

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.

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

other. They listen closely while others shine as well as play as an ensemble, producing thrilling fortissimos that echo in audiences' hearts long after the final note.

While maintaining a high level of musicianship through competitive auditions, the GBYO provides an invaluable experience—an alternative to joining a sports team—for students who love music. Its members can feel camaraderie, learn teamwork, and come to understand the value of weekly group rehearsals and daily practice.

I applaud the GBYO for its goal of providing a supportive environment where lifelong friendships are formed, mentorship thrives, and students feel safe to express their emotions and connect through passionate music. This sensitivity is rare and precious. GBYO combines the development of emotional intelligence and social skills with the principles of hard work and diligence. These young musicians are talented, smart, well-rounded, and, best of all, excited.

In March, the GBYO celebrated its landmark anniversary with a gala alumni concert at the University of Bridgeport, conducted by GBYO's music director, Christopher Hisey, who is an alumnus of the orchestra. He led a stirring and inspiring alumni ensemble piece to finish the tremendous concert. I congratulate executive director Barbara Upton and music director Christopher Hisey, for their leadership.

I wish the Greater Bridgeport Youth Orchestras continued success and hope this well-regarded organization can serve as a role model, inspiring others to preserve and perpetuate the long tradition of the arts and the importance it holds for our culture and society.

2011 CONNECTICUT WOMEN'S HALL OF FAME

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, today I wish to recognize the 2011 Connecticut Women's Hall of Fame inductees and their contributions to the recent history of the State of Connecticut and our Nation.

In the spirit of preserving the often untold accomplishments of impactful leaders from Connecticut, each year the Connecticut Women's Hall of Fame publicly honors several women, living or deceased, to share their stories, preserve their legacies, and update and equalize the history that is taught to our children. The Connecticut Women's Hall of Fame has created and maintained a remarkable space, free of charge, where the utmost respect can be paid to women who have made immeasurable impacts to our daily lives.

On October 25, 2011, at the 18th Annual Induction Ceremony and Celebration "Women of Influence: Creating Social Change"—Isabelle M. Kelley, Denise Lynn Nappier, and Patricia Wald were inducted. These three women are trailblazers, taking on various leadership positions in govern-

ment while breaking through stagnant stereotypes and archaic traditions.

Isabelle M. Kelley devoted her passion for societal transformation, drive to accomplish, and energetic entrepreneurship to the problem of food shortages faced by our country's most impoverished families. Ms. Kelley was born in Connecticut in 1917 and remained there throughout her high school and college years, attending Simsbury High School and the University of Connecticut. Upon graduation in 1938 with an economics degree, she was asked to join the U.S. Department of Agriculture as an economist to examine food purchasing trends, which inspired a life-long interest in our country's food supply. In this capacity, she was the first to publicly link malnourishment in children to limited school achievement. She was asked by President Kennedy to serve on a task force to realize a national food stamp program. In 1964, she authored the Food Stamp Act and was appointed as the first Director of the Food Stamp Division of the USDA. It was the first time any woman directed a national social program at the USDA and led any type of consumer affairs or marketing division in any Federal agency.

Ms. Kelley passed away in 1997, but students of public health and nutrition can listen to and read transcripts of her oral history project by Harvard University's Schlesinger Library, whose aim was to capture the voices of 38 women "who had achieved positions of high rank in the federal government during the middle decades of the twentieth century." In 2011, she was invited into the USDA's Hall of Heroes.

The Honorable Denise Lynn Nappier, now serving her fourth term as Connecticut's first female State treasurer and first elected statewide official, and the country's first African American female State treasurer, can serve as a role model to women around the country who strive to impact the field of financial regulation. Born in 1951 in Hartford, Treasurer Nappier ran for city treasurer in 1989. After working 10 years to engender Hartford's financial development, she won the position of State treasurer. She made visits to schools around the State, teaching students how to save and budget—paving the way for success in their finances as adults. The Connecticut Women's Hall of Fame joins other esteemed organizations that have honored Treasurer Nappier, including the Girl Scouts of Connecticut, the Hartford College for Women, the National Association of Minority and Women Law Firms, the Government Finance Officers Association, and the National Political Congress of Black Women.

The Honorable Patricia Wald has dedicated her career to public service and the law, retiring from her seat as the first female judge for the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to serve on the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague. Born in 1928 in the city of

Torrington, she went on to attend law school at Yale University as one of only 11 women in her graduating class. Judge Wald was motivated to go into government service by the possibilities of social reform, especially addressing issues concerning poverty and criminal justice. In 1964, she was nominated by President Johnson to the President's Commission on Crime in Washington, DC. After serving the Carter administration as Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs, she was appointed to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in 1979, where she served for 20 years, eventually as chief judge. Since her retirement from the bench, she has been asked to join several commissions and task forces, including President Bush's Commission on Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Constitution Project's Guantanamo Task Force. Most recently, she has served on the advisory board of the Coalition for the International Criminal Court. I join those who have honored Judge Wald, including members of the International Human Rights Law Group, the American Lawyer Hall of Fame, and the American Bar Association, in celebrating her commitment to the law, especially in protecting our country's most vulnerable.

I know my colleagues will join me in honoring these remarkable women, who weathered criticism and risked public failure to inspire current and upcoming public servants and to better the lives of future generations.

2011 CONNECTICUT VETERANS HALL OF FAME

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, today I wish to recognize the 2011 inductees of the Connecticut Veterans Hall of Fame, a nonprofit organization that honors men and women from Connecticut who have served their communities in commendable ways since retiring from the military. Starting in 2005, when established by Executive Order, the Connecticut Veterans Hall of Fame has selected at least 10 inductees each year: men and women from Connecticut who, even after their great sacrifices as Active members of our military, have chosen to continue their service in innovative ways to contribute to the lives of current enlistees, fellow veterans, and civilians.

These local heroes were celebrated at an induction ceremony surrounded by their family and friends this past December attended by Lieutenant Governor Nancy Wyman and the Connecticut Department of Veterans Affairs Commissioner Linda Schwartz. I would like to join Lieutenant Governor Wyman and Commissioner Schwartz and formally recognize Samuel Beamon, Sr., Rev. Dr. G. Kenneth Carpenter, Richard Rampone, Ronald Catania, Burke Ross, John Chiarella, Phillip Kraft, Ronald Perry, Dr. Madelon Baranoski, and Harold Farrington, Jr.