

January 2013

Media Propaganda: A Framing Analysis of Radio Broadcasts from U.S. to Cuba

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Media Propaganda:
A Framing Analysis of Radio Broadcasts from the U.S. to Cuba

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
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Date of Approval:
March 25, 2013

Keywords: freedom of the press, Martí, transcribe, Four Theories of the Press

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Xiomara Victoria Torres who consistently reminded that knowledge is power. You inspired this research.

I would like to thank my parents for all their support, both emotionally and financially. You were my motivators throughout my education. I would like to offer a special thanks to my brother, who kept me laughing along this journey. And lastly, a most heart-felt thank you to my grandfather, Luis Felipe Delgado. I miss you every minute of every day. I know you're with all of us, smiling from above.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A sincere thanks to my chair, Dr. Roxanne Watson, who dedicated a tremendous amount of time and energy to ensure that this thesis was finalized in mint condition. You are a remarkable professor.

And a warm thank you to my committee; Dr. Brown and Dr. Liu, who provided me with valuable input regarding my research. I am so grateful to have been your student, and I look forward to reading more of your future work.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative study is to analyze the dominant propaganda strategies that were reflected in an hour-long program of *Radio Martí*, a broadcast produced on behalf of Voice of America in the United States and aired to Cuba. Through propaganda techniques, a content analysis was used to determine which strategies were present in the commentator's coverage of the program, *El Dia de la Prensa Libre* on May 3rd, 2012. This study uncovered propaganda strategies, including testimonials, flag-waving, glittering generalities, appeal to prejudice, image manipulation, over-simplicity, assertion, and third party technique, that were utilized in an effort to present nuanced perspectives on the broadcasts transmitted on *Radio Martí*. The use of these strategies demonstrates that the program continues to use propaganda when broadcasting to Cuba after the conflict of interest incident with the United States and *Radio Martí* in 2006. Beyond the analysis of this broadcast, the results of this study cannot be generalized, but they can be viewed as an exemplar of the broadcast's stance on propaganda messages to Cuba on behalf of American journalists.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Whoever controls the media, the images, controls the culture." - Allen Ginsberg

In 1983, President Ronald Reagan established a radio broadcast program known as *Radio Martí* supported and funded by the United States, which airs Spanish transmissions to Cuba. The original purpose of this 24-hour radiocast was to be "a recommendation to the President by the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba. Its mission was to carry out regular airborne transmissions in order to break the Castro regime's blockade of information to the people of the island" (Mortman, 2004).

Since all of the official media outlets on the island of Cuba are controlled, and almost exclusively funded, by the government, (Williams, 2006) the effects of the airborne reports, that started broadcasting to Cuba in 1985 and 1990 respectively, have, "increased the availability of reliable and uncensored information on events in Cuba and around the world, and were part of an integrated approach to assist the Cuban people in bringing about rapid and peaceful change to their nation," according to mass communications scholar John Lent (1999).

According to the Broadcasting Board of Governors website, *Radio Martí* follows the "Voice of America" journalistic standards and guidelines for

presenting a variety of news and information in an accurate and objective manner. According to the broadcasting station's own statement, "*Radio Martí* is a portal with a mission to promote the principles of freedom and democracy in the Cuban society" (Martí Noticias, 2012, p. 1). Its mission is "to provide an informative balance of diverse ideas, which are not offered by the media in Cuba and provide information resources that allow people to break free from the totalitarian censorship and join the ongoing democratization process" (Martí Noticias, 2012, p. 1).

The station's news programs are broadcasted through a medium wave (AM) frequency, and are carried out by Miami's Spanish-language station, *Radio Mambí* (WAQI-710AM) everyday (Mortman, 2004). *Radio Mambí* is one of the highest-rated radio stations in South Florida and is known for its strong anti-Castro stance (Williams, 2006). Since *Radio Martí's* inception, the Cuban government has made considerable efforts to limit *Martí's* broadcasting capabilities and American influence. The Cuban government's program, called *Radio Rebelde*, calculatedly transmits on the same frequency as *Mambí*, but jamming the program with another frequency doesn't block the signal in all locations, or at all times (Mortman, 2004). *Radio Martí* counters by switching its frequencies 10 times a day (Dale, Walser & Roach, 2010) and the public reception to *Radio Martí* has been positive (Williams, 2006). In a survey conducted by the BBG's Office of Inspector General (OIG) in July 2007, 72 percent of respondents reported that they have listened to *Radio Martí's* news broadcasts (30 percent of

them said they listen daily) (Dale, Walser & Roach, 2010). Despite the setbacks, *Radio Martí* has had considerable success in penetrating the barriers established by the Castro regime.

On September 8, 2006, through a Freedom of Information request, it was found that at least ten South Florida journalists received regular payments from the U.S. government for programs on *Radio Martí* that “support an opening of Cuban society and multi-party elections in Cuba” (Williams, 2006, p. 2). The U.S. George W. Bush administration’s Office of Cuba Broadcasting, (OCB) oversaw the operations of *Radio Martí* and initiated a plan in 2001 under which several journalists were paid to provide commentary, transmitted to Cuba, that was critical of the system of government established by Fidel Castro (Goodnough, 2006). For several years before this “the Cuban government contended that some South Florida Spanish-language journalists were on the federal payroll,” and cited this as its rationale for jamming the radio transmission into Cuba (Williams, 2006, p. 2).

The payments totaled thousands of dollars over several years. According to the Miami Herald, the group of journalists included three individuals from El Nuevo Herald, the Spanish-language corporate parent newspaper of The Miami Herald, among several other free-lance writers and reporters.

Several of the highest paid reporters were employed through El Nuevo Herald. Pablo Alfonso, who reported on Cuba for El Nuevo Herald, received the first single payment, in the amount of almost \$175,000 for broadcasts made

between 2001 and 2006 (Goodnough, 2006). In addition to Alfonso, other journalists who received large payments include Wilfredo Cancio Isla, who writes for El Nuevo Herald and received approximately \$15,000 between 2001 and 2006; Olga Connor, a freelance reporter for the newspaper who accepted about \$71,000; and Juan Manuel Cao, a reporter who received \$11,000 (Williams, 2006). Other individuals who also accepted money from the Bush administration include Armstrong Williams, a commentator and talk-show host who received \$240,000 (Goodnough, 2006).

Pedro Roig, director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, told The Miami Herald that hiring Cuban-American journalists was part of a broader mission to improve the station's quality. But other media professionals like Al Thompkins of The Poynter Institute disagreed. "It's all about credibility and independence. If you consider yourself a journalist, then it seems there's an obvious conflict of interest to take government dollars" (Kumar, 2012, p. 49).

Today, *Radio Martí*, which operates under the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), no longer pays journalists to broadcast given information, but rather discusses different interests and social issues relating to the Cuban people.

Using a qualitative content analysis, this study will expand on current literature of the four theories of the press, propaganda, and content framing in examining the frames and propaganda strategies used by *Radio Martí* commentators through the evaluation of politically charged media broadcasts. Results of this study will contribute to literature analyzing different propaganda

strategies, measuring types of frames in cases of conflict of interest, and understanding the media-related disposition of Cuba.

By way of disclosure, the researcher is a second-generational Cuban-American, who has never personally visited Cuba. Many of the perspectives that she has toward Cuba emanate from her grandparents on both sides who fled the country in the wake of the 1956 revolution.

The study of propaganda and framing, in conjunction with the four theories of the press, has not been addressed for the purpose of assisting the cultural perspectives of a developing country with media outlets that are highly censored. The literature review will explore the background of propaganda followed by an overview of framing in political contexts. Chapter six of this manuscript will outline the method used to collect the radio broadcast data and analyze the results of propaganda strategies and framing techniques for this study.

CHAPTER 2: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

The preambles of the Cuban and U.S. Constitution both address their citizens in a similar manner. The Cuban preamble states:

We, Cuban citizens heirs and continuators of the creative work and the traditions of combativity, firmness, heroism and sacrifice fostered by our ancestors; by the Indians who preferred extermination to submission; by the slaves who rebelled against their masters... (Cuban Constitution, Preamble).

The 1976 Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, thus, addresses the values held by the government, as well as those that relate to the Marxist and Marxist-Leninist teachings that the government ascribes to. The United States Constitution states:

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America (U.S. Constitution Preamble).

Despite similarities in the preambles, which share many of the same principles in the intention of their fulfillment, the freedoms accorded within the constitutions are not always the same.

In terms of freedom of the press, the Cuban Constitution, provides at Article 53:

Constitution citizens have freedom of speech and of the press in keeping with the objectives of socialist society. Material conditions for the exercise of that right are provided by the fact that the press, radio, television, cinema, and other mass media are state or social property and can never be private property. This assures their use at exclusive service of the working people and in the interests of society and of the Cuban people (Cuban Constitution, Art. 53).

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances (U.S. Constitution, Amend. I).

Cuban press law is, thus, predicated on the socialist principle that the rights of the collective take precedence over the rights of the individual because “the people of Cuba view freedom and human dignity as a social and economic

right rather than a civil and political right” (Pollis, 1999, p. 1).

“When Fidel Castro and his guerilla army came down from their mountain stronghold to take control of the Cuban government in 1959, one of their earliest and most widely criticized acts was the swift takeover of the country’s mass communication system” (Nichols, 2006, p. 260). Just a couple years later, all forms of Cuban media were controlled by the Castro regime in order to eliminate opposition to the revolution (Morgan, 1975).

Mass communication media were extremely prevalent in Cuba. “Most homes outside of Havana lacked running water during these times (1960s), but not a radio receiver” (Nichols, 2006, p. 259). This indicates Castro’s success in promoting the mass media tool used by the government to diffuse propaganda favorable to socialist governments (Perez, 1998). The government has always relied heavily on its broadcasting system as a means of information transmission and national integration. “For those within the Revolution, complete freedom; for those against the Revolution, no freedom,” said Fidel Castro when he laid down the dictum that was to govern the role of mass media in the new Cuban society in 1959 (Phillips, 2008, p. 59). Today, in comparison to the pre-revolutionary times, there are significantly less radio receivers, but the overall amount of programming focused on governmental media policies has increased throughout the island (Nichols, 2006). The reason for this is that the Communist party owns all mass media in Cuba, and the media operate almost entirely on state funds (Goodnough, 2006), which, in turn, means that “the press takes on the

form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates” (Siebert, 1952, p. 4).

The control of the information and ideas in the mass media, whether articulated into law or not, involves a complex matrix of variables:

(1) who owns the mass media; (2) where or for what sector of society the media are controlled; (3) what information is managed; (4) how media management is done; and (5) at what point in the production process information is controlled (Curry, 1982, p. 257).

This is determined by national, historical and cultural experiences; and the leadership’s perception of its own legitimacy in penetrating the society and making it loyal; the level of popular expectations and the ability of the system to fulfill these expectations; and the goals of the dominant ideology (Curry, 1982, p. 259). And in Cuba the dominant ideology is socialist. “Cuban journalists share a common sense of a continuing counter-revolutionary threat by U.S. financed Cuban-Americans living in Miami” (Phillips, 2010, p. 1).

Cuba has five national radio channels centered in Havana that are administered by the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television and “is by no means open to foreign press” (Nichols, 2006, p. 58). In the 1970s and 1980s, the Cuban external broadcasting system was saturated with shrill anti-American propaganda, (Phillips, 2008) and the Voice of America, which broadcasts in 53 languages to virtually every country in the world (Herbert, 2001) countered with

the most concentrated propaganda campaign in its history (Nichols, 2006). This was just the beginning of a large installation of U.S. transmission efforts to Cuba through the International Broadcasting Bureau. "U.S. policy toward Cuba is governed by America's enduring concerns about the absence of democracy, liberty, and respect for human rights during the 52-year reign of the Castro dictatorship," writes Goodnough (2006, p. 1). "Castro's one-party state jailed those who opposed him, ruined the economy and led hundreds of thousands of Cubans to flee. This abuse of power has led to a government which controls every Cuban newspaper, television channel and radio station and restricts Internet access," according to Pecar (2011, p. 4). The Cuban government attempts to advocate fear in the Cuban population by warning them that freedom of the press has been restrained, along with other freedoms, according to Tabache (2011).

In 2001, four journalists were serving prison terms for "insulting" the head of state or for "dangerousness," making Cuba the only country in the western hemisphere where journalists were imprisoned at the time for exercising their professions (Herbert, 2001).

"In 2003, 27 independent journalists were tried similarly and imprisoned in a wide-ranging crackdown on political dissent, according to the Independent, a newspaper first published in 1986 and which is still publishing today (The Independent, 2007, p. 9). Others were imprisoned for being in communication with international human rights organizations (The Independent, 2010, p.4). This

is part of the exemplification that provides Cary Roque with pull over those who are “anti-Castro.”

“You cannot kill truth by murdering or imprisoning journalists,” said Tubal Páez, president of the Journalist Union of Cuba (Phillips, 2010). This sentiment expressed by Paez is relevant to Cary Roque’s experience. Cary Roque was a Cuban journalist who was imprisoned for 16 years during the 1960s. She currently resides in Miami, Florida and works with *Radio Martí* (Ferrera, 2012).

“Those who do not believe that U.S. rulers are consciously aware and willing to work toward the propagation of capitalism should note how strongly they press for free-market reforms. This helps everyone, but hurts everyone at the same time” said Cary Roque. Nonetheless, Roque firmly believes that citizens should have a right to know what is going on in other parts of the world, and should have a fair amount of unbiased information about their own system of government (Ferrera, 2012).

Cuba is a Unitary Socialist Republic with 14 provinces and one special municipality -- Havana. It is currently a dictatorship, and has remained that way since 1959, when Fidel’s forces entered the capital (Hamberg and Coyula, 2009). The sole branch of government is the Executive branch which is currently headed by Fidel Castro’s brother, Raul, since Fidel stepped down in 2007 (Hamberg and Coyula, 2009). The sole political party on the island is the Cuban Communist Party (Hamberg and Coyula, 2009).

The Constitution of 1976, which defined Cuba as a socialist republic, was replaced by the Constitution of 1992, which is "guided by the ideas of José Martí and the political and social ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin" (Hamberg and Coyula, 2009, p. 2).

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

Four Theories of the Press

Siebert et al. (1963) compare the differences between press systems in full perspectives, to see the social systems in their true relationship to the press and have identified four theories that govern press/state relationships in different government systems – libertarian, authoritarian, social responsibility, and Soviet (1963:2). The Libertarian theory does not regard the press as an instrument of government; the press is financially independent, functioning to inform and entertain the general public, to help discover truth, and to be the watchdog over the workings of the government and, hence, democracy. Authoritarian theory, on the opposite side, requires the press to be a ‘servant of the state’ (1963:3) and an institution controlled by the government.

The Soviet Communist theory of the state developed of from the Authoritarian model (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 3). The Soviet Communist theory posits that the state instrumentally uses its mass media for various political purposes, particularly as propaganda tools (Huang, 2003). Since the 1956 Revolution and the start of the Castro regime, the relationship between the state and the press in Cuba has fallen in line with the description of government/press relations described by the Soviet Communist theory (Zhang and Fleming, 2005).

Karl Marx, advocated that, “productive forces would always change faster than productive relations, throwing society out of balance” (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 109). Thus, as with Communist ideals, and the Authoritarian theory of the press, the Soviet theory’s logic is that the collective is more important than the individual, and therefore it is important to advance the working class in the Soviet world.

The Social Responsibility theory of press/government relations emerged from the Libertarian theory in the 20th century (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 74). Social Responsibility theorists advocate that, under the First Amendment, the press has an obligation to carry out such functions as providing a forum for debates on public affairs, informing the public and arousing citizens’ interests, and, in essence, to “recognize its responsibilities and make them the basis of operational policies” (1963: 74). It has this major premise: “Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under our government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society” (Siebert, 1963, p. 74). Press/government relationship in the United States is most closely akin to this model, which posits that the press should present all sides of a story and allows the audience members to form their own ideas and perceptions based upon the information provided in the free marketplace (Siebert, 1963)

Propaganda

With the growth of international communication tools, the flow of messages has been dramatically accelerated. Citizens around the world can more often participate in uncensored conversations about their collective future (Kumar, 2012). However, this is not the case everywhere, especially in parts of the world where the Authoritarian press/government relationship is prevalent.

The goal of utilizing propaganda strategies in the case of a mass medium is to “*systematically and consciously* promote a set of ideas and actions developed by those advocating such a doctrine and who would duly benefit from it” (Gambrill and Reiman, 2011, p. 7). While propaganda from a group with opposing ideas is perceived negatively and is easily identified as propaganda, within one’s own group, its ideology is neither *good* nor *bad* (Kumar, 2012).

Propagandists encourage shortcuts by “agitating emotions, exploiting insecurities, capitalizing on the ambiguity of language, and bending the rules of logic” (Gambrill and Reiman, 2011, p. 8). A propaganda analysis of this nature will expose the methods that the broadcasters used in this specific program, and suggest ways of avoiding these techniques and pinpointing the facts of such eugenic movements (Elliston, 1999).

The five propaganda strategies addressed for the purpose of this study are as follows:

- (1) *Appeal to prejudice, which uses loaded or emotive terms in a biased and/or misleading way, in order to attach value or moral*

goodness to believing the proposition.

(2) Flag-waving, which attempts to justify an action on the grounds that doing so will benefit a country, group or idea that the targeted audience supports.

(3) Oversimplification, or favorable generalities that are used to provide simple answers to complex social, political, economic, or military problems.

(4) Testimonials and quotations that are in or out of context, and are especially cited to support or reject a given policy, action, program, or personality. The reputation or the role (expert, respected public figure, etc.) of the individual giving the statement is exploited. This is done in an effort to cause the target audience to identify itself with the authority or to accept the authority's opinions and beliefs as its own;

(5) Third party technique works on the principle that people are more willing to accept an argument from a seemingly independent source of information than from someone with a stake in the outcome. A possible intended purpose of the utilization of third party technique could be to improve sentiments or alter existing ones among the target audience towards a given nation, region or system of government (Gambrill and Reiman, 2011, p. 4-5).

Framing

Factors, such as the way a message is delivered, noticing angles addressed, confidence of the speaker, word choice, tone of voice, overall delivery of the message, all have important effects on its interpretation.

“Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief system” (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

Scholars have provided several different definitions of framing. Hanggli (2010) defines framing as “Selecting perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text” (p. 145). Kaid (2009) describes frames as “The information presented to an audience and how the selection of one method or content of presentation over another affects how an audience perceives a person, event, or issue” (p. 18). Zauderer’s (2007) definition is “The central organizing idea for content that supplies context and suggests what the issue is, using selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (p. 66). However, for the purpose of this paper the most appropriate definition is: “Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location – such as speech, utterance, news report, or novel – to that consciousness” (Entman, 1993, p. 54). In this case, the analysis falls under multiple aspects of the broadcasts.

By applying the definition above to this study, we can operate under the assumption that “mass communications can be used by media personnel to create, influence, and alter public attitudes” (Lecheller, 2011, p. 959). This is usually the motive behind *Voice of America* broadcasts, as previously mentioned, where the primary goal is to "to promote freedom and democracy and to enhance understanding through multimedia communication about America and the world to audiences overseas" (Nichols, 2006, p. 260).

In the case of this particular research the later part of the analysis will focus on framing, as it entails an explanation of how the broadcasters from *Radio Martí* delivered their message using propaganda strategies explicitly mentioned/stated in the hour-long program, in order to fulfill the U.S. public information agenda.

By incorporating framing into the study, we can narrow down the variables to be measured utilizing a schematic model to understand the methods used by a “socially responsible” society to encourage change in a Soviet Communist system.

These strategies have been utilized by leaders throughout history in both deceptive and authentic framing techniques in order to display controlled passion and dignity in making a case, stating values and moral ideas, attacking opponent’s viewpoints, and gathering groups of followers to support their overall message. Designated progressive figures in our society constantly utilize authentic framing “to convey genuine values and beliefs in

support of a course of action” (Zauderer, 2007, p. 66). “Authentic framing is an additional tool for building support to generate meaningful change. A change initiative can be framed in terms of enhancing citizen value, preserving democracy, building organization capacity, and giving meaning to one’s professional life” (Slothuus and Vreese, 2010, p. 630). This seems like the most successful path, but the evaluation of deceptive framing in the media environment can be just as effective.

Framing involves selecting aspects of perceived reality and identifying ways to promote or treat a particular problem (Zauderer, 2007). And with the theoretical application of framing, specific frames were introduced into an argument. “Frames diagnose causes – identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments – evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies – offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects” (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

Some illustrations of theoretical concepts of framing include:

- (1) *Audience autonomy or the dominant meaning consists of the problem, causal, evaluative, and treatment interpretations with the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by most people.*
- (2) *Journalistic objectivity, where journalists might be better equipped to construct news with two or more interpretations of a problem to the average, inattentive, and marginally informed*

audience

- (3) *Content analysis would avoid treating all negative or positive terms of utterances as equally salient and influential.*
- (4) *Public opinion and normative democracy theory where framing is a central power in the democratic process and can indicate and alter public opinion (Entman, 1993, p. 56-57).*

This lends itself to “picturing” and framing through visual representations. “Visual perception is an extremely complex process. Everything we see is constructed by our visual intelligence according to principles” (Slothuus and Vreese, 2010, p. 641). So, this concept of “picturing” encourages certain mind-sets about the speaker, as well as the message, and operates as a relatable visual representation for listeners. This visual framing is especially effective, as it signifies that broadcasters have tangible evidence to elaborate upon.

Media transmissions, like the *Radio Martí* program that forms the basis of this study, are key when studying international communication, specifically when discussing propaganda appeals and framing, as they describe, “the process whereby communicators, consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner” (Kuypers, 2009, p. 190).

The theory of framing in the political environment is a topic of extensive research in relation to media and politics, disseminated on a mass scale via

broadcast media like radio and television. By looking at research that focuses on political rhetoric about freedom of the press, as well as studies that focus on framing, we can determine the contributions that those platforms will provide for the purpose of this paper.

CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Movements

Like other socialist nations, Cuba has experienced its fair share of social movements, revolts, guerilla activity, and censorship of different mediums of communications like radio broadcasts (O'Grady, 2012), which makes the following articles purposeful in incorporating research that focuses on radical media, Internet revolution, restricted journalism, and freedom of the press in Cuba.

Shaffer (2009) explored the role of the Havana-based weekly anarchist newspaper *¡Tierra!* between 1902 and 1915. *¡Tierra!* was the most popular, longest-lived and most widely distributed newspaper in Cuba and reported news about repression and struggles (Poyo, 1985). It distributed news and propaganda to workers in small towns and cities across Cuba and, according to Shaffer, “ it became a means of communicating and sharing tales of repression, compared conditions, and heightened complexities of the island-wide struggle” (Shaffer, 2009, p. 3). In May 1902 the U.S. occupation of Cuba ended and this newspaper became a hub, popular throughout the region, for discussions relating to anarchy (Shaffer, 2009). The reason for the rise in anarchist literature was the migration in the 1890s of several Spanish-born anarchists as workers to

Cuba, and later to other Caribbean countries, and Tampa, Florida. These anarchists were given a cause at the time with the “spread of U.S. military and economic influence throughout the Caribbean,” which fueled the development of a network of anti-imperialist anarchists in the Caribbean (Shaffer, 2009, p. 48). The development of a strong anarchist network of press and academia facilitated this network (Shaffer, 2009).

The analytical focus of Shaffer’s (2009) study was to understand the movement status that this newspaper created in Cuba by researching the idea that it provided readers throughout the distribution areas with a means to compare their situations and develop a larger international consciousness. According to the results of this study, *¡Tierra!*, like several other Cuban newspapers, (*Granma, Juventud Rebelde, and La Demajagua*) exemplified what theorists and scholars (eg. Al Thompkins, Dale, Walser & Roach, 2010) who study modern social movements have explored, in that the role of radical media provides a space for activists to report on their own actions while challenging those opposing their beliefs, and to link groups into networks of people with similar situations (Shaffer, 2009).

One of the more interesting revelations from this research is that a newspaper that initially started as part of a local and national labor movement, resulted in a social movement “designed to challenge a broad array of labor, economic, social, cultural, and political conditions in the region” and counter the elite (Poyo, 1985, p. 31). Further, by using anarchist journalism, activists were

able to generate national awareness among other people who were facing similar realities, and, thereby, to frame interpretations to be consistent across the country. The focus of the new research stemming from this study, Shaffer (2009) suggests, should be to apply similar variables in today's Cuba, only altering the medium of communication from print to online, Florida Senator Marco Rubio discussed the need for this in O'Grady's (2012) research.

O'Grady in his 2012 research, examines the reasons why "the Cuban government prohibits social media forms within Cuba" (p. 1). The primary focus of this article was an interview with GOP Senator Marco Rubio. Born in Miami, Florida, Rubio is the son of Cuban immigrants who migrated to the U.S. in 1956, during the dictatorship of Batista and at the time that Fidel Castro was commencing his stance for revolution (Rubio, 2013, p. 1). Rubio's parents were forced to leave Cuba as political refugees from the communist regime, and he was born and grew up in the U.S. (Washington Post, 2011), hence his personal and political views on Cuba and the Castro regime are westernized. Rubio became interested in public service and human rights principles early on and he currently holds one of Florida's seats in the U.S. Senate (Rubio, 2013).

O'Grady's (2012) research is focused around an interview with Rubio. In the interview, Rubio addressed the idea that, although many efforts, like *Radio Martí*, bring hope to the few Cubans who actually have access to the radio frequency, the only way to truly create an opportunity for change in the Cuban government is to allow widespread communication within the country. O'Grady

(2012) suggests that a solid medium of communication, such as the Internet, or an uncensored nation-wide newspaper would initiate momentum among citizens.

But, according to O'Grady, (2012) Rubio does not believe the Castro regime is opposed to "communication with the external world, but rather the communication amongst the Cuban people" (O'Grady, 2012, p. 2). Rubio said, "I think Raul Castro is well aware that he won't survive in a reality where they can communicate in a liberal manner" (O'Grady, 2012, p. 1).

Even though some Cubans on the island are receiving messages encouraging democratic change in their system of government from the outside world, that technology is not openly available, and social means of communication are limited (O'Grady, 2012). O'Grady (2012) compares Raul Castro's situation in Cuba to that of Hosni Mubarak's in Egypt, where there was a recent rising fueled by social media communications. He suggests that the only solidified way to create a revolution would be to provoke change via social media communication media. "If the Cuban people gained access to some sort of Internet connection where they would have open means of unfiltered, or unjammed communication, social media interchange would take care of the rest" (O'Grady, 2012, p. 2). In spite of the efforts of the United States with *Radio Martí* and other such initiatives, the people of Cuba must be able to communicate openly before change can arise, O'Grady (2012) suggests.

However, in a 2008 study, Phillips found that Cuban journalists did not

believe that the government inhibited their freedom of expression. Phillips (2008) conducted an ethnographic study while living in Cuba in an attempt to determine the state of media freedom in 2008 and to build a better understanding between media democracy activists in the U.S. and those in Cuba. Through interviews Phillips was able to gather meaningful information about Cuban journalists' perceptions about freedom of the press and U.S. corporate media issues (Phillips, 2008).

The general consensus among Cuban journalists was that they strongly value freedom of the press, and don't believe that there is any evidence of overt restriction of government control in Cuba (Phillips, 2008). From the interviews conducted, it became clear that journalists on the island feel they have complete freedom to write or broadcast any stories they choose, which is the opposite of the picture of Cuba so often depicted in the U.S. Interestingly, Cuban journalists actually complained that U.S. mass communication efforts are "biased and they refuse to cover the positive aspect of socialism in Cuba" (Phillips, 2008, p. 29).

Phillips' article provides an "inside look" at the perceptions of journalists in Cuba, and their defensive attitude toward the regime begins to paint a different image of Cubans, who may not be interested in the "Social Responsibility" that American-Cuban journalists have been pressing for through *Radio Martí* broadcasts. More research needs to be done to elicit the views modern day Cubans have on their government system and perceptions of freedom. This, however, is not the aim of the current research.

Censorship and Four Theories of the Press

Zhang and Fleming (2005) examined the characteristics of censorship in communist print media in China, incorporating the four theories of the press and Shoemaker and Reese's hierarchy model of influences on media content. Zhang and Fleming (2005) identified three ways in which the Soviet Communist Party and the government of China controlled the media:

(1) its departments of propaganda at various levels appointed editors; (2) the Party, through propaganda departments, issued directives for media content; and (3) the Party reviewed and criticized the press (Zhang and Fleming, 2005, p. 326-327).

The article also suggests that the Chinese Party-government influenced the newspaper content and, therefore, assumed control over the media. This was evident in three ways (Zhang and Fleming, 2005):

(1) the appointment of newspapers' editors-in-chief by the propaganda department at various levels;
(2) the issue of directives or circulars by the propaganda department at various levels; and
(3) the provision of direct instructions from Party-government top leaders via their talks or speeches at meetings (Zhang and Fleming, 2005, p. 327).

Radio Martí, a broadcast frequency that operates in conjunction with Voice of America, allows Cubans to receive information outside of what is censored by

Castro's regime (Shaffer, 2009).

By bracketing Cuba's government and press relationships as closely following the Soviet model we can see tangible ideas about how the Cuban government controls and owns all media outlets in the same way that Chinese media doubles as a Party-government instrument, and the profit-maker for the government's economic survival.

Zhang and Fleming (2005) studied the process by which circulars or directives are issued within China about what material is to appear in the press, and indicate that, under the system in place, the government controls newspapers' coverage of certain topics.

Ostini and Fung (2002) addressed the categorization of national press systems using the Four Theories of the Press to contextualize press structure and state policies in the United States. The authors stressed that journalists should be able to negotiate between their own professionalism and state control. There is a significant amount of pressure placed on journalists to incorporate the autonomy of individual reporter-like practices and political/social factors (Ostini and Fung, 2002).

Developing a new model to account for the global media system through multinational news coverage of specific events is the best explanatory power applicable to the Four Theories of the Press. Every theoretical press system operates in accordance with the system of government encompassing the country in which it is based. Therefore, the normative focus of each cultural

model is appropriate for each structural-functionalist perspective (Zhang and Fleming, 2005).

Ostini and Fung, (2002) argue that the press' purpose is to provide an avenue for the expression of public views and to "fuel the political and social debates necessary for the continued development of democratic governance" (p. 47). This point reflects the Libertarian perspective, including Western idealism, which makes this Westernized idea a primary source for research in looking at the Cuban system of government and Voice of America's agenda for media plurality.

Further, Adams-Bloom and Cleary (2009) also suggested that stipulations of the social responsibility theory in relation to the economic model for the media were based in the United States. The purpose of this study was to understand the economic realities of today's corporate environment in relation to the social responsibility theories of traditional media, i.e. print and broadcast outlets. They note that newer phenomena like bloggers, social networking, and other technologies are not included in the understanding because they didn't exist at the time. The theory maintains that, in American society, everyone who has something significant to say should have the opportunity to express it in the media (Adams-Bloom and Cleary, 2009). Therefore, "corporations, communities, consumers, practitioners, and professional organizations all ensure that access remains open to a diverse group of people" (Adams-Bloom and Cleary, 2009, p. 5).

A search of five broadcast and cable morning news programs, located a total of 96 morning news programs from ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and FOX were coded during a 1-month period in November 2004 (Adams-Bloom and Cleary, 2009). Two types of stories were examined; entertainment and news. Each entertainment story was examined and studied for content that promoted a product or event and each news story was defined as those stories that didn't promote an item or event (Adams-Bloom and Cleary, 2009).

Propaganda Index and Strategies

Socolow (2007) analyzed former President Roosevelt's request to initiate a program in the context of domestic radio propaganda planning at the start of the Second World War. The article elaborated on the plan to inaugurate a domestic government radio network on behalf of the United States that was ultimately unsuccessful. Journalists from commercial networks had already broadcasted government-sanctioned war-related information over airwaves before initiating the U.S. plan. However, America's existing commercial radio show on NBC bypassed this, and began a government-operated network plan after Germany and Italy declared war (Socolow, 2007, p. 112).

The article also mentions the Radio Bureau of the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF) and the Office of War Information (OWI), which postulate that radio networks could more effectively disseminate propaganda than any governmental operation (Socolow, 2007). However, what happens when the two combine, as in the case with the United States and *Radio Martí*?

Thus, interestingly, it is clear that even in countries that subscribe to “socially responsible” media systems such as the U.S., there has been the proliferation of government censored and closely monitored news broadcasts. Not only would most of the same propaganda strategies, such as appeal to prejudice, testimonials, and third-party technique be evident in *Radio Martí* broadcasts in Cuba, and, therefore, usable for purposes of this study, but they also help make distinctions between what may appear from the point of view of someone steeped in the U.S. culture of democratic government to be a less evident method of disseminating misleading information, and material that is heavily centralized on framing tactics.

The commercial network’s success in fending off an attempt by the U.S. government to establish a national, government-operated, domestic broadcasting network was one of the most effective strategies in broadcast history (Socolow, 2007). However, today, as a result of this effort, the U.S. has the ability to broadcast messages internationally through paid transmissions. Interestingly, when those identical transmissions, through Voice of America, are heard within the U.S., they are classified as propaganda (Socolow, 2007).

Rabe (2007) researched a radio station that opposed a government-owned broadcast network. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) was formed as a privately-owned effort encompassing all the information being broadcast in Latin American countries. As previously mentioned, the frequency (WAQI-710AM) is often times jammed by the Cuban government because the short wave

might not allow for a connection which the Cuban regime is able to block (Mortman, 2004).

A key point in the study is the perception of one-sided broadcasting media that transmit internationally. "At least one representative of RCA in Argentina recognized that Latin Americans could easily resent one-sided programming, and warned NBC to be careful, they resent having anything forced on them, especially with an attitude of superiority" (Rabe, 2007, p. 131). This could be applicable in the case of Cuba and *Radio Martí*, in that, although the broadcasts might transmit information to "promote freedom," some Cubans might experience a sense of resentment toward the U.S. In Cuba, itself, however, there is a large level of censorship and propaganda messages sent from the Cuban government in its own mediums of mass communications (Socolow, 2007).

Political Media Frames

Hanggli (2010) analyzed how frames used by political actors influenced the media's framing of issues. This study focused on the theory from a political aspect, as well as a media standpoint, finding that, by actively constructing the meaning of the reality in question, the idea of a "strategic action" or a frame can be established. The study focuses on three issues in order to achieve an "emphasis effect" where the audience is led to concentrate on certain aspects of the proposed topic, in this case, the proposed topic was the tightening of the asylum law. The issues are: First, the researchers chose a single frame capable of

capturing the attention of the audience being addressed, as well as the media. Second, the researchers decided the extent of the political actor's consideration of the opponents' frames. Third, the researchers analyzed the emphasis placed on the frames presented by the political actors in the scheme of the campaign.

By placing the proposed study in a controlled environment, Hanggli (2010) was able to focus less on external variables like voter characteristics and more on substantive framing, which allowed the "political figures" to assess the merits of alternative ways of framing the issue. This setting is especially significant in this study, as one of the main arguments addressed in the article is that, "There is little knowledge about what determines the strength of a frame. It depends on credibility of the source and its congruence with central cultural themes" (Hanggli, 2010).

The researchers proposed several research questions for the experiment, but the main question was, "To what extent can one generalize the findings of substantive frames with individual beliefs about a given topic" (Hanggli, 2010, p. 5). This question goes hand-in-hand with the idea of schema in analyzing how prior experiences affect an individual's interpretation of the message presented. In relation to U.S. government propaganda messages being broadcasted into Cuba, this research can facilitate the evaluation of the substantial frames from the *Radio Martí* broadcasts. The study consisted of five categories of framed topics, such as humanitarian issues, rule-of-law traditions, media abuse, democracy, and other defensive frames that can also be used for the purpose of this analysis.

Visual Frames

Frosh (2011) studied how visual metaphors and representations “systematically encourage certain kinds of thinking about communication – and the kinds of power relationships that communication seemingly entails – while discouraging others” (p. 2). Frosh (2011) looks at framing and picturing in the conceptual idea of a metaphor. There is a significant relationship between a metaphor and broadcast media, and there are distinct political characteristics addressing the visual aspect of key concepts in propaganda communication research. The purpose of Frosh’s (2011) study is to examine the semantic associations of a frame that “paints a picture” along with graphic material that simultaneously underpins the image that the frame makes possible.

Mass communication professionals often use “picturing” in speeches, radio broadcasts, and other public speaking instances to attain reliability from the audience (Frosh, 2011).

These descriptive and prescriptive enterprise references, result in “a commitment to improving and enhancing democratic politics through an understanding of those communication modes that are most appropriate” (Frosh, 2011, p. 3). Pictures and images are, thus, core concepts in radio transmissions when considering the degree to which such aspects shape the consciousness of citizens.

Frame Strength

Aaroe (2011) focused on why some frames are more influential than others, the factors that influence the strength of a frame, and the capacity of each frame to influence citizen's opinions. The study sought to understand the degree of impact that thematic and episodic frames had on the intensity of subjects' responses by researching emotional reactions.

It consisted of an experimental study of opinions on the "24-year rule," in Denmark under which only foreigners over the age of 24, who marry Danes over the age of 24 can qualify for citizenship. Anti-immigration activists have criticized the law enacted in 2012. While it is meant to diminish forced marriages and "family reunification immigration" (Aaroe, 2011, p. 209), it also includes several other limitations on applications including age and residence requirements that have drawn criticism from human rights organizations (Aaroe, 2011). Students from Danish high schools and business schools were surveyed using a 7-point scale and asked: "Do you think that the 24-year rule should be abolished or preserved" (Aaroe, 2011, p. 213).

Based on the responses, more sensitive questions were asked, in such a way that each one was more emotionally charged than the previous. The findings supported the idea that the relative strength of the thematic and episodic frames had a direct correlation with the intensity of the emotional reactions elicited in their audience. "It demonstrates that we may extend out knowledge of frame strength by clarifying the underlying psychological

processes, and taking a look at the frame's capacity to trigger and direct emotional reactions into support for the argued policy position" (Aaroe, 2011, p. 221).

For the purpose of this study, the commentators' word choice and tone of voice could very well trigger emotional reactions in their listeners. This aspect of the experiment would directly fall under framing effects in conjunction with international propaganda message strategies, which is very much relevant to the idea of this paper.

"Effect studies have shown that frames influence citizens' attributions of responsibility, their policy views, and the intensity of their emotional reactions" (Aaroe, 2011, p. 212). This is key when interpreting the measureable findings in the content broadcasted to Cuba, as the intensity of the audience's reactions based on evident actions, moderates the extent to which episodic and thematic frames influence opinions. While the researcher will focus on the transcript of the broadcast, and not tone of voice, choice of words will serve as an index of the intentions of the broadcaster.

Frame Duration

Lecheler and Vreese (2011) analyzed the duration of framing effects. The study focused on determining the point at which a person no longer had an experience with the presented example of framing, and whether or not a disparity existed between those with high levels of political knowledge and those with low levels.

Ultimately, traces of framing effects were measured immediately after exposure to the message at three points in time - after one day, after one week, and after two weeks. The experimental procedure consisted of an online survey, followed by a questionnaire on a given topic, and lastly, a follow-up questionnaire utilizing the same questions as in the previous one. The general design of the experiment addressed all possible impacting variables and did effectively conduct the procedure in the interim period. Findings suggested that there was a direct relationship between the duration of framing effects on those individuals with high levels of political knowledge. While the Cuban government has broadcasted to Cuba for years, the Cuban government has established such increased censorship rules that many citizens of Cuba don't have access to political knowledge outside of the Castro regime. Therefore, even though "Voice of America" has been broadcasting since 1970 to Cuba, the duration effects of the frames presented from *Radio Martí* could be relatively low. Another factor that might militate against the effectiveness of the duration effects of the broadcast among Cubans is the level of access to the station by most Cubans.

The framing effects theory was heavily studied in this article to stress how much previous research has been done on the topic in accordance with the relevancy of this experiment. "The goal when analyzing the conjectural existence of framing effects, is to describe the psychological processes that underlie framing effects and, thus, enable them, and taking a look at how framing also

functions by adding new beliefs to an individual's belief content" (Lecheler and Vreese, 2011). Both frameworks can be researched in radio transmissions as they discuss a more in-depth angle when explaining the causes of the theory, and why it's so prevalent in some cases, but not in others.

Slothuus and Vreese (2010) explored frames sponsored by political parties and argued; "Citizens are more likely to follow a frame if it is promoted by 'their' party" (p. 2). This is another framing effect piece that builds upon previous empirical research on the potential of alternative frames to sway public opinion. This research addressed the source of a frame and how it moderates its effects.

The study examined three hypotheses all dealing with party framing, party sponsors, and partisan conflict issues. The main idea, however, was the level of inclination on the part of a citizen toward a party-sponsored communication when the citizen feels "attached" to the party itself, versus when the citizen feels no attachment to the party. The researchers found that citizens who were more politically aware had a higher "attachment" rate to both the party and the party sponsor, versus those who were less politically aware, regardless of party attachment (Slothuus and Vreese, 2010, p. 637).

Valkenburg and Vreese (1999), investigated whether journalistic news frames affect readers' stated thoughts through a quantitative study of two newspaper stories of a social and political issue in Europe. Each story had identical core components to assure its sole varying factor was in fact the topics addressed, and the media frames used. Frames were found to play an important

role in the reader's "thought-listing responses" and human-interest news frames had negative consequences for recall (Valkenburg and Vreese, 1999).

The researchers define media frames as "ways in which journalists compose a news story to optimize audience accessibility," (Valkenburg and Vreese, 1999, p. 553) ways in which *Radio Martí* reporters broadcast stories in the *Cuba Al Dia* (Daily Cuba) segment of the show can be examined to determine whether media frames are evident.

Using four ways to identify whether or not a story has been framed, researchers were able to determine the influence of recall and the simultaneous results of audience interpretation. The four frames used were:

(1) emphasizing conflict between parties or individuals (conflict frame); (2) by focusing on an individual as an example or by emphasizing emotions (human interest frame); (3) by attributing responsibility, crediting or blaming certain political institutions or individuals (responsibility frame); and (4) by focusing on the economic consequences for the audience (economic consequences frame) (Valkenburg and Vreese, 1999).

Persuasive and Framing Appeals

English (2011) researched the extent to which political videos, specifically via YouTube, influenced viewer's understanding and perception of health care between 2005 (the year YouTube launched its website) and 2008 (the year of the first presidential election that followed the launch of YouTube). This article

sought to analyze how different persuasive appeals and framing affected viewer's opinions of political activities.

English (2011) focused on three categories of persuasive appeals; the characteristics of the source, of the message, and of the audience. By using these categories, researchers were able to measure the impact of viewer's logical arguments, emotional, and factual information on political videos/broadcasts. The author used a research question, rather than a hypothesis because this study was exploratory and descriptive in its purpose. The question posed was, "which credibility factors influence the viewers' perception of broadcasted information" (p. 4).

The question was tested through online surveys, on which participants were instructed to indicate how often they used a list of particular media sources for political information using a 5-point Likert-type scale, followed by questions regarding source credibility of the transmissions using a Semantic scale.

Although persuasion was the focal theory, framing was prevalent throughout the article. The authors note that, "Format is said to influence the reception of messages, the degree of expertise, or the extent to which the speaker is perceived as being qualified, and trustworthiness, or the extent to which the speaker's statements are perceived as valid" (English, 2011, p. 3).

By taking a look at persuasion appeals, it is noticeable that the commentators on *Radio Martí* could have utilized these as well in their programs.

This also refers back to Aaroe's (2011) study on emotion and the degree of impact that thematic and episodic frames had on individuals exposed to the message.

Previous research has focused on the use of propaganda and framing techniques by governmental bodies in internal campaigns in the U.S. and even largely Soviet countries like China (Rabe, 2007). This research will explore propaganda techniques used by the U.S. government in framing messages being broadcasted in Cuba. This research is important because of the complex relationship between Cuba and the U.S. after 1957, and because of the state contract between media and government relations in Cuba, which has been identified as falling within the Soviet bracket. This elaborate system of government contrasts significantly with the Social Responsibility framework that the U.S. generally embraces as indicated earlier. The effect is that there has been a disconnect in understanding how government/press relations operate between these two countries, and the U.S. broadcasts have been aimed at promoting change within cultural relationships that it has not always fully understood.

CHAPTER 5: PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTION

For the purpose of this study, the segment researched and analyzed from the *Radio Martí* broadcast is called, *Cuba Al Dia* (Daily Cuba); a program that looks at Cuban news from the standpoint of anti-Castro democratic activists. The main hosts of the news segment are Tomas Cardoso and Cary Roque, who are both journalists who report on Cuban affairs, along with human rights and civil society expert Omar Lopez Montenegro.

The object of propaganda strategies in relation to frames used in the *Radio Martí* program is a subject of systematic research that has not been addressed. The purpose of this research is to evaluate the use of propaganda strategies in conjunction with framing techniques in a particular hour-long *Radio Martí* program.

This study will examine the current level of framing by American journalists through *Radio Martí* almost seven years after the 2006 revelation of the financial conflict of interest between journalists and the U.S. government to determine whether the frames used continue to reflect western political values. The analyzed results can provide answers to the question whether international programs like *Radio Martí* and Voice of America are using propaganda strategies to frame news stories in a manner consistent with western ideals, and if so, what

propaganda strategies are best used, and whether or not the information transmitted through this medium is unbiased, followed by a discussion about the ethics of this broadcast and those similar to it.

Based on the literature review and theory a research question was developed to guide data collection and analysis:

RQ 1: Do *Radio Martí* broadcasts to Cuba utilize propaganda strategies in their message to frame Westernized ideals of Social Responsibility as positive and Soviet Communist ideals as negative?

CHAPTER 6: METHOD

“It’s important to first understand the aspects of a given society and social system in order to analyze the systematics of a particular press. Learning the culture-group’s beliefs and ideas is necessary prior to interpreting the population’s philosophical and political rationales. In order to do this we look “at the nature of man, the nature of society and the state, the relation of man to the state, and the nature of knowledge and truth” (Siebert et. al, 1952, p. 1).

In order to address the research question, this study employs a qualitative content analysis of one program segment from the *Radio Martí* broadcasts called *Cuba al Dia*, (Daily Cuba) which analyzes the daily news in terms of civil issues, human rights, and government information (Mortman, 2004).

According to Neuendorf (2002), “content analysis may be conducted on written text, transcribed speech, verbal interactions, visual images, characterizations, nonverbal behaviors, sound events, or any other type of message” (p. 24).

It is necessary to study the communication formats that “refer to the selection, organization, and presentation of information” (Atheide, 1996, p. 29). In this case this meant closely analyzing each quote extracted from the transcribed program and recognizing the theme, context, and discourse. For the

purpose of this paper, the focus is on the content of the information, rather than the structure of the broadcast.

Voice of America, *Radio Martí*, and the International Broadcasting Bureau websites only provided a few aired, 3-4-minute segments of each broadcast to the public divided by topics addressed on their website. The 10 available broadcasts begin on May 3, 2012 and end on September 27, 2012, averaging one topic/segment every couple weeks.

Because of this, the researcher contacted the *Marti Noticias* Broadcasting Station (the parent station of *Radio Martí*) in Miami and spoke to the Director of *Radio Martí*. The researcher had to be clear in defining which of the hour-long programs had been chosen because permission had to be granted from its Washington D.C. office. Because the Director was only able to grant access to one program, the researcher had to decide which single broadcast to study. The Broadcasters Board of Governors in Washington D.C. did not grant permission for the researcher to have a transcribed copy of the broadcast, however, the researcher was granted permission to visit the *Radio Martí* facility in Miami, listen to the program and transcribe/translate it herself.

The researcher decided to analyze a one-hour long political program called, *Día Mundial de la Prensa Libre* (World Day of the Free Press) broadcasted on the station known as, *Cuba al Día* that aired on May 3, 2012 because of its focus on freedom of the press.

In an effort to be as apropos as possible, the researcher sought a program

that spoke about a political issue related to freedom of the press in Cuba and the United States. Not only does this topic of freedom of expression lend itself to the primary idea of the dissimilarity between the two countries, as identified under the Four Theories of the Press, but it is also relevant to the argument being evaluated in the context of the broadcast. The focus is on the coverage angle of the perspectives addressed from multiple professionals, as well as topics addressed by the broadcast journalists from a propaganda and framing perspective.

After listening to the program, the researcher proceeded to transcribe the show in Spanish, and then translate it into English. To eliminate any possibility of a wrong translation, the researcher employed a Spanish-speaking person who is also fluent in English, to review and assist in the accurate transcription and translation of the broadcast. See Appendix A for a complete Spanish transcript of the *Día Mundial de la Prensa Libre*, May 3, 2012 program. See Appendix B for a complete English translation of the *Día Mundial de la Prensa Libre* program.

In carrying out the content analysis, the researcher reviewed the program searching for multiple propaganda strategies to determine whether or not the journalists from the broadcast imposed certain liberal political ideals of their own onto an audience that didn't share the same cultural and political context. The strategies listed are general propaganda methods, but the researcher will be open in analysis to all propaganda and framing strategies. Through this approach, it is possible to identify whether or not the overall message of the program was

framed to foment a particular directive to the Cuban people in reference to the journalists understanding of freedom of the press.

CHAPTER 7: RESULTS/DISCUSSION

May 3, 2012 was World Press Freedom Day. On that day the hour-long broadcast featured Tomas Cardoso, journalist on Cuban affairs and moderator for *Radio Martí*. Among his guests were: Cary Roque, a Cuban journalist who was imprisoned by the Castro regime for 16 years, and is currently a political activist in Miami, Florida, as well as a broadcaster for *Radio Martí* programming; and Omar Lopez Montenegro, one of the broadcasters for the program, *Daily Cuba* that airs on *Radio Martí*. Montenegro is the leader of the largest organization of Cuban exiles. Another participant on the program was Viviana Giacaman, Director for Latin American programs at Freedom House. Giacaman has worked with human rights issues for more than 15 years. Based on their backgrounds, all these speakers are likely to be opposed to Castro and the ideas behind the Cuban Revolution. This bias became evident in the discussion that ensued and their choice of language.

Simultaneously, while the world was celebrating World Press Freedom Day, another important event making news in Cuba included a meeting to discuss human rights issues between Cuban and Mexican officials and Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez's convalescence in the country. All these topics formed the discussion on the program, which covered human rights issues

as well as the main focus- freedom of expression.

Another speaker in the program was a Cuban political agitator who had just been released from prison, Jose Daniel Ferrer. Ferrer's discussion focused on his personal experience as a prisoner in Cuba under the Batista regime. Thus, this was not included in the propaganda analysis.

The researcher also did not analyze the topic addressed on the program regarding the Swedish furniture store known as IKEA and the allegations associated with the corporation using/forcing Cuban prisoners to provide cheap labor in the 1980s. After much investigation, IKEA's statement noted that "the company conducts more than 1,000 audits per year to confirm compliance by its suppliers with its "explicit" policy against the use of forced labor," resulting in an inconclusive answer as to whether or not this accusation was true (Tamayo, 2012, p. 2). However, in several interviews by The Miami Herald and Latino Fox News, IKEA officials did clarify that "the company has not done business with Cuba" (Tamayo, 2012, p. 1). Therefore, this topic could not accurately be evaluated for propaganda between a Socially Responsible and a Soviet society.

During the researcher's analysis, it was evident that several other strategies, in addition to those already introduced, surfaced that were not originally discussed, such as glittering generality and false analogy. When analyzing *Radio Marti's* multiple levels of propaganda strategies, the researcher found the most relevant examples originally focused around the five techniques

previously discussed, but after further in-depth analysis, it became apparent that other instances of propaganda usage are worthy of mention.

The study of media frames is also relevant to the main focus of researching the use of propaganda strategies and the degree of framing used by the commentators on *Radio Martí* in recent times.

Multiple examples of propaganda messages were discovered that utilized frames that reflected the ideals behind the Four Theories of the Press. The data evidently reflected that this particular broadcast configures Social Responsibility ideals as an imposed consciousness onto its direct audience; the citizens of Cuba. In this way, the results will be provided in a thematic manner, grouping similar topics presented by different persons during the broadcast. This will also maintain the structure of the broadcast, in relation to the subjects discussed, throughout the analysis portion.

The results are listed according to propaganda themes from the coded hour-long program with emphasis on the general message delivered on behalf of the broadcasters; the strategy that most accurately depicts the framework; the back story of each case in point; and lastly, the relevance of each example to the current situation in Cuba. The researcher describes each strategy that surfaced during the broadcast below.

Use of Propaganda Strategies

Cary Roque, the first guest on the program, is a Cuban journalist who was incarcerated in 1961 for producing and disseminating information that was not

“in line” with the Cuban government’s philosophy. At the time of her imprisonment, the Cuban government was continuing an official clampdown on journalists working outside the state media, arresting, detaining, harassing and threatening dozens of independent journalists (Phillips, 2010).

Based on her internal experience with Cuban imprisonment, she has personal knowledge of the structure of government and press relationships in Cuba. In a 2012 interview with a Spanish newspaper, *El Economista* (The Economist), Mrs. Roque, who was arrested at the age of 19, detailed her experience while in the Cuban prison system for 16 years, as well as her perspective about the current situation in Cuba under the present Castro regime (Ferrera, 2012).

According to Roque, any Cuban citizen can be incarcerated for what the Castro regime coined as, “social dangerousness,” even where there is no physical crime or offense (Ferrera, 2012). Roque, a writer for a local newspaper in Cuba in 1961, decided to voice her opinion about multiple economic and social issues facing the country at the time. When she started to distribute written information that contradicted the stance of the Castro regime to locals, she was imprisoned (Medrano, 2008).

Because of her background, Roque, now a political activist in Miami since 1984, is a respected public figure among the anti-Castro people of Cuba and an expert in the field of journalism in Cuba and in Miami (Medrano, 2008). In a 2012 interview, Roque said her main quest during her time as a political activist has

been, “to restore democracy on the island” (Ferrera, 2012). Not surprisingly, her discussion in the 2012 broadcast was not positive toward the Castro regime.

She framed her discussion around the theme that the Castro regime had failed in meeting its promises to the people of Cuba.

According to Pratkanis, one form of propaganda is image manipulation, which is “to produce a fake or staged visual interpretation” (Pratkanis, 2011, p.1). While image manipulation is generally used to reference a physically altered photograph, images that we conclude from words can be much more vivid.

Roque uses emotive images, and strong verbs to help conjure these images. Roque says, “Almost all the people of Cuba are living in slums or in hostels of houses that are completely dismantled.” She, thus, paints an image of wreckage and squalor across the nation.

“Today most slum units [in Cuba] are concentrated in the inner city municipalities of Old Havana (La Habana Vieja) and Center Havana (Centro Habana), as well as other neighborhoods,” according to Coyula and Hamberg (2009). This indicates that Roque’s image of wide scale squalor may not be the entire story.

Similarly she notes, “Cubans searching for Castro’s promises and better lives for themselves in the Capital or large cities” are “crashed with the reality of the parasitic government that’s in place.” Thus, through the use of strong verbs, she juxtaposes two images, one of which is a desperate search on the part of the people who, then, become strongly aware of a government that, instead of

realizing its promise, is a parasite, living off others. Accepting without question the thought of a parasite gives us a predisposition toward the image of a vicious creature that lives off the people. Roque crafted this statement to paint this picture in the audience's mind.

According to Castro, history would not repeat itself and these horrid conditions would not continue, but Roque indicates that to the contrary; slums, run down homes, and poorly maintained structures riddle the Cuban population.

Through the use of this highly emotive language, Roque contrasts Cuba in 1957 with the Cuba in 2012 and finds "There has not been a single chapter, not a single solitary chapter of the government program that he [Castro] spoke about when he first stepped into the country that was really implemented with the positive well-being of the country of the people of Cuba." Thus, she paints an image of total failure by Castro's regime to provide good housing and opportunities for the Cuban people in 53 years.

This image markedly relates to Fidel Castro's regime, as well as Raul Castro's current government system. Recent years have seen a trend toward more private sector employment and Castro has taken limited free market-oriented measures to alleviate shortages (Romero, 2013). Cuba's imports and exports, such as oil, medical products, and nickel have increased significantly since 1957 (Romero, 2103). Whether in light of these developments it can be said that the Castro government has failed.

Another propaganda device used by Roque is an appeal to prejudice. Through the use of loaded terms she strongly makes the point of her soliloquy that the Castro regime has failed. Interestingly, she does not try to insinuate any better or more appropriate government systems, but simply points to the failure of the government to keep its promises and to corrupt officials, the only one named being Fidel Castro.

Despite a U.S. embargo of several decades and the end of Cuba's steady trade with the Soviet Union, the Cuban economy with its mainstay in agriculture, mainly sugar and tobacco, has been able to remain afloat (Third World Planet, 2013). Nonetheless, despite a healthy agricultural background, much of the food in Cuba is imported, drawing on resources. Attempts at diversifying its manufacture has included nickel production and there is the potential for Cuba to become a major oil producer. Additionally, the Cuban health care system is good and cheap, making the island a good medical tourist destination. The Cuban education system is also very good and the country exports its doctors and teachers to other Latin American countries (Third World Planet, 2013). Thus, Roque's overly negative assessment of the Cuban governments' prowess since 1959 is exaggerated.

Mrs. Roque's one-sided opinion, influenced no doubt by her personal experience in Cuba, is perhaps best categorized as a testimonial.

The general message of her testimonial on the program is that under Fidel Castro's regime there was an overpromising and an under-delivering of

expectations. As a result of this, today, there is a false sense of security in Cuba because citizens held onto an ideology about Castro that did not come to fruition.

By publicizing Roque's words on-air, *Radio Martí* provided her with the podium to shout out that Castro has failed in delivering any of his promises, and used minimal efforts when fulfilling the hopes of the nation, thus confirming that he is a "teacher of lies." The program exploits her statement to the Cuban population in hopes that they will adopt these sentiments.

Roque also said "This government has only lived to collect funds from the outside for their own profit and particularly for Fidel's own benefit" Her statements here produce a vision of Castro as one who improperly uses development funds from other countries for his own purposes. Her rants and accusations against Castro are not supported with concrete examples of greed and parasitic motive, and in a debate, unsupported by facts, the person who shouts the loudest is often perceived as the winner, which can be contrasted with assertion, another form of propaganda, where "a simple statement "is asserted" something as fact, usually with enthusiasm and without regard for whether it is true or not" (Pratkanis, 2011, p.1). In fact, Pike (2013) suggests that far from being a parasitic government "The socialist peso economy provides Cubans with benefits and necessities such as food and housing at a very low cost" (p. 2).

By saying "this government has *only* lived" Roque solidifies that Castro's government's *sole* purpose was to maim the economy, thus lining his pockets by turning the people's tragedies into his own triumphs. The qualifying word

“only” casually dismisses every benefit provided by the Castro government to the people of Cuba as being self-serving. The quotation also lends itself to glittering generalities, which Pratkanis (2011) defines as, “emotionally appealing words applied to connect with the audience’s beliefs, but that present no concrete argument or analysis” (p. 4). Roque provides no basis for this very strong statement that infers government corruption. It follows upon her earlier assertion that the government is “parasitic.”

Roque’s soliloquy is followed by a report quoting the director of Freedom House for the Latin American Program Viviana Giacaman. Freedom House works to establish democratic communities and strengthen civil societies (Freedom House, 2013). The quote used from Giacaman describes Cuba as “Among the worst nations in respect to freedom of the press” and, more particularly, amongst the top eight of “those countries with the least amount of freedom of expression and freedom of the press” (Freedom House, 2013, p. 1).

Reporter, Michelle Sagar, quoted Viviana Giacaman saying, “It is the worst of the worst, as we call it in the world. In Cuba there is an absence of anything free that has to do with expression, such as unions, detentions for journalists, and so much more.” She also compared Cuba to China, and categorized it alongside other countries that fall amongst the top eight countries that do not have freedom of expression including Venezuela, Honduras, and Mexico.

Freedom House, the organization to which Giacaman is affiliated,

“supports democratic change, monitors freedom, and advocates for democracy and human rights around the world, supports nonviolent civic initiatives in societies where freedom is denied or under threat and stand in opposition to ideas and forces that challenge the right of all people to be free” (Field, 2006, p. 2). This organization consists of reformers who work with advocates for democracy and civil issues, and journalists. In its 2012 Annual Report, Freedom House pressed the United States and international institutions to adopt consistent policies that advance human rights and democracy around the world (Field, 2006).

By quoting from the director of Freedom House, the *Radio Martí* program uses Third Party technique of propaganda referenced above, citing a seemingly independent source, to make the point that Cuba does not enjoy freedom of speech or of the press.

While Freedom House is an independent organization, its agenda is democratic and liberal in nature because it represents the press system from a “Socially Responsible” perspective. In its 2012 ranking, Cuba ties with Equatorial Guinea in the sixth category of countries with no freedom of press. On a scale of 100 to 1, with 100 indicating less freedom of speech, Cuba earned 91 points and, regionally, Cuba was ranked as having the least amount of freedom of the press followed by three other countries, Venezuela (76), Mexico (67), and Honduras (62). The U.S. with a ranking of 18 points was ranked number 22, along with Estonia and Jamaica for freedom of speech in the world, and ranked

number three regionally, along with Jamaica, behind St. Lucia (15) and St. Vincent and the Grenadines (17), (Freedom House, Ranking).

However, to understand the agenda of Freedom House it is important to look at the methodology that the organization uses to determine the level of freedom of the press that all the countries in the world enjoy. In analyzing this, Freedom House uses 23 methodology questions to measure the legal, political and economic environments in which press operates in each country. The countries are evaluated on a scale of 0-100. Countries scored as having 0-30 points are counted as enjoying full freedom of the press; those scoring 31-60 are considered to enjoy partial free press; and countries that scored between 61-100 are considered to have a press that is not free.

In assessing the legal environment, Freedom House looks at “both the laws and regulations that could influence media content and the government’s inclination to use these laws and legal institutions to restrict the media’s ability to operate,” along with “the impact of constitutional guarantees for freedom of expression” and “security legislation, [the existence of a] penal code, and other criminal statutes; penalties for libel and defamation;” the effectiveness and existence of access laws, “the independence of the judiciary and of official media regulatory bodies; registration requirements” and “the ability of journalists’ groups to operate freely” (Freedom House, Methodology).

The political environment is measured by the “degree of political control over the content of news media,” as well as the “editorial independence of both

state-owned and privately owned media; access to information and sources; official censorship and self-censorship; the vibrancy of the media and the diversity of news available within each country." Freedom House also looks at the access, "without harassment," enjoyed by foreign and local reporters in collecting news, and "the intimidation of journalists by the state or other actors, including arbitrary detention and imprisonment, violent assaults, and other threats" (Freedom House, Methodology).

The economic environment relates to "the structure of media ownership; transparency and concentration of ownership; the costs of establishing media as well as of production and distribution; the selective withholding of advertising or subsidies by the state or other actors; the impact of corruption and bribery on content; and the extent to which the economic situation in a country impacts the development and sustainability of the media." (Freedom House, Methodology).

As indicated earlier, the media in countries that fall within the Socialist press/government relationship structure are generally owned by the government, which harnesses these resources as an arm for distributing messages from the government to the masses. The Cuban constitutional protection for freedom of expression reflects this, as does the media content, and structure of media ownership. Siebert (1952) suggests that, "The press takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (p. 4). The values that are being used by Freedom House to judge the media definitely come from the perspective of a social responsibility

press/government relationship. The questions asked are also biased toward this perspective.

Similarly, upon investigating the mission statements from both Freedom House and *Radio Martí*, there is an evident similarity in their functions and prospects. At the very least the perspective of Freedom House's chief officer would be biased, making judgments based on Social Responsibility model of free expression and, therefore, with little relevance in a Soviet economy. Thus, while passing as an independent observer to people who are steeped in an objective reality that embraces democracy and social responsibility, the perspective is biased.

The fact that Giacaman was a guest speaker invited by *Radio Martí* to provide feedback on freedom of expression in Cuba is crucial to understanding the statement as forming part of the general propaganda being delivered to Radio Martí's listeners. Her interview on the *Radio Martí* program is essential because it lines up with the perspective of the broadcasting station.

"In Cuba there is an absence of anything free, such as unions, detentions for journalists, and so much more. You can very well compare it to China" says Giacaman.

China is, interestingly, evaluated as having more freedom of the press than Cuba, with an overall score of 87 (Freedom House, Rankings). Cuba is simply described in the report as having "one of the most repressive media environments in the world because Fidel Castro turned his back on democratic

ideals, embraced a totalitarian brand of communism and allied the island with the Soviet Union” (Freedom House, 2013). China’s poor ranking was due to curbing of coverage of popular risings blocking foreign social media platforms such as twitter and tightening “controls on investigative reports and entertainment programs in advance of a sensitive leadership change scheduled in 2012” (Freedom House, 2012, p. 1). Party directors also “restricted coverage related to public health, environmental accidents, deaths in police custody, and foreign policy” (Freedom House, 2012, p. 1).

Neither of these rationales or characterizations of the two countries are explored in the broadcast. Rather than pinpointing specific examples that might explain why she compares China to Cuba, Giacaman generalizes through facts and ideologies. Delving more into the reference by Giacaman above, “Over-simplification uses favorable generalities to provide simple answers to complex social, political, economic, or military problems” (Pratkanis, 2013, p. 7).

The People’s Republic of China is one the last four remaining Communist countries (World Press Freedom Index, 2012) and has a significant trade surplus with the United States and Cuba. There is a strong bilateral trade relationship between Cuba and China, and Cuba imports items from China (The Independent, 2010).

“Chinese technocrats and academics are working on projects to remake the Cuban economy into that like China’s. It will take Cuba a long time to accomplish what China did,” a Cuban expert at the Chinese Academy of Social

Sciences reports (Davis, 2012, p. 2). Based on all of this, the comparison between the two nations made by Giacaman might ring a bell in a very relevant correlation.

The systems of government are similar and presumably, they also both fall in line with the Soviet press/ government relations theory, yet other aspects of the countries differ.

While China is ranked number 136 worldwide, and number 29 out of 41 countries in the Asia-Pacific region on the Freedom of Index of 2012, (Press Freedom Index, 2012) the country has a reputation in the U.S. for being highly “un-free” and regulated by the state (Press Freedom Index, 2012). Cuba is ranked 167 worldwide and the United States is ranked 47, according to the Press Freedom Index (2012).

While we do not know the perspective of Giacaman's audience, we can infer that they are Cubans who are opposed to the Castro regime and searching for alternate news sources. With her words, reveling in the assertion earlier defined, the listeners could have a preconceived notion about China, so by comparing this country with Cuba, she is essentially fortifying her point in adhering to an appeal to prejudice on behalf of Cuban citizens.

As stated by Giacaman, “Cuba has the worst case of freedom of the press,” and supported in the Freedom Index of 2012. According to the Independent, “In 2004 Cuba passed a law forbidding private citizens to access the Internet. It is illegal to buy a computer without government approval, which

is rarely granted to ordinary Cubans. Similar restrictions apply to the ownership of mobile phones” (The Independent, 2007).

Comparisons are a natural tactic to use when trying to separate super powers, and categorize how countries determine their status. While it is important to compare and contrast the slings, hardships, civil liberties, and flourishing accolades of each country, it is more important to have a solid grasp of reality.

A False Analogy “is a way to facilitate explanation,” by portraying “a complex issue” as being “similar to a simple issue that everyone can understand. The misleading simpler model will misdirect thought about the issue “ (Pratkanis, 2013, p. 5). Comparing hastily one nation to the other can be characterized as a false analogy. Similar characteristics or political forms don’t mean that two otherwise dissimilar countries can be accurately compared. Freedom of expression and free speech is a complex issue. Giacaman merely takes the easy way out and falsely over reaches in a possibly unjust comparison.

Omar Montenegro was the moderator of part of the program, and a member of the Cuban Civic National Union, which is an anti-Castro group. On multiple occasions he had declared his support of any political action that would return freedom to the island of Cuba (Tabache, 2011). During the broadcast he touched upon the meeting agendas of the Cuban and Mexican Parliament. Cuban and Mexican officials meet semi-annually to discuss Parliamentary reforms. Cuban Parliament President Ricardo Alarcon was scheduled to meet

with Mexican party leaders on May 4, the day following the broadcast, which would conclude the Thirteenth Inter-Parliamentary meeting (Radio Cadena Agramonte, 2012).

On the May 3 broadcast, Montenegro was dismissive of the meeting. "What's more with the Cuban parliament is that it's useless," he said. Pratkanis (2013) describes Over-simplicity as, "favorable generalities used to provide simple answers to complex social, political, economic, or military problems" (p. 6).

Rather than discussing the actual details about the parliament, he follows up by quoting the President of the National Assembly, who characterizes the meeting as "a gathering of friends."

Not only does Montenegro use the visual of friends hanging out, accomplishing nothing, but, he does so by using the actual words spoken by Ricardo Alarcon, who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Representative to the United Nations on Cuba's behalf.

Alarcon is "the third highest ranked in the cabinet, behind Fidel and Raul" (The Independent, 2007, p. 11). He is currently the President of the National Assembly of the People's Power and an important member of the Communist Party of Cuba (Sanchez, 2012).

By regressing these thoughts, evidently taken outside their original context, into the basic ideas of minimal efforts, the complexities of Parliament

structure and procedure are easily dismissed, as are the general procedures and language used in relation to international meetings of this nature.

Montenegro is also dismissive of the planned theme of the conference. “The theme of human rights is not relevant because there is no theme in the inter-parliamentary meetings,” Montenegro continues, furthering his characterization of the meeting as being a non-productive one. This can show an innate contradiction of the lack of attention to strategic thought in the Cuban Legislature. A Soviet society, such as Cuba, defines Freedom of the Press as follows: “Citizens have freedom of speech and of the press in keeping with the objectives of socialist society” (Cuban Constitution, Art. 53). Comparing the two definitions of Freedom of the Press is crucial in the development of the data uncovered during the analysis of the broadcast. Furthermore, by focusing on an individual as an example and by emphasizing emotions, Montenegro developed a human-interest frame from the propaganda delivered in his comment about the theme of human rights.

Entman (1953) suggests that beliefs can be opinions generated on general logic, historical facts, and relevant data, yet propaganda strategies influence emotions, manipulate basic judgments, and omit simple truths, leaving a blank expression to a complex thought process.

In Montenegro’s statements, he is channeling the idea that the Cuban Parliament is useless, “There is no agenda, and they have no intention of working toward a positive or productive goal.”

Montenegro, however, has missed the point of Alarcon's comment. The Cuban Ambassador said, as related by Montenegro himself, "[the meeting was] a gathering of friends to enjoy, and there is no political agenda behind this meeting". There is a distinct difference between asserting that there is "no political agenda" and that there is "no agenda" when dealing with a meeting between two nations. The first connotes friendliness in context between two countries that wish to cooperate with each other, with no underlying "political agenda." Such a meeting would definitely yield some positive commercial or political effects between the countries. In fact, going into the meeting on May 4, which some 25 representatives from each country were slated to attend, there were plans to talk about bi-lateral trade relations and issues affecting Latin America (Radio Relój, 2012). After the meeting, it was revealed "they debated issues such as relations of cooperation and friendship, energy resources and the update of Cuba's economic model" (Radio Relój, 2012). Evidently, Montenegro's casual dismissal of the meeting as having no agenda related to a deliberate misuse of a quote outside of its context, for the purpose of generalizing and affirming a point. "Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief system" (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

Montenegro goes on to state, "By it convening two times a year, the work of the Cuban Parliament is worse off than others." The twice a year Cuban-Mexican Parliament meeting is actually indicative of very close relationship ties,

since a regular two-country parliamentary meeting is unusual. Rather than a negative this should be seen as positive for the relationship between the two countries. Perhaps, however, Montenegro is critical of the time that these meetings that he has characterized as being “useless” take away from regular parliamentary meetings in Cuba. In Cuba the National Assembly of People’s Power, the only body in Cuba that has “constituent and legislative power” (Cuban Constitution, Art. 70), consists of elected members “elected by free, direct and secret vote, in the proportion and according to the procedure established by law” (Art. 71), who serve five year terms (Art. 72). The legislative body is constitutionally required to hold “two regular sessions a year and a special session when requested by one third of the membership or when called by the Council of State” (Art. 78). These provisions are not unlike the U.S. constitutional requirement that Congress meet once a year in December (U.S. Const. § 4).

It is unclear whether Montenegro’s discussion relates to the Cuban parliamentary twice-yearly required meetings or (more likely) to the Cuban-Mexican Parliament’s meetings held twice a year. Either way, Montenegro, again, does not contextualize and qualify his statement in a manner that could be interpreted positively (or even neutrally) toward the Castro regime. His assessment is, thus, one-sided.

This is not surprising since Montenegro is not an “independent source of information.” He is technically employed to the *Radio Martí* headquarters in Miami, Florida where information has the potential to be biased or skewed in

favor of beliefs held by members of the media in the United States, and more generally, by Cuban American journalists.

As previously introduced for the purpose of this analysis, “flag waiving attempts to justify an action on the grounds that doing so will benefit a country or idea that the targeted audience supports” (Pratkanis, 2013, p. 4). The image created by Montenegro is intended to create a natural prejudice against the bilateral parliament creating an image that its legislature doesn’t care that citizens are not being serviced, which can be attributed to glittering generalities. Montenegro does the job of intertwining the simplification of the Parliament, adhering to the common man, and thus inferring that the Cuban Mexican Parliament is a place to relax rather than a symposium at which important bilateral relationships are being cemented.

Another important speaker on the program is Luis Felipe, a Cuban writer and poet, who currently resides in Miami, Florida working as an independent journalist.

Felipe focuses most of his discussion on the absence of freedom of expression in Cuba, noting that the day of free press does not mean anything in Cuba. He notes “when you want to more or less and see something that has been compromised there’s this phrase that says, ‘read between the lines’, but today, us Cubans can’t even attempt to read between any lines with this regime because there is not even a single reference commemorating this day in any way.”

After noting several examples where the government has not marked

freedom of expression, Felipe zeroes in on the incorrect information being reported in Cuba about Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez's health. On March 5, 2013 Chavez died in Caracas after battling with cancer for nearly two years (Ruth, 2013). He was the socialist leader of the country of Venezuela and a great ally of Fidel and Raul Castro (Ruth, 2013).

In the May broadcast, Felipe said that news sources in Cuba report that Chavez's health was recovering, and they continually broadcast this in Cuban media. At the time of the broadcast, Chavez was in Cuba being treated by Cuban doctors, but his health had taken a turn for the worst (Romero, 2013) and, as mentioned by Felipe, Chavez's health was a factor in determining what was to happen in Cuba at the time. "There may be the possibility of radical things changing; there is something real about Chavez's health," says Felipe. This prompted Tomas Cardoso to note that Cubans are not being given access to world news from an objective perspective. He notes, "I think it's a record, another world record. The only place in the world where I believe that speaks every day regarding Chavez's health improvement is in the Cuban news because, not even in Venezuela do they dare to say it." Montenegro responded to this by casting Cuba as "the land of fantasy because the country has no clue of the truth in the world because they can't."

This regard for the aftermath of Chavez's death is an appropriate state of awareness by the broadcast commentators because Chavez's regime at the time was providing Cuba with several imports, including thousands of gallons of oil

monthly (Romero, 2012). Now, close to a year after the broadcast aired, Venezuela's Vice President, Maduro has temporarily taken over. However, it will be crucial to see the turn of Cuba and Venezuela's relations once a new president is elected in April of 2013 (Romero, 2013).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

“It’s important to first understand the aspects of a given society and social system in order to analyze the systematics of a particular press. Learning the culture-group’s beliefs and ideas is necessary prior to interpreting the population’s philosophical and political rationales. In order to do this we look “at the nature of man, the nature of society and the state, the relation of man to the state, and the nature of knowledge and truth” (Siebert, 1963, p. 2).

Political communication, whether defined as studying politics in the media, analyzing debates or speeches from politicians, and/or disseminating information to the public in relation to politics will continue to be a topic of great research. And determining whether news frames can exert a significant effect on readers’ thoughts and recall in the news can provide answers to program producers as to how to avoid biased, questionable reporting.

The job of the media is to inform, but when an outlet that refers to itself as a news source diffuses information from a biased angle, then the source has disregarded the practical limitations on news media and become more of an opinionated group and less of a *news* source. The same can be said when the source is allowing governmental influence into its dissemination of information,

as did *Radio Martí* with the U.S government in the 2006 conflict of interest scandal (Goodnough, 2006).

As a news media source, Radio Marti is at variance with being an informative balance of diverse ideas and a resource that allows citizens to divide from authoritarian rule. It can be argued that there is a clear discourse with Radio Marti referring to itself as a “news source” because the information being broadcasted is in line with the opinions held by those reporting it.

This can be explained by looking at the coverage style of a “news source” utilized by Radio Marti. The sources used are often biased or the information is presented “in a way where they are either in support of a particular view, or in opposition of a viewpoint.” Un-biased coverage would require “facts and figures [to be presented] in a matter-of-fact manner instead of taking any particular stance on the issue” (Manohar, 2010, p. 1).

The bias in the coverage by *Radio Martí* is reflected not only in the propaganda tools that it uses, but also in its choice of guests and commentators. In most of the instances, the delivery of the messages were just as important as the actual context because the conveyer as well as the reliability and independent stake all construct the extent of *Radio Martí's* agenda. As captured in this study, under Social Responsibility theory, the press performs a vital role in presenting information to the public. However, the press' first loyalty is to the state in the Soviet theory of press/state relations. Through analysis utilizing propaganda strategies, the researcher was able to point out dominant ideas that played a vital

role in the constant balancing act between the press in a Socially Responsible society and a Soviet society. The major propaganda strategies addressed in the coverage of the broadcast reflect the overall message that was conveyed to the Cuban people. This study uncovered different propaganda strategies, including testimonials, flag-waving, glittering generalities, appeal to prejudice, image manipulation, over-simplicity, assertion, and third party technique, that were utilized in an effort to present nuanced perspectives on the broadcasts transmitted from the United States to Cuba.

The use of these propaganda strategies reflect the commentators' own biases. The commentators included journalists who had been imprisoned by the Castro Regime, leaders in the anti-Castro movement, and high-profile Cuban American journalists, known for their anti-Castro bias.

While research indicates that in Cuba there is heavy censorship and propaganda messages are often sent from the Cuban government (Socolow, 2007), and there is a definite need for Cubans to have access to more unbiased external news (O'Grady, 2012), it is questionable whether the heavily biased perspective of *Radio Martí* commentators is the best means of providing this missing news, along with important context. The same factors that cause Rabe (2007) to speculate that Argentinians might resent one-sided U.S. coverage of them, could cause Cubans to resent this limited coverage.

While never explicitly saying that the measures they used, in terms of defining human rights and freedom of expression, came from their westernized

perspectives, the bias of *Radio Martí* broadcasters is clear in the discussion that defines freedom of expression as independent media with no state input. Judged by these standards, essentially appropriate in a country modeled under social responsibility, countries that are Socialist are doomed to fail.

Siebert et al. (1963) have indicated "It's important to first understand the aspects of a given society and social system in order to analyze the systematics of a particular press. Learning the culture-group's beliefs and ideas is necessary prior to interpreting the population's philosophical and political rationales. In order to do this we look "at the nature of man, the nature of society and the state, the relation of man to the state, and the nature of knowledge and truth" (Siebert, 1963, p. 2).

Perhaps the most important criticism to be made of the *Radio Martí* broadcasts is that the broadcasters make their plea for change from a system in which government and press are closely related, to one where the two are distinct, without taking the time to fully understand the existing culture in 21st Century Cuba. While human rights and freedom of expression are important concepts in any society, these issues are no more important than issues such as equal access to health (Cuban Const., Art. 50) and education (Art. 51) that are specifically protected under the Cuban Constitution and lie at the base of Marxist/Communist thought. The burning question that, perhaps should be addressed in later research, is whether the larger community of ordinary people in Cuba care enough about the one to sacrifice the other. If they are willing, then

propaganda could yield a change in the government system, if not, it may have no effect except to alienate the people and cast the U.S., once more, in the unfavorable light of an imperial power trying to superimpose unwelcome and foreign ideals on the unwilling. Without this context, there is no way forward.

In this regard, the term freedom of the press is generally defined from a socially responsible perspective. According to Phillips (2008) research interviewed Cuban journalists believe that they enjoy freedom of the press, notwithstanding the system of media ownership in Cuba, and further see U.S. journalists as aggressors in trying to impose concepts of freedom of the press that bear no relationship to their cultural understanding of freedom of press. This indicates that there is, in fact, more than a single understanding of the term, "freedom" and other nomenclature associated with it.

Perhaps for purposes of countries that are based on a non-social responsibility model, a new/different set of variables should be implemented in order to determine whether the press is truly "free."

Maybe at some point a global perspective of what freedom of expression entails should be identified that could collapse principles that are appropriate in socialist systems with those appropriate in "socially responsible" systems, leading to a happy medium that can accurately evaluate freedom of the press in both systems, based on an unbiased set of criteria, unlike the criteria used by Freedom House, Freedom Index and bodies that are slanted toward one government style.

The limitations of this study are that the findings, themselves, cannot be generalized because of the limited sample size of the broadcasts utilized and the fact that the study uses qualitative methods.

Had there been a greater number of programs accessible to be analyzed based on very similar topics of discussion, length, and availability, then the variables would have allowed for more generalizable results of propaganda strategies. Access to multiple Voice of America broadcasts from the Broadcasting Board of Governors would allow for further research on the effectiveness of the program to countries such as China, Korea, Turkey, and other countries to in promoting democracy.

Perhaps the topic choice itself, freedom of expression, comes with its biases that can never be rationalized. Future scholars may wish to look at other broadcasts that lend themselves less readily to the very distinction between the press/ government relations in socially responsible communities and social or communist communities.

The focus of the next research aspect, stemming from this study, should be to apply similar variables in today's Cuba, only altering the medium of communication from broadcasts to online, as Florida Senator Marco Rubio discusses in his interview with O'Grady (2012). Learning whether or not nations listening to Voice of America and other transmissions delivered through facilities like the International Broadcasting Bureau are able to receive similar messages

via Internet would make for interesting comparative research between radio and Web effectiveness.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Spanish Translation

Omar Montenegro: Para celebrarse el Día Mundial de la libertad de Prensa Estados Unidos hace un llamado a todas las otras naciones para que liberen a todos los periodistas y permitan la libre expresión. Mas desde Washington, quédese con Luis Alberto Muñoz. Con motive de el día mundial de la libertad de prensa los Estados Unidos hizo un llamado a todos los gobiernos del mundo para que liberen a periodistas encarcelados y terminen las restricciones a la prensa independiente. Además, la cancillería estados unídense prosiguió su campana de apoyo a periodista encarcelado o acosados iniciadas hace dos semanas destacando cada día la labor de doce de ellos de todo el mundo incluyendo el periodista ecuatoriano Cesar Ricaurte y a la bloguera Cubana Joanne Sánchez.

Omar Montenegro: Refiriéndose a esta fecha el secretario existente de estado para Democracia y derechos humanos Michael Posner declaro “May 3rd; It’s world press freedom day. A free press is a potential killer of democratic government. We’re calling on governments all over the world to release journalists from prison.” El tres de Mayo es el día mundial de la libertada de prensa.

Tomas Cardoso: Una prensa libre es la columna esencial de un gobierno democrático y nosotros llamamos a todos los gobiernos del mundo a que le liberen a las periodistas encarcelados. Pongan al fin las restricciones que impiden su trabajo y les permitan ser parte de la construcción de una sociedad sustentable dijo Posner. Además, la cancillería recordó que mejorar la libertad de los medios es parte regular del trabajo diplomático de los Estados Unidos. Nosotros defendemos la libertad de expresión y plantamos temas de libertad de prensa incluyendo casos específicos en debate con otros gobiernos e instituciones multilaterales con Washington, Nueva York, y Viena señaló el departamento de estado En Washington, Luis Alberto Muñoz, noticias *Radio Martí*.

Omar Montenegro: Y si desea oír lo último de Cuba y lo que ocurre en el mundo con respecto a Cuba visite en la internet estas direcciones. Malanga.com y también Bataso.com. Y ahora los invito a oír nuestro siguiente programa, Cuba al Día.

Omar Montenegro: Muy buenas tardes y bienvenidos a nuestro programa Cuba al Día aquí en *Radio Martí*. Oí es jueves tres de mayo, les habla Juan Carlos al breve todos los días tenemos la comparecencia de la periodista Karen Roques, así como las voces de las protagonistas por el cambio pacífico dentro de Cuba.

Titulares noticiosos Los cuales por supuesto analizaremos este espacio público editorial.

Omar Montenegro: Y entrando en tema ya para analizar las noticias, un placer como siempre presentar a nuestra colega Cary Roque, buenas tardes Cary,

en este día cargado de Noticias.

Cary Roque: Buenas Tardes Tomas a ti' muy Buenas tardes a Ofelia y a todos los que a esta hora pueden estar en sintonía con Cuba al Día, yo desde luego hoy en este cambio que hoy es el día mundial de la libertad de prensa por lo tanto vamos a felicitarnos todos y los que hacemos labores en Libertad de opinión y solidarizarnos con los de la Cuba dentro que tanto la necesitan, esa es la misión. Bueno vamos a empezar tenemos la agenda cargada.

Tomas Cardoso: Tu opinión; la persecución en este momento Cari, acaba la Oficina nuestra de transmisión a Cuba aquí donde laboramos de emitir un editorial titulado: Los Limites del Cardenal donde se pone en tela de juicio; todo lo que ha ocurrido recientemente, tu perspectiva del punto de vista periodístico. Creo que ayuda, muy necesario, me parece que ha sido muy equilibrado muy justo y es que el malestar con el cardenal no debe ampliarse al molestar con la Iglesia pero la Iglesia no está dentro del ese es un gran punto no desde luego porque la Iglesia es Dios es Jesús Cristo es Misericordia es recibir y no rechazar y verdaderamente la conducta del Cardenal en Boston por decir la última conducta del Cardenal, vamos a puntualizar porque ha tenidos otros muy rechazables fueron.

Felicito grandemente, y me siento muy honrada a pertenecer a un conglomerado noticioso que pone los puntos sobre las y, cuando hace falta que se ponga.

Tomas Cardoso: Gracias Cary. Qué te parece el reportaje desde Argentina

de Soae, sobre los barrios marginados Cubanos, lo que no se dice Cary.

Cary Roque: Mira yo te voy a decir algo Tomas, yo me recuerdo que cuando llego la revolución al poder Fidel Castro grito a todo pecho, que en Cuba jamás se repetiría las barriadas como llega y pon que era el mismo lugar marginal en las afueras de la Habana y que triste que al cabo de 53 años casi todo el pueblo de Cuba tiene que estar viviendo en varios marginales o en viviendas destruidas o en albergues de casas que se derrumbaron con ciclones o lluvias o ventoleras. Tristemente a esa conclusión tenemos que llegar.

De que no ha habido ni un solo capitulo, ni un solo capitulo del programa de gobierno que el trato de implantar que fuera en realidad su voluntad y que fuera en realidad lo que deseaba hacer con el pueblo de Cuba; tristemente esta emigración de Cubanos del interior que han buscado quizás en las capitales y mas aun en la Habana un mejor destino, han chocado con la triste realidad de un gobierno parasito que solamente ha vivido para recabar fondos del exterior de cualquiera para su propio lucro y beneficio particular.

Tomas Cardoso: Estamos de regreso aquí en Cuba al Dia. La segunda parte de nuestro espacio de hoy, hoy Jueves ya tres de Mayo ya tenemos acá en el estudio a nuestro Colega Omar Lopez Montenegro y en breve nos iremos como siempre a la Cuba dentro con nuestro invitado en la tarde de hoy, pero antes todo las buenas tardes a ti Omar, e como estas.

Omar Montenegro: El Día Mundial de la Libertad de Prensa y en ese constecto e comienzo hoy. A propósito la Comisión Interparlamentaria de

Méjico, Cuba con la cornetilla antes de que iniciara el evento de que no se va a tocar el tema de los derechos humanos, de que no se va hablar aquí interparlamentariamente.

Ricardo Alarcon, y quienes son los miembros de la Delegación Mejicana buenos hay varios de ellos, entre ellos el Senador Morfin que es el que encabeza la delegacion que es un Senador.

¿Su posición sobre Cuba? Siempre ha sido al fin al régimen es decir una persona que no ha sido uno de los mas digamos vocales en Méjico, defendiendo al régimen pero si siempre ha formado parte de esta comisiones y en realidad esto es lo que se convierte más bien en un viaje turístico es mas hubo un escándalo hace dos años con unas de estas Comisioné en Mejico de que habia un problema porque los Senadores, los Parlamentarios Mejicanos, Senadores y Diputados no querían llevar a sus esposas en en el viaje y surgió un escándalo por eso mismo y salio en varios periódicos Mejicanos.

Se comento estando yo en Méjico en esos dias, salio hasta, hasta en la televisión precisamente eso indica no cual es la - no esto no tiene ninguno y mas con el Parlamento Cubano que tiene el record mundial de legislar dos veces al año correcto. Convocado dos veces al año esa es la labor del Parlamento Cubano lo peor es que no tiene ningún impacto en el Parlamento Mejicano. Yo conozco varios Parlamentarios Mejicanos muchos de ellos de el del pan que reúsan ir a estos encuentros. Precisamente por eso mismo. Mira si aunque sea tuviéramos la posibilidad de introducir algo en la Agenda, pero prácticamente no hay Agenda.

Lo que se celebra es como un encuentro de amigos a en algunos de estos hasta el propio Embajador Cubano ha anunciado esto; como un encuentro de amigos para disfrutar es decir no hay ninguna Agenda Política detrás de esto. Por eso el tema de los derechos humanos no está. Porque en realidad no hay ningún tema nunca ha salido ninguna de estas reuniones Interparlamentaria, ninguna medida, ni ningún acuerdo que tenga impacto ni siquiera en las relaciones entre Cuba y otros países.

Finalmente Omar, antes de pasar con otro invitado. El escándalo que ha agotado en las últimas horas de la madrugada desde por la publicación de un periódico Alemán de esta prestigiosa, y enorme firma sueca de muebles IKEA, que hay una aquí por cierto uno muy grande en Broward County.

De que uso presos Cubanos y Alemanes Orientales en la década de los ochenta para el uso de sus producciones. ¿Qué repercusiones tú crees que puede tener esto?

No esto tiene una repercusión extraordinaria, yo te diría no tan prestigiosa ya, no tan prestigiosa, esta firma es más el hecho, que uso a incluso Alemanes y Cubanos, indica que hay un patrón de la, de la firma no el uso de mano de mano trabaja esclava.

Pero además esto apunta al esquema que se está vendiendo en Cuba en estos momentos no es lo que van a hacer las grandes corporaciones en Cuba. En este caso se trata de presos que utilizaron como mano esclava pero en realidad la gente que no está presa va a ser mano semi-esclava mano de obra muy barata

como esta a factorías de sudor, como le dicen a estas fabricas. Donde se les paga a la gente muy poco dinero y fíjate que lo significativo de esto es que es precisamente esta idea la que está vendiendo el régimen declaro, en Cuba hay una mano de obra prácticamente semi-esclava, dócil no tiene derecho a huelga, no se puede revelar, es decir está vendiendo a la población. Condiciones creadas, propicias, propicias le esta vendiendo a la población Cubana antes los empresarios. Como, sinceramente te digo esto es como prácticamente un tráfico humano, en este caso tráfico de trabajadores que tal vez a lo mejor seria bueno hasta incluirse esa nueva esa nueva categoría, porque lo que esta tratando ahí es prácticamente vender como se venden prostitutas. Se estan vendiendo a los trabajadores Cubanos, fácil, baratos y no pueden protestar.

Gracias como siempre Omar. Mira, voy a poner el punto mío personal, la ultima detención el Sábado de las cosas, las cosa que prácticamente me exigieron e hicieron que yo firmara alta de pertenecía. Era porque daba las noticias sobre la prisión. Están prohibiendo que yo de noticias de la prisión.

Quise celebrar hoy dando, precisamente para *Radio Martí* dando la noticia sobre la represión sobre que esta sometido Ariel Arsuada Pena, un preso político de la provincial de Granma en Bayamo, y me dice, bueno si esta es la prohibición parece que esto es lo que me molesta. Vamos por aquí entonces porque mañana día tres el mundo día de más ellos los saben.

E se tienen que enterar que la gente se cree libre. Es la peoría del como si. Por ejemplo, si yo record como si esto fuera un país libre, yo record e como si yo

tuviera todo el derechos garantizados en los testamentos del ilusionarlo. Yo reportó como si Radio Martí estuviera dentro de Cuba. O como si diario de Cuba estuviera dentro de Cuba. Reportajes como si pudiera salir a la calle y la fuentes, además de ser confiables, nadie tuviera miedo a declarar lo que yo le pregunte y mucho menos. Entonces, yo siempre lo celebro del punto de vista, de que yo creo que estoy en libertad, porque algún día lo será.

Para nosotros es un placer presentar a José Daniel que afortunadamente en la tarda de ayer, a punto de cumplir se mes ya en Versalles fue liberado. Buenas tardes José Daniel, y bienvenido a Cuba al Día. Como te sientes hermano.

Si gracias por invitarme a tu programa, y un abrazo para ti y para Omar y un saludo a todos lo olientes de el programa a lo largo y ancho de Cuba. Oye mi hermano, me siento bien, de salud tengo un malestar de producto de las condiciones que tienen todos sometido allí no solamente a mí por los problemas que había en las prisiones por ocho anos del régimen batista.

Pero nada, continuamos con nuestra batalla con la libertad y la democracia en Cuba sobre todo porque los trabajadores Cubano tengan un día el primero de Mayo donde puedan de verdad manifestar y marchar en busca de mejoría en busca de bien estar, en busca de reconciliar, y no como ova a suceder mañana donde tendrán que marchar no por sin querer, no por su bien estar si no porque les convoca, les mueve, y les obliga. No precisamente el régimen responsable de su miseria, de sus limitaciones, de su cadencia, y de su falta de derecho y libertad.

Aura José Daniel, una de las cosas que evidentemente le prendía el régimen con tu arresto y también otros líderes también que descabezar o desarticularla, ¿cómo se encuentra un pácelo y un patriótica en estos momentos?

Si mira, e, como siempre me gusta hacer lo mas realista posible, lo mas libre posible, y lo mas sincero posible, nos perjuraron seis o siete anos y si los danos que nosotras anudaron son mininos si lo comparamos con los beneficios que les trajo al grupo y hecho a la causa. Cuales son esos beneficios.

No me liberaron ayer porque ellos quisieron, ellos hubiese querido mantenerme en prisión muchísimo tiempo. Lo que consideraron fue un altísimo y fuertísimo por toda la región, incluso ayer me pedí a nuestro adquiriste con mas de cuarenta ocho horas de descanso, relativos de descanso son los de nuestros hermanos accidental en otras regiones y otro grupo que son otro hermanos igual no. Y lo que sabemos es que somos uno solo, pero igual somos parte de otro grupo entero democrática, y no debe de ser una sola en la lucho de favor de cambio en Cuba. Te repito, el grupo es muy positivo.

Muchas gracias. Eso es todo lo que tenemos esta tarde. Gracias a todos los oyentes y a todos que contribuyeron a nuestro programa Cuba al Día.

Appendix B: English Translation

Omar Montenegro: To celebrate world press freedom day the United States calls on all other Nations to release all journalists and allow free expression. More from Washington, meet with Luis Alberto Muñoz. With the motive of the day known as global press freedom, the United States called on all governments of the world to release jailed journalists and end restrictions on the independent press. In addition, the Foreign Ministry of the United States continued his campaign to support those journalists who are incarcerated or harassed. This initiated two weeks ago, highlighting the work of twelve of them from around the world including the Ecuadorian journalist Cesar Ricaurte and Cuban blogger, Yoanni Sanchez.

Omar Montenegro: Referring to this date, the current Secretary of State for democracy and human rights Michael Posner declared, "May 3rd, It's world press freedom day. A free press is a potential killer of democratic government. We're calling on governments all over the world to release journalists from prison." The third of May is the world day of the liberty of the press.

Tomas Cardoso: A free press is essential for a democratic government and we call on all the governments around the world to release imprisoned journalists. Put an end to restrictions that prevent their work and allow them to be part of the construction of a sustainable society, said Posner. In addition, the Foreign Ministry recalled that to the improvement of freedom the media is a regular part of the diplomatic work in the United States. We defend freedom of

expression and put in place press freedom issues including specific cases in debate with other governments and multilateral institutions in Washington, New York, and Vienna said the Department of State in Washington, Luis Alberto Munoz, News Radio Marti.

Omar Montenegro: And if you want to hear the latest in respect to Cuba and what happens in the world regarding Cuba visit these addresses: www.Malanga.com and also www.Bataso.com. And now I invite you to hear the rest of our program, Daily Cuba.

Omar Montenegro: Good afternoon and welcome to our program Daily Cuba here at Radio Marti. Today is Thursday, May 3rd. I'm Tomas Cardoso here to brief you every day. We welcome the appearance of journalist Cary Roques, as well as the voices of the protagonists that stand for peaceful change within Cuba.

Omar Montenegro: And entering into this theme to analyze the news; a pleasure as always to present our colleague Cary Roque. Good afternoon Cary, on this day full of news.

Cary Roque: Good afternoon Tomas and a very good afternoon to Ofelia, and to anyone at this time that may be in tune with Daily Cuba. I certainly know that today is World Press Freedom Day, therefore, I will congratulate us all, as we do work on freedom of opinion and expression for our solidarity, with those within Cuba who much-need that mission.

Tomas Cardoso: Well let's start because have a loaded agenda. Your opinion; persecution at this time Cary, just our office of transmission to Cuba

where we work to issue an editorial titled: “The Limits of the Cardinal” where we put into question; all that has happened recently. What’s your perspective from the journalistic point of view regarding this subject?

Cary Roque: I think that helps and it’s very necessary. It seems to me that it has been very balanced and very just, and that discomfort with the cardinal should not be extended to bother with the Church, but the Church is not at a great point.

I congratulate you greatly, and I am very honored to belong to a news conglomerate that dots all their I’s, when they need to.

Tomas Cardoso: Thank you Cary. What do you think about the report from Argentina Soae, about the marginalized slums in Cuba? What is not said Cary?

Cary Roque: Look I'm going to say something Tomas, I remember when the revolution began under Fidel Castro’s power and he was screaming with all his might that Cuba would never repeat the slums that they had before, nor would they see the country the same way. And it’s so sad that after 53 years, almost all the people of Cuba are living in slums or in homes that have been destroyed or in hostels of houses that are completely dismantled from hurricanes, rain, and great and powerful winds. Sadly, we have reached this conclusion.

Cary Roque: There has not been a single chapter, not a single solitary chapter of the government program that he spoke about when he first stepped into the country that was really implemented for the positive, well-being of the country or of the people of Cuba. Sadly, this immigration of Cubans from the

interior parts of the country, who are searching for Castro's promises and better lives for themselves in the Capital or large cities have crashed with the sad reality of the parasitic government that's in place now. This government has only lived to collect funds from the outside for its own profit and particularly Fidel's own benefit. I think the situation of what's happening is completely horrible. The Castro followers are teachers of lies.

Tomas Cardoso: Thank you very much for being here for our call. We appreciate your input very much. We'll be back briefly.

(Music Cut)

(Unrelated News Break)

Omar Montenegro: We are here on our show, Daily Cuba. It is now 3:30 in the afternoon. The organization of Freedom House included Cuba in its list of countries without freedom and free press. More with Michelle Sager.

Michelle Sager: Director of Freedom House for programs in Latin American, Vivianna Giacaban said Cuba is among the worst nations in respect to freedom of the press. Cuba is the deepest "un-free" country out there. It is in the top eight of those countries with the least amount of freedom of expression and freedom of the press. It is the worst of worst, as we call it, in the world. In Cuba there is an absence of anything free having to do with expression, such as unions, detentions for journalists, and so much more. You can very well compare it with China. Freedom House also included Venezuela, Honduras, and Mexico among

the nations with the least amount of freedom of expression. With Radio Marti, Michelle Sager.

Tomas Cardoso: The second part of our show today, today Thursday already May 3rd, is with our colleague Omar Lopez Montenegro and shortly after, we'll go as always inside Cuba with our guest on today's show. But, before proceeding with anything else, good morning Omar.

Omar Montenegro: World press freedom day, Cuba, with this in mind, won't be touching the human rights issue. The show is only so long to delve into the human rights issues that are unsolved and uncared for, through both politics and humanities.

Ricardo Alarcon tells us among those members of the "good" Mexican delegation, of which there are several of them, on purpose, including Senator Morfin... Tell us Senator, your position in relation to Cuba?

Omar Montenegro: Senator Morfin, head of the delegation, is related to the regime. A person who has not been one of the most influential persons in Mexico (defending the regime) and has always been part of this commission. Actually this is what becomes more of a touristic travel and less of an unraveling of the truth.

What's more with the Cuban Parliament is that it's useless. It has the world record of legislating twice a year right... and by it convening two times a year, the work of the Cuban Parliament is worse off than others. Many of these members don't even participate in these meetings. It is precisely for this reason

that they don't take this seriously. Look if even we had the possibility of introducing something on the agenda, it wouldn't matter because there is no agenda. What takes place is like a meeting amongst friends. In some cases, the very Cuban Ambassador in Mexico has announced this; "as a gathering of friends to enjoy, and there is no political agenda behind this meeting".

Omar Montenegro: That is why the theme of human rights is not relevant, because in reality there is no theme. Not a single one of these inter-parliamentary meetings have had any action or agreement that has had even the slightest impact in the relations between Cuba and Mexico or Cuba in general.

Tomas Cardoso: Finally, Omar, before proceeding with our next guest... Regarding this scandal that has run its course in the last hours of the morning by the publication of a German newspaper... A very prestigious and huge company that produces Swedish furniture, known as IKEA (there's a huge one here in Broward County) used Cuban prisoners and East Germans in the 1980s for their production purposes. What impact do you think this can have on Cuba and the regime? This has great repercussions for the Cuban people. I would say that it's not so prestigious (laughing sarcastically). It's cheap labor in sweat factories, where they pay people very little money and note that the significance of this issue is that the regime is trying to sell this idea to the people of Cuba now. Today, they want to sell this idea because they don't care about their people. And they have no right as a population to rebel. The conditions are created by

the regime so they are selling this idea before using Cuban entrepreneurs in their own country because the regime profits more from selling people.

Omar Montenegro: Sincerely and frankly speaking, I say this is practically a human traffic, a human trafficking; in this case of workers... a human-work trafficking case. Perhaps maybe it would be good to include this as a new category; because this is practically selling people they way prostitutes are sold. They are selling Cubans as workers who are easy, cheap and who can't protest because they will be punished.

Tomas Cardoso: Thanks as always Omar. A pleasure for us, as always to present the journalist, writer, blogger, and author of the "Grupo Salva de la Prada", Luis Felipe Rojas. On this special day, of world press freedom, good afternoon Luis Felipe.

Luis Felipe Rojas: Hey Tomas, a hug, hug to you and hug to listeners that have made an effort to listen to the program but are 'unable to fully cross the fence'. We still celebrate the day of freedom of expression through the press even though many people might not have that basic right. It is something great to have faith in and know that one day at least you can have a space to express what one means by the truth, especially for the Cuban people who have endured so much. One day I think I see it this way.

Tomas Cardoso: Luis Felipe, who has dual significance for Cubans, precisely because there are problems with censorship control and freedom of expression in Cuba. In this context how do you see it and how much progress

has been cast in the independent society/the independent press despite of work and everything... And what else can be done?

Luis Felipe: Let's start at the beginning. First, when you want to more or less and see something that has been compromised there's this phrase that says, "read between the lines", but today, us Cubans can't even attempt to read between any lines with this regime because there is not even a single reference commemorating this day in any way. Even in Granma there is nothing that appears in reference to those that gave their lives for freedom of expression and freedom of the press. There are two notes, the mythology section and another referring to the death of Tomas Borges in Nicaragua. But Cuba, precisely the Cuban government celebrates that absence.

Tell people face-face that today the whole world is celebrating though we're deprived of it.

Tomas Cardoso: Now there is one thing I find interesting... There is some symbolism in the sense that we open the program and introduce you here Luis Felipe and the first thing we heard was that rooster singing in the morning on our show. He is free. I am saying that it is also in a sense it's a celebration of a day of world press freedom. Even against all odds, that voice sings. Because many times, and Luis Felipe I would like to hear your opinion on this... Attempting to celebrate a day like today, because talking about the problems that exist, and all the journalists killed... makes me think on the one hand yes, yes, and this caught my attention. In some of the related reports, you

know the society of American press there have been reports without limits, about the fact that they are going to put Raul Castro on the list of national dictators.

Luis Felipe Rojas: The Annual Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in England/Foreign Office also spoke in reference to the Cuban case. What I mean by this is that when talking about the bad that has cast the government and also when it comes to talking about advances, they refer to the regime. You hear, 'Well, there's a big improvement, because they've liberated/freed many journalists. But, they were the ones that put them there to begin with. I think there is much to celebrate in Cuba on the world day of free press, because we're talking to you right here and there might be those in Cuba that are able to listen to what we have to say.

Tomas Cardoso: Don't you think that somehow you have to start changing the view from inside Cuba?

Luis Felipe Rojas: I think this will be essential, and the first thing to do is speak from a personal level, even though I have hundreds of examples of people and colleagues throughout the island. The latest complication that happened to me was on Saturday where the government demanded that I sign a record of warning because I had given news about prison. They were forbidding me talking about prison, but I wanted celebrate this today through Radio Marti giving the news on this subject of repression.

Tomas Cardoso: Ariel Arsuada Pena, a political prisoner of the province in Granma, Bayamo, told me, "Well if this is the provision, that seems to bother,

here we go then.” For example, I report as if Cuba was a free country, I report as if I had all the laws guaranteed in the states institution. I report as if Radio Marti was within Cuba or if the Diario de Cuba, which is where I write my stories. I report as if I could go outside and the source, meaning the Cuban people were reliable, and nobody was afraid to declare anything regarding questions I ask them. I always celebrate this from the point of view that I think I’ve reached some sort of liberty because someday it will be.

Tomas Cardoso: Now, on with Luis Felipe... Going into high politics, because it’s always good to do this because there are things cooking and Omar knows what I mean when I say there are things cooking. You are an excellent candidate to enter in this topic. You know that, for example on the subject Chavez and his illness... There is an excellent journalist known as Nick Myrov, who was reporter from the Washington Post, and is now working in the Global Post.

Tomas Cardoso: In an interview yesterday, Luis Felipe along with a public string of the United States, a prestigious chain in North America, reported from Havana that Raul Castro’s government has been forced to implement economic reforms much faster than estimated. Due to his great benefactor of the island, the President of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, is in Havana, is seriously sick and his destiny is unknown. My question to you is how aware are you opponents who have risked your lives, who have gone so many times to the prison that there might hypothetically be the possibility of radical things changing, and they don’t

want you to play a predominant role in this new stage? How aware are you and those opposed to this, as well as independent journalists of this reality?

Luis Felipe Rojas: Well I think that there are three points of convergence. It is very important that we must not forget that. One is that what this journalist said is a conjecture, but this conjecture coincides with intentions.

First, the location of Chavez... They say that everything is very well, he is well and his health is well. They put it over and over again in all the Cuban news.

Two, the popular imagery... People say, they negate and negate, and they say when this is good it's because it's actually really bad, and when they say it's pink, it's because it actually green. People are pointing out also to that, that there is something real about this and Chavez's health.

And third, it exceeds the possibilities of creating an opponent. This could create allegations of establishing a mechanism of human rights and legalities.

Omar Montenegro: There is a movement that has to stop and they have to stop all this great plan of the Americas before Cuba gets infected in this trap. It's a moment in history that will define the country of Cuba, and I think it's just around the corner.

Tomas Cardoso: Certainly Omar, as Luis Felipe says I think it's a record, another world record. The only place in the world where I believe that speaks every day regarding Chavez's health improvement is in the Cuban news because, not even in Venezuela do they dare to say it.

Omar Montenegro: Well of course, it's the land of fantasy because the country has no clue of the truth in the world because they can't. But returning to the topic you mentioned saying that the popular imagination of the people says, "we'll let that continue" but at some point, the imagination might actually happen.

But also there are certain traps because this is a position that's a little passive, not proactive. It waits for things to happen. Let me give you a parallel. For a long time we were waiting for things to happen, it was expected that the United States would take charge of the issues. Then the cardinal from the Catholic Church stood up for the "ladies in white" but then after a month, he gave up on it and didn't say anything else about it.

I'm going to say something finally, we interviewed several people, and the world agreed on the diagnostic, but when asked, "What would you do?" nobody knew.

Tomas Cardoso: What to do is the great question. What can we do to manifest the fortitude for the Cuban people to stand up in a concrete form and determine the results that they wish to see for their country instead of seeing what the government will do.

For us it is a pleasure to present José Daniel who was about to complete an additional 6 months at Versailles prison, but was released yesterday. Good afternoon José Daniel, and welcome to Daily Cuba. How do you feel brother?

Jose Daniel Ferrer: I thank you for inviting me to your program. A hug for you and Omar and a greeting to all who listen to our program. Hey my brother, I feel good, I have a few conditions which have been a result of prison for eight years under the Batista regime. But nothing, we continue with our battle with freedom and democracy in Cuba.

Tomas Cardoso: Now this is one of the things that obviously upset the regime with your arrest, Jose Daniel, and also other leaders also that dismantle it, because you're out. How does a patriotic see himself right now?

Jose Daniel Ferrer: As always, I like to be as realistic as possible and sincere possible... They persecuted us for six or seven years and the damage we endured compared to the "benefits" were tremendous.

Look, I was not released yesterday because they wanted to let me go, they would have wanted to keep me in prison a long time. What they saw was a very high-strung belief throughout the region. And what we know is that we are each only one, but we are just part of another whole other democratic group, and should not be a single person solely fighting for change in Cuba. I repeat, I am positive that about this change.

Tomas Cardoso: Thank you very much. That's all we have for this afternoon. Thank to all our listeners and to all those who contributed to our program Cuba al Día.