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In fact, the authors go on to warn the reader that:

Strategic stability is not inherent with low numbers of nuclear weapons; indeed, excessively low numbers could lead to a situation in which surprise attacks are conceivable.

This short column should be required reading for all of my colleagues, and the eight key criteria listed by the authors, to govern nuclear weapons policy, should become the basis for our consideration of nuclear strategy and arms control moving forward.

I want to express my deep appreciation to Dr. Kissinger and General Scowcroft for their important contributions to our ongoing debates about nuclear weapons and, more broadly, for their decades of service to our country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

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

[From the Washington Post, April 23, 2012]

STRATEGIC STABILITY IN TODAY'S NUCLEAR WORLD

(By Henry A. Kissinger and Brent Scowcroft)

A New START treaty reestablishing the process of nuclear arms control has recently taken effect. Combined with reductions in the U.S. defense budget, this will bring the number of nuclear weapons in the United States to the lowest overall level since the 1950s. The Obama administration is said to be considering negotiations for a new round of nuclear reductions to bring about ceilings as low as 300 warheads. Before momentum builds on that basis, we feel obliged to stress our conviction that the goal of future negotiations should be strategic stability and that lower numbers of weapons should be a consequence of strategic analysis, not an abstract preconceived determination.

Regardless of one's vision of the ultimate future of nuclear weapons, the overarching goal of contemporary U.S. nuclear policy must be to ensure that nuclear weapons are never used. Strategic stability is not inherent with low numbers of weapons; indeed, excessively low numbers could lead to a situation in which surprise attacks are conceivable.

We supported ratification of the START treaty. We favor verification of agreed reductions and procedures that enhance predictability and transparency. One of us (Kissinger) has supported working toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, albeit with the proviso that a series of verifiable intermediate steps that maintain stability precede such an end point and that every stage of the process be fully transparent and verifiable.

The precondition of the next phase of U.S. nuclear weapons policy must be to enhance and enshrine the strategic stability that has preserved global peace and prevented the use of nuclear weapons for two generations.

Eight key facts should govern such a policy:

First, strategic stability requires maintaining strategic forces of sufficient size and composition that a first strike cannot reduce retaliation to a level acceptable to the aggressor.

Second, in assessing the level of unacceptable damage, the United States cannot assume that a potential enemy will adhere to values or calculations identical to our own. We need a sufficient number of weapons to pose a threat to what potential aggressors value under every conceivable circumstance. We should avoid strategic analysis by mirror-imaging.

Third, the composition of our strategic forces cannot be defined by numbers alone. It also depends on the type of delivery vehicles and their mix. If the composition of the U.S. deterrent force is modified as a result of reduction, agreement or for other reasons, a sufficient variety must be retained, together with a robust supporting command and control system, so as to guarantee that a pre-emptive attack cannot succeed.

Fourth, in deciding on force levels and lower numbers, verification is crucial. Particularly important is a determination of what level of uncertainty threatens the calculation of stability. At present, that level is well within the capabilities of the existing verification systems. We must be certain that projected levels maintain—and when possible, reinforce—that confidence.

Fifth, the global nonproliferation regime has been weakened to a point where some of the proliferating countries are reported to have arsenals of more than 100 weapons. And these arsenals are growing. At what lower U.S. levels could these arsenals constitute a strategic threat? What will be their strategic impact if deterrence breaks down in the overall strategic relationship? Does this prospect open up the risk of hostile alliances between countries whose forces individually are not adequate to challenge strategic stability but that combined might overthrow the nuclear equation?

Sixth, this suggests that, below a level yet to be established, nuclear reductions cannot be confined to Russia and the United States. As the countries with the two largest nuclear arsenals, Russia and the United States have a special responsibility. But other countries need to be brought into the discussion when substantial reductions from existing START levels are on the international agenda.

Seventh, strategic stability will be affected by other factors, such as missile defenses and the roles and numbers of tactical nuclear weapons, which are not now subject to agreed limitations. Precision-guided large conventional warheads on long-range delivery vehicles provide another challenge to stability. The interrelationship among these elements must be taken into account in future negotiations.

Eighth, we must see to it that countries that have relied on American nuclear protection maintain their confidence in the U.S. capability for deterrence. If that confidence falters, they may be tempted by accommodation to their adversaries or independent nuclear capabilities.

Nuclear weapons will continue to influence the international landscape as part of strategy and an aspect of negotiation. The lessons learned throughout seven decades need to continue to govern the future.

#### PASSAGE OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, the following statement is from Senator Birch Bayh in honor of the 40th anniversary of Congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment:

Recent events have seen an assault on those who provide health care services to women and we have even seen questions

raised anew about issues like contraception. It may have been 40 years since we passed the ERA in Congress but the reasons why many of us tried to write women's rights into the Constitution are still with us today.

As the Chief Senate Sponsor and floor leader of the Equal Rights Amendment, I remember well the intensity of the battle we fought in the early 1970's. America's history has been a steady expansion of individual rights, beginning with the expansion of the franchise in our early years. From the rights of former slaves after the Civil War to the expansion of the vote for women and then for 18 year olds, we have codified in our Constitution an ongoing commitment to individual rights. It seemed fitting then, and seems fitting now, that our Constitution speak loudly and clearly that the law allow no discrimination on the basis of gender.

While the principles involved in this battle remain, the country has evolved quite a bit since 1972. In 1972 there were 2 women in the U.S. Senate and 13 in the House of Representatives. Now there are 17 women Senators and 75 Congresswomen. There were no female Governors in 1972 and had been only 3 in all our history before that, there are 6 now. We have had a female Speaker of the House and have scores of CEOs, business owners and leaders in all walks of life who are female. The number of women elected to state legislatures across the country is larger than ever before. The number of women in the military cannot be compared to the numbers 40 years ago. And in a recent issue of Newsweek, long-time Supreme Court reporter Nina Totenberg spoke about taking the job at NPR in the 70s because the pay was too low for men to want the job.

There has indeed been progress, but the principles remain the same. To open the sports pages in the morning is to see female athletes in a number of sports. To watch the television news in the evening has us watching many female anchor persons, weather ladies, and sports announcers. Even the major sports telecasts regularly involve on-air female broadcasters. But is there equal pay for equal work today? Are there still obstacles on the professional paths to boardrooms for women? Is sexual harassment still a prominent issue in offices around America and in our military?

It is still fitting in the 21st century for our nation to include in its basic law the principle that discrimination based on sex has no place in American life. It is fitting for our daughters and granddaughters to be reminded that their parents and grandparents took a stand to protect their futures and to ensure that they have an equal place in modern America.

In closing, let me stress that the ERA is still the right thing to do, not only in principle but in every day practice. Thank you for your continued, dedicated efforts.

#### RECOGNIZING THE GREATER BRIDGEPORT YOUTH ORCHESTRAS

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, today I commend the Greater Bridgeport Youth Orchestras, GBYO, as it celebrates its 50th anniversary this year. This legendary local group currently at a membership of 250 students of all ages from 29 different communities around the city of Bridgeport, who participate in 5 different ensembles—has bestowed the gift of great music and mentorship to the State of Connecticut. Through the platform of an orchestra, these young musicians have learned how to support each