



SENATOR JIM WEBB

UNITED STATES SENATE • 2007 – 2012

- RE-ORIENTING FOREIGN AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES
- PROMOTING ECONOMIC FAIRNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE
- GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY AND BALANCE OF POWERS



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Senator Webb as a Midshipman First Class at the U.S. Naval Academy (Class of 1968), Annapolis, Md., 1967.

As a combat Marine in Vietnam, an attorney, a senior defense department official, an Emmy-award winning journalist, a film-maker, and the author of nine books, Jim Webb has maintained a life-long commitment toward protecting America's national security interests, promoting economic fairness and social justice here at home, and increasing the accountability of government. In 2007, following his first-ever run for political office, he brought those passions with him to the United States Senate. Shortly after being sworn in, he was chosen by the Democratic Party to respond on national television to President George W. Bush's State of the Union address. By the fall of 2008, *The Washingtonian* magazine had picked him as the "Rising Star," *Politico* newspaper had named him "Rookie of the Year" in Congress, *The Atlantic Magazine* named him one of the world's 27 "Brave Thinkers," and *Esquire Magazine* had counted him among the 75 most influential people of the 21st century, for doing "more to repair his party's relationship with the military" than anyone since the Vietnam War.

On his first day in office, Senator Webb introduced a comprehensive 21st century GI Bill for those who had been serving in our military since 9/11 — the most significant veterans' legislation since World War II. The bipartisan legislative template Senator Webb developed in order to enact the bill served as a prototype for his future endeavors in the Senate. The process of bringing 58 Senators from both parties to the table as co-sponsors, along with more than 300 members of the House, renewed confidence that the Congress could indeed work effectively across party lines and address the concerns of the nation. Within 16 months, Senator Webb guided the bill through both chambers of Congress. *The Atlantic Magazine* praised his leadership, calling him "the master of the Senate."



Senator Webb on patrol in Quang Nam Province while serving as a rifle platoon and company commander in the Fifth Marine Regiment, Vietnam, May 1969.



Then-Secretary of the Navy James Webb shakes hands with a U.S. Naval Academy student before he delivered the USNA Brigade – Forrestal Lecture, Annapolis, Md., September 30, 1987.

Senator Webb spearheaded the creation of the Wartime Contracting Commission, which uncovered as much as \$60 billion in fraud, waste and abuse brought about by the often-unsupervised contract processes in Iraq and Afghanistan. Long dedicated to reforming our criminal justice system, Senator Webb designed and chaired a series of committee hearings and conferences to examine the issues of mass incarceration and policies toward drugs, and became the leading voice in Congress on the need for a top-to-bottom restructuring of the criminal justice system.

As chairman of the Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, Senator Webb met with the heads of state of every mainland country along the Southeast Asian rim, as well as Japan, South Korea and Indonesia, to strengthen relations and demonstrate America's commitment to the region. His historic trip to Burma in 2009 set the stage for a new direction in U.S. policy toward that country as part of a strategic refocus on East Asia, which Senator Webb had long advocated.



Senator Webb, 2007.



Senator Webb joins hundreds of veterans, members of Congress, and veterans' service organizations in calling for a 21st Century GI Bill for returning Iraq and Afghanistan veterans, April 29, 2008.

Amid ongoing regional volatility, Senator Webb has maintained that the presence of the United States—

militarily, economically, and politically—is the balancing force. In 2011, he introduced a resolution “deploring” the repeated use of force by China in the South China Sea and calling for a peaceful, multilateral resolution to maritime territorial disputes in Southeast Asia. The U.S. Senate unanimously approved the resolution—the first time it had taken an official position on China's actions.

This is a record of Senator Webb's leadership in Congress on his three principal themes of re-orienting national security and foreign policy, promoting economic fairness and social justice, and restoring accountability and balance of powers in government. In addition to advocating the well-being of all Virginians, these three themes guided his actions in the Senate, where he served on the Armed Services, Foreign Relations, Joint Economic, and Veterans Affairs committees.



Senator Webb delivers remarks on the need to address America's broken criminal justice system at the American Constitution Society for Law and Policy, December 2009.

RE-ORIENTING FOREIGN AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES

“AS I HAVE SAID MANY TIMES, WE WENT TO WAR IN IRAQ RECKLESSLY, AND LITTLE HAS HAPPENED SINCE 2003 THAT WAS NOT BOTH PREDICTABLE AND PREDICTED. THE WAR’S COSTS TO OUR NATION HAVE BEEN STAGGERING — CHIEF AMONG THEM, THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF OUR BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN AS WELL AS THOUSANDS MORE WHO HAVE BEEN WOUNDED OR INJURED IN THE SERVICE OF OUR COUNTRY.”

—SENATOR WEBB, AUGUST 31, 2010

Long before taking office, Senator Webb advocated a major re-orientation of our nation’s national security and foreign policy. A vocal opponent of the invasion of Iraq from the beginning on strategic grounds, he supported policies to withdraw our forces from Iraq and restore a measure of stability in that historically volatile region. For many years prior to his work in the Senate—as a Defense Department official, a journalist, and a commentator—he called for the United States to reengage the world, particularly in Asia, through a more comprehensive approach involving diplomacy, cultural, and economic imperatives as well as our traditional military objectives. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, Senator Webb worked to promote a strong national defense, principled diplomacy, and a stronger position for the United States abroad.



Senator Webb questions General David Petraeus at a Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing on U.S. Strategy in Iraq, April 8, 2008.

IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

Seven months before the invasion of Iraq, Webb wrote an op-ed for *The Washington Post*, presciently titled “Heading for Trouble: Do we really want to occupy Iraq for the next 30 years?” He asked, “Is there an absolutely vital national interest that should lead us from containment to unilateral war and a long-term occupation of Iraq? And would such a war and its aftermath actually increase our ability to win the war against international terrorism?”

He publicly criticized the Bush Administration for failing to plan how to end operations in Iraq. “Under what circumstances will the United States military withdraw from Iraq?” Webb asked. “If you can’t answer the question, then you shouldn’t have been there in the first place.”

After taking office, Senator Webb continued to push for a change in U.S. strategy in Iraq, stating, “I will not relent from my continuing efforts to bring this occupation to an end.” In his 2007 Democratic response to President George W. Bush’s State of the Union address, he strongly criticized the Bush Administration for the “predictable – and predicted – disarray that has followed” the invasion of Iraq.

He also warned the White House against making long-term commitments, including permanent bases in Iraq, without Congressional consent. In August 2008, he introduced the Iraq Security Agreement Act to require Congressional approval of any Iraq security agreements.



Senator Webb confers with Brig. Gen. Edward Cardon (center right), deputy commanding general (support) of the U.S. Army's 3rd Infantry Division, following a visit with soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division stationed in Iskandariyah, Iraq, November 30, 2007.

Senator Webb strongly supported the removal of our military forces from Iraq at the end of 2011, which was negotiated during the Bush administration as a result of the Strategic Framework Agreement and the Status of Forces Agreement. He summarized the failure of the Iraq model by saying, "We ended up as an occupying force in the middle of sectarian violence that followed our invasion. We've spent well over a trillion dollars and have seen the empowerment of Iran in the process."

In Afghanistan, Senator Webb consistently asked administration officials to clarify the ultimate objective of our military engagement and costly nation building programs there and to set clear parameters that would allow American withdrawal from combat in that country.

In December 2009, he wrote an op-ed for the *Washington Post* entitled, "A Plan in Need of Clarity," on the Administration's revised Afghanistan strategy. He wrote that U.S. strategy for Afghanistan must proceed based on the following realities: (1) the fragility of the Afghan government; (2) whether building a national army of a considerable scale is achievable; (3) whether an increased U.S. military presence will ultimately have a positive effect in the country, or whether we will be seen as an occupying force; and (4) the linkage of events in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

At a July 2010 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing, Senator Webb called for the Administration "to clearly show how the process it is putting into place in Afghanistan will degrade or defeat the threat of international terrorism. This can only be done by demonstrating measurable results, evidence of political stability; and an agreed upon conclusion to the U.S. military presence in Afghanistan."

"This was not just rhetorical condemnation of an unpopular war being waged by an unpopular president. Webb – no military or foreign policy neophyte – now backs his tough talk with a detailed plan of action that has the potential to salvage something from the morass that is Iraq. Listen to him. Let him lead."

— Bristol Herald Courier
Editorial: Webb's tough talk on Iraq,
February 21, 2007

"Our strategy is sound only if framed with clearly defined and attainable goals, an understandable end point and a regional perspective. We must also avoid the inherent risks of allowing our success in Afghanistan to be defined by events that are largely beyond our control."

—Senator Webb,
Washington Post Op-Ed: A Plan in Need of Clarity
December 4, 2009

In a June 2011 congressional hearing with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Senator Webb warned against committing the United States to long-term security agreements with Afghanistan—as he had with Iraq—without the full participation of the Congress.

“As he has so many times before on Iraq, Webb has identified the problem, and has suggested solutions grounded in simple sense beholden to no particular ideology. Is Washington so myopic that it can’t see the elephant at the foot of the bed, even when it’s broadcast on a Sunday morning chat show?”

—Virginian-Pilot

*Editorial: Webb’s New Question: In Iraq Forever?
December 4, 2007*

At a related committee hearing, he questioned whether nation-building efforts in Afghanistan were advancing the United States’ primary strategic objective of defeating Al Qaeda. “If there is any nation in the world that really needs nation-building right now, it is the United States,” he said. “When we are putting hundreds of billions of dollars into infrastructure in another country, it should only be done if we can articulate a vital national interest because we quite frankly need to be doing a lot more of that here.”

Senator Webb cautioned that the military’s approach in Afghanistan and Iraq was not a workable model for combating international terrorism in the future, stating that the best way to address international terrorism is through “mobility and maneuverability.”

“Webb’s juxtaposition of spending on Afghanistan and the state of things in the United States – a stalled economy, stubborn unemployment, an aging infrastructure – is made more often in online debates and private conversations than in official hearings. But it is a subtext for a debate likely to grow in the campaign for the 2012 elections and feature both Afghanistan and Iraq as money pits, object lessons for ill-conceived development projects, and lack of foresighted planning.”

—Bernd Debusmann,

*Reuters: U.S. nation-building in the wrong place?
June 10, 2011*



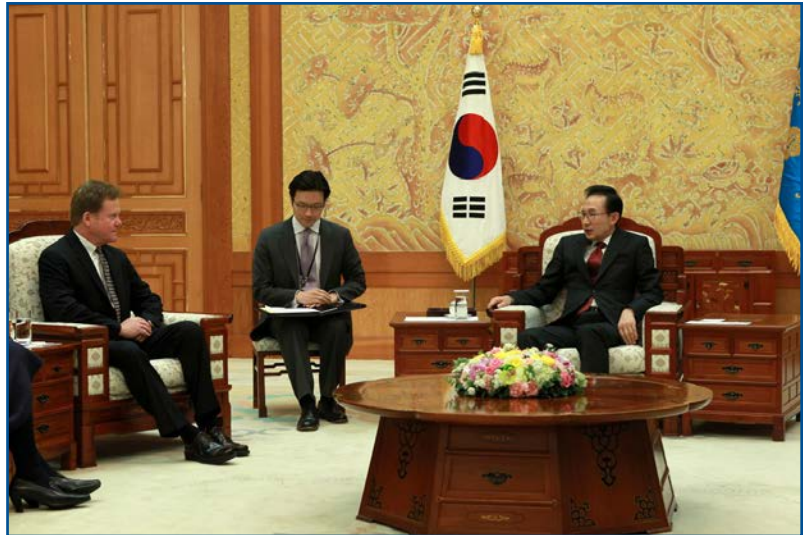
Senators Webb and Jon Tester confer with Dr. Barham Salih, Iraq’s deputy prime minister, during a meeting in Baghdad, November 30, 2007.

STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

“THE UNITED STATES HAS A CLEAR STRATEGIC INTEREST IN FACILITATING A MULTILATERAL, PEACEFUL APPROACH TOWARD RESOLVING THESE DISPUTES AND ENSURING OPEN ACCESS FOR COMMERCE AND ADHERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL LAW.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JUNE 10, 2011

Senator Webb has worked and traveled throughout Asia and the Pacific region for more than four decades as a Marine Corps officer, a defense planner, a journalist, a novelist, a senior official in the Department of Defense, a business consultant, and a member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee. In 2011, the United States announced a major foreign policy change to reflect what Senator Webb has long described as our country’s most important strategic interest: the stability and continued growth of the Asia-Pacific region.



Senator Webb meets with President Lee Myung-bak of the Republic of Korea, in Seoul, April 2011.



Senator and Mrs. Webb attend Easter Mass in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon), Vietnam, April 24, 2011.

As Chairman of the Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, Senator Webb met with the heads of state of every mainland country along the Southeast Asian rim, as well as Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia, to strengthen relations and demonstrate America’s commitment to the region. Amid ongoing regional volatility, he maintained that the presence of the United States—militarily, economically, and politically—is the essential balancing force.

Senator Webb has expressed concerns over sovereignty issues in the region for more than 15 years. During the final debate of his 2006 campaign for office, in the one question he was allowed to ask his opponent directly, he raised the issue of the Senkaku Islands, which are claimed by China and Japan. Upon assuming chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, his first hearing, in July 2009, was on maritime territorial disputes and sovereignty issues in Asia.

“China is seeking not only to expand its economic and political influence, but also to expand its territory,” Senator Webb warned at the hearing. “Of particular concern are China’s sovereignty claims in the East China Sea and South China Sea.... China has demonstrated its willingness to display its new military capabilities and at times to use force to claim maritime territory.”

In September 2010, the dispute over the Senkakus erupted after the Japanese Coast Guard detained a Chinese fishing boat in the East China Sea. Senator Webb reiterated his call for stronger American engagement to maintain stability in Asia.

“Recent military aggression toward Japan, Vietnam, and other nations over territorial disputes in regional waters demonstrates China’s willingness to use force to resolve diplomatic disagreements,” he said in November 2010. “As our allies increasingly look to the U.S. for support in such disputes, the administration should make clear its determination to see proper resolution to the ongoing sovereignty issues in the South China Sea.”

In 2011, China’s forceful actions in disputes with neighboring countries, including Vietnam, the Philippines and Japan drew international condemnation. In June 2011, Senator Webb introduced a resolution “deploring” the repeated use of force by China in the South China Sea and calling for a peaceful, multilateral resolution to maritime territorial disputes in Southeast Asia. The U.S. Senate unanimously approved the resolution—the first instance that it had taken an official position on China’s use of force. Senator Webb also called for the State Department to clarify U.S. treaty commitments to come to the aid of the Philippines in light of reports of China’s use of force in disputes with that nation.

In 2012, following a turbulent spring and summer in the South China Sea, and China’s announcement that it had established a prefectural-level government called Sansha on Woody Island located in the Paracel Islands chain to govern the entire South China Sea, Senator Webb called on the State Department to respond to this provocative action. In a July 2012 floor speech, Senator Webb argued that China’s recent actions to unilaterally assert control of disputed territories in the South China Sea may be a violation of international law.

In his final hearing on the subcommittee in September 2012, Senator Webb revisited this issue, noting that “What we have been witnessing over the past several years is not simply a series of tactical disputes. They are an accumulation of tactical incidents designed to pursue a larger strategic agenda. Virtually every country in the region understands that. It is the duty of the United States to respond, carefully and fully, to it.” He called on the administration to employ the “creative energy of our leadership” to seek the resolution of these escalating maritime territorial disputes.



Senator Webb tours a water treatment facility in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, that operates using American technology, and discussed the impact of rising salinity levels in the Mekong River Delta on the availability of fresh water for consumption, April 2011.

Senator Webb also led Congressional efforts to suspend the construction of hydroelectric dams planned for the main stem of the Mekong River, which could have devastating effects on the river and the more than 60 million people who depend upon it for food and livelihoods. In August 2009, Senator Webb visited all four Lower Mekong countries—Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. In Laos, he met with the Mekong River Commission, a regional body tasked with promoting development of the river in an environmentally sustainable manner. He continued to examine this issue during a July 2010 trip to Vietnam when he visited Can Tho in the Mekong Delta region, and in April 2011 when he met with the country representatives of the Mekong River Commission.

“Webb’s relationships and expertise in Asia have made him a go-to figure for policy makers both in the United States and abroad. According to a senior Asian diplomat... virtually every politician or industry leader from his country who comes to Washington wants to set up a meeting with Webb. And on Capitol Hill, fellow senators have regularly followed Webb’s lead on Asia policies, whether they pertain to trade, politics or the military.”

—CQ Weekly: *Turning America’s Gaze Toward Asia*
November 14, 2011

In September 2010, he chaired a Senate hearing on the potentially catastrophic consequences of plans for building main stem dams along the Mekong River.



Senator Webb giving the keynote address at the Inaugural Tokyo Washington Dialogue: The US-Japan Alliance after 3-11, September 13, 2011.

“Construction of hydropower dams is advancing recklessly in the absence of agreed-upon environmental standards and in a manner which could in fairly short order destroy the ecological and cultural environment of the region,” said Sen. Webb at the hearing. “China’s refusal to recognize the water rights of downstream nations is particularly troublesome, given its ability to hold back the water near its source. There is a disturbing lack of awareness in the U.S. and Asia of the immediacy of this threat.”

In November 2011, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously

approved Senator Webb’s resolution calling for the protection of the Mekong River Basin and for delaying mainstream dam construction along the river which flows through China, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. The resolution called on U.S. representatives at multilateral development banks to support strict adherence to international environmental standards for any financial assistance to hydropower dam projects on the mainstream of the Mekong River, and for the Lower Mekong Initiative to allocate more funding for infrastructure projects and to help identify sustainable alternatives to mainstream hydropower dams. Subsequently, the Mekong River Commission announced that construction of the controversial Xayaburi Dam would be postponed until additional environmental impact studies could be completed.

BRINGING BURMA BACK INTO THE WORLD COMMUNITY

“WE HAVE REACHED A PROFOUND MOMENT IN THE HISTORY OF BURMA AND OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT COUNTRY. WHEN SUCH MOMENTS OCCUR, HISTORY TEACHES US THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO ACT, AND TO ACT IN A WAY THAT IS CLEAR AND DECISIVE.”

—SENATOR WEBB, APRIL 11, 2012

In a groundbreaking trip following months of careful preparation, Senator Webb visited Burma in 2009. He was the first senior U.S. official to travel there in more than a decade, and remains the only American official ever to meet with General Than Shwe, the leader of the country’s former military regime. During that visit, Senator Webb also met with Thein Sein, who now serves as President, and Aung San Suu Kyi, who at that time remained under house arrest. The trip reinforced observations made during his first visit to the country in 2001—that restricted diplomatic and commercial ties between our countries had also limited our connections with the Burmese people, and had prevented the liberalization that might follow commercial and personal interactions with free societies. On his return, he chaired a Foreign Relations Committee oversight hearing on U.S. – Burma relations at which he called for increased confidence-building gestures in order to pursue better relations between the two governments.



Senator Webb is the first and only American leader to meet with Burma’s ruling General Than Shwe (right), August 2009.

“Mr. Webb is right that American policy – Washington tries to isolate the junta, while Myanmar’s neighbors pursue engagement – has failed to bring change.”

—New York Times Editorial: Visit to Myanmar
August 18, 2009

In December 2011, the United States announced it would resume full diplomatic ties with Burma following significant political and economic reforms in the country. At an international press conference on restoring full diplomatic relations with Burma, a U.S. State Department official stated, “Senator



Senator Webb meets with Aung San Suu Kyi who was under house arrest in Rangoon, Burma, August 2009.

“Senator Webb did something that Ban Ki-moon couldn’t do.”

—David I. Steinberg,
a Burma specialist
and professor
at Georgetown
University’s School
of Foreign Service,
in an interview with
the Washington Post,
August 16, 2009

Webb has pioneered many of these actions. He was one of the first senators on the ground pushing for the release of political prisoners, asking for the United States to engage actively. The Secretary [of State] wanted me to underscore our gratitude for his service not only in the Senate but basically as a diplomat in the Senate, and that has been significant.”

Senator Webb made his third visit to Burma at a pivotal moment after the country's historic parliamentary by-elections on April 1, 2012. During this important return visit, Senator Webb again met with President Thein Sein, the leaders of both Houses of Parliament, government ministers, business leaders, political party representatives, journalists, and the owners of major news media. He also traveled to the Bago Region Government Office to observe and discuss peace negotiations with representatives from Burma's central government and the Karen National Union. He then chaired a subcommittee hearing on April 26 with senior officials from the Departments of Treasury and State and USAID, as well as outside experts, to provide a clearer understanding of the range of sanctions in place and the obstacles to removing them. Following the hearing, the Obama Administration announced that it would ease sanctions on financial transactions and investments. Senator Webb continued to push all sanctions to be lifted.



Senator Webb observed the government of Burma's peace negotiations and discussed related issues with peace delegates from the Karen National Union, shown here in the city of Bago, during a three-day visit to Burma, April 2012.



"Mr. Webb deserves applause in two hemispheres for boldly trying to carve a detour around the status quo, the least promising road to Burma's freedom."

—Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star
Editorial: Sen. Webb's 'dammit' diplomacy, August 19, 2008

[Left:] Senator Jim Webb meets with President Thein Sein in Burma's capital city of Naypyidaw, Naypyidaw, Burma (Myanmar), April 9, 2012.

RE-ALIGNING MILITARY BASING IN EAST ASIA

“THE SUCCESS OF AMERICA’S DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS IN ASIA IS GUARANTEED BY THE STABILITY OUR FORWARD-DEPLOYED MILITARY FORCES PROVIDE AND BY OUR CONTINUING CLOSE ALLIANCES WITH JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA. IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST THAT THIS MATTER BE RESOLVED BOTH QUICKLY AND SMARTLY, FOR THE WELL-BEING OF OUR ALLIANCE AND THE STABILITY OF THE REGION.”

—SENATOR WEBB, MAY 25, 2012

As Senator Webb has long noted, the success of America’s diplomatic, economic, and military relationships in Asia is guaranteed by the stability our forward-deployed military forces provide and by our continuing close alliances with Japan and South Korea. However, the failure to resolve a 15-year dispute surrounding U.S. military bases in Okinawa has resulted in a volatile political debate in Japan with repercussions for U.S.-Japan relations.

Senator Webb visited both islands repeatedly during his Senate term. In 2011, he drafted a set of basing recommendations for East Asia in order to ensure a strong U.S. presence in the region while reducing costs and impacts on local communities.



Senator Webb confers with the Minister of Defense of Japan, Toshimi Kitazawa, during a series of meetings with senior Japanese defense, foreign relations, and political officials in Tokyo, February 15, 2010.



Senator Webb receives an aerial tour of Okinawa to examine military basing plans, February 16, 2010.

These recommendations were based on his long-standing interaction with the Pacific region that spans more than 40 years, including service as a Marine Corps infantry officer during the Vietnam war, a defense planner who wrote a region-wide facilities analysis for the Governor of Guam in 1974, and a Department of Defense official whose responsibilities included evaluating mobilization scenarios for then-Secretary of Defense Weinberger.

Senator Webb’s recommendations were supported by Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Levin and ranking member John McCain and incorporated in the Fiscal Year 2012

National Defense Authorization Act. The recommendations sought to ensure that DOD force planning and realignment proposals for the region were realistic, workable, and affordable. A key recommendation was to move U.S. Marine Corps aviation assets assigned at Futenma into Kadena Air Base, while dispersing a percentage of Air Force assets now at Kadena to other locations in the Pacific region. Senator Webb also worked to ensure that an independent study of the overall U.S. presence in the Asia-Pacific, including an analysis of current and alternative basing plans, was incorporated in the final 2012 NDAA signed into law.



Japan Ground Self-Defense Force Lt. Gen. Eiji Kimizuka (right), commanding general of Joint Task Force Tohoku, greets Senators Webb and Carl Levin during their visit to Camp Sendai for a briefing on Japan's ground recovery operations following the devastating March 2011 earthquake and tsunami. The senators surveyed areas affected by the disaster during their visit to Japan in April 2011.



Senator Webb (left) and Senator Carl Levin are briefed by Lt. Col. Robert Platt on Marine Corps plans for the Futenma Replacement Facility airfield currently proposed for construction at Camp Schwab on Okinawa. The senators visited U.S. military installations on Okinawa as part of their consideration of Department of Defense plans to realign Marine Corps forces in East Asia, Camp Schwab, Okinawa, Japan, April 27, 2011.

Senator Webb successfully included additional basing provisions in the 2013 National Defense Authorization Act, which expressed the Senate Armed Services Committee's unwillingness to authorize funding for Defense Department realignment plans in Asia until the committee was provided details needed to assess the strategic impact, feasibility and affordability of the lay-down's initiatives.

In April 2012, Senator Webb, in concert with Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Levin and Ranking Member Senator John McCain, successfully amended language in the Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee regarding U.S. force posture to ensure that the recommendations and studies enacted by Congress would receive full consideration before the governments finalized the basing agreements. Following concerns raised by Senator Webb over the costs of relocating 8,000 Marines and their families to Guam, the Joint Statement also revised the earlier plan and reduced the number of permanently-assigned units to be redeployed there.

PROPER SUPPORT FOR U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL

“AS THE SON OF AN AIR FORCE OFFICER, THE FATHER OF A MARINE, AND A MARINE COMBAT VETERAN MYSELF, I UNDERSTAND THE SACRIFICES THAT OUR SERVICEMEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES MAKE EVERY DAY.”

—SENATOR WEBB, OCTOBER 23, 2009

As Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee, Senator Webb drew on his extensive experience and expertise in military and defense matters to strengthen congressional oversight over a wide range of issues relating to the welfare, professional development, and quality of life of servicemembers and their families.

In 2007, as repeated combat deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan with inadequate time at home placed a heavy toll on U.S. troops, Senator Webb introduced the Dwell Time Amendment. The amendment required that military members have at least the same amount of time at home as the length of their previous tour overseas, a one-to-one deployment ratio as a minimal “safety net” given historical ratios of 2:1. The amendment included a similar provision addressing rotational cycles for members of the Guard and Reserve. The amendment was twice filibustered by Senate Republicans, despite having a clear majority of 56 votes each time. But Senator Webb had succeeded in putting the issue at the forefront of the national agenda. Subsequently, the Bush administration adjusted its dwell time policies to give troops more time at home.



Senator Webb was honored with the highest award granted by the Military Officers Association of America (MOAA) in recognition of his strong support for servicemembers and their families and his legislative leadership on the Post-9/11 GI Bill, April 21, 2009.



Senator Webb meets with members of the Military Coalition representing more than 30 different organizations to discuss issues affecting national security, military personnel, and veterans affairs at the Fleet Reserve Association in Alexandria, Virginia, February 17, 2012.

In 2010, Senator Webb secured full protection of military health care for servicemembers, veterans and their families when the U.S. Senate unanimously approved his TRICARE Affirmation Act. The legislation fixed the new health care reform law and ensured that TRICARE and Department of Defense non-appropriated fund health care beneficiaries would not be required to buy additional coverage.

“Anyone wondering why the debate over the Iraq war is so frustrating and likely to remain so need only look at the choice the U.S. Senate faced this week. Sen. Jim Webb, D-Va., proposed an amendment that, on its face, no reasonable American could object to.”

—USA Today Editorial: A Soldier's Burden, September 21, 2007



Senator Webb visits Fort Lee in Prince George County, Va., August 2010.

"We're very grateful for Sen. Webb's leadership in ensuring the law explicitly states that TRICARE meets coverage requirements under the new national health reform legislation."

*—Vice Admiral Norbert Ryan, Jr., USN (Ret.),
President, Military Officers Association of America (MOAA)
April 13, 2010*

Senator Webb's strong opposition to proposed increases in health care fees for military retirees led to limits in the 2012 defense bill on the annual increase of the TRICARE Prime enrollment fees. His actions were applauded by veterans' organizations across the country.

Senator Webb's Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee wrote a provision in the 2013 defense bill blocking a controversial proposal by the Department of Defense to establish enrollment fees for TRICARE Standard and TRICARE for Life, or to increase TRICARE deductibles or the annual catastrophic cap. The bill also established a Commission to review military pay and benefits, including the retirement benefit.

Senator Webb supported legislation aimed at improving suicide-prevention programs in the Department of Defense and each branch of the armed forces. He continually advocated aggressive suicide awareness and prevention programs to deal with this worrisome problem.



Senator Webb meets with staff and received a tour of Norfolk Naval Shipyard in Portsmouth, Virginia, August 28, 2009.

"Returning veterans can make a tremendous contribution to our communities and workforce, and we must ensure that they have the proper assistance — with both mental and physical health programs — during the critical transition period to civilian life."

—Senator Webb, May 14, 2012

"On behalf of the 368,000 members of MOAA, I am writing to express MOAA's support for your amendment that would support our military men and women by establishing standards for dwell time between consecutive operational deployments. MOAA is very concerned that steps must be taken to protect our most precious military asset — the all-volunteer force — from having to bear such a disproportionate share of national wartimes sacrifice."

—Vice Admiral Norbert Ryan, Jr., USN (Ret.), President of the Military Officers Association of America (MOAA), in a letter to Senator Webb, July 10, 2007

KEEPING THE CARRIER IN NORFOLK

“WHEN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION FIRST ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO RELOCATE AN AIRCRAFT CARRIER FROM NORFOLK TO MAYPORT, FLORIDA, I STOOD TOGETHER WITH MY FELLOW FORMER NAVY SECRETARY, SENATOR JOHN WARNER, IN THE STRONG BELIEF THAT KEEPING THE CARRIER IN NORFOLK WAS BOTH STRATEGICALLY AND FISCALLY JUSTIFIED. I HAVE NEVER WAVERED FROM THIS POSITION, AND THE NAVY’S HOMEPORTING DECISION AFFIRMS THE STRATEGIC AND FISCAL LOGIC BEHIND IT.”

—SENATOR WEBB, FEBRUARY 13, 2012

For more than four decades, Naval Station Norfolk has served as the homeport for the Navy’s nuclear-powered aircraft carriers assigned to the U.S. Atlantic Fleet. In January 2009, the Navy announced a proposal to relocate a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier from Naval Station Norfolk to a new homeport in Mayport, Florida. Senator Webb, a former Secretary of the Navy, consistently advocated retaining the Navy’s current East Coast assignments for nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, describing the Navy’s plan to create a redundant carrier homeport at Mayport as “fiscally irresponsible and strategically unnecessary.”

Senator Webb’s opposition to the Navy’s plan subjected it to intense scrutiny, marked at the outset by his release of a 24-page critical assessment in January 2009 and repeated public calls to defense officials for strategic and fiscal justification and reassessment. In February 2012, after years of pressure from Senator Webb and his Virginia colleagues, the Navy announced its decision to indefinitely suspend its controversial relocation plan.



Senator Webb, joined by Senator John Warner, speaks at a press conference calling on the Navy to delay its decision to create a second East Coast homeport for a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier at Mayport, Florida, November 20, 2008.



The Nimitz-class nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower (CVN 69) approaches Norfolk Naval Shipyard for a six-month planned incremental availability for maintenance and upgrades, January 22, 2008. Credit: U.S. Navy photo by Bill Black.

“While senior Pentagon officials have agreed to review — and potentially overrule — the Navy’s January 2009 decision, Sen. Jim Webb, D-Va., has stepped up pressure to keep all five East Coast carriers in his home state.”

—Navy Times: Webb: Carrier move to Mayport irresponsible, December 30, 2009

“This is a great victory for military families. Senator Webb is a true military champion, and ... the VFW is most grateful for [his] leadership to recognize and protect all military TRICARE programs under the national healthcare law.”

—Thomas J. Tradewell Sr., National Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S. (VFW), April 13, 2010

PROMOTING ECONOMIC FAIRNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In an era where far too much power and money has gravitated to the very top, Senator Webb has repeatedly spoken about the larger need for economic fairness and social justice. “When one looks at the health of our economy, it’s almost as if we are living in two different countries,” he stated in his nationally televised response to President Bush’s 2007 State of the Union address. “In the early days of our republic, President Andrew Jackson established an important principle of American-style democracy—that we should measure the health of our society not at its apex, but at its base. Not with the numbers that come out of Wall Street, but with the living conditions that exist on Main Street. We must recapture that spirit today.”

The prism of fairness dictated every policy decision Senator Webb made.

POST-9/11 GI BILL

“THERE WAS A SIMPLE PREMISE BEHIND THIS BILL: GIVE THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED TODAY THE SAME BENEFITS GIVEN TO THE ‘GREATEST GENERATION’ FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II. IN THE 1940S, THE FIRST GI BILL HELPED TRANSFORM NOTIONS OF EQUALITY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. OUR REWARD IS GOING TO BE TWENTY YEARS FROM NOW WHEN WE CAN SEE THE SUCCESS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE SERVING TODAY BECAUSE OF THE POST-9/11 GI BILL.”

—SENATOR WEBB, MAY 3, 2010

Senator Webb introduced the Post-9/11 GI Bill his first day in office to provide those who have served since 9/11 with the most comprehensive educational benefits since World War II. Against strong opposition, he was able to guide this historic legislation through the Senate in 16 months. Senator Webb began with a simple concept—if these men and women were to be called the next “Greatest Generation,” then our nation should express appreciation in a proper way by giving them the same educational benefits as those who served during World War II. For every dollar in tax remunerations that Americans paid for that World War II GI Bill, our country received \$7 back in terms of the tax payments from these individuals because of the type of future they were able to achieve.

Senator Webb brought on three key senators as original cosponsors: Senator John Warner of Virginia; Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska; and Senator Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey—two World War II veterans, two Vietnam veterans, two Republicans, and two Democrats.

In the face of opposition from the Bush administration, Senator Webb led an unprecedented coalition of Democratic and Republican Members of Congress, major



Senator Webb delivers remarks at George Mason University celebrating the implementation of the Post-9/11 GI Bill, August 3, 2009.

“Webb’s legislation embodies aspects of bipartisanship and basic fairness that are all too rare in today’s political climate. Most importantly, it will help today’s veterans as they make the transition to civilian life and give our embattled economy a proven tonic when it needs it most.”

—Roll Call Op-Ed: Congress Owes Veterans a 21st Century GI Bill, by Tom Ridge and Bob Kerrey, May 15, 2008

veterans' service organizations, thousands of Iraq and Afghanistan veterans and the higher education community to push for the bill's passage.

Representatives from the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (IAVA), the Disabled American Veterans (DAV), the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA), AMVETS, and the Student Veterans of America (SVA) joined Senator

Webb at a press conference on April 29, 2008, in support of comprehensive educational benefits for post-9/11 veterans in the fiscal year 2009 budget.

In May, Senator Webb's legislation prevailed in both the House and Senate. Signed into law on June 30, 2008 and implemented one year later, it offers returning servicemembers up to 36 months of benefits including payment of tuition, room and board, fees and educational costs, plus a \$1,000 a month stipend while enrolled in full-time training. As of November 1, 2012, Post-9/11 GI Bill benefits had been awarded to more than 800,000 veterans.

"In my lifetime, the original GI Bill was one of this nation's proudest accomplishments and one of its most solemn commitments. We must now renew that commitment to a new generation of men and women who have served our country with extraordinary courage and distinction. In so doing, they will achieve the better lives they so richly deserve. And we will secure a better America."

—Jerome Kohlberg, Wall Street Journal Op-Ed: *We Need a New GI Bill*, January 25, 2008



Senator Webb joins hundreds of veterans, members of Congress, and veterans' service organizations in calling for a Post-9/11 GI Bill for returning Iraq and Afghanistan veterans, April 29, 2008.

"Mr. Webb is right when he argues that the education of the nation's veterans must be considered a cost of war and one that the nation can't afford not to pay."

—Washington Post: *Reward for Service: Veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan deserve an improved GI bill*, November 11, 2007



Senators Webb, Frank Lautenberg, John Warner, Chuck Hagel, Majority Leader Harry Reid and supporting veterans organizations hold a press conference to push for passage of the Post-9/11 GI Bill, February 13, 2008.



Senator Webb speaks to students who are attending Virginia Commonwealth University on the Post-9/11 GI Bill, March 22, 2011.

"Passing this legislation is not only the right thing to do; it's the smart thing to do. To doom the bill because of its complexity, expense and administrative burden is shortsighted. Why fatten the wallets of recruits when we can offer them a better future?"

—*Virginian-Pilot: Better GI Bill best deal for U.S., February 19, 2008*

In 2012, Senator Webb introduced bipartisan legislation to protect the integrity of the Post-9/11 GI Bill from widely reported abuses by certain schools. As he noted, similar abuses of the World War II GI Bill, especially among for-profit vocational schools, led to follow-on restrictions of that program and fewer benefits for those who served in Korea and Vietnam. In the interest of preserving the greatest GI Bill veterans and servicemembers have ever had, his legislation would require schools participating in educational assistance programs through both the Department of Veterans Affairs and Department of Defense to meet the same educational standards currently required for Title IV federal programs, such as Pell Grants.

"Political promises are easy to make, harder to keep. So it is a testament to the tenacity of Sen. James Webb (D-Va.) and the justice of his cause that Congress has enacted a new GI Bill for war veterans. The freshman senator's ability to work across party lines means that the men and women who risk their lives for America's well-being will, in return, get expanded education benefits, along with opportunities for better futures."

—*Washington Post: What the GIs Deserve, June 29, 2008*

"The VFW had been pushing for a new GI Bill for 10 years. We had called, written, testified, and met with every Member and staffer. We were greeted with sympathetic ears, but what we needed was a champion in the corner of America's newest 'Greatest Generation.' We needed someone who could reason and negotiate across party lines like a gentleman, yet push through obstacles with bulldog tenacity. That someone was Jim Webb."

—*George Lisicki, Fmr. Commander-In-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) of the United States, August 15, 2008*

"The VFW believes that up front counseling and a centralized complaint process for reporting fraud, waste and abuse are key to protecting veterans' GI Bill benefits. Senator Webb understands this and has made these two provisions cornerstones in his bill to help protect today's student-veterans."

—*Bob Wallace, Executive Director of Veterans of Foreign Wars, March 8, 2012*

TAXPAYER FAIRNESS

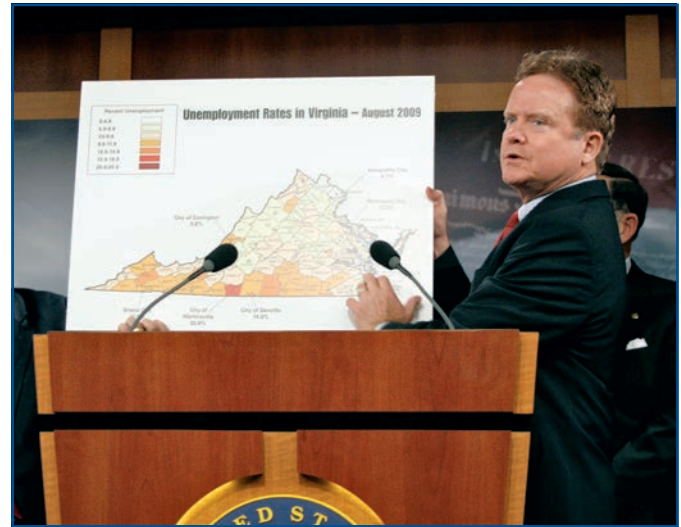
“THE AVERAGE AMERICAN SHOULD HAVE AN EQUAL CHANCE TO SUCCEED FINANCIALLY IN AN EVER-DIVERGING SOCIETY. TO THAT END, WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT WE ARE NOT PLACING THE BURDEN OF HIGHER TAXES ON THOSE WHO MAKE THEIR LIVING THROUGH REGULAR, EARNED INCOME WHILE PROTECTING THE WEALTHIEST INVESTORS AND FUND MANAGERS.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JANUARY 18, 2012

In September 2008 as the financial crisis crippled the economy, Senator Webb urged that any legislation granting the federal government the authority to purchase \$700 billion in bad assets include a strengthened regulatory structure to prevent future market instability and a cap on executive compensation in companies being rescued by the American taxpayer. Senator Webb had been warning for years that the excessive practices on Wall Street were risking the United States' economic position in the world economic community and were unfair to the average worker.

In January 2009, Senator Webb introduced an amendment to fairly tax carried interest, which is the compensation received by hedge fund managers based on the profits from the assets they manage.

Carried interest allows hedge fund managers' income to be taxed at low capital gains rates, for services that many, including the editorial boards of *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, and the *Financial Times*, argue should be taxed at a higher rate as actual income. Senator Webb's proposal would have generated an estimated \$11.2 billion in revenue over five years.



Senator Webb speaks about Virginia's unemployment rate at a press conference in the U.S. Capitol, October 20, 2009.



Senator Webb delivers remarks at a press conference with Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA) on introduction of their legislation, *The Taxpayer Fairness Act*, February 4, 2010.

“Regardless of the success of reforms of incentives in – and regulation of – the financial sector, it is reasonable to recoup not only the direct fiscal costs of saving banks but even some of the wider fiscal costs. The time has come for some carefully judged populism. A one-off windfall tax on bonuses would make the pain ahead for society so very much more bearable. Try it: millions will love it.”

—Financial Times Op-Ed: *Tax the windfall banking bonuses*, November 19, 2009

In February 2010, Senator Webb introduced the Taxpayer Fairness Act, which would have placed a one-time, 50 percent windfall tax on excessive bonuses paid to executives working for financial institutions that received more than \$5 billion from American taxpayers in 2009 from the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP).

"It is reasonable to ask those who are benefiting on Wall Street to help pay back the taxpayers whose investment made the success of these institutions possible."

—Senator Webb, February 12, 2010

In a March 2010 *Washington Post* op-ed, entitled "We helped the bankers. Now it's their turn," Senator Webb wrote, "Billions of dollars in bonuses paid recently to financial-sector executives are a direct result of the TARP bailout and generous Federal Reserve policies constructed during the crisis. The financial sector recovered rather quickly, but not without a vast amount of help. The time has come to include taxpayers in the rewards of a recovery that would never have happened without their money."

Dan Gerstein of *Forbes* endorsed this approach, "Taxpayers fronted a handful of bankrupt companies trillions of dollars with almost no strings attached... Since we assumed all the risk, 50% of the bonus payout seems more than reasonable, especially when you consider it would only apply to wealthier executives. That's not retribution, as some bank apologists will claim; it's repayment."

"Webb's premise – that American society is best measured by the prosperity of those at the base of the economic pyramid, not those at its apex – helped propel him to Washington."

—Richmond Times-Dispatch: *Obama lifts fairness theme from Webb, January 25, 2012*

During national debates on income inequality in early 2012, Senator Webb reiterated that to restore economic fairness Congress needed to fix the tax formula for capital gains and dividends, which are passive income and taxed at lower rates.

"To be frank, the financial sector has enormous power in both parties in terms of re-election campaigns, and it inhibits the debate we need to have," said Senator Webb. "So the people are ahead of the politicians on this; people are looking for fairness. If I go out and work every day—whether I make \$50,000 a year or \$5 million a year—the tax rate I pay should be equivalent to someone who can sit back with passive investments and accumulated wealth. The key here is if we agree we have to raise revenues in order to fix our economic situation—and I believe we do—then we have to start with capital gains and dividends."

Senator Webb consistently argued against raising taxes on ordinary, earned income at any level. In line with Congressional Research Service findings that changes in capital gains from investments and dividends were the largest contributor to the increase in overall income inequality over the last decade, Senator Webb supported numerous proposals to close tax loopholes and supported raising the rates on capital gains and dividends.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

“THIS IS NOT A POLITICAL QUESTION; IT IS A LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE THAT AFFECTS EVERY COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTRY AND CALLS FOR US TO ACT. WE CAN BE SMARTER ABOUT WHOM WE INCARCERATE, IMPROVE PUBLIC SAFETY OUTCOMES, MAKE BETTER USE OF TAXPAYER DOLLARS, AND BRING GREATER FAIRNESS TO OUR JUSTICE SYSTEM.”

—SENATOR WEBB, FEBRUARY 8, 2011

In the United States, more than 7 million people are incarcerated or on probation or parole, including 2.3 million in jails and prisons—the highest rate of reported incarceration anywhere in the world. At the same time, transnational gangs continue to threaten many communities. Still, recent polls found that sixty percent of Americans feel less safe in their own neighborhoods than they did a year ago. As a nation, we spend a staggering \$68 billion every year just to keep people in jail or prison.

Senator Webb’s commitment to reforming the U.S. criminal justice system stems from his days as a Marine Corps officer, sitting on courts-martial and “thinking about the interrelationship between discipline and fairness.” Later, as an attorney, he spent six years in pro bono representation of a young African American Marine accused of war crimes in Vietnam, eventually clearing the man’s name three years after he took his own life.

Twenty-eight years ago, while working on special assignment for *PARADE Magazine*, Webb was the first American journalist allowed inside the Japanese prison system, where he “became aware of the systemic dysfunctions of the U.S. system.” Japan, with half of the United States’ population at that time, had only 40,000 sentenced prisoners in jail compared to the U.S.’s 580,000.

Following a series of high-profile hearings, Senator Webb introduced the bipartisan National Criminal Justice Commission Act in March 2009 to create a blue-ribbon bipartisan commission charged with



Senator Webb and Richmond Mayor Dwight Jones listen to Richmond jail staff, April 15, 2009.



Senator Webb visits the Bragg Hill Family Life Center in Fredericksburg, Va. The center is a faith-based organization serving at-risk youth and disadvantaged adults in the area. April 14, 2009.

“This country puts too many people behind bars for too long. Most elected officials, afraid of being tarred as soft on crime, ignore these problems. Sen. Jim Webb, a Democrat of Virginia, is now courageously stepping into the void, calling for a national commission to re-assess criminal justice policy. Other members of Congress should show the same courage and rally to the cause.”

—New York Times: *Sen. Webb’s Call for Prison Reform*, January 1, 2009



Senator Webb leads a press conference in support of the National Criminal Justice Commission Act with Senators Orrin Hatch and Arlen Specter and representatives from the International Association of Chiefs of Police, March 9, 2010.

“Some say Webb, representing historically conservative Virginia, is threatening his own political future. But if he can get us off the dime, thinking and acting fresh on crucial prison and drug issues, he’ll be serving America as vitally as the bravest of his erstwhile Marine colleagues.”

—Neil Peirce, *Washington Post Op-Ed: Webb Leads the Charge for Much-Needed Drug, Prison Reform*, April 5, 2009

undertaking an 18-month comprehensive review of the nation’s criminal justice system. That same month, Senator Webb wrote a cover story for *PARADE Magazine* titled, “What’s Wrong with Our Prisons?”

“With 5% of the world’s population, our country now houses nearly 25% of the world’s reported prisoners,” wrote Senator Webb. “With so many of our citizens in prison compared with the rest of the world, there are only two possibilities: Either we are home to the most evil people on earth or we are doing something different—and vastly counterproductive.”

The National Criminal Justice Commission would tackle this problem by studying all areas of the criminal justice system including criminal justice costs, practices and policies. After conducting the review, the commission would make recommendations designed to prevent, deter and reduce crime and violence, improve cost-effectiveness and ensure the interests of justice.

“It is imperative that the National Criminal Justice Commission Act be approved in a timely fashion. For far too long our nation’s law enforcement and criminal justice system has lacked a strategic plan that will guide and integrate public safety and homeland security’s effort in the years ahead.”

—Chief Michael J. Carroll, *Former International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) President*, February 24, 2011



Senator Webb delivers a keynote address to The Brookings Institution’s Hamilton Project in a forum examining the challenges of prison re-entry into society, National Press Club, December 5, 2008.

“Sen. James Webb (D-Va.) held a remarkable set of hearings last October on mass incarceration in the United States. In his opening statement, Webb noted that ‘the United States has embarked on one of the largest public policy experiments in our history, yet this experiment remains shockingly absent from public debate.’”

—Marie Gottschalk, *The Washington Post Op-Ed: Two Separate Societies: One in Prison, One Not*, April 15, 2008

Over several years, Senator Webb's office directly engaged in a dialogue about the commission with more than 100 organizations, winning endorsements from such disparate groups as the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Heritage Foundation, Sentencing Project, Fraternal Order of Police, NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, and Prison Fellowship. This legislation and the efforts behind it raised the national consciousness on the need for significant reform.

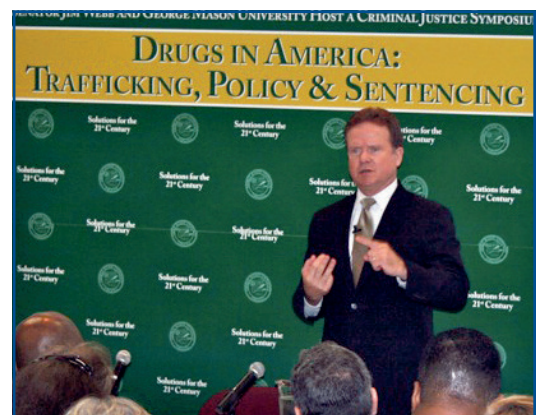
"I write this from the perspective of a conservative who has always been comfortable as a reformer... I don't believe this is an ideological issue at all, but one on which people of good will, conservative and liberal alike, could join forces to make prisons more effective, humane and successful... We will certainly give you all the help we can to build support for your legislation."

—Charles Colson, Founder,
Prison Fellowship, July 22, 2009

The bill was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee in January 2010, with 39 bipartisan cosponsors. In July, it passed the U.S. House of Representatives by voice vote, with the support of Rep. Bill Delahunt (D-MA) and Rep. Lamar Smith (R-TX), who later became Chair of the House Judiciary Committee. Despite strong bipartisan support, the bill was blocked from coming to a vote in the full Senate.

Senator Webb reintroduced the bill in February 2011, but in October, Senate Republicans filibustered it. Consequently, although the legislation received a clear majority of votes in the Senate (57-43), it was not adopted.

Conservative columnist Reihan Salam called the Republican filibuster an "absolute scandal" in the *National Review*. A series of editorials praising Senator Webb's efforts ran in papers from the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* to the *New York Times*.



Senator Webb and the Administration of Justice Department of George Mason University host a symposium entitled "Drugs in America: Trafficking, Policy and Sentencing." More than 200 participants attended the interactive event, submitting an equal number of questions to Senator Webb, who served as moderator, Arlington, Va., October 15, 2008.

PRAISE FOR THE NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMMISSION ACT

"But Mr Webb is now America's leading advocate of prison reform. He has co-sponsored a bill to create a blue-ribbon commission to report on America's prisons. And he has spoken to in every possible venue, from the Senate to local political meetings. Mr Webb is not content with incremental reform. He is willing to tackle what he calls 'the elephant in the bedroom'—America's willingness to imprison people for drug offences."

—The Economist: *A Nation of Jailbirds*, April 2, 2009

“National politicians have been eerily silent about the costs of our lock-’em-up-mentality — both to taxpayers and on our communities. Thankfully, that hasn’t deterred Webb.”

—Roger Chesley, Virginian-Pilot Op-Ed: Senator elevates debate on failed drug, prison policies, October 13, 2008

“This week, the Washington Post noted how Webb’s spirited support for prison reform is an unlikely cause for a politician from Virginia—which was known for much of the past 20 years as a get tough, hang-’em-high state when it came to criminal offenders. ...Webb should be congratulated. For those of us in Washington who sometimes forget what it looks like, this is called leadership.”

—John Aloysius Farrell, U.S. News and World Report: James Webb Shows Leadership Regarding Prison Reform, January 2, 2009

“Our nation’s public safety and criminal justice agencies desperately need this roadmap, this blueprint, that will guide our efforts to consistently and effectively aid state, local, and tribal law enforcement in reducing crime and protecting the homeland in the 21st century.”

—Chief Mark A. Marshall, then-Vice President, International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), March 9, 2010

“There are two types of people in America: those, like Webb, who think the criminal-justice system desperately needs to be fixed, and those who haven’t been paying attention.”

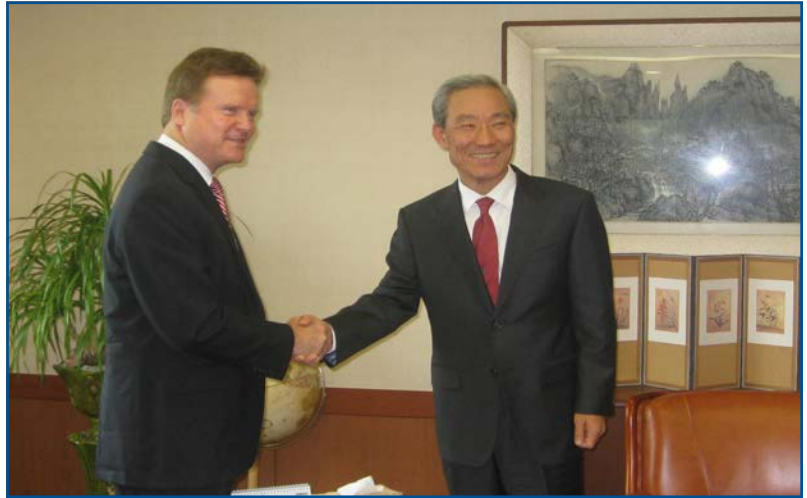
—Newsweek: Jim Webb’s Criminal-Justice Crusade, September 11, 2011

ADVOCATING FAIR TRADE POLICY

“WITH STAGNANT WAGES AND GOOD JOBS DISAPPEARING, AMERICA’S WORKERS NEED A NEW TRADE POLICY THAT WILL PROMOTE JOB CREATION AND WAGE GROWTH AT HOME.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JUNE 12, 2007

Senator Webb worked to ensure that U.S. trade policy prioritizes workers’ rights at home and abroad, and advances the geopolitical and economic interests of the United States. For several years, Senator Webb played a major role in working with U.S. diplomatic officials, the Korean government and his Democratic colleagues to secure approval of the vital U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement. The agreement was finally passed by the Congress and signed by President Obama in 2011. The United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement will help American industries and is a strong affirmation to our ally, the Republic of Korea, and the world that the United States is committed to security and prosperity in the Asia Pacific region, open markets and the rules-based trading system. Since South Korea is the United States’ seventh largest trading partner, successful implementation of the trade agreement will enhance bilateral trade through increased exports and investments needed for American businesses to compete for consumers abroad.



Senator Webb meets with Trade Minister Kim Jong-hoon of the Republic of Korea on a trip to discuss the pending U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement and other issues, May 2010.

“I believe that trade can help America’s working men and women, but it requires that everyone play by the rules.”

—Senator Webb, August 1, 2012

Senator Webb also strongly supported the enforcement of trade laws to combat unfair practices by our nation’s trading partners. He encouraged the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. International Trade Commission to maintain tariffs on imports that are sold at prices that violate trade rules or are unfairly subsidized, damaging industries in Virginia and across the country. In 2010, he also cosponsored

“China has been manipulating its currency for years, unfairly subsidizing its exports at the expense of not only jobs here in the United States, but also to the detriment of the world economy. This bill provides the tools to address these practices and properly level the playing field.”

—Senator Webb, March 16, 2010

the Currency Exchange Rate Oversight Reform Act (S. 3134), which provides for meaningful sanctions to be applied to countries, such as China, that manipulate their currency and cause job losses in the United States. The bill was re-introduced in 2011 and, with Senator Webb’s support, the Senate passed it on a bipartisan vote of 63-35.

“We have a responsibility to provide Trade Adjustment Assistance to these workers to assist with the difficult transition to new jobs at a time when Virginia’s manufacturing industry is being hit the hardest... In addition to providing immediate support for these laid off workers, we must address the larger issue of enforcement of U.S. trade laws.”

—Senator Webb, November 21, 2008

Through Senator Webb’s efforts, workers across Virginia have received help through the Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program. Senator Webb supported efforts to help workers who have lost their jobs due to trade to get re-trained through the TAA. TAA provides career counseling, up to two years of training, income support during training, job search assistance, and relocation allowances to qualifying workers who become unemployed for trade-related reasons.

ADULT EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

“THE AMERICAN WORKPLACE HAS SEEN MANY CHANGES OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS, AND THE NEED FOR WELL-TRAINED AND HIGHLY SKILLED WORKERS HAS INCREASED DRAMATICALLY. AT THE SAME TIME, OUR ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEM HAS NOT KEPT PACE WITH THIS CHANGING WORKFORCE. ONE OF THE BIGGEST IMPACTS WE CAN HAVE ON OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE IS TO ENSURE THAT AS MANY WORKERS AS POSSIBLE ARE ABLE TO IMPROVE THEIR SKILLS AND OBTAIN THE CREDENTIALS NEEDED TO COMPETE IN OUR GLOBAL ECONOMY.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JULY 16, 2009

According to the National Commission on Adult Literacy, 80-90 million U.S. adults today — about half of the adult workforce — do not have the basic education and communications skills required to obtain jobs that pay a family-sustaining wage. In 2009 and 2012, Senator Webb introduced the “Adult Education and Economic Growth Act,” which would reform and increase investment in job training, adult education and other programs needed to build a 21st century workforce.

Senator Webb’s legislation proposed a two-pronged approach to strengthen the nation’s workforce. The first component would build ‘on ramps’ for American workers who need new skills and a better education in order to improve their lives. Secondly, the measure sought to protect and reward employers for helping them, by offering tax credits to businesses that invest in their employees.



Senator Webb talks with Dr. Barry Dorsey, Executive Director of the New College Institute, during a visit to Martinsville, Virginia, May 7, 2010.

“As a matter of great economic urgency, we need to transform the current array of adult education and workforce skills programs into a coherent, integrated system that meets 21st century needs. The National Commission on Adult Literacy applauds the future-thinking Adult Education and Economic Growth Act and Senator Webb’s leadership for recognizing these imperatives.”

—Gail Spangenberg, President of the Council for Advancement of Adult Literacy, July 16, 2009



Senator Webb delivers keynote remarks at the PlugGED In adult educational program kick-off event in Lebanon, Virginia, February 16, 2009.

GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY AND BALANCE OF POWERS

Americans want a government that inspires confidence and achieves results. Senator Webb placed a high priority on making sure that the federal balance of powers worked as our forefathers conceived it, and that the government remained open, honest and responsive. A number of measures that he introduced—including the successful Commission on Wartime Contracting—put controls in place to assure vigorous oversight and restore greater accountability and maintain the balance of powers in the federal government.

WARTIME CONTRACTING REFORM

“THE WASTE OF BILLIONS OF TAXPAYER DOLLARS DESCRIBED BY THE COMMISSION IS OUTRAGEOUS AND INTOLERABLE. THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS MUST DO THEIR PART TO ENACT THE COMMISSION’S RECOMMENDATIONS TO REFORM WARTIME CONTRACTING.”

—SENATOR WEBB, SEPTEMBER 21, 2011

On July 18, 2007, Senators Jim Webb and Claire McCaskill introduced legislation to establish the Commission on Wartime Contracting, modeled after the Truman Committee of World War II. The legislation was enacted in January 2008, and for three years, the independent, bipartisan commission investigated the government’s extensive reliance on civilian contractors to perform wartime-support, reconstruction, and private security functions in Iraq and Afghanistan.



Senator Webb testifies at the first public hearing of the Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, February 2, 2009.



Senator Webb delivers remarks at a press conference to mark the release of the final report of the Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, August 31, 2011.

“Members of Congress like to rail against government waste, fraud and corruption but they rarely offer specifics, perhaps fearing that the misdeeds will surface too close to home. U.S. Sen. Jim Webb doesn’t just talk about problems. He helped to establish a commission that this week identified at least \$30 billion in misspent tax dollars and outright fraud over the past decade.”

—Roanoke Times: Webb Puts Troops Ahead of Profits
September 4, 2011



Senator Webb delivers remarks on the introduction of the “Comprehensive Contingency Contracting Reform Act of 2012” at a press conference with Senator Claire McCaskill, March 1, 2012.

“No matter the policy or ideological reasons for hiring wartime contractors, this bill provides an improved set of checks and balances that will save taxpayers billions.”

—Scott Amey, general counsel to the Project on Government Oversight, in an interview with Government Executive, March 1, 2012

In its final report to Congress, in August 2011, the commission estimated that the U.S. had squandered up to \$60 billion through contract waste and fraud in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Commission identified major failures in contingency contracting planning, execution and oversight within the government, concluding such waste would increase if accountability was not improved as U.S. operations in Iraq and Afghanistan wound down, support for programs declines, and major reconstruction projects would become unsustainable

In 2012, Senator Webb and Senator Claire McCaskill introduced comprehensive reform legislation which built on the recommendations of the commission. The senators’ new reform legislation would overhaul the federal government’s planning, management, and oversight of contracting during overseas contingency operations.

“The campaign to reduce waste, fraud and abuse in contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan commands bipartisan attention. This rates as Webb’s finest hour as a senator.”

—Richmond Times-Dispatch: *Waste, Fraud, Abuse: Betraying the Troops*, September 8, 2011

“The Commission estimates that waste and fraud have amounted to... possibly as much as \$60 billion, during the operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.”

—Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, August 31, 2011

DEFINING PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS

“THE QUESTION IS SIMPLE: WHEN SHOULD THE PRESIDENT HAVE THE UNILATERAL AUTHORITY TO DECIDE TO USE MILITARY FORCE, AND WHAT IS THE PLACE OF THE CONGRESS IN THAT PROCESS? YEAR BY YEAR, SKIRMISH BY SKIRMISH, THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS IN DETERMINING WHERE THE U.S. MILITARY WOULD OPERATE, AND WHEN THE AWESOME POWER OF OUR WEAPON SYSTEMS WOULD BE UNLEASHED HAS DIMINISHED.”

—SENATOR WEBB, MAY 14, 2012

In 2011 after the 60-day War Powers Act deadline passed for authorization of military operations in Libya, Senator Webb introduced legislation concerning the disturbing precedent for the use of force set by the U.S. intervention there.

“The issue for us to consider is whether a President—any President—can unilaterally begin, and continue, a military campaign for reasons that he alone has defined as meeting the demanding standards of a vital national interest worthy of risking American lives and expending billions of dollars of our taxpayers’ money,” said Senator Webb in a speech on the floor of the Senate, noting that the United States was not under attack, was not under a threat of an attack, was not implementing a treaty, was not rescuing American citizens, and was not responding directly to an incident.

“Moammar Gadhafi seems unlikely to survive; few would lament his fall. Yet even with a happy outcome, Obama still has overstepped his office’s bounds. Webb’s statement identifies a betrayal of constitutional scruple. It ranks among the senator’s finest hours.”

—Richmond Times-Dispatch: *Webb’s speech: Finest hour, June 10, 2011*

In June 2011, Senator Webb’s provision to prohibit funds to establish or maintain U.S. troops or private security contractors on the ground in Libya was included in the joint resolution authorizing the limited use of the United States Armed Forces in support of the NATO mission in Libya, approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In May 2012—as some officials pushed for the U.S. to intervene yet again, this time in Syria—Senator Webb introduced legislation to require Congressional approval before the President could take unilateral military action for so-called “humanitarian interventions,” where U.S. armed forces might respond to crises abroad but American interests are not directly threatened. The legislation would require the President to obtain formal approval by the Congress before using military force, and would also require that debate begin within days of such a request and that a vote must proceed in a timely manner.

“The question is simple: When should the President have the unilateral authority to decide to use military force, and what is the place of the Congress in that process?” said Senator Webb in a speech on the Senate floor. “Year by year, skirmish by skirmish, the role of the Congress in determining where the U.S. military would operate, and when the awesome power of our weapon systems would be unleashed has diminished.”

“Webb is impressively resisting the sweeping currents of passion about Syria in the right way — and calling for sensible strategy.”

—The Atlantic: *Webb to Hot Head Senators: Cool It, March 9, 2012*

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT OVERSIGHT

In 2009, Senator Webb was selected to chair the powerful Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee. The Subcommittee has jurisdiction over all manpower issues in the armed forces, as well as programs affecting the health care, retirement benefits and housing of military families.

As chairman, Senator Webb worked to ensure proper oversight of defense policies and spending including the following cases:

Battle of Wanat Investigation

“THIS BATTLE RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF NINE SOLDIERS AND THE WOUNDING OF AN ADDITIONAL 27. ALLEGATIONS OF NEGLIGENCE AT SENIOR LEVELS IN THE CHAIN OF COMMAND WERE BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THEY BE ADDRESSED. FOR THESE REASONS, A MORE THOROUGH AND INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH THE FACTS, RESOLVE ANY QUESTION OF COMMAND ACCOUNTABILITY, AND DETERMINE IF THERE ARE LESSONS FOR FUTURE OPERATIONS IN AFGHANISTAN. WE OWE THE FAMILIES OF THOSE KILLED AND WOUNDED NOTHING LESS.”

—SENATOR WEBB, SEPTEMBER 30, 2009

On July 9, 2009, Senator Webb called for a re-investigation into circumstances surrounding the combat action that occurred July 13, 2008, at Wanat Village in Afghanistan’s Nuristan Province, which resulted in a 75 percent casualty rate for the 2nd Platoon, Chosen Company, 2nd Battalion, 503rd Infantry Regiment (Airborne), 173rd Airborne Brigade Combat Team (CJTF-101).

Following Senator Webb’s request, the U.S. Central Command conducted an intensive, three-month independent investigation which concluded that the company, battalion, and brigade commanders were “derelict in the performance of their duties through neglect or culpable inefficiency.” As a result of these findings, the Army initially issued letters of reprimand to all three officers during its adjudication of the re-investigation, but then reversed its decision and annulled all three letters following further review.

“To tell you the truth, I wouldn’t have gotten anywhere if it wasn’t for Senator Webb.... The more questions he asked, the more upset he became. And at the end of about an hour, he stood up and said, ‘I’m gonna do something.’”

—David Brostrom, whose son Jonathan was killed at the Battle of Wanat
Dateline NBC, June 27, 2010

Senator Webb said that the Army’s failure to assess the decisions of senior leaders made its new study of the Battle of Wanat a “flawed and biased” implement of learning. In a January 2011 letter to Secretary of the Army John McHugh, Senator Webb wrote that the conclusions of the Combat Studies Institute’s assessment “fall well short of the mark” in providing future leaders a comprehensive learning experience.

Safe Body Armor for Our Troops

“OUR MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM DESERVE TO HAVE THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE THAT THE BODY ARMOR THEY ARE ISSUED MEETS OR EXCEEDS THE MILITARY’S REQUIREMENTS FOR BALLISTIC PROTECTION.”

—SENATOR WEBB, OCTOBER 23, 2009

In 2007, Senator Webb called for a Government Accountability Office (GAO) investigation to reassess the effectiveness and reliability of body armor systems currently being issued by all the military services and the Special Operations Command. In response to this request, the GAO conducted one of its lengthiest and most detailed audits, culminating in a comprehensive report in October 2009 that identified numerous recommendations to improve the standardization of Army testing and certification procedures.

Despite initial objections from the Department of Defense to a number of the GAO’s findings, Senator Webb’s continued engagement with the Secretary of the Army led to the acceptance of nearly all of the GAO’s recommendations, including one calling for a contract with the National Research Council to conduct an independent assessment of ongoing body-armor testing in 2010.

Addressing “Star Creep” in the Military

“THE AIR FORCE HAS ONE GENERAL OR FLAG OFFICER FOR EVERY 1000 ACTIVE-DUTY MEMBERS, WHILE THE MARINE CORPS HAS ONE FOR EVERY 2300 AND THE ARMY FOR EVERY 1800. SUCH INCONSISTENCIES REQUIRE EXPLANATION.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JULY 27, 2011

During an April 2010 Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing, Senator Webb called on the Defense Department to provide information on the number of generals and admirals in the military.

In response, the DOD reported that in fiscal year 1986, there was roughly one general or flag officer for every 2,000 servicemembers; while in fiscal



Senator Webb confers with Sgt. Major Scott D. Reeves, USMC, of Petersburg, VA (center), and Capt. Daniel Gaskell, USMC, of Stafford, VA (right), during a November 2007 visit to a joint U.S.-Iraqi security station in Ramadi, the capital of Iraq’s al-Anbar province. Marines from the battalion jointly man the security station and patrol the city with Iraqi police. Reeves was the command sergeant major of the 2nd Battalion, 8th Marine Regiment, and Gaskell commanded Foxtrot Company in the battalion.

year 2011, that number was one for only 1,474 servicemembers. Among the services, the Air Force now has one general or flag officer for roughly every 1,000 active-duty members, while the Marine Corps has one for every 2,300, the Army one for every 1800 and the Navy one for every 1,300. The Air Force with 332,280 members has more one-star generals (151) than the Army with 569,400 members, and four times as many as the Marine Corps.

In September 2011, Senator Webb chaired a hearing of the Personnel Subcommittee hearing to examine the wide variance in the ratios of general and flag officers to active-duty personnel end strength among the services.

“Where is it decided and how is it decided that each of these services has the justification or the requirement for the flags that we see here?” Senator Webb asked the senior defense officials at the hearing.

Noting there are 13 four-stars in the Air Force, 11 in the Army, 10 in the Navy and four in the Marine Corps, Senator Webb said, “The disparity in the number of four-star positions in the institutional forces also warrants examination.”

The witnesses were unable to fully answer Senator Webb’s questions beyond citing statutory limitations in Title 10 U.S. Code.

ENDING WASTEFUL GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES OF ETHANOL

“ELIMINATING OR REDUCING ETHANOL SUBSIDIES AND TRADE BARRIERS WOULD HELP DECREASE THE BUDGET DEFICIT, BENEFIT THE ENVIRONMENT, AND LESSEN OUR RELIANCE ON IMPORTED OIL.”

—SENATOR WEBB, MAY 4, 2011

Senator Webb has long been concerned about the negative effects of ethanol protections in the United States on other sectors of the economy. He co-sponsored several legislative measures to repeal ethanol subsidies, including an amendment to tax legislation that would redirect funding from ineffective ethanol subsidies and tariffs toward advanced energy technologies and U.S. deficit reduction.

In June 2011, the Senate overwhelmingly approved Senator Webb’s amendment to eliminate the Volumetric Ethanol Excise Tax Credit (VEETC) and repeal the import tariff on foreign ethanol. The measure, which he co-sponsored with Senators Tom Coburn (R-OK) and Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), passed with bipartisan support in a 73-27 vote and will save taxpayers \$6 billion annually.



“A quarter of all the corn grown in the U.S. now ends up in the gas tank. Uncle Sam supports the ethanol industry three ways: Through subsidies, with tariffs, and by requiring its use. Enough is enough. Mr. Webb’s bill, which is sure to run afoul of legislators from Midwest corn-producing states, deserves support.”

—The Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star: *De-funding ethanol*, March 14, 2011

PREVENTING OVERREACH BY THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

“HASTY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BOILER MACT RULE HAS THE POTENTIAL TO ENDANGER THOUSANDS OF JOBS IN OUR FRAGILE ECONOMY. THIS BIPARTISAN LEGISLATION WOULD GIVE THE EPA TIME TO CRAFT A BALANCED APPROACH THAT PROTECTS BOTH OUR ENVIRONMENT AND OUR MANUFACTURING JOBS.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JULY 22, 2011

Senator Webb repeatedly voiced deep reservations about the consequences of unilateral regulation of greenhouse gases by the Environmental Protection Agency, warning against overreach by the Executive Branch on “an issue as important as climate change.” As part of his efforts to restore the Constitutional balance of powers within the federal government, he called for Congress – and not the EPA – to put forward energy policies to encourage the development of clean energy sources and carbon-mitigating technologies.

In April 2010, pursuant to court orders, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) announced new Maximum Achievable Control Technology (Boiler MACT) regulations on many fossil fuel and biomass-fired boilers in the United States, and issued

the rule in February of 2011. In July 2011, Senator Webb cosponsored bipartisan legislation to delay the controversial and costly new regulation on individual boilers in Virginia and throughout the country. The bill, which would allow the EPA 15 months to finalize the new MACT regulations on fossil fuel and biomass-fired boilers, was supported by the Virginia Forestry Association, National Association of Manufacturing, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and 25 other national business associations.

Senator Webb also supported legislation to suspend the EPA’s regulation of greenhouse gases from stationary sources for a period of two years in order to give Congress time to address “legitimate concerns over the broad use of executive powers in the absence of clear Congressional intent.”

STRENGTHENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF U.S. FOREIGN AID

“AMERICAN TAX DOLLARS PROVIDED FOR OVERSEAS INVESTMENTS SHOULD BE USED TO ASSIST U.S. ECONOMIC RECOVERY, PROVIDE AMERICAN JOBS, AND STRENGTHEN U.S. BUSINESS TIES WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.”

—SENATOR WEBB, AUGUST 2, 2010

In 2010, Senator Webb successfully pressed the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) to revise its procurement guidelines so that U.S. development contracts in the Third World will no longer be awarded to Chinese or other government-owned companies. Prior to his

efforts, Chinese government-owned businesses were the largest recipients of foreign aid funding through the MCC—a policy of sending American tax dollars to state-owned companies in China, so that they could increase their projects in Africa and elsewhere, which clearly did not advance U.S. interests.

WORKING FOR VIRGINIA

In addition to engaging in high profile issues at the national and international level, Senator Webb enjoyed considerable success on projects in Virginia such as the improvement of transportation infrastructure; expansion of technology to rural communities; preservation of Virginia's historic battlefields, national parks, and wildlife refuges; and protections for the Chesapeake Bay and public lands.



Senator Webb delivers the keynote address at the annual William & Mary ceremony celebrating the College's founding by Royal Charter in 1693, February 7, 2009.



Senator Webb tours the Northrop Grumman Newport News facility and its Virginia Advanced Shipbuilding and Carrier Integration Center, May 11, 2007.



Senator Webb delivers the commencement address to George Mason University's 2010 graduating class, May 15, 2010.



In a speech at Chrysler Hall in Norfolk, Senator Webb discussed trends in global security and trade, and the unique role Hampton Roads can play in America's economic resurgence, January 11, 2011.



Senator Webb visits with Virginians at a town hall meeting in Scott County, November 28, 2008.



Senator Webb greets staff and volunteers during a tour of the Central Virginia Food Bank, which targets at-risk children, homebound citizens and senior citizens, June 13, 2008.

WORKING FOR VIRGINIA



Senator Webb receives a tour of the Laurel Mountain Deep Mine in Russell County, February 19, 2007.



Senator Webb delivers keynote remarks to the 76th Annual Dinner of the Salem-Roanoke County Chamber of Commerce, March 30, 2010.



Senator Webb delivers the commencement address to Virginia Commonwealth University, May 19, 2007.



Senator Webb speaks with local residents at a community meeting in Gate City, November 26, 2010.



Senator Webb delivers the commencement address to the 2010 graduating class of Ferrum College, May 8, 2010.

STRENGTHENING VIRGINIA'S TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE

“WITH INCREASING TRAFFIC CONGESTION ON OUR NATION’S ROADWAYS, IT IS TIME TO INVEST IN LONG-TERM AND DIVERSIFIED INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS (THAT IMPROVE PASSENGER RAIL SERVICE).”

—SENATOR WEBB, OCTOBER 1, 2008

With increasing traffic congestion throughout much of Virginia, Senator Webb consistently supported federal investment in transportation and infrastructure projects to improve Virginians’ quality of life. In addition to expanding roadways and securing bridges, better and more reliable public transit means fewer cars on the road and less anxiety for Virginia commuters. In 2008, Senator Webb worked to support the appropriation of tens of millions of dollars for transportation infrastructure, including \$35 million for new rail cars for the Metro system, \$35 million in additional funds for the Dulles Corridor rail projects, and over \$2 million each for interchange improvements at I-95 and the Fairfax County Parkway at Newington, U.S. Route 1 and 123 in Prince William.

In 2011, Senator Webb collaborated with others in the Virginia delegation to secure \$180 million for BRAC-related traffic congestion and a parking cap at Alexandria’s Mark Center. Senator Webb also supported significant funding to improve passenger rail service by Amtrak and Virginia Railway Express trains, which experienced record ridership in communities such as Danville, Lynchburg, Richmond, Hampton Roads, and Northern Virginia.



Senator Webb speaks at a groundbreaking for Rosslyn Metro station improvements in Arlington, for which he secured \$3 million in federal funding over two years, October 27, 2010.

“Jim Webb [has] moved beyond the rhetoric and gone to bat for accelerated federal funding of upgrades to U.S. 58/Holland Road in western Suffolk.”

—The Tidewater News:
A needed project
November 13, 2009



Senator Webb cuts the ribbon at a ceremony for the Virginia Railway Express’ (VRE) new locomotive, July 30, 2010.

COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING IN SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

“THE EXPANSION OF THE APPALACHIA HIDTA INTO THESE VIRGINIA COMMUNITIES WOULD EXTEND THE REACH AND EFFICIENCY OF HIDTA, ALLOWING IT TO EFFECTIVELY COMBAT AND ERADICATE, RATHER THAN MERELY GEOGRAPHICALLY RELOCATE, THESE SYSTEMIC DRUG TRAFFICKING AND PRODUCTION NETWORKS.”

—SENATOR WEBB, OCTOBER 21, 2011

For much of his term, Senator Webb worked to extend the Appalachian High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) to include several Southwest Virginia counties to help law enforcement officials fight the proliferation of trafficking throughout the region. In February 2011, Senator Webb wrote to the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy to request the addition of thirteen Southwest Virginia counties to the HIDTA. In September 2011, shortly after he met with local law enforcement in Southwest Virginia, three of the counties received HIDTA designation. The following month, Senator Webb again wrote to the administration to press for all of the counties to be included.



Senator Webb talks with area sheriffs about their concerns over drug issues in Norton, Virginia, September 26, 2011.

“I’m thankful Senator Webb was able to help get this done for Scott County. I greatly appreciate his hard work on this important issue that affects the well being of our community. I’m glad Virginia now has equal representation on the HIDTA Executive Board so we will be able to push to include even more Southwest Virginia counties in the HIDTA program in the future.”

—Sheriff John Puckett on Scott County’s HIDTA designation
October 21, 2011

EFFORT TO GARNER FEDERAL RECOGNITION FOR VIRGINIA’S INDIAN TRIBES

“AFTER MEETING WITH LEADERS OF VIRGINIA’S INDIAN TRIBES AND YEARS OF THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS, I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT RECOGNITION FOR THESE SIX VIRGINIA TRIBES IS JUSTIFIED BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF DIGNITY AND FAIRNESS. WE MUST HONOR THE HERITAGE OF OUR VIRGINIA TRIBES, A HERITAGE AGGRAVATED IN THE PAST BY RACIAL HOSTILITY AND STATE-SANCTIONED ACTIONS THAT GREATLY DIMINISHED THEIR CULTURAL IDENTITY.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JULY 28, 2011

For decades, Virginia’s Indian tribes have fought for federal recognition, but have faced significant barriers as a result of the Commonwealth’s unique history and its harsh policies of the past. Four hundred years after the founding of America’s first colony at Jamestown, these six tribes deserve to join our nation’s other 562 federally-recognized tribes. To remedy this inequity, Senator Webb introduced the Indian Tribes of Virginia Federal Recognition Act 2009 – and again in 2011 – to grant federal recognition to six of Virginia’s Indian tribes. This necessary legislation passed in the House and advanced further in the Senate than ever before.



Senator Webb meets with members of Virginia Indian tribes to discuss his legislation to grant federal recognition to the Commonwealth’s six Native American tribes, November 11, 2007.

ADVOCATING ON BEHALF OF VIRGINIA'S HISTORIC CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELDS

"WE MUST PRESERVE THESE SITES SO THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS MIGHT SEE AND TOUCH THE VERY PLACES WHERE SO MANY SACRIFICES WERE MADE, BY SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS ALIKE. WE ARE A STRONGER, MORE DIVERSE AND FREE NATION BECAUSE OF THESE SACRIFICES."

—SENATOR WEBB, APRIL 19, 2007

Virginia is home to an abundance of natural and historical resources, including Civil War battlefields and wildlife areas enjoyed by millions of tourists and Virginians. Senator Webb's ancestors fought on both sides of the American Civil War, so the preservation of these battlefields has personal significance. Throughout his tenure in the Senate, he worked to preserve threatened Civil War battlefields so future generations could understand the war that has so profoundly shaped our nation's history. Senator Webb supported initiatives to protect Virginia's historical sites, such as land acquisitions for both Petersburg National Battlefield and the Richmond National Battlefield Park. These initiatives helped to expand tourism opportunities and create opportunities for economic growth throughout Virginia.



Senator Webb talks with Civil War reenactors at the ceremonial closing of the 209-acre Huntsberry Tract at the Third Winchester Battlefield, September 18, 2009.

"Sen. Jim Webb was on the front lines of the effort to get the \$9 million commitment [for battlefield preservation] in the Interior bill."

—Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star: Good News: \$9 million appropriated to save battlefields, November 2, 2009

"Senator Webb is a tireless champion for historic preservation.... Without his energy and passion for preservation, we could easily have been denied one of the most effective weapons we have in fight to save America's disappearing Civil War battlegrounds."

—Jim Lighthizer, President of the Civil War Preservation Trust
January 15, 2009

PROTECTING THE CHESAPEAKE BAY WATERSHED

“THE CHESAPEAKE BAY IS ONE OF VIRGINIA’S MOST IMPORTANT RESOURCES. THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS RESOURCE, BOTH IN ECONOMIC AS WELL AS CULTURAL TERMS, TO WATERMEN AND CHESAPEAKE BAY COMMUNITIES ALIKE CANNOT BE OVERSTATED.”

—SENATOR WEBB, MAY 16, 2008

The Chesapeake Bay is a vital resource for the citizens and economy of Virginia. Along with a coalition of Senators, Senator Webb introduced the Chesapeake’s Healthy and Environmentally Sound Stewardship of Energy and Agriculture Act (CHESSEA) in 2007, which dedicated federal funding for agricultural conservation efforts in the Chesapeake Bay Watershed. The 2008 Farm Bill incorporated key provisions of CHESSEA, including a \$188 million new program that is tailored specifically to the Chesapeake Bay Watershed. In total, the Farm Bill authorized \$440 million in additional funding through a variety of agriculture conservation programs to help farmers in the Chesapeake watershed place a renewed emphasis on environmental stewardship and conservation efforts. In fiscal year 2010 alone, over \$130 million in conservation efforts was dedicated to the Chesapeake Bay watershed by the USDA.

In 2008, Senator Webb led a successful bipartisan effort with the Virginia and Maryland Congressional delegations to urge the U.S. Secretary of Commerce to grant federal disaster assistance for Chesapeake Bay watermen. The declaration helped alleviate the economic impact caused by regulations to address declining numbers of blue crabs and resulted in the approval of \$10 million for the relief of Virginia blue crab watermen affected by the catch restrictions.

“The Chesapeake Bay is an invaluable resource to both the people and economy of Virginia. While fishing restrictions are necessary to ensure that the blue crab fishery recovers and is available for future generations, it was also clear they would directly hit the pocketbooks of Virginia’s watermen, which is why this disaster designation was so critical.”

—Senator Webb
May 29, 2008

“The Virginia watermen are appreciative of Senator Webb’s efforts in securing funding for disaster assistance to the blue crab fishery in the Chesapeake Bay. Hopefully the recent designation by the Secretary of Commerce and this much needed funding will bring public awareness to the state of the Bay and real progress into restoring its health. Watermen have been working the Bay for hundreds of years. If the Bay goes, so does this cultural resource.”

—Ken Smith, President of the Virginia State Waterman’s Association, September 24, 2008



VIRGINIA OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF ENERGY PRODUCTION ACT

“AS GAS PRICES RISE, IN PART DUE TO AMERICA’S DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL, WE MUST PURSUE ROBUST ENERGY POLICIES THAT INCLUDE THE EXPANSION OF OUR DOMESTIC ENERGY RESOURCES IN A SAFE AND SECURE MANNER, AS WELL AS CONSERVATION AND CLEAN ENERGY MEASURES. OPENING UP MORE OF THE NATION’S OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF RESOURCES TO RESPONSIBLE NATURAL GAS AND OIL EXPLORATION SHOULD BE A PRIORITY.”

—SENATOR WEBB, APRIL 5, 2011

Senator Webb consistently called for a comprehensive approach to addressing our nation’s energy needs that includes energy conservation and energy efficiency, as well as new energy production. In 2008, Senator Webb and then-Senator John Warner introduced the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Energy Production Act to allow energy exploration activities in the OCS. In July 2011, Senator Webb and Mark Warner (D-VA) re-introduced a strengthened version of the 2008 proposal, which included revenue-sharing provisions and would expand the federal government’s map of the mid-Atlantic exploration area to more accurately reflect the extent of Virginia’s coastal resources.

Senator Webb repeatedly urged the Obama Administration to keep Virginia’s Outer Continental lease sale on schedule. In November 2011, when the administration announced Virginia’s exclusion from its five-year oil and gas leasing plan, Senator Webb called for reconsideration of the decision and continued to push for Virginia’s inclusion.

“The bill would order the federal government to divide the ocean proportionately based on the length of a state’s shoreline, a far more equitable prospect, and one that would benefit Virginia.”

—*Virginian-Pilot: A first step on offshore drilling*
July 11, 2011



EXPANDING CRANEY ISLAND

“THE [CRANEY ISLAND] EXPANSION WILL ALLOW THE VIRGINIA PORT AUTHORITY TO NEARLY DOUBLE ITS MARINE TERMINAL CAPACITY TO MEET THE ANTICIPATED INCREASE IN SHIPPED GOODS TO AND FROM INTERNATIONAL PORTS.”

—SENATOR WEBB, SEPTEMBER 9, 2011

Senator Webb consistently requested and supported federal funding for the expansion of Craney Island. In 2011, he helped secure more than \$26 million for the expansion, which will generate more than 1,100 jobs during construction and 54,000 sustainable jobs after. It also allows the Virginia Port Authority to nearly double its marine terminal capacity to meet the anticipated increase in shipped goods to and from international ports.

The Port of Virginia is a gateway for international commerce and is one of thirteen U.S. strategic ports that support the mobilization and readiness of our national defense. Over 14,000 businesses from all contiguous 48 states move cargo through Virginia. The project will help assure a competitive posture for the nation and is estimated to stimulate \$6 billion in National Economic Development (NED) benefits with a Benefit Cost Ratio of 4.4 to 1.



Craney Island. Credit: Port of Virginia.

“Senator Webb’s support for Craney Island over the years has paved the way for strategic infrastructure improvements and job creation.”

—Jeff Keever, Senior Deputy Director, Virginia Port Authority
December 17, 2011

REHABILITATING HISTORIC SCHOOLS ACT

“WITH MUNICIPALITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY UNABLE TO FUND SCHOOL REPAIRS AND CONSTRUCTION, THIS BILL WILL PROVIDE NEEDED ASSISTANCE, PARTNER LOCAL GOVERNMENT WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR, CREATE JOBS, AND GIVE OUR CHILDREN THE FACILITIES THEY NEED TO LEARN AND GROW. GOOD LOCAL SCHOOLS AND WELL-MAINTAINED PUBLIC FACILITIES ARE KEY INDICATORS OF WHERE BUSINESSES MAY LOCATE. THIS LEGISLATION STRENGTHENS OUR COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE BOARD.”

—SENATOR WEBB, JANUARY 29, 2010

In 2011, Senator Webb introduced “The Rehabilitation of Historic Schools Act,” which would promote public-private partnerships to rehabilitate the nation’s older school buildings. The bill would change a provision in the Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit that currently restricts renovation of older public school buildings, limiting the ability of local governments to partner with private developers to rehabilitate schools.

In the past, schools such as the Maggie L. Walker Governor’s School in Richmond, Virginia have had to navigate an onerous legal process to qualify for the Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit, an obstacle that has discouraged hard-pressed localities from utilizing the tax credit.



In the past, schools such as the Maggie L. Walker Governor’s School in Richmond, Virginia have had to navigate an onerous legal process to qualify for the Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit, an obstacle that has discouraged hard-pressed localities from utilizing the tax credit. Credit: Maggie L. Walker Governor’s School.

“Many of the older buildings that will qualify are in inner-city and poor rural divisions where additional support for education is most needed. This measure will make conversion of these buildings into 21st Century learning centers possible.”

—Dr. Kitty Boitnott, President of the Virginia Education Association

ESTABLISHING FORT MONROE NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

“ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL MONUMENT AT FT. MONROE CONSERVES AN AREA OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS AND WILL PROVIDE JOBS, TOURISM AND PUBLIC RECREATION TO NOT ONLY HAMPTON ROADS, BUT TO THE COMMONWEALTH AND NATION AT LARGE.”

—SENATOR WEBB, NOVEMBER 1, 2011

The site of Fort Monroe and Old Point Comfort has been witness to centuries of American history. In May 2011, Senators Webb and Mark Warner wrote to urge President Obama to use the Antiquities Act to designate Fort Monroe as a national monument. The following month, Senators Webb and Mark Warner introduced the Fort Monroe National Historical Park Establishment Act of 2011 to establish a national park presence at the Fort. President Obama later exercised his authority under the Antiquities Act to designate the Fort a national monument. The national park will provide jobs, tourism and public recreation in a scenic urban park to not only Hampton Roads, but to our state and nation at large.

“Fort Monroe has enormous significance from both American history and natural history perspectives. The Chesapeake Bay Foundation has identified numerous opportunities for environmental restoration and education at Fort Monroe and looks forward to working with the park service and the Fort Monroe Authority to further explore these opportunities.”



Fort Monroe National Historic Park.

—Ann Jennings, Virginia Executive Director, Chesapeake Bay Foundation, to the Daily Press, November 1, 2011

SUPPORT FOR WOODROW WILSON LIBRARY: ‘PRESIDENTIAL HISTORICAL RECORDS PRESERVATION ACT’

“THIS BILL HELPS THE WOODROW WILSON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY FOUNDATION, AND OTHER NON-PROFIT ENTITIES LIKE IT, PRESERVE AND MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC THE HISTORICAL RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS. OUR COUNTRY WILL BE BETTER OFF FOR HAVING AN IMPROVED, MORE COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS AND THEIR LEGACIES.”

—SENATOR WEBB, SEPTEMBER 12, 2008

For more than seventy years, the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library Foundation in Staunton, Virginia, served as caretaker of President Wilson’s papers and artifacts. But it did so without the resources afforded to other Presidential libraries in the federal system. Over time, the Foundation outgrew its current space and facilities. Senators Webb and John Warner introduced the Presidential Historical Records Act of 2008 to establish a new competitive grant program to encourage the preservation of and public access to historical documents and records of past presidents, from which the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library would benefit. The legislation passed the Congress and was signed by the President in 2008.



The Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and Museum in Staunton, Virginia.
Credit: Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and Museum.

“The national landscape for presidential history has been transformed. This act establishes unprecedented opportunity for organizations like the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and Museum to preserve presidential records and educate the public about the American presidency.”

—Eric Vettel, Director of the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library, to the Staunton News Leader, October 2, 2008

APPENDIX 1: OP-EDS BY SENATOR WEBB

PARADE

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A LEADER

By: Senator Jim Webb
May 18, 2008

On June 5, 1968, I had the honor of taking the oath of office as a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps. Thus my professional career began with a vow to protect the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, at a time when the country was riven by external and internal conflict.

Our instructors at the Marine Officers Basic School were handpicked from among the finest young officers in the Corps. Almost all had been in combat, and many bore visible scars. As the months at school went by, they repeatedly and unendingly challenged us with an age-old mantra: ***What do you do now, lieutenant?***

Just before we graduated, a tough but insightful lieutenant colonel who had fought in World War II, Korea and Vietnam gave us a speech, a warning that echoes in my memory almost every day. He recounted a story of a fight in Korea that went incredibly bad—where, for all his experience, he made an error in judgment.

“I had the enemy pinned down on a ridge,” he said. “I set up a base of fire and sent 13 Marines into the tree line in order to envelop the enemy. Thirteen Marines went into the tree line, and all 13 were killed. And, gentlemen, there is not a day that goes by when I don’t think of that.”

The colonel then spoke of the inalienable bottom line of combat leadership: While all Marines are equally in harm’s way, it is the leaders who must make the decisions about what to do, then live with the results. What he may not have realized is that he also spelled out the responsibility that sits on the shoulders of all leaders.

In the long months I spent as a rifle platoon and company commander in Vietnam’s infamous An Hoa Basin, the colonel’s admonition resonated again and again. We constantly operated in blown-out populated areas, moving from village to village and digging new perimeters every few days. The An Hoa Basin was a bloody, morally conflicted mess. Enemy contact came in every imaginable form, from small cells of local Viet Cong to regiment-sized North Vietnamese Army units. And every day, we who led the squads, platoons and companies were required to make decisions that would have confounded the seminars on ethics and philosophy at universities where some of our peers now grappled intellectually with the war we had been sent to fight.

Sometimes such moral dilemmas became deeply personal. “Clearing” village bunkers was a normal process when we were facing enemy contact. Every Vietnamese family had a bunker next to its porch.

When firefights broke out, families went into their bunkers. But it was a common tactic for enemy soldiers to hide there as well, often allowing them to open fire on us from behind. So a routine developed, which the Marines and the villagers understood. Marine teams would move from bunker to bunker, telling villagers to come out. After that, a Marine would throw a grenade into the bunker, then one of them would enter it, making sure it was clear.

During one sweep, the Marine who jumped into the bunker following the blast found that three people had not come out. A younger man, probably a local Viet Cong, had been killed. Hardened by combat, we shrugged him off. But the other two stopped my heart even in the mind-numbing repetition of tragedy that defines war.

A gray-haired man in white pajamas, probably a grandfather, was dead, having wrapped himself around a small boy to protect him from the blast. It was clear that his final thoughts were of the boy. His shocked, opaque eyes and his still-curved body were the very definition of love and human sacrifice. The boy was still alive, although barely.

We were in contact with the enemy, and night would soon be upon us. I walked through the village, setting up our defensive positions and calling in a report to our commander. A corpsman followed me, cradling the boy in his arms. He and I had now served together through seven months of hard combat. We had seen a mountain of tragedy, and we kept nothing from each other. He was insistent: “Skipper, if you don’t get this kid out of here right now, he’s going to die.”

I called for a medevac, but I knew what the answer would be. Emergency medevacs were available only for Marines. We were in a high-risk landing zone. Vietnamese civilians could only be given “routine” medevacs when landing zones were calm and all Marines had been taken care of.

What do you do now, lieutenant?

I couldn’t lie to my chain of command. There weren’t any wounded Marines. I made a case for the boy and lost. “They’ll only bring it in as a routine,” I told the doc. We knew this could take hours.

“All right,” he answered, clearly exasperated. “Then you watch him die.”

The doc put the boy on a wooden box next to our command post. Over the next half hour, as I spoke on the radio, the boy lay near me quietly, never making a sound, all the while watching me. Nor could I stop watching him. And as we stared at each other, he slowly died.

There are still moments when I look back and see the little boy’s brown eyes and the curled corpse of the grandfather whose last thought had been to save him. I will never forget them, nor should I. The An Hoa Basin filled us all with a lifetime of such stories.

When you have personalized death, looked into the eyes of innocent people as the life drained out of them, watched lives torn apart not once but hundreds of times—friends, enemies and those caught in between—it brings not only sadness but also an oddly stubborn wisdom. When you have watched an enemy fight with ferocity and often with honor, you tend to conclude that on some level you have more in common with those you were trying to kill than you do with people who view wars only as an intellectual debate. And when you have served among good people, fellow Marines, some of whom you came to love with the same intensity as you do your own family, there are few others you will meet in your lifetime who can ever gain that same level of trust and respect.

As the colonel intimated in his talk, a sense of accountability is the burden of leadership, whether in combat or on Capitol Hill. When you have the authority to make decisions, you inherit the responsibility to accept the consequences and the obligation to use your authority for the common good.

What has this got to do with the politics of today?

Everything.

Our country is in the middle of a profound crisis. This crisis has many causes, but much of it has been brought about by poor leadership decisions at every level of government. In addition, our electoral process is dominated by financial interests that are threatened by the very notion of reform.

Elections shouldn't be media circuses, nor should they be auctions where a candidate sells himself to the highest bidder. They should be moral contracts between those who wish to lead and those who are consenting to be led.

What, then, must we do?

In one form or another, this question is asked daily in every community and in almost every household around the world. In authoritarian societies, it's whispered; in others, it is debated. In America, we quite frankly find ourselves doing a little of both.

Our challenges lie in improving the way we've been selecting our leaders. To the American voters, I offer this advice: Be as shrewd and ruthless in your demands on our leaders as the wizards running campaigns are in their strategies to get your vote. Do your part to send to Washington people who truly want to solve the problems of this country from the bottom up.

You won't regret it. You will benefit from it. And the stakes could not be higher. Sometimes the business of politics seems silly. It can also be infuriating. But you must stay in the game, because you and your grandchildren will be the inheritors of both our successes and flaws.

PARADE

WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR PRISONS?

By: Senator Jim Webb
March 29, 2009

America's criminal justice system has deteriorated to the point that it is a national disgrace. Its irregularities and inequities cut against the notion that we are a society founded on fundamental fairness. Our failure to address this problem has caused the nation's prisons to burst their seams with massive overcrowding, even as our neighborhoods have become more dangerous. We are wasting billions of dollars and diminishing millions of lives.

We need to fix the system. Doing so will require a major nationwide recalculation of who goes to prison and for how long and of how we address the long-term consequences of incarceration. Twenty-five years ago, I went to Japan on assignment for PARADE to write a story on that country's prison system. In 1984, Japan had a population half the size of ours and was incarcerating 40,000 sentenced offenders, compared with 580,000 in the United States. As shocking as that disparity was, the difference between the countries now is even more astounding—and profoundly disturbing. Since then, Japan's prison population has not quite doubled to 71,000, while ours has quadrupled to 2.3 million.

The United States has by far the world's highest incarceration rate. With 5% of the world's population, our country now houses nearly 25% of the world's reported prisoners. We currently incarcerate 756 inmates per 100,000 residents, a rate nearly five times the average worldwide of 158 for every 100,000. In addition, more than 5 million people who recently left jail remain under "correctional supervision," which includes parole, probation, and other community sanctions. All told, about one in every 31 adults in the United States is in prison, in jail, or on supervised release. This all comes at a very high price to taxpayers: Local, state, and federal spending on corrections adds up to about \$68 billion a year.

Our overcrowded, ill-managed prison systems are places of violence, physical abuse, and hate, making them breeding grounds that perpetuate and magnify the same types of behavior we purport to fear. Post-incarceration re-entry programs are haphazard or, in some places, nonexistent, making it more difficult for former offenders who wish to overcome the stigma of having done prison time and become full, contributing members of society. And, in the face of the movement toward mass incarceration, law-enforcement officials in many parts of the U.S. have been overwhelmed and unable to address a dangerous wave of organized, frequently violent gang activity, much of it run by leaders who are based in other countries.

With so many of our citizens in prison compared with the rest of the world, there are only two possibilities: Either we are home to the most evil people on earth or we are doing something different—and vastly counterproductive. Obviously, the answer is the latter.

Over the past two decades, we have been incarcerating more and more people for nonviolent crimes and for acts that are driven by mental illness or drug dependence. The U.S. Department of Justice

estimates that 16% of the adult inmates in American prisons and jails—which means more than 350,000 of those locked up—suffer from mental illness, and the percentage in juvenile custody is even higher. Our correctional institutions are also heavily populated by the “criminally ill,” including inmates who suffer from HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and hepatitis.

Drug offenders, most of them passive users or minor dealers, are swamping our prisons. According to data supplied to Congress’ Joint Economic Committee, those imprisoned for drug offenses rose from 10% of the inmate population to approximately 33% between 1984 and 2002. Experts estimate that this increase accounts for about half of the dramatic escalation in the total number imprisoned over that period. Yet locking up more of these offenders has done nothing to break up the power of the multibillion-dollar illegal drug trade. Nor has it brought about a reduction in the amounts of the more dangerous drugs—such as cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamines—that are reaching our citizens.

Justice statistics also show that 47.5% of all the drug arrests in our country in 2007 were for marijuana offenses. Additionally, nearly 60% of the people in state prisons serving time for a drug offense had no history of violence or of any significant selling activity. Indeed, four out of five drug arrests were for possession of illegal substances, while only one out of five was for sales. Three-quarters of the drug offenders in our state prisons were there for nonviolent or purely drug offenses. And although experts have found little statistical difference among racial groups regarding actual drug use, African-Americans—who make up about 12% of the total U.S. population—accounted for 37% of those arrested on drug charges, 59% of those convicted, and 74% of all drug offenders sentenced to prison.

Against this backdrop of chaos and mismanagement, a dangerous form of organized and sometimes deadly gang activity has infiltrated America’s towns and cities. It comes largely from our country’s southern border, and much of the criminal activity centers around the movement of illegal drugs. The weapons and tactics involved are of the highest order.

The Mexican drug cartels, whose combined profits are estimated at \$25 billion a year, are known to employ many elite former soldiers who were trained in some of America’s most sophisticated military programs. Their brutal tactics took the lives of more than 6000 Mexicans last year alone, and the bloodshed has been spilling over the border into our own neighborhoods at a rapid pace. One terrible result is that Phoenix, Ariz., has become the kidnapping capital of the United States, with more than 370 cases in 2008. That is more incidents than in any other city in the world outside of Mexico City.

The challenge to our communities is not limited to the states that border Mexico. Mexican cartels are now reported to be running operations in some 230 American cities. Other gang activity—much of it directed from Latin America, Asia, and Europe—has permeated our country to the point that no area is immune. As one example, several thousand members of the Central American gang MS-13 now operate in northern Virginia, only a stone’s throw from our nation’s capital.

In short, we are not protecting our citizens from the increasing danger of criminals who perpetrate violence and intimidation as a way of life, and we are locking up too many people who do not belong in jail. It is incumbent on our national leadership to find a way to fix our prison system. I believe that American ingenuity can discover better ways to deal with the problems of drugs and nonviolent criminal behavior while still minimizing violent crime and large-scale gang activity. And we all deserve to live in a country made better by such changes.

The New York Times

WE CAN'T AFFORD TO IGNORE MYANMAR

By: Senator Jim Webb
August 25, 2009

EIGHT years ago I visited Myanmar as a private citizen, traveling freely in the capital city of Yangon and around the countryside. This lush, breathtakingly beautiful nation was even then showing the strain of its severance from the outside world. I was a guest of an American businessman, and I understood the frustration and disappointment that he and others felt, knowing even then that tighter sanctions would soon drive them out of the country.

This month I became the first American political leader to visit Myanmar in 10 years, and the first ever to meet with its reclusive leader, Senior Gen. Than Shwe, in the haunting, empty new capital of Naypyidaw. From there I flew to an even more patched-and-peeled Yangon, where I met with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the opposition leader and Nobel laureate who remains confined to her home. Among other requests, I asked Than Shwe to free her and allow her to participate in politics.

Leaving the country on a military plane with John Yettaw — an American who had been sentenced to seven years of hard labor for immigration offenses, and whose release I had also requested of Than Shwe — I was struck again by how badly the Burmese people need outside help. They are so hardened after decades of civil war and political stalemate that only an even-handed interlocutor can lift them out of the calcified intransigence that has damaged their lives and threatened the stability of Southeast Asia.

For more than 10 years, the United States and the European Union have employed a policy of ever-tightening economic sanctions against Myanmar, in part fueled by the military government's failure to recognize the results of a 1990 election won by Aung San Suu Kyi's party. While the political motivations behind this approach are laudable, the result has been overwhelmingly counterproductive. The ruling regime has become more entrenched and at the same time more isolated. The Burmese people have lost access to the outside world.

Sanctions by Western governments have not been matched by other countries, particularly Russia and China. Indeed, they have allowed China to dramatically increase its economic and political influence in Myanmar, furthering a dangerous strategic imbalance in the region.

According to the nonprofit group EarthRights International, at least 26 Chinese multinational corporations are now involved in more than 62 hydropower, oil, gas and mining projects in Myanmar. This is only the tip of the iceberg. In March, China and Myanmar signed a \$2.9-billion agreement for the construction of fuel pipelines that will transport Middle Eastern and African crude oil from Myanmar to China. When completed, Chinese oil tankers will no longer be required to pass through the Straits of Malacca, a time-consuming, strategically vital route where 80 percent of China's imported oil now passes.

If Chinese commercial influence in Myanmar continues to grow, a military presence could easily follow. Russia is assisting the Myanmar government on a nuclear research project. None of these projects have improved the daily life of the average citizen of Myanmar, who has almost no contact with the outside world and whose per capita income is among the lowest in Asia.

It would be wrong for the United States to lift sanctions on Myanmar purely on the basis of economic self-interest, or if such a decision were seen as a capitulation of our long-held position that Myanmar should abandon its repressive military system in favor of democratic rule. But it would be just as bad for us to fold our arms, turn our heads, and pretend that by failing to do anything about the situation in Myanmar we are somehow helping to solve it.

So what can and should be done?

First, we must focus on what is possible. The military government in Myanmar has committed itself to elections in 2010, as part of its announced “seven steps toward democracy.” Many point out that the Constitution approved last year in a plebiscite is flawed, since it would allow the military to largely continue its domination of the government, and that the approval process itself was questionable. The legislation to put the Constitution into force has yet to be drafted. The National League for Democracy, Aung San Suu Kyi’s political party, has not agreed to participate in next year’s elections.

But there is room for engagement. Many Asian countries — China among them — do not even allow opposition parties. The National League for Democracy might consider the advantages of participation as part of a longer-term political strategy. And the United States could invigorate the debate with an offer to help assist the electoral process. The Myanmar government’s answer to such an offer would be revealing.

Second, the United States needs to develop clearly articulated standards for its relations with the nondemocratic world. Our distinct policies toward different countries amount to a form of situational ethics that does not translate well into clear-headed diplomacy. We must talk to Myanmar’s leaders. This does not mean that we should abandon our aspirations for a free and open Burmese society, but that our goal will be achieved only through a different course of action.

The United States refused to talk to the Chinese until 1971, more than 20 years after the Communist takeover, and did not resume full diplomatic relations until 1979. And yet China, with whom we seem inextricably tied both as a business partner and a strategic competitor, has no democracy and has never held a national election.

The Hanoi government agreed to internationally supervised elections for Vietnam in 1973, as a result of the Paris peace talks; Washington did not raise this as a precondition to furthering relations. As someone who has worked hard to build a bridge between Hanoi and America’s strongly anticommunist Vietnamese community, I believe the greatest factor in creating a more open society inside Vietnam was the removal of America’s trade embargo in 1994.

Third, our government leaders should call on China to end its silence about the situation in Myanmar, and to act responsibly, in keeping with its role as an ascending world power. Americans should not hold their collective breaths that China will give up the huge strategic advantage it has gained as a result of our current policies. But such a gesture from our government would hold far more sway in world opinion than has the repeated but predictable condemnation of Myanmar’s military government.

Finally, with respect to reducing sanctions, we should proceed carefully but immediately. If there is reciprocation from the government of Myanmar in terms of removing the obstacles that now confront us, there would be several ways for our two governments to move forward. We could begin with humanitarian projects. We might also seek cooperation on our long-held desire to recover the remains of World War II airmen at crash sites in the country’s north.

Our ultimate goal, as it always has been, should be to encourage Myanmar to become a responsible member of the world community, and to end the isolation of its people so that they can live in economic prosperity, under an open political system.

The Washington Post

A PLAN IN NEED OF CLARITY

By: Senator Jim Webb
December 4, 2009

I have great regard for the careful process the Obama administration employed in its efforts to define a new approach for the long-standing military commitment in Afghanistan and to put an operational framework in place for our responsible withdrawal. I intend, nevertheless, to continue to call on the administration to clarify to the American public and Congress how it defines success and how we reach an end point.

Since early 2009, I have said repeatedly that the U.S. strategy for Afghanistan must proceed based on four considerations: (1) the fragility of the Afghan government; (2) whether building a national army of considerable scale is achievable; (3) whether an increased U.S. military presence will ultimately have a positive effect in the country, or whether we will be seen as an occupying force; and (4) the linkage of events in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In the coming weeks I intend to examine the administration's plan to see how it addresses these criteria and how it will affect our troops.

Since the president's address Tuesday, there has been much discussion of the date that the United States will begin to draw down military forces and transfer security responsibility. Just as important is a focus on creating the conditions to enable this transfer of responsibility. The administration has not defined them with sufficient clarity. Our strategy is sound only if framed with clearly defined and attainable goals, an understandable end point and a regional perspective. We must also avoid the inherent risks of allowing our success in Afghanistan to be defined by events that are largely beyond our control.

When U.S. troops entered Afghanistan in 2001, no true central government had existed in that country since 1979. The agreements reached in Bonn, Germany, in December 2001 led to a new constitution, an interim government and the national election of 2004. The agreements also gave considerable power to a central government in a country that is very disparate and historically far removed from the concept of central governance. The result today is a weak, fragile government in Kabul whose power on paper is far greater than in reality. It is plagued by a lack of capacity and rampant corruption. Many observers say that power needs to be devolved to a more decentralized form of governance consistent with tribal realities to achieve the Afghan government's long-term viability.

We are ramping up deployment to about 100,000 troops, along with tens of thousands of American contractors and civilians, to implement a counterinsurgency strategy in Afghanistan. This greatly enlarged presence runs the risk, well rooted in Afghanistan's history of resisting foreign influence, that the United States will be perceived as an occupying force instead of a presence seeking to assist Afghans in improving their stability and development.

Another key question that remains to be answered is: How do we define our enemy in Afghanistan? When we talk about the Taliban, we interchange terms that aren't particularly interchangeable. Three different types of actors are associated with the Taliban. First came those in a vicious government that the United States assisted in removing. Second, there is an ideologically charged group that operates principally in Pakistan, associated with the forces of international terrorism. Third, we have a separate group, presumably growing with the greatest speed, that is viewed by many Afghans as something of a regional militia defending local interests and that doesn't particularly want to threaten U.S. interests outside Afghanistan.

I have said consistently that countering international terrorism requires highly maneuverable forces able to strike an intrinsically mobile enemy. The departure of al-Qaeda from Iraq and, in large measure, from Afghanistan demonstrates why more maneuverable U.S. forces are to be favored against mobile international terrorist movements. In each instance, al-Qaeda relocated to other areas, including Pakistan and the Horn of Africa. Our military must retain the same maneuverability.

On the personnel front, our active-duty military has been deployed repeatedly for combat operations since 2001. Guard and reserve components also have deployed at levels not envisioned when the all-volunteer force was introduced. We are in uncharted territory in terms of the long-term effects these deployments are having on the well-being of our men and women in uniform, especially the Army and Marine Corps. I introduced dwell-time legislation nearly three years ago to ensure that we achieved a better balance in deployment cycles with a minimum interval before follow-on deployments. The new commitment of some 30,000 U.S. troops will put additional strains on our forces and their families. I plan to press the administration on this point to ensure that we are more vigilant in safeguarding the welfare of our men and women in uniform.

The Washington Post

WE HELPED THE BANKERS. NOW IT'S THEIR TURN.

By: Senator Jim Webb
March 21, 2010

On Sept. 19, 2008, Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson and Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke convened a conference call with the Democratic caucus of the U.S. Senate. We were starkly told that the liquidity of our financial system was frozen by a plethora of toxic assets and that if we did not immediately appropriate \$700 billion the world economy would, within weeks, descend into a cataclysmic free-fall.

Ten days of frantic briefings and negotiations followed. I talked with people across the philosophical spectrum and heard conflicting advice, but the bottom line was: The crisis is real. On Oct. 1, 2008, the Senate voted to fund the Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP).

I decided to vote favorably after being reassured by Senate Democratic leaders that we would examine excessive executive compensation, work to reregulate the financial sector and include the American taxpayer on the upside of any recovery.

The financial sector recovered rather quickly, but not without a vast amount of help.

The time has come to include taxpayers in the rewards of a recovery that would never have happened without their money.

Billions of dollars in bonuses paid recently to financial-sector executives are a direct result of the TARP bailout and generous Federal Reserve policies constructed during the crisis. These firms have had toxic assets removed from their balance sheets and have benefited from interest rates near zero as the Federal Reserve opened its “discount window.” A July 2009 report to Congress indicated that the guarantee of support from the Fed was in the neighborhood of \$6.8 trillion. In short, the top-tier managers in these companies had enormous backup from taxpayers.

As we are all painfully aware, this economic crisis wiped out jobs, assets and retirement accounts. It is not fair, as we pick up the pieces, that our middle class is the last to be made whole.

Recognizing this, I offered a one-shot amendment to recent “tax extenders” legislation, designed to give taxpayers a place on the upside of the recovery of the financial system that they so clearly enabled. This amendment, which Sen. Barbara Boxer principally co-sponsored, provided for a one-time 50 percent tax on bonuses in excess of \$400,000 paid to executives of Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and any other financial institution that received at least \$5 billion through TARP. The tax would apply only for the excess amount of the bonuses (and not on basic income) of monies earned in 2009 and compensated in 2010. At a time of huge deficit spending, this “fairness tax” would recover \$3.5 billion to \$10 billion.

After predictable lobbying by the financial sector, the amendment was not even allowed a vote on the Senate floor. Why? Because this issue, like others involving true economic fairness, is political poison. Voting in favor of a “windfall profits” tax, however narrowly defined, incurs the wrath of key political donors. But voting against it would increase the anger of working people who know they are not being fairly treated. And so, after a bit of political hand-wringing, the issue disappeared from view.

I do not favor recurring taxes on windfall profits. They are usually difficult to define in a rough-and-tumble economic culture designed to reward inventiveness and the willingness to take risks. But this situation is different. The risks were mitigated, if not eliminated. There is no risk or inventiveness to reward. These executives got lucky, to the exact degree that our middle-class taxpayers got the shaft.

Entrepreneurial risk-taking is an engine for growth in our economy and should be justly rewarded. But our middle class, which seldom has direct access to power, deserves the full protection of our leaders. In this case, bailed-out executives should be eternally grateful that they are receiving not only full compensation but also extremely generous bonuses. And our political leaders should have the fortitude to require that bonuses in excess of \$400,000 be shared with American workers who may not even own stock but who were required to invest their tax dollars into TARP to stabilize the economy.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

DIVERSITY AND THE MYTH OF WHITE PRIVILEGE

By: Senator Jim Webb

July 23, 2010

The NAACP believes the tea party is racist. The tea party believes the NAACP is racist. And Pat Buchanan got into trouble recently by pointing out that if Elena Kagan is confirmed to the Supreme Court, there will not be a single Protestant Justice, although Protestants make up half the U.S. population and dominated the court for generations.

Forty years ago, as the United States experienced the civil rights movement, the supposed monolith of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominance served as the whipping post for almost every debate about power and status in America. After a full generation of such debate, WASP elites have fallen by the wayside and a plethora of government-enforced diversity policies have marginalized many white workers. The time has come to cease the false arguments and allow every American the benefit of a fair chance at the future.

I have dedicated my political career to bringing fairness to America's economic system and to our work force, regardless of what people look like or where they may worship. Unfortunately, present-day diversity programs work against that notion, having expanded so far beyond their original purpose that they now favor anyone who does not happen to be white.

In an odd historical twist that all Americans see but few can understand, many programs allow recently arrived immigrants to move ahead of similarly situated whites whose families have been in the country for generations. These programs have damaged racial harmony. And the more they have grown, the less they have actually helped African-Americans, the intended beneficiaries of affirmative action as it was originally conceived.

How so?

Lyndon Johnson's initial program for affirmative action was based on the 13th Amendment and on the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which authorized the federal government to take actions in order to eliminate "the badges of slavery." Affirmative action was designed to recognize the uniquely difficult journey of African-Americans. This policy was justifiable and understandable, even to those who came from white cultural groups that had also suffered in socio-economic terms from the Civil War and its aftermath.

The injustices endured by black Americans at the hands of their own government have no parallel in our history, not only during the period of slavery but also in the Jim Crow era that followed. But the extrapolation of this logic to all "people of color"—especially since 1965, when new immigration laws dramatically altered the demographic makeup of the U.S.—moved affirmative action away from remediation and toward discrimination, this time against whites. It has also lessened the focus on assisting African-Americans, who despite a veneer of successful people at the very top still experience high rates of poverty, drug abuse, incarceration and family breakup.

Those who came to this country in recent decades from Asia, Latin America and Africa did not suffer discrimination from our government, and in fact have frequently been the beneficiaries of special government programs. The same cannot be said of many hard-working white Americans, including those whose roots in America go back more than 200 years.

Contrary to assumptions in the law, white America is hardly a monolith. And the journey of white American cultures is so diverse (yes) that one strains to find the logic that could lump them together for the purpose of public policy.

The clearest example of today's misguided policies comes from examining the history of the American South.

The old South was a three-tiered society, with blacks and hard-put whites both dominated by white elites who manipulated racial tensions in order to retain power. At the height of slavery, in 1860, less than 5% of whites in the South owned slaves. The eminent black historian John Hope Franklin wrote that "fully three-fourths of the white people in the South had neither slaves nor an immediate economic interest in the maintenance of slavery."

The Civil War devastated the South, in human and economic terms. And from post-Civil War Reconstruction to the beginning of World War II, the region was a ravaged place, affecting black and white alike.

In 1938, President Franklin Roosevelt created a national commission to study what he termed "the long and ironic history of the despoiling of this truly American section." At that time, most industries in the South were owned by companies outside the region. Of the South's 1.8 million sharecroppers, 1.2 million were white (a mirror of the population, which was 71% white). The illiteracy rate was five times that of the North-Central states and more than twice that of New England and the Middle Atlantic (despite the waves of European immigrants then flowing to those regions). The total endowments of all the colleges and universities in the South were less than the endowments of Harvard and Yale alone. The average schoolchild in the South had \$25 a year spent on his or her education, compared to \$141 for children in New York.

Generations of such deficiencies do not disappear overnight, and they affect the momentum of a culture. In 1974, a National Opinion Research Center (NORC) study of white ethnic groups showed that white Baptists nationwide averaged only 10.7 years of education, a level almost identical to blacks' average of 10.6 years, and well below that of most other white groups. A recent NORC Social Survey of white adults born after World War II showed that in the years 1980-2000, only 18.4% of white Baptists and 21.8% of Irish Protestants—the principal ethnic group that settled the South—had obtained college degrees, compared to a national average of 30.1%, a Jewish average of 73.3%, and an average among those of Chinese and Indian descent of 61.9%.

Policy makers ignored such disparities within America's white cultures when, in advancing minority diversity programs, they treated whites as a fungible monolith. Also lost on these policy makers were the differences in economic and educational attainment among nonwhite cultures. Thus nonwhite groups received special consideration in a wide variety of areas including business startups, academic admissions, job promotions and lucrative government contracts.

Where should we go from here? Beyond our continuing obligation to assist those African-Americans still in need, government-directed diversity programs should end.

Nondiscrimination laws should be applied equally among all citizens, including those who happen to be white. The need for inclusiveness in our society is undeniable and irreversible, both in our markets and in our communities. Our government should be in the business of enabling opportunity for all, not in picking winners. It can do so by ensuring that artificial distinctions such as race do not determine outcomes.

Memo to my fellow politicians: Drop the Procrustean policies and allow harmony to invade the public mindset. Fairness will happen, and bitterness will fade away.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA'S GATHERING STORM

By: Senator Jim Webb

August 20, 2012

Since World War II, despite the costly flare-ups in Korea and Vietnam, the United States has proved to be the essential guarantor of stability in the Asian-Pacific region, even as the power cycle shifted from Japan to the Soviet Union and most recently to China. The benefits of our involvement are one of the great success stories of American and Asian history, providing the so-called second tier countries in the region the opportunity to grow economically and to mature politically.

As the region has grown more prosperous, the sovereignty issues have become more fierce. Over the past two years Japan and China have openly clashed in the Senkaku Islands, east of Taiwan and west of Okinawa, whose administration is internationally recognized to be under Japanese control. Russia and South Korea have reasserted sovereignty claims against Japan in northern waters. China and Vietnam both claim sovereignty over the Paracel Islands. China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei and Malaysia all claim sovereignty over the Spratly Islands, the site of continuing confrontations between China and the Philippines.

Such disputes involve not only historical pride but also such vital matters as commercial transit, fishing rights, and potentially lucrative mineral leases in the seas that surround the thousands of miles of archipelagos. Nowhere is this growing tension clearer than in the increasingly hostile disputes in the South China Sea.

On June 21, China's State Council approved the establishment of a new national prefecture which it named Sansha, with its headquarters on Woody Island in the Paracel Islands. Called Yongxing by the Chinese, Woody Island has no indigenous population and no natural water supply, but it does sport a military-capable runway, a post office, a bank, a grocery store and a hospital.

The Paracels are more than 200 miles southeast of Hainan, mainland China's southernmost territory, and due east of Vietnam's central coast. Vietnam adamantly claims sovereignty over the island group, the site of a battle in 1974 when China attacked the Paracels in order to oust soldiers of the former South Vietnamese regime.

The potential conflicts stemming from the creation of this new Chinese prefecture extend well beyond the Paracels. Over the last six weeks the Chinese have further proclaimed that the jurisdiction of Sansha includes not just the Paracel Islands but virtually the entire South China Sea, connecting a series of Chinese territorial claims under one administrative rubric. According to China's official news agency Xinhua, the new prefecture "administers over 200 islets" and "2 million square kilometers of water." To buttress this annexation, 45 legislators have been appointed to govern the roughly 1,000 people on these islands, along with a 15-member Standing Committee, plus a mayor and a vice mayor.

These political acts have been matched by military and economic expansion. On July 22, China's Central Military Commission announced that it would deploy a garrison of soldiers to guard the islands in the area. On July 31, it announced a new policy of "regular combat-readiness patrols" in the South China Sea. And China has now begun offering oil exploration rights in locations recognized by the international community as within Vietnam's exclusive economic zone.

For all practical purposes China has unilaterally decided to annex an area that extends eastward from the East Asian mainland as far as the Philippines, and nearly as far south as the Strait of Malacca. China's new "prefecture" is nearly twice as large as the combined land masses of Vietnam, South Korea, Japan and the Philippines. Its "legislators" will directly report to the central government.

American reaction has been muted. The State Department waited until Aug. 3 before expressing official concern over China's "upgrading of its administrative level . . . and establishment of a new military garrison" in the disputed areas. The statement was carefully couched within the context of long-standing policies calling for the resolution of sovereignty issues in accordance with international law and without the use of military force.

Even so, the Chinese government responded angrily, warning that State Department officials had "confounded right and wrong, and sent a seriously wrong message." The People's Daily, a quasi-official publication, accused the U.S. of "fanning the flames and provoking division, deliberately creating antagonism with China." Its overseas edition said it was time for the U.S. to "shut up."

In truth, American vacillations have for years emboldened China. U.S. policy with respect to sovereignty issues in Asian-Pacific waters has been that we take no sides, that such matters must be settled peacefully among the parties involved. Smaller, weaker countries have repeatedly called for greater international involvement.

China, meanwhile, has insisted that all such issues be resolved bilaterally, which means either never or only under its own terms. Due to China's growing power in the region, by taking no position Washington has by default become an enabler of China's ever more aggressive acts.

The U.S., China and all of East Asia have now reached an unavoidable moment of truth. Sovereignty disputes in which parties seek peaceful resolution are one thing; flagrant, belligerent acts are quite another. How this challenge is addressed will have implications not only for the South China Sea, but also for the stability of East Asia and for the future of U.S.-China relations.

History teaches us that when unilateral acts of aggression go unanswered, the bad news never gets better with age. Nowhere is this cycle more apparent than in the alternating power shifts in East Asia. As historian Barbara Tuchman noted in her biography of U.S. Army Gen. Joseph Stillwell, it was China's plea for U.S. and League of Nations support that went unanswered following Japan's 1931 invasion of Manchuria, a neglect that "brewed the acid of appeasement that . . . opened the decade of descent to war" in Asia and beyond.

While America's attention is distracted by the presidential campaign, all of East Asia is watching what the U.S. will do about Chinese actions in the South China Sea. They know a test when they see one. They are waiting to see whether America will live up to its uncomfortable but necessary role as the true guarantor of stability in East Asia, or whether the region will again be dominated by belligerence and intimidation.

The Chinese of 1931 understood this threat and lived through the consequences of an international community's failure to address it. The question is whether the China of 2012 truly wishes to resolve issues through acceptable international standards, and whether the America of 2012 has the will and the capacity to insist that this approach is the only path toward stability.

Mr. Webb, a Democrat, is a U.S. senator from Virginia.

APPENDIX 2: MAJOR MEDIA COVERAGE

- **Post-9/11 GI Bill**
- **Engagement in Asia**
- **Criminal Justice Reform**
- **Wartime Contracting**
- **Iraq and Afghanistan**
- **Libya and Syria**

Newsweek

BECAUSE IT'S RIGHT

By: Anna Quindlen
March 31, 2008

James Webb, the Vietnam Vet and senator from Virginia who was once secretary of the Navy, likes to share the chart he prepared for five of his Senate colleagues. They are men who fought in World War II and afterward went to college and even law school on the American taxpayer, a free ride in exchange for their service. Webb's chart quantifies how much of their education costs would have been covered if they had served in Iraq or Afghanistan. Not even close.

In 1944 President Roosevelt signed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, commonly known as the GI Bill. It was one of the most visionary and transformative pieces of legislation in American history, providing free education for returning veterans. Its champions believed it was the moral response to the sacrifice those service members had made, but it also solved an economic and social problem. An influx of millions of unemployed and untrained men into the labor force could have triggered another Great Depression. But with 5 million of those soldiers becoming students instead, the result was the ascendancy of the middle class and a period of enormous prosperity. Every dollar spent on the GI Bill was multiplied many times over in benefits to the postwar U.S. economy.

But government institutions are notoriously amnesiac. College costs have escalated, and benefits have shrunk. Service members are surprised to discover that the grateful nation that made it possible for Sen. John Warner to go to both college and law school and Sen. Frank Lautenberg to graduate from an Ivy League university won't even cover three years at a public institution, much less a private college. Members of the National Guard and Reserves, who have been a linchpin of the current conflicts, receive only a fraction of that help.

"Watch the commercials," says Paul Rieckhoff, founder and executive director of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America. "It looks as though you're going to be able to go wherever you want. People ask all the time, 'Don't you all go to school for free?'"

The answer is no, but Senator Webb is the author of legislation that would help change that. His revamped GI Bill would cover the full cost of the most expensive public institution in any given state; World War II vets like Lautenberg and Warner are enthusiastic supporters, as are dozens of other senators. (Oddly enough, Webb has not been able to get John McCain, who received the ultimate taxpayer-funded education at the Naval Academy, to take a position on the bill.) The source of the opposition is shocking: the Department of Defense, whose leaders argue that offering enhanced educational opportunities to soldiers would hurt retention. Military brass apparently tremble at the notion that multiple deployments, starvation wages and inadequate medical care might not be enough to hold on to their people.

Of course, this is the military brass who have had to lower age and ability standards despite spending billions to try to entice young men and women to join up. It does not seem to have occurred to them

that a better long-range plan would be to offer true educational incentives so that more focused and ambitious people would enlist. Webb says, “This will expand the recruiting base because you could approach smart people just finishing high school, who are worried about paying for college, and say, ‘If you serve your country you’ll get a first-class education’.”

Because of the DoD opposition, Webb has had a hard time prying loose estimates of how much these expanded benefits will cost, but at this point he thinks the figure is about \$2 billion. That’s half what is spent annually on recruitment and the cost of only a couple of days’ worth of war in Iraq. But, more important, Rieckhoff says it’s one of those costs he suspects the American people would support happily. “If the president stood up tomorrow and said, ‘I need \$2 billion to send vets to college,’ people would be doing bake sales and carwashes across America,” he says. “They can find that kind of money in the seat cushions on Capitol Hill.”

The original GI Bill set the standard for innovative and audacious legislation. It was right in both senses of that word: the sensible thing to do, and the moral thing as well. And it helped expunge the shameful treatment of World War I veterans, many of whom had found themselves unemployed and destitute. The Department of Defense says it’s a different era now, with a war that drags on and a volunteer Army, than it was when the GI Bill was first signed. But it’s the same era, too. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that unemployment among young veterans is three times the national average. Already some Iraq vets are homeless and have substance-abuse problems.

Offering these men and women a college education is the least we can do. It’s not free; they’ve already paid, in Fallujah and Kabul. If Congress wants an economic-stimulus package, this is a great one. A Topeka, Kans., lawyer and national commander of the American Legion, Harry Colmery, was the architect of the original GI Bill. He asked a question that is as resonant today as it was then: “If we can spend 200 to 300 billion dollars to teach our men and women to kill, why quibble over a billion or so to help them to have the opportunity to earn economic independence and to enjoy the fruits of freedom?”

The Washington Post

EDITORIAL: WHAT THE GIs DESERVE

June 29, 2008

POLITICAL PROMISES are easy to make, harder to keep. So it is a testament to the tenacity of Sen. James Webb (D-Va.) and the justice of his cause that Congress has enacted a new GI Bill for war veterans. The freshman senator's ability to work across party lines means that the men and women who risk their lives for America's well-being will, in return, get expanded education benefits, along with opportunities for better futures.

The expansion of education benefits for Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans is part of the \$257.5 billion emergency spending bill that passed the Senate on Thursday. The House gave its approval earlier, and President Bush is expected to sign it this week. The timing is fitting, considering that 64 years ago last Sunday, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed into law the original GI Bill, which made a college education affordable for millions of World War II veterans. Today's warriors are equally deserving, but the system, designed for a peacetime military, has not kept pace with the costs of college. Mr. Webb's bill — The Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act — is true to the original in providing full tuition, housing and living costs.

The price tag of the program is not cheap — an estimated \$62 billion over 10 years. While Mr. Webb is right that taking care of veterans must be considered a cost of war, it's irresponsible that Congress and the White House refused to come up with money to pay for it. To get Republican support for the measure, House leaders agreed to drop what would have been a perfectly reasonable tax on affluent Americans. So the country is left with yet another unfunded entitlement program. A modification of the bill to allow some educational benefits to be transferred to immediate family members was a sensible solution to administration concerns about the bill's impact on service retention, but it, too, added to the unfunded costs.

The measure was a mere glint in the eye when Mr. Webb introduced it on his first day in office 18 months ago. It wasn't given much of a chance of advancing. Enlisting Republicans and fellow veterans such as Sens. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) and John W. Warner (R-Va.) was important. In the end, Mr. Webb had lined up 58 co-sponsors in the Senate and 302 in the House. Also key was gaining the solid support of all the major veterans groups. No doubt Mr. Webb's background as former Navy secretary helped in dealing with Pentagon concerns. But what served him best was his justifiable outrage at how a generation of veterans was being shortchanged.

The Free Lance-Star

EDITORIAL: MR. WEBB'S GI BILL

August 7, 2009

THE SERVICEMEN'S Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill, sent 7.8 million World War II veterans to college or vocational school—an astounding infusion of human capital into U.S. society that helped ensure national prosperity for decades. American veterans of the wars in Korea and Vietnam also received generous benefits. Then came the all-volunteer military and an excuse for GI Bill parsimony: Benefits to younger veterans starkly declined. Then Virginia elected Jim Webb to the U.S. Senate.

Sen. Webb's "New GI Bill," which went into effect Aug. 1, returns a full measure of educational aid to Americans who've served since 9/11, when falling towers and a flaming Pentagon signaled the start of a long war against a new set of lethal enemies. The fierce fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan—between them, the wars have killed more than 5,000 Americans and wounded perhaps 10 times that number—justifies a robust GI Bill, especially since, as Mr. Webb last year told Free Lance-Star readers, "Seventy percent of the Marine Corps and 75 percent of the Army leave at or before the end of their first enlistment, so the all-volunteer military is not an all-career military. When the overwhelming majority are leaving at the end of one enlistment, you still have a citizen-soldier, and those are the people who have not been taken care of."

That's the case no more. Under the Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2008, as it's formally known, a veteran with 36 months of service can attend for four years, tuition-free, any public college or university. A monthly housing stipend (i.e., "room and board") can reach \$2,700, and a vet can receive \$1,000 per year to buy books. The dollar value of the public-college benefit can be applied to private institutions, many of which will supply further aid that the government will then match. Of the miscellaneous other benefits of the New GI Bill, the major one—pushed by then-President George W. Bush—allows service members who put in at least 10 years to transfer their benefits to a spouse or child.

The common wisdom is that a freshman senator can't accomplish anything important. Mr. Webb did. The very day he was sworn in (Jan. 5, 2007), he introduced his re-sinewed GI Bill and saw Mr. Bush sign it into law a year and a half later. On Capitol Hill, that is warp speed. George Allen, whom Mr. Webb defeated, served six years in the Senate. Maybe if the hawkish Mr. Allen had done something like this, rather than ridicule South Asian ethnicity and tar Mr. Webb's fine Vietnam War novels as pornography, he might still be serving. Also, another Virginia Democrat, Rep. Bobby Scott of Newport News, introduced companion GI Bill House legislation. Why did it take the Party of the Left to create this example of applied patriotism?

Just under 2 million Americans have deployed to fight the nation's wars since Sept. 11, 2001. Most of the rest of us have sacrificed nothing. The New GI Bill represents a small payment on a great national debt.

The New York Times

VISIT TO MYANMAR

August 18, 2009

Myanmar's repressive government was uncharacteristically welcoming when Senator Jim Webb visited last weekend. The junta released an American prisoner. Its leader, Senior Gen. Than Shwe, held talks with Mr. Webb and allowed him to meet with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize winner who has been under house arrest for 14 of the last 20 years.

We hope this new attitude means that Myanmar's leaders are looking for ways to lessen their isolation and are finally ready to loosen their iron grip. We encourage the Obama administration to test that proposition. But it is far too early to lift sanctions on one of the world's most authoritarian regimes.

The seven-year sentence imposed on John Yettaw was cruel. The American, who suffers from post-traumatic stress, was convicted after swimming across a lake to visit Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi, uninvited, at her home. The junta used the incident to add another 18 months to her detention, which now extends past next year's general elections. She — and 2,000 other political prisoners — should be released immediately and allowed to engage in peaceful political activity.

Mr. Webb is right that American policy — Washington tries to isolate the junta, while Myanmar's neighbors pursue engagement — has failed to bring change. The Obama administration's policy review, on hold during Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi's trial, must be speeded up if Washington hopes to influence the elections.

Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi has been a strong supporter of economic pressure. But Mr. Webb said she told him she “is not opposed to lifting some sanctions.” A statement issued by her lawyer on Tuesday suggests otherwise. We would like to hear her views directly.

Any change should begin with a dialogue to explore how relations might improve. The United States should press the junta to free Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi and allow the opposition to participate in fair elections. It should make clear that it is prepared to begin lifting sanctions if the junta demonstrates its willingness to stop persecuting its own people. Washington must also make clear that it is closely monitoring reports of suspected nuclear cooperation between Myanmar and North Korea.

The administration must also persuade China (Myanmar's major foreign investor), India and others to rethink their policies. If Washington is willing to open a dialogue with the generals, Myanmar's neighbors must be willing to use their diplomatic and economic influence to press the generals toward a peaceful transition.

TURNING AMERICA'S GAZE TOWARD ASIA

By: Emily Cadei
November 14, 2011

In April 2001, Jim Webb took a break from writing novels to pen a testy opinion piece in *The Wall Street Journal* that heavily criticized the recently departed Clinton administration's record on China and called for Washington to "reinvigorate" its alliances in East Asia, particularly Japan, to counter Beijing's rising assertiveness in the region.

Just over a decade later, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton issued a strikingly similar call for "updating" and "strengthening" America's East Asian alliances. "We need to update them for a changing world," she wrote in a lengthy piece in *Foreign Policy* magazine titled "America's Pacific Century."

While the Obama administration has turned to that goal in earnest over the past few months, Webb has been working on it his entire career — from his days as a Marine during the Vietnam War and a top defense official in the Reagan administration to his election to the Senate as a Virginia Democrat in 2006.

Webb's years of outreach to East Asian and Pacific leaders, his regular travel to the region and his efforts to raise the region's profile in Washington have made him one of the most sought-after American public officials in capitals from Tokyo to Bangkok. In a part of the world where diplomacy is a high art, those types of relationships are invaluable to U.S. policy makers. But just as the administration has begun to shift more of its attention to the region, Washington will be losing that very asset: Webb announced earlier this year that he will not seek a second term in the Senate.

Webb maintains that, regardless of his formal post or title, he will continue to be an active force in U.S.-Asian relations. But his departure from the Senate will create a vacuum on Capitol Hill when it comes to comprehensive engagement in the region — one that no other current member of Congress may be able to fill.

The Obama administration, if it wasn't before, is now on the same page as Webb on the need to focus on Asia and its ever-expanding economic and political clout. As Deputy Secretary of State William J. Burns said in a recent speech, "The broader Pacific will be the most dynamic and significant part of the world for American interests for many decades to come."

Frequent Fliers

In the past month, a slew of top administration officials from the Pentagon and the State Department have traveled to East Asia. U.S. diplomats participated in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation summit last week. And President Obama headed to Hawaii at the end of the week to host the 2011 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

The scaled-up U.S. outreach is in part a reaction to China's rise and its increasingly assertive military posture, which have close Asia watchers such as Webb worried that it could destabilize the region. Webb is wary of China, but he has also avoided engaging in the sort of finger-pointing and demagoguing toward Beijing that has become common in Congress. Instead, he has pushed for the United States to become more active in the broader region, both in its bilateral and multilateral relations, arguing that America is the only country in a position to maintain stability.

The administration appears to agree. Clinton "has been indefatigable about getting out to the region," says Douglas Paal, an Asia expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. During her past two and a half years at Foggy Bottom, Clinton has made eight trips to Asia. In fact, it was her first foreign destination as secretary. But it is only in the past few months that the administration as a whole has begun to shift more high-level attention to the region.

Obama's hosting of APEC — an economic group that includes 21 countries in the Asia-Pacific region — followed Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta's high-profile trip last month to Indonesia, Japan and South Korea, his first as Pentagon chief. From APEC, both Clinton and Obama head to Bali, Indonesia, for the East Asia Summit, an 18-nation security forum created in 2005 to address the burgeoning military issues in the region. Obama will be the first American president to attend.

Through these kind of high-profile engagements, the administration is hoping to seize the initiative for its Asia and Pacific agenda after constant distractions posed by the North Africa, Middle East and global economic crises. And with the Iraq and Afghanistan wars ostensibly winding down, officials hope they can sustain that momentum in the coming years.

Paal says he doubts that the rest of the world's hot spots will ever settle down enough to allow the administration to turn its foreign policy focus predominantly toward Asia. "Asia tends not to be headline-grabbing," he says, compared with the way the Arab Spring, for example, has been. But what is more important, according to Paal, is that below the surface, "the duck keep paddling under the water."

"It's those quiet, persistent trips that pay off in the longer run," says Paal, who in the 1980s and 1990s served on the National Security Council staffs of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

Personal Relationships

Quiet diplomacy is exactly what Webb has devoted his time to since entering the Senate. In nearly a dozen trips through East and Southeast Asia since 2007, he has met with government officials, diplomats, military commanders and business leaders.

Webb's visit to Myanmar in 2009 was the first by an American political leader in more than a decade. He met with opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and the head of Myanmar's ruling junta, Gen. Than Shwe — the only time Shwe has met with an American official. While there, Webb managed to secure the release of John Yettaw, an American citizen who swam across a lake to visit Suu Kyi, an act that resulted in Yettaw's imprisonment and an extension of her house arrest.

Webb says that type of in-person contact is essential to strengthening the United States' traditional alliances in the region so that the country can continue to play a central, stabilizing role among emerging economic and political powers, most notably China.

The key to diplomacy in Asia, he says, is “continuity.”

“I can remember, for instance, I was bringing American companies into Vietnam in the early ’90s, and the typical American business technique was to prep your meeting, go in, have two or three days, think you’ve sealed your deal, and leave and turn it over to an in-country partner,” Webb recalls. “That really doesn’t work in Asia. They want to know you have a long-term interest in what you’re doing.”

So early in his Senate career, Webb decided that rather than trying to legislate Asia policy, he would “do my best to spend a good bit of time” in a handful of strategically important Asian countries — Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Thailand and Singapore — “to cement relationships and to help solve any impediments that would affect our relationships.”

“You can only do that by going over there and sitting down and listening and getting to know the leadership and understanding the complexities of their domestic situations,” he says.

The Man to See

Webb’s relationships and expertise in Asia have made him a go-to figure for policy makers both in the United States and abroad. According to a senior Asian diplomat who asked not to be named, virtually every politician or industry leader from his country who comes to Washington wants to set up a meeting with Webb.

And on Capitol Hill, fellow senators have regularly followed Webb’s lead on Asia policies, whether they pertain to trade, politics or the military.

Those dynamics have made him a valuable partner for the Obama administration, particularly the State Department, with whom Webb has “extremely regular” communication on Asia, according to Kurt M. Campbell, assistant secretary of State for East Asian affairs.

“He’s been one of the strongest supporters of an American engagement strategy in the Pacific,” says Campbell, and his voice on Capitol Hill on that issue has been “indispensable.”

“I know the secretary of State has come to depend on his advice and counsel in a number of challenging circumstances,” Campbell adds.

Paal agrees that Webb’s role on the Hill has been significant, saying the Virginian has “breathed fresh air into his role” as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, a post he assumed in 2009.

Webb, says Paal, took over the subcommittee “in tandem with a new administration that wanted to take a new look” at the old assumptions about Asia and America’s relations there. “And he gave them encouragement. There had been a lot of discouragement from the Senate in the past.”

Deep Connections

Webb’s focus has been on both U.S. allies and adversaries. His ties to Vietnam, in particular, run deep: He fought there as a Marine and speaks fluent Vietnamese. His wife is Vietnamese-American.

He has tried to use his connections to help move bilateral relations beyond Vietnam War-era mistrust. That includes offering support for the Vietnamese government in several hot-button disputes with China over issues such as water rights in the Mekong Delta and sovereignty of the Paracels and Spratly Islands in the South China Sea.

Japan is another country that Webb believes is key to the United States' strategic role in the region. That presence, however, is being threatened by a long-running dispute over the U.S. military bases on the island of Okinawa, which have been long opposed by islanders and become the center of bitter domestic politics in Japan. Of all the issues rearing up in the region, that is the most crucial for the United States to resolve in the near term, Webb says.

"The basing system in Japan is vital to the credibility of our military posture in Northeast Asia, and also as it connects to Southeast Asia," he says. "Our leaders, because it hasn't exploded in their face, I don't think have fully understood the volatility of having this drag out."

Webb, who first began working on basing issues in Asia as a military planner in the 1970s, has reviewed the issue over the course of multiple visits to Japan. In April, he brought along Senate Armed Services Chairman Carl Levin of Michigan to see what is at stake. When they returned, the two Democratic senators, along with John McCain of Arizona, ranking Republican on the Armed Services panel, wrote a letter to the Defense secretary outlining their concerns about the existing agreement between the United States and Japan. The three men attached language to the fiscal year 2012 Defense authorization bill requiring detailed updates on the cost and schedule of the plan and an alternative proposal.

Webb has also played a role in promoting some glimmers of hope for change in the repressive military junta that rules Myanmar, still commonly known as Burma. Senior State Department officials traveled to Myanmar at the beginning of November — one of several trips U.S. diplomats have made to the country since Webb's groundbreaking visit two years ago — following recent decisions by military leaders to ease political party restrictions and free some political prisoners.

Building on those tentative initial steps will require a delicate diplomatic dance with Myanmar's leaders, including both flexibility and firmness at different points. "It's a complicated message to send, and I thought Webb was in a good position to reinforce the administration's efforts" there, Paal says.

Asia experts are hard-pressed to come up with other lawmakers, particularly in the Senate, who have anywhere near the breadth and depth of knowledge on the region that Webb does, not to mention his willingness to prioritize the issues in his day-to-day work in Congress.

"All I can tell you is I think his role and his experience will not be replicated anytime soon," Campbell says.

For his part, Webb says, "My connection with that part of the world has gone on for my entire adult lifetime, and it's not going to end when I leave the Senate." But leaving government will certainly limit his ability to directly shape U.S. policy in the region. That's why, administration sources indicate, officials are actively considering trying to entice Webb to join the executive branch in some sort of Asia policy post if Obama wins a second term.

Webb may be a hard sell, however. He has consistently maintained that he plans to return to the private sector when he leaves Congress just over a year from now.

The Free Lance-Star

EDITORIAL: SEN. WEBB'S 'DAMMIT' DIPLOMACY

August 19, 2009

DON'T BELIEVE that the United States has no established religion. It does: the Church of Freedom. Freedom, as the Duke said in "The Alamo," is one of those words that makes you "tight in the throat." To defer it, or to do deals with its trampers, galls most Americans. Yet in Burma, as Sen. Jim Webb suggests, the unsavory course may be wisest.

Almost two decades of ever-tightening economic sanctions against the generals who rule the Southeast Asian nation of 55 million have spectacularly flopped. The widely hated junta—in 1990 elections, which the generals voided, their party won just 10 of 485 seats—are still in power and still behaving badly, beating up Buddhist monks, hounding ethnic minorities, jailing political prisoners (about 2,100 languish), and, most recently, extending by 18 months the in-home detention of Nobel laureate and democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been under house arrest for 14 of the past 20 years. Time to try something different?

Mr. Webb thinks so. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, the highly decorated Vietnam veteran and war novelist seems to have said, "Enough of this, dammit." Amid his ongoing two-week journey through Southeast Asia, he asked for and last weekend got an audience with reclusive junta leader Than Shwe, who has for years ducked U.S. and U.N. officials. Along the way, Mr. Webb visited Ms. Suu Kyi and sprang a vision-prone American Mormon jailed after he had swum to her restricted lakeside villa. But Mr. Webb's main purpose was to lay a foundation for the "affirmative engagement" he deems the best chance of delivering the Burmese people from perpetual misery.

Most Burmese are in a bad way. Following years of civil war and bone-headed central planning by the generals, Western-pushed sanctions have done their bit to create widespread want. As Thant Myint-U, a Burmese-American who once advocated sanctions, writes in *The Washington Post*, Burma gets no development help from the U.N., the World Bank, or the International Development Fund, and, regarding humanitarian aid, "receives less than a tenth of the per-capita aid handed out to Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam," assuring that "[t]ens of thousands die needlessly from treatable diseases." Mr. Webb and Mr. Myint-U agree that this mindless "poverty bombing" of a country with a per-capita GDP of under \$2,000 is driving Burma into the arms of neighboring China while isolating it from Western influences that in time could mute its authoritarian politics.

The efficacy of sanctions is directly proportional to the meagerness of the stakes. They usually fail miserably in getting a tyrannical regime to change its stripes: In Cuba, Los Castros are still in power and still crushing dissent while the United States has buried five presidents who sought to punish them into enlightenment.

Happily for Burma, there's no powerful voting bloc of Burmese exiles to impede rational policy change. Mr. Webb deserves applause in two hemispheres for boldly trying to carve a detour around the status quo, the least promising road to Burma's freedom.

The New York Times

EDITORIAL: SEN. WEBB'S CALL FOR PRISON REFORM

January 1, 2009

This country puts too many people behind bars for too long. Most elected officials, afraid of being tarred as soft on crime, ignore these problems. Sen. Jim Webb, a Democrat of Virginia, is now courageously stepping into the void, calling for a national commission to re-assess criminal justice policy. Other members of Congress should show the same courage and rally to the cause.

The United States has the world's highest reported incarceration rate. Although it has less than 5 percent of the world's population, it has almost one-quarter of the world's prisoners. And for the first time in history, more than 1 in 100 American adults are behind bars.

Many inmates are serving long sentences for nonviolent crimes, including minor drug offenses. It also is extraordinarily expensive. Billions of dollars now being spent on prisons each year could be used in far more socially productive ways.

Senator Webb — a former Marine and secretary of the Navy in the Reagan administration — is in many ways an unlikely person to champion criminal justice reform. But his background makes him an especially effective advocate for a cause that has often been associated with liberals and academics.

In his two years in the Senate, Mr. Webb has held hearings on the cost of mass incarceration and on the criminal justice system's response to the problems of illegal drugs. He also has called attention to the challenges of prisoner re-entry and of the need to provide released inmates, who have paid their debts to society, more help getting jobs and resuming productive lives.

Mr. Webb says he intends to introduce legislation to create a national commission to investigate these issues. With Barack Obama in the White House, and strong Democratic majorities in Congress, the political climate should be more favorable than it has been in years. And the economic downturn should make both federal and state lawmakers receptive to the idea of reforming a prison system that is as wasteful as it is inhumane.

The New York Times

EDITORIAL: REVIEWING CRIMINAL JUSTICE

March 30, 2009

America's criminal justice system needs repair. Prisons are overcrowded, sentencing policies are uneven and often unfair, ex-convicts are poorly integrated into society, and the growing problem of gang violence has not received the attention it deserves. For these and other reasons, a bill introduced last week by Senator Jim Webb, Democrat of Virginia, should be given high priority on the Congressional calendar.

The bill, which has strong bipartisan support, would establish a national commission to review the system from top to bottom. It is long overdue, and should be up and running as soon as possible.

The United States has the highest reported incarceration rate in the world. More than 1 in 100 adults are now behind bars, for the first time in history. The incarceration rate has been rising faster than the crime rate, driven by harsh sentencing policies like "three strikes and you're out," which impose long sentences that are often out of proportion to the seriousness of the offense.

Keeping people in prison who do not need to be there is not only unjust but also enormously expensive, which makes the problem a priority right now. Hard-pressed states and localities that reduce prison costs will have more money to help the unemployed, avert layoffs of teachers and police officers, and keep hospitals operating. In the last two decades, according to a Pew Charitable Trusts report, state corrections spending soared 127 percent, while spending on higher education increased only 21 percent.

Meanwhile, as governments waste money putting the wrong people behind bars, gang activity has been escalating, accounting for as much as 80 percent of the crime in some parts of the country.

The commission would be made up of recognized criminal justice experts, and charged with examining a range of policies that have emerged haphazardly across the country and recommending reforms. In addition to obvious problems like sentencing, the commission would bring much-needed scrutiny to issues like the special obstacles faced by the mentally ill in the system, as well as the shameful problem of prison violence.

Prison management and inmate treatment need special attention now that the Prison Litigation Reform Act has drastically scaled back prisoners' ability to vindicate their rights in court. Indeed, the commission should consider recommending that the law be modified or repealed.

Mr. Webb has enlisted the support of not only the Senate's top-ranking Democrats, including the majority leader, Harry Reid, but also influential Republicans like Arlen Specter, the ranking minority member on the Judiciary Committee, and Lindsey Graham, the ranking member of the crime and drugs subcommittee.

There is no companion bill in the House, and one needs to be written. Judging by the bipartisan support in the Senate, a national consensus has emerged that the criminal justice system is broken.

The Economist

EDITORIAL: A NATION OF JAILBIRDS

April 2, 2009

The world's tallest building is now in Dubai rather than New York. Its largest shopping mall is in Beijing, and its biggest Ferris wheel in Singapore. Once-mighty General Motors is suspended in a limbo between bail-out and bankruptcy; and the "war on terror" has demonstrated the limits of American military might.

But in one area America is going from strength to strength—the incarceration of its population. America has less than 5% of the world's people but almost 25% of its prisoners. It imprisons 756 people per 100,000 residents, a rate nearly five times the world average. About one in every 31 adults is either in prison or on parole. Black men have a one-in-three chance of being imprisoned at some point in their lives. "A Leviathan unmatched in human history", is how Glenn Loury, professor of social studies at Brown University, characterises America's prison system.

Conditions in the Leviathan's belly can be brutal. More than 20% of inmates report that they have been sexually assaulted by guards or fellow inmates. Federal prisons are operating at more than 130% of capacity. A sixth of prisoners suffer from mental illness of one sort or another. There are four times as many mentally ill people in prison as in mental hospitals.

As well as being brutal, prisons are ineffective. They may keep offenders off the streets, but they fail to discourage them from offending. Two-thirds of ex-prisoners are re-arrested within three years of being released. The punishment extends to prisoners' families, too. America's 1.7m "prison orphans" are six times more likely than their peers to end up in prison themselves. The punishment also sometimes continues after prisoners are released. America is one of only a handful of countries that bar prisoners from voting, and in some states that ban is lifelong: 2% of American adults and 14% of black men are disfranchised because of criminal convictions.

It is possible to pick holes in these figures. Some of the world's most repressive regimes do not own up to their addiction to imprisonment (does anyone really believe that Cuba imprisons only five in every 1,000 of its citizens?). No sane person would rather be locked up in Russia or China than in America. A country as large and diverse as America boasts plenty of model prisons and exemplary training programmes. But all that said, the conclusion remains stark: America's incarceration habit is a disgrace, wasting resources at home and damaging the country abroad.

Few mainstream politicians have had the courage to denounce any of this. People who embrace prison reform usually end up in the political graveyard. There is no organised lobby for prison reform. The press ignores the subject. And those who have first-hand experience of the system's failures—prisoners and ex-prisoners—may have no right to vote.

Which makes Jim Webb all the more remarkable. Mr Webb is far from being a lion of the Senate, roaring from the comfort of a safe seat. He is a first-term senator for Virginia who barely squeaked

into Congress. The state he represents also has a long history of being tough on crime: Virginia abolished parole in 1994 and is second only to Texas in the number of people it executes.

But Mr Webb is now America's leading advocate of prison reform. He has co-sponsored a bill to create a blue-ribbon commission to report on America's prisons. And he has spoken out in every possible venue, from the Senate to local political meetings. Mr Webb is not content with incremental reform. He is willing to tackle what he calls "the elephant in the bedroom"—America's willingness to imprison people for drug offences.

Does Mr Webb have any chance of diminishing America's addiction to incarceration? History is hardly on his side. For most of the 20th century America imprisoned roughly the same proportion of its population as many other countries—a hundred people for every 100,000 citizens. But while other countries stayed where they were, the American incarceration rate then took off—to 313 per 100,000 in 1985 and 648 in 1997.

Mr Webb also has some powerful forces ranged against him. The prison-industrial complex (which includes private prisons as well as public ones) employs thousands of people and armies of lobbyists. Twenty-six states plus the federal government have passed "three strikes and you're out" laws which put repeat offenders in prison for life without parole. And the war on drugs has pushed the incarceration business into overdrive. The number of people serving time for drugs has increased from 41,000 in 1980 to 500,000 today, or 55% of the population of federal prisons and 21% of those in state prisons. An astonishing three-quarters of prisoners locked up on drug-related charges are black.

Up for a fight

But Mr Webb is no ordinary politician. He packed several distinguished careers into his life before becoming a senator—as a marine in Vietnam, a lawyer, a much-published author and secretary of the navy in the Reagan administration. And he is not a man to back down from a fight: one of his best books, "Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America", celebrates the martial virtues of the clan to which he is proud to belong.

Some signs suggest that the tide is turning in Mr Webb's direction. Congress passed the Prison Rape Elimination Act in 2003. Barack Obama's Justice Department has hinted that it wants to do something about the disparity in sentencing between blacks and whites for drug crimes. Support for both the death penalty and the war on drugs is softening: a dozen states have legalised the use of marijuana for medical purposes. If Mr Webb can transform these glimmers of discontent with America's prison-industrial complex into a fully fledged reform movement, then he will go down in history as a great senator.

The New York Times

EDITORIAL: FALLING CRIME, TEEMING PRISONS

October 30, 2011

Senator Jim Webb, Democrat of Virginia, has a smart proposal to create a bipartisan commission to review the nation's troubled criminal justice system and offer recommendations for reform. The National Criminal Justice Commission Act would be a valuable first step toward reducing crime as well as punishment. Unfortunately, Senate Republicans derailed the bill recently, with some falsely claiming that it would encroach on states' rights.

As a means of controlling crime, America's prisons are notoriously inefficient and only minimally effective, often creating hardened criminals out of first-time offenders. The United States has 5 percent of the world's population, yet 25 percent of the world's prisoners. In the past generation, the imprisonment rate per capita in this country has multiplied by five. There are 2.3 million Americans in prisons and jails. Spending on prisons has reached \$77 billion a year.

While crime has gone down notably, just 10 to 25 percent of the decline can be credited to the increase in imprisonment. The rest is from the waning of the crack epidemic, the aging of the baby boomers and other factors.

Even as the prison population has grown, less than half of the inmates are serving time for violent crimes. Far too often, prison has become a warehouse for people with drug or alcohol addiction. More than half of the population has some form of mental illness. Without proper addiction and psychiatric treatment, many end up back in prison soon after their release.

The incarceration rate has had a devastating effect on minority communities. African-Americans, who make up one-eighth of the population, now make up about 40 percent of those in prison. African-American men have a one-in-three chance of spending a year or more in prison. The trend affects whole communities, depressing earnings and increasing recidivism.

There are, however, ways to end this cycle of incarceration. This could be done by reducing sentences for nonviolent offenses, ending mandatory minimum sentences and cleaning up drug markets nationally. Reasonable senators should support the bipartisan commission that Senator Webb is calling for, which would cost only \$5 million and could help bring about compelling reforms.

THE ROANOKE TIMES

roanoke.com

EDITORIAL: WEBB PUTS TROOPS AHEAD OF PROFITS

Hiring private contractors to vet applicants for other military contracts invites abuse

September 4, 2011

Members of Congress like to rail against government waste, fraud and corruption but they rarely offer specifics, perhaps fearing that the misdeeds will surface too close to home. U.S. Sen. Jim Webb doesn't just talk about problems. He helped to establish a commission that this week identified at least \$30 billion in misspent tax dollars and outright fraud over the past decade. The price tag may well be twice that amount.

It will shock no one to learn that the waste is caused by lax oversight of military contracts with companies that provide everything from laundry services to private security armies in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Wartime Contracting Commission reveals that private defense contractors are even hired to help vet other firms competing for lucrative assignments, and to manage those contracts once they are awarded. The potential for conflicts of interest is real. Some of the companies involved are familiar in Virginia. Employees with Arlington-based CACI International administered contracts for military support services even though the firm also had permission from the Pentagon to bid on military contracts.

McLean-based Science Applications International Corp. was awarded a \$285.5 million contract in 2009 to maintain the Army's mine-resistant vehicles, but the inspector general for the Defense Department objected that company workers were allowed to discipline government workers and to help prepare contract specifications for work that the company bid on and won.

These companies and other contractors did not start the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, but the conflicts offered them irresistible business opportunities. The United States plunged headlong into two wars with the naive expectation that our troops would soon be home. The troops are still there, but at times they have been outnumbered by a private contractor workforce. U.S. reliance on private firms has reduced the number of America's military sons and daughters stationed in the Middle East, but it has also poured millions of dollars into the pockets of profiteers while leaving enlisted soldiers with inadequate safety gear.

The commission's solution is as obvious as the problem itself. The panel recommends an inspector general specifically tasked with oversight of war-zone contracts. The commission also advises military leaders reduce dependence on private security companies.

Those are logical and beneficial proposals that should not have required a congressional study, but few members of Congress are willing to stand up to private companies that bring jobs and tax revenues to their states. Fortunately, Webb is putting the interests of American troops first.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

EDITORIAL: WASTE, FRAUD, ABUSE: BETRAYING THE TROOPS

September 8, 2011

The United States increasingly relies on contractors to do the work associated with military interventions. The trend is regrettable. The government itself ought to bear the burden, primarily through the Departments of State and Defense and other relevant agencies. Contracting widens openings to unhappy consequences as well.

Virginia Sen. Jim Webb long has promoted transparency and accountability in this area. He played an instrumental role in the creation of the Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, which recently released its report. Webb has pledged to promote its recommendations.

The investigation documented about \$32 billion in waste and fraud in the two theaters of war. A statement in a summary of the effort proves especially troubling:

“The commission report notes that [as] a consequence in the 1990s federal acquisition workforce and in support units within the military, the United States cannot conduct large or sustained contingency operations without heavy support from contractors. ‘Contingency’ operations, as defined in federal law for the Department of Defense, are those involving military forces in actual or imminent hostilities, or in response to declared national emergencies. Civilian agencies use a similar definition.” This situation should not exist, but given the nation’s reluctance to pay its bills, even those regarding national security, interventions will continue to rely on contracting. An implicit privatization of foreign policy is not to be cheered. At least the government can strive to minimize financial losses as well as defective performance,

Proposals for improved delivery of contracted services include greater oversight, greater competition for bids and more thorough assessments. The question is crucial. Fraud and mismanagement along the front lines betray the troops who risk their lives on behalf of their country. As a decorated veteran and as someone who has served in the military bureaucracy, Webb understands. The campaign to reduce waste, fraud and abuse in contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan commands bipartisan attention. This rates as Webb’s finest hour as a senator.

IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN



EDITORIAL: THE SOLDIER'S BURDEN

September 21, 2007

Anyone wondering why the debate over the Iraq war is so frustrating and likely to remain so need only look at the choice the U.S. Senate faced this week. Sen. Jim Webb, D-Va., proposed an amendment that, on its face, no reasonable American could object to. Webb wanted to guarantee troops at least the same amount of time at home as they've spent on deployments. A year in Iraq, a year at home, and so on.

That hardly seems too much to ask. Nearly 3,800 U.S. servicemembers have lost their lives in Iraq, and thousands are physically or psychologically maimed. Some soldiers are on their fourth tours; some year-long deployments have been stretched to 15 months. Rates of suicide and divorce are up. Official Pentagon policy, abandoned because of war demands, is for troops to spend twice as long at home as on deployments.

Despite all this, the amendment lost. Defense Secretary Robert Gates argued that it would hamper the generals' ability to fight the war.

Which side is right? Both, and that is the problem. Placing so much burden on such a small number of people is grossly unfair. It is happening because the Bush administration knows that the only other way to maintain force levels is a military draft, which the nation would reject. But telling the generals to win a war and then depriving them of the means to do it is just as senseless.

The choice exposes the halfway-in nature of the U.S. commitment. The resources don't match the objectives. Because former Defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld wanted to prove that wars could be fought with high-tech weaponry and relatively few troops, he used a force of less than 200,000, in contrast to the 660,000 U.S. and allied forces of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. That was enough to oust Saddam, but it was inadequate for what followed.

Estimating how many troops are needed to occupy and pacify Iraq now is problematic, but the general who headed the British army at the time of the invasion says it would take 400,000, which is politically out of the question. So we muddle along with the 164,000 we have.

This is an all-too-familiar mistake, one that was widely recognized after the Gulf War was won in 100 hours. Colin Powell, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, defined the characteristics separating that war from the misbegotten war in Vietnam. Success, he said, required a clear objective pursued with overwhelming force and a clear exit strategy. Any change in goals, he argued, required caution and a new commitment to the necessary means.

That lesson has been forgotten in Iraq. As a result, the nation is mired in a conflict with no satisfying way out and the sacrifice falling disproportionately on a valiant few.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

EDITORIAL: WEBB'S NEW QUESTION: IN IRAQ FOREVER

December 4, 2007

Even when he's playing the same political game as everybody else, Sen. Jim Webb refuses to abide by the rules, including the one that requires politicians to reduce every issue to a yes or no sound bite.

Asked a simple question by Tim Russert about how the surge is going in Iraq, Webb provided a four-part answer that stretched on for several minutes and 723 words, including nuances about geography and religion, history and perspective that have been sorely missing from Washington's debate.

"So those components have come together, they have coupled with the fact that wherever the American military has gone they have done their job tactically, whether it was the initial invasion or now, and they have given us this moment," he concluded. "... We need to take advantage of this in a regional way, not simply an Iraq way."

The points expressed on "Meet the Press" Sunday are not new ones for the junior senator from Virginia. He has been a strong proponent of regional diplomacy - which the administration has only recently and haltingly begun - since before the war started. In other words, events have begun to catch up with Webb's analysis, and not for the first time.

When Webb warned months before the war began that invasion would begin a decades-long commitment to Iraq, his warning produced scoffs from neoconservatives.

Their vision of the Iraq invasion has since been discredited by events, and the White House just recently signed a "declaration of principles" in which Iraq and the United States commit "to developing a long-term relationship" that "will serve the interest of coming generations based on the heroic sacrifices made by the Iraqi people and the American people for the sake of a free, democratic, pluralistic, federal, and unified Iraq."

In other words, the U.S. adventure in Iraq looks as if it won't end anytime soon. Even if the surge is working, and it is, few Americans outside the White House have even considered committing troops and treasure to propping up the Iraq government for years, let alone decades or more.

"[I]t's sort of the elephant in the bedroom for this entire time period... how long are we going to be in Iraq?" Webb asked. "What are we funding implicitly as opposed to explicitly?... [I]f you want bases in Iraq for the next 50 years, which is what the Republican leadership now is finally openly saying... then you're going to have one sort of approach, which you ought to be open about it."

When the administration first started talking about invading Iraq, the war's costs were estimated at under \$100 billion. They've risen steadily, past \$200 billion, past \$500 billion. The latest estimates put the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan above \$2 trillion.

The national debt is expanding by \$1.4 billion a day - almost a million dollars each second, and now amounts to \$30,000 for each American. The nation will owe more than \$10 trillion by the time President Bush leaves office.

In exchange for taking out these huge loans, Americans don't get better schools or health care - they get a commitment to a corrupt and divided Iraqi government that can't be bothered to protect its own people, write its own constitution, or figure out what to do with the billions of dollars it is earning for selling oil.

America already knows that Iraq's government has squandered the sacrifice paid by so many U.S. soldiers. Now it must decide whether that same bargain is worth a new generation of indebtedness.

As he has so many times before on Iraq, Webb has identified the problem, and has suggested solutions grounded in simple sense beholden to no particular ideology. Is Washington so myopic that it can't see the elephant at the foot of the bed, even when it's broadcast on a Sunday morning chat show?

Richmond Times-Dispatch

EDITORIAL: WEBB'S SPEECH: FINEST HOUR

June 10, 2011

On Wednesday, Jim Webb delivered the most dramatic speech of his senatorial tenure. He spoke of Libya and posed tough questions regarding President Barack Obama's military intervention there.

Obama acted without congressional authorization, thereby mocking the War Powers Resolution. Although he committed U.S. forces in concert with those of other powers, his decision took the imperial presidency to its apogee. In his prepared remarks, Webb asked:

"Was our country under attack, or under the threat of imminent attack? Was a clearly vital national interest at stake? Were we invoking the inherent right of self-defense as outlined in the United Nations charter? Were we called upon by treaty commitments to come to the aid of an ally? Were we responding in kind to an attack on our forces elsewhere, as we did in the 1986 raids in Libya after American soldiers had been killed in a disco in Berlin? Were we rescuing Americans in distress, as we did in Grenada in 1983?

"No, we were not.

"The president followed no clear historical standard when he unilaterally decided to use force in Libya. Once this action continued beyond his definition of 'days, not weeks' he did not seek the approval of Congress. And while he has discussed this matter with some members of Congress, he clearly has not formally conferred with the legislative branch."

Webb's theme is accountability. Regarding Libya, Obama has not done what in similar circumstances presidents always should do. The issue is not idle. Politicians from both sides of the aisle have expressed their reservations. Conventional wisdom has remained mute, however; the Libyan escape has not generated the heat it deserves.

Moammar Gadhafi seems unlikely to survive; few would lament his fall. Yet even with a happy outcome, Obama still has overstepped his office's bounds. Webb's statement identifies a betrayal of constitutional scruple. It ranks among the senator's finest hours.

the Atlantic

WEBB TO HOT HEAD SENATORS: COOL IT

By: Steve Clemons

March 9, 2012

Last year, I ran into the Washington Post's veteran President watcher Bob Woodward over at National Airport and chatted with him about Libya and the choices and perspectives swarming around President Obama at the time. I can't compromise our conversation other than to say that we thought that we ought to create some sort of two-week foreign policy boot camp that we got every White House aspirant to agree to go through before running for the presidency — not only about important national security case studies but how to manage divergent factions around him or her.

After watching the recent reckless calls of Senators John McCain, Lindsey Graham and Joe Lieberman for direct US military involvement in Syria — I feel that the pool of foreign policy boot camp students should be expanded to everyone who runs for the US Senate. Maybe in a year or two we could add the House of Representatives candidates.

After he retires at the end of this Congress in 2012, Senator James Webb would make the ideal teacher — maybe even the headmaster — at this Foreign Policy Boot Camp. Woodward and I could be adjuncts.

On Wednesday, Jim Webb went down and said what needed to be said about America's limited options in the worsening crisis in Syria — and also stated that Libya was an anomaly when it came to US military action, not a rule.

From a press release that the Senator's office released:

“Senator Webb reiterated his concerns about the precedent set by the President's unilateral decision to use force in Libya, where historical definitions of national security interest were not clearly met. “I have a great deal of concern when you look at the Libya model where the basic justification has been humanitarian assistance, which is very vague and is not under the historical precepts that we have otherwise used,” said Senator Webb.

Webb's comments about Syria were constructive and, in my view, indirectly chided those Senators in the Chamber chomping at the bit for yet another deployment of US military force abroad.”

Webb stated:

“When people are talking about the need for leadership, we need to have a little sense of history. Leadership is not always taking precipitant action when the emotions are going. It is in achieving results that will bring about long-term objectives... Probably the greatest strategic victory in our

lifetime was the Cold War. That was a conscious, decades-long, application of strategy with the right signals with respect to our national security apparatus.”

What Senator Webb is saying is that emotional impulses may feel good at the time but they rarely achieve intended results. Americans may feel sympathy for and the pain of those Syrians being ruthlessly attacked by security forces of their own government — but to lash out emotionally, to commit to bombing campaigns, to arm the apparent rebels with US weapons may not achieve neither an outcome that stabilizes Syria or one that protects American interests in the long run.

I think Webb is impressively resisting the sweeping currents of passion about Syria in the right way — and calling for sensible strategy. Syria and Libya are vastly different in the way that government forces and those trying to rebel are standing off. In the 1990s, Turkey moved hundreds of thousands of troops to the Syrian border during unrest then because of fears that Syrian-based Kurds would move across the border into Turkey. Arab fighters could decide to flood into Syria if the fighting there turns into a sectarian Civil War.

Graham, McCain, and Lieberman need to realize that there are other powers with equities in the Syria situation — and that they can also apply pressure and operate in ways that the US cannot. But a near term, large scale US military intervention, or bombing campaign, in Syria will not stabilize Syria.

I would like to see the victims of and those standing against Assad’s thuggery prevail — but it’s important for those watching these uprisings to remember that revolutions are mostly domestic affairs — and that sometimes it takes the horrors of conflicts like the one we are seeing in Syria to galvanize the people enough to throw off their government and to select another one. The role of outside powers is usually and should be minimal — and if a nation like the US deeply intervenes, which is what McCain, Lieberman and Graham want — then the legitimacy of the successor government could be undermined.

APPENDIX 3: TIMELINES FOR SENATOR WEBB'S KEY INITIATIVES

- 1. Engagement in East and Southeast Asia**
- 2. East Asia Military Basing**
- 3. Criminal Justice Reform**
- 4. Post-9/11 GI Bill**
- 5. Wartime Contracting Reform**
- 6. Taxpayer Fairness**
- 7. Military Personnel**
- 8. Presidential War Powers**
- 9. Advocating Fair Trade Policy**
- 10. Keeping Carrier in Norfolk**
- 11. Protecting the Chesapeake Bay**
- 12. Strengthening Virginia's Infrastructure**

ENGAGEMENT IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

- **April 30, 2007:** Senator Jim Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor on the 32nd anniversary of the fall of Saigon.
- **Official Visit: June/July 2007 – Japan, Vietnam, Thailand**
 - Senator Webb engaged with heads of state/designated representatives, key diplomatic officials military leaders, and U.S. diplomats in each country.
 - Senator Webb conducted meetings with officials from each American Chamber of Commerce.
- **February 7, 2008:** Senator Webb introduced S. Con. Res. 66, a concurrent resolution commemorating the 175th anniversary of the commencement of the special relationship between the United States and the Kingdom of Thailand.
- **Official Visit: December 2008 – Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, Thailand**
 - Senator Webb engaged with heads of state/designated representatives, key diplomatic officials, military leaders, and U.S. diplomats in each country.
 - Senator Webb conducted meetings with officials from each American Chamber of Commerce.
- ***February 2009: Senator Webb selected as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs***
- **April 6, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered remarks to Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Washington Committee.
- **May 1, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor expressing support for designating May 2, 2009 “Vietnamese Refugees Day,” S. Res. 123. The resolution passed unanimously.
- **June 10, 2009: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Kurt Campbell, to be Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.
- **July 15, 2009: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** “Maritime Disputes and Sovereignty Issues in East Asia,” comprehensively reviewed the historical background and current challenges of the disputed territories in the region, including the Senkaku Islands, Spratly Islands, and Paracel Islands. It explored how this behavior affects freedom of navigation for U.S. maritime vessels operating in the region, how the sovereignty of Southeast Asian nations is impacted, and what role the U.S. and organizations such as ASEAN should have in resolving disputes.
- **July 23, 2009: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Jon Huntsman Jr., to be Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China; John Roos, to be Ambassador to Japan; Jonathan Addleton, to be Ambassador to Mongolia; Teddy Bernard Taylor, to be Ambassador to Papua New Guinea and concurrently as Ambassador to the Solomon Islands and Republic of Vanuatu; Martha Campbell, to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Marshall Islands; and Kenneth Gross, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Tajikistan.

- **Official Visit: August 2009 – Thailand, Laos, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam**
 - Senator Webb becomes the first and only U.S. official to meet with Than Shwe and Aung San Suu Kyi.
 - Senator Webb requested the release of John Yettaw on humanitarian grounds, and brought him out of Burma.
 - Senator Webb’s visits were the first by an American political leader to Myanmar in ten years; first by an American Senator to Laos in six years; and first by a member of Congress to Cambodia in the previous two years.
- **September 2009:** Senator Webb met with Prime Minister Thein Sein, Minister for Science and Technology U Thaung, and Foreign Minister Nyan Win of Burma in New York, NY.
- **September 30, 2009: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** “U.S. Policy toward Burma: Its Impact and Effectiveness,” examined Burma’s current economic and political situation and received testimony regarding that country’s long history of internal turmoil and ethnic conflicts. It also evaluated U.S. policy toward Burma, including U.S. sanctions; discussed what role the United States can and should play in promoting democratic reform in Burma; and heard testimony on how to frame a new direction for U.S.-Burma relations.
- **November 5, 2009: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Jeffrey L. Bleich, to be Ambassador to Australia; David Huebner, to be Ambassador to New Zealand and Samoa; Robert R. King, to be Special Envoy on North Korean Human Rights Issues.
- **December 2009:** Senator Webb is the Official Guest of Honor at the Thai National Day Celebration, Washington, DC.
- **December 15, 2009:** Senator Webb hosted meeting with Vietnam Minister of Defense General Phung Quang Thanh, second visit of a Vietnamese defense minister to the United States.
- **December 10, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered the keynote Address at the Japan Society Annual Public Affairs Dinner, Washington, DC.
- **January 21, 2010: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** “Principles for U.S. Engagement in Asia,” examined the consistency of U.S. foreign policy in Asia by comparing economic, diplomatic, and national security engagements with various Asian governments, and explored their ramifications on U.S. bilateral and multilateral relationships in the region.
- **February 2, 2010: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** David Adelman, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore; Harry Thomas, Jr., to be Republic of the Philippines; and Scott DeLisi, to be Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal.
- **Official Visit: February 2010 – Japan, Okinawa, Guam, Saipan, Tinian**
 - Senator Webb examined U.S. military realignment plans and the impact on the U.S.-Japan security alliance and regional security.
 - Senator Webb met with diplomatic and military meetings to discuss the ongoing dispute over the relocation of Futenma Marine Corps Air Station within Okinawa.

- **April 4, 2010:** Senator Webb was the Guest of Honor at the Japanese Lantern Lighting Ceremony for the Cherry Blossom Festival, Washington, DC.
- **April 7, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered address at the Stimson Center launch of “The Mekong Tipping Point,” Washington, DC.
- **April 15, 2010: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** “U.S.-Japan Relations,” to examine the status of U.S.-Japan relations and how strengthen the partnership.
- **May 5, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered remarks at U.S.-Japan Roundtable on Nuclear Energy Cooperation, Washington, DC.
- **May 24, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced S. Res. 538, a resolution affirming the support of the United States for a strong and vital alliance with Thailand.
- **Official Visit: May – June 2010 – Korea, Thailand**
 - Senator Webb was briefed by the Korean government on the findings of the international investigation into the sinking of the *Cheonan*.
 - Senator Webb was the first U.S. official to meet with Thai Prime Minister following the end of the protests.
 - Senator Webb held meetings focused on advancing the pending US- Korea Free Trade Agreement.
 - Senator Webb held meetings to discuss the forthcoming State Department Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report on the Thai Government.
 - Senator Webb delivered remarks at The Korea Foundation, Seoul, Korea.
- **June 17, 2010:** Senator Webb was the keynote speaker at the National Bureau of Asian Research Asia Policy Assembly, Washington, DC.
- **June 23, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced S. Res. 564, a resolution recognizing the 50th anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation with Japan, and affirming support for the United States-Japan security alliance and relationship.
- **June 9, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered remarks to the Asia Society Board Meeting, Washington, DC.
- **Official Visit: July 2010 – Vietnam**
 - Senator Webb delivered the keynote address at a symposium on the 15th anniversary of the normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations.
 - Senator Webb examined water security issues in Mekong Delta.
- **July 21, 2010: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Robert Orr, to be U.S. Director of the Asian Development Bank; Nisha Biswal, to be an Assistant Administrator of the USAID; Scot Marciel, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia; Judith Fergin, to be Ambassador to Timor Leste; Paul Jones, to be Ambassador to Malaysia; and Helen Patricia Reed-Rowe, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Palau.

- **September 14, 2010:** Senator Webb hosted and delivered an address at a Capitol Hill conference on the 15th anniversary of the normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations, Washington, DC.
- **September 22, 2010: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Kristie Kenney, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Thailand, and Karen Stewart, to be Ambassador to the Lao People's Democratic Republic.
- **September 23, 2010: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** "Challenges to Water and Security in Southeast Asia," examined the risks of hydropower dams along the Mekong River.
- **November 9, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered remarks to the National Defense University ASEAN Regional Forum Heads of Defense Universities Meeting, Washington, DC.
- **December 2, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced S. Res. 693, a resolution condemning the attack by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea against the Republic of Korea, and affirming support for the United States-Republic of Korea alliance.
- **January 11, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered an address on U.S.-Asia trade policy at The Norfolk Forum, Hampton Roads, Va.
- **Official Visit: February 2011 – Japan**
 - Senator Webb delivered the keynote address at the New Shimoda Conference on U.S.-Japan relations.
- **March 9, 2011:** Senator Webb introduced S. 537, Mekong River Protection Act of 2011.
- **April 6, 2011: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** David Bruce Shear, to be Ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and Kurt Tong, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure as U.S. Senior Official for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum.
- **April 7, 2011: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** "Combating Human Trafficking in Asia," examined the impact of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act on U.S. anti-trafficking efforts in Asia.
- **Official Visit: April 2011– Korea, Vietnam, Guam, Okinawa, and Japan**
 - Senator Webb met with government officials, U.S. diplomats, military commanders and business leaders in Korea and Vietnam.
 - Senator Webb, joined by Armed Services Committee Chairman Levin in Guam and Japan, held diplomatic and military meetings with a focus on bringing resolution to the ongoing dispute over the relocation of Marines from Okinawa to Guam and the relocation of MCAS Futenma to Camp Schwab.
- **June 27, 2011:** Senator Webb introduced S. Res. 217, a resolution deploring the use of force by China in the South China Sea and calling for a peaceful, multilateral resolution to maritime territorial disputes in Southeast Asia. It passed unanimously.
- **June 13, 2011:** Senator Webb was a featured speaker on U.S. Engagement with Asia at Council on Foreign Relations Lunch, Washington, DC.

- **June 29, 2011: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Derek Mitchell, to be Special Representative and Policy Coordinator for Burma, and Frankie Reed to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Fiji Islands, The Republic of Nauru, the Kingdom of Tonga, Tuvalu, and the Republic of Kiribati.
- **July 18, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor on U.S. engagement in Asia and the Trafficking-in-Persons Report.
- **July 7, 2011:** Senator Webb introduced S.Res.227, a resolution calling for the protection of the Mekong River Basin. It passed unanimously in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in November 2011.
- **July 21, 2011: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** Sung Kim, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Korea.
- **August 2, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks as the guest of honor at Singapore National Day, Washington, DC.
- **Official Visit: August 2011- Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, and Vietnam**
 - Senator Webb met with the heads of state, ministers of foreign affairs, commerce and defense of each country.
 - Senator Webb also held meeting with U.S. and ASEAN diplomats, leading academics and businesspeople.
 - Discussion ranged from economic challenges and opportunities, the recent governmental transitions in Thailand and Burma, sovereignty disputes in the South China Sea, and other strategic issues.
- **September 7, 2011:** Senator Webb was the Keynote Speaker at “The Inaugural Tokyo-Washington Dialogue: The US-Japan Alliance after 3-11,” Washington, DC.
- **September 13, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks at the East-West Center’s “Korea Matters for America” program, Washington, DC.
- **September 28, 2011:** Senator Webb was the Guest of Honor and delivered remarks at Indonesian National Day, Washington, DC.
- **October 4, 2011:** Senator Webb proposed an amendment to prohibit the transfer of technology developed using funding provided by the United States Government to entities of certain countries. In February 2012, Senator Webb introduced the legislation as a standalone bill, S.2063.
- **November 17, 2011:** Senator Webb proposed S.Amdt.1107, to revise the provisions relating to detainee matters in the National Defense Authorization Act.
- **November 29, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor regarding the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2012.

- **Official Visit: April 2012 – Japan, Burma, and Thailand**
 - Senator Webb held meetings with senior officials in each country responsible for foreign affairs, national defense, commerce, and energy, as well as U.S. diplomats, military officials, leading academics, business leaders, and news media representatives.
 - Senator Webb met with Okinawa’s governor, city mayors, and others to hear their views on the planned realignment of U.S. military bases on the island prefecture.
 - In Burma, Senator Webb met with head of state and traveled to Burmese countryside to observe and discuss peace negotiations with representatives from Burma’s central government and the Karen National Union.
- **April 26, 2012: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing**
Chaired: “U.S. Policy in Burma” with senior officials from the Departments of Treasury and State and USAID, as well as outside experts, to provide a clearer understanding of the range of sanctions in place and the obstacles to removing them.
- **May 4, 2012:** Senator Webb called for the U.S. to lift all economic sanctions on Burma in a letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.
- **May 15, 2012:** Senator Webb reiterated his call for the lifting of economic sanctions leading up to Burma’s Foreign Minister Wunna Maung Lwin’s visit to Washington, DC.
- **June 27, 2012: Senate Foreign Relations Nomination Hearing Chaired:** to consider the nomination of Derek Mitchell to be the first Ambassador to Burma in 22 years. Senator Webb also pressed for the Administration to take proactive steps—consistent with U.S. trade policies with other countries—in order to sustain Burma’s political reforms.
- **July 11, 2012:** Senator Webb issued a statement in support of the Administration’s decision to follow through on its commitment to expand economic engagement with Burma.
- **July 25, 2012:** Senator Webb said China’s recent actions to unilaterally assert control of disputed territories in the South China Sea may be a violation of international law. He urged the U.S. State Department to clarify this situation with China and report back to Congress.
- **August 2, 2012:** The U.S. Senate unanimously passed a resolution (S. Res. 524) declaring that China’s recent actions to unilaterally assert control of disputed territories in the South China Sea “are contrary to agreed upon principles with regard to resolving disputes and impede a peaceful resolution.” Senator Webb was an original cosponsor of the resolution and led an amendment addressing China’s provocative actions.
- **August 20, 2012:** Senator Webb published an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled, “The South China Sea’s Gathering Storm,” in response to escalating territorial disputes in the South China Sea and wrote, “The U.S., China and all of East Asia have now reached an unavoidable moment of truth. Sovereignty disputes in which parties seek peaceful resolution are one thing; flagrant, belligerent acts are quite another. How this challenge is addressed will have implications not only for the South China Sea, but also for the stability of East Asia and for the future of U.S.-China relations.”
- **September 20, 2012: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing**
Chaired: to receive testimony on “Maritime Territorial Disputes and Sovereignty Issues in Asia” from Kurt Campbell, Assistant Secretary of State East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

EAST ASIA MILITARY BASING

- **February 9, 2010:** Senator Webb commenced a week-long trip to the Asia-Pacific region to visit Japan and Guam. A strong proponent of the vital interests served by a healthy U.S.-Japan relationship, Senator Webb traveled to Tokyo, Okinawa, and Guam in order to hear the views of the current Japanese government, the leaders and citizens of Okinawa and Guam, and U.S. military leaders and personnel stationed in the Pacific region.
- **February 19, 2010:** Upon the completion of his week-long visit to Japan and Guam, Senator Webb issued a statement asserting “proper reengagement in Asia requires a strong alliance with Japan and a strong relationship with the people of Guam.” Senator Webb identified four areas to advance U.S. national strategic priorities, including: (1) the importance of renewed U.S.-Japanese commitment to their partnership and defense alliance; (2) a more realistic discussion of the timeline for streamlining U.S. bases on Okinawa and realignment of U.S. forces in the region; (3) the need to ensure military realignments do not place undue stress on the people of Guam and the island’s space limitations and infrastructure; and (4) a demonstrated commitment to an active forward presence in Asia and support for Guam’s civilian infrastructure and services needed to support an increased U.S. military population on the island as a matter of national strategy.
- **April 6, 2010:** Senator Webb applauded a decision by the White House to amend the Fiscal Year (FY) 2011 budget to direct \$50 million for upgrades to the Port Authority of Guam as an integral first step in the realignment of the U.S. military position in Asia. Senator Webb had called for this critical investment at the end of his February visit to Tokyo, Okinawa, Guam, Tinian, and Saipan.
- **April 15, 2010: Foreign Relations East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Hearing Chaired:** “U.S. – Japan Relations,” to discuss issues of national security, including military basing relocation, and commerce and politics that affect the relationship.
- **May 31, 2010:** During a week-long visit to the Republic of Korea and Thailand, Senator Webb participated in a Memorial Day ceremony at the War Memorial in Seoul, South Korea, paying his respects to our nation’s servicemembers who died during the Korean War and to their South Korean allies who died alongside them. “We should never forget that the sacrifices of our American soldiers, sailors, Marines and airmen, together with those of the Republic of Korea and our other allies, have provided Asia with a balance and a guarantee of stability and prosperity that were unimaginable when the war began,” the senator said.
- **June 23, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced S. Res. 564, a resolution recognizing the 50th anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation with Japan, and affirming support for the United States-Japan security alliance and relationship.
- **June 29, 2010:** The U.S. Senate approved a resolution introduced by Senator Webb which recognized the 50th anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty of Mutual Security and Cooperation with Japan and affirmed support for the United States-Japan security alliance and relationship (S.RES.564). “The U.S.-Japan alliance has preserved for generations a largely stable environment in Asia which has directly and crucially contributed to the region’s robust economic growth and political development,” said Senator Webb.

- **September 15, 2010:** Senator Webb issued a statement regarding the 60th anniversary of the Incheon landing during the Korean War, noting, “September 15 marks the 60th anniversary of the Incheon landing during the Korean War—one of the most brilliant military campaigns in our nation’s history and one of the finest campaigns the U.S. Marine Corps ever fought. The sacrifices made by the United States and its allies ultimately brought stability to the Korean peninsula and the region. While we continue to benefit from these efforts, we must remember the fragile nature of the region’s stability and the importance of the U.S.-Korean alliance in preserving peace.”
- **March 9, 2011:** In a hearing of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, Senator Webb said the appointment of Japan’s new Foreign Minister, Takeaki Matsumoto, comes at a critical moment in U.S.-Japan relations and stressed the importance of resolving outstanding realignment issues in a manner that strengthens the alliance.
- **April 16, 2011:** Senator Webb commenced a two-week trip to visit the Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Japan, and Guam to hold meetings with government officials, U.S. diplomats and military commanders, and business leaders. In Korea, Senator Webb reviewed the security situation on the Korean peninsula and reaffirmed his support for passage of the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement. Senator Webb returned to Japan for the second time that year. On this trip, he traveled to Tokyo with Senator Carl Levin, chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, to reaffirm the critical importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance and express condolences to the Japanese people and government following the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami. Senator Webb also visited Okinawa, Guam and Tinian, as a follow-on to visits he made in 2010, in order to meet with local officials and U.S. military leaders responsible for the proposed realignment of military bases in the Pacific region.
- **May 11, 2011:** Senators Carl Levin, John McCain, and Jim Webb called on the Department of Defense (DoD) to re-examine plans to restructure U.S. military forces in East Asia, while providing assurances to Japan, Korea, and other countries that the United States strongly supports a continuous and vigorous U.S. presence in the region. The senators believed the current DoD realignment plans are “unrealistic, unworkable, and unaffordable.” The joint statement followed Senator Webb’s preparation of a lengthy list of observations and recommendations on U.S. military basing on East Asia that he wrote following his April visit to the region with Senator Levin. Together, this trip entailed more than 30 meetings with senior government officials, U.S. diplomats and military commanders, visits to U.S. military installations, and other activities. Senators Webb and Levin subsequently presented the list to Secretary of Defense Robert Gates during a meeting in the Pentagon. “Our country has reached a critical moment in terms of redefining our military role in East Asia,” said Senator Webb. “This moment in history requires that we clearly articulate our operational doctrine, thus reshaping the structure of our military posture in that region, particularly in Korea, Japan, and Guam.”
- **May 12, 2011:** Senator Webb issued a statement following the May 11th joint recommendations saying, “The recommendations made yesterday were the product of a great deal of consideration based on many years of thought and study that began with my time in the Pacific as a military planner in the 1970s, and included two visits to Okinawa, Guam and Tinian over the past 15 months.... I would like to emphasize that the recommendations we moved forward yesterday are workable, cost-effective, capable of being implemented in a timely manner, will reduce the burden on the Okinawan people, and will strengthen the American contribution to the security of East Asia.”

- **May 26, 2011:** Senator Webb issued a statement regarding a new Government Accountability Office (GAO) report which faulted present Department of Defense plans for the realignment of military bases in Korea, Okinawa and Guam. The report called for the development of a more comprehensive and cost-efficient approach. “The GAO’s findings stress the importance of resolving U.S. basing realignments in a timely manner for the good of our strategic posture in East Asia as well as our alliances and friendships in the region,” said Senator Webb. “This is precisely what I and Senators Levin and McCain recently recommended to the Secretary of Defense.”
- **June 16, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services endorsed the recommendations for U.S. military basing in East Asia proposed by Senators Carl Levin, John McCain, and Jim Webb. All of the senators’ recommendations to ensure a strong U.S. presence in the region—while reducing costs and impacts on local communities—were incorporated in the committee’s markup of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2012. The committee approved the bill unanimously and forwarded it to the full Senate for consideration.
- **June 21, 2011:** Senator Webb issued a statement regarding the conclusion of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee meeting. The Consultative Committee extended the 2014 deadline for implementing the existing 2006 Realignment Roadmap for military basing in Okinawa and the Pacific region. “I welcome the ministers’ affirmation that the U.S.-Japan Alliance remains ‘indispensable,’” Senator Webb said, “During my time in the Senate, I have consistently maintained that the U.S. must reinvigorate its role as the guarantor of stability in East Asia.” However, the senator also called for the restructuring of the current basing agreement before funding is provided to support the realignment of U.S. military forces on Okinawa and Guam.
- **September 7, 2011:** Senator Webb was the keynote speaker at “The Inaugural Tokyo-Washington Dialogue: The US-Japan Alliance after 3-11,” Washington, DC.
- **October 19, 2011:** Senator Webb, in a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing, urged Defense Secretary Leon Panetta—who was about to visit the Pacific region and hold meetings in Tokyo with Japanese government officials—to “reexamine carefully” available alternatives to resolve the 15-year dispute surrounding U.S. military bases in Okinawa, Japan.
- **November 29, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor regarding the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2012 and its provisions relating to the U.S. basing system in Asia and his provision
- **December 2, 2011:** Senator Webb reiterated his support for the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2012, which passed the Senate December 1 by a vote of 93 to 7. The legislation includes several provisions championed by Senator Webb relating to Department of Defense (DoD) plans to restructure U.S. military forces in East Asia. The bill prohibited the authorization of funds for the realignment of Marine Corps forces from Okinawa to Guam until the Commandant of the Marine Corps provides an updated force lay-down. The Secretary of Defense was required to submit a master plan to Congress detailing construction costs and schedule of all projects necessary to realize the Commandant’s force lay-down and certify to Congress that tangible progress has been made to relocate Marine Corps Air Station Futenma. The bill also required that DoD study the feasibility of relocating Air Force assets at Kadena Air Base on Okinawa and moving Marine Corps aviation assets on Okinawa to Kadena Air Base rather than building an expensive replacement facility elsewhere on the island.

- **December 15, 2011:** Senator Webb supported final passage of the National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 1540, NDAA) following its conference with the House of Representatives. Supported unanimously by U.S. Senate conference members serving on the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the NDAA included several provisions championed by Senator Webb relating to Department of Defense (DoD) plans to restructure U.S. military forces in East Asia.
- **February 8, 2012:** Senator Webb issued a statement regarding the announcement by the United States and Japan on the need to revise the two nations' 2006 agreement regarding military basing on Okinawa and the realignment of U.S. Marine Corps units in the Pacific region. "Today's announcement represents another acknowledgment by the governments of the United States and Japan that the 2006 Roadmap Agreement must be adjusted to preserve the vital strength of our alliance and the stability of the region," Senator Webb said. "In that regard, the U.S. Congress has laid out two firm requirements regarding our basing system on Okinawa and Guam. These requirements are directly tied to defense funding. They must be met in order to ensure a comprehensive analysis before moving forward."
- **March 15, 2012:** During an Armed Services Committee hearing, Senator Webb questioned Department of Defense officials over their unexplained delay in contracting an independent study of U.S. security interests, force posture, and deployment plans in East Asia and the Pacific region. By law, the study was to be provided to the Defense Department by the end of March 2012. The independent study was one of a series of congressional reporting requirements mandated in the fiscal year 2012 defense authorization bill to ensure a strong U.S. presence in the region—while reducing costs and impacts on local communities. The independent study will inform a final report that the Secretary of Defense must submit to Congress by the end of June. "I cannot emphasize strongly enough how important it is that, first of all, the law be obeyed and second of all that we reach an endpoint on this for the good of our strategic posture in that part of the world, and also for our relations with the Japanese and the people of Guam," said Senator Webb.
- **April 1 – 12, 2012:** Senator Webb visited Japan, Thailand, and Burma. He held meetings with senior officials in each country responsible for foreign affairs, national defense, commerce, and energy, as well as U.S. diplomats, military officials, leading academics, business leaders, and news media representatives. In Japan, Senator Webb visited Tokyo and Okinawa to engage senior government officials, U.S. diplomatic representatives, local officials, academia, the business community, and both Japan Self-Defense Force and U.S. military commanders on a wide range of issues relating to the critically important U.S.-Japan alliance. Their discussions covered such areas as regional defense issues, including base realignments on Okinawa and the security situation on the Korean peninsula; energy policy; and trade and economic matters. The senator's third visit to Okinawa in as many years afforded local mayors and other stakeholders the opportunity to share their views on the current status of the planned realignment of U.S. military bases on the island prefecture, including Marine Corps Air Station Futenma.

- **April 24, 2012:** Senators Levin, McCain, and Webb sent a letter to Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta regarding a new agreement with the Government of Japan on U.S. force posture in the Asia-Pacific region. The three senators wrote to express their commitment to working with the administration to reach a mutually beneficial, militarily effective, and fiscally sustainable agreement regarding the realignment of U.S. forces on Okinawa and Guam. However, the senators expressed serious questions that had not been fully addressed regarding the emerging agreement between the administration and the Government of Japan. “Congress has important oversight and funding responsibilities beyond its traditional consultative role for this basing agreement, and any new proposal should not be considered final until it has the support of the Congress,” the senators wrote.
- **April 26, 2012:** Senator Webb, in concert with Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Levin and Ranking Member Senator John McCain, commented on the release of the joint statement by the United States and Japan regarding U.S. force posture in the Asia-Pacific region. The senators expressed their appreciation for the willingness of the Departments of State and Defense to accommodate some of their concerns by adjusting the language in certain portions of the U.S.-Japan Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee. “We still have many questions about the specific details of this statement and its implications for our force posture in the Asia-Pacific region,” the senators said, “and we will continue to work with the Administration and the Government of Japan to achieve the objectives we all share: a mutually beneficial, militarily effective, and fiscally sustainable agreement regarding the realignment of U.S. forces on Okinawa and Guam.”
- **May 25, 2012:** Defense and national security initiatives long championed by Senator Webb were advanced by numerous provisions adopted in the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2013. The bill was reported out unanimously by the Senate Committee on Armed Services May 24 and went to the full Senate for consideration. The NDAA includes several provisions advocated by Senator Webb regarding the realignment of U.S. military forces in East Asia to ensure a strong presence in the region, while reducing costs and impact on local communities. In 2011, Senator Webb drafted a set of basing recommendations that resulted in several major reporting provisions being incorporated in the 2012 NDAA and signed into law. Subsequently, the United States and Japan adopted major adjustments this year for the realignment of U.S. forces.

The 2013 NDAA restricts funds to implement the Department of Defense’s revised basing realignment until: (1) the Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command provides an assessment of the strategic and logistical resources needed to ensure the lay-down meets contingency operations plans; (2) the Secretary of Defense submits master plans for construction of facilities and infrastructure, including description of costs and schedules; (3) the Secretary of the Navy submits a plan for proposed investments and schedules to restore facilities and infrastructure at the Marine Corps base at Futenma; and (4) a plan coordinated by all federal agencies is submitted detailing work, costs, and schedule for completing construction, improvements, and repairs to non-military facilities and infrastructure on Guam affected by the realignment.

The NDAA expresses the Senate Armed Services Committee’s unwillingness to authorize funding for realignment plans until it is provided details needed to assess the strategic impact, feasibility, and affordability of the lay-down’s initiatives. The Government Accountability Office was directed to report on all costs of the realignment by March 1, 2013.

The NDAA also calls for a timeline for the identification of alternatives to the proposed replacement of Marine Corps Air Station Futenma with a new facility at Camp Schwab in Henoko, including the reconsideration of existing military air bases and other airport facilities in the area, in order to allow for prudent and critical investments in the current Marine Corps air station.

“The success of U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military relationships in Asia is guaranteed by the stability our forward-deployed military forces provide and by our continuing close alliances in the region,” said Senator Webb, who has visited Okinawa three times in as many years, most recently in April 2012. “The failure to resolve a 15-year dispute surrounding U.S. military bases in Okinawa has resulted in a volatile political debate in Japan. It is in our national interest that this matter be resolved both quickly and smartly, for the well-being of our alliance and the stability of the region.”

- **July 27, 2012:** Senators Webb, Carl Levin and John McCain commented on the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) independent assessment of U.S. military force posture in the Pacific Command’s area of responsibility that was required by section 346 of the FY2012 NDAA. The senators agreed that the CSIS report raised a number of issues worthy of further consideration, including the DoD’s inadequately articulated strategy behind its force posture planning.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

- **October 4, 2007:** Senator Webb conducted a Joint Economic Committee (JEC) hearing on “Mass Incarceration in the United States: At What Cost?”
- **June 19, 2008:** Senator Webb conducted a JEC hearing on “Illegal Drugs: Economic Impact, Societal Costs, Policy Responses.”
- **October 16, 2008:** Senator Webb convened a Drug Policy Symposium at George Mason University focusing on drug trafficking, policy and sentencing.
- **December 5, 2008:** Senator Webb spoke to The Brookings Institution’s Hamilton Project on the subject: “From Prison to Work: Overcoming Barriers to Reentry.”
- **March 26, 2009:** Senator Webb introduced the *National Criminal Justice Commission Act of 2009*. (NCJCA), S.714.
- **March 26, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor following introduction of the NCJCA.
- **April 15, 2009:** Senator Webb visited the Richmond City Jail to view prison conditions and to speak with jail staff.
- **April 17, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered keynote remarks to the Frank Dunham Criminal Defense Conference in Charlottesville, Va.
- **June 11, 2009:** Senator Webb testified at the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Drugs hearing on the National Criminal Justice Commission Act of 2009.
- **November 3, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered floor remarks to give a legislative update on the status of the NCJCA prior to Judiciary Committee mark-up and to review the problem that drove the legislation.
- **December 3, 2009:** The Senate Committee on the Judiciary conducted a mark-up of the NCJCA.
- **January 21, 2010:** The Senate Committee on the Judiciary approved the NCJCA of 2009 with bipartisan support.
- **March 5, 2010:** Senator Webb visited the Arlington County Detention Facility to learn about the facility and its mental health and substance abuse diversion programs.
- **March 9, 2010:** Senator Webb hosted a press conference in support of the NCJCA with Sens. Orrin Hatch, Arlen Specter and Lindsay Graham and representatives from the International Association of Chiefs of Police.
- **April 27, 2010:** Senator Webb held a press conference to announce introduction of the NCJCA in the U.S. House of Representatives. Reps. Bill Delahunt, Darryl Issa, Marcia Fudge and Tom Rooney attend.
- **July 28, 2010:** Under the leadership of Rep. Bill Delahunt, the NCJCA is passed in the House of Representatives.

- **January 14, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks entitled, “What could we learn from a National Criminal Justice Commission?” at a George Mason University symposium on “Undoing the Effects of Mass Incarceration”
- **February 8, 2011:** Senator Webb re-introduced the NCJCA, S. 306, in the 112th Congress.
- **August 31, 2011:** Senator Webb visited the Fairfax County Juvenile Detention Center to learn about the center’s youth rehabilitation programs.
- **October 18, 2011:** Majority Leader Harry Reid called up the NCJCA as the first amendment to H.R. 2112, a consolidated appropriations bill for 2012.
- **October 20, 2011:** Republicans filibustered the NCJCA amendment.
- **November 1, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered floor remarks condemning the obstructionist actions of Senate Republicans.
- **November 9, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered a keynote address about the NCJCA to the American Bar Association in Washington, D.C.
- **March 19, 2012:** Senator Webb spoke to Fordham Law students in New York City about criminal justice reform.

POST-9/11 GI BILL

- **January 4, 2007:** On his first day in office, Senator Webb introduced the “Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2007,” S.22
- **January 25, 2007:** The Veterans of Foreign War (VFW) and a number of Veterans Service Organizations (VSOs) endorsed the legislation.
- **April 20, 2007:** Senator Webb attended a Town Hall meeting in Norfolk with members of the military and veterans community.
- **May 9, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Veterans’ Affairs held a hearing on S.22; Senator Webb and veterans service organizations (Veterans of Foreign Wars, Paralyzed Veterans of America, Disabled American Veterans, Military Officers Association of America, Vietnam Veterans of America, and the American Legion) argued strongly for passage. Bush administration and key Republican senators strongly opposed the legislation, maintaining that it would affect military retention, be too difficult to implement, and would be too costly.
- **June 14, 2007:** Senator Webb’s legislation received bicameral support with introduction by Congressman Robert C. “Bobby” Scott in the U.S. House of Representatives.
- **June 14, 2007:** Senator Webb held a press conference with Reps. Bobby Scott and Chris Carney to announce bicameral support for the Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **July 31, 2007:** Senate Committee on Veterans’ Affairs held a hearing on DoD/VA collaboration and cooperation on the education needs of returning servicemembers.
- **November 9, 2007:** *New York Times* published an op-ed by Senators Webb and Chuck Hagel entitled: “A Post-Iraq G.I. Bill.”
- **November 11, 2007:** *Washington Post* editorialized in support of S.22, “Reward for Service: Veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan deserve an improved GI bill.”
- **February 6, 2008:** Senator Webb pressed Defense Secretary Robert Gates and Admiral Michael Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the need for new GI Bill, during a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing on the Defense Department’s Fiscal Year 2009 budget request.
- **February 12, 2008:** Senators Webb, Lautenberg, and Hagel joined nation’s leading veterans service organizations as they unveiled their Independent Budget to the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, advocating a “21st Century GI Bill.” It marked the first time in twenty-two years of presenting an Independent Budget to Congress that the participating organizations have advocated a new, comprehensive GI Bill.
- **February 13, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Veterans’ Affairs held a hearing on Fiscal Year 2009 Budget for Veterans’ Programs.
- **February 13, 2008:** Senator Webb held a press conference with Sens. Chuck Hagel and Frank Lautenberg to unveil the Independent Budget of leading veterans’ organizations, including policy recommendations for full GI educational benefits for returning Iraq and Afghanistan veterans.
- **February 26, 2008:** Senator Webb delivered remarks to the National Association of State Approving Agencies reception at the House Committee on Veterans’ Affairs.

- **February 28, 2008:** Senators Webb, Lautenberg, and Hagel reintroduced the Post-9/11 GI Bill with Senator John Warner as key co-sponsor. These key cosponsors included two World War II veterans, two Vietnam veterans; two Democrats and two Republicans.
- **April 29, 2008:** Senator Webb, Committee on Veterans' Affairs Chairman Daniel Akaka, Senate and House leadership, and a bi-partisan, bi-cameral group of cosponsors held rally with hundreds of student veterans on the steps of the U.S. Capitol in support of Post-9/11 GI Bill. The bill enjoys strong bipartisan support with 58 cosponsors in the Senate and 295 in the House.
- **May 7, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs held a hearing on Pending Benefits Legislation, including S.22.
- **June 19, 2008:** The U.S. House of Representatives passed the Post-9/11 GI Bill with a vote of 416-12.
- **June 22, 2008:** Senator Webb spoke at the celebration of the 64th Anniversary of the (Montgomery) GI Bill, Beverly Hilton, Calif.
- **June 26, 2008:** Senator Webb held a press conference on pending Senate passage of 21st Century GI Bill in the Emergency War Supplemental bill.
- **June 26, 2008:** United States Senate passed the Post-9/11 GI Bill with a vote of 92-6.
- **June 30, 2008:** The "Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act" is signed into law. The bill offers returning servicemembers up to 36 months of benefits including payment of tuition, fees and educational costs, plus a monthly housing allowance while enrolled in full-time training. It is the most comprehensive educational benefits legislation since World War II.
- **August 19, 2008:** Senator Webb received the VFW Gold Medal & Citation of Merit for Exceptional Leadership on Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **September 9, 2008:** Senator Webb was honored with top military coalition award for exceptional leadership on Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **February 11, 2009:** Senator Webb was honored with the Military Order of the Purple Heart's (MOPH) Special Leadership Award in recognition of both his work to create a new Post-9/11 GI Bill and his role as advocate for America's men and women in uniform. A Marine combat veteran, Senator Webb is a two-time Purple Heart recipient.
- **June 17, 2009:** Senator Webb was honored with the Blinded American Veterans Foundation Congressional Award for Service, Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **August 3, 2009:** President Barack Obama, Vice President Joe Biden, Veterans Affairs Secretary Erik Shinseki, and former Senator John Warner celebrated the launch of Senator Webb's Post-9/11 GI Bill at George Mason University.
- **September 30, 2009:** Senator Webb received a special recognition award from the Committee for Education Funding for his leadership on Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **April 12, 2010:** Senator Webb gave the keynote speech and accepted the Educational Policy Institute Leadership Award 2010.

- **April 21, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs held a hearing to receive testimony on implementation of the new Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **May 3, 2010:** Senator Webb recognized more than 2,300 GI Bill recipients at Tidewater Community College's Norfolk campus.
- **June 30, 2010:** Senator Webb recognized the one-year anniversary of the bill's implementation in a Senate floor speech. In just the first year following implementation, more than 550,500 students applied to receive their new benefits and more than 267,500 veterans were attending classes on the Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **July 21, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs held a hearing on "Improvements to the Post-9/11 GI Bill."
- **September 10, 2010:** Senator Webb addressed Post-9/11 challenges for the Armed Forces at the 2010 Defense Forum in Washington, D.C.
- **January 20, 2011:** Senator Webb attended a student reception for GI Bill recipients and Great Expectations Students at Piedmont Virginia Community College, Charlottesville, Va.
- **March 22, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks at a Virginia Commonwealth University's GI Bill Roundtable.
- **September 22, 2011:** Senator Webb testified at a Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Federal Financial Management, Government Information, Federal Services, and International Security hearing on "Improving Educational Outcomes for our Military and Veterans."
- **February 17, 2012:** Senator Webb met with members of the Military Coalition, including representatives from 30 different organizations, to discuss issues affecting national security and veterans at the Fleet Reserve Association in Alexandria, Va. He spoke about his intentions to introduce legislation to require that all schools receiving funding from the Tuition Assistance Program and Post-9/11 GI Bill be Title IV eligible as required for schools receiving other types of federal funding and more transparency by schools to help students make an informed decision.
- **March 8, 2012:** Senator Webb introduced bipartisan legislation to preserve the Post-9/11 GI Bill, *The Military and Veterans Educational Reform Act of 2012* (S.2179), in order to target abuses by certain schools.
 - Since 2009, more than 1.1 million servicemembers and veterans have applied to use their new benefits and nearly 700,000 have received benefits under the Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **March 26, 2012:** Senator Webb announced the support of such leading veterans service organizations as The American Legion, AMVETS, Military Officers Association of America, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars for "The Military and Veterans Educational Reform Act."
- **June 13, 2012:** The Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs held a hearing titled, "Economic Opportunity and Transition Legislation." S. 2179, "Military and Veterans Educational Reform Act of 2012," was among the bills considered. Senator Webb made a statement emphasizing the importance for passage of the bill and the support it received from other senators and a number of Veteran Service Organizations (VSOs).

- **June 30, 2012:** On the four-year anniversary of the Post-9/11 GI Bill being signed into law, Senator Webb announced that more than 745,000 people have been helped by the sweeping education legislation.
- **August 1, 2012:** Senator Webb renewed his push for GI Bill protections in response to a new report released by the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, which outlined widespread problems throughout the for-profit education sector. The findings were the result of a two-year committee investigation.
- **September 12, 2012:** Key provisions of Senator Webb's legislation, the Military and Veterans Educational Reform Act, to protect veterans' education benefits from abuses by certain schools were approved by the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee. These provisions were incorporated into the GI Bill Consumer Awareness Act of 2012 (S. 2241), which was approved by the committee by voice vote.

WARTIME CONTRACTING REFORM

- **July 18, 2007:** Senators Jim Webb and Claire McCaskill introduced the Commission on Wartime Contracting Establishment Act, S.1825, to establish an independent, bipartisan Commission on Wartime Contracting to investigate U.S. wartime contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- **July 18, 2007:** Senators Webb and McCaskill delivered opening remarks at a press conference following introduction of the *Commission on Wartime Contracting Establishment Act*, S. 1825.
- **September 20, 2007:** Senators Webb and McCaskill re-filed S. 1825 as an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for FY 2008 (H.R. 1585).
- **September 26, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered floor remarks urging support for the Webb-McCaskill Amendment that would establish a Commission on Wartime Contracting to seek out waste, fraud, and abuse and address systemic problems in contracting procedures.
- **September 27, 2007:** The Webb-McCaskill Amendment won unanimous approval in the Senate.
- **October 1, 2007:** Senate approved H.R. 1585 for fiscal year 2008.
- **December 7, 2007:** An amendment introduced by Senators Webb and McCaskill to create the Commission is included in the Senate's version of the FY08 NDAA.
- **December 7, 2007:** Senators Webb and McCaskill held a press conference to discuss the passage of the FY08 defense authorization bill containing their legislative provision to establish the Commission.
- **December 28, 2007:** President George W. Bush vetoed H.R. 1585.
- **January 16, 2008:** The National Defense Authorization Bill for FY 2008 (H.R. 4986) was introduced in the House.
- **January 28, 2008:** H.R. 4986 was signed into law. The Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan was established in accordance with the Webb-McCaskill legislative provision.
- **June 20, 2008:** Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and Speaker Nancy Pelosi named a co-chair, Michael J. Thibault, and three additional commissioners: Charles Tiefer, Linda J. Gustitus, and Clark Kent Ervin to the Commission on Wartime Contracting.
- **July 22, 2008:** Senator Webb met with members of the Commission during its introductory meeting in the U.S. Capitol.
- **February 2, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered remarks at the first public hearing of the Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan on "Lessons from the Inspector General: Improving Wartime Contracting."
- **June 10, 2009:** The Commission issued its first interim report to Congress: *At What Cost? Contingency Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan*.
- **June 10, 2009:** Followed by the release of the first interim report, Senators Webb and McCaskill asked Secretary of Defense Robert Gates to review the Commission's findings and address a number of critical issues of "immediate concern."

- **June 26, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services completed its final mark-up for the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010 and adopted three key provisions proposed by Senator Webb to enhance national security, readiness, and wartime contracting accountability.
- **June 29, 2009:** The Webb-McCaskill amendment for a one-year extension of the Commission to 2011 was adopted by the Senate Committee on Armed Services during its mark-up of the FY 2010 National Defense Authorization Act.
- **July 9, 2009:** Senators Webb and McCaskill wrote the chairman and ranking member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations to request funding augmentation to support the Commission's one-year extension to 2011; funding was subsequently appropriated.
- **October 28, 2009:** The National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2010 was signed into law; Commission was authorized a one-year extension in its congressional mandate to 2011.
- **June 22, 2010:** Senator Webb met with Commission co-chairs, selected commissioners, and professional staff to discuss its special report on Iraq transition planning and the Commission's planned activities for 2011.
- **February 25, 2011:** The Commission issued its second interim report to Congress: *At What Risk? Correcting Over-Reliance on Contractors in Contingency Operations*.
- **February 25, 2011:** Followed by the release of the second interim report, Senator Webb called for the Senate Committee on Armed Services to schedule a hearing with members of the Commission on the recommendations of their independent, bipartisan report.
- **August 31, 2011:** The Commission issued its final report to Congress: *Transforming Wartime Contracting: Controlling Costs, Reducing Risks*.
- **August 31, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered opening remarks at the release of the final report on the Commission on Wartime Contracting press conference in the U.S. Capitol.
- **September 4, 2011:** *The Roanoke Times* editorialized in support of Senator Webb's efforts to establish the Wartime Contracting Commission.
- **September 21, 2011:** Senator Webb testified at the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs hearing on "Transforming Wartime Contracting: Recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Contracting."
- **November 9, 2011:** Senators Webb and McCaskill questioned the decision by the Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan to seal its records from public review for 20 years, and called on the Archivist of the United States to fully disclose the records as quickly as possible, consistent with protections for privacy, proprietary information, and other applicable laws.
- **January 10, 2012:** *The Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, Va.) editorialized in support of Senator Webb's efforts to ensure federal accountability and to open wartime contracting investigative records to the public, "Make Wartime Contracting Report Public."
- **February 29, 2012:** Senators Webb and McCaskill introduced the *Comprehensive Contingency Contracting Reform Act of 2012*. (CCCRA), S.2139, to overhaul the federal government's planning, management, and oversight of contracting during overseas contingency operations.

- **March 1, 2012:** Senators Webb and McCaskill held a press conference to announce how the CCCRA of 2012 implements the findings of the Commission.
- **April 17, 2012:** Senator Webb testified in support of CCCRA at the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Contracting Oversight of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.
- **May 24, 2012:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services unanimously approved the Fiscal Year 2013 National Defense Authorization Act including provisions from the CCCRA.
- **June 12, 2012:** Senators Webb and McCaskill introduced a strengthened CCCRA, S.3286, incorporating revisions suggested by the Department of Defense, industry, and other stakeholders.

TAXPAYER FAIRNESS

- **January 4, 2007:** Senator Webb cosponsored Senator Harry Reid's minimum wage bill (S.2). It was later passed in the Senate as part of an Iraq emergency supplemental bill on May 17, 2007 (H.R.2206) and signed into law by the President on September 14, 2007.
- **January 4, 2007:** Senator Webb cosponsored Senator Harry Reid's bill to roll back oil and gas company subsidies (S.6).
- **April 26, 2007:** Senator Webb sponsored the Energy Security and Corporate Accountability Act of 2007 (S.1238).
- **July 3, 2007:** Senator Webb cosponsored the Disabled Veterans Tax Fairness Act of 2007 (S.326).
- **August 1, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced an amendment to the reauthorization of the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) to inject greater fairness into the tax provisions by eliminating the deferral of taxation on business income of foreign subsidiaries.
- **August 1, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor regarding his amendment to the CHIP bill.
- **December 6, 2007:** Senator Webb supported legislation that will provide tax relief for millions of working families affected by the alternative minimum tax (AMT). The AMT was originally intended for the wealthiest Americans to ensure they paid a minimum amount of tax. Because it was not indexed for inflation, it threatened one out of every five Virginians.
- **January 23, 2008:** Senator Webb wrote to Senators Max Baucus and Charles Grassley, chair and ranking member of the Senate Committee on Finance, to urge inclusion of infrastructure funds and an extension and expansion of unemployment insurance benefits in the stimulus package.
- **February 28, 2008:** Senator Webb cosponsored the Foreclosure Prevention Act of 2008, which was designed to ease the impact of the home foreclosure crisis on communities across the country.
- **April 1, 2008:** The Senate overwhelmingly voted to begin debate on the Foreclosure Prevention Act of 2008, co-sponsored by Senator Webb.
- **September 26, 2008:** Senator Webb and others wrote to Majority Leader Harry Reid to urge inclusion of certain provisions in any economic stimulus proposal.
- **October 1, 2008:** Senator Webb supported the Emergency Economic Stabilization Bill (H.R.1424), which included many of his significant provisions such as limits to executive compensation and allowing taxpayers to share in any gains achieved through the legislation.
- **October 28, 2008:** Senator Webb sent a letter to Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson to reiterate his expectation that taxpayer money be spent responsibly when implementing the recently-enacted financial stabilization plan.
- **December 12, 2008:** Senator Webb condemned the Republican filibuster of a bill that would have provided a bridge loan to the U.S. domestic auto industry.

- **January 27, 2009:** Senator Webb re-introduced an amendment to the reauthorization of CHIP to inject greater fairness into the tax provisions by replacing a portion of the 61 cent per pack tax increase on cigarettes with a tax on compensation received by hedge fund managers. He later withdrew the amendment, with assurances from Senate leadership that a more comprehensive debate on this tax would take place at a later date.
- **January 29, 2009:** Senator Webb applauded passage of the CHIP legislation.
- **October 14, 2009:** Senator Webb called on the Senate today to pass a comprehensive proposal, which he cosponsored, to extend unemployment insurance by up to 14 additional weeks for jobless workers in all 50 states.
- **February 1, 2010:** Senator Webb cosponsored the Mobile Wireless Tax Fairness Act of 2009 (S.1192).
- **February 4, 2010:** Senators Webb and Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.) introduced the Taxpayer Fairness Act, S.2994, which put a one-time windfall tax on 2009 bonuses above \$400,000 paid to executives of financial institutions that received \$5 billion or more in taxpayer support from the Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP). It would have raised billions of dollars toward reducing the deficit and offsetting the costs of pending legislation.
- **February 4, 2010:** Senators Webb and Boxer held a press conference following the introduction of the Taxpayer Fairness Act (TFA).
- **March 1, 2010:** Senator Webb submitted the TFA as an amendment to the Unemployment Compensation Extension Act of 2010, H.R.4213.
- **March 5, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor in support of the Taxpayer Fairness Act.
- **April 29, 2010:** Senators Webb and Boxer submitted the TFA as an amendment to the Restoring American Financial Stability Act of 2010, S.3217.
- **August 3, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced the Airline Baggage Transparency and Accountability Act (S.3691).
- **July 11, 2011:** Senator Webb cosponsored the Wireless Tax Fairness Act of 2011 (S.543).
- **October 11, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor in support of addressing tax inequality by raising capital gains taxes.

MILITARY PERSONNEL (ACTIVE/GUARD/RESERVE, RETIRED)

- **February 6, 2007:** Senator Webb said in remarks on the Senate floor: “Support the troops through leadership that is equal to the sacrifices we are asking them to make.”
- **March 6, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on care, living conditions, and administration of outpatients at Walter Reed Army Medical Center.”
- **March 27, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered floor remarks on the Hagel-Webb “Dwell Time” amendment to the emergency supplemental appropriation to protect the readiness of U.S. military personnel and limit overseas deployments.
- **March 28, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on Active component, Reserve component, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2008 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **April 11, 2007:** Senator Webb said in remarks on the Senate floor: “This Administration is breaking our Army” regarding a Department of Defense announcement that U.S. Army deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan would be extended from 12 to 15 months.
- **April 12, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To hold an oversight hearing on Department of Defense/Department of Veterans Affairs disability rating systems and transition programs.”
- **April 18, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services Personnel and Readiness and Management Support Subcommittees held a joint hearing “To hold an oversight hearing on military personnel quality of life and family support programs.”
- **April 20, 2007:** Senator Webb hosted a town hall meeting in Hampton Roads with members of the military and veterans community.
- **July 9, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced the “Dwell Time” amendment, SA. 2012, to H.R. 1585, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 to specify minimum periods between military deployments for Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom. The measure fell four votes short of the 60 needed to break a Republican filibuster.
- **July 10, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate Floor on Republican opposition to the “Dwell Time” amendment.
- **July 28, 2007:** The House Armed Services Committee voted to give troops more time at home.
- **August 2, 2007:** The House of Representatives passed the “Dwell Time” amendment to support troops through responsible deployment cycles.
- **September 19, 2007:** Senator Webb again introduced the “Dwell Time” amendment, SA. 2909, to H.R. 1585, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 to specify minimum periods between military deployments for Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom. The measure fell four votes short of the 60 needed to break a Republican filibuster.
- **October 1, 2007:** Senator Webb announced that the U.S. Senate approved the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 (H.R. 1585), noting it included a measure he co-sponsored to restore full benefits to surviving spouses of military retirees, by eliminating the Dependency

and Indemnity Compensation offset to the Survivor Benefit Plan. The bill also incorporated the provisions of the Wounded Warrior Act and prohibits DOD from increasing health-care fees, under TRICARE, for active-duty and retired military servicemembers and authorizes “concurrent receipt” to restore full retired pay to disabled veterans, whose pay is currently reduced by the amount of disability compensation.

- **January 31, 2008:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To hold an oversight hearing on military recruiting.”
- **February 7, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on the Commission of the National Guard’s final report.”
- **February 13, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on improvements implemented and planned by the Department of Defense and the Department of Veterans Affairs for the care, management, and transition of wounded and ill servicemembers.”
- **February 27, 2008:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To receive testimony on Active component, Reserve component, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2009 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **March 5, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on the findings and recommendations of the Department of Defense Task Force on Mental Health, the Army’s Mental Health Advisory Team reports, and Department of Defense and Service-wide improvements in mental health resources, including suicide prevention, for servicemembers and their families.”
- **April 16, 2008:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To receive testimony from military beneficiary organizations regarding the quality of life of Active, Reserve, and retired military personnel and their family members in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2009 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **September 17, 2008:** Senator Webb announced that the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2009 passed in the Senate contained important provisions for the welfare of our men and women in uniform and their families, including a 3.9 percent per cent pay raise for all military personnel, an increase in personnel end strength for the Army and Marine Corps, authorization for the Department of Defense (DoD) to carry out programs to provide training and education to spouses of active duty military personnel, and the creation of a DoD Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) / Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) Center of Excellence to conduct pilot programs to improve treatment and care for TBI.
- **February 10, 2009:** Senator Webb’s request for a 30-day extension for public comment, before new TRICARE rules for outpatient payments would be implemented in May 2009, was approved by the Department of Defense.
- **February 11, 2009:** Senator Webb was honored with the Military Order of the Purple Heart’s (MOPH) Special Leadership Award in recognition of both his work to create a new Post-9/11 GI Bill and his role as advocate for America’s men and women in uniform. A Marine combat veteran, Senator Webb is a two-time Purple Heart recipient.

- **March 11, 2009:** Senator Webb introduced the bipartisan “Perpetual Purple Heart Stamp Act,” which would direct the U.S. Postal Service to issue the Purple Heart stamp on a permanent basis as a “forever” stamp.
- **March 18, 2009:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To receive testimony on the incidence of suicides of United States Servicemembers and initiatives within the Department of Defense to prevent military suicides.”
- **March 25, 2009:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To receive testimony on Reserve Component programs of the Department of Defense.”
- **April 1, 2009:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To receive testimony on Department of Defense implementation of Wounded Warrior policies and programs.”
- **April 29, 2009:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner announced that the Department of Defense would invest an additional \$28 million through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act for 34 Virginia projects to repair U.S. Army facilities at Fort A.P. Hill, Fort Eustis, Fort Lee, Fort Belvoir and Fort Myer. In March, Senators Webb and Warner announced \$330 million in stimulus funding for construction and restoration of Virginia military facilities, which represented 80 percent of the funding allocated for military projects. This announcement accounted for the remaining 20 percent of that funding.
- **May 20, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on Active component, Reserve component, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2010 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **May 22, 2009:** Senator Webb sent a bipartisan letter to the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee requesting \$5 million in Impact Aid funding from the FY2010 National Defense Authorization Act to assist local school districts educating large numbers of military children with severe disabilities.
- **June 3, 2009:** The Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee held a hearing “To receive testimony on support for military family programs, policies, and initiatives in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2010 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **July 6, 2009:** Senator Webb announced that the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010 (S. 1390), reported out by the Senate Committee on Armed Services on June 26, contained important provisions for Virginia and the welfare of our men and women in uniform and their families. The bill, in part, authorized a 3.4 percent pay raise for all military personnel effective January 1, 2010. This was 0.5 percent above the President’s request; authorized \$27.9 billion for the Defense Health Program, required the Department of Defense (DOD) to initiate a process of reform and improvement of the TRICARE health care system, and extended eligibility for TRICARE Standard to so-called “gray-area” retirees; required the establishment of a task force to assess the effectiveness of the policies and programs developed to assist and support the care, management, and transition of recovering wounded, ill, and injured servicemembers; and increased the authorization for the Homeowners Assistance Program by \$350 million.
- **August 28, 2009:** Senator Webb met with staff and received a tour of Norfolk Naval Shipyard in Portsmouth, Va. He also announced that the Government Accountability Office (GAO) had agreed to his July 2009 request to investigate the material condition of the Navy’s four naval shipyards

after a confirmation by the Navy in May 2009 that its funding backlog at its four shipyards for sustainment, restoration, and modernization projects had grown to \$1.3 billion. At that time, Norfolk Naval Shipyard's backlog was \$450.6 million.

- **October 13, 2009:** Senator Webb introduced legislation to recognize the marriage of fallen U.S. Marine Sgt. Michael Ferschke and his Japanese wife, Hotaru Nakama, enabling her to immigrate to the United States.
- **October 23, 2009: Senator Webb is appointed to serve as chairman of the Personnel Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.**
- **October 28, 2009:** Senator Webb announced that the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010, signed into law, increased benefits for the nation's wounded warriors, provided an across-the-board pay raise for servicemembers, and properly supported training and readiness programs. The bill extended eligibility for TRICARE Standard to so-called "gray-area" retirees and prevented increases in copayments for inpatient care at civilian hospitals under TRICARE Standard during Fiscal Year 2010. The bill also required the establishment of a task force to assess the effectiveness of the policies and programs developed to assist and support the care, management, and transition of recovering wounded, ill, and injured servicemembers.
- **January 15, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered remarks to servicemembers and faculty at Joint Forces Staff College and visited veterans undergoing treatment at the Hampton Veterans Medical Center.
- **January 21, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing "To receive testimony on the findings and recommendations of the Department of Defense Independent Review Relating to Fort Hood."
- **February 25, 2012:** Senator Webb issued a statement welcoming the Navy's decision to adopt a new policy to allow women to serve on submarines, saying, "The decision follows thorough internal deliberations, and falls in line with the military's long-standing policy goal of expanding the number of assignments available to women."
- **March 10, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing "To receive testimony on the Active, Guard, Reserve, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2011 and the Future Years Defense Program."
- **March 12, 2010:** Senator Webb presented the Bronze Star Medal to Warrant Officer Phillip O'Donnell, U.S. Army (Ret.), a Stafford resident and Vietnam veteran who served in both the U.S. Marine Corps and the U.S. Army. Although he was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service by the Army during that assignment, the decoration was never presented as the result of an administrative oversight.
- **March 18, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing "To receive testimony on the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' law and policy."
- **March 22, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced S. 3148: TRICARE Affirmation Act, which ensures that TRICARE and DoD non-appropriated fund health plans meet minimum essential coverage for individual health insurance.

- **March 24, 2010:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee “To receive testimony on Military Health System programs, policies, and initiatives in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2011 and the Future Years Defense Program.” In the hearing, Senator Webb said that the sharp increase in prescription drug use among the nation’s military servicemembers is “stunning.” Senator Webb convened the hearing as part of the subcommittee’s consideration of the administration’s fiscal year 2011 budget request for the Military Health System’s programs, policies, and initiatives.
- **March 25, 2010:** Senator Webb put forward a motion to adopt two bills: S. 3148, his TRICARE Affirmation Act and S. 3162, sponsored by Veterans Affairs Committee Chairman Daniel Akaka.
- **April 13, 2010:** Senate unanimously approved S.3148, protecting TRICARE for military servicemembers, veterans and families.
- **April 28, 2010:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing “To receive testimony on military compensation and benefits, including special and incentive pays, in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2011 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **May 3, 2010:** Senator Webb visited with servicemembers, veterans and faculty during an event at Tidewater Community College’s Norfolk Campus to recognize the more than 2,300 students attending TCC on the Post-9/11 GI Bill.
- **May 12, 2010:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing on Reserve component programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2011 and the Future Years Defense Program.
- **May 30, 2010:** Senator Webb announced that the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2011 (S. 3280), reported out by the Senate Committee on Armed Services on May 27, reflects a strong commitment to support our troops, their families, and critical defense programs. As chairman of the Personnel Subcommittee, Senator Webb and his colleagues sought to improve the quality of life of the men and women of the all-volunteer force and their families. The markup agreement authorized important health-care, education, and family support provisions, including TRICARE coverage for eligible dependents up to age 26. It also authorizes a 1.4 percent across-the-board pay raise as requested by the President.
- **June 9, 2010:** Senator Webb called on the surgeons general from the Department of Defense to explain processes employed for data-collection and record-keeping regarding the prescription of drugs to military servicemembers, expressing his concern that the data have been requested a number of times and it might not be available for personnel deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan.
- **June 11, 2010:** Senator Webb introduced the Blue Star/Gold Star Flag Act of 2010 to ensure the continued freedom of military families to honor our men and women in uniform. The bill prohibited any condominium association, cooperative association, or residential real estate management association from preventing a resident from displaying the Service flag on personal residential property.
- **July 20, 2010:** Senator Webb commended the Department of Defense’s announcement to resume the military spouse career advancement account program, MyCAA, which benefits thousands of families in Virginia. Senator Webb and his staff queried the Department of Defense when the

program, available to spouses of servicemembers, came to an abrupt stop in mid-February following a spike in enrollments and funding shortfalls.

- **June 22, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To hear testimony on Department of Defense and Military Department suicide prevention programs.”
- **August 9, 2010:** Senator Webb visited Fort Lee to see the progress of Base Realignment and Closure initiatives and learn about Fort Lee’s positive economic impact on the local area.
- **September 10, 2010:** Senator Webb delivered the keynote address to the 2010 Defense Forum Washington sponsored by the Naval Institute and the Military Officers Association of America, asserting that nine years of continuous operations have stressed the Total Force and military families in ways not envisioned at the inception of the All Volunteer Force.
- **September 21, 2010:** Senator Webb issued a statement following his vote to invoke cloture and bring the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2011 (S. 3280) to the Senate floor. The vote failed, because there were insufficient votes to overcome a filibuster. “As our men and women in uniform continue to place their lives on the line in Iraq and Afghanistan, now is not the time to hold up the critical funding they need by persisting in a filibuster of the National Defense Authorization Act. This bill will improve the quality of life of our all-volunteer force and their families; it should not be delayed,” Senator Webb said.
- **September 29, 2010:** Senator Webb welcomed the passage of legislation marking December 18, 2010, as “Gold Star Wives Day.” That day marked the 65th anniversary of the Gold Star Wives of America, a volunteer organization of the spouses of fallen military members. Senator Webb cosponsored the bipartisan legislation introduced by Sen. Richard Burr (R-N.C.).
- **December 3, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To hear testimony on the repeal of the ‘Don’t Ask/Don’t Tell’ statute.”
- **December 3, 2010:** The U.S. Senate unanimously approved legislation to recognize the marriage of fallen U.S. Marine Sgt. Michael Ferschke and his Japanese wife, Hotaru Nakama, enabling her to emigrate to the United States.
- **December 15, 2010:** The U.S. House of Representatives approved legislation originally introduced in the Senate by Senator Webb to recognize the marriage of fallen U.S. Marine Sgt. Michael Ferschke and his Japanese wife, Hotaru Nakama, enabling her to immigrate to the United States.
- **December 18, 2010:** Senator Webb secured written confirmation from Secretary of Defense Robert Gates that the repeal of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy could be sequenced in order to protect small unit cohesion. With this assurance in hand, Senator Webb delivered a floor speech in support of the motion to make adjustments to the policy governing military service by gay and lesbian servicemembers.
- **December 22, 2010:** Senator Webb said the passage of the Fiscal Year 2011 National Defense Authorization Act (HR 6523) reflected a continued commitment to improve the quality of life of our all-volunteer force and to enable them to carry out their vital operational roles, including counterinsurgency and stability operations. The bill authorized a 1.4 percent across-the-board pay raise as requested by the President. Senator Webb’s proposal for providing additional compensation to servicemembers performing the most dangerous and hazardous duties during direct combat operations was incorporated in the Senate-House Joint Explanatory statement accompanying the bill.

- **January 28, 2011:** Following a Department of Defense (DOD) briefing, Senator Webb issued a statement saying the DOD plan for completing the training requirements associated with the repeal of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” statute is a responsible way to move forward.
- **February 16, 2011:** Senator Webb announced that he opposed increasing health care fees for military retirees. During a Senate Committee on Armed Services confirmation hearing, Senator Webb raised his concerns over proposed TRICARE fee increases with Dr. Jo Ann Rooney, the nominee for Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness.
- **March 30, 2011:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing on the Active, Guard, Reserve, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2012 and the Future Years Defense Program.
- **April 13, 2011:** Senator Webb was honored by the Marine Corps Reserve Association with the Frank M. Tejeda Leadership Award for his commitment to national defense and his strong support of the Marine Corps.
- **April 13, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on the Active, Guard, Reserve, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2012 and the Future Years Defense Program.”
- **April 14, 2011:** Senator Webb joined Senator Johnny Isakson (R-Ga.) and a bipartisan group of colleagues to introduce a Senate resolution honoring the service and sacrifice of members of the U.S. Armed Forces who are deployed now or who have served in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan or Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation New Dawn in Iraq.
- **April 29, 2011:** Senator Webb concluded a two-week trip to meet with government officials, U.S. diplomats and military commanders, business leaders, and members of the local communities in Korea, Vietnam, Guam, Okinawa, and Japan.
- **May 4, 2011:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing to receive testimony on the Active, Guard, Reserve, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2012 and the Future Years Defense Program.
- **May 11, 2011:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing to continue to receive testimony on Active, Guard, Reserve, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2012 and the Future Years Defense Program.
- **June 17, 2011:** Senator Webb announced that the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2012 reported out by the Senate Committee on Armed Services reflects a strong commitment to support our troops, their families, and critical defense programs. As chairman of the Personnel Subcommittee, Senator Webb sought to improve the quality of life of the men and women of our all-volunteer force and their families. The Committee’s bill reported to the full Senate would authorize a 1.6 percent across-the-board pay raise for all members of the uniformed services and requires hostile fire and imminent danger pay be prorated according to the number of days spent in a qualifying area rather than be paid on a monthly basis. The NDAA also limited the annual increases of TRICARE fees to the amount equal to the percentage increase in retired pay beginning October 1, 2012, which is lower than the original proposal by the Administration.
- **July 20, 2011:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing to receive testimony on providing legal services by members of the Judge Advocate Generals’ Corps.

- **July 27, 2011:** Senator Webb, chair of the Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee, announced he would hold a hearing on the wide variance in the ratios of general and flag officers to active-duty personnel end strength among the services.
- **September 14, 2011:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee to receive testimony on “General and Flag Officer Requirements.” He questioned senior military and DOD officials about the disparate levels of general and flag officers among the services. In fiscal year 1986, there was roughly one general or flag officer for every 2,000 servicemembers; in fiscal year 2011, that number was one for only 1,474 servicemembers.
- **September 23, 2011:** Senators Webb and Ben Nelson (D-Neb.) led a bipartisan group of senators in a letter urging Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta to safeguard the military retirement program for those currently serving and not follow a recommendation to replace it with one that would reduce servicemembers’ benefits, and jeopardize military retention.
- **November 10, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing “To receive testimony on the National Guard Empowerment Act.”
- **November 29, 2011:** During debate on the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012, Senator Webb warned against provisions that would allow military operations inside the country and the potential for their misuse during a time of emergency, noting his concern about the protection of American citizens and legal residents from military action inside the U.S. “I think these protections should be very clearly stated,” he said during a floor debate.
- **December 2, 2011:** Senator Webb reiterated his support for the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2012, which passed the Senate December 1 by a vote of 93 to 7. “The Senate’s passage of the defense authorization bill for the fiftieth consecutive year demonstrates a strong bipartisan commitment to supporting our troops, their families, and critical defense programs,” Senator Webb said. “As chairman of the Personnel Subcommittee, I am proud of the efforts that were made in order to improve the quality of life of the men and women of our all-volunteer force and their families, as well as civilian employees.”
- **December 7, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor regarding the 70th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor in which he praised the service and sacrifice of the more than 16 million Americans who served their country in uniform during World War II.
- **December 15, 2011:** Senator Webb supported final passage of the National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 1540, NDAA) following its conference with the House of Representatives. Supported unanimously by U.S. Senate conference members serving on the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the NDAA included several provisions championed by Senator Webb relating to military personnel and Department of Defense (DoD) plans to restructure U.S. military forces in East Asia.
- **February 17, 2012:** Senator Webb met with members of the Military Coalition, with representatives from 30 different organizations, to discuss issues affecting national security and veterans at the Fleet Reserve Association in Alexandria, Va.
- **March 8, 2012:** During a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing, Senator Webb, chairman of the Personnel Subcommittee, said that the American people need to understand what the proposed TRICARE changes look like from the experiences of someone who has spent a career in the military. “I grew up in the Marine Corps tradition that no Marine is ever left behind,” Senator Webb said,

“and I feel just as strongly about the commitment that we have made to lifetime medical care for the people who have served.”

- **April 25, 2012:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing to receive testimony on the Active, Guard, Reserve, and civilian personnel programs in review of the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2013 and the Future Years Defense Program.
- **May 25, 2012:** Senator Webb announced that defense and national security initiatives he long championed would be advanced by numerous provisions adopted in the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2013. The bill was reported out unanimously by the Senate Committee on Armed Services (SASC) and sent to the full Senate for consideration. “As chair of the Personnel Subcommittee, I am gratified by the strong bipartisan support the committee demonstrated for the many important personnel measures contained in my subcommittee’s markup,” Senator Webb said. The Committee’s markup agreement authorized a 1.7 percent across-the-board pay raise for all members of the uniformed services, matching the annual increase in the Employment Cost Index. It also established a Commission to review military pay and benefits, including the retirement benefit. The NDAA blocked a controversial proposal by the Department of Defense to establish enrollment fees for TRICARE Standard and TRICARE for Life, or to increase TRICARE deductibles or the annual catastrophic cap.
- **June 7, 2012:** Senator Webb introduced a concurrent resolution in support of a memorial to honor the members of the armed forces who have served as divers. The resolution urges the Secretary of the Navy to provide an appropriate site at the former Navy Dive School at the Washington Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. for the privately funded Man in the Sea Memorial Monument. The memorial will recognize the contributions of divers from the Navy, Marine Corps, Army, Air Force, and Coast Guard.
- **June 20, 2012:** Senator Webb chaired an Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee hearing to receive testimony on Department of Defense programs and policies to support military families with special needs.
- **July 10, 2012:** In remarks on the Senate floor, Senator Webb announced that he will introduce “The Military Service Integrity Act of 2012,” which could bring criminal penalties to any individual for making a false claim to have served in the military or to have been awarded a military medal, decoration, or other device in order to secure a tangible benefit or a personal gain.
- **July 11, 2012:** Senator Webb introduced “The Military Service Integrity Act of 2012” (S. 3372).
- **July 24, 2012:** Senator Webb announced that a majority of senators have cosponsored his “Military Service Integrity Act of 2012,” which could bring criminal penalties to any individual who profits from making a false claim to have served in the military or to have received a military award.

PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS: IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

- **September 4, 2002:** Seven months before the beginning of the Iraq War, Senator Webb published an op-ed in *The Washington Post* entitled “Heading for Trouble: Do we really want to occupy Iraq for the next 30 years?”
- **March 30, 2003:** Senator Webb published an op-ed entitled, “The War in Iraq Turns Ugly. That’s What Wars Do” in *The New York Times*.
- **January 10, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered remarks assessing the future of U.S. involvement in Iraq before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing, “A Current Assessment of Iraq and the Region.”
- **January 18, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Intelligence assessments on the situation in Iraq.”
- **January 23, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered the Democratic response to President George W. Bush’s State of the Union address, in which he strongly criticized the Bush Administration for the “predictable – and predicted – disarray that has followed” the invasion of Iraq.
- **January 23, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to consider the nomination of Lt. Gen. David H. Petraeus, U.S. Army, to be commander of the Multi-National Forces-Iraq.
- **January 30, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to consider the nomination of Adm. William J. Fallon to the grade of admiral/commander of U.S. Central Command.
- **February 6, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor entitled, “Support the Troops through Leadership that is Equal to the Sacrifices We Are Asking Them to Make.”
- **March 1, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on the “Situation in Afghanistan.”
- **March 27, 2007:** Senators Webb and Hagel introduced an amendment to the emergency supplemental defense appropriation bill to protect the readiness of U.S. military personnel and limit overseas deployments.
- **March 28, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor on the Hagel-Webb amendment to the emergency supplemental defense appropriation.
- **April 11, 2007:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor: “This Administration is Breaking Our Army” regarding the Department of Defense announcement that U.S. Army deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan will be extended from 12 to 15 months.
- **April 26, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “unlawful enemy combatants.”
- **May 18, 2007:** Senators Webb and Hillary Clinton called for a Government Accountability Office investigation to reassess the body armor systems currently being issued by the armed forces for effectiveness and reliability against the threats facing U.S. troops in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.

- **June 14, 2007:** Senator Webb co-sponsored a bill (S.1606) aimed at correcting systemic problems with the way members of the armed forces, particularly those wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan, are returned to military service or transitioned to care with the Department of Veterans Affairs.
- **July 9, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced the “Dwell Time” amendment, SA. 2012, to H.R. 1585, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 to specify minimum periods between military deployments for Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom. The measure fell four votes short of the 60 needed to break a Republican filibuster.
- **July 18, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced S. 1825, a bill to create an independent, bipartisan Commission on Wartime Contracting to study and investigate U.S. contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- **September 6, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Findings for the Iraqi Security Forces Independent Assessment Commission.”
- **September 7, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to receive “GAO testimony on Iraq benchmarks.”
- **September 11, 2007:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to receive “General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker testimony on Iraq and Iraq’s progress meeting benchmarks.”
- **September 19, 2007:** Senator Webb again introduced the “Dwell Time” amendment, SA. 2909, to H.R. 1585, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 to specify minimum periods between military deployments for Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom. The measure fell four votes short of the 60 needed to break a Republican filibuster.
- **September 27, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced S.AMDT.3081 to S.AMDT.2011: To establish the Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, and for other purposes.
- **October 3, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced S.2130, a bill to express the sense of the Senate on the need for a comprehensive diplomatic offensive to help broker national reconciliation efforts in Iraq and lay the foundation for the eventual redeployment of United States combat forces.
- **October 3, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced S.2134, a bill to require the Secretary of Defense to submit to Congress reports on the status of planning for the redeployment of the Armed Forces from Iraq and to require the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and appropriate senior officials of the Department of Defense to meet with Congress to brief Congress on matters contained in the reports.
- **December 6, 2007:** Senator Webb warned the White House against making long-term commitments in Iraq without congressional consent.
- **December 6, 2007:** Senator Webb introduced S.2426, the Congressional Oversight of Iraq Agreements Act of 2007.
- **February 14, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on the “Situation in Afghanistan.”
- **April 3, 2008:** Senator Webb introduced S.RES.501, a resolution honoring the sacrifice of the members of the United States Armed Forces who have been killed in Iraq and Afghanistan.

- **April 8, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held hearings to receive testimony from “General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker on Iraq and Iraq’s progress in meeting benchmarks.”
- **April 9, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to receive “Iraq panel testimony on situation in Iraq and Iraq’s progress achieving benchmarks and reconciliation.”
- **April 10, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to consider the “Nomination of General David H. Petraeus to be commander, U.S. Central Command, and Lt. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno to be commander, Multi-National Force-Iraq.”
- **June 17, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Aggressive Interrogation Techniques for Unlawful Combatant Detainees.”
- **August 1, 2008:** Senator Webb introduced S.3433: Iraq Security Agreement Act of 2008, which required congressional approval of Iraq security agreements.
- **September 17, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Countering the Threat of Failure in Afghanistan.”
- **September 23, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “The Situation in Iraq and Afghanistan.”
- **September 25, 2008:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on the “Treatment of Detainees in U.S. custody.”
- **October 9, 2008:** Senator Webb wrote to the Secretary of Defense to call for a halt in \$300 million in contracts for strategic information programs in Iraq, citing policy differences and the cost of the program to U.S. taxpayers.
- **October 15, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “U.S. International Broadcasting into the War Zones: Iraq and Afghanistan.”
- **January 1, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Afghanistan and Pakistan”
- **July 7, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Military commissions and the trial of detainees for violations of the law of war.”
- **October 1, 2009:** Senator Webb introduced S.AMDT.2593, relating to hearings on strategy and resources with respect to Afghanistan and Pakistan.
- **December 2, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan.”
- **December 3, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Afghanistan: Assessing the Road Ahead.”
- **December 4, 2009:** Senator Webb published an op-ed in *The Washington Post* entitled, “A Plan in Need of Clarity,” in response to the administration’s revised Afghanistan strategy.
- **December 8, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on Afghanistan.

- **December 9, 2009:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “The New Afghanistan Strategy: The View from the Ground.”
- **January 21, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Civilian Strategy for Afghanistan: A Status Report in Advance of the London Conference.”
- **April 15, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “U.S. policy towards Iran.”
- **June 15, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on the “Situation in Afghanistan.”
- **June 25, 2010:** Senator Webb raised challenges and complicated decisions faced by the Department of Defense, Department of State, and Government of Iraq relating to the transfer of responsibilities from the United States to Iraq.
- **June 29, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to consider the “Nomination of General David H. Petraeus, U.S. Army, to be commander, International Security Assistance Force and Commander, U.S. Central Command.”
- **July 14, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Afghanistan: Governance and Civilian Strategy.”
- **July 15, 2010:** Senator Webb asserted U.S. civilian and military strategy in Afghanistan requires a clear, measurable articulation of goals.
- **July 27, 2010:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing to consider the “Nomination of General James N. Mattis, U.S. Marine Corps, to be commander, U.S. Central Command.”
- **July 23, 2010:** Senator Webb and four other senators requested the Secretary of the Army to report on the Battle of Wanat in Afghanistan, saying the Army’s decision to exonerate officers in the chain of command raises troubling issues.
- **August 2, 2010:** Senator Webb welcomed President Obama’s commitment to withdraw U.S. combat units from Iraq by the end of 2011.
- **August 31, 2010:** Senator Webb commented on the withdrawal of U.S. combat units from Iraq, said he was “heartened” by the confirmation of the end of the U.S. combat mission in Iraq.
- **February 1, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Iraq: The Challenging Transition to a Civilian Mission.”
- **February 3, 2011:** In a hearing of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, Senator Webb reiterated concerns over long-term occupation of Iraq, confirmed end of the commitment of U.S. combat forces by the end of 2011.
- **March 1, 2011:** Senator Webb warned that the current approach in Afghanistan and Iraq is “not a workable model” to fight terrorism during remarks on the Senate floor.
- **March 2, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing today on “National Security & Foreign Policy Priorities in the FY 2012 International Affairs Budget.”

- **May 3, 2011:** Senator Webb introduced S.RES.159, a resolution honoring the members of the military and intelligence community who carried out the mission that killed Osama bin Laden.
- **March 15, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing today on the “Situation in Afghanistan.”
- **March 16, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Classified Briefing Afghanistan: Progress and Expectations.”
- **April 18, 2011:** Senator Webb cosponsored bipartisan resolution honoring members of the armed forces for their service in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- **May 3, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Afghanistan: What is an Acceptable End-State, And How Do We Get There?”
- **May 10, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Steps Needed for a Successful 2014 Transition in Afghanistan.”
- **May 15, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “The Situation in Afghanistan.”
- **May 24, 2012:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Al Qaeda, the Taliban, & Other Extremist Groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan.”
- **June 8, 2011:** Senator Webb, commenting on reconstruction projects in Afghanistan during a hearing of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, asserted if there is any nation in the world that needs nation-building right now, it is the United States.
- **June 23, 2011:** Consistent with his policy views on U.S. operations in Iraq, Senator Webb again asked the administration to involve Congress in any security agreements being negotiated with the government of Afghanistan. He made these remarks during a hearing today of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on “Evaluating Goals and Progress in Afghanistan and Pakistan.”
- **September 22, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “U.S. strategy in Afghanistan and Iraq.”
- **November 15, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on “Security issues relating to Iraq.”
- **March 22, 2012:** The Senate Committee on Armed Services held a hearing on the “Situation in Afghanistan.”

PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS: LIBYA AND SYRIA

- **March 2, 2011:** Senator Webb first urged caution regarding direct military support for Libyan rebel groups and warned against extension of “costly occupation” of Iraq. Senator Webb made his remarks during a hearing of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on “National Security & Foreign Policy Priorities in the FY 2012 International Affairs Budget.”
- **March 8, 2011:** During a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing, Senator Webb again warned against providing weapons and military support to unknown Libyan rebel groups.
- **March 17, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Popular Uprisings in the Middle East: The Implications for U.S. Policy.”
- **March 31, 2011:** Senator Webb called for broad Congressional debate over the implications of “regime change” in Libya during a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing to receive testimony on Operation Odyssey Dawn and the situation in Libya.
- **March 31, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Assessing the Situation in Libya.”
- **April 6, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Perspectives on the crisis in Libya.”
- **May 12, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Assessing the Situation in Libya.”
- **May 25, 2011:** Following the passage of the 60-day War Powers Act deadline for authorization of military operations, Senator Webb reiterated his concerns about the “very disturbing precedent” for the use of force set by the U.S. intervention in Libya in a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing.
- **June 8, 2011:** Senators Webb and Bob Corker (R-Tenn.) introduced a Joint Resolution on Libya operations to require the Administration to justify actions, prohibits troops on ground, and call for Congressional authorization of continued operations, S.J.Res.18.
- **June 8, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor on the introduction of the Webb-Corker joint resolution.
- **June 28, 2011:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Libya and War Powers.” Senator Webb’s provision to prohibit funds to establish or maintain U.S. troops or private security contractors on the ground in Libya now or in the future was included in S.J.Res.20, which was passed by the Committee on this date.
- **September 22, 2011:** Senator Webb questioned senior DoD officials at a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing about what the U.S. has learned strategically from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya.
- **February 16, 2012:** Senator Webb called for clarity in U.S. response to Syrian crisis in a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing today.
- **March 1, 2012:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Syria: The crisis and its implications.”

- **March 7, 2012:** At a Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing, Senator Webb warned against “precipitant action” in Syria without taking into account “all the ramifications.” Senator Webb reiterated concerns about the administration’s evolving policy of humanitarian assistance since the intervention in Libya.
- **March 22, 2012:** Senators Webb and Corker introduced legislation requiring the Administration to report on the Syrian opposition and weapons stockpiles (S.2224).
- **April 19, 2012:** The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on “Syria: U.S. Policy Options.”
- **April 26, 2012:** S.2224 is considered by Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and passed unanimously on a voice vote.
- **May 9, 2012:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor before introducing the Military Humanitarian Operations Act of 2012.
- **May 14, 2012:** Senator Webb introduced the Military Humanitarian Operations Act of 2012 with bipartisan support, which required that the President seek Congressional approval—through expedited procedures—before engaging the military in humanitarian operations where hostile activities are reasonably anticipated, and where no imminent threat to the United States, its military, allies, or citizens is evident.

ADVOCATING FAIR TRADE POLICY

- **June 22, 2007:** Senator Webb wrote to U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Christopher Cox, Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson, and Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff to request that the SEC decline acceleration of the proposed IPO of Blackstone Group LP due to the enormity of the public offering and the large investment from a foreign government.
- **May 23, 2007:** Senator Webb, in a hearing of the Joint Economic Committee, raised concerns about rising gas prices and spoke out against oil companies benefiting from international instability while failing to invest in alternative energy programs or increased refining capacity.
- **September 27, 2007:** Senator Webb led a bipartisan letter to Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson expressing concern that private equity transactions, including acquisition of a passive ownership interest, could be used to obtain sensitive technology, and yet may escape Treasury Department review.
- **January 31, 2008:** Senator Webb joined in a letter to Majority Leader Harry Reid in support for prioritizing trade legislation addressing China, which is by far the leading violator of international trade rules and its actions continually hurt American workers, industry, and manufacturing.
- **February 7, 2008:** Senator Webb testified on the national security implications of sovereign wealth fund investment before the U.S.-China Economic Security Commission. Over the previous year, Senator Webb stressed the importance of laws and policies that are responsive to the opportunities and threats posed by foreign government investment.
- **June 16, 2008:** Senator Webb introduced two pieces of legislation – S.3134 and S.3185 – during this week designed to rein in market speculators who had been able to bid up crude oil prices to unnatural highs.
- **July 24, 2008:** Senator Webb sent a letter to Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff urging U.S. Customs and Border Protection to collect money owed to the United States for unfair trade practices against Virginia's semiconductor industry.
- **July 24, 2008:** Senator Webb wrote to Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff to express his concern that Virginia companies Micron Technology, Inc. and Qimonda North America Corp. had been harmed by the failure of the countervailing duty order on dynamic random access memory from South Korea to remedy the subsidies given to Hynix Semiconductor by the South Korean government.
- **August 1, 2008:** Senator Webb wrote to Labor Secretary Elaine Chao to express support for the Trade Adjustment Assistance petition submitted by furniture-maker American of Martinsville, which eliminated 400 jobs due to effects of foreign imports on its production in Virginia.
- **November 17, 2008:** Senator Webb wrote to Labor Secretary Elaine Chao in support of Qimonda's request for Trade Adjustment Assistance. The assistance would help Qimonda's workers in Virginia who were adversely affected by foreign imports.
- **November 19, 2009:** Senator Webb and a bipartisan group of senators urged Federal Trade Commission to crack down on Chinese drywall scams.

- **December 8, 2009:** Senator Webb supported a bipartisan amendment to the Affordable Care Act that aimed to lower the cost of imported, FDA-approved prescription drugs.
- **December 23, 2009:** Senators Jim Webb and Mark Warner announced Labor Department Trade Adjustment Assistance Certification for International Paper Employees.
- **March 16, 2010:** Senator Webb and others introduced legislation to vigorously address currency misalignments that unfairly and negatively impact U.S. trade.
- **March 16, 2010:** Senator Webb joined a bipartisan group of senators to unveil new legislation to crack down on unfair currency manipulation by countries like China, the Currency Exchange Rate Oversight Reform Act of 2010 (S.3134).
- **May - June 2010:** Senator Webb traveled to South Korea, held meetings to discuss the pending U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement.
- **June 1, 2010:** Senator Webb wrote to Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano and Commerce Secretary Gary Locke to urge them to investigate allegations of Chinese companies committing fraud in order to avoid paying duties on wooden bedroom furniture.
- **June 14, 2010:** Senators Webb and John Kerry (D-Mass.) issued a joint statement in support of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which would support U.S. trade and economic integration in Asia.
- **July 20, 2010:** Senator Webb led a group of key Democratic senators in a letter to President Obama supporting his administration's decision to move forward on the US-Korea Free Trade Agreement.
- **August 30, 2010:** Senator Webb joined senators from other poultry-producing states in a letter to Sergey Kislyak, the Russian Federation's ambassador to the U.S., to express deep concern with respect to Russia's failure to fully honor its commitment to permit the sale of U.S. poultry products in Russia to resume after an agreement was made between Presidents Obama and Medvedev.
- **October 5, 2010:** Senator Webb submitted a statement for the record to the U.S. International Trade Commission in support of continuing the antidumping order on wooden bedroom furniture from China, which had adversely affected Virginia's furniture industry.
- **April 2011:** Senator Webb again visited South Korea, discussed the US-Korea Free Trade Agreement with Korea's Trade Minister, among other leaders.
- **October 11, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate Floor to reiterate his concerns about economic inequality and taxation of ordinary earned income, and to urge passage of the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement.
- **October 12, 2011:** The Senate passed the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement on an 83-15 vote.
- **March 15, 2012:** Senator Webb commented on the U.S.-Korea FTA entering into force: Agreement sends "strong signal" that U.S. remains "guarantor of stability in East Asia."
- **June 20, 2012:** Senator Webb testified to the International Trade Commission in support of maintaining antidumping duties on Chinese roller bearings, which had undersold U.S. products by more than 70 percent.

KEEPING THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER IN NORFOLK

- **November 17, 2008:** Senators John Warner and Jim Webb released a statement in opposition to Secretary of the Navy Donald Winter's announced preference to relocate a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Norfolk, Va. to Mayport, Fla.
- **November 19, 2008:** Senators John Warner and Webb sent a letter to the Secretary of Defense to express concerns regarding the Navy's decision to homeport additional ships at Naval Station Mayport.
- **November 20, 2008:** Senators John Warner and Webb sent a letter to the Secretary of Defense requesting that the Navy refrain from publishing its Final Environmental Impact Statement and withhold issuing any Record of Decision until the new administration evaluates the decision.
- **November 20, 2008:** Senators John Warner and Webb, Governor Tim Kaine, and Senator-elect Mark Warner held a press conference to discuss concerns regarding the Navy's decision on the Mayport homeporting issue.
- **December 5, 2008:** Senators John Warner and Webb sent a letter to the Acting Undersecretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere and the Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service expressing concerns that the Navy did not adequately assess the environmental impact of CVN homeporting in Mayport.
- **December 8, 2008:** Senators John Warner and Webb responded to a reply from the Secretary of Defense in order to re-emphasize their concerns about the justification and strategic value of the decision.
- **December 11, 2008:** Senator Webb joined Virginia delegation members in writing to the Secretary of Defense to urge postponement of the Navy's Record of Decision on the homeporting of additional ships in Mayport, Fla.
- **January 8, 2009:** Senator Webb released a 24-page critical assessment challenging the Navy's assessment of the military risks, costs, and benefits associated with the proposed relocation of an aircraft carrier to Mayport, Fla.
- **January 8, 2009:** Senator Webb sent a letter to the leaders of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees urging them to withhold defense appropriations which would facilitate Mayport homeporting
- **January 12, 2009:** Senator Webb sent a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, including his 24-page critical assessment, which requests further justification for the Navy's decision.
- **January 14, 2009:** Senator Webb released a statement in response to the Navy's announcement regarding its intentions to homeport a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Mayport, Florida, in which he stated his intention to bring full scrutiny to the decision as it made its way through the congressional review process.
- **January 15, 2009:** In their U.S. Senate confirmation hearing before the Committee on Armed Services, nominees for the Deputy Secretary of the Defense and the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy committed to Senator Webb to review the Navy's homeporting decision for Mayport, Florida, should they be confirmed for their positions.

- **March 17, 2009:** Senator Webb sent a letter to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy urging reconsideration of the homeporting decision, in light of recent budget shortfalls.
- **June 11, 2009:** Senator Webb sent a letter stating that there are priorities of higher risk than the relocation of the Norfolk-based aircraft carrier to the Department of Defense as a follow-up to the June 4 Senate Committee on Armed Services (SASC) hearing on the defense priorities of the Department of the Navy.
- **September 18, 2009:** In a joint letter to the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, Senators Webb and Mark Warner, and Congressmen Randy Forbes, Glenn Nye, Bobby Scott, and Rob Wittman urged the Committees not to authorize an appropriation of \$46.3 million to dredge the channel and basin at Naval Station Mayport in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010.
- **November 10, 2009:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor regarding his opposition to dredging Naval Station Mayport's channel, which was determined not to be associated with the Navy's proposal to homeport a new carrier in Mayport, Fla., by the Deputy Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Navy.
- **December 23, 2009:** Senator Webb raised new objections over the Navy's proposal to homeport a carrier in Mayport, Fla., and asked Deputy Secretary of Defense William J. Lynn III to address his concerns before the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) completes its assessment of the Navy's proposal; he also questioned the lack of transparency of lobbying efforts by retired Navy Admiral Robert J. Natter, a former commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, who had received more than a million dollars as a paid lobbyist for the state of Florida and the city of Jacksonville.
- **February 25, 2010:** Senator Webb, at a hearing of the Senate Committee on Armed Services with Secretary of the Navy Raymond E. Mabus, Jr., and Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Admiral Gary Roughead, declared that the discussion on the homeporting of a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Mayport was not over and that funds needed to be used for higher-priority requirements like shipbuilding, aircraft procurement, and facility restoration.
- **April 22, 2010:** Senator Webb issued a statement regarding the Navy's confirmation it would delay homeporting of a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Mayport, Florida, by five years.
- **May 11, 2010:** Senator Webb released a statement in response to a GAO report showing that the Navy needs to improve its basing-decision process, stating the study confirmed his long-standing view that billions of dollars should not be spent on redundant nuclear-support infrastructure in Mayport.
- **July 1, 2010:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner, and Representatives Glenn Nye, Bobby Scott, Randy Forbes, and Rob Wittman advocated cancelling the Navy's proposal to homeport a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier at Naval Station Mayport, Fla., following Secretary of Defense Gates' recent directive to the military departments to trim more than \$10 billion in DOD spending from future budgets.
- **March 31, 2011:** After careful review of the latest report from the Government Accountability Office (GAO) addressing the capability of Mayport Naval Station to receive nuclear-powered aircraft carrier currently homeported in Norfolk, Va., Senators Webb and Mark Warner released a statement stating the relocation of the carrier to Mayport, Fla., would be fiscally irresponsible.

- **June 17, 2011:** Senator Webb announced that the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2012, reported out by the Senate Committee on Armed Services, contained important provisions for the welfare of our men and women in uniform and their families, while enhancing national security and fiscal responsibility. Senator Webb's proposal for a report by the Comptroller General on carrier homeporting on the East Coast was adopted by the committee.
- **July 19, 2011:** Senator Webb delivered remarks on the Senate floor regarding two amendments to the fiscal year 2012 military construction and veterans' affairs appropriations bill relating to the Navy's proposal to homeport a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier at Naval Station Mayport, Fla.
- **August 11, 2011:** Senator Webb sent a letter to the Government Accountability Office asking that they address numerous issues related to the fiscal responsibility and strategic necessity for homeporting a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in its forthcoming report on the Navy's proposal.
- **September 26, 2011:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner, and Congressmen J. Randy Forbes, Rob Wittman, Scott Rigell, and Bobby Scott sent a letter to the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert, expressing their view that it is not fiscally responsible or strategically necessary to build expensive and redundant nuclear-support infrastructure for carrier homeporting in Mayport at a time when the nation's historic fiscal challenges require drastic cuts in federal spending and there are more cost-effective alternatives to sustain Mayport's future as an operational base.
- **December 7, 2011:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner urged the elimination of approximately \$30 million for two military-construction projects associated with the Navy's proposal to homeport a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier at Mayport, Fla., as the Senate and House Armed Services Committees negotiated the final version of the Fiscal Year 2012 National Defense Authorization Act. The senators described the projects as "ahead of need and not justified."
- **February 13, 2012:** Senator Webb commended the Navy's budget-driven decision not to homeport a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Mayport, Florida. During a briefing to Senator Webb on the Department of the Navy's fiscal year 2013 budget request and revised strategic laydown for ship homeporting, Secretary of the Navy Ray Mabus confirmed that the carrier homeporting plan was deferred indefinitely due to fiscal pressures.

STRENGTHENING VIRGINIA'S INFRASTRUCTURE

- **May 17, 2007:** Senator Webb co-sponsored S. 294, The Passenger Rail Investment and Improvement Act of 2007, authorizing \$11.4 billion in federal funding over six years for Amtrak and improving the safety, efficiency and reliability of the nation's largest passenger rail service provider.
- **May 22, 2007:** Senator Webb co-sponsored S. 1446, the National Capital Transportation Amendments Act of 2007, which authorized \$1.5 billion in federal funding for the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit System (WMATA).
- **September 24, 2007:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner supported final passage of the Water Resources Development Act of 2007 (WRDA). The legislation authorized the necessary funding for dike construction and expansion of Craney Island, which was essential to the Commonwealth's plan to create a state-of-the-art marine terminal in Portsmouth, Va.
- **October 30, 2007:** S.294, The Passenger Rail Investment and Improvement Act was approved by the Senate.
- **December 17, 2007:** Senator Webb supported the passage of FY08 Transportation funding within the Consolidated Appropriations Bill, which included more than \$113 million in federal funding for Virginia projects such as multiple bus facilities, VRE locomotives and Washington Metro (WMATA) improvements including Dulles Rail.
- **July 28, 2008:** Senator Webb announced his support for S.3297, the Advancing America's Priorities Act, which contained much-needed funding for WMATA through a statement on the Senate floor.
- **October 11, 2008:** Senator Webb supported Senate passage of H.R.2095, the Federal Railroad Safety Improvement Act, to prevent railroad fatalities, injuries, hazardous materials releases, authorize the Federal Railroad Safety Administration and provide much needed dedicated funding to the Washington Metrorail system.
- **March 11, 2009:** Senator Webb applauded passage of H.R.1105, the Omnibus Appropriations Act of 2009 (FY09), as it secured over \$130 million in funding for Virginia transportation infrastructure projects. This included funds to complete Norfolk Light Rail, improvements at Fort Lee, and additional buses for the Greater Richmond Transit Company.
- **April 30, 2009:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner and Congressman Nye announced that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers would award more than \$21 million in contracts through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act for twenty-two water resource projects in the Tidewater area, which made significant investments in the Craney Island project to help the Port expand trade opportunities and boost both the state and regional economies.
- **November 6, 2009:** Senators Webb and Warner introduced an amendment to the Military Construction and Veterans Affairs Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2010 that directs a transportation study of improvements needed to accommodate growth and traffic associated with implementing recommendations of the 2005 Base Closure and Realignment Commission (BRAC). The senators' amendment aimed to address the lack of adequate funding and time for needed transportation projects to be completed for BRAC-affected communities.

- **December 16, 2009:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner supported final passage of the FY 2010 Transportation, Housing and Urban Development Appropriations bill that provided for \$247 million in transportation priorities for Virginia constituents. These projects included expanding Light Rail in Hampton Roads, improvements to US Route 1 and investments in Washington Metro (WMATA).
- **July 21, 2010:** Senators Webb, Warner, Cardin and Mikulski wrote to the Senate Committee on Appropriations to urge that a provision be retained in the final Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2010 to allow the Department of Defense to execute \$300 million in transportation infrastructure improvements associated with medical facilities in Virginia and Maryland relating to the implementation of the 2005 Base Closure and Realignment Commission's recommendations.
- **July 30, 2010:** Senator Webb and members of the Virginia Railway Express (VRE) Operations Board ceremonially dedicated the arrival of the first new Tier-Two locomotive into VRE's fleet in Alexandria, Va. Funding for these purchases was secured by Senator Webb over the course of multiple years of transportation requests.
- **September 15, 2010:** Senators Webb, Warner, Cardin and Mikulski wrote to the Senate Committee on Appropriations to urge inclusion of a provision in further fiscal year 2010 appropriations to allow the Department of Defense to execute \$300 million in transportation infrastructure improvements associated with medical facilities in Virginia and Maryland relating to implementation of the 2005 Base Closure and Realignment Commission's recommendations.
- **September 17, 2010:** Senators Webb and Warner announced that Virginia has received more than \$3.6 million in federal funding to upgrade public transportation facilities in Northern Virginia. These three Federal Transit Administration grants funded projects intended to renovate a Metrorail station, connect existing transportation facilities, and construct a new bus garage.
- **November 1, 2011:** Senators Webb and Warner and Representatives Jim Moran and Gerry Connolly announced the Department of Defense's approval of \$180 million for the widening of Route 1 through Ft. Belvoir to accommodate new military and civilian personnel and hospital traffic related to implementation of the 2005 Base Closure and Realignment Commission's recommendation.
- **December 15, 2011:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner announced \$20 million for Northern Virginia's Interstate 95 High Occupancy-Toll lanes project from the U.S. Department of Transportation's competitive Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery program.
- **December 17, 2011:** Senators Webb and Mark Warner announced the approval of \$26.85 million dollars for the expansion of Craney Island in the Fiscal Year 2012 Omnibus Appropriations Bill.
- **July 16, 2012:** The Department of Defense and the Department of Transportation today announced the approval of \$180 million from the Office of Economic Adjustment for the Federal Highway Administration to widen U.S. Route 1 through Fort Belvoir. The expansion of U.S. Route 1 will facilitate a safer and easier commute for patients, servicemembers, and civilian employees of the new Fort Belvoir Community Hospital.

- **September 19, 2012:** After lengthy negotiations, an agreement was reached that would provide the Commonwealth of Virginia \$74.8 million in federal funds it was awarded as part of the intercity and high speed rail program created in the Passenger Rail Investment and Improvement Act of 2008 and funded in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. In response to the agreement, Senator Webb said, “High-speed passenger rail promises significant economic benefits for Virginia. These federal funds will spur job creation and economic growth, while helping to reduce traffic on our highways in a cost effective way.”

