

about 20 percent of our current capacity from coal goes offline by 2020 as projected by the Energy Information Administration. If this capacity were replaced entirely by nuclear power it would require building another 48 new, 1,250-megawatt reactors—which, by the way, would reduce our carbon emissions from electricity by another 14 percent. Add the reactors we may need to replace in the coming decades due to aging and other factors, and my proposal for 100 may not seem so high.

Additionally, the commission needs to move forward with new small modular reactors.

This subcommittee has provided funding to help small modular reactors get through the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's licensing process. I'd like to get your views on what you need to continue your efforts.

One of the challenges for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission is to ensure that the agency is running effectively and focusing staff on the right goals.

In fiscal year 2000, Congress appropriated about \$470 million for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The budget request this year is more than \$1 billion.

Much of the increase was due to the significant number of new reactor licenses that were anticipated—however most were never actually submitted. So, it is fair to ask whether this additional funding is being used for unnecessary regulation.

The best way to understand the importance of nuclear power is to look at the stories of three countries: Japan, Germany and the United Arab Emirates.

Japan and Germany have recently experienced what happens when a major manufacturing country loses its nuclear capacity. In Japan, the cost of generating electricity has increased 56 percent and Germany has among the highest household electricity rates in the European Union—both because they moved away from nuclear power.

The United Arab Emirates has shown what a country can do when a country decides to take advantage of nuclear power. By 2020, the Emirates will have completed four reactors that will provide nearly 25 percent of its annual electricity.

It will take building more nuclear reactors to avoid the path of Japan and Germany, and today's hearing is an important step to making sure the United States does what it must to unleash nuclear power.

I look forward to working with the commission and our Ranking Member, Senator Feinstein, who I will now recognize for an opening statement.

#### CUBA'S CULTURE OF POVERTY CONUNDRUM

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article regarding the early years of the Castro regime, the policies of which created a culture of poverty in Cuba, and converted a previously developing country into an underdeveloped, closed society.

The author, Professor Roland Alum, is a Garden State constituent, a long-time participant in civic activities, and has been a personal friend for three decades. He is a respected anthropologist and author whose writings have appeared in both major newspapers and academic journals.

This article, which appeared in *Panoramas*, an electronic journal at the University of Pittsburgh, touches upon sensitive topics apropos to the current U.S.-Cuba relationship.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From *Panoramas*, Feb. 14, 2015]

#### THE CUBAN CULTURE OF POVERTY CONUNDRUM (By Roland Armando Alum)

##### INTRODUCTION

I propose here to re-examine certain aspects of life in "Socialist Cuba," principally the so-called culture of poverty, as gauged relatively early in the Castro brothers regime by two U.S. socio-cultural anthropologists, the legendary Oscar Lewis and his protégée/associate Douglas Butterworth, whose research project 4.5 decades ago was surrounded by controversy and enigmas.

Unquestionably, the Fidel and Raúl Castro "Revolutionary Government" enjoyed an extraordinary initial popularity in 1959. Yet, the enthusiasm vanished as the duo hijacked the liberal-inspired anti-Batista rebellion that had been largely advanced by the then expanding middle-classes. Instead of delivering the promised "pan con libertad" (bread with liberty), the Castro siblings converted Cuba into a socio-spiritually and fiscally bankrupt, Marxist-Stalinist dystopia in which both, bread and liberty are scarce (Botin, 2010; Horowitz, 2008; Moore, 2008).

Cuba was the last Ibero-American colony to attain independence (1902); yet, by the 1950s, the island-nation was a leader in the Americas in numerous quality-of-life indicators. This record was reached notwithstanding instability and governmental corruption during the republican era (1902–58), including the 1952–58 bloody authoritarian dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. However, under the (now anachronistic octogenarian) Castros, Cuba became an impoverished, Orwellian closed society beleaguered by unproductivity, rampant corruption, humiliating rationing, human rights abuses, and—understandably—unprecedented mass emigration (Díaz-Briquets & Pérez-López, 2006; Horowitz, 2008).

##### CUBA'S CULTURE OF POVERTY CONUNDRUM

The Lewis and Butterworth project in 1969–70 is still, oddly, among the little known accounts of the early effects of the Castro family's regimentation. Supported by a Ford Foundation's nearly \$300,000 grant, the professors intended to test Lewis's theory of the "culture of poverty" (or rather, sub-culture of poverty). They had innocently hypothesized that a culture of poverty (hereafter CoP) would not exist in a Marxist-oriented society, as they presupposed that the socially alienated conditions that engender it could develop among the poor solely in capitalist economies. Influenced by Marxism, Lewis in particular had cleverly problematized the commonalities of the poor's elusive quandary in well-known prior studies across different societies, notably among Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

While poverty is defined in relative terms, the CoP was conceptualized as an amorphous corpus of socially transmitted self-defeating beliefs and interrelated values, such as: abandonment, alcoholism, authoritarianism, deficient work ethic, domestic abuse, fatalism, homophobia/machismo, hopelessness, illegitimacy, instant, gratification/present-time orientation, low social-civic consciousness, mother-centered families, sexism/misogyny, suspicion of authorities while holding expectations on government dependency, and so forth.

This "psychology of the . . . oppressed . . . poor" is considered a key obstacle to achieving vertical socio-economic mobility even in fluid social-class, more open societies, such

as the U.S. Not all poor individuals develop a CoP, but being poor is a *sine qua non* condition.

Ever since its early stages as a separate discipline in the mid-1800s, anthropology's cornerstone has been the concept of "culture." A century later, the notion drifted to everyday language; to wit, statements such as "a culture of corruption" became common in the media in reference to mindsets in government and corporations. I prefer the interpretation of culture by my own Pitt co-mentor, "Jack" Roberts (1964): "a system for storing and retrieving information," which fits with the Lewis-Butterworth approach.

With initial high-level governmental welcome, one of the Lewis-Butterworth investigations entailed comprehensive interviews of former Havana slum-dwellers resettled in new buildings. In the research project's fourth book, *The People of Buena Ventura*, Butterworth (1980) admitted with disenchantment that his research project found sufficient social symptoms that met the CoP criteria, thus disproving the initial hypothesis expecting an absence of the CoP under socialism.

##### THE PROJECT'S SIGNIFICANCE

The Lewis-Butterworth ethnographic (descriptive, qualitative) work has various additional implications. It shed light for an evaluation of the Guevarist "New Socialist Man" archetype. Similarly, it informed an understanding of the dynamics that led to the spectacular 1980 Mariel boat exodus, when over 120,000 Cubans (some 1.2% of Cuba's population) "voted with their feet." Ironically, the regime and its insensitive fans abroad still refer to the raggedy refugees with disdainful discourse as "escoria" (scum) and with the Marxist slur "lumpen proletariat." Significantly, most Marielistas were born and/or enculturated under socialism, i.e., they personified the presumed "New Man." Many of them, moreover, had been military conscripts, and/or had served time in the infamous gulag-type "U.M.A.P." forced-labor camps created for political dissidents (particularly intellectuals and artists), Beatles' fans, gays, the unemployed, long-haired bohemians/hippies, Trotskyites, would-be emigrants (considered "traitors"), and religious people (including Jehovah's Witnesses and Afro-Cuban folk-cults' practitioners), etc. (Núñez-Cedeño, et al., 1985). In fact, the Marielistas encompassed also an over-representation of Afro-Cubans, the demographic sector traditionally viewed as most vulnerable, and thus, among the expected prime beneficiaries of socialist redistribution.

Certainly, there were always poor Cubans—of all phenotypes—and conceivably, some version of the CoP existed pre-1959; but in my exchanges with Butterworth, he reconfirmed another remarkable finding. While acknowledging the social shortcomings of pre-revolutionary times, he could not document (for ex., through the collection of oral life-histories), a case for a pervasive, pre-revolutionary Lewisian CoP.

This *in situ* scrutiny of daily life fairly early in the Castros era corroborates previous and subsequent accounts by many Cubanologists and the much vilified and ever-expanding exile community. There exists a widespread CoP in Socialist Cuba, though not necessarily as a survivor of the ancien régime, but—as Butterworth deduced—a consequence of the nouveau régime. The authorities must have suspected, or ascertained through surveillance, about the prospective conclusions, given that the anthropologists were suddenly expelled from the country. They were accused of being U.S. spies, most of their research material was confiscated, and some "informants" (interviewees) were arrested and/or harassed.

Additionally, their Cuban statistician, Alvaro Insua, was imprisoned.

Comfortably from abroad, academic and media enthusiasts of the Castros' "dynasty" customarily replicate party-line clichés in their penchant to "launder" the dictatorship's excesses and the centralized economy's dysfunctions by blaming external factors. Topping the excuses is the ending of the defunct COMECON's subsidies circa 1990. Some apologists—notably a few anthropology colleagues—even absurdly refer to the 1959–90 epoch as a "utopia," while the government labeled the current calamitous post-1990 years the "Special Period."

Yet, the undertaking by Lewis & Butterworth, who were initially eagerly sympathetic to the Castros, provided remarkable revelations that regime's defenders conveniently still continue to overlook. It showed that life for average Cubans toward the end of the regime's first decade—long before the Special Period—was already beset with corruption, consumer scarcities, and time-wasting food-lines. All this is characteristic of what is branded "economies of shortage," standard for Soviet-modeled societies (Eberstadt, 1988; Ghodsee, 2011; Halperin, 1981; Verdery 1996).

Likewise, Butterworth portrayed how ordinary Cubans—"los de a pie" (those on foot)—were by then engaging in what nowadays we call "everyday forms of resistance," a social weapon of subjugated people anywhere. As also depicted by other observers and Cuban former participant-resisters (now exiled, my own informants or "cultural consultants"), Butterworth reported how Cubans were already undermining the hegemonic police-state through taboo actions, such as absenteeism, black-marketeering, bribes, pilfering, and even vandalism. Apparently, this project remains the only conventional testing of the CoP in a totalitarian socialist country, although numerous researchers have chronicled the pitiable quality of life under such socio-political systems (Eberstadt, 1988; Halperin, 1981).

Indeed, the Cuban reality of widespread misery—except for the privileged top one-percent (now an elitist gerontocracy)—as well as of indignities and hushed quotidian defiance, evokes narratives about similar, though faraway communist "experiments" that collapsed a quarter-century ago. Among these comparable accounts are ethnologist Verdery's (1996) descriptions of despot Ceaușescu's Romania and Ghodsee's (2011) Bulgarian ethnographic vignettes.

#### EPILOGUE

A number of experts have been reporting about certain kinds of behavioral traits among Cubans, both islanders and recent émigrés, which may reflect CoP patterns (Botín, 2010; Horowitz, 2008). This is not surprising, as the CoP worsened with time as impoverishment augmented (Hirschfeld, 2008).

One can surmise that, despite its human and material toll, the Castros regime not only failed to solve traditional social problems, but exacerbated at least some of them, and moreover created new ones (Díaz-Briquets & Pérez-López, 2006; Eberstadt, 1988). Much of this was already manifested in the 1960s (Edwards, 1973; Halperin, 1981), as reflected in the Lewis-Butterworth venture.

Lewis died, heart-broken, at age 56 in December 1970 upon his repatriation. Butterworth also took ill—especially emotionally—dying in 1986 (at 56 too). The Insuas were abandoned in Cuba to their own lot. Alvaro languished in jail for six years; in 1980 he was "allowed" to leave for Costa Rica with wife Greta (who had also worked for the project), and son Manolo. They reached the U.S. soon thereafter, coinciding with the ar-

rival of the Mariel expatriates and Butterworth's book publication. After a brief staying in northern New Jersey, where I assisted them, they settled in Miami.

In assessing the legacy of the Lewis-Butterworth project on Cuba's culture of poverty, there remain several intriguing puzzles pending exploration. Hopefully, someday Alvaro and Greta will write their own elucidating memoirs.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### TRIBUTE TO BILL BREWER

• Mr. HELLER. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate Bill Brewer on his retirement after serving the great State of Nevada for over 30 years. It gives me great pleasure to recognize his years of hard work and dedication to enhancing the lives of many across rural Nevada.

Mr. Brewer stands as a shining example of someone who has devoted his life to serving his State and his local community. After earning his degree from Oklahoma State University, Mr. Brewer started working in the housing industry for the Farmers Home Administration, FmHA. In 1994, he became the first housing program director for the new Nevada State office of FmHA. This was later named the State office of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, USDA, Rural Development. During his tenure as program director for the USDA, Mr. Brewer invested more than \$1 billion in rural Nevada, assisting hundreds of families and seniors in home ownership and affordable rental housing. Mr. Brewer spent recent years continuing his work in public service as leader of the senior management team of Nevada Rural Housing Authority, working to make goals of the organization a reality. His positive legacy in the rural Nevada housing industry will be felt for years to come.

His unwavering commitment to the State is noble and has not gone without notice. Mr. Brewer was appointed to the Nevada Housing Division Advisory Committee and the Community Development Block Grant Advisory Committee as a result of his accomplishments. His hard work earned him the County Supervisor of the Year for Nevada and the State Director's Going the Extra Mile Award in 2011. His accolades are well deserved.

It is not only Mr. Brewer's commitment to his local community in the housing sector that places him amongst the most notable in his community but also his devotion to charitable service. Mr. Brewer has served on the board of directors for the Nevada Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America for 10 years and is a longtime member of the organization. In 2004, he received the Boy Scouts Silver Beaver Award in recognition of his service and was awarded the President's Volunteer Service Award in 2009.

I am grateful for his dedication to the people of Nevada. He exemplifies the highest standards of leadership and community service and should be proud

of his long and meaningful career. Today, I ask that all of my colleagues join me in congratulating Mr. Brewer on his retirement, and I give my deepest appreciation for all that he has done to make Nevada a better place. I offer him my best wishes for many successful and fulfilling years to come.●

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:16 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, without amendment:

S. Con. Res. 7. Concurrent resolution authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall in the Capitol Visitor Center for a ceremony to award the Congressional Gold Medal to the World War II members of the Doolittle Tokyo Raiders.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 284. An act to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to require State licensure and bid surety bonds for entities submitting bids under the Medicare durable medical equipment, prosthetics, orthotics, and supplies (DMEPOS) competitive acquisition program, and for other purposes.

H.R. 639. An act to amend the Controlled Substances Act with respect to drug scheduling recommendations by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and with respect to registration of manufacturers and distributors seeking to conduct clinical testing.

H.R. 647. An act to amend title XII of the Public Health Service Act to reauthorize certain trauma care programs, and for other purposes.

H.R. 648. An act to amend title XII of the Public Health Service Act to reauthorize certain trauma care programs, and for other purposes.

H.R. 876. An act to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to require hospitals to provide certain notifications to individuals classified by such hospitals under observation status rather than admitted as inpatients of such hospitals.

The message further announced that pursuant to section 803(a) of the Congressional Recognition for Excellence in Arts Education Act (2 U.S.C. 803(a)), the Minority Leader appoints the following member on the part of the House of Representatives to the Congressional Award Board: Mr. Romero Brown of Acworth, Georgia.

The message also announced that pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 1011c, and the order of the House of January 6, 2015, the Speaker appoints the following individuals on the part of the House of Representatives to the National Advisory Committee on Institutional Quality and Integrity for a term of six years: Upon the recommendation of the Minority Leader: Dr. George T. French of Fairfield, Alabama, Dr. Kathleen Sullivan Alioto of New York, New York, and Mr. Ralph A. Wolff of Oakland, California.