper, and Brown, which would have ended nearly \$25 million in daily losses by the USPS. Among its provisions, the bill would authorize the USPS to reduce its workforce through buyouts, make minor modifications to delivery times, and make managerial improvements to save money while avoiding the unnecessary closure of needed postal locations. Although the House did not act before the 112th Congress adjourned, the Senate bill provided a map to keeping the Postal Service functioning for future generations.

Responding to the Enron Scandal

In the summer of 2001, the revelation of major financial improprieties on the part of the Enron Corporation resulted in the largest bankruptcy in recent memory, the loss of nearly \$11 billion in shareholder value, and the eventual dissolution of auditing firm Arthur Anderson. In the wake of this scandal, Senator Lieberman led an investigation in 2002 that included at least three hearings and resulted in the October 2002 release of a 127-page report titled, *Financial Oversight of Enron: The SEC and Private-Sector Watchdogs*. The report sets forth a summary of findings and recommendations relating to the Committee's investigation of both public and private sector financial oversight of Enron, particularly by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), stock analysts, and the credit rating agencies. The report detailed a story of "systemic and catastrophic failure" by all the watchdogs to properly discharge their appointed roles and protect investors.

FIGHTING FOR D.C. RIGHTS

Given the District of Columbia's unique status as a federal district, the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee plays a significant role in overseeing the District's operations. Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman has worked to provide the District of Columbia's residents with the opportunity to control more of their own affairs and enjoy full representation in Congress.

For more than a decade, Senator Lieberman has partnered with other members of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, as well as Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC), to fight for equal voting rights in the House, Senate, or both for the citizens of the District of Columbia. Although these efforts have not yielded fruit as of the end of his final term in office, Senator Lieberman contributed heavily to establishing the rights of District residents.

Under current law, D.C. residents are the only citizens in any democratic nation's capital city to not enjoy legislative representation. In an effort to right that wrong, Senator Lieberman introduced and reported out of Committee in 2002 the No Taxation without Representation Act, marking the first time that the Senate had taken any legislative action on D.C. voting rights in almost a quarter century. This bill would have entitled the residents of Washington, D.C. to elect two Senators and a member of the House of Representatives; but it was not acted upon by the full Senate.

Senator Lieberman organized a major victory for D.C. voting rights in February 2009 when he introduced and managed the District of Columbia House Voting Rights Act, which would have provided the District of Columbia with a voting seat in the House of Representatives. After years of gridlock over the issue, the full Senate endorsed the measure in a 61-37 vote, the first such bill to pass the Senate since 1978. Unfortunately, the Senate also agreed to an amendment that would abolish the D.C. gun

ban. That amendment was anathema to District leaders and House Democrats, and the House never acted upon the legislation. The measure died with the end of the 111th Congress.

In addition to his work on voting rights, Senator Lieberman has also worked with Senators Collins, Daniel Akaka (D-HI), and other members of the committee to give the District of Columbia greater control over its budget. Under current law, the District cannot implement its budget until Congress affirmatively approves it. Ongoing budget disputes in Congress have repeatedly delayed implementation of the D.C. budget, resulting in needless fiscal uncertainty and waste.

In 2012, Senators Lieberman, Collins, and Akaka introduced the District of Columbia Budget Autonomy Act, which would allow the mayor and city council to enact the locally funded portion of D.C.'s budget at the beginning of a new fiscal year without explicit approval from Congress. The bill would have still allowed for congressional oversight, since the federally funded portion of the city's budget would still be approved through the current budget and appropriations processes. The Senate failed to act on this bill.

Senator Lieberman also fought successfully for the preservation of the District of Columbia Opportunity Scholarship Program, which enables low-income families in the District to choose a private school for their children and enhance their opportunities to succeed in life. Specifically he authored the SOAR Act with House Speaker John Boehner (R-OH). The SOAR Act reauthorized the OSP Program for five years. In addition to funding the OSP program, the SOAR Act also authorized new funding for DC public schools and DC public charter schools. This ensured that OSP funding will not jeopardize public school funding. Additionally, he has furthered the educational opportunities of D.C. youth by supporting the D.C. Tuition Assistance Program to provide them affordable college tuition at public universities.

In his final days in office, Senator Lieberman joined Senators Dick Durbin (D-IL), Patty Murray (D-WA), and Barbara Boxer (D-CA) to introduce legislation that would have granted Washington D.C. full statehood, including full voter representation in Congress for its residents. The New Columbia Admissions Act, was the first D.C. statehood bill to be introduced in the Senate since 1993. New Columbia would include residential neighborhoods and business districts where the majority of D.C. residents live and work, but would retain the sections of D.C. where most government buildings and the Mall are located under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Congress as a federal district.

Beyond our Shores: National Security in an Age of Terror

Senator Lieberman was inspired to pursue a career in politics by John F. Kennedy who, in his Inaugural Address, pledged that the United States would “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” As Senator Lieberman put it in a November 2007 speech at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies:

This was the Democratic Party I grew up in—a party that was unafraid to make moral judgments about the world beyond our borders, to draw a clear line between... ‘the free world’ of the West and the ‘slave society’ behind the Iron Curtain. It was a party that grasped the inextricable link between the survival of freedom abroad and the survival of freedom at home—that recognized... that ‘the idea of freedom is the most contagious idea in the world.’ And it was also a party that understood that a progressive society must be ready and willing to use its military power in defense of its progressive ideals, in order to ensure that those progressive ideals survived.

During his 24 years in the United States Senate, Senator Lieberman has embraced this foreign policy tradition in his approach to the world – advocating policies that have been simultaneously principled, internationalist, and tough-minded. From the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to the strengthening of our strategic partnerships and alliances in the Asia-Pacific region, and from the war on terror to the struggle for democracy and human rights around the world, Senator Lieberman has been one of the most influential foreign policy leaders in the United States over the past two and a half decades.

BUILDING A EUROPE THAT IS FREE, UNITED, AND AT PEACE

Senator Lieberman arrived in Washington in January 1989, months before the fall of the Berlin Wall. By the end of his first term, the Soviet Union would be gone and the Cold War would be over. In their place, the United States would confront a new set of international challenges – starting in Europe, where the end of the Warsaw Pact simultaneously created new opportunities for the spread of free market democracy, as well as new dangers, such as the collapse of Yugoslavia into a vicious civil war. Senator Lieberman quickly emerged as one of the Senate’s leading voices on these issues, guiding the Euro-Atlantic alliance into a new era.

Senator Lieberman’s commitment to the transatlantic relationship was exemplified by his leadership, together with Senator John McCain (R-AZ), of the annual U.S. congressional delegation to the Munich Security Conference.

Intervention in the Balkans

As Yugoslavia unraveled, Senator Lieberman was at the heart of a bipartisan coalition in the Senate that called for United States intervention in order to halt the ethnic cleansing. This effort was

one of the first occasions in which Senator Lieberman would partner with such colleagues as Senators Joe Biden (D-DE), John McCain, and Bob Dole (R-KS) to weigh in on one of the most important foreign policy issues of the day.

Senator Lieberman specifically urged the lifting of a United Nations arms embargo against Bosnia, arguing that the embargo effectively locked in the military advantages enjoyed by the expansionist, nationalist government of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia and his allies inside Bosnia. While many at the time insisted that the bloodshed was the result of “ancient hatreds” that implicated all sides, Senator Lieberman correctly warned that the slaughter was disproportionately the consequence of Milosevic’s machinations and that he had to be stopped. In response, Senator Lieberman and his colleagues put forward a legislative proposal that became known as “lift and strike” – under which the arms embargo against the embattled Bosnian forces would be terminated, while using American air power to compel the Serbs to the negotiating table.

As early as 1992, Senator Lieberman strongly supported resolutions laying out the first iteration of the “lift and strike” policy, which urged then-President George H.W. Bush to call for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council for the purpose of terminating the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Although this approach was endorsed in the Senate, the embargo remained in place.

The following year, Senator Lieberman worked with Senators Dole, Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), John Danforth (R-MO), and Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) in an effort to further codify U.S. support for Bosnia-Herzegovina's right to self-defense and the criminal prosecution of persons committing crimes against humanity in Bosnia. As part of the debate on the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994, Senator Lieberman helped to secure new U.S. sanctions against Serbia. Still, the arms embargo remained in place, allowing Serb forces to continue their rampage.

Through 1994 and 1995, the senator took on an ever greater role to urge intervention in Bosnia. First, he and Senator DeConcini introduced a bill to allow the transfer of U.S. defense articles to Bosnia, which would provide the legal basis for direct American support in the event the embargo were terminated. In addition, he again partnered with Senator Dole to offer a bill calling for an immediate end to American participation in the embargo. In the fall of 1994, Lieberman helped negotiate a compromise approach requiring the President to attempt to reach a UN agreement to lift the embargo, but creating a path to unilateral American action if that effort was blocked at the UN Security Council.

In 1995, congressional support for Lieberman’s Bosnia proposals continued to grow, as atrocities there mounted. In a major breakthrough, a Lieberman-Dole bill lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government received overwhelming support in both houses of Congress. While President Clinton vetoed this legislation, its passage was followed by the revelation of the Srebrenica massacre, in which more than 8,000 Bosnian men and boys were murdered in July 1995. In response to this tragedy and ever greater congressional pressure, President Clinton initiated a campaign of NATO air strikes against Serb forces, which precipitated a meeting of the warring parties and a settlement of the war with the Dayton Accords signed in December 1995.

After the signing of the Dayton Accords, Senator Lieberman led the fight in the Senate to support the deployment of U.S. ground forces in Bosnia to help secure the successful implementation of the peace agreement.

While the Dayton Peace Accords ended the fighting in Bosnia, Slobodan Milosevic remained in power in Belgrade. Soon, he was taking steps toward a new campaign of ethnic cleansing – this time focused on the province of Kosovo, where an ethnic Albanian majority came under increased siege by Serb forces.

As violence in Kosovo built in 1998, Senator Lieberman cosponsored a resolution calling for an end to the violent repression of the people of Kosovo, condemning the Serbian government for its aggression, and urging the President to impose sanctions on Serbia. That year, he also cosponsored a resolution expressing the Sense of Congress in calling on the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to review evidence with the goal of indicting and ultimately trying Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes committed in the Former Yugoslavia.

In 1999, Senator Lieberman championed legislation to defeat Serbian aggression in Kosovo and support Milosevic's democratic opposition. First, he partnered with Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) in sponsoring legislation to provide funding to arm and train the Kosovar people to help them defend themselves. In addition, he partnered with Senator McCain and others on a resolution authorizing the President to conduct military operations against Milosevic's forces, which was adopted by the Senate. Finally, he cosponsored a bill introduced by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), which sought to facilitate a democratic transition in Serbia and provide assistance to the victims of Slobodan Milosevic's wars in the Balkans.

Senator Lieberman strongly supported President Clinton's decision to launch an air war to stop the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo in March-June 1999. After Serb forces were driven out of Kosovo, Lieberman called for a strong U.S. role in support of KFOR, the United Nations-mandated and NATO-led peacekeeping force that was subsequently deployed in the province. In May 2000, Senator Lieberman successfully led the fight against a Senate amendment that would have limited future U.S. participation in KFOR. In his speech on this subject, he made a compelling case for the success of NATO's military action in 1999 in stopping the barbaric killing and allowing more than one million refugees to return to their homes. He also called for continuing U.S. involvement as essential to prevent further violence and encourage long-term democratic change in the Balkans.

During the 2000s, Senator Lieberman remained engaged with the Balkans. In 2000, he championed the democratic uprising in Serbia that at last overthrew the government of Slobodan Milosevic and became a strong supporter of the new democratically-elected Serbian governments since then, which have sought partnership and integration with the Euro-Atlantic community. Senator Lieberman also became a strong supporter of Kosovo's independence, which was declared in 2008, introducing a Senate resolution in 2007 together with then-Senator Biden anticipating and welcoming this development. Senator Lieberman also continued to visit the region, traveling to Kosovo in 2007 and to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2010.

Fighting for NATO Expansion

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman has championed NATO as the most successful alliance in the history of the world. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when some in the U.S. argued that NATO had outlived its purpose and should be disbanded, Senator Lieberman took a radically different approach – arguing that the alliance should be expanded to include the newly-democratic

states of Central and Eastern Europe and that its mandate should be broadened from a defensive alliance focused on the West, to a truly global security organization that could carry out expeditionary operations wherever Western interests and values are threatened. In 1992, he cosponsored a Senate amendment calling on the President to broaden NATO's charter to include missions beyond the protection of the territory of its member nations, to include responding to the crises in the Balkans and the Middle East.

In 1997, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator Trent Lott (R-MS) to introduce an amendment to make funds available for the purpose of facilitating the integration of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Ultimately, these three countries were integrated into NATO two years later, with Senator Lieberman's support.

In 2001, Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of the Freedom Consolidation Act, which authorized military assistance for nine NATO candidate states in Central and Eastern Europe that sought to meet criteria for membership in the alliance. As a result of these efforts, four former Warsaw Pact nations (Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, and Slovakia) and three former Soviet republics (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) were invited to join NATO in 2002.

Throughout the remainder of his career, Senator Lieberman has continued to support NATO expansion. During the late 2000s, in particular, Senator Lieberman strongly lobbied for keeping the door to NATO open for the former Soviet republic of Georgia and awarding it with a Membership Action Plan (MAP). He has also urged the resolution of the dispute that has prevented Macedonia from joining the alliance.

Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus—Supporting Democracy, Opposing the Return of Dictatorship

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Senator Lieberman was a strong proponent of early efforts to provide economic and other assistance to the newly-established Russian Federation and the other post-Soviet republics. In 1992, Senator Lieberman successfully introduced an amendment providing broad guidance for engaging the new Russia. The legislation encouraged the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Export-Import Bank, and Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to coordinate their efforts and support projects in the former Soviet Union and authorized the Department of Commerce to help small- and medium-sized American businesses expand trade in these nations.

Over the course of the 1990s, Lieberman continued to support Russia's democratic transition. As President Putin began to assert increasingly authoritarian powers in the early 2000s, however, Senator Lieberman began to criticize Russia's new direction. In November 2003, after parliamentary elections that were rife with abuses, he partnered with Senator McCain to introduce legislation that would have made Russia's continued participation in the Group of Eight contingent on upholding international norms on freedom and democracy. In the late 2000s, he issued repeated statements criticizing the intensifying crackdown by the Kremlin against opposition leaders.

In 2011-2012, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senators Ben Cardin (D-MD), McCain, and Roger Wicker (R-MS) to introduce the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act. Named in honor of a lawyer who was arrested and murdered by Russian authorities after uncovering a massive tax fraud, this bill imposed sanctions against human rights violators in Russia, preventing them from traveling to

the United States or accessing the U.S. banking system. Senator Lieberman led a successful push to condition the establishment of permanent normal trade relations with Russia on the simultaneous passage of the Magnitsky Act. This strategy culminated in the adoption of a combined trade and human rights bill by the Senate on December 6, 2012; Senator Lieberman subsequently attended the signing of the bill by President Obama in the Oval Office.

Senator Lieberman has also championed the cause of human rights and democracy in the former Soviet republics. After Ukraine's 2004 presidential election was stolen by the incumbent, he successfully introduced a resolution condemning electoral abuses and encouraging President Bush to consider visa bans and other sanctions on persons who improperly influenced the election. The "Orange Revolution" ultimately propelled the election's rightful winner, Viktor Yushchenko, to office in February 2005. Senator Lieberman also strongly supported the "Rose Revolution" that swept Georgia in 2003, introducing that country's first democratically-elected government, and partnered with Senator McCain to pass the Andijon Accountability Act in 2005, after the authoritarian regime ruling Uzbekistan massacred protesters in the capital of Andijon.

Senator Lieberman has been an especially strong critic of Alexander Lukashenko, the strongman ruler of Belarus, often described as the "last dictator in Europe." In the aftermath of a fraudulent election in Belarus in December 2010, and a brutal crackdown against protesters, Senator Lieberman joined Senators McCain and Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) in travelling to Lithuania, where he met with Belarusian students at the European Humanities University. Lieberman also partnered with Senator John Kerry (D-MA), the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to urge a tightening of sanctions by both the U.S. and the European Union against the Belarusian regime.

THE MIDDLE EAST – SUPPORTING OUR TROOPS, OPPOSING TERROR

The Long War for Iraq (1990-2012)

After Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Senator Lieberman soon found himself playing a key role in the highly contentious debate over whether or not to authorize military force to liberate the Kuwaiti people. On January 12, 1991, he was one of only ten Democrats who joined Republicans in authorizing the use of military force, and the only Northeastern Democrat to do so. The resolution narrowly passed, 52-47, and the United States went on to lead an international coalition that swiftly evicted Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

Following the lightning triumph over Saddam Hussein's troops in Kuwait, the George H.W. Bush Administration urged a coup against the Iraqi dictator. However, when Iraqi Shiites and Kurds rose up, the United States failed to intervene to support or protect them. As Saddam's helicopter gunships began slaughtering thousands of Iraqis, prompting massive refugee flows into Turkey, Senator Lieberman delivered a floor speech on April 11, 1991, in which he warned:

I did not speak out and vote for the use of force against Saddam Hussein on January 12 only to remain silent on April 9 while Saddam's murderous rampage rages on. I believe the United States must pursue final victory over Saddam. We must use all reasonable diplomatic, economic, and military means to achieve his removal from power. Until that end is realized, the peace and stability of the region will not have been fully accomplished. If we do not act, if we neglect our duty to humanity, we would, as Dwight Eisenhower once said in speaking about a failure to

confront evil in the world, “outrage our own conscience. In the eyes of those who suffer injustice we would become partners with their oppressors.”

The United States subsequently established a safe zone in Kurdish-dominated northern Iraq, under which the Kurdistan Regional Government was eventually established. Senator Lieberman, over the course of the 1990s, developed close relations with leaders of the Iraqi opposition, who agitated for further action against Saddam Hussein and warned that he was reconstituting his weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs, which – in the wake of the Gulf War – were discovered to have been much further advanced than previously suspected.

In 1998, after more than six years of Saddam’s intransigence and continued oppression of the Iraqi people, Senator Lieberman joined Senator Trent Lott (R-MS) to introduce the Iraq Liberation Act, which stated that it should be the policy of the United States to support a transition to democracy in Iraq. The senator also cosponsored a resolution noting that Iraq was not in compliance with the agreements it made at the end of the Gulf War and urging then-President Clinton to take appropriate action to compel Iraq to comply with its international commitments.

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, Senator Lieberman was an early advocate of expanding the new “war on terror” to target Saddam Hussein. On October 2, 2002, Senator Lieberman joined with Senators John Warner (R-VA), Evan Bayh (D-IN), and John McCain to introduce a joint resolution authorizing the President to use military force against Iraq, unless one final round of UN diplomacy and weapons inspections confirmed that Iraq had fully dismantled its chemical and biological weapons programs. An identical bill was introduced in the House by Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) and Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) and signed into law on October 16th.

As the March 2003 invasion of Iraq approached, Senator Lieberman challenged the White House to lay out its plans for postwar reconstruction, introducing a resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the importance of planning for after the fall of Saddam. In a speech that spring, Senator Lieberman also advocated a long-term commitment to Iraq, saying that the coming war reflected “not a fleeting fancy but part of a broad strategic and moral commitment to bring progress and security to the Muslim world.”

The U.S. invasion of Iraq commenced on March 19, 2003. U.S. troops swiftly defeated Iraq’s conventional armed forces and reached Baghdad by mid-April. What followed, however, was an extended and uncertain occupation, as the Bush Administration was repeatedly caught by surprise – first by a wave of looting that swept the country, and then by clear signs of an emerging Sunni insurgency. Confronted by the unexpected imperative of an extended occupation, the Bush Administration sought an \$87 billion emergency supplemental in the fall of 2003 – a measure that Senator Lieberman strongly supported. At the same time, however, he began arguing that the Bush Administration had committed insufficient troops to Iraq, which was partly to blame for the worsening security environment.

In April 2004, Senator Lieberman delivered a speech at the Brookings Institution, in which he urged Democrats and Republicans to remain united in support of the war in Iraq. Throughout 2005 and 2006, as the majority of Democrats turned against the war and began calling for the accelerated withdrawal of U.S. forces, Senator Lieberman argued that it would be “catastrophic” to do so, until the Iraqi Security Forces had been properly trained.

In late 2006, as it became increasingly clear that U.S. efforts in Iraq were failing, Senator Lieberman renewed his call for sending more troops as part of a new, comprehensive counterinsurgency strategy. In an op-ed in the *Washington Post* on December 29, 2006, Lieberman wrote: “The American people are justifiably frustrated by the lack of progress, and the price paid by our heroic troops and their families has been heavy. But what is needed now, especially in Washington and Baghdad, is not despair but decisive action – and soon. The most pressing problem we face in Iraq is not an absence of Iraqi political will or American diplomatic initiative . . . it is a lack of basic security. As long as insurgents and death squads terrorize Baghdad, Iraq's nascent democratic institutions cannot be expected to function, much less win the trust of the people. The fear created by gang murders and mass abductions ensures that power will continue to flow to the very thugs and extremists who have the least interest in peace and reconciliation.”

When President Bush announced in January 2007 his intention to send a “surge” of forces into Iraq under a new military commander, General David Petraeus, Senator Lieberman quickly became the new strategy's only Democratic defender and one of its most outspoken advocates in the Senate, together with Senator McCain and Senator Graham (R-SC). In a series of floor statements, op-eds, speeches, and media appearances over the course of the spring of 2007, Senator Lieberman repeatedly fought back legislative efforts to end the surge preemptively. In May 2007, Senator Lieberman visited Baghdad and Anbar province, touting the progress that he argued was beginning to be achieved there under General Petraeus.

In September 2007, General Petraeus returned to Washington, together with the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Ryan Crocker, for marathon appearances before the House and Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees. Senator Lieberman participated in rallies supporting General Petraeus and the surge – swiftly denouncing an ad by the anti-war group, MoveOn.org, that accused the Iraq commander of misleading the American people about progress in Iraq. By the end of 2007, it had become indisputably clear that violence levels in Iraq had plummeted; on the one year anniversary of the surge announcement in January 2008, Senator Lieberman – shortly after endorsing Senator McCain in the Republican presidential primary and while himself on a trip to Afghanistan and Pakistan – partnered with Senator McCain in an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal*, praising General Petraeus' leadership in Iraq and the gains that had been made there over the preceding twelve months.

Following the 2008 presidential election, Senator Lieberman returned to Iraq with Senators McCain and Graham in December 2008. After returning to the U.S., they wrote an op-ed in the *Washington Post* that urged President-elect Obama to rebuild a “bipartisan consensus” about Iraq. Specifically, they called on the President-elect to listen to the counsel of General Odierno, who by then had succeeded Petraeus as the commander of Multi-National Forces-Iraq, with respect to the timetable for the drawdown of forces. They also encouraged the incoming President to “appoint an individual of the greatest possible skill and proven ability” to succeed Ryan Crocker, who was stepping down as U.S. ambassador in Baghdad, and specifically emphasized the importance of maintaining the close civil-military partnership that had developed between him and Petraeus and Odierno. Unfortunately, the Obama Administration instead nominated Chris Hill, a career Foreign Service Officer who had no prior experience in Iraq or the Middle East, and who clashed repeatedly with General Odierno and the military.

Beginning in 2010, Senator Lieberman warned about the importance of reaching an agreement to keep a residual U.S. military force in Iraq after 2011, when the Status of Forces Agreement negotiated

under President Bush was due to expire. In late 2010, Senator Lieberman visited Baghdad and was told by commanders there that at least 25,000 troops should be kept in the country under a “medium risk” scenario. By 2011, however, reports began to surface that the White House had overruled the Pentagon and was willing only to keep a much more limited force.

In September 2011, Lieberman joined McCain and Graham to warn that, “We are deeply troubled by media reports that the Obama Administration has sharply reduced the number of U.S. troops it is proposing for the post-2011 security force in Iraq to approximately 3,000. This is dramatically lower than what our military leaders have consistently told us over the course of repeated visits to Iraq that they require, and that is needed to support Iraq in safeguarding the hard-won gains that our two nations have achieved at such great cost. In particular, we are very concerned by the prospect that a follow-on force might lack the capabilities and authorities necessary to help Iraqis ensure stability across the disputed territories in northern Iraq, which we consider an essential mission. We urge the Administration to work urgently with Iraqi authorities to reach an agreement that reflects the best military advice of U.S. commanders on the ground and allows the U.S. to safeguard our national interest in Iraq’s stability.”

In October, the Obama Administration announced that its negotiation with Prime Minister Maliki had collapsed and that all U.S. troops would leave Iraq at the end of the year. In response, Senator Lieberman issued a sharply critical statement, calling the President’s statement “one of failure, not of success.” He went on:

“It is profoundly disappointing and unsettling that after all America and Iraq have been through together, our two leaders could not find the will or the way to reach agreement on the terms under which a small follow-on U.S. force could remain in Iraq after this year, despite the many reasons it was critically important, and instead gave up trying. This decision stands in striking contrast with the spirit of the remarkable men and women in uniform who pulled Iraq back from the brink of chaos just a few years ago, and who refused to give up or accept failure even after all hope was seemingly lost. I was not in the negotiations or privy to what was happening inside both governments so I cannot apportion blame for this failure, but I know that every American military leader I have spoken to in recent years with any responsibility for Iraq has told me that we would need to keep no less than 10,000 troops there after this year to complete our mission in Iraq, since the Iraqi Security Forces still lack key capabilities and the country’s stability remains fragile. Leaders of Iraq’s military have made similar statements as recently as yesterday.”

Senator Lieberman in January 2012 became the first senior U.S. official to visit Iraq following the departure of the last U.S. troops, and returned there in September 2012, on his last CodeI with Senator McCain and Senator Graham.

Fighting for Success in Afghanistan

Years prior to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Senator Lieberman expressed concern about the repressive policies of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the human rights abuses being committed against the Afghan people. In 1998, for instance, Senator Lieberman cosponsored a resolution condemning the intolerable treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan by the Taliban.

Following the overthrow of the Taliban government in late 2001, Senator Lieberman traveled to Kabul for the first time in early 2002, meeting with the newly-installed president, Hamid Karzai. It would be the first of many visits and meetings with the new Afghan leadership. Over the course of 2002, Senator Lieberman grew increasingly concerned by the Bush Administration's handling of Afghanistan, criticizing the White House for its aversion of "nation-building" and insufficient attention to the rebuilding effort. Consistent with his belief that success in the war on terror requires us not just to "drain the swamp" of extremism, but also to "seed the garden" of democratization and economic growth, Senator Lieberman cosponsored S. 2712 in 2002, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act, authorizing economic aid, democratic development funding, and military assistance for Afghanistan. The legislation was passed on November 14, 2002 and signed into law by President Bush in December.

Senator Lieberman again visited Afghanistan in January 2008 and began warning that our war effort there was badly off course. As a first step, he began advocating a massive expansion of the Afghan National Security Forces, in particular the Afghan National Army. As he wrote in a March 2008 op-ed in the *Washington Post*:

"The biggest problem with the Afghan army is that it is too small, with a targeted end strength of only 80,000 troops. By contrast, the projected end strength of the Iraqi army is over 200,000 – even though Afghanistan is nearly 50 percent bigger in territory than Iraq and has a larger population. Privately, many U.S. officials concede that the Afghan army has nowhere near the necessary numbers to secure its country against an increasingly sophisticated insurgency. The NATO summit is an opportune moment for the United States to commit to expanding its ranks, and in a big way."

Senator Lieberman's proposals for the Afghan National Security Forces were subsequently adopted, beginning under the Bush Administration and then accelerating under the Obama Administration, which launched a large-scale effort to expand the ANSF to a peak strength of 352,000 by the end of 2011.

Starting in 2008, Senator Lieberman also began to advocate for an expanded war effort in Afghanistan, writing: "We need to apply the same basic counterinsurgency principles in southern Afghanistan that have brought so much success in Iraq over the past year – beginning with an integrated, civil-military campaign plan that prioritizes the basic security of the Afghan people."

At the end of 2008, Senator Lieberman returned to Afghanistan with Senators McCain and Graham. Shortly thereafter, he delivered a speech at the Brookings Institution, calling for a comprehensive new strategy for Afghanistan, including a surge of U.S. and foreign forces, a surge of Afghan forces, and a force of "strategic coherence." He also advocated a long-term U.S. security commitment to Afghanistan, warning that – the sooner the U.S. signaled its intention to remain in Afghanistan for the long term, the sooner we could establish conditions that would allow our forces to begin to leave.

Throughout 2009, Senator Lieberman urged President Obama to send sufficient forces to Afghanistan and to put in place a comprehensive counterinsurgency campaign. He argued against those in the Administration counseling a more limited "counterterrorism-plus" strategy, warning that this would not work. When President Obama announced in December 2009 his intention to send additional forces to Afghanistan, Senator Lieberman praised his decision, but criticized his announcement that

these surge forces would withdraw by the summer of 2011 – arguing that this would undercut the effectiveness of the offensive.

Throughout 2011 and 2012, Senator Lieberman continued his advocacy on behalf of the Afghan National Security Forces and a long-term U.S. commitment to Afghanistan. Together with Senator Carl Levin (D-MI), the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he challenged Administration proposals to cut the size of the ANSF by one-third, from 352,000 to 230,000 between 2014 and 2017. Lieberman and Levin argued that such reductions were unsupported by developments in Afghanistan and would put at risk the gains that had been achieved there.

Senator Lieberman also strongly supported the Obama Administration's efforts to negotiate a Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA), which was concluded in 2012, and urged the swift completion of a Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA), under which U.S. forces will be able to remain in Afghanistan after 2014. Senator Lieberman also urged President Obama not to withdraw forces from Afghanistan precipitously, listening instead to the recommendations of U.S. commanders on the ground.

Iran: Supporting the Iranian People, Preventing a Nuclear-Armed Regime

From his first year in the Senate, Senator Lieberman has been a steadfast advocate of the human rights of the Iranian people and an outspoken critic of the repressive policies of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In 1989, for instance, he joined his fellow Senator from Connecticut, Christopher Dodd (D-CT), and a large bipartisan coalition of his colleagues, in cosponsoring a resolution condemning the government of Iran for its state-sponsored persecution of the Baha'i, a religious minority living in that country. Over the next 24 years, Senator Lieberman cosponsored, and at times authored and introduced himself, every similar resolution offered in the Senate, standing in solidarity with Iranian Baha'is who have faced imprisonment, harassment, intimidation, and discrimination because of their religious beliefs.

Likewise, since in the early 1990s, Senator Lieberman has been at the forefront of bipartisan efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. In 1993, for example, Senator Lieberman joined Senator McCain in introducing the Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Amendments of 1993. This legislation, signed into law in 1994 as part of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, imposed new sanctions on foreign individuals and governments that provided Iran and Iraq with equipment and technology used in the manufacture or delivery of weapons of mass destruction.

In 1997, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator Trent Lott and others in introducing the Iran Missile Proliferation Sanctions Act, imposing tough U.S. sanctions against any foreign individuals or companies that provide material or assistance to the development of Iran's ballistic missile capability. The bill garnered the support of 84 cosponsors and passed the Senate by a vote of 90-4 but was ultimately vetoed by President Clinton out of concern that it would negatively impact relations with Russia. Undeterred, in 1999, Senators Lieberman and Lott put forward the Iran Nonproliferation Act. Senator Lieberman argued during the Senate debate over this bill that it was urgent to stop Iran's ballistic missile programs. The legislation explicitly confronted U.S. concerns about Russian involvement in Iranian proliferation activities by withholding U.S. funding to the Russian space agency, unless Russia took sufficient action to halt any part it was playing in proliferation to Iran. The bill passed the U.S. House by a 419-0 vote, the Senate by a 98-0 vote, and was subsequently signed by President Clinton.

In 2001, Senator Lieberman joined a supermajority coalition of 80 Senators in introducing the Iran and Libya Sanctions Extension Act, to extend for another five years the applicability of Iran-Libya Sanctions Act penalties against companies that make investments above a certain value in the oil or gas development industries in Iran or Libya. This legislation was passed unanimously by the Senate.

After the exposure of Iran's covert uranium enrichment program at Natanz in the summer of 2002, Senator Lieberman was a leading voice in the Senate for tough, new sanctions against Iran. In 2003, for instance, Senator Lieberman joined Senator Feinstein in cosponsoring S.Con.Res. 81, a resolution expressing the deep concern of the Congress regarding the failure of the Islamic Republic of Iran to adhere to its obligations under a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency. This resolution was passed unanimously by the Senate in 2004.

As evidence grew that Iran was sponsoring terrorist attacks against U.S. troops in Iraq, providing weapons, training, and funding for Shiite extremists responsible for the murder of hundreds of Americans, Senator Lieberman began a public campaign to hold Iran accountable. After visiting Baghdad in the summer of 2007 and hearing firsthand about the involvement of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) in these attacks, Senator Lieberman warned that, "I think we've got to be prepared to take aggressive military action against the Iranians to stop them from killing Americans in Iraq. And to me, that would include a strike over the border into Iran, where we have good evidence that they have a base at which they are training these people coming back into Iraq to kill our soldiers."

In September, Senator Lieberman joined with Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) to introduce an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008, urging President Bush to sanction the IRGC as a terrorist group. The amendment became the subject of intense debate on the Senate floor; but the measure ultimately prevailed by an overwhelming bipartisan vote of 76-22. Shortly thereafter, the Bush Administration announced that it was imposing sanctions on the IRGC for its involvement in both proliferation and terrorism.

Following the election of President Obama in 2008, Senator Lieberman was at the center of a series of successful congressional efforts to impose unprecedented crippling sanctions against Iran. In 2009, he partnered with Senators Evan Bayh (D-IN) and Kyl to introduce the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act, which targeted Iran's dependence on imported gasoline and other refined petroleum products. The bill won the support of a bipartisan supermajority of senators and provided the foundation for an even broader piece of legislation, the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act (CISADA), which the Senate passed the following year. Senator Lieberman was then chosen as one of the conferees to reconcile the Senate legislation with its House counterpart. The new, composite bill was signed into law by the President in July 2010 and was, at the time, the most powerful Iran sanctions measure ever adopted by Congress.

In 2011, Senator Lieberman joined with Senators Robert Menendez (D-NJ) and Kyl to introduce a new Iran sanctions bill, which again garnered overwhelming bipartisan support over the course of the year. That legislation was subsequently combined with other measures to form the Iran Threat Reduction and Syrian Human Rights Act, which was signed into law in 2012.

Senator Lieberman also led a successful, multi-year effort to impose sanctions on the Central Bank of Iran. In 2009, for instance, Senator Lieberman joined Senators Kyl, Bayh, and McCain to introduce an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2010, urging the President to

impose sanctions against the Central Bank of Iran if the Iranian regime failed to embrace the President's offer of direct diplomacy before the G-20 summit that year, or if they failed to suspend all uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities within 60 days of that summit.

Senator Lieberman's campaign for Central Bank sanctions culminated in late 2011, when he partnered with Senators Menendez and Mark Kirk (R-IL) on an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012, designed to incentivize countries to end their dealings with the Central Bank of Iran and reduce their purchases of Iranian petroleum products. Senator Lieberman played a central role in quietly brokering a bipartisan agreement on the amendment, which nearly fell prey to political squabbling; despite opposition from the Obama Administration, the amendment unanimously passed the Senate by a vote of 100-0.

At the same time that Senator Lieberman was coordinating congressional efforts to deepen sanctions in response to Iran's nuclear activities, he was also championing greater support for the Iranian opposition, in particular in the aftermath of the 2009 uprising against the regime. In the midst of the Green Revolution, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator McCain to introduce S.Res. 193, a resolution expressing support for all Iranian citizens courageously calling for freedom, human rights, civil liberties, and the rule of law, while also condemning the Iranian regime for its violent crackdown. The resolution passed unanimously on June 19, 2009, the day that it was introduced.

Also in the wake of the 2009 Iranian election, Senator Lieberman joined Senators McCain and Ted Kaufman (D-DE), as well as others, in introducing the Victims of Iranian Censorship (VOICE) Act. This legislation, which was unanimously adopted as an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2010, strengthened the ability of the Iranian people to get access to news and information and to overcome the electronic censorship and monitoring efforts of the Iranian regime. Later that year, Senator Lieberman again worked with Senator Kaufman to introduce S.Res. 386, a resolution calling attention to human rights abuses in Iran and condemning the Iranian regime's continued assault on freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly. This resolution was unanimously passed by the Senate the day that it was introduced.

Perhaps most importantly, Senator Lieberman in late 2009 joined with Senator McCain to add a provision to CISADA, the comprehensive Iran sanctions legislation, imposing targeting sanctions on Iranian officials responsible for human rights abuses. This was the first such legislation of its kind, imposing sanctions on the Iranian regime not for its nuclear activities, but for its repression of its own citizens.

During his final year in office, Senator Lieberman continued to be at the center of the Senate's work on Iran. At the beginning of 2012, Senator Lieberman joined Senators Graham, Casey, and others in introducing S.J.Res 41, a resolution which, for the first time, explicitly put the Senate on record as ruling out a strategy of containment for Iran. Once again, Senator Lieberman succeeded in building an overwhelming bipartisan coalition around the resolution, whose central message – that containment is not an option – was subsequently embraced by President Obama in May 2012. The anti-containment resolution was subsequently passed by a vote of 90-1 in the Senate.

In December 2012, Senator Lieberman cosponsored an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2013, along with Senators Menendez and Kirk, further tightening sanctions against Iran. The amendment, which passed 94-0, designates Iran's energy, port, shipping, and ship-

building sectors as “entities of proliferation concern” – effectively putting them off limits to responsible international businesses. The amendment also imposes sanctions on persons selling or supplying a defined list of commodities to Iran that are relevant to Iran’s ship-building and nuclear sectors and prevents Iran from circumventing financial sanctions by receiving payment in precious metals, such as gold, as it is currently doing. In addition, the amendment sanctions the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting entity as a human rights abuser, for its broadcasting of forced confessions and show trials on television. Finally, the amendment creates an exemption for the provision and sale to Iran of food, agricultural commodities, medicine, medical devices, and other humanitarian goods.

Also in December 2012, Senator Lieberman wrote and circulated a letter to the President, together with Senators Menendez and Kelly Ayotte (R-NH), outlining a set of principles for anticipated talks between Iran and the so-called P-5+1 – the permanent five members of the UN Security Council as well as Germany. The letter, which 73 Senators signed, made four recommendations. First, the letter argued that there should be “absolutely no diminution of pressure on the Iranians until the totality of the nuclear program has been addressed,” and that “we remain very skeptical of any proposal that would allow the current Iranian government to possess an enrichment capability in any form. Second, the letter urged the U.S. to “make sure of all elements of our national power to pressure Iran.” Third, it asked President Obama, “as you begin your second term . . . to reiterate your readiness to take military action against Iran if it continues its efforts to acquire a nuclear weapon. In addition we ask you to work with our European and Middle Eastern allies to demonstrate to the Iranians that a credible and capable multilateral coalition exists that would support a military strike.” Finally, the letter urged the President “to expand America’s outreach and support to the Iranian people and support of the cause of human rights and democracy in Iran.”

Consistent with Senator Lieberman’s longstanding advocacy for democracy and human rights in Iran and around the world, the letter concluded, “It is critically important for the U.S. to stand clearly and vocally on the side of the Iranian people today and support their quest for freedom – regardless of the status of negotiations with the Iranian government.”

Supporting Human Rights, Democracy, and the Arab Spring

Senator Lieberman has long argued that the United States is at its best when it pursues a foreign policy consistent with its own founding values. In the Middle East, this has led the senator to champion the cause of democracy and human rights throughout his time in Washington, in particular following the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

In 2004, for instance, Senator Lieberman put forward the Greater Middle East Development Act. Arguing that the United States had to engage in a “struggle for ideas” in Muslim societies, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) to introduce this five-year, five-billion dollar “Marshall Plan” to promote civil society, as well as economic and political development in the Middle East. Although the legislation did not emerge from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 2005, the State Department adopted two of the three key provisions from the bill.

In 2007, Senator Lieberman participated in a conference in Prague, organized by former Soviet dissident Natan Sharansky, former Czech dissident and later president Vaclav Havel, and former Spanish prime minister Jose Maria Aznar, which brought together dissidents and freedom fighters from around the world. During his speech to the conference, Senator Lieberman argued:

History and the heroes in this room tell me that the future does not belong to despots and dictators. It belongs to a labor activist from Tehran, to a journalist from Moscow, to a blogger from Cairo, to a human rights advocate from North Korea, and to countless others whose names are not yet known, but which will someday be inscribed alongside those of Havel and Sharansky and Sakharov in the kingdom of conscience and courage to which all freedom fighters belong.

Over the course of his many trips to the Middle East, Senator Lieberman consistently met not only with foreign leaders, but with civil society activists and dissidents, including in countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia. During a visit to Cairo in February 2009, Senator Lieberman privately urged then-President Hosni Mubarak to release the noted dissident Aymar Nour; Nour was released within hours of the Senator's discussion with Mubarak.

In 2010, Senator Lieberman cosponsored a resolution introduced by Senators Russ Feingold (D-WI) and McCain, urging the Egyptian government to admit international observers during its upcoming parliamentary vote. The Egyptian government lobbied fiercely against the measure, which was blocked by an anonymous hold.

In 2011, when democratic revolutions began to sweep the Middle East, Senator Lieberman urged the Obama Administration to align itself with the aspirations of the demonstrators. In February 2011, Senator Lieberman became the first senior U.S. official and the first Member of Congress, together with Senator McCain, to visit post-revolutionary Tunisia and Egypt. He subsequently partnered with Senators McCain and Kerry to introduce legislation establishing new enterprise funds to support the democratic transitions in these countries – a proposal embraced by the Obama Administration and ultimately enacted into law.

Over the course of 2011, Senator Lieberman emerged as a leading advocate in Congress for Tunisia, in particular, meeting with the full spectrum of its new leaders, including from the moderate Islamist party, Ennahdha. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* in October 2011, Senator Lieberman argued: "Tunisia offers the rare opportunity to reinforce an emerging success story. We should seize it." In December 2011, Senator Lieberman again visited Tunis and arranged for the new Tunisian Prime Minister, Hammadi Jebali, to participate in the Munich Security Conference in February 2012. He was also instrumental in encouraging the Millennium Challenge Corporation to put forward a program in Tunisia, despite bureaucratic obstacles that nearly derailed this effort.

With the outbreak of the uprising in Libya in February 2011 and the brutal response of the Qaddafi regime, Senator Lieberman, again with Senator McCain, was the first member of Congress to urge military intervention to stop the slaughter. When the Obama Administration then joined NATO in airstrikes against Qaddafi forces, Senator Lieberman joined with Senator McCain and later Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL) to defend U.S. involvement against newly-ascendant Republican criticisms of the war effort. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* with McCain, Senator Lieberman wrote: "We cannot guarantee the success of the Libyan revolution, but we have prevented what was, barely a week ago, its imminent destruction. That is why the president was right to intervene. He now deserves our support as we and our coalition partners do all that is necessary to help the Libyan people secure a future of freedom."

Lastly, Senator Lieberman has been one of the leaders in the Senate with respect to the worsening slaughter in Syria – challenging the Obama Administration to do more to aid the opposition against Bashar al Assad. In the spring of 2011, Lieberman coordinated a bipartisan coalition of Senators

who urged President Obama to call on Assad to step down and to impose tougher sanctions on Damascus until he did so. As violence mounted, Senator Lieberman made repeated trips to the Middle East in 2012, visiting the countries bordering Syria and meeting there with Syrian opposition leaders and refugees. By the spring of 2012, Lieberman was explicitly calling for the U.S. to provide weapons to the Syrian opposition, to carry out airstrikes against the Assad regime, and to establish at least a limited no fly zone over northern Syria.

Standing by Israel

Senator Lieberman has been one of the most reliable and outspoken friends of Israel in the United States Senate, combating efforts to delegitimize the Jewish State, working for peace between Israel and its neighbors, and strengthening our security cooperation against our common enemies. As Senator Lieberman explained in a speech before the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) in 2007: “There are countless reasons why [America and Israel] have stood together and will continue to stand together long into this new century. But at the foundation of our friendship – at its core – is a calculus not just of shared interests, but of shared values and principles. Americans and Israelis are the children of freedom. We pride ourselves on our democratic ideals, our culture of economic opportunity, and our political pluralism. These are the values we cherish – the principles that define not just who we are but who we hope to be.”

Senator Lieberman’s support for Israel is embodied by a long series of legislation that he has introduced and cosponsored, starting in 1989 with the PLO Compliance Act (S. 763), which was included in the State Department authorization bill (S. 3792). In 1991, he sponsored the Procompetitiveness Antiboycott Act (S. 1147), which called for U.S. representatives to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to enter into talks with other member nations on the effect that the secondary and tertiary boycott against Israel by Arab countries has had on commerce and what steps might be taken to end the boycott. He later sponsored the Illegal Boycott Prosecution Act (S. 1286), which provides an alternate prosecutorial tool to deal with illegal boycotts against nations friendly to the United States.

In 1994, Senator Lieberman cosponsored the Peace Action Monitoring Group, chaired by Senators Richard Shelby(R-AL) and Specter, to monitor the compliance of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) with the commitments it had made to peace in 1993.

Senator Lieberman has also been one of the strongest voices in the Senate for relocating the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to its eternal capital, Jerusalem. In the 1990s, he worked with Senator Pat Moynihan (D-NY) on a series of legislative efforts to move the U.S. Embassy, including, in 1997, a resolution congratulating the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the thirtieth anniversary of that historic city’s reunification and to reiterate the Senate’s determination to see that the legislation directing the Administration move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem be implemented as directed.

The following year, in 1998, Senator Lieberman cosponsored a resolution that expressed the Sense of Congress on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the modern state of Israel and reaffirmed the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the U.S. and Israel.

In 1999, Senator Lieberman supported a resolution opposing the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian State (S.Con.Res. 5). The bill was Introduced by Senator Brownback on February 4, cosponsored by more than 90 Senators, and passed the Senate on March 11.

Also in 2001, as the second intifada broke out and a series of terrorist bombings struck Israel, Senator Lieberman cosponsored S.Con. Res. 88, expressing solidarity with Israel; the resolution was adopted on December 5. Senator Lieberman also cosponsored S. Res. 393 in 2002, expressing support for the Middle East peace process.

With rockets and mortar shells reigning down on Israel from Gaza in 2008, Senator Lieberman issued a statement in December about Israel's legitimate right to defend itself against the terrorist acts by Hamas. In his words, "The sooner that Hamas abandons its unilateral campaign of terror against Israel, the sooner peace can be restored."

In August of 2010, Senator Lieberman issued a statement that both praised the Israeli and Palestinian leadership for coming back to the table for direct talks and condemned the groups who continue to undermine peace in the region through acts of terror. He also called on the international community to do everything in their power to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran as this would harm U.S. interests and create instability throughout the entire region.

In his March 2012 speech to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Senator Lieberman shared his parting wisdom and warned the world once again about the dangers of the numerous threats facing the world and a nuclear-armed Iran. Senator Lieberman proved throughout the speech the importance of the U.S./Israel relationship to stability in the Middle East and our shared humanitarian values, technological innovations, system of justice and defense, and our shared belief in religious freedom. He proposed that, although a U.S. embassy in Israel and peace in the region has not been realized, there are many successes between the two nations that have helped bring stability throughout the world.

Following a series of vicious attacks against Israel by Palestinian terrorists backed by Iranian government sponsors, Israel launched an offensive targeting those who were involved in launching attacks from the Gaza Strip. Senator Lieberman then praised a ceasefire to the fighting in November of 2012 as he felt "it is critical to ensure that the destabilizing flow of weapons into Gaza is stopped so that the extremists there cannot rearm." He also called on the newly elected Egyptian President, Mohammed Morsi, to continue to help use his influence as a leader in the region to help solve the problem for good. He also called on leaders in Washington to use a balanced approach to the indispensable influence the U.S. has throughout the world. In his words:

The conduct of the United States in recent days demonstrates powerfully why it is a false choice to suggest the United States must focus on either the Middle East or Asia-Pacific, at the expense of the other. The truth is, American leadership is indivisible and indispensable in both parts of the world: the President can attend a summit with our Asian partners at the same time he engages with our Middle Eastern allies to achieve a ceasefire in Gaza. This is also a moment of unprecedented possibility in both regions, as tectonic changes like the rise of China and the Arab Spring mean the future for Asians and Middle Easterners has never been more open or uncertain. From Egypt to Burma, and from Syria to the South China Sea, the demand – and the need – for strong, principled American leadership has never been greater.

ASIA –ENGAGING CHINA, STRENGTHENING ALLIANCES

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman believed that U.S. policy toward Asia must be based upon both engagement to facilitate China's rise as a responsible member of the international community, and a continual strengthening of our alliances and security partnerships in the region in order to secure American interests against any possible development in the region. He has traveled to the region repeatedly, to include participating in the annual Shangri La Dialogue among Asian defense ministers. In a November 2011 speech at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, DC, Senator Lieberman stressed the importance of the "longstanding, bipartisan recognition that America's own security, freedom, and prosperity are inseparably intertwined with the future of the Asia-Pacific region," and pointed out that as a result of American engagement, "more people live under democratic government in the Asia-Pacific region than in any other part of the world."

Engaging China

For more than a decade at the beginning of his Senate career, relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) centered on the question of how to rebuild bilateral relations in the wake of the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre, with a particular focus on establishing normal trade relations. Even after China's leaders had asserted their commitment to the authoritarian rule of the Chinese Communist Party in 1989, Lieberman hoped that greater economic prosperity would promote greater freedoms in China, while he also argued that it was only through engagement that the United States could stand up for human rights, nonproliferation, and American interests in the region.

In 1997, Senator Lieberman offered the United States-China Relations Act, which would have established a new U.S.-Chinese relationship on the basis of those objectives. Cosponsored by Senators Bob Kerrey (D-NE), Chuck Hagel (R-NE), and Frank Murkowski (R-AK), the bill would have established a series of incentives for China to comply with international law in its trade practices, as well as international norms in its domestic political behavior. Declaring that it is American policy to integrate the PRC into the global economy and community of nations, the bill would have established a combination of sticks and carrots for engaging China's economy, required the President to take steps in response to China's military buildup, and increased funding for the American agencies tasked with promoting democracy in China.

When the debate over economic engagement with China came to a head in September 2000, Senator Lieberman was a strong supporter of the passage of legislation establishing permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) between the United States in China and securing China's accession into the World Trade Organization. During the fight over PNTR, Senator Lieberman played a significant role by helping to bring the measure to a vote and by opposing various poison pill amendments that were offered with the goal of sinking the larger bill. The establishment of permanent normal trade relations between the United States and China since has allowed bilateral trade between our countries to grow nearly fourfold between 2000 and 2012.

In 2005, Senators Lieberman and Lamar Alexander (R-TN) introduced the United States-China Cultural Engagement Act with the specific goal of improving education in the United States on Chinese language and culture. The legislation would have authorized \$1.3 billion in federal funds over five years

to provide for Chinese language instruction in American schools, increased U.S. consular activity supporting American commercial activity in China, and provided for physical and virtual exchanges among a broad spectrum of individuals in the two nations. Although the legislation was not adopted, Senator Lieberman continues to believe that the only way for the United States to fully realize our interests in engagement with China will be with the advantages of having a population that is familiar with the country's culture and language.

While Senator Lieberman has worked to enhance American engagement with China throughout the years, he has steadfastly believed that a critical goal of such engagement should be to enhance the human rights of the Chinese people.

Similarly, Senator Lieberman has long expressed his strong support for the people of Tibet, through such measures as supporting legislation calling on China to end its human rights violations in Tibet. The senator has also worked with Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) over the years to introduce legislation honoring the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and recognizing his commitment to non-violence, human rights, freedom, and democracy, on the occasions of his various visits to the United States. In 2011 and 2012, Senator Lieberman, along with Senator John McCain met with Dr. Lobsang Sangay, who was elected Chief Minister of Tibet's government in exile in April 2011.

Senator Lieberman has also lent his voice to the cases of individual Chinese human rights activists. In 2011, for example, he issued a strong statement about the detention by Chinese authorities of artist and activist Ai Weiwei. In June 2012, the Senate adopted a resolution introduced by Senator Lieberman honoring the late Fang Lizhi, a Chinese-born astrophysicist who worked to introduce democratic reforms and academic freedoms on his campus during the 1980s. After Fang's writings helped inspire the 1989 pro-democracy protests, he fled the country under accusations of treason and spent the rest of his days in the United States.

Building the U.S.-Taiwan Partnership

Joseph Lieberman also believed that engagement with China could only proceed if it was balanced by an ever-stronger relationship with Taiwan, which Lieberman watched democratize over the course of his own career. Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman consistently introduced and cosponsored legislation endorsing Taiwan's goals for greater participation at the United Nations and its affiliated agencies, as well as such multilateral economic institutions as the International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Between 2008 and 2012, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) to call on the Obama Administration to sell essential defensive weaponry to Taiwan, with a particular focus on Taiwan's repeated, urgent requests to purchase new F-16 aircraft. In particular, the two senators required a detailed Defense Department study on Taiwan's air defense needs, which clearly demonstrated the need for replacement aircraft, and through such measures as the Taiwan Airpower Modernization Act of 2011, pressed the Administration to act.

Keystone Allies: Japan and Korea

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman has believed that the strong bilateral alliances that the United States enjoys with Japan and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) are essential to the peace

and prosperity of the Northeast Asia, as well as the security of the United States. He has consistently worked to strengthen these relationships, meeting with the representatives of these nations when they are in Washington and repeatedly traveling to the region to learn more about what can be done to strengthen our ties. Near the end of his Senate career, as both Japan and South Korea faced a series of crises, Lieberman lent a strong voice in support of our allies.

After many years in which North Korea gradually developed its nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities, the reclusive regime lashed out on March 26 and November 23, 2010, first sinking the South Korean corvette ROKS *Cheonan*, and then launching artillery strikes against South Korea's Yeonpyeong Island. These senseless attacks claimed the lives of 46 South Korean sailors, two marines, and two civilians, reaffirming the immediate threat that North Korea poses not just to our ally, South Korea, but to American forces and all our security partners throughout the region.

In response to these attacks, Senator Lieberman introduced a resolution, cosponsored by Senators Carl Levin (D-MI), John Kerry, John McCain, and Richard Lugar (R-IN), expressing solidarity with South Korea and reiterating the enduring U.S. commitment to the alliance between South Korea and the United States. When he learned that the government of the People's Republic of China had refused to acknowledge the final report of an international investigation that established Pyongyang's responsibility for the attack on the ROKS *Cheonan* and was blocking the UN Security Council's consideration of a statement condemning the attack, Senator Lieberman led a group of ten other senators in writing to the Chinese ambassador calling for an explanation of the PRC's behavior.

Also in 2010, Senator Lieberman organized a small group of fellow senators in calling for postponing the disestablishment of the Combined Forces Command (CFC), established in 1978 to deter, or defeat if necessary, aggression on the Korean Peninsula. During a period of unusual tension between the United States and the Republic of Korea in 2006, the two countries agreed to dismantle CFC, such that there would not be a single, unified command of the two countries' militaries in the event of war. Senator Lieberman always believed that this decision was shortsighted and successfully offered an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act that the Senate Armed Services Committee marked up in May 2010 calling on the Defense Department to review the earlier decision. By the end of the year, President Obama and South Korean President Lee Myung-bak announced an agreement to postpone CFC disestablishment pending further review.

Finally, in October 2011, Senator Lieberman was proud to cast his vote in favor of ratifying the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA), which entered into force on March 15, 2012. The KORUS FTA will further integrate the U.S. and Korean economies, delivering even greater prosperity for future generations of Americans and Koreans.

Throughout the years, Senator Lieberman also championed the U.S.-Japanese alliance, meeting with Japanese officials both in Washington and in Tokyo and supporting efforts to strengthen our joint capabilities. In June 2010, Senator Lieberman joined Senator Jim Webb (D-VA) to introduce a resolution celebrating the 50th anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation with Japan. After Japan's March 11, 2011 triple disaster, which claimed nearly 20,000 lives, Senator Lieberman expressed his deep condolences for the lives lost and reaffirmed his support to ever closer ties with the people of Japan.

When the Senate debated the National Defense Authorization Act in December 2012, Senator Lieberman joined with Senator Webb to champion an amendment concerning the Senkaku Islands, which the Chinese government has contested Japanese control over in recent years. The amendment, which was adopted, expressed the sense of the Senate that “the unilateral action of a third party will not affect the United States’ acknowledgment of the administration of Japan over the Senkaku Islands” and reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to Japan’s defense under our Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation.

Engaging New Partners: India and Southeast Asia

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman has been interested in closer ties with India, recognizing the natural partnership between the world’s oldest democracy and the world’s largest democracy. When President George W. Bush proposed a new start to U.S.-Indian ties in July 2005 by reaching an agreement for civil-nuclear cooperation, Senator Lieberman expressed his strong support and ultimately voted to adopt a so-called “123 Agreement” establishing that agreement in law in October, 2008. At the time of the 2008 vote, Senator Lieberman said that the Senate’s action was “the product of a bipartisan, decade-long project to transform U.S.-India relations, begun under President Clinton and accelerated under President Bush.”

Senator Lieberman met with the Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, during the Prime Minister’s state visit to the United States in November, 2009. Lieberman expressed his belief that the strategic partnership between the United States and India is one of the most natural and necessary pillars to ensure and expand security, prosperity, and freedom in the Asia-Pacific region and globally in the 21st century. He stressed to the Prime Minister that the two countries should, therefore, cooperate more closely in the fields of counterterrorism, intelligence sharing, and homeland security, in light of the common threats we face from violent Islamist extremists.

As he neared the end of his term in office, Senator Lieberman expressed his satisfaction with a Defense Department report that showed tremendous progress had been made in military-to-military relations over the past ten years between the United States and India. The senator called for even more cooperation in the years to come and believes it will be realized.

With regard to Burma, Senator Lieberman championed legislation throughout his career to tighten sanctions on the military junta in Rangoon, including the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003 and various reauthorizing provisions that strengthened that law over the years. In the final years of the senator’s career, these efforts bore fruit when President Thein Sein released Aung San Suu Kyi from almost two decades of house arrest in 2010 and allowed relatively free by-elections to fill a number of parliamentary seats in April 2012. Senator Lieberman, along with Senators John McCain, Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), and Kelly Ayotte (R-NH) visited Burma in early 2012 and expressed their support for the easing of sanctions if Burma continued to democratize. When the Obama Administration announced its decision to allow U.S. firms to invest in Burma in June 2012, Senators Lieberman and McCain expressed their support for the decision, despite describing their concerns about allowing Americans to do business with the unreformed, state-managed oil and gas sector.

In their January 2012 trip, the senators also visited the Philippines, Vietnam, and Thailand, where their meetings focused on the rising tensions over land and energy rights disputes in the South China Sea. As a speaker at the June 2012 Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore, Senator Lieberman

addressed the issue, stressing that the U.S. and other regional powers have a national interest in the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, open access to Asia's maritime commons, respect for international law, and ensuring that disputes in the South China Sea are resolved peacefully, rather than through either the threat, or use, of violence.

PROMOTING PEACE AND GROWTH IN AFRICA

Senator Lieberman's work on the African continent has focused on two major issues: promoting economic growth and development through trade, and stopping humanitarian atrocities, in particular in Sudan.

In 1999, Senator Lieberman cosponsored the African Growth and Opportunity Act and Caribbean Basin Enhancement (AGOA), whose passage encouraged trade and economic cooperation with sub-Saharan African countries. In February 2003, Senator Lieberman joined Senator Grassley to extend the trade benefits of AGOA as sub-Saharan African countries increasingly came to join the World Trade Organization.

In 1999, Senator Lieberman joined Senators Frist, Brownback, and Feingold in introducing the Sudan Peace Act, urging a comprehensive solution to the longstanding civil war that was then raging between northern and southern Sudan. Also in 1999, Senator Lieberman cosponsored a resolution condemning the human rights abuses committed by the National Islamic Front government in Sudan, which the Senate passed by unanimous consent.

At the outset of the 107th Congress, on January 25, 2001, Senator Lieberman joined as an original cosponsor of a bill authorizing famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan. The bill passed the Senate by unanimous consent.

Beginning in 2004, Senator Lieberman began to warn that the atrocities taking place in Darfur constituted genocide and began urging the Bush Administration to take action to stop the slaughter. In July 2004, he cosponsored a resolution declaring the atrocities in the Darfur region of Sudan to be genocide. In September, Senator Lieberman cosponsored the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004, extending the Sudan Peace Act to include the Darfur region and suspending assistance to the Sudanese government until it took steps to stop attacking civilians, disarm militias, cooperate fully with observer missions, and allow humanitarian access to all areas of Sudan, including Darfur. Senator Lieberman also cosponsored legislation to appropriate \$75 million to deploy African Union troops in Darfur.

For the Common Defense: Serving on the Armed Services Committee

For 20 of his 24 years in office, Joe Lieberman served on the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC), which is charged with overseeing the operations and procurement activities of the Department of Defense and military services. As a member of this committee, Lieberman worked closely with some of the most distinguished members to serve in the Senate, including Senators Robert Byrd (D-WV), Edward Kennedy (D-MA), John Warner (R-VA), and John McCain, in weighing the most important issues facing our Armed Forces. In addition, in every year since 1999, Senator Lieberman served as either chairman or ranking member of the SASC Subcommittee on Airland, which oversees the tactical aviation and land power programs of the Armed Forces.

The final year of Senator Lieberman's career marked the fifty-second consecutive year in which the Senate Armed Services Committee successfully prepared a National Defense Authorization Act that was signed into law. This streak, unmatched by any other authorizing committee, reflects the commitment by SASC members to place the national interest over partisan interests and is a hopeful reminder that Congress can still come together to address the challenges facing the country. As an example of the scope of the Committee's work, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013, approved by Senate on December 21, 2012, authorized \$641 billion for national defense programs, including \$88 billion to support our troops in Afghanistan and billions more in support of such critical Connecticut-based programs as Virginia-class submarines, Black Hawk helicopters, and Pratt & Whitney fighter engines.

SHAPING AMERICA'S DEFENSE STRATEGY

Senator Lieberman took office at a momentous period that saw the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. While many political leaders believed these events justified major "peace dividend" cuts to national defense, Senator Lieberman recognized the need to ensure that the U.S. military remained strong and relevant to emerging challenges. In his role as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee during this era of profound change, Lieberman argued that it was necessary for the United States to reevaluate its military plans and programs, develop strategic concepts suited to emerging threats, and develop greater jointness among the Armed Services in order to enhance their effectiveness on the battlefield.

Establishing the Quadrennial Defense Review Process

Senator Lieberman's support for regular, in-depth reviews of defense strategy has helped reshape the Pentagon's planning process. In 1996, Senator Lieberman introduced an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 that directed the Secretary of Defense to conduct an assessment of the future defense policy and force structure needs of the United States. This defense review was the first such long-term analysis performed since the Bottom Up Review in 1992 and was to take into account the many world threat dynamics which are very different than just a few years earlier. The legislation also created an independent, non-partisan commission tasked with conducting an

independent assessment of the national security strategy and the force structure necessary to carry out that strategy.

The final provision, passed as a separate title, became the major reform provision in the NDAA for FY97. The ultimate goal of the review was to help ensure that our military forces are properly sized, structured, and equipped so as to effectively respond to future national security threats and meet our national security needs in the 21st century. The first part of this requirement became the inaugural Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), which was completed by the Pentagon and submitted to Congress in May 1997. While the QDR report largely reconfirmed the status quo, it did achieve some important objectives. First, it compelled the Defense Department to develop a much more comprehensive strategic view of the future post-Cold War military environment than it had previously developed. Second, the revised defense program grew more closely aligned with fiscal assumptions, thanks to a reevaluation of the capabilities of active, reserve, and National Guard forces against the full spectrum of military operations. And third, the review identified management improvements and efficiencies to help the Department save money.

The QDR has subsequently become a central part of the Department of Defense (DOD) planning process and the main strategic review the Department conducts on a regular basis. It has been repeated in 2002, 2006, and 2010. Though it has arguably become a more bureaucratic exercise, Senator Lieberman's original intent of requiring DOD to undertake a regular assessment of its strategy and force structure in light of changing global threats remains an important and valid one guiding the Department.

The second part of this requirement, the National Defense Panel, or NDP, was completed in December, 1997. The NDP was included in the legislation as a way to go "outside the box" to create a group of distinguished independent military analysts to conduct a study in parallel with the Quadrennial Defense Review. This group was given complete freedom to consider a broad range of alternative force structures unencumbered by Pentagon policies, congressional constituencies, or budget constraints. As such, this National Defense Panel served two potentially different functions: it provided a hedge, one more chance to break away from the status quo, and it provided an independent validation of innovative recommendations proposed by the QDR.

Senator Lieberman supported a revival of the NDP in the FY 2010 NDAA, which ultimately appeared in the final bill and led to the creation of the bipartisan QDR Independent Panel, led by former Secretary of Defense William Perry and former National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley. The Independent Panel unanimously concluded that the 2010 QDR strategy did not go far enough in shifting U.S. posture to confront emerging threats in the Asia-Pacific and the global commons and that DOD lacked adequate resources to fulfill all of its missions.

Supporting Defense Transformation

Senator Lieberman played a critical role in fostering jointness and innovation at the Defense Department with the establishment of Joint Forces Command (JFCOM) in 1999 out of the old Atlantic Command to provide a combatant command-level advocate for inter-service concept development, experimentation, and doctrine.

U.S. Atlantic Command was one of the first unified commands established in December 1947 with the principal responsibility of defending the North Atlantic against the Soviet maritime, undersea,

and aerial bomber threat. With the end of the Cold War, Atlantic Command's responsibilities gradually shifted, as it was tasked with providing joint forces for all combatant commands in 1993 and in 1994 was selected to house the Joint Training, Analysis and Simulation Center. The uncertainty over Atlantic Command's mission coincided with a debate fostered by the May 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review and December 1997 Report of the National Defense Panel (NDP). The NDP recommended the establishment of a Joint Forces Command "which would be given appropriate resources, requirement authorities, and forces (detailed by the individual services) and expected to create challenging scenarios and regular field exercises." The report continued to recommend that:

Joint Forces Command would be the common force provider of combat-ready forces to all other commands for joint and combined operations. This command would be responsible for the force readiness and training of all active and reserve components based in the United States. This command would be responsible for developing and validating joint doctrine for the approval of the Joint Chiefs; conducting joint experimentation; directing joint battle laboratories; and overseeing other joint innovation and experimentation efforts described elsewhere in this Report. The Joint Forces Command is responsible for all joint modeling, simulation, analysis, and concept development. The command is responsible for driving the transformation process (joint requirements approval) for U. S. forces. Since Joint Forces Command provides forces to all other commands, it must ensure that the provided forces possess the appropriate cultural and political awareness of the specific regions to which they will be deployed.

Through the spring of 1998, Senator Lieberman worked with Senator Dan Coats (R-IN), Commander of U.S. Atlantic Command Adm. Harold Gehman, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Hugh Shelton on a plan by which Atlantic Command would be transformed into the Joint Forces Command recommended by the NDP. In May of that year, he and Senator Coats introduced an amendment that became Sec. 921 of the National Defense Authorization Act for 1999.

The Lieberman-Coats amendment deemed Joint Experimentation necessary for integrating new technology into joint operational concepts. It also mandated a joint experimentation process to determine the interdependent aspects of joint warfare that were key to transforming the conduct of military operations to meet future challenges successfully. Although the amendment did not directly establish Joint Forces Command, it expressed the Sense of Congress that a four-star combatant commander should be given the mission:

It is the sense of Congress that the initiative of the Secretary of Defense to designate the commander of a combatant command to have the mission of Joint Warfighting Experimentation is a key step in exploiting the potential of advanced technologies, new organizational structures, and new joint operational concepts to transform the conduct of the military operations by the Armed Forces.

Finally, the provision included a directive for a detailed series of reports by the commander responsible for joint experimentation to permit the SASC to exercise effective oversight of the process. The same week that Senator Lieberman introduced the amendment, Secretary of Defense Bill Cohen announced that Atlantic Command would be re-designated Joint Forces Command and given responsibility for joint experimentation in October of that year.

After shepherding it into existence, Senator Lieberman consistently supported Joint Forces Command, including increased JFCOM funding for Joint Warfighting Experimentation. This allocation funded JFCOM's first major field experiment, the congressionally-mandated Millennium Challenge 2002, which became notable for exposing the threat that asymmetric warfare could pose to American forces in the Middle East.

In 2010, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates announced the disestablishment of JFCOM, noting that its primary mission of fostering jointness had been largely accomplished. Its joint force development functions are now integrated into the Joint Staff (J7).

FIGHTING FOR CONNECTICUT INDUSTRY

Since Samuel Colt first manufactured his revolver on the banks of the Hartford River, Connecticut's skilled engineers and workers have been proud to serve as the arsenal of democracy – designing and building the world's best submarines, helicopters, jet engines, and components that are essential to almost every piece of equipment that members of our Armed Forces use. Because of this critical role, a strong and healthy Connecticut defense industry makes for an even stronger United States of America.

Senator Lieberman has been a persistent advocate for Connecticut's defense industry, and his major accomplishments include working to increase production of the Virginia class submarine to two boats per year and leading the fight to terminate the unnecessary alternate engine for the Joint Strike Fighter. In the FY13 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), the last that he helped to draft as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he helped to secure \$6.9 billion in total funding for the continued development of the Joint Strike Fighter program, including the acquisition of 29 JSF aircraft, powered by Pratt & Whitney engines, as well as \$2.3 billion in funding to procure Sikorsky helicopters, including 59 UH-60 Black Hawks for the U.S. Army. Senator Lieberman has strongly backed multi-year procurement of the Black Hawk helicopter, which has proven its value repeatedly in combat over the past two decades. The Army is entering the third year of a five-year contract to procure 511 Black Hawks.

Electric Boat and Submarines

Groton, Connecticut is home to Electric Boat, America's original submarine design and construction company. Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman established a long track record of supporting increased submarine production, both for its importance to the state and our submarines' unrivaled capabilities and flexibility.

The Seawolf submarine program was to be the successor to the Los Angeles attack submarines that formed the mainstay of the fleet in the 1980s. The George H.W. Bush Administration planned to terminate the Seawolf submarine program as part of the post-Cold War defense drawdown. At this time, many in the country were questioning the relevance of submarines in the new strategic environment, despite the platform's versatility. In 1991, Senator McCain introduced an amendment to defund the Seawolf that was adopted in the Defense Appropriations Act by a 90-10 vote.

In 1992, the Bush Administration eliminated the program from its budget. This would have devastated Electric Boat and the economy of southeastern Connecticut. Senator Lieberman led an effort

by the congressional delegations of Connecticut and Rhode Island to “Save the Seawolf,” presenting the strategic case for the highly-advanced attack submarine to then-Secretary of Defense Cheney. Ultimately, the Senate voted to restore the program’s funding in the FY93 Defense Appropriations bill; and three Seawolf submarines (including the USS *Connecticut* SSN-23) were ultimately procured by the Navy. An effort by Senator McCain to eliminate funding for SSN-23 in the Defense Appropriations bill was defeated in 1993 by a 52-47 vote.

By the late 1990s, the Navy was seeking to initiate a new attack submarine program; and Senator Lieberman helped to secure funding to develop and begin procurement of what would become the Virginia class submarines program. Senator Lieberman believed that for both strategic and defense industrial base reasons, submarine production in the United States must continue at the economical rate of least two boats a year, a goal that he worked with alongside the entire Connecticut delegation, fighting for the “two for two in ‘12” target of procuring two boats for \$2 billion dollars by fiscal year 2012. The effort was so successful that the target of procuring two ships per year was moved up to fiscal year 2011, a testament to the exceptional skills of the workforce at Electric Boat. Most recently, he helped reverse the Administration’s funding cuts that would have reduced submarine procurement in FY14, restoring \$777 million for Virginia-class submarines in FY14 in the Defense Authorization Act for FY13.

Defending SUBASE New London

Senator Lieberman led the charge to save the Navy’s SUBASE New London during the Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC) process in 2005. He called the Navy’s submarine base in Groton a key component of the nation’s past and future security, as well as Connecticut’s economy, and vowed to protect it from an expected round of base closures to be announced later that year. The senator believed that “Connecticut’s roots in submarine development as a weapon of national defense traces all the way back to the American Revolution when Connecticut inventor David Bushnell created the first working submarine.” He specifically felt that the diversification of the submarine fleet basing was critical, since consolidating too many ships at a single base would enhance risk to the fleet.

In early 2012, the sub base had come under attack again of a possible closure due to tight fiscal constraints in the defense budget. Senator Lieberman assured the citizens of Connecticut that the Naval Submarine Base in Groton will likely avoid a repeat appearance on the Pentagon’s list of recommended base closures. As the Department of Defense rebalances its focus toward the Asia-Pacific region, he believed the Groton base would remain crucial to any strategic planning. He also fought off the rumors that the Groton-New London sub base is excess capacity, but rather a vital, critically necessary base for the Navy’s needs and for America’s national security.

To culminate his support and never ending fight to stress the strategic importance of the sub base and submarines, he received a pin in October, 2012 from Rear Admiral Richard P. Breckenridge, commander of Submarine Group Two. Senator Lieberman was honored by the Commander as he was made an honorary submariner.

Opposition to the F-35 Alternate Engine

Senator Lieberman led the fight in the Senate to terminate the unnecessary alternative engine for the Joint Strike Fighter. The Joint Strike Fighter program initially had two engine programs, as

Congress had directed the Defense Department to provide for “adequate engine competition” to minimize program risk. The primary engine was the F135, produced by Pratt & Whitney in Middletown, Connecticut. The alternative F136 engine was produced in other states by General Electric and Rolls-Royce.

However, beginning with its request for fiscal year 2007, the Defense Department concluded that the continued technological maturation of the F135 engine and cost savings meant that it was no longer necessary to continue developing an alternative engine and recommended the termination of the F136. From FY07-FY10, Congress rejected the cancellation of the alternative engine, but Senator Lieberman was determined to change that. After Secretary of Defense Robert Gates called for the termination of the alternate engine in 2009, Senator Lieberman introduced a floor amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal year 2010, cutting \$438.9 million for the continued development of a second engine and redirecting the bulk of those funds to procure operationally required helicopters for the use of the Marine Corps. The Senate defeated a counterproposal to the Lieberman amendment in a 39-58 vote and subsequently adopted Lieberman’s proposal by unanimous consent. Although the appropriations committee in its bill restored funds for the alternate engine, Senator Lieberman built upon the momentum he gained in that first vote, ultimately leading to the termination of the alternate engine in late 2010.

The termination of the alternate engine will save more than \$1 billion in additional expenses for an engine that the Department of Defense neither wanted nor needed and guarantees that Connecticut workers will continue to build the sole engine for the Joint Strike Fighter program. The Pratt & Whitney F135 engine currently produced for the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter now exceeds all mission requirements.

SUPPORTING THE ARMY AND MARINE CORPS

As the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan imposed ever greater demands on American Soldiers and Marines, who deployed so often that they were often in theater for as much time as they were at home in the 2004-2010 timeframe, Senator Lieberman led the charge to “grow the force,” adding additional personnel in order to relieve the strain on those who do so much to keep our nation safe.

In July 2005, Senator Lieberman led a group of congressional members, including Senators Hillary Clinton (D-NY) and Jack Reed (D-NH), along with Representatives Ellen Tauscher (D-CA) and Mark Udall (D-CO), to introduce the United States Army Relief Act of 2005. The group believed the United States Army was facing a crisis – not a crisis of quality, bravery, or commitment but rather the proper manning levels to allow for adequate dwell time between the years of grueling deployments overseas. In every other time of war since World War II, the President and Congress have increased the size of the Army; however, three and a half years after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the beginning of the Global War on Terror, there were only 502,400 authorized Army end strength, roughly the same size as the Army has been since the end of the Cold War. The bill called for an increase in the size of our army by an additional 80,000 soldiers over the next four years to an end-strength of 582,400. Although the bill did not pass, the Army eventually announced its own initiative to increase the size of the active duty component by nearly 75,000, similar to the senator’s call for action.

In 2009, Senator Lieberman again led a bipartisan group to adequately man the armed forces when he introduced a floor amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010.

The amendment provided authority to increase Army active duty end strengths by 30,000 for fiscal years 2010 through 2012. After months in which he asked the service chiefs how they would balance the demand to deploy additional soldiers to Afghanistan, Senator Lieberman's push was validated by General James Cartwright, the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Cartwright confirmed the critical challenges that the Army will face in the near term and the importance of increasing Army active duty end strength. Speaking before the Senate Armed Services Committee, General Cartwright said, "there is that period of 2010 and 2011 in particular where that stress is going to be there. During 2010 because of execution, and in 2011 because [units will be] coming back, refilling and trying to retrofit. You're going to have stress on the Army in a significant way." Senator Lieberman was joined by Senators John Cornyn (R-TX), Mark Begich (D-AK) and John Thune (R-SD), among others, and the amendment was endorsed in a 93-1 vote on July 21, 2009.

In order to adequately man the services for the long war in Afghanistan, Senator Lieberman was successful in pushing legislation through the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2012 to limit proposed reductions in the Army's end strength along with other changes to DOD's fiscal 2013 budget request when it marks up next year's defense authorization bill. The Senator believed that if the measure was not taken, it would "create unacceptable risks to our national security." The amendment, which was included in the final version of the bill, specifically will:

- Limit reductions in the Army's end strength until officials can meet certain ratios of dwell to deployment time;
- Subject reductions in the Army's end strength to certification from officials that the cuts in personnel can be quickly reversed;
- Add non-binding language calling for the Navy to maintain a fleet of 313 ships;
- Require the Navy to submit a plan to close the service's gap in attack submarines; and
- Require the services to submit lists of unfunded priorities to Congress as they previously did after the president's budget request was unveiled.

American Values: Education, Ethics, and Civil Rights

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Reforming Public Education in America

The product of public education himself, Senator Lieberman has always believed that access to a quality education for all students, regardless of race, ethnicity, or economic status, is a civil right. Hence, he consistently advocated for universal access to quality public for all students. It was his view that each and every child should receive the attention and skills he or she needs to succeed in college and the workplace and to pursue the American dream. In 2000, Senator Lieberman joined with several moderate Democrats, termed “New Democrats,” to introduce the Public Education Reinvestment, Reinvention, and Responsibility Act, known as the “3R’s Act.” This sweeping bill would have refocused federal education policy on helping states and local school districts raise academic achievement and deliver on the promise of equal opportunity for all students. It proposed to increase federal funding for states and localities and provide greater flexibility in how to spend those dollars. In return, educators would be held accountable for producing strong academic results. The bill also sought to target increased federal dollars to the poorest school districts in the nation.

Many of the ideas embodied in the 3R’s bill became part of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) debate in 2001. Senator Lieberman was actively involved in negotiating and crafting the No Child Left Behind Act, which passed the Senate on June 14, 2001. He was one of the few Senators not on the committees of jurisdiction who was asked to be a conferee during House and Senate conference negotiations. Ultimately, NCLB was a bipartisan initiative which was signed into law by President Bush on January 8, 2002. NCLB sought to hold schools accountable for the success of all students, in part, by requiring that student scores be disaggregated by minority groups and by requiring that all minority groups receive the attention they need to perform academically. In addition, the law sought to mandate that all students are taught by highly qualified teachers. The passage of NCLB was a landmark measure that forced states to specifically focus on minorities to ensure that they did not fall through the cracks. After its passage, Senator Lieberman closely monitored the implementation of, and funding for, NCLB.

When No Child Left Behind expired in 2007, then-Chairman of the Senate Help, Education, Labor, and Pensions (HELP) Committee, Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) announced that he intended to work on legislation to reauthorize the law. That year, Senator Lieberman held roundtable discussions in Hartford, Connecticut to gather input from citizens and educators in the state in anticipation of the reauthorization of NCLB. Senator Lieberman later drafted a comprehensive bipartisan proposal, joined by Senators Mary Landrieu (D-LA) and Norm Coleman (R-MN), called the All Students Can Achieve Act (ASCA), to strengthen and improve NCLB. ASCA sought to preserve the goal of holding schools accountable for ensuring academic success for all students, regardless of race, ethnicity, and economic status, while addressing some of the flaws that emerged since the original passage of NCLB. Among other things, many had argued that NCLB had prompted a “race to the bottom,” whereby some states diluted their academic standards so that students appeared to meet state standards at higher rates.

Another concern was that the measures for determining a highly qualified teacher relied too heavily on “inputs,” rather than “outputs.” In addition, many argued that the measures for student achievement were static and did not consider academic growth.

ASCA sought to address these and many other concerns related to the original NCLB law. For example, ASCA allowed schools to measure student academic growth, rather than rely on static test scores. The bill also required states to develop teacher evaluation systems that considered teacher effectiveness in raising student scores, rather than looking only at teacher credentials. ASCA also directed states to move away from personnel policies that relied solely on seniority in determining teacher pay and retention, and instead, to also consider teacher effectiveness when determining teacher pay, retention, and other personnel matters. In addition, ASCA took measures to ensure that state academic standards would remain strong so as to adequately prepare students for success. Further, ASCA sought to provide some differentiation between schools where many students were failing academic standards, versus where only a few students were failing.

After Congress failed for years to reauthorize NCLB, Senator Lieberman sought one more effort as he neared the end of his Senate career. After the Chairman of the HELP Committee, Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA), stated his intent to reauthorize NCLB during the 112th Congress, Senator Lieberman, along with Senators Scott Brown (R-MA) and Landrieu (D-LA), introduced the Securing Teacher Effectiveness, Leaders, Learning, And Results Act of 2011 (STELLAR Student Act). Like ASCA, the STELLAR Student Act sought to improve teaching quality by addressing the critical need to consider the effectiveness of teachers and principals, rather than credentials, alone, and by encouraging meaningful teacher and principal evaluations and supporting constructive professional development. Research shows that ensuring teacher quality is one of the most effective and promising strategies for improving education in the United States.

Also in 2011, Senator Lieberman introduced the Race to the Top Act. Senator Lieberman worked closely with Education Secretary Arne Duncan to draft this bill, which would authorize the Secretary’s Race to the Top (RTTT) initiative that was first funded in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. In the absence of NCLB reauthorization, RTTT had become the mechanism to spur education reform, including many of the concepts espoused in ASCA and the STELLAR Student Act. It directed the Secretary of Education to award competitive grants to states and local educational agencies (LEAs) to implement reforms and innovations designed to significantly improve educational outcomes for all students and reduce achievement gaps among minority student subgroups. The Race to the Top Act would have awarded grants to states that propose real reforms, such as implementing evaluation systems based on teacher effectiveness in raising student achievement, and implementing high state academic standards. Senator Lieberman remains hopeful that this bill will inspire future legislation.

School Choice for Students and Parents

As part of his commitment to improving public education, Senator Lieberman has been a leading advocate for school choice, including charter schools and vouchers. Charter schools are public schools developed by teachers, parents, or community organizations which function outside the existing public school bureaucracy. These schools are given increased autonomy for their operations in exchange for more accountability for school and student outcomes. Charter schools can provide a high-quality education that can be tailored to more effectively meet the needs of their students. Early in his Senate

career, Senator Lieberman was instrumental in originating some of the first federal legislation that enabled the creation of these valuable academic institutions.

In 1991, Senator Lieberman was the lead cosponsor of the Public School Redefinition Act, which was introduced by Senator Durenberger (R-MN). The bill sought to provide states with funding to establish charter schools. That same session of Congress, language on charter schools was also included in the Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act at the urging of Senators Lieberman and Durenberger. Although neither piece of legislation was enacted into law, it put charter schools in the national spotlight. In 1993, Senator Durenberger reintroduced the Public School Redefinition Act, again with Senator Lieberman as the chief Democratic cosponsor. Additionally, Senator Lieberman secured language allowing states and local education administrations to use set-aside funds to launch charter schools in the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, which President Clinton signed into law in March 1994.

The next year, he teamed up with Senator Durenberger again, as the chief cosponsor of charter schools legislation which was eventually incorporated into the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994. This law created a federal program to support the establishment of charter schools by providing local jurisdictions with the resources, encouragement, and flexibility they need to exercise their own ingenuity and drive to improve education.

Continuing his fight for charter school funding, Senator Lieberman joined with Senator Dan Coats (R-IN) in offering an amendment to the fiscal year 1998 Labor-HHS Appropriations bill to double funding for the federal charter grant program to \$100 million. This proposal ultimately led to an agreement in conference to boost the funding level to \$80 million, an increase of 60 percent. That same year, Senators Lieberman and Brownback (R-KS) cosponsored an amendment to the fiscal year 1998 D.C. Appropriations bill to increase funding for the creation of new schools and make it easier for charter applicants to get access to facilities.

In 2001, Senator Lieberman joined Senators Tom Carper (D-DE) and Judd Gregg (R-NH) to cosponsor an amendment to the Better Education for Students and Teachers Act that eliminated many of the existing barriers to charter school start-up and facility costs. The program was eventually authorized as part of NCLB with \$100 million and provided critical funding to charter schools for renovations and repairs of facilities. Senator Lieberman continued to be a lead Senator in ensuring adequate funding for charter schools in annual appropriations bills and to support legislative proposals to improve the quality of charter schools.

In conjunction with Senator Lieberman's long history of supporting charter schools as a means of providing parents with choices beyond traditional public schools, he has also supported proposals to offer students in failing schools the option of attending private schools by receiving scholarships or vouchers to attend such schools. Senator Lieberman held the view that education reform and school improvement can take years to accomplish; and, in the meantime, children in failing schools should have the option to seek a better education in private schools, an option always open to more affluent families.

On July 30, 2009, he introduced the Scholarships for Opportunity and Results Act of 2009, or the SOAR Act. This bill sought to reauthorize and improve the District of Columbia Opportunity Scholarship Program (OSP) first authorized in 2003. The OSP program provides scholarships, sometimes called vouchers, to disadvantaged low-income students attending failing schools in the District of Columbia to enable them to get a better education at local private schools. Senator Lieberman has supported this

program as part of a three-part strategy for enhancing educational opportunity in our nation's capital. The OSP program calls for new funds for DC public schools, DC public charter schools, and the OSP program. Senator Lieberman's bill continued that strategy to ensure that the OSP program does not take any funds away from public schools, but rather provides additional support for the public schools and for reform efforts in the District of Columbia. In the face of opposition from teachers unions, however, it was not possible to reauthorize the OSP program in the 110th Congress.

The Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, Chaired by Senator Lieberman, held hearings on the OSP program in May of 2009, and again in February of 2011. Among the witnesses at these hearings was Dr. Patrick Wolf, the principal investigator for studies conducted by the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences (IES). These studies used the most rigorous of evaluation techniques as mandated by the authorizing statute. Dr. Wolf testified that the OSP program has been successful in improving academic achievement for students receiving scholarships as compared to students not receiving scholarships, and for raising graduation rates for students receiving scholarships as compared to students not receiving scholarships. In fact, the OSP studies show some of the largest achievement impacts as compared to other innovative education programs evaluated by the IES.

In the 112th Congress, Senator Lieberman again introduced the Scholarships for Opportunity and Results Act to reauthorize the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program (OSP). Also, John Boehner (D-OH), now Speaker of the House of Representatives, introduced a companion bill in the House of Representatives. Due to the prioritization of Speaker Boehner, Congress included a version of the bill in the Department of Defense and Full-Year Continuing Appropriations Act, which President Obama signed into law, thus reauthorizing OSP for another five years through fiscal year 2016.

Promoting Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics Education

Senator Lieberman has long recognized that the United States must drastically improve its aptitude in the subjects of science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). In his view, the key to maintaining our leadership in innovation in the world economy was to enhance the STEM skills of our workforce. He recognized early in his career that many other developed countries were far outstripping American students' performance on international math and science tests. He persistently sought to improve programs aimed at training, recruiting, and retaining highly qualified STEM teachers. Senator Lieberman also strongly supported initiatives to improve elementary and secondary school student performance in the crucial subjects of STEM, another necessity to meeting the challenge of keeping the U.S. competitive in a global economy.

During his first term in Congress, Senator Lieberman introduced the Business Education Partnership Act. This bill sought to establish model math/science and advanced technology high schools to provide better math and science and technology vocational education to high school students. It also proposed the establishment of Governor's Schools, model schools which would be able to experiment with special programs, new curricula, and new teaching techniques, and cooperative training programs between community colleges and small businesses.

In 1999, Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of legislation designed to address a serious shortfall in skilled engineers and scientists. The bill, Helping Improve Technology Education and Competitiveness Act, was introduced by Senator Chuck Robb (D-VA) with the support of the high-tech industry. It would create a new type of temporary visa for foreign graduates from U.S. universities with

masters and doctoral degrees in high technology fields. Funds generated from application fees would be used to help create public-private partnerships between businesses and schools to improve K-12 math, science, and technology education.

A year later, Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of the New Millennium Classrooms Act, introduced by Senator Spencer Abraham (R-MI), to expand the tax deduction for computer donations to schools and allow a tax credit for donated computers. Similar language was also included in the American Community Renewal and New Markets Empowerment Act, introduced by Senators Lieberman and Rick Santorum (R-PA) to help low-income Americans move into the economic mainstream.

During 2001, economic growth in Connecticut and our nation was being threatened by a talent shortage of dramatic proportions. In response to this crisis, Lieberman introduced the Technology Talent Act to support colleges and universities in their efforts to creatively increase the number of students graduating with degrees in math, science, engineering, and technology, the STEM fields. Senator Lieberman also successfully garnered funding support for a version of his legislation, known as the National Science Foundation STEP (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics Talent Expansion Program), in the Senate VA-HUD Appropriations bill for fiscal year 2002. Senator Lieberman effectively negotiated passage of the Technology Talent Act in the National Science Foundation Authorization Act, which was signed by President Bush on November 27, 2002. The NSF Authorization Act formally authorized the STEP program, which was inspired by, and modeled after, the Tech Talent Act. Subsequently, Senator Lieberman played a lead role in the passage of the America COMPETES Act and later the reauthorization of the COMPETES Act, ensuring the continued applicability of the Tech Talent Act.

Along with Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN), Senator Lieberman introduced the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) Education for the 21st Century Act of 2008. This bill was based on recommendations from the National Science Board's National Action Plan for Addressing the Critical Needs of the U.S. STEM Education System released in October of 2007. Among other things, the bill calls for the establishment of a new, independent, and non-federal National Council for STEM Education housed in the National Academies.

In 2006, Senators John Ensign (R-NV) and Lieberman first introduced the National Innovation Education Act (NIEA). The two senators had also collaborated to introduce the National Innovation Act (NIA). These bills included a broad range of provisions aimed at enhancing America's competitiveness. The NIEA included provisions aimed at improving our STEM talent and increasing the number of U.S. students graduating with STEM degrees. Among other things, the NIEA authorized grants to higher education institutions to provide integrated courses of study leading to baccalaureate degrees in STEM fields concurrent with teaching certification. It also sought to enhance graduate research and fellowship programs in STEM. In addition, it included provisions based on an earlier bill Senator Lieberman had sponsored (the College Pathway Act) to encourage states to develop systems to coordinate K-12 education with higher education so that students graduating from high school had the skills and knowledge to succeed in college. Further, this legislation also called on states to develop data systems to better track individual student achievement.

These and other elements of the NIA and the NIEA were included in the comprehensive bipartisan innovation bill, the National Competitiveness Investment Act (NCIA), introduced by the

Senate leadership and cosponsored by Senator Lieberman. NCIA attracted a total of 41 cosponsors. However, the 109th Congress closed without passing the NCIA. Senator Lieberman and other sponsors of the NCIA continued to press for legislation to enhance U.S. competitiveness, and many of these provisions re-emerged in the 110th Congress in the America COMPETES Act. Because of his leadership on the NIA and the NIEA, Senator Lieberman was a key senator in the development of the America COMPETES Act. In addition to the provisions intended to increase STEM talent in America, the bill also boosted investment in research and development and otherwise called for a more effective national innovation infrastructure. The America COMPETES Act was passed by the Senate by a vote of 88-8 and was ultimately signed into law by President Bush, thereby becoming Public Law 110-69. Subsequently, in the 111th Congress, Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of the American COMPETES Reauthorization Act of 2010, which continued many of his earlier initiatives, including the Tech Talent Act, and was signed into law on January 4, 2011.

Also, in 2011 Senator Lieberman introduced the STEM Master Teacher Corps Act with Senator Al Franken (D-MN). This bill would amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 by creating a competitive grant program that would establish the STEM Master Teacher Corps program. The program would offer top STEM teachers higher pay and specialized training on leadership and mentorship in order to help foster growth among new STEM teachers and ultimately boost performance in STEM subjects. Experienced teachers who are Corps members would lead and mentor their beginner teacher peers, sharing their expertise and serving as role models to inspire these teachers to stay in the profession. To address the STEM achievement gap between low-income, minority, and rural students and their peers, the bill focused on strengthening STEM teaching in high-need areas by requiring that 75 percent of Corps members serve in a high-needs school.

Senator Lieberman also cosponsored the Effect STEM Teaching and Learning Act, with Senator Mark Begich (D-AK) and Senator Tom Carper (D-DE). Designed to prepare American students for a global economy, the bill would establish competitive grants to help states develop comprehensive STEM strategies. It also proposed allocating funds to high-need students in high-need districts and emphasized innovation and technology by enabling states and districts to apply "outside-the-box" thinking. The bill further supported professional development for STEM teachers.

OPPOSING VIOLENCE AND FILTH IN THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY

During his tenure in the Senate, Senator Lieberman, while mindful of First Amendment protections to media, challenged the entertainment industry to set higher standards and act more responsibly, particularly to stop the marketing of adult-rated products to children. Eventually, due to pressure from Congress spearheaded by Senator Lieberman, the entertainment and Internet industries responded by working with Congress to give parents more tools to exercise more control over their children's media viewing. These included new technologies like the V-chip and Internet filtering software to help parents limit their children's access to inappropriate or harmful materials and better rating and labeling systems to help parents make more informed decisions about the products they buy for their kids.

In 1996, Senator Lieberman was an active supporter of the V-chip, which gives parents the option to control what their children can watch. He also played a leading role in persuading the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to adopt a plan to strengthen the Children's Television Act and increase the amount of quality educational programming on the air. Later that year, Senator Lieberman

teamed up with former Education Secretary William Bennett and Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) to launch a campaign against obscene and degrading music lyrics. Lieberman would later team up with Bennett to create the “Silver Sewer Award,” to bring pressure to bear on some of the nation's worst cultural polluters.

In 1997, working with a broad coalition of V-chip supporters, Senator Lieberman helped lead a campaign to persuade the television industry to revamp the ratings system to give parents more information about the levels of sex, violence, and vulgar language in each program. He also worked to secure federal funding through the National Institutes of Health for new research on the impact of the media on children's sexual attitudes and behaviors.

In response to the tragedy in Columbine High School Massacre in 1999, Senator Lieberman joined with Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Sam Brownback (R-KS) in offering a package of media violence amendments to the juvenile justice bill that was unanimously approved by the Senate. Among other things, this package directed the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to investigate the marketing practices of the entertainment media to determine to what extent these industries were targeting the sale of violence to children. This problem was also raised at a hearing before the Senate Commerce Committee, where Senator Lieberman and other witnesses presented troubling evidence showing that some entertainment companies were marketing adult-rated products with high doses of violence to children. Soon after the Senate acted, President Clinton voiced his support and directed FTC to begin the investigation.

Also in 1999, in the wake of the Columbine massacre, Senators Lieberman and McCain led a bipartisan group in introducing the National Youth Violence Commission Act, which would have established a blue ribbon panel to study all of the root causes of violence and recommend legislation to Congress on how to prevent such a tragedy from acting again. Although the bill was unanimously approved in the Senate, it was not approved in the conference committee.

Finally, Senators Lieberman and McCain introduced legislation in 1999, known as the 21st Century Media Responsibility Act, modeled on the standard warning label used for cigarette packaging, to create a uniform system of labeling for violent entertainment products. It would also have required retailers to restrict the access of children to adult-rated products with high doses of violence, similar to the R-rated policy adhered to by movie theaters.

Outside of Congress, Senator Lieberman joined with a distinguished group of public figures – including Presidents Ford and Carter, Mario Cuomo, Elie Wiesel, and Generals Colin Powell and Norman Schwarzkopf – in issuing a formal plea to the entertainment industry to set higher standards of responsibility. The statement urged entertainment industry executives to adopt voluntary, common-sense codes of conduct, to commit to an overall reduction of violence, ban marketing of adult-oriented materials to children, and establish minimum standards for each medium – television, film, music, video, and video games – below which producers won't go.

In 2000, Senators Lieberman and McCain teamed up again to introduce the Media Violence Labeling Act of 2000 to create a uniform system of labeling for violent entertainment products, again modeled on the standard warning label used for cigarette packaging. It would also require retailers to restrict the access of children to adult-rated products with high doses of violence, similar to the R-rated policy adhered to by movie theaters.

Continuing his commitment to raise the quality of entertainment, Senator Lieberman, along with Senators McCain, Brownback, and Robert Byrd (D-WV), sent a letter on May 25, 2000, to the FCC urging it to reexamine its Public Interest Standard used for renewing licenses for local broadcast stations. Licensees have a statutory obligation to serve the public interest; and while that requirement has been laxly enforced for decades, its legal legitimacy is clear. Senators Lieberman and McCain suggested that many broadcasters, by airing so much violence and vulgarity at times when children are watching, are not just failing to serve the public interest, but may actually be harming the public interest. As a result, the senators requested that the FCC reexamine its Public Interest Standard to determine whether it needs to be strengthened to better protect children. On October 16, 2000, the FCC held an En Banc hearing on the Public Interest Obligations of TV Broadcast Licensees. Among the comments given by the commissioners, Commissioner Tristani highlighted the letter sent by Senators Lieberman, McCain, Brownback, and Byrd asking the Commission to comment on a code of conduct for broadcasters and to review the indecency standard. Commissioner Tristani expressed her concerns over indecent materials and urged the FCC to hold a separate panel solely devoted to this issue.

At a Senate Commerce Committee hearing in 2000, Senator Lieberman testified on the recently released Federal Trade Commission report investigating the marketing practices of the entertainment industry to determine if violence is marketed to children. He strongly supported the FTC report, expressing alarm at the practices of the entertainment industry in systematically marketing violence to children. He urged industry self-regulation to resolve these practices but restated the position he announced earlier with Vice President Gore that, if elected, they would send deceptive advertising legislation to Congress to curb these practices. He noted that this wasn't a censorship issue over product content but a deceptive marketing issue. Meanwhile, parts of the entertainment industry announced they would move to control some of their marketing efforts.

In 2001, the year following his vice presidential bid, Senator Lieberman introduced the Media Marketing Accountability Act, which would authorize the FTC to take action against companies that continue to target adult materials to kids. A subsequent FTC report issued that December found that there had been substantial improvements through self-regulation, and Senator Lieberman announced he would put his legislation on hold.

In 2005, considerable attention focused on the release of the upcoming video game in the "Grand Theft Auto" series and the finding that sexually explicit content was both embedded into the game and accessible to minors. Reflecting the concern about the continued ability of minors to gain access to violent videos, Senator Lieberman joined with Senators Clinton and others to introduce the Family Entertainment Protection Act. The bill called for fines on retailers who sold or rented Mature or Adults-only video games to minors. The bill relied on the video game self-rating system but called for an annual independent analysis of that rating system.

The video game industry continued to work with Senator Lieberman to improve its rating system and to ensure that retailers were enforcing the rating system at the point of sale. They embarked on a comprehensive mission to train and educate retailers and to promote public awareness to parents and the public. In 2006, Senators Lieberman and Clinton (D-NY) joined the Entertainment Software Ratings Board (ESRB) and the Entertainment Software Association (ESA) in launching a nationwide video game rating TV PSA campaign intended to educate parents on the tools that are available, including the ratings

systems, to protect minors from inappropriate materials. Senator Lieberman continued to monitor the self-rating systems and continued to be involved in efforts to promote public awareness.

In 2005, Senator joined with the media industry, including Comcast, Microsoft, and the Motion Picture association, and parenting groups, to launch a public-private effort to help educate parents about the need to pay attention to their children's media habits and to become informed about the tools that exist to determine which media is appropriate and how to exercise control over their children's media consumption. This media literacy campaign, called Pause-Parent-Play (PPP), includes a website offering parents guidance on how to enjoy media with their children.

Senator Lieberman also sought authority for more federal research on the impacts of media on children, given how today's youth are immersed in social media. After extensive discussions with researchers who specialize in the field of media and its effects on children, Senator Lieberman introduced legislation in 2004 called the Children and Media Research Advancement Act. Senators Brownback, Clinton, Rick Santorum (R-PA), and Mary Landrieu (D-LA) joined as original cosponsors; and Senators Richard Durbin (D-IL), Mark Pryor (D-AR), Ensign, and Miller subsequently cosponsored the bill. The bill recognized the fact that children today live and develop in a world of media. According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, from ages 2-18, children are spending an average of five and a half hours with media each day. The CAMRA bill would establish a research program on Children and Media within the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development to examine the role of media in children's cognitive, social, emotional, physical, and behavioral development. The research authorized under this effort would cover all forms of electronic media, including television, movies, interactive video games, and the Internet. It would require a report to Congress on the empirical evidence and recommendations on how scientific evidence and knowledge may be used to improve the healthy developmental and learning capacities of children.

In 2006, Senator Lieberman reintroduced legislation to house CAMRA in the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The research authorized under this effort would cover all forms of electronic media, including television, movies, music, interactive video games, and the Internet. It would require a report to Congress on the implications of the scientific evidence regarding the role and impact of media on children and adolescents and recommendations on how scientific evidence and knowledge may be used to improve the healthy developmental and learning capacities of children. CAMRA was favorably reported by the HELP Committee and passed in the Senate by unanimous consent; however, the bill never successfully garnered traction for passage in the House of Representatives.

In 2004, during consideration of the Department of Defense Authorization bill, Senator Lieberman was the lead Democratic cosponsor of a Brownback amendment to increase the penalties for violations by television and radio broadcasters of the prohibitions against transmission of obscene, indecent, and profane broadcasts. The Brownback amendment was further amended and passed the Senate by a 99-1 vote. Ultimately, however, the amendment was dropped in conference.

However, Senator Lieberman joined Senator Brownback as the lead Democratic cosponsor of the Broadcast Decency Enforcement Act of 2005. This bill sought to increase the penalties for violations by television and radio broadcasters of the prohibitions against transmission of obscene, indecent, and profane broadcasts. It was signed by President George Bush on June 15, 2006, becoming Public Law 109-235.

The recent incident in Newtown, Connecticut serves to remind us of the need to continue to watch the media habits of our children. The factors that contributed to that horrific event are complicated, and the solutions must be multi-faceted. There is no doubt, however, that younger generations are immersed in social media and technology and that a culture of violence is prevalent. Again, this calls into debate what can be done to protect our children, while not abridging First Amendment rights of free expression.

PROMOTING CIVIL RIGHTS

Senator Lieberman has long championed equal rights for women and minorities, including the civil rights of the gay and lesbian community. As a young man in 1963, he helped to organize other students in Connecticut to travel to Mississippi, where they supported voter registration efforts and the gubernatorial campaign of an African American candidate in the state. That year, he also joined Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.'s March on Washington. After his election to the Senate, Lieberman's work was inspired by these experiences and the principles that compelled him to march for civil rights. During his Senate career, he focused much of his efforts on the fight over equal rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) Americans. Senator Lieberman opposed constitutional amendments that would have discriminated against gay and lesbian Americans, supported legislation in response to the bullying of LGBT youth, cosponsored a bill to provide gay and lesbian Americans equal immigration rights, and supported gay and lesbian nominees to serve as federal judges. His most important achievement, though, was achieving the repeal of the discriminatory "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy.

Working for the Equal Rights Act (ERA) and Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman supported efforts to reinvigorate the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a proposed amendment to the Constitution that was approved by both chambers of Congress in 1972 but never ratified by the states. The amendment would clearly state that the "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," establishing a clear benchmark for equal rights between the genders.

Although the ERA has yet to be passed into law, Senator Lieberman was proud during the 111th Congress to cosponsor Senator Barbara Mikulski's (D-MD) Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. This legislation sought to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.*, which made it more difficult for many workers to sue their employers for pay discrimination. The petitioner in this case was Lilly Ledbetter, who was paid less than her male counterparts but was not afforded legal recourse because of the Supreme Court decision. The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act passed with Senator Lieberman's strong support and was signed into law by President Obama in January 2009.

Equal Employment Opportunities for LGBT Americans

Gay and lesbian Americans are often passed over for employment, fired, or denied promotion simply because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. To combat this discrimination, the late Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) introduced the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) on June 23, 1994. Senator Lieberman was an original cosponsor of this measure on its maiden introduction and has consistently cosponsored ENDA and urged its passage in each Congress that he has served. On September 10, 1996, Senator Lieberman voted in support of ENDA during its only consideration by the entire Senate to date. This version of ENDA fell one vote short of passage in the Senate.

In his final term of service, Senator Lieberman once again cosponsored ENDA (S. 811), which was introduced by Senators Jeff Merkley (D-OR) and Mark Kirk (R-IL). This legislation would outlaw workplace discrimination based on perceived or actual sexual orientation or gender identity. In addition to supporting ENDA, Senator Lieberman supported Senate resolutions introduced by Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) to add “sexual orientation” to “race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, or state of physical handicap” in the anti-discrimination employment practices of the Senate and, when those measures failed, adopted a written non-discrimination policy for his congressional staff stating that sexual orientation shall not a factor in employment decisions.

Leadership on Equal Benefits for Same-Sex Couples

Senator Lieberman has been a leader on extending the same rights and benefits that opposite-sex spouses of federal government employees receive to same-sex spouses. He believes that it is the right thing to do and makes good business sense to support equality.

Senator Mark Dayton (D-MN) introduced the first version of the Domestic Partner Benefits and Obligations (DPBO) Act in the 107th Congress, in the year 2002. As a consistent cosponsor and as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Senator Lieberman became the lead sponsor of this measure in the 108th Congress and has consistently introduced DPBO every two years since 2006.

Same-sex partners of federal employees are denied benefits that are offered to the spouses of their opposite-sex counterparts. These benefits account for a significant amount of an employee’s compensation and include: health benefits; retirement and disability plans; family, medical, and emergency leave; group life insurance; long-term care insurance; compensation for work injuries, death, and similar benefits; and relocation, travel, and related expenses. DPBO would allow a same-sex partner of a federal employee to access these benefits.

Under Senator Lieberman’s tutelage, DPBO support has grown from just six Democratic Senators cosponsoring the measure, to a bipartisan measure with over 30 sponsors. Furthermore, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Senator Lieberman held the first ever hearings on this legislation in the 110th Congress (2009-2010). Under his leadership, the Committee has twice voted in a bipartisan fashion to report DPBO for the full Senate’s consideration. Lastly, many of the elements of DPBO have been used as a model for the Obama Administration to extend benefits to partners of same-sex couples of federal government employees by executive order.

In addition to supporting ENDA, Lieberman cosponsored Senator Schumer’s (D-NY) Tax Parity for Health Plan Beneficiaries Act, which, in the same vein as DBPO, would amend the Internal Revenue to end the disparity between opposite-sex spouses and same-sex spouses in the taxation of employer provided health benefits. This bill was introduced in response to the fact that same-sex couples pay more in taxes than their heterosexual counterparts for such reasons as their inability to file taxes jointly, ineligibility for various tax credits and deductions, and additional estate tax liability. Some estimates find that same-sex couples pay an average of \$1,100 more in taxes per year on health insurance coverage, alone.

Federal Hate Crime Protections for LGBT Americans

Senator Lieberman has long championed expanding federal hate crimes for those targeted for violence due to their sexual orientation or gender identity. Since 1999, Senator Lieberman has been a cosponsor of legislation that would expand these protections, known as the Hate Crimes Protection Act or the Local Law Enforcement Act, introduced by the late Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA).

In the 111th Congress, Senator Lieberman was once again a cosponsor of hate crimes legislation, renamed the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act. He supported the successful inclusion of this act as an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010, which President Obama signed into law on October 28, 2009. The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act strengthened the enforcement and prosecution of hate crimes based on sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, gender identity, and disability.

Repeal of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Policy

As a member of the Senate Armed Service Committee, Senator Lieberman was one of only five of his colleagues who opposed the “Don't Ask, Don't Tell” policy when it was introduced in 1993. Unfortunately, this amendment was added to the National Defense Authorization Act debated that year; and over the next 17 years, more than 13,000 gay and lesbian Americans were kicked out of the military simply because of their sexual orientation, while countless others chose not to serve in the first place.

As it became clear that the DADT policy was harming military during a time of war – as thousands of soldiers with such critical skill sets as being Arabic speakers were discharged – he decided to act, ultimately leading the repeal of DADT in the 111th Congress.

After Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen told the Senate Armed Services Committee that they would support repealing the law in early 2010, Senator Lieberman introduced a bill to do so, the Military Readiness Enhancement Act, on March 3, 2010. Through the spring, Senator Lieberman built support for the bill as additional members joined as cosponsors and negotiated with the Obama Administration to gain support for a specific legislative approach to repealing this unjust law.

On May 27, 2010, the effort to repeal DADT took a major step forward when the Senate Armed Services Committee adopted Senator Lieberman's amendment to the draft National Defense Authorization Act repealing DADT. This successful vote was the result of months of intense negotiations to ensure that the military would have the flexibility to repeal the law on a timeline that could address its concerns about a legally and socially complex modification to longstanding policy. The same day, the full House adopted the same amendment to its version of the NDAA.

Later in 2010, the effort to repeal DADT faced what looked to some an insurmountable challenge when Senate Republicans repeatedly filibustered the National Defense Authorization Act. In response to these setbacks, Senator Lieberman partnered with Senator Susan Collins (R-ME) to introduce a stand-alone Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act. This bill quickly garnered 49 cosponsors, and House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-MD) pushed the effort forward by finding a House bill that could be used as a vehicle to consider the DADT Repeal Act in the final days of the 111th Congress. The House bill was introduced on Tuesday, December 14, and adopted in a 250-175 vote, on December 15. On December 18, the Senate voted on the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act, adopting it by a 65-31 margin.

The Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act was signed into law by President Obama on December 22, 2010. At the end of a detailed implementation process under the leadership of the President, Secretary of Defense, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Don't Ask, Don't Tell ceased to be the law of the land on September 20, 2011.

An American Inheritance: Protecting our Environment

FIGHTING FOR THE LONG ISLAND SOUND

Long Island Sound is Connecticut's largest and most important natural resource, an estuary that is bounded by the state's southern coastline and New York's Long Island. Nearly nine million people live throughout the Long Island Sound watershed, which extends as far north as the Canadian border. The Sound is home to some 1,200 species of invertebrates, 170 species of fish, and countless varieties of birds and other animals. Long Island Sound generates many billions of dollars of economic activity each year, ranging from tourism, to fishing, to transportation.

When Senator Lieberman arrived in the Senate, Long Island Sound had suffered many decades of overuse and neglect and was afflicted by low dissolved oxygen levels, toxic and pathogen contamination, floatable debris, and habitat and water quality degradation. In 1985, a group of federal and state agencies, user groups, concerned organizations, and individuals from Connecticut and New York established the Long Island Sound Study to begin rehabilitating Long Island Sound; and Senator Lieberman immediately committed himself to working with that team to restore Long Island Sound as both an environmental and economic hub.

In 1989, Senator Lieberman authored the Long Island Sound Improvement Act, which created a Long Island Sound Program Office in the Environmental Protection Agency. He partnered with Senator Chris Dodd and his colleagues from New York, Senators Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) and Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) on this bill, which was adopted that year, and in every year since has fought to provide funding for the Program Office.

After this initial victory, Senator Lieberman worked in the early 1990s to secure funding for a series of specific efforts along the Long Island Sound, to include the restoration of the Faulkner's Island shoreline, the expansion of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge, and the preservation of a critical waterfowl habitat on Ram Island off the coast of Stonington. He also was the first to ask the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to carry out a mapping of the seafloor in Long Island Sound, which would lead to more productive use of resources while reducing shipwrecks.

After securing funding each year of the early 1990s in support of studies on contamination in cleanup, Senator Lieberman was hailed as a "congressional leader" at a September 26, 1994, signing ceremony at which federal, state, and local leaders pledged themselves to supporting the Comprehensive Conservation and Management Plan developed by the Long Island Sound Study. This plan has provided the blueprint for conservation efforts along the Long Island Sound since, and Senator Lieberman has consistently fought to provide that funding.

In 2000, Senator Lieberman achieved another breakthrough when he worked with Representative Nancy Johnson (R-CT) to pass the Long Island Sound Restoration Act, which provided funding for projects in Connecticut and New York that would reduce nitrogen pollution. Moreover, he succeeded in authorizing the office at \$40 million per year through 2005, finally placing Long Island

Sound on equal status with other large national estuaries, such as the Chesapeake Bay. Senator Lieberman also achieved a 300-percent increase in funding for Long Island Sound restoration activities that year and sponsored a demonstration project to experiment with treating dredged sediment to minimize environmental impact.

Between 2004 and 2006, Senator Lieberman again partnered with Senator Dodd and his colleagues from New York to strengthen protections for the Long Island Sound, offering legislation, known as the Long Island Sound Stewardship Act, that would create the Long Island Sound Stewardship Advisory Committee to make recommendations to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on how to best conserve habitat and maintain public access to the Long Island Sound and provide funding for those types of projects. Through 2004, Senator Lieberman worked with Republican colleagues to overcome some objections to the bill and finally secured its passage in the Senate at the end of the year after improving a number of its provisions. Unfortunately, the bill stalled in the House; and Senator Lieberman revived his effort after the new Congress was sworn in the next year. When the House finally acted on counterpart legislation, Senator Lieberman was ready to move his renewed bill; and the Long Island Sound Stewardship Act was signed into law on October 16, 2006.

In his final term in office, Senator Lieberman has continued to fight for a bill, the Long Island Sound Restoration and Stewardship Act, which would amend the Clean Water Act to strengthen federal, state, and local cooperation to protect the Long Island Sound, while further reauthorizing the Program Office at the EPA. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) is the lead sponsor of this effort, and Senator Lieberman knows that she and her colleagues from Connecticut and New York will continue the effort in fighting to save the Sound.

Related to the Sound, Senator Lieberman spent over a decade working to ensure Connecticut ports and harbors had a place to dispose of dredged materials. In 2005, facing closure of all dredged material disposal sites in Long Island Sound, Senator Lieberman worked with Congressman Chris Shays (R-CT) to force EPA, the Army Corps, the State of Connecticut, and the State of New York to reach an agreement on designating two dredged material disposal sites in western and central Long Island Sound and secured over \$10 million for the required Dredged Material Management Plan. In his last two years in office, Senator Lieberman worked with Congressman Joe Courtney (D-CT) to urge EPA to move forward with the Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (SEIS) for eastern Long Island Sound, which is necessary to ultimately designate dredged material disposal sites in eastern Long Island Sound. To prevent imminent danger to Connecticut's ports and harbors, Senator Lieberman inserted language into the FY12 Appropriations bill that would keep the two current disposal sites open for an additional five years, in order to give EPA time to complete the SEIS.

PRESERVING THE ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) is the largest National Wildlife Refuge in the United States, incorporating nearly 20 million acres along Alaska's North Slope region. The Arctic Refuge, and especially its Coastal Plain, is home to some of America's most iconic species, including polar bears, brown bears, wolves, wolverines, muskoxen, and more than 130 species of migratory birds. Additionally, this area provides important calving grounds for the Porcupine caribou herd, which use the unique coastal plain habitat to birth and rear their young. These caribou are vital to the culture of the Gwich'in people, who call the Coastal Plain "the sacred place where life begins."

Throughout his career, Senator Lieberman has successfully led the opposition to opening a portion of ANWR for oil and gas exploration, starting with successful filibusters in 1991 and 1992, when the first strong push was made by proponents of drilling. Although Congress voted to open ANWR for exploration in 1995, Senator Lieberman organized the votes necessary to sustain President Clinton's veto of the bill.

Beginning in 1989, Senator Lieberman joined Senator William V. Roth, Jr. (R-DE) to introduce the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Wilderness Act, a bill that would permanently preserve ANWR's 1.5 million acre coastal plain as a wilderness, giving its wildlife, lands, and waters permanent protection. Senator Lieberman served as the lead cosponsor of this bill every year through the remainder of Senator Roth's career and, since his retirement in 2001, has introduced the bill each year while fighting renewed efforts to open ANWR to development.

In 2001, Senator Lieberman led a successful filibuster against efforts to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil and gas exploration and, as a result, was honored by the Wilderness Society with its highest honor, the Ansel Adams Conservation Award. In 2003, Senator Lieberman again led the opposition against efforts to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil and gas exploration, when the newly-installed Republican leadership attempted to incorporate a drilling proposal into the budget resolution for that year, which would have allowed it to pass without being subject to a filibuster in the Senate. Lieberman fought this parliamentary trick, which would have misused the budget to address an unrelated policy issue, and cosponsored a successful amendment to strike the provision. Two years later, Senator Lieberman fought a similar battle, stripping a provision to allow ANWR development from an unrelated bill appropriating funds for the Department of Defense.

In his final year in Congress, Senator Lieberman again introduced a bill to permanently preserve the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and is disappointed that it has yet to be adopted. After 24 years of fighting for this crown jewel of the refuge system, he continues to believe that it should, and will, be preserved for nature and future generations of Americans.

LEADING CONGRESSIONAL EFFORTS ON CLIMATE CHANGE

From his first years in Congress, Senator Lieberman cosponsored legislation in response to the threat of climate change but first become integrally involved in the issue in 1997, when he was appointed as a member of the Senate Observer Group to the United Nations Global Climate Negotiations in Kyoto, Japan. These negotiations resulted in the Kyoto Protocol, the first international effort to stabilize greenhouse gases in the atmosphere and control human-caused climate change.

In the early years after the Kyoto negotiations, when he hoped that the United States would soon join the treaty, Senator Lieberman joined Senator John Chafee (R-RI) and ten other colleagues to introduce the Credit for Voluntary Reductions Act. This bill would have encouraged American companies to move proactively to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by providing early movers with credits that they could later apply against a carbon emissions trading scheme. Throughout 1999 and 2000, Lieberman organized events with think tanks and international experts to raise awareness of the benefits of a domestic emissions trading program; but these efforts stalled in the face of opposition within the Senate to ratifying the Kyoto Protocol.

In 2001, when he chaired the Environment and Public Work Committee's subcommittee with responsibility for climate change, Senator Lieberman managed a bipartisan bill that was the Senate's first significant step addressing the issue. The Climate Change Strategy and Technology Innovation Act, introduced by Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV) and Ted Stevens (R-AK), and cosponsored by Senator Lieberman, promised to break the longstanding impasse on climate change by emphasizing technological innovation without dictating specific policy responses. Senator Lieberman managed a mark-up of the bill, which was subsequently included in the Energy Policy Act of 2002, which ultimately failed in conference after being approved by the Senate.

In the wake of the failed Byrd-Stevens bill, Senator Lieberman returned to the Senate in 2003 dedicated to launch a new climate change initiative. He partnered that year with Senator John McCain to introduce the Climate Stewardship Act, the first comprehensive proposal to control greenhouse gas emissions in the United States. The bill would have covered emissions from all major sectors of the economy, capping those emissions at 2000 levels by 2010 and at 1990 levels by 2016, but allowing emissions trading by all covered entities. After introducing their bill at the beginning of the year, Senators Lieberman and McCain gained a vote on a modified version in October, which was defeated 43-55.

Despite their setback in 2003, Senators Lieberman and McCain gained the assurance of many senators who voted against the bill to reconsider the matter; and they worked against the opposition of Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-TN) to hold another vote afterwards. Although their efforts were frustrated in 2004, Senator Lieberman testified at one of the four hearings on climate change that Senator McCain organized as the chairman of the Commerce Committee; and they continued to negotiate with colleagues who expressed a willingness to reconsider their prior opposition.

In 2005, Senators Lieberman and McCain introduced a new bill, the Climate Stewardship and Innovation Act, which incorporated the major provisions of their earlier effort and added a new title aimed at promoting, through the use of funds generated by the emissions trading market, innovative climate-friendly technology. Although the bill would have provided critical funding for a number of green energy programs, several supporters of the earlier version opposed the bill's authorization of subsidies for nuclear energy production. When the bill was brought up for a vote in June 2005, it was defeated 38-60. Despite the apparent setback, the Senate immediately proceeded to adopt a resolution expressing its intent to enact legislation that would utilize market-based approaches for mandatory reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. The resolution received the support of a bipartisan majority of 53 members.

After a hiatus in 2006, Senator Lieberman launched his most ambitious effort to tackle climate change in 2007. In January, he partnered with Senators McCain, Barack Obama (D-IL), Hillary Clinton (D-NY), and Blanche Lincoln (D-AR) to reintroduce the Climate Stewardship and Innovation Act, demonstrating support for the issue across both parties' leading presidential contenders. He then turned his attention to his role on the Environment and Public Works Committee, where Senator Barbara Boxer approved his standing up a new, eight-member subcommittee on the issue. Senator Lieberman worked with his ranking members, and previous climate change legislation opponent John Warner, to craft a comprehensive climate change bill through most of the year; and after introducing a discussion draft before the August recess, the senators filed America's Climate Security Act on October 18, with the support of eight original cosponsors.

Through the remainder of 2007, Senators Lieberman and Warner worked with their fellow members of the subcommittee to modify the bill and gain support for its passage, leading to a successful 11-8 vote by the Environment and Public Works Committee on December 5. When the Congress resumed its work in January, Senator Lieberman continued to negotiate with interest groups who were concerned with the bill and fellow members of the Senate, while working on a committee report explaining the intent of the bill in detail. The Senate voted to proceed to debate the bill on June 4, 2008, the first time that either chamber of Congress had formally taken up climate change legislation. After two more days of debate, the Senate voted on cloture on the bill, which only received 48 votes in support. Sadly, this vote marked the high-water mark for climate change during Senator Lieberman's career.

After Senator Warner's retirement, Senator Lieberman initiated negotiations with Senators Lindsey Graham (R-SC) and John Kerry (D-MA) to again introduce comprehensive climate change legislation. The three released a framework for legislation in December 2009. The bill would have achieved reductions in greenhouse gas emissions in the range of 17 percent by 2020, encouraged such energy efforts as offshore oil and gas drilling and increased nuclear power, as well as a market-based system to allow polluters to trade credits under an overall national cap. The three senators worked through April 2010 to prepare a version of their bill for introduction; but the effort was ultimately dissolved in the face of a series of setbacks, including the explosion of the *Deepwater Horizon* oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico.

PROTECTING ANIMALS AT HOME AND ABROAD

Senator Lieberman has a long history of speaking up for those that cannot speak for themselves. Over the years, he has introduced and cosponsored a large number of bills that aim to protect a diverse array of animals. Over the past several years, he has been a lead cosponsor of the Puppy Uniform Protection and Safety Act, the Great Ape Protection Act, the Captive Primate Safety Act, the American Horse Slaughter Prevention Act, and the Horse Transportation Safety Act and has written to Appropriators to seek funding for many domestic animal welfare initiatives.

In addition to Senator Lieberman's legislative efforts to protect animals, he has also worked to ensure the integrity of their habitats. At an international level, the Senator has been a longtime supporter of funding for conservation programs, such as Wildlife Without Borders (WWB) and the Multinational Species Conservation Fund (MSCF). These programs serve the dual purpose of protecting threatened wildlife populations and essential habitat, while also educating people who are often the main threat facing these threatened wildlife and plants. By conserving key species, these programs help sustain large areas of wilderness, home to a rich diversity of flora and fauna. They address critical conservation and development concerns in countries around the globe.

In 2007, Senator Lieberman introduced legislation that would have reauthorized the MSCF for five years, which passed and was signed into law later that year. Also, in 2007, Senator Lieberman introduced the Great Cats and Rare Canids Act, which would have created a special fund under the MSCF aimed at protecting rare cats and canids, such as jaguars, snow leopards, cheetahs, and African dogs. While it was not signed into law, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service did agree to move forward with some of Senator Lieberman's proposed changes.

Senator Lieberman also worked to protect the American people from animal-borne diseases. In 2005, Senator Lieberman introduced the Global Network for Avian Influenza Surveillance Act. This legislation would establish a program to monitor wild migratory birds and track avian borne diseases. While the legislation was not ultimately passed as a stand-alone measure, the Global Avian Influenza Network for Surveillance (GAINS) was established in 2006 with funding provided by USAID in 2006 as a result of the passage of the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Pandemic Influenza (attached to the Defense Appropriations Act), which was passed by Congress in late December 2005. The package included aspects of Senator Lieberman's proposal, including funds for international disease surveillance and tracking of the movement of avian flu in both wild and domestic bird populations. In subsequent years, Senator Lieberman attempted to expand GAINS to include other wildlife-borne diseases.

In the 110th, 111th, and 112th Congresses, Senator Lieberman introduced the National Fish Habitat Conservation Act. Based on the highly successful North American Wetlands Conservation Act model, this bill would advance ongoing efforts to restore and protect fish habitat, improve the health of our waterways, and ensure that we have robust fish populations far into the future. During the 111th Congress, the legislation was reported out of the Environment and Public Works Committee (EPW) but failed to pass the full Senate. During the 112th Congress, the legislation was again reported out of EPW and was included in Senator Jon Tester's (D-MT) Sportsmen's Act (S. 3525) that was brought to the Senate floor.

Closer to home, Senator Lieberman was active in attempting to address the massive die-off in the lobster fishery of western Long Island Sound during the fall and winter of 1999-2000. Senator Lieberman, in conjunction with Senator Dodd, succeeded in securing an FY 2000 supplemental appropriation of \$7.3 million for economic relief, and \$6.6 million for research, to address the Long Island Sound lobster die-off in the FY01 Military Construction Appropriations bill. He also worked to ensure that Connecticut oyster farmers were not forced to repay improperly processed U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) disaster payments, inserting language in the FY01 Agriculture Appropriations bill exempting the Connecticut aquaculture industry from having to repay funds that USDA mistakenly awarded two years earlier.

PRESERVING CONNECTICUT'S LANDS, WATERS, AND HISTORIC TREASURES

Connecticut's shores, rivers, and valleys are home to beautiful vistas, important historical sites, and great recreational opportunities. Senator Lieberman has strongly believed in protecting these sites to ensure that all generations, present and future, can enjoy the locations that make Connecticut so unique.

When first arriving in the Senate, Senator Lieberman made it a priority to protect Connecticut's shoreline. In 1989, the Senator introduced the Connecticut Coastal Protection Act (P.L. 100-443), which was signed into law by President George H.W. Bush in 1990. This Act authorized the expansion of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge, which serves as an important sanctuary for neotropical migrant land birds. Building on this accomplishment, the Senator introduced the Silvio O. Conte National Fish and Wildlife Refuge Act (P.L. 102-212) in 1991. This Act established a wildlife refuge that encompasses 7.2 million acres in the Connecticut River watershed that includes land in Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Since the establishment and expansion of these refuges, the Senator has remained a strong supporter who has fought for critical funding for these sites.

In 1994, Senator Lieberman ushered legislation through the Senate that designated 14 miles of the Upper Farmington River as a Wild and Scenic Partnership River. The National Park Service's Wild and Scenic Rivers System aims to preserve certain rivers with outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational value. The elevation of the Upper Farmington River to a river of national significance ensures the preservation and protection of the river. In 2006, Senator Lieberman and former Senator Dodd joined with former Representative Nancy Johnson (D-CT) and introduced legislation to build on the success witnessed in the Upper Farmington River. Together, they introduced the Lower Farmington River and Salmon Brook Wild and Scenic River Study Act. Now complete, the study found that the Lower Farmington River and Salmon Brook system possess outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational values. On March 28, 2012, Senator Lieberman joined Representative Chris Murphy (D-CT) in introducing the Lower Farmington River and Salmon Brook Wild and Scenic River Act (S. 2286/H.R. 4360).

In February 2007, Senators Lieberman and Dodd, and Representative Joe Courtney (D-CT), introduced the Eightmile Wild and Scenic River Act, which would amend the National Wild and Scenic River Act to include Eightmile River. The Eightmile River officially became the newest Wild and Scenic River in May 2008.

In addition to Connecticut's shoreline and rivers, the state is home to beautiful valleys that Senator Lieberman has worked his entire Senate career to protect. The National Park Service's Heritage Corridor/Areas Program fosters community stewardship of our nation's heritage sites. The program encourages the preservation of the nation's distinctive historic, natural, and cultural resources, such as colonial archaeological sites and pristine natural landscapes, all of which are present in Connecticut.

In 1994, Senator Lieberman's work led to the Quinebaug and Shetucket Rivers Valley being designated as the nation's fifth National Heritage Corridor. The region known as the "Last Green Valley" between Boston and Washington, DC is a 25-town area in eastern Connecticut. By its inclusion into the National Park Service's Heritage Corridor/Areas Program, the Quinebaug and Shetucket Rivers Valley gained national significance.

In September 2006, Senator Lieberman worked with Representative Nancy Johnson (R-CT) to pass the Upper Housatonic Valley National Heritage Area Act. President Bush signed this bill into law the following month. The Upper Housatonic Valley is a unique cultural and geographical region that encompasses 29 towns in the Housatonic River watershed, extending 60 miles from Lanesboro, Massachusetts to Kent, Connecticut. The Valley has made significant national contributions, through literary, artistic, musical, and architectural achievements, as the backdrop for important Revolutionary War era events; as the cradle of the iron, paper, and electrical industries; and as home to key figures and events in the abolitionist and civil rights movements. It includes five National Historic Landmarks and four National Natural Landmarks. The area has already developed many significant heritage activities, including an Iron Heritage Trail brochure, a graduate course for local teachers on the area, and a summer art event.

This 112th Congress, Senator Lieberman and Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) introduced the Naugatuck River Valley National Heritage Area Study (S. 1191/H.R. 2174). This bill would require that a study be carried out to determine the feasibility and suitability of establishing the Naugatuck River Valley National Heritage Area in Connecticut.

Senator Lieberman has also been a leader in preserving and protecting Connecticut's historical treasures. In February 1990, Senator Lieberman introduced a bill designating the Weir Farm National Historic Site. Weir Farm, in Ridgefield and Wilton, Connecticut, was home to three generations of American artists who played an essential role in the development of American Impressionism. Julian Alden Weir, a leading figure in American art and the development of American Impressionism, acquired the farm in 1882. After Weir, the artistic legacy was continued by his daughter, painter Dorothy Weir Young and her husband, sculptor Mahonri Young, followed by New England painters Sperry and Doris Andrews. In October 1990, the Weir Farm Historic Site Establishment Act of 1990 was signed by President Bush, becoming Senator Lieberman's first stand-alone legislation to be signed into law and creating Connecticut's first, and still only, unit of the National Park Service.

In the years after Weir Farm's establishment as a national historical site, Lieberman secured funding for the restoration of historic buildings, the site's management, and its expansion. In 1998, Lieberman successfully fought for the passage of a bill authorizing the construction of a visitor center at the site, which also serves as a gallery for the park's collection of Impressionist works. Today, the 60-acre farm, which includes the Weir House, Weir and Young Studios, barns, gardens, and Weir Pond, is one of the nation's finest remaining landscapes of American art.

Highlighting Hartford's unique history has also been a significant focus for Senator Lieberman. In 1848, Samuel Colt opened the Colt Manufacturing Company on the banks of the Connecticut River in Hartford. The factory played a critical role in the Industrial Revolution and in its boom years inspired Samuel and his wife, Elizabeth, to develop Coltsville. The home they built in 1856, Armsmear, is a national historic landmark; and the Colt factory remains a central feature of the Hartford skyline. Beginning in 2002, Senator Lieberman worked with Representative John Larson (D-CT) and Senator Christopher Dodd to champion the enshrinement of Coltsville in the National Park System. In 2003, they attained the passage of a bill directing the Secretary of the Interior to study the potential inclusion of Coltsville in the National Park System and, in 2010 and 2011, introduced bills that would establish a Coltsville National Historical Park. Although their efforts received the support of Secretary of Interior Ken Salazar, the bill was still pending before the 112th Congress due to Republican efforts to stop the creation of any future National Park units.

Also in Hartford, Senator Lieberman led the charge to secure funding for the Adriaen's Landing development, lowering I-91, and ultimately reconnecting the city of Hartford with the Connecticut River. He also has steered tens of millions of dollars to Hartford's cultural icons, including the Artists Collective, the Mark Twain House and Museum, the Harriet Beecher Stowe House and Museum, and the Wadsworth Atheneum. He also secured passage of legislation creating the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail, which comprises almost 700 miles of land and water trails along the route taken by General George Washington and General Jean-Baptiste de Rochambeau from Newport, Rhode Island, to Yorktown, Virginia, as well as passage of legislation creating the New England National Scenic Trail.

On a national level, Senator Lieberman was a longtime supporter of the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF). This program provides critical matching funds to support numerous state parks and recreation projects in communities across the nation. LWCF is a unique program in that it is budget neutral and paid for with oil and gas leasing revenues. The program was structured this way in order to offset the impact of depleting natural resources and to reinvest those proceeds toward

conservation of treasured natural resources, forests, and outdoor recreation areas at the federal, state, and local level.

Senator Lieberman continuously challenged federal agencies to protect the beauty and sustainability of the nation's God-given natural resources and to better inform the public of their actions. Through letters, he has pressed the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture Departments on their administrative actions regarding highway construction through federal land, development, and logging in pristine areas and protection of wilderness areas and wildlife. He joined with several of his Senate colleagues in asking the U.S. Department of Agriculture for assurances that it was implementing the Roadless Area Conservation rule, a rule issued during the Clinton Administration that prohibited most new road construction and timber harvesting on more than 58 million acres within the national forest system. These lands provide clean drinking water to over 60 million Americans, as well as habitat to over 1,600 threatened, endangered, or sensitive plant and animal species.

STANDING UP FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS

Senator Lieberman proved throughout his Senate career that regulations are useful and necessary, so long as they are not overly burdensome. From oil spills, to toxic chemicals, and clean air and clean water, Senator Lieberman was at the forefront of preserving and protecting the natural gifts that were given to mankind by their creator.

Senator Lieberman has long been concerned about the environmental threats posed by oil spills. The 1989 *Exxon Valdez* spill in Alaskan waters highlighted the need for stronger legislation, incited greater public involvement, and spurred Congress to enact comprehensive oil spill legislation, resulting in the Oil Pollution Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-380). One of the first bills Senator Lieberman introduced after arriving in the Senate proposed an increase in penalties for those who violate oil spill laws. Significant portions of his bill, the Oil Spill Cleanup and Enforcement Act of 1989 (S. 1223), which also strengthened enforcement provisions against polluters of our nation's waters, were incorporated into P.L. 101-380. Specifically, P.L. 101-380 expanded and clarified the authority of the federal government and created new oil spill prevention and preparedness requirements. In addition, this legislation strengthened existing liability provisions, thus providing a greater deterrent against spills. After 1990, the spill volume from oil tankers, the vessels that carry and have spilled the most oil, decreased significantly.

Because of the very large volume of petroleum products going through Long Island Sound, Senator Lieberman worked hard to ensure that the Coast Guard can rapidly respond to a spill in the Sound. A Coast Guard strike team is now located in Fort Dix, New Jersey; and equipment is at the New London site (actually in Kingston, Rhode Island) – both far closer than the previous site in Alabama.

In addition, in 1996, Senator Lieberman was a principal cosponsor of legislation introduced by the late Senator John Chafee (R-RI), the Oil Spill Prevention and Response Improvement Act (S. 1730), which Congress passed, that was designed to improve the safety standards in the Oil Pollution Act of 1990, ensure that citizens and communities injured by oil spills are promptly and fully compensated, and reduce the risk of oil spills from single-hull tank barges when they operate in open or coastal waters, as well as for tugs that carry the barges. Provisions from this bill were enacted as part of the 1996 Coast Guard authorization bill (P.L. 104-324). Because single-hulled vessels present the greatest risk to our environment in the event of a spill, Senator Lieberman also called for interim protection during the phase-in of double-hulled vessels, such as double sides or bottoms or equivalent protection for the sides

and bottom of a vessel in the event of a collision or grounding. In addition, Congress succeeded in passing a law Senator Lieberman introduced, the Pollution Prosecution Act (S. 2176; P.L. 101-593), which provides special safeguards against oil spills in Northeast waters, including Long Island Sound. The Senator's bill quadrupled the number of U.S. Environmental Protection Agency criminal and civil investigators and established a National Enforcement Training Institute.

Senator Lieberman has also long been concerned about the hazards to human health resulting from exposure to toxic chemicals and has worked to reduce exposure to these toxic substances. Studies conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have documented the dangers of human chemical exposure in relationship to illness and disease, and health care professionals and their patients are at increased risk for chemical and pharmaceutical exposure. Because of the urgent need to implement and maintain a comprehensive nationwide chemical management policy to reduce dangerous exposures to such chemicals, Senator Lieberman has long championed legislation to protect our health and improve our environment. He cosponsored the Right to Know More Act to provide enhanced reporting to the public of releases of pollutants into the environment. In particular, he has been concerned about the presence of high levels of mercury in our environment and its resulting health consequences and has supported efforts to reduce mercury contamination in our air, land, and water resources. Mercury is known to be a potent neurotoxin, and high levels of mercury in people can result in muscle weakness and other potentially serious nervous system impairments. Pregnant women and children are particularly susceptible to these risks.

Closer to home, Senator Lieberman has a long history of working to help protect Connecticut's children and families from the dangers of lead poisoning, particularly from lead hazards in their homes. Investments in lead hazard control benefit America's families, schools, and economy. Too many American children have unacceptably high levels of lead in their blood, a condition which may result in learning disabilities and other negative health consequences. A key source of lead exposure is house dust that contains lead-based paint (LBP). Thankfully, there have been a number of successful legislative efforts to reduce the threat posed by LBP. The federal Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act (LBPPPA) establishes requirements and authorizes funding for the detection and control of LBP hazards in federally-assisted housing. Additionally, the Residential Lead-Based Paint Hazard Reduction Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-550) authorizes federal grants to state and local governments to provide assistance for LBP hazard reduction to residents of modest means.

Senator Lieberman has also fought to protect our children and families from other dangerous sources of lead, including toys made with LBP. The U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) is responsible for ensuring that more than 15,000 products are safe to use. Unfortunately, among the alerts and recalls of unsafe products issued by CPSC were product warnings on over 15 million toys imported from China. These and other recalls prompted many in Congress to reassess whether CPSC is adequately equipped to effectively identify and block the distribution of unsafe products. With the senator's support, Congress increased funding levels for CPSC to ensure that the agency has the resources and staff necessary to more effectively fulfill its important consumer safety mission, including efforts to prohibit excessive amounts of lead in products and to require the testing of all children's toys by a third party under standards published by the American Society for Testing and Materials. Following its passage by Congress, President Bush signed into law the Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act of 2008 (Public Law 110-314) on August 14, 2008. These improved and expanded lead abatement and removal initiatives are critical to removing this unnecessary danger from our homes and buildings.

Most prominently, though, is Senator Lieberman's work on clean air and clean water. Throughout Senator Lieberman's tenure in the U.S. Senate, he has fought for stronger Clean Air Act (CAA) provisions, been a steadfast supporter of CAA enforcement efforts, and played a significant role in drafting and passing the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments. While enacting these measures has helped decrease the prevalence of smog, acid rain, and other pollutants in our atmosphere, further protections have been necessary to protect public health and welfare, which is why Senator Lieberman has staunchly supported legislation to significantly reduce the pollutants that contribute to acid rain and smog. Since air pollution moves downwind of where it is produced, he has tirelessly worked to address concerns about pollutants coming from Midwestern power plants that contribute to Connecticut's air pollution problems and to require older polluting power plants to meet tougher air quality standards.

With respect to water quality issues, Senator Lieberman has been a staunch supporter of the Clean Water Act (CWA), the principal law that authorizes the regulation and enforcement of requirements that govern pollution discharges into U.S. surface waters. CWA also authorizes financial assistance for wastewater treatment plant construction and improvements. CWA embodies a successful federal-state partnership in which the federal government sets the agenda and standards for pollution abatement, while states carry out the day-to-day activities of implementation and enforcement. To achieve its objectives, the Act clearly states that all discharges into the nation's waters are unlawful, unless specifically authorized by a permit; and this serves as the Act's principal enforcement tool. This law has civil, criminal, and administrative enforcement provisions and also permits citizen suit enforcement.

While a great deal of progress has been made in achieving the ambitious goals that Congress established more than 40 years ago in CWA to restore and maintain the chemical, physical, and biological integrity of our nation's waters, water quality problems still exist that must be addressed, including pollution runoff from farms and ranches, city streets, and other pollution sources, as well as from toxic substances discharged from factories and sewage treatment plants. Other clean water concerns that we face impact the environmental health of delicate wetland ecosystems and sources of clean, safe drinking water.

As the Senate has considered each of our important environmental laws, Senator Lieberman has fought against any rollbacks of the environmental and health protections that the American people support and expect from their government.

AMERICAN ENERGY SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE

Senator Lieberman has taken many actions in the Senate over the past several years to address high oil and gas prices, including introducing, cosponsoring, and supporting numerous bills intended to help alleviate the pain at the pump. Among other things, these legislative measures have been aimed at easing gas prices, increasing oversight of energy markets, preventing price gouging, increasing fuel efficiency and vehicle fuel economy standards, reducing America's dependence on imported sources of oil, and increasing tax benefits for renewable energy and conservation.

During the 109th Congress, Senator Lieberman cosponsored the Vehicle and Fuel Choices for American Security Act, which set the stage for future corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard announcements. Because of his support for the development of alternative fuel vehicles, during the 110th and 111th Congresses, Senator Lieberman cosponsored the Open Fuel Standard Act that would

have reduced America's dependence on foreign oil and increased consumers' fuel options by finally introducing real fuel choice into the American vehicle market, especially in the event of a gasoline price spike. That legislation would have required automobile manufacturers to ensure that no less than 80 percent of the automobiles manufactured or sold in the United States be flex fuel capable, meaning that they would be able to operate on non-petroleum fuels, such as domestically produced fuel mixtures containing ethanol, methanol, or biodiesel. These alternative fuels could be made from a variety of sources, including switchgrass and other energy crops, coal, agricultural by-products, corn, soybeans, natural gas, and other materials. This would take important steps to protect consumers from soaring gas prices, spur the further development of renewable fuel technologies that are central to our energy future, and set America on a path toward energy independence. In addition, it would move our nation toward higher fuel economy standards, for which Senator Lieberman has strongly and consistently fought. Higher fuel efficiency standards will help over the long term to lower our national dependence on oil, reduce energy costs, encourage American technological innovation, and clean our air.

Throughout his career in the Senate, Senator Lieberman has consistently been a strong advocate of renewable energy initiatives that provide win/win solutions. They benefit the environment, improve our national security, and help stabilize our economy. He strongly believes that we must continue to invest in initiatives that will help advance additional development of clean, alternative, and renewable sources of energy, including wind, solar, biomass, hydrogen, geothermal, and fuel cell technologies. Senator Lieberman was instrumental in securing tax credits for fuel cells, which are an important industry in Connecticut.

Senator Lieberman has also carefully studied the role of speculators in our energy markets, particularly since this activity has, at times, caused artificial increases in the prices we all pay for food and energy. In 2008, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, he conducted several hearings on this issue and introduced legislation to curb speculation in our energy markets. Since then, Congress, with his support, approved the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (P.L. 111-203), which contained provisions that direct the U.S. Commodities Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) to propose and implement new rules to prevent excessive speculation in our food and energy markets. More specifically, under the new law, CFTC is required to limit the number of positions (exempting bona fide hedge positions) that may be held by an entity in a commodity market.

Energy issues truly hit home for people across Connecticut when they are faced with home heating oil each fall and winter. To address this, Senator Lieberman has consistently fought for sustained federal funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP). This program is critically important for low-income Americans who are already struggling to help make ends meet. States may use their LIHEAP funds to help eligible low-income households pay for heating costs in the winter and cooling costs in the summer, crisis assistance, weatherization assistance, and other services (including counseling) to help reduce the need for energy assistance. LIHEAP payments make it possible to avoid shutoffs so that these households do not have to make the difficult choices of paying their home energy bills or affording other basic necessities, such as prescription drugs or food. Senator Lieberman also supported legislation to facilitate releases from the Northeast Home Heating Oil Reserve Account and to provide energy emergency loans to small businesses hit by spikes in the price of heating oil and other fuels. Additionally, Senator Lieberman worked to help low-income Connecticut families improve the weatherization of their homes so that they can run their furnaces more efficiently. Furthermore, he worked to bring about a near-term reduction in oil prices, which are responsible for at least 60 percent of the increase in the price of home heating oil. In particular, he authored and introduced the

Commodity Speculation Reform Act to curb the speculation that inflates the price of oil and cosponsored legislation to suspend the filling of the Strategic National Petroleum Reserve.