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Aggressive and Passive Propaganda: Cuba and the United States

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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

AGGRESSIVE AND PASSIVE PROPAGANDA:
CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

By

Eugene Humberto Pons

A THESIS

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of the University of Miami
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AGGRESSIVE AND PASSIVE PROPAGANDA:
CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

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The proposed thesis intends at quantitatively measuring the Cuba anti-American propaganda associated with the effects of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on America.

We propose to analyze the Cuban government run international newspaper service, Granma Internacional, to determine if the amount of aggressive propaganda changed as a result of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States. The question answered is: Did the amount of anti-American propaganda decrease, increase, or remain relatively the same in Cuba’s international newspaper during a time span of one year after the terrorist attack compared to one year before the terrorist attack. In order to answer this question, a content analysis approach will be defined and conducted on the Cuban international media outlet, Granma Internacional. The process will take into consideration front page analysis of headlines and content analysis of relevant media stories to aggregate a value that will determine the intensity of aggressive propaganda for the time span indicated of one year before and after the terrorist attack.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The terrorist attacks on the United States of America on September 11, 2001 marked a moment in history that had a global consequence. The tragic events that unfolded on that ominous morning resonated worldwide through the various media outlets. Similar to other nations in the world, the island nation of Cuba, which is situated just south off the coast of Florida, also noted the horrific events of the day through its media outlets including its national newspaper, *Granma Internacional*.

*Granma Internacional* is distributed to the Cuban population at a cost of 20 Cuban centavos for the daily edition, which is equivalent to approximately one U.S. penny. It is also distributed via electronic means on the Internet to various international markets and in several languages such as in English, Spanish, French and Portuguese. The Cuban government uses the newspaper as a vehicle to communicate daily events and issues, government communiqués, presidential and government speeches, national incidents, political issues, world news, and other general information such as sports and cultural features.

The September 11th attacks on the United States provide a unique circumstance to study the media’s actions as a result of these conditions. In general, the circumstances of that tragic day resulted in an outcry from the world media and overall empathy for the United States. In turn, the actions taken by the United States as a result of the September 11th attacks generated a variety of political and emotional sentiment from the world media. This world media coverage encompassed different opinions of the attacks and the
subsequent war that included support for the United States to complete disapproval and negativity towards their actions.

In particular is the media outcome or printed material that originated from Cuba’s government run newspaper, *Granma Internacional*. This study analyzed if *Granma Internacional* generated propaganda related articles against the United States after the September 11th attacks. Propaganda is defined as a method that attempts to influence attitudes and behavior through the manipulation of the spoken, written, pictorial or musical form (Lasswell, 1927). The study also examined the news articles from a pre-September 11th scenario and explored if propaganda type articles were employed to criticize the United States. The main objective of this study was to examine media generated around a central point in history. A content analysis will be conducted on the pre-media and post-media of the event to link the tone and direction of the media centered on the 9/11 event.

The study will seek to assess if Cuba’s government conducts or practices “aggressive propaganda,” which is characterized as a propaganda type that attempts to describe the United States in a negative worldwide perspective beyond its foreign policy issues. Aggressive propaganda is a form of communication whose objective is to present the United States in a harmful manner, as opposed to “passive propaganda” whose objective is to present Cuba in a favorable positive manner. Cuba’s possible use of propaganda toward another country, used in a specific manner, with the intent of establishing a perceived negative image, is an aspect of analysis for this thesis. Specifically, has Cuba engaged in a form of aggressive propaganda with the purpose of achieving a negative perception of the United States throughout the world countries?
Cuba has exercised a foreign policy in worldly events that at times has positioned it in direct conflict with the United States’ foreign policy. An example of this can be noted with the collaborative efforts executed by Cuba and the Soviet Union during the 1962 Missile Crisis. Although the idea to bring missiles into Cuba originated in the Soviet Union, Cuba’s government was instrumental and forthcoming in planning the operation, since Cuba had the perception that the United States was on the verge of a military invasion of the island (Brenner, 1990). In this instance, the Soviet Union introduced nuclear missiles on the island of Cuba, setting forth a Soviet Union and Cuba alliance that severely mired all possible future relations with Cuba and the United States. Furthermore, Cuba’s involvement in the 1975 Angola War, supporting the National Liberation Movement in a fight against racism, colonialism, and imperialism (Lowenthal, 1977) was possibly an attempt of extending the ideological concept of its government toward revolutionary fervor, positioning Cuba in direct conflict with the United States. Another example of this direct conflict can be noted with Cuba’s involvement and support in regards to its military assistance, training and cooperation of the Palestine Liberation Organization’s struggle against Israel in the 1980s (Amuchastegui, 1999).

Cuba’s foreign policy directives, as noted in the previous examples, are at times, specifically positioned against the United States foreign policy in what is considered their expansion of imperialism and capitalism. An analysis of Cuba’s media, in particular the *Granma Internacional* newspaper would be of interest to ascertain if Cuba has engaged in aggressive propaganda against the United States after the terrorist attacks of September 11th and the subsequent war on terror. Cuba’s intent on the possible use of aggressive
propaganda during this specific period could be to damage the United States’ political position, image and influence with other countries.

The intent of this campaign could increase resentment among countries that often support or are aligned with the United States. Therefore, Cuba could acquire support from this world opinion to apply pressure on the United States. If countries perceive the United States actions as an abusive capitalist country freely imposing its will on the sovereignty of other nations, then some of those countries, which in the past have sided with the United States in denouncing human rights violations in Cuba, could reverse their political stance and policy in respect to Cuba. This would include organizations that have been critical of Cuba’s human rights violations such as the United Nations, Amnesty International, and the European Union.

In particular, it is important to recognize that a specific form of propaganda, that which is identified as aggressive propaganda, is used as a distinctive device to formulate an image or opinion. This opinion can result in a negative outcome for the targeted country while favoring the political arena of another country. Henceforth, the aggressive propaganda model could be used by countries to influence world views that would be beneficial to them in the long run. Before proceeding to further understand the circumstances that instituted the aggressive propaganda model, it may be appropriate to briefly consider the conditions pertaining to September 11th and Cuba.
Chapter 2

Historical Overview

The actions that unfolded on September 11, 2001 are marked with violence, terror, and sadness that caused an unsettling effect as millions of viewers witnessed the horrific live images of a passenger plane crashing into the South Tower of the World Trade Center (WTC). Moments before, another passenger plane had crashed into the North Tower. America’s symbol of financial wealth and enterprise, the World Trade Center in New York, the center of America’s military power, the Pentagon, and the symbol of the world’s political power, the White House, had been targeted by terrorist (Denton Jr., 2004). The early morning of September 11, 2001 at 8:46 am, American Airlines Flight 11 crashed into the upper portion of the WTC’s North Tower. Seventeen minutes later, at 9:03 A.M., United Airlines Flight 175 slammed into the South Tower of the WTC. At 9:37 A.M., American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon, and at 10:03 A.M., United Airlines Flight 93 crashed into a Pennsylvanian field after passengers and crew members attempted to wrestle the plane from the terrorists’ control. At 9:58 A.M., the South Tower collapsed, killing all civilians who had not yet evacuated the building and the emergency personnel that were inside the building as well as many other individuals on the neighboring streets. The North Tower collapsed thirty minutes later at 10:28, also killing everyone still in the building and in the street below (The 9/11 Commission Report, 2004). The September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon was the first catastrophic attack within the borders of the United States that was perpetrated by non-nationals. Its violence and terror impact surpasses previous historical United States tragic events such as the Kennedy assassination and the
Challenger explosion. The attacks upon America have been characterized as this generation’s Pearl Harbor (Denton Jr., 2004). The terrorist attacks of September 11 caused the largest loss of life within United States territory in its history, 2,973 victims (The 9/11 Commission Report, 2004).

What could cause 19 hijackers to commandeer four passenger planes and willingly crash them into buildings to inflict such human devastation and death? The Muslims that committed this brutal act of terror sent a message of fear and hatred across America, establishing in the minds of most Americans a sense of anti-Americanism from the Muslim world. The statement made by Martin Indyk, executive director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and later one of the architects of the Clinton administration’s Middle East policy, to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1991 after the Gulf War, “I think that anger in the Arab streets is real. It is produced by a number of different factors. But in the end, what matters is not whether they hate us or love us – but whether they are going to respect our power,” (Makdisi, 2003, p. 131) exemplifies the myopic and misguided American viewpoint and part of the U.S. and Arab problem. Opinions of this nature demonstrate the United States’ arrogance toward that Muslim world and the reasons of resentment from this region.

The feelings of resentment toward the United States are deeply rooted in foreign policy issues, historic involvement in Arab conflicts, extensive religious and economic disparity, and a sincere aversion to the capitalist lifestyle which is seen as immoral and oppressive. There have been several instances in history where the United States established a foreign policy that influenced the Middle East region. Primarily, the United States recognition of the State of Israel in 1948 by then President Harry Truman marked
the initial involvement in the troubled Middle East region. Other policy actions, such as preventing the 1956 recapturing of the Suez Canal from Egypt, the lack of enforcement to a cease-fire between Israel and Egypt during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, and the official negotiation with the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 1988, have positioned the United States in direct conflict with Middle Eastern interests. In essence, the uncertainty that exists in the Middle East today is in part a result of the Western political and economic involvement including billions of dollars in military aid, weapons and intelligence information since the beginning of the twentieth century (Said, 1973).

Another component to this complex situation occurs from a constricted cultural perspective that is in conflict between the Western world and the Middle East. This belief stems from the notion of the “clash of civilizations” in that there exists a segmented humanity, not attributed to ideological purposes or economic constraints, rather one attributed to a cultural conflict (Huntington, 1993). This premise suggests a clash between the West and Islam, a monolithic viewpoint with no constructive outcome. A cultural difference exists that, from its very essence, is founded on unlike beliefs and values, with extensive religious discrepancies that position each culture at odds end. The cultural variations are rooted in varied family and social values that conflict with tradition and ideological viewpoints. According to Hunt (2003), this view establishes U.S. civilization as a superior entity that promotes a moral right to promote and defend Western values, and in part sets countries that are not aligned with these values as rebels against a culturally diverse world. It is these Western values that conflict and create the so called clash of civilizations with Middle Eastern cultures. The issues that propagate this conflict are extended further when considering the extensive U.S. foreign policy
history in the Middle East, as previously mentioned. This foreign policy is viewed as U.S.
hegemony that is capitalist and inequitable in nature, which exacerbates the cultural
differences.

Another aspect is the historical relevance to the September 11 date, which is
marked with U.S. foreign policy events that are significant to the Middle East. The Camp
David Accords in which Egypt “surrendered to US imperialism and Israeli Zionism,
leaving the Palestinians at the mercy of Israel” (Ahmad, 2003, p. 15) occurred on
September 11, 1978 and September 11, 1990 marked the day President George H. Bush
announced the first Iraq war to the U.S. Congress. Furthermore, there is a Middle Eastern
perspective that the deaths in the WTC attack are minimal when compared to the
extensive US history of overt and covert interventions around the globe. Ahmad notes
that Hiroshima and Nagasaki are “the most famous of the numerous cities that the US
destroyed in the long and violent twentieth century” (p. 16), along with an extensive
history of American led armies and covert operations to impose its capitalistic agenda
and culture. Of these, besides the U.S. involvement in the Middle East with Israel, its
historic influence in Iran is extensively noted. In 1946, the United States support and
influence of assisting the Crown Prince Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran to obtain
absolute power rather than a movement toward constitutional government (Ladjevardi,
1983) was a pivotal event in the country’s development. This resulted in U.S. economic
integration with Iran and the submission of the Iranian economy to American interests.
By 1978, the United States economic involvement in Iran including many factors such as:
“American investments exceeding $682 million, the number of Americans working or
living in Iran was nearly 50,000, and military purchases or commitments from U.S.
manufactures exceeded $12 billion while non-military imports from the U.S. totaled
$12.7 billion” (Fatemi, 1980, p. 303). Furthermore, a 1976 agreement between the two
countries projected annual non-oil, non-military trade between the two nations of $15
billion by 1981, mostly all in the form of U.S. exports to Iran (Fatemi, 1980). These
events in Iran established a persistent clash of cultures that permeated throughout the
Middle East. The September 11 terrorist attacks are justified and the horrific terrorist
actions diminished in consequence with the belief that “the attack on a couple of
buildings at the heart of the imperial centre produced effects that no amount of terror and
destruction in the outposts of the empire could have produced” (Ahmad, 2003, p. 19).
Many of the Middle Eastern countries, either covertly or publicly, share this opinion or
sentiment.

The sentiment expressed by most countries around the world immediately after
the September 11th attacks were sympathetic and sincere sorrow for the United States.
Although, these sentiments drastically changed to criticism and discontent for many
nations as a result of the United States actions in response to this attack and the
subsequent “War on Terror.” The outcome of this discontent was a profound level of
anti-Americanism and a negative opinion of the United States from various regions of the
world, such as the countries in Europe, the Middle East, the Americas and the Caribbean,
including the island nation of Cuba.

Cuba is geographically situated 90 miles south off the southern tip of Florida. As
a result of its geographic proximity to the United States, Cuba has experienced extensive
U.S. involvement and foreign policy issues that include economic and political influence,
as well as various military interventions. Since its colonial period, these issues have
generated resentment and a negative sentiment toward the United States from the Cuban government and its people.

The initial significant involvement of the United States in Cuba commenced after the first war for Independence in 1868. The United States served as a refuge for many Cubans fleeing the aftermath of the 1868 war, and allowed revolutionaries like José Martí, a Cuban poet and founder of the Cuban Revolutionary party (El Partido Revolucionario Cubano), to organize the second revolution in New York City and Philadelphia. This resulted in the 1895 War for Independence, in which the United States was a pivotal component for the Cuban struggle for independence from Spain. After a few years of battling the Spanish army, the Cuban freedom fighters joined forces with the United States military, who intervened in 1898, bringing about the end of the war and Cuba’s independence.

On February 19, 1898 the U.S. battleship U.S.S. Maine was blown up in the Havana harbor, forcing the United States to intervene in the Cuban belligerency. The U.S. Congress agreed to President William McKinley’s (1897-1901) request for intervention in Cuba but included the Teller Amendment, which disclaimed any intention by the U.S. to exercise jurisdiction or control over Cuba except in a passive role, promising to leave the island as soon as the war was over (Holbo, 1967). The amended resolution on Cuban independence defeated any prospects of United States annexation of Cuba. The Spanish-American War began on April 25, 1898. The United States went to war against Spain over Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines and other islands. The war continued for the US and Spain over the Philippines until the Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898. This Treaty established the independence of Cuba from
Spain, the surrender of Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States, and temporary possession of the Philippine Islands (Paterson, 1996).

The Treaty declared that Spain would give up all claims to Cuba, that the United States would occupy the island after the Spanish, and that they would assume all obligations to protect the people and land of Cuba. It also stated that the United States was limited in how long they could occupy Cuba and that they would advise successor governments. This marked the first of three U.S. interventions in Cuba. In 1901, as a consequence of the Teller Amendment, the Cuban Constitution included a provision called the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States permission to intervene in Cuba to preserve Cuban independence and maintain social order if necessary (Suchlicki, 2001).

On May 20, 1902 the U.S. occupation ended and Cuba obtained its independence, electing Tomas Estrada Palma as the first president of the new republic. The second U.S. intervention occurred in 1906 when Cuban President Estrada Palma requested U.S. troops to impede a rebellion caused by accusations of fraudulent presidential elections. This U.S. intervention lasted three years until 1909, when Cuba elected its second president, José Miguel Gómez. A third and final U.S. intervention, although short lived, occurred in 1912 as a result of unrest and rebellion by many plantation black workers (Fitzgibbon, 1935; Minger, 1961; Perez, 1978).

A wave of Cuban nationalism and frustrations of U.S. influence over Cuban interest and its economy fueled anti-American sentiment for the ensuing decades. Close supervision of Cuban affairs by the United States became the objective of Cuban protests. This continued until 1933 when the United States mediated a critical situation between
the dictatorial Cuban government of Geraldo Machado and opposition leaders. Several non-commissioned army officers staged an overthrow of the government and imposed a five-man civilian provisional government led by staff sergeant Fulgencio Batista. The Batista-led government increased its association with the United States, raising Batista’s political profile both within Cuba and abroad (Whitney, 2000). The United States increased trade, obtained permission for a variety of U.S. military facilities on Cuban territory, and was granted preferred pricing for the purchase of Cuba’s sugar harvest (Suchlicki, 2002). The exploitation of Cuba’s one-crop economy heightened anti-Americanism within society, as many blamed the supervision by the United States and its foreign investments and interests as the causes for the island’s difficulties (Morley, 1982).

By 1959, the United States’ economic interest per capita in Cuba far exceeded interests in all of Latin America. United States direct investment enterprises in Cuba per capita were at $143 million, while it was only $39 million for all other Latin American countries, well over three times the value. The United States controlled or was significantly involved in all the major Cuban industries. According to Johnson (1965), the United States controlled over 90 per cent of the telephone and electric service, about 50 per cent of the public service railways, and had interests in approximately 40 per cent of the raw sugar production. The critical areas affecting Cuba’s sociopolitical environment revolved around the slow rate of economic growth, a one-crop economy based on sugar, an economic dependence on the United States, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, and significant inequalities in living standards particularly between urban and rural areas (Mesa-Lago, 1989).
The collapse of the Batista dictatorship and the rise of power of the 26th of July revolutionary front led by Fidel Castro quickly changed the political and economic setting of the country. Shortly after declaring himself commander of the armed forces, Castro’s hostility toward the United States increased through the nationalization of confiscated American owned businesses and property. This was a result, in part because of the vast private and foreign investments by the United States in Cuba, the increase in financial pressures imposed on Cuba after the revolution, and the ideological differences between the United States and the Castro government. The revolution furthered a revisionist ideology, one that demanded drastic changes such as a reversal to existing practices and laws, which was similar to an ideology that existed during the late 1800s during the wars of independence against Spain. The ideology focused on opposing imperialism, and relied on neo-colonialism, and the pseudo-republic as a steadfast foundation for the actions and legitimacy of the revolution. The new revolutionary government used the past views of the revisionist as a way to further their actions and their objectives (Perez, 1980). The Cuban government commenced a policy of expropriation and nationalization of Cuban and foreign-owned business, including the telephone and electric utilities, oil refining facilities, and all U.S. owned sugar mills. The issue of foreign investment control and Cuban nationalism became the central focus of the Cuban government, considering the nationalization of foreign owned property as the final stages of Cuban independence, specifically from the dominant United States (Johnson, 1965). Thus the Castro revolution set forth the necessary steps to liberate Cuba from the Batista dictatorship and the economic control from its northern neighbor (Corbitt, 1963).
The nationalization of foreign owned property and businesses, in particular those of the United States, prompted a politically inclined economic reaction from the United States that was intended to financially collapse the Cuban government and assist in the overthrow of the Castro regime. The following is a summary of these reactions. On July 6, 1960, United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower, with the authorization of Congress, canceled Cuba's sugar quota and thus began the first steps to economic sanctions against Cuba. This action was followed by the U.S. government’s emphasis on imposing bilateral sanctions to limit Cuba’s economic relations with the rest of the capitalist world. Additionally, the sanctions prevented materials of Cuban origin from entering the United States as exports from a third country. The Cuban government continued to nationalize other businesses as political relations between the two countries continued to deteriorate.

By the end of 1960, the United States Kennedy-Johnson administration had expanded the economic restriction to a substantial trade embargo on a global scale (Morley, 1984). Another factor that distanced the two countries was the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion by Cuban exiles. In the final months of the Eisenhower administration, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had begun training of Cuban exiles for the invasion of Cuba and the overthrow of the Castro government (Gleijeses, 1995). The invasion was defeated by the Cuban government in a matter of a few days. These war actions only served to fortify Cuba’s belief and anticipation of a much greater invasion by U.S. military forces (Brenner, 1990). Cuba’s relations and affiliation with the Soviet Union drastically increased as it sought protection from the perceived hostilities of the
United States. These actions by the Cuban government lead to the most dramatic confrontation between the superpowers in the 20th century.

In October 1962, the United States learned that the Soviet Union was installing ballistic missile bases in Cuba, further dividing the relations between the countries. A rapid escalation of political tension erupted in what became known as the Cuban Missile Crisis. For thirteen days, the world stood on the brink of war with the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in a standoff over the missiles in Cuba. An extensive naval blockade was enforced around the island while the confrontation unfolded. On October 28, after much political maneuvering, the Soviet Union agreed to remove all missiles from the island of Cuba in exchange for a U.S. pledge never to invade Cuba (Brenner, 1990). As a result, the United States enforced the economic embargo on Cuba, further straining any possible chances of normalized relations. Cuba, despite trading with other countries, has faced repeated economic adversity, in particular after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. The United States has repeatedly pursued resolutions against Cuba for its alleged human rights violation of dissidents from international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union, and other countries, further exasperating the Cuban government. Additionally, President George W. Bush created the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba in 2003 to focus the United States government on hastening a peaceful transition to a representative democracy and a free market economy in Cuba (United States Department of State, 2004).

The Castro government, since its inception in 1959, has utilized the historical sentiment expressed by the revisionist as the revolution's official declaration, repeatedly stating at great lengths the vices of imperialism and the United States' involvement in
Cuba. Additionally, the Cuban government considers the embargo imposed by the United States as intrusive of Cuba’s economy and sovereignty. Since the early 1970s, Cuba’s foreign policy has specifically supported world conflicts that clash with United States foreign policy, with the belief that it is the duty of revolutionaries to support revolutions (Domínguez, 1983). Some of these actions include: the 1975 Angola War where the Cuban government sent in 36,000 combat troops in support of the leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) (Loundenthal, 1977; Domínguez, 1983); its support of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Lebanon since 1964 and the leftist Sandinistas movement in Nicaragua in 1979 (Domínguez, 1985; Vanden & Morales, 1985; Brown, 1994); and established the Departamento América, an organization dedicated to training terrorists and promoting terrorist acts throughout the world. At one time or another, most all international terrorist groups trained and practiced in guerilla warfare in Cuba including the Macheteros from Puerto Rico; Chile’s M-16 and Frente Patriótica; Colombia’s National Liberation Army (ELN) and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC); the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) of Peru; and members from ETA and IRA (Pérez Giménez, 2001).

Aside from its foreign policy of supporting revolutionary causes worldwide, Cuba has historically pursued an aggressive propaganda campaign against the United States. Since 1966, at the first Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples, an event held in Cuba and attended by many of the pro-Communist nations, Cuba established an aggressive propaganda agenda against the United States on behalf of world revolutions. The agenda set forth by Cuba was an aggressive propaganda campaign that included posters and literature attacking U.S. hegemony (Committee On The
Judiciary United States Senate, 1966) in world conflicts in Africa, Vietnam, Asia, Central America, Grenada and Panama. More recently, after September 11, 2001, Cuba has embarked on an aggressive billboard propaganda campaign within the country that portrays the United States as being fascist and criminal. As an example, Bush is depicted with a suspected terrorist and the words “The Assassin” written with next to his face, and on another billboard there is a compilation of photographs from the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq with a swastika on one side and the words “Made in the USA” stamp below a “Fascists” heading.

The Castro government’s use of aggressive propaganda against its northern neighbor originates from the close historical economic interaction that the two nations have experienced and the many perceived and actual economic and political abuses of the United States as previously mentioned. Furthermore, the Castro government’s profound ideological difference from the United States establishes a significant purpose for their propagandistic rhetoric. These ideological differences position Cuba upon a platform for other developing countries and revolutions to admire, further encouraging Cuba’s aggressive propaganda campaign.

This thesis will analyze the media service from the Cuban government from a year prior to the September 11 terrorist attack compared to the news reports of one year after the attacks. In particular, a content analysis will be conducted on the Cuban government’s official communist newspaper, *Granma Internacional*, considering “aggressive propaganda” in comparison to a more moderate “passive propaganda.” The finding of this thesis will provide an understanding of the change or emphasis of propaganda from Cuba’s regime, pivoted around the September 11, 2001 period.
Literature Review

According to Harold D. Lasswell (1927) propaganda is defined as “the technique to influence behavior by the manipulation of the spoken, written, pictorial or musical form” (p. 627). This concept has been used in a variety of ways throughout history to invoke a desired reaction upon its audience by the propagandist. It is also rooted in the basic form of communication by persuasion, which is defined as “attitude change resulting from exposure to information from others” (Olson & Zanna, 1993, p.135, as cited in Severin, 2001). Propaganda is a section of persuasion that attempts to modify attitudes and beliefs through repeated one-sided messages. Its initial meaning and purpose was founded on the propagation of the Catholic faith, followed by its use in war propaganda that stemmed from the World Wars, and finally on its emphasis on political propaganda, which is currently prevalent (Fellows, 1959).

The political propaganda concept was defined by political scientist and communications expert, Harold D. Lasswell. He noted that the strategy of propaganda is described in the language of stimulus-response, thus propaganda augments those stimuli that best evoke the desired responses and nullifying those stimuli that are likely to instigate the undesired responses (Lasswell, 1927). Therefore, propagandists use words, phrases, and symbols to provoke a thought or an action that will modify behavior in favor of the propagandist purpose. An initial definition of political propaganda is stated as “the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols, where attitude refers to a tendency to act according to certain patterns of valuation” (p. 627). But the word, propaganda, and its uses have acquired several definitions that distinguish them from other forms of communication, such as in advertising and education.
Propaganda is a one-way form of communication embedded in convincing and using influential words, phrases, images, and symbols that intend to manipulate the behavior and attitude of its projected public. It is a combination of education, advertising, and emotional manipulation to obtain a predetermined reaction, or to provoke a given stimuli for an obtained response from its audience. A comparison of the communication forms of advertising, education, and propaganda presents a clear distinction of each.

Advertising is a form of communication with a message that brings forward products, services, opinions, or causes for the purpose of persuading the public to respond in a certain way toward what is advertised by an identified sponsor (Kotler, 1996). In this regard, advertising is conceived as a means of communication that informs and draws attention, through facts or exaggerations, in a manner that will attempt to persuade its audience. In comparison to propaganda, advertising lacks the deceitful and manipulative elements that are more associated with propaganda. Propaganda is related to advertising in that it is concerned with the clever presentation of information with words, phrases, images, or symbols in a way that among many individuals there develops a general point of view and an attitude or behavioral change that is favorable to the propagandist (Lumley, 1933).

Education is a discipline concerned mainly with methods of teaching and learning (Frankena, 1965). In a broader sense, it is the total of all influences that occur after birth and that deal with the instruction of childhood, youth, and adulthood (Wooddy, 1935). With this definition, education is measured in terms of things that are taught in school or throughout life that serve to further an individuals knowledge of factual things. It is a rational process based on information that is wanted and sought out, and that in general
will serve a benefit. Education is thus in contrast to propaganda in that the latter consists of efforts to influence adult behavior, is devoted to advance the interest of a special group rather than the individual, is oriented toward teaching falsehoods or exaggerations, and spreads beliefs that are undesirable and not requested (Wooddy, 1935). Propaganda is perceived as the spreading of subversive, debatable or merely novel attitudes, one which has structured and organized value dispositions such as hatred or respect toward a person, group, or policy (Lasswell, 1934). It is the dissemination of information such as facts, truths, anecdotes, or mistruths with the intent to manipulate public opinion, attitudes and beliefs through text, images, sound and symbols.

It is clear to note from these definitions that propaganda stands to alter or influence human behavior in the specific way in which it is intended by the propagandist. Thus, a significant distinction is created between education and advertising from propaganda. Psychologists consider all stimuli which involve a change in attitude in a predetermined way, such as through music, education, lectures, or fiction as propaganda (Hoffer, 1942). One view of propaganda from this perspective is that it employs illogical or effective appeals in the public dissemination and modification of ideas and beliefs, contrasted with those types of communication that make use of factual and logically explanations (Doob & Robinson, 1935). Knight Dunlap defined intent of propaganda as “the deliberate attempt to influence the opinion of another or of others, in respect to accepted conventions, laws, or standards of conduct” (Lumley, 1933, p. 21).

Lasswell (1927), considered the father of modern sociology, noted that propaganda was “the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols, or more concretely and less accurately by stories, rumors, reports,
pictures, and other forms of social communication” (p. 9). In this way, propaganda emphasizes a technique to influence human behavior on a specific topic or issue, being a person, group, or policy, through communication, by the control of symbols. The form in which the significant symbols are embodied to reach the public may be spoken, written, pictorial, or musical, and the number of stimulus carriers is infinite. If the propagandist identifies himself imaginatively with the life of his subjects in a particular situation, he is able to explore several channels of approach (Lasswell, 1927). Consequently, the projection of symbols, as noted above, to an audience, with a specific manipulative intended purpose that is neither informative of expanding knowledge nor for the simply and only purpose of making its audience aware of such purpose, is considered propaganda. There is a need to call and identify the process of making deliberate one-sided statements to a mass audience, and that process is called propaganda (Chadwick, 1994).

Along with this working definition of propaganda, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, a U.S. based organization, was established in 1937 to help the intelligent citizen detect and analyze propaganda (Miller, 1938). Propagandists use certain communication techniques that are used in one form or another by all individuals on a daily basis to interact and express opinion based statements. They are ordinary methods used by individuals to convince one another of their respective points of view. The difference is that propagandists use these techniques in a refined and analyzed manner, experiment with them until the communication method becomes a tremendously powerful weapon for swaying popular opinions and actions (Lee, 1945). These propaganda techniques or devices are fairly common and can be easily identified with practice. Detection of
propaganda communication is possible in most cases, once the seven common
propaganda devices, as determined by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, are known:
(1) Name Calling, (2) Glittering Generalities, (3) Transfer, (4) Testimonials, (5) Plain
Folks, (6) Card Stacking, and (7) Band Wagon (Miller, 1941). These propaganda devices
are used to appeal to people’s emotions, in an attempt to alter their attitude and behavior
on a specific issue, as determined by the propagandists.

Miller (1941) and Lee (1945) provide the following descriptions of these seven
propaganda devices that were published in The Fine Art of Propaganda (1939) by the
Institute for Propaganda Analysis: (1) Name Calling is a device that causes its audience
to structure an opinion without knowing the facts through the use of “bad names” or
negative labels that are associated to an individual or group. Contrary to the Name
Calling device, (2) Glittering Generalities device associates positive and favorable words
or “virtual words” that appeal to individuals in order for them to make a judgment solely
based on emotion rather than on facts. Other devices are (3) Transfer, in which the
opinion and views of something are reassigned to the propagandist target, and (4)
Testimonial, where a respected or admired individual is used to represent or make a
statement regarding the propagandist target, so that a positive or negative association is
made between them. Another common device and one used by most politicians is (5)
Plain Folk, in which the propagandist makes the individual appear as an ordinary
everyday person comparable to everyone and being a part of the people. An additional
common technique is the (6) Card-Stacking device, which involves presenting
information that is favorable to an idea while omitting information that is contrary,
creating a wall of false support and truths that appear insurmountable. Finally, the (7)
Band-Wagon device is a common practice that promotes a feeling of belonging to the masses. It preaches a sentiment that “Everyone’s doing it!” henceforth you should too, without analyzing the facts.

These techniques have proven to be applicable throughout the years and are still currently in use through the various media outlets, although some countries prohibit or make it illegal to use propaganda on its own citizens. The advent of advanced technology such as the Internet, satellite radio and television, and 24-7 media capabilities have augmented the communication capabilities for governments and propagandists. Currently, there exists an array of media outlets such as the television airways and more importantly, through the various Internet web media services, that allow propagandists to effectively and continuously transmit a propaganda message or campaign to an ample audience.

Thus, propaganda is a strategic technique that uses a form of communication in a particular way and in a specific repeated manner, employed by individuals or organizations, to obtain a predetermined outcome or consequence as set forth by the propagandists. Its definition varies significantly, with academics debating on the precise area of explanation for its significance, although the application or use of propaganda is consistent.

In regards to this study, propaganda is considered within the headings of aggressive and passive propaganda. The intended purpose of both is to influence public opinion through misrepresentation, exaggeration, and with the use of logical fallacies.

Aggressive propaganda is characterized as a propaganda type that attempts to present its object in a negative and harmful manner. This type of propaganda is primarily
projected on a wide-reaching stage to influence world public opinion against the propagandist object, as well as to the local populace. For the purpose of this study, the object is the United States. The analysis will consider Cuba’s aggressive propaganda that attempts to describe the United States in a negative worldwide perspective beyond its foreign policy issues.

Passive propaganda is characterized as a propaganda type that attempts to present its object in a positive and favorable manner. This type of propaganda is mostly directed to an internal audience and local populace, although also targeted externally for world public opinion purposes. For the purpose of this study, passive propaganda is considered propaganda that Cuba utilizes to self-promote or draw attention to the accomplishments of the revolution.

**Propaganda’s Historical Perspective**

The use of propaganda as a means to further national goals and change public opinion on behalf of a group or a cause is a practice embedded in historical terms. The nature of the propaganda, if it originates as aggressive or passive communication, is one that has been useful for a multitude of campaigns throughout history.

Instances of propaganda date back to the European Middle Ages when hand-copied leaflets were used to complement and support sermons, speeches, songs, plays, and face-to-face conversations as part of the religious struggles. The initial labeling of verbal or textual material employed to change public opinion for a specific cause has its origins in the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, that which is defined as propaganda is seen as a persuasion technique for influencing human action by the manipulation of significant
symbols in the form of the spoken, written, pictorial, and music sense to invoke a desired action and/or behavior (Lasswell, 1934). The Christian Church consistently embarked from the fourth century onward in a ecclesiastical propaganda campaign at communicating the character, powers, and importance of saints, and from the eight centuries preceding the First Crusade (1095-1099) it spent converting and Christianizing Europe (Cohen, 1981). In the late 1200s, the Mongolian military leader Genghis Khan was noted for sending agents into invading territories in advance of his Mongol armies to spread misinformation about the size and ferocity of his men. And in the Thirty Years’ War (1618 – 1648), the religious conflict between the Protestants and the Catholics that involved most of the major European continental powers, both sides where known to produce massive quantities of leaflets, pamphlets, and drawings to propagate the ideological differences to the masses (Davison, 1971).

Propaganda was officially established in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (1621-1623) who defined the purpose of the “Sacra Congregatio Christiano Nomini Propagando” or the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. This was the department of the pontifical administration charged with the spread of Catholicism and with the regulation of clerical affairs in non-Catholic countries. The expansion of new lands in America, Africa, and the Far East resulted in the need to evangelize the growing world for the Catholic Church, especially with the threat of a spreading of Protestantism. Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) established the foundation of the Propaganda Fide responsible for the unification of Christianity (Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, n.d.). Gregory XV solidified its functionality and purpose establishing a permanent and well-organized congregation for the propagation of Catholicism. The congregation’s mission was to re-conquer by prayer,
preaching, and catechizing, the countries lost to the Church and to efficiently organize the numerous missionaries for the diffusion of the gospel (Guilday, 1921). At first, the congregation was centralized in Rome, until it was necessary to divide its domain into various secretariats and commissions. Eventually, the congregation migrated into the spreading of the gospel to the dioceses, vicariates, prefectures, missions, and colleges (Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, n.d.) which is predominant in the Roman Catholic Church of the Twenty-First Century.

The religious use of propaganda continued through the eighteenth century and for most of the nineteenth, although its usage commenced to change to a political or military context toward the end of the latter century. The World War of 1914-1918 gave great momentum to the increase in frequency of use of propaganda (Fellows, 1959). The practice of World War propaganda was first studied by Lasswell (1927) in his book on Propaganda technique in the World War. His analysis presents the general use of propaganda and the scientific means of converting masses of people to desired points of views (Lasswell, 1927, as cited in Lutz, 1933). The concept of war propaganda is established and defined as a stimulus to action in ones’ own cause with the objective of victory. It is the formation and promotion of a belief in the interest of a national cause while countering or setting forth an unconstructive opinion of adversary views or conflicting nations. This concept entails a campaign of both passive and aggressive propaganda for the tentative public from within the nation and allied countries as well as for adversarial publics and countries. It incorporates national education with a concealed motive that promotes the morale of the armed forces of the state, creates a favorable opinion at home, diminishes the enemy’s morale, influences favorable neutral opinion,
justifies the necessity of the actions, and if possible, encourages friendly reaction (Lutz, 1933).

The use of aggressive propaganda is noted at the beginning of the First World War by the Germans who used a combination of posters, leaflets and pamphlets in an attempt to explain Germany’s entry into the war. The German campaign was specifically directed towards discrediting the motives of the allies and influencing the United States of America from entering the conflict (Sanders, 1975). The principal topics of German propaganda in enemy countries were: proclamation of the certainty of German victory, encouragement of nationalist and revolutionary movements within the British and Russian empires, attempts to inflame anti-patriotic opinion, and encouragement of pacifism in enemy and neutral countries (Lutz, 1933). Germany also embarked on a nationalistic campaign that prompted its ideology and purpose from within, denoting its passive propaganda campaign. On the other hand, Britain also commenced a propaganda campaign to inform and influence public opinion abroad to Britain’s allies of Russia, France, and Italy, and to refute German misstatements. British official propaganda, although widely and extensively applied by Wellington House, Britain’s war propaganda bureau, was significantly less than that of Germany, Russia, and America (Sanders, 1975). It is much more inclined to a passive propaganda campaign in that its propaganda campaign presents a negligible emphasis upon voluntary action at home, establishes unbiased radio programs, sets forth trivial cultural propaganda abroad, and lacks wide-scale popular participation in activities related to defense (Foster, 1939).

The Allied propaganda, after America’s entrance into the war, is distinctively an aggressive propaganda campaign that presents Germany in a negative and destructive
manner. Among the common propaganda topics were the objectionable nationalism of a “perverted people,” the inhumane atrocities of the German armed forces, and the necessity for an immediate democratization of Germany (Lutz, 1933, p. 504). Other allied nations such as France, which had an extensive passive propaganda campaign on culture well before the war, also embarked on an aggressive campaign. Frances campaign was more political and psychological, focusing on the atrocities committed by the Germans and conducting extensive pamphlet drops throughout the entirety of the war. Belgium also followed France’s aggressive propaganda campaign, emphasizing the theme that the Germans were a perverted people who violated international law and committed atrocities (Lutz, 1933).

Other examples of aggressive propaganda are noted in the thousands of leaflets, pamphlets and posters distributed and dropped by airplane by the Japanese Imperial Army upon their occupation of Peking, China in 1937. Although the Japanese incorporated several passive propaganda campaigns that targeted their own countrymen for support of the war, the majority of the propaganda campaign was targeted to the Chinese masses and the foreign neutrals in the occupied areas. This aggressive campaign encouraged the Chinese to abandon their Nationalistic Government that “ruins their country and brings disaster upon the people,” and promotes the “neutrality and agreement on the part of resident foreigners” (Rowe, 1939, p. 565).

A form of passive propaganda was applied by the Chinese Communist regime during and after World War II in indoctrinating Chinese peasants. They adopted a radio propaganda campaign with the purpose for thought control, political indoctrination, and mass education. The large area of China and the vastness of its under-developed regions
established a need for mass communication that would train and educate the Chinese people. This passive radio propaganda campaign served to inform the people of laws, regulations and decrees of the government (Jan, 1967). Although, radio propaganda is deemed and considered aggressive propaganda due to its nature of reaching the masses, but only when it is used as a threat to peace, breach of the peace, when used by an aggressive state to stir up hatred, revolution, and war (Whitton, 1947). This type of aggressive propaganda is well noted and attributed to the destructive accomplishments of the Nazi propaganda campaign.

During World War II, propaganda emerged as a prominent and critical component of the German war machine. The Nazi propaganda campaign throughout Europe was an assault on the masses through an aggressive radio, poster, and leaflet propaganda campaign that was set to demoralize German opposition while strengthening its supporters. Joseph Goebbels, who was appointed as the head of the Reichspropagandaleiter, the Nazi propaganda plan, diversified the use and application of propaganda. Goebbels’ main concern was the broadening of the central organization and dividing it into specialized sections dedicated to disseminating propaganda, while controlling and eliminating all other alternative sources of information (Zeman, 1964). Nazi Germany employed propaganda with the manipulation of symbols that motivated behavioral perceptions and opinions through the effective use of education, motion pictures, print media, and radio (Jackall, 1995). The aggressive war propaganda campaign set forth by the Nazis established an efficient model that required controls on information and the media, the use of the state as a means of violence and repression, and obligatory participation of meetings and state broadcasts (Goebbels, 1948).
Prior to their entry into the World War II conflict, the United State’s government had started a national passive propaganda campaign. President Franklin D. Roosevelt confronted a situation where Great Britain was in serious need of assistance from the United States; however the American public and the United States’ Congress did not consider the situation as urgent or in need of military intervention. This complacent attitude frustrated the administration, impeded efforts to supply Britain with munitions, and retarded America’s efforts at preparedness. Thus the Basic Plan for Public Relations Administration was formed, which was designed to maintain national morale and advance the preparedness efforts (Steele, 1970). This passive propaganda campaign continued until the United States involvement in the conflict, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

The committee’s responsibilities where replaced by the Office of War Information. This department was responsible for both domestic and overseas propaganda functions that continued the passive campaign of informing and increasing the public’s understanding of administration policy (Bruner, 1943) as well as an aggressive propaganda campaign overseas. This aggressive campaign targeted the Allied countries with facts about the war effort and the reiteration of American idealism. It was also specifically directed to the Axis powers, referring to the countries of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan, in propagating the atrocities committed by the Axis, stating the aggressive motives of America, and informing the world about the war (Bruner, 1943). It was mostly conducted through the Voice of America radio broadcast.

After the Great Wars, propaganda continued as the United States and the Soviet Union used a variety of propaganda techniques to influence world opinion and promote
the acceptance of their respective foreign policies. The Cold War era introduced a new form of post-war propaganda set on educating and disseminating policy information. Black propaganda, referring to propaganda that does not reveal its source and creates a false and malicious message, turned into open campaign via the radio airways in the form of white propaganda, with known sources to promote the political and foreign policies of the nations. The United States employed radio broadcasts with the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, and TV/Radio Marti. Other types of Voice of America transmissions also included the "Know North America" (1948) series which was an anti-communist radio broadcasts in Latin America during the Cold War as well as other internal organizations that were used to coordinate efforts for approved national policies such as the Psychological Strategy Board (1951) and the Operations Coordinating Board (1953).

The United States employed an aggressive propaganda campaign during the First Gulf War (January 16, 1991 to February 28, 1991) to communicate strength and assurance to the American public and abroad. Citing national security concerns to protect Saudi Arabia from an invasion force from Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait, the United States commenced the war with the use of powerful and aggressive slogans such as “Operation Dessert Storm” and “A Line in the Sand.” The United States media propagated and fueled the administrations language, terminology and assumptions (Shohat, 1991). The media served to demonize Saddam Hussein, portraying him as “The Thief from Baghdad” and the “Butcher of Baghdad,” labels assigned by the Bush administration. Other forms of aggressive propaganda were also used by the Iraqi government such as the term “The Mother of all Battles,” referring to the characterization

In 2001, after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, there was a resurgence of aggressive propaganda type messages in prelude to the war. The United States retaliation attack on Afghanistan’s Taliban regime (2001 – present) and the subsequent attack in Iraq that started the Second Gulf War (2003 – present) were characterized by phrases and aphorism to spur up emotion and support for the war. These aggressive words were used nationally to the American public as well as targeted to overseas countries and audiences, to fortify the administrations goals on the war on terror, the prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the removal of Hussein regime. The key aphorisms of this aggressive propaganda campaign include the name of the operation in Afghanistan, “Operation Enduring Freedom,” the name of the conflict in Iraq, “Operation Iraqi Freedom,” the positioning of separate enemy countries as a whole with the “Axis of Evil,” and the main phrases of “The war on terror” and “weapons of mass destruction.”

As noted, the uses of passive and aggressive propaganda campaigns were predominant in many war propaganda situations. It has been a common characteristic of countries in conflict to employ aggressive propaganda techniques against its adversaries to demoralize and abate opposition while using passive propaganda for national purposes since the control of home opinion is a fundamental requirement of war propaganda (Lutz, 1933).

Regardless of the type of propaganda employed by a country, both aggressive and passive propaganda were used as “the means of converting masses of people to desired
view points” (Lasswell, 1927, p. 630). Historically, governments have used a combination of both propaganda types to attempt this purpose. The nature of the propaganda, if to be engaged nationally or overseas, is a critical feature for the propaganda’s use, method, and accomplishments.

**Aggressive Propaganda**

It can be stated that propaganda, either aggressive or passive, is very much a part of today’s communication. In particular from all forms of governments, whether emanating from the United States to justify foreign policy or matters of worldly event, from the Arab nations that are at war with the U.S. policy in the Middle East, or from Venezuela and Cuba that have ideological differences with capitalism. One-sided messages are broadcast through several different types of media – newspaper, television, radio and the Internet – to the masses with the intent of modifying its audience’s opinion and behavior.

Of particular interest to this thesis is aggressive propaganda that is directed toward United States foreign policy issues. Within the area of aggressive propaganda and its uses, is the concept of anti-Americanism, which refers to the expression of strong disapproval for the government, culture, history, or people of the United States. For some nations, America is perceived as a cultural threat that stands to spoil the taste, grace and civility of everyday life and for others it is an ideological difference founded on dislikes and inequalities based on America’s expanding capitalism and globalization (O’Connor, 2004; Schiller, 1976). The term anti-Americanism carries different meanings in different regions of the world. It may be based in or related to anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism,
anti-Christian-proselytizing, anti-secular, anti-American culture, and/or anti-Western decadence. The concept is a difficult one to comprehend since its definition can be so broad as to encompass trivial matters of criticism, to basic disapproval towards any object or event that represents America. Therefore, anti-Americanism will be defined as any negative representation of America, in the form of significant symbols in the spoken, written, pictorial, and music sense which are not based upon reliable facts, but upon affective and subjective reactions (Marie, 2001).

The basis for this anti-American sentiment is rooted in many complex issues and factors. The paramount aspects attributed to this growing sentiment has been the expansive position America has taken in regards to its military, politics, economics, and cultural foundation (McPherson, 2004) including the United States’ historical attempts to propagate its philosophical viewpoint through military incursions and foreign policy across many borders and countries. For many countries, being anti-American signifies a direct disagreement with American policies, globalization, capitalism, its leadership, and American military power. Although, negative sentiments regarding U.S. foreign policy does not necessarily imply similar views about U.S. culture, or even its economics (Shifter, 2004). Regardless, the United States predominance in the economic and military fields, their cultural influence, and their role as liberal democracy defenders in some circumstances while in others motivated by ulterior motives based upon various foreign policy issues and military positioning, are the main points of a world-spread image that is the source for anti-Americanism.

O’Connor (2004) identifies four phases of anti-Americanism that takes into consideration a historical perspective of this sentiment. The first phase of anti-American
sentiment focuses on European cultural criticism on the lack of taste, grace, and civility in American habits and everyday life, which extends from the inception of America as a European settlement to the end of World War II. This initial phase can be considered a mild form of aggressive propaganda since most references where intended to present America as culturally perverse and vile. The second phase is set post World War II during the Cold War period (1945-1989). The form of anti-Americanism noted in this period is more political and ideological oriented criticism, originating from worldwide leftist movements, with the Soviet Union and communism symbolizing an alternative to America’s economic and political life. O’Connor notes that the third phase of anti-Americanism began in 1989 with the end of the Cold War, focusing on anti-globalization movements and the ill effects of American capitalism. The three previous phases established a clear platform for aggressive propaganda that focused on political and foreign policy criticism. These phases set forth the basic concept of characterizing a nation in a negative and harmful manner with the purpose of influencing opinion and behavior against America. The forth phase commences on September 11, 2001 with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center Buildings in New York. This phase commenced a different type of anti-Americanism that goes beyond historical aggressive propaganda in what is considered violent anti-Americanism. Of particular interest to this thesis is the political and ideological aggressive propaganda that developed during the Cold War from a specific communist country and the consequence of the violent anti-American act of September 11, 2001.

Aggressive propaganda campaigns have frequently surfaced during worldly events. This practice was used considerably during and after World War II by the United
States, Britain, Germany, Japan and China, and also by the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua during the Cold War era. In “Japan’s Psychological War,” author Selden C. Menefee details how the Japanese loyalists utilized radio broadcast to reach the Asiatic people with propagandistic messages, targeting the British through instructional sabotage broadcasts and attacks on the United States for past imperialism and present racial discrimination. Menefee identifies that Japan developed a substitute for anti-Semitism, which is a combination of anti-Anglo-Americanism, anti-western imperialism, and anti-white race propaganda, succinctly sloganized in the phrase “Asia for the Asiatics” (Menefee, 1943, p. 427).

In contrasting styles, Eastern Europe and Western Europe have extensive histories on their views of aggressive propaganda and anti-Americanism. In Western Europe, the 1968 protestors were openly anti-American and in many respects, anti-capitalist, viewing the United States as the very embodiment of imperialism and capitalist exploitation (Krastev, 2004). The Eastern countries, in a post-communist setting, are reluctant to embrace any anti-American sentiment and perceive any actions as politically subversive.

Developed countries and countries that have had a long, favorable, and constructive relationship with the United States also participate in aggressive propaganda and Anti-Americanism. France has a relational history with America, yet it is a country that has long propagated negative American sentiment. An opinion poll taken in 2000 noted that the French envisioned negative elements when asked what they think about America (Marie, 2001). This French anti-Americanism was sustained even during the terrorist attacks upon the United States. Days after the September 11, 2001 attacks, editorial pages of major French newspapers were filled with the usual American bashing
(Rogers, 2005). During the first few days of the Iraq war, state-run news media on radio and television broadcasts portrayed the United States on their way to a humiliating defeat. The French war coverage was one-side, inaccurate and openly anti-American (Timmerman, 2003). Although it could be argued that some of France’s editorials and public opinion have more to do with disapproval of American culture and lifestyle than with a cynical anti-American sentiment.

South Korea is another U.S. ally that has taken part in anti-Americanism propaganda for the United States role in the war on terror post-9/11. Kim (2003) presents an existing scenario directly related to September 11. The study associates comments made by President George W. Bush with an anti-American movement that is mounting in South Korea. Kim makes note of Bush’s statements referring to North Korea as part of the “axis of evil” and his threat to take preemptive actions against Pyongyang, North Korea’s capital, as comments that angered South Koreans and united many of them in an anti-American movement. Kim furthers his claim with various examples of how Korean politicians and government officials have denounced the United States war on terror, a result of September 11, as having placed South Korea’s security interests at risk. He notes that the negative attitudes of Korean policymakers have extended to the general public as strong anti-American sentiment erupted into protests across the country during Bush’s visit in February 2002.

Many Arab countries have also reacted with extensive anti-American campaigns as a result of the Iraq war. For example, Palestinian media occasionally uses cartoons that portray the image of the Twin Towers as Iraqis and Palestinians, victims of the United States policies and actions (Frisch, 2003). America is hated for being hostile to Islam
throughout the Middle East, while the Balkan countries dislike the United States for being pro-Islamic and pro-Albanian.

Throughout Latin America, despite demonstrating empathy and understanding for the victims of the September 11 attacks, the United States had minimal support for the military attacks against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Many Latin American countries refused to support the United States in the Iraq War conflict (McPherson, 2004). More recently, a surge of anti-American sentiment has developed throughout Latin America, in part attributed to the region’s disappointing economic and political performance since the late 1990’s and continuing into the 21st century (Shifter, 2004).

Aggressive propaganda and anti-Americanism are thus, at times, synonymous, serving as a political resource that is employed by many countries to serve their political agenda. The post-Cold War politics have lead to an era were “anti-Americanism is a systematic opposition to America as a whole. It is a critique of the United States that transcends mere disagreement over specific government policy” (Krastev, 2004, p. 7). When anti-Americanism is used in a manner that favors a country’s foreign policy agenda, in a way that presents the United States as abusive, corrupt, and negative; this anti-Americanism establishes the foundation for a political aggressive propaganda campaign.

Of particular interest to this study is the aggressive propaganda from totalitarian governments. The Cold War communist adversaries of America – the Soviet Union, China, North Vietnam, and Cuba – established an escalating Marxist jargon about “Yankee capitalist” that serves as a strong foundation for anti-Americanism (McPherson, 2004) and aggressive propaganda. Throughout this Cold War period, from 1945 to 1991,
an attempt to influence international public opinion was exhaustedly conducted via aggressive and passive propaganda campaigns by the United States, the Soviet Union, and other communist countries.

The Soviet Union’s use of propaganda poster proved to be the most influential passive propaganda campaign in promoting political, economic, and technological advancements achieved by the communist in Russia to third world societies. The Soviets employed iconic symbols that communicated the successes of their ideology with the use of such images as of Vladimir Lenin, who represented the strength and leadership to the communist party, and of confident Russians demonstrating the achievements made by communist Russia. As part of an aggressive propaganda campaign by the Soviet Union, many posters were also used to portray the militaristic tendencies and imperialist expansion of the United States. These posters highlighted the devastating effects of capitalism on poverty-stricken families and displayed intense distrust and hatred toward America (The Aims of Soviet Propaganda Posters, n.d.).

The use of such propaganda campaigns are elevated to an effective level, given the country’s media controls and limitations. Authoritarian governments such as the previous Soviet Union, China, North Korea and Cuba impose strict guidelines and power over media outlets. These controls are much like those applied by Joseph Goebbels in Germany and the Nazi propaganda machine, which emphasized centralization of all propaganda activities, suppression of all counter newspaper publications, control over all media broadcasts, regulation on the flow of news from its very source, and unconditional support by the state (Zeman, 1964). All of which are essential issues for an effective propaganda campaign.
An example of an extensive passive propaganda campaign within an authoritarian government conforming to the media controls mentioned would be the modifications to Shanghai’s television industry by the Chinese government. The research conducted, demonstrates the significance of media control and the effectiveness of single sided messages in these types of political systems, to the extent that propaganda changed the television industry so that television would become the prime mover for economic reform in China. The study was done from 1995 to 1999 using qualitative and quantitative data gathering. Researchers acquired data through interviews of Chinese and Western media personnel and by conducting a 44-question survey with 285 youth between the ages of 15 and 35 years. As China’s political perspective slightly migrated to more economic interests in the 1970s, so did the role of television as a propaganda tool (Weber, 2002). The study indicates that television helped structure and suggest the new prosperous future for the Chinese people, disseminating information on the benefits of economic reform. Television also served as the propaganda tool used to re-emphasize national character, the importance of tradition and culture, and demonize the West as immoral and decadent.

A combination of aggressive and passive propaganda campaign was extensively used in the 1905 anti-American boycott by China in the form of newspapers, songs, and outdoor displays. Sin-Kiong (2001) study of China’s 1905 anti-American boycott campaign analyzes the propaganda techniques used and its effects on social behavior. It presents how the boycotters used various passive propaganda methods to obtain compelling support for their movement and cause. In particular, how different forms of literature such as newspapers and other written publications, pictorial illustrations, songs, street-corner lectures, and theatrical performances were used to generate support for the
anti-American boycott. As a form of aggressive propaganda, newspapers were used to motivate the anti-American movement by publicizing mistreatment of Chinese and condemning American immigration policy practices, as well as countering any favorable claims announced by the Americans with article responses supporting the boycott of American goods. As part of the passive propaganda, support songs were published and distributed at street performances and boycott propaganda were printed in pictorial magazines which targeted the more illiterate populace. The use of this multi-facet propaganda campaign in periodicals, street performances, and public lectures was conducted to reach the different social classes.

The task of propaganda is to intensify attitudes that are favorable to the propagandist intentions, to reverse the obstructive attitudes, and to attract the indifferent attitudes, or at least prevent them from becoming antagonistic (Lasswell, 1952) through a blanket or comprehensive approach. The effectiveness of a comprehensive propaganda campaign, which is present in all fronts of the written, visual, and audio media, is enhanced within authoritarian countries because of the strict media controls imposed by the government. The fact that the flow of information is limited and at times non-existent other than what is generated from the government controlled media makes the propaganda messages more believable. To further this approach, propagandists in totalitarian countries follow many of Goebbels (1948) propaganda techniques of incorporating strict media controls and manipulation of the population to enhance the effectiveness of their propaganda campaign. Centralization of all propaganda activities is accompanied by the control of journalist as well as information that is dispensed to them through government authorized news agencies, supervision over all printed publications,
and suppression of rival political publications. Additionally, centralization also imposes command over all media and speech broadcast via radio or television, the establishment of compulsory listening and attendance of all state broadcast, and the inculcation of symbols representative of the government and propagandist goals (Goebbels, 1948).

Although, an argument can be made that the United States media also conducts these types of media controls through an agenda-setting function in which repeated news coverage raises the importance of an issue in the public’s mind, as was noticed immediately after the September 11th terrorist attacks. There are limitations in democratic countries that prevent this from occurring such as the restriction or limitation of the flow of information is not imposed and not all printed, radio and television media broadcasts are controlled by the government.

**Cuba’s Propaganda**

Conversely, many authoritarian countries such as China, North Korea and Cuba do experience the centralization and media controls previously mentioned. For example, Cuba has a long standing authoritarian government structure, and possesses many of these centralization and media controls characteristics. In Cuba, the government controls all media outlets and an information monopoly exists through government-sponsored information flow. In an analysis conducted by PressReference.com, which is an Internet site that examines and evaluates the media outlets and conditions of every country in the world, they note the extensive limits to freedom of expression and freedom of the press in Cuba. Although the 1976 Cuban Constitution recognizes freedom of both expression and the press, Article 53 also subordinates and limits those freedoms to the ends of the
socialist society. Article 62 limits the freedom of the press and Article 5 also grants to the Communist Party on behalf of the society and the state the duty to organize and control all of the resources for communication in order to realize the benefit of state. Another resolution passed in 1997 regulates the activities of the foreign press and in 1999 the “Law of Protection of National Independence and the Economy of Cuba” further limits the rights of free expression and the press with prison terms for individuals who collaborate with foreign journalist without permission of the state, or anyone who provides information to the United States, its dependents or agents (Cuban Constitution, 1976).

Cuba has two news agencies, Agencia para Información Nacional (AIN) and Prensa Latina, also known as the Latin American Press Information Agency. They support the various regional newspapers as well as the three main national periodicals, Granma, the official organ of the Communist party, with an average circulation of 400,000 copies daily, Juventud Rebelde with a circulation of approximately 250,000, and Trabajadorers, circulation not known (Norvell, 2004). There are several regional radio broadcast stations, and at least seven stations that are national or international. The 2006 CIA World Fact Book on Cuba reports that in 1998 there were 225 radio broadcast stations, 169 AM, 55 FM, and 1 shortwave, with 1997 estimates on radio receivers at 3.9 million, approximately one for every three people. Along with the radio services, the government supports two national television stations as well as several regional stations. The estimates from the 2006 CIA World Fact Book on Cuba for television state that for 1997, there were 58 television broadcast stations with 2.64 television sets, or one for every four people. Many of the Cuban newspapers, including Granma and Juventud
Rebelde, some of the radio station such as Radio Progreso and Radio Rebelde, and the television stations Cubavisión and Cubasi, are broadcast internationally via the Internet, although Internet access within Cuba is restricted. A government-controlled intranet is available to Cuban citizens but limited to certain government computer locations (CIA - The World Fact Book, 2006).

Cuba’s extensive state-controlled media engine is efficient in clearly propagating the government’s messages and ideology to the people within Cuba, as well as to an international audience. French philosopher Jacques Ellul commented on propaganda and mass communication, noting that propaganda targeted to a society as a whole is possible because of mass media and that the coordination of press, radio and television creates a continuous and lasting environment. This media cooperation creates a ubiquitous propaganda message that is virtually unnoticed, precisely because of its constant environment (Technological Society, n.d.). Lasswell (1927) also stipulates that for a country to provoke nationalism and mobilize national hatred against an enemy, the propagandist must present the enemy as a menacing, murderous aggressor, and an obstacle to the cherished aims and ideals of the nation as a whole. Since the early years of the Cuban revolution, Cuba has carried out an aggressive propaganda campaign invoking these concepts against imperialism and the United States. Some of these anti-American sentiments can be attributed to the historical economic and political involvement of United States in Cuba as well as the antagonistic conditions that arose shortly after the revolution assumed power and conflicting ideological viewpoints. Despite the reasons, the Cuban government has regularly disseminated messages, symbols, and images that are part of both an aggressive and passive propaganda campaign within the island and to
its international audience through its daily news outputs in the media venues mentioned above and through the use of other forms of visual communication, such as billboards displayed along Cuba’s countryside and posters that are present on Cuban buildings.

In the first Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples, which was an event held in Cuba on January 3, 1966 of the most powerful pro-Communist, anti-American forces in the history of the Western Hemisphere, several resolutions were adopted that declared revolutionary violence against Yankee imperialism. The Conference established a Communist-dominated general headquarters to support, direct, intensify, and coordinate guerrilla operations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Havana, Cuba was selected as the headquarters for these international subversion and guerrilla operations, thus aligning Cuba with the Soviet Union (Committee On The Judiciary, United States Senate, 1966). At the conclusion of the Tricontinental Conference, Fidel Castro reemphasized his anti-American slant and that of the Conference’s purpose with his closing speech, stating that:

“What the peoples have most in common to unite the people of three continents and of all the world today is the struggle against imperialism; the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, the struggle against racism and, in short, all the phenomena which are the contemporary expression we call imperialism, whose center, axis, and principal support is of Yankee imperialism.” (Havana Domestic Radio, 1966, para. 4)

Castro’s remarks emphasized the ideology that revolutionary violence was a significant and viable means to confront Yankee imperialism in all parts of the world. Cuba, as headquarters for international subversion and guerrilla operations against American interest, established guerrilla-training camps that emphasized military training, demolition work, infiltration tactics, and propaganda techniques (Committee On The Judiciary, United States Senate, 1966).
One of the key outcomes from this conference was the commencement of an intense poster campaign focused on North American imperialism that constitutes an aggressive propaganda campaign. Cuba also introduced a national billboard campaign that is consistent with a passive propaganda campaign to spur nationalism and generate the stimulus for the revolution and its ideals. These propaganda campaigns were not only directed to the Cuban people, but also to all other countries.

Cuba’s poster and billboard propaganda campaign is state-run and nationalistic. In the totalitarian regimes of Central and Eastern Europe, all mass communications were under strict control of the governments and the way to communicate unofficial ideas was through posters, leaflets, banners, literature, and other forms of underground culture (Sylvestrova, 1992). In Cuba, as previously mentioned, all mass communications are also state run and there is no significant underground movement to generate anti-government literature or imagery, as was the case in communist-controlled Europe. Cuba has not overlooked or underestimated the importance of preserving an all-encompassing and centralized propaganda campaign from the mass media outlets of radio, television, and print, to street displays of billboards and posters. All graphic displays such as posters, banners, billboards, and literature are a product of the Cuban government.

Early on, the Cuban government recognized the significance of the mass media and the power of the cinema. The first state enterprise to utilize a poster propaganda mechanism was the Institute for the Cinematographic Art and Industry (ICAIC), which followed Lenin’s teachings that the cinema was the most powerful and suggestive medium of artistic expression and dissemination, and the most direct and extensive way to educate and popularize ideas (Kunzle, 1975). The cultural art and displays of Cuba
where swiftly changed to accommodate the revolution and its socialist principles. The realistic illustrations of the Batista era migrated to the new ideogrammatic style, characterized by rich, flat colors, and abstract, symbolic and dynamic forms. This was an extensive passive propaganda campaign that relied on nationalistic images and iconic phrases. The first posters of the revolution were a simplification of the worker and his struggle against imperialism, large scale portrait displays of Karl Marx and Fidel Castro, and posters of strong and sober workers with shovels (Kunzle, 1975).

These poster propaganda displays provided the cultural foundation for nationalism and the unified effort of all workers to fortify and support the ideological causes of the revolution, along with a glorified image of the revolution’s leader, Fidel Castro. This type of passive propaganda campaign stressed the importance of evoking a desired response, such that the people and specifically the workers will respond and provide the backbone for the revolutionary cause. The posters where also designed in an easily learned and simplified manner for its audience with encouraging and repeated messages. In this
regard, the propaganda labels the events and people with distinctive phrases or slogans (Doob, 1995).

And where will we be on January 2? In the cane fields! Columna Juvenil de Centenario, UJC 1970

We did it! All Meet the Conquering Brigade, Comisión Nacional de Alfabetización, 1961

Better Not to Be, Than Not to Be a Revolutionary, Comisión de Orientación Revolucionaria, 1968

This passive propaganda poster campaign incorporated specific symbolism to acquire support for the revolutionary ideology. Glittering generalities were used to establish a sense of community good and comradery as noted in the caption “The work is done by the people for the people” and “Let's do our job! All Meet the Conquering Brigade.” These types of posters emphasized the overall worth of the nation with the help of its workers, subjecting all narrow and selfish interests to the welfare of the community, and using such words as labor and sacrifice within a virtuous context during ceremonies and presentations (Yourman, 1939).

Also present in many posters is the propaganda technique of the transfer device. Cuban passive propaganda posters incorporated the image of Fidel Castro as the father figure for the revolution and utilized nationalistic phrases to transfer the ideals of the
revolution. This is noted in propaganda posters that highlight the ubiquitous revolutionary image of Castro with captions such as “Commander and Chief: Lead Us!,” “Command Us!,” or “All with Fidel on the Square of the Revolution.” Some revolutionary slogans that transfer the ideals include captions such as “Better Not to Be, Than Not to Be a Revolutionary,” or “Everyone with the Revolutionary Offensive at Fidel’s Side.” Other countries such as Russia or the Soviet Union, Italy, Spain, and the United States have also used this type of transfer technique with popular symbols and supporting slogan.

Another propaganda technique noticeable in these posters is the plain folk device, in which an attempt is made to make Castro a man of the people. This is similar to Nazi propaganda posters that presented Hitler wearing ordinary clothes with no medals other than his Iron Cross (Yourman, 1939), Castro is presented as a fellow worker, as seen in the above poster working in the sugar cane fields, or as a common soldier always wearing his patent green fatigue uniform. This is also a common approach that many world leaders have employed, where Castro is known for his green fatigues, other world leaders have used symbols to propagate an image. Most of the aforementioned poster propaganda is associated with a passive propaganda campaign to encourage nationalism and pride within Cuba and for the revolution.

The 1966 Tricontinental Conference set forth an aggressive propaganda poster campaign toward a vigorous ideological support for third world liberation against imperialism. The posters were designed to convey the idea of oppression, suffering and resistance, creating a solidarity appeal with many people of the underdeveloped world oppressed by imperialism. Cuban “Day of Solidarity” propaganda posters are indicative of this aggressive propaganda campaign featuring symbols of armed popular struggles
with only small arms, while the use of planes and bombs or larger more destructive weapons are symbolic to the imperialist aggressor (Kunzle, 1975). The characteristics of these aggressive propaganda posters incorporated the use of the band wagon device through weaponry symbols by supporting armed struggles worldwide. The most frequently used image is the combination of modern arms with traditional weapons, suggesting the national authenticity and historical continuity of resistance.

Aggressive propaganda posters that emphasized anti-American sentiment or concepts that focused on the imperialist aggressor of the third world nations began to surface within the Tricontinental magazine, which was published in three languages and
was circulated across the globe. Some of the illustrations are a mixture between
documentation and cartoon, re-using fragments of U.S. political, commercial, and
industrial iconography (Kunzle, 1975).

Here the aggressive propaganda posters incorporated many of the techniques
reminiscent of Nazi propaganda. This included the propaganda techniques of card
stacking by imposing the use of symbolic falsehoods that serve to arouse hatred, thus
rallying the people against the supposed enemy, and glittering generalities that focused
on virtuous symbols to appeal to the audience’s emotions (Yourman, 1939). This can be
noticed in the “Nixon, Spread of the Vietnam War” poster which features the head of
President Richard Nixon on the body of a bird of prey swooping down to capture and
devour the Vietnam and Laos regions. The virtue symbols of the glittering generalities
device is noted by the design of “The Forgotten War” poster that depicts the
confrontation between a traditional weapon destroying a sophisticated American bomber,
or the crushing of the United States Uncle Sam hat by the powerful letters that spell
Vietnam in the poster titled “Vietnam: The defeat of the United States in the Vietnam
War.”
Other aggressive propaganda posters that were produced as a result of the Tricontinental Conference and generated by the Cuban government are presented below.

Other forms of publicly accessible propaganda displays incorporated by the Cuban government, which provide flexibility and mobility as well as greater ideological controls, are the vallas or billboards. The billboard propaganda campaign adopted the
same style as the posters, although they are specifically used to present messages that are political or social, while posters were also used to announce films. Approximately two hundred different billboards are produced yearly, with monthly or weekly rotations of the displays (Kunzle, 1975). They are typically arranged in a sequence along a major artery, such as the approach to Havana airport or along the Avenida Revolución leading into the Plaza Revolución. Many of these billboards function within a passive propaganda capacity highlighting the main ideological figures of the revolution, such as Fidel Castro, Camilo Cenfuegos and Ernesto “Che” Guevara. They also function as a display of a sequence of words that serve to motivate nationalism around the revolution, such as “We are / all one / people / in revolution / we accelerate / our step / victorious / we advance / towards new / victories” (Kunzle, 1975), or express motivational nationalistic phrases such as “Tenemos y Tendremos Socialismo (We have and Will Have Socialism).

This passive propaganda billboard campaign employs several propaganda devices including glittering generalities, plain folks, card stacking and band wagon.
Virtuous words are utilized to motivate the masses behind the revolutionary figures and their ideology, with elements and symbolism that encourages a unified effort from all countrymen.

Beyond these typical revolutionary and nationalistic billboards, and of particular interest, are the several aggressive propaganda billboards that express and pictorially present the United States in a negative and menacing manner. These billboards are displayed throughout the country, and in particular, the capital city of Havana. Many of these aggressive propaganda billboards focus on the political issues and differences that Cuba has in regards to the United States foreign policy. These include issues such as the long-standing economic and commercial embargo imposed by the United States in September 1961 to put economic pressure on the Cuban government (Perez, 1995); the U.S. legislation titled Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act of 1996, better know as the Helms-Burton Act (United States Department of State, 1996); and differences with President Bush’s efforts to hasten a democratic transition in Cuba, stemming from the 2004 U.S. Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba and the 2006 Compact with the People of Cuba (United States Department of State, 2006). Other issues that are pertinent to Cuba’s aggressive propaganda billboard campaign also focus on Bush’s foreign policy actions in Afghanistan and Iraq following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and general ideological differences that depict the United States as abusive and threatening, including satiric references to the decadent causes of capitalism, and general attacks on America. The following are a few examples:
This billboard has been displayed since the 70s or 80s in regards to the U.S. embargo on Cuba. The caption on this billboard reads, “Mr. Imperialists, we are absolutely not scared of you!” and is displayed near the U.S. Interest Section.

This billboard utilizes the words of a famous Cuban poem and the image of one of the main characters from the 1898 War of Independence from Spain to make a point against the United States embargo on Cuba.

The caption on this billboard reads, “Thank you Mr. Bush, but We are already vaccinated!”

This billboard is displayed along the U.S. Interest Section in Havana parking lot, highlighting a giant swastika and two photographs of hooded Iraqi prisoners from the Abu Ghraib prison. This billboard was displayed after the September 11 terrorist attacks.
This billboard is displayed next to the above billboard across the street from the U.S. Interest Section in Havana, also featuring hooded and bloodied Iraqi prisoners being tortured by U.S. soldiers at the Abu Ghraib prison. At one end of the billboard is the word "Fascists" and a "Made in the USA" stamp. The other end is marked with a giant red swastika. This billboard was displayed after the September 11 terrorist attacks.

The caption on this billboard reads, "All those who give refuge to a terrorist is himself a terrorist," and features a portrait of George Bush and accused terrorist Luis Posada Carriles. This billboard was displayed after the September 11 terrorist attacks.

The caption on this billboard reads, "Coming Soon to United States courtrooms, the Assassin with Posada Carriles and George W. Bush. This billboard was displayed after the September 11 terrorist attacks.

The propaganda devices most evident in these aggressive propaganda billboards include the use of name calling and glittering generalities with virtue words that portray a negative sentiment about America. Examples of this can be noted in the text displayed such as Fascist and The Assassin, as well as symbolic issues such as the Nazi swastika, a bitter and angry Uncle Sam, and a grenade yielding fist. Additionally, card stacking
technique is used with the display of the images of the tortured Iraqi prisoners. In these aggressive propaganda billboards, the government is attempting to rally the Cubans against the abuse and persecution that can be expected from the United States, capitalism and imperialism. Another billboard uses a picture of several children sending George W. Bush a message is a band wagon propaganda technique that implies all Cuban children are sending the message, and all Cuban citizens are also sending the same message.

Beyond the poster and billboard propaganda campaigns, the Cuban government also incorporates an extensive print media as a separate component to its propaganda practices. Cuba has 26 newspapers and 96 magazines that are supported by 24 printing companies. The Cuban government owns all the newspapers, and advertisements are mostly public service announcements generated by the government (Norvell, 2004). As previously mentioned, there are several key newspapers in Cuba, all of which maintain an online version, and all of which are government controlled. The main newspapers are Granma Diario, Juventud Rebelde, La Jiribilla, and Trabajadores.

Cuba’s daily newspaper and the most significant, Granma Diario, is the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. It is used by the Cuban government to broadcast opinions, the regime’s outlook and successes, the daily activities and events around the nation, and also serves as a propaganda outlet. Granma Diario offers both domestic and international news, and publishes an international version, previously called Granma Weekly Review, that is currently distributed via the Internet as Granma Internacional. Granma Diario has a printed circulation of 50,000 (Norvell, 2004).
According to recent statistics from February 2006, Granma Internacional was the first Cuban publication to be distributed digitally with daily updates and a percentage of visits in excess of 500,000 per month, placing it among one of the most viewed digital newspaper of the Latin American network (Granma Internacional’s 40th birthday, 2006). The Internet has given Granma an extensive international reach, bringing much of the print edition's content to the web and presenting it in various languages, such as Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, and German. The wide circulations of both the printed and digital forms of Granma are a significant medium for the Cuban government’s propaganda apparatus. Front-page headlines typically include equal numbers of stories that support and promote government policies or present speeches of Fidel Castro or other government dignitaries. Other headline stories frequently feature stories that censure the United States foreign policy or criticize the political leadership of the United States or imperialism for perceived abuses.

In both its print edition and digital counterpart, this daily newspaper contains national and international news, cultural reporting, letters, sports, special thematic features, and graphic humor caricatures. Beyond the typical reporting of daily political and social occurrences in Cuba, the newspaper frequently addresses American issues in a propagandist style. Title headlines and featured stories commonly present the government’s views regarding the United States foreign policy or social issues, as well as caricatures that mock United States policy. A content analysis was conducted by (Green, 1987) on the propaganda content of the Granma newspaper and online edition. The content analysis was based on a study that encompassed seventy-eight issues of the Granma Weekly Review, its International edition, and over 200 hundred issues of the
printed daily newspaper. The period investigated spanned ten years, although it focused on the period from August 1982 to August 1984. This study found that Granma typically presented on their front-page, an embellished model of revolutionary behavior or a criticism of Western, particularly United States, behavior. These findings substantiate the notion of a passive and aggressive propaganda campaign, noting the nationalistic view of the revolution and the negative depiction of the United States, respectfully. Other front-page topics also include a report on the solidarity of a Cuban ally, articles concerning speeches by Fidel Castro in full text, or some evidence of turmoil in a Western country.

The inside of the daily edition of Granma was found to display a group of articles describing the failings and inequities of pre-Castro Cuba along with some display of past “Yankee arrogance” toward Cuba. The study also identified that world events are not mentioned or covered unless they are official international socialist events such as conferences or meetings between Castro and leaders of other socialist or nonaligned nations, or trade agreements with friendly nations. Some of the aggressive propaganda titles that appeared in Granma during this period were, Reply to Yankee Slander: More Proof of Imperialist Insolence, Deterioration of Public Health in the United States: The Medical Mafia in Action, Brutal Imperialist and Racist Act against Cuban Civilian Cooperation Personnel in Angola, and Statement by Cuban Party and Government on the Imperialist Intervention in Grenada (Green, 1987).

Of particular interest to this study is the propaganda disseminated by the Cuban government through the Granma Diario publication. Specifically, the study will factor in a new model of propaganda, called “aggressive propaganda,” that presents the United States negatively, drawing worldwide attention to the decadence of capitalism and the
iniquitous U.S. foreign policy. The hypothesis for the study is that the September 11th event was a triggering mechanism and a stimulus for the distortion of published articles in a post-event situation compared to pre-event situation. The foundation for this study is particularly centered on this event in history because it positions the United States in a hostile role reacting to a horrific action. This facilitates other countries to establish a critical attack that could hinder world opinion of the United States and favor opposing countries. The hypothesis is tested by performing a content analysis of the generated media for the pre-period and post-period to determine if the findings support the hypothesis. From these results a determination can be developed to answer our study question, “Did the level of aggressive propaganda increase from Cuba after 9/11, compared to a previous year?”
Chapter 3

Methodology

This study focuses on news articles generated from Cuba through its Granma Newspaper, the Cuban government’s official newspaper, centered around the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States. The articles will be analyzed for their propagandistic value in regards to the United States. In particular, the study identifies two types of propaganda utilized by the Cuban government, “aggressive” and “passive” propaganda.

An aggressive propaganda campaign is characterized as news articles that describe and present the United States as a world aggressor, setting forth a harmful and negative perspective that extends well beyond criticism of the United States foreign policies. The use of this type of propaganda serves to establish an unconstructive world opinion distinctively in a post-September 11th terrorist attack environment. An aggressive propaganda campaign further condemns the United States actions as a result of the terrorist attacks and for its foreign policy decisions. In contrast, a passive propaganda campaign is considered news articles that reflect Cuba in a favorable and positive manner. This type of campaign attempts to establish a constructive and encouraging opinion of Cuba for nations around the world.

Taking into consideration the two defined types of propaganda, the study will quantitatively analyze the news articles on the cover of the Granma Internacional newspaper for a period of two years, one year prior to the September 11th attack and one year after. The study will be based on a content analysis of a sampling from these two years.
An Excel spreadsheet program was used to generate the random sample numbers. This will produce two sets of 30 numbers, each representing a date selection or a constructed month of the Granma newspaper edition for the year prior to and post September 11th. A content analysis was then be conducted on the constructed months for its aggressive and passive propaganda qualities. The front page stories of the Granma newspaper were collected and analyzed using a word coding system, in order to identify and select those articles that demonstrate aggressive or passive propaganda characteristics.

The following guidelines were established to conduct the coding process:

1. A list of target words and phrases (TWP) will be generated to determine the aggressive or passive propaganda characteristics of the articles.

2. Once a TWP has been identified in an article’s title or headline, a content analysis will be conducted to determine the type of propaganda. A value will be associated to each occurrence in the text, based on the context of the TWP. The scoring method would judge the TWP context as being high (aggressive) or low (passive).

3. The annotation for each article will consist of the frequency count associated with each of the established scoring categories.

The bulk of the research effort consists of obtaining, reading, and coding each article generated by Granma from the constructed month. The goal is to generate a single score for each article analyzed on the established coding categories. For example, a score of (10, 3) means that 10 and 3 word/phrase instances of high (aggressive) and low (passive) respectively were identified in the article under review. This score will determine the overall type of propaganda for the article. This coding process will be conducted by three
coders who can read and understand Spanish. Once the three coder candidates have been selected, it will be necessary to familiarize the coders with the coding protocol and the news source to be studied.

In order to familiarize the coders with the content, they will be asked to review the front page of *Granma Internacional* online newspaper for three continues days. This will increase the comfort level with the content of interest, and give them an idea of what to expect in the content. They will not be asked to pre-code material, and content that is in the study will not be used in this familiarization process.

At the end of the familiarization process, the coding process commenced. The coding process took five consecutive days with coders analyzing no more than 12 *Granma Internacional* issues per coding session. Coders will be requested to read the coding protocol (Appendix A) prior to each coding session in order to refresh coder memory and category definitions. They will be required to complete a coding sheet (Appendix B) for each news story or article that meets the study’s criteria as defined in the coding protocol. At the end of the coding process, the results of the coding sheets for each coder will be entered into a statistical program to determine the level of propaganda based on the study’s criteria.

This phase will establish the foundation for the quantitative analysis phase and provide information that quantifies the amount of aggressive propaganda and passive propaganda generated from Cuba during the noted time span. From these results a determination can be developed to answer our basic question, “Did the level of aggressive propaganda increase from Cuba after 9/11 in comparison to a previous period?”
Content Analysis and Sampling

The technique of content analysis has existed since 1927, when introduced by Harold Lasswell to study propaganda (Newbold, Boyd-Barrett, & Van Den Bulck 2002). It has been used to study text from a broad range of data sources from transcripts of interviews and discussions to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines. Media content analysis has been a primary research methodology to understand and study social issues in television and film. During the 1920s and 1930s, it became very popular to investigate the rapidly expanding communication content of movies (Macnamara, 2003). During the 1950s this investigation migrated toward the study of mass communication, and it continues today as a means to examine content of all forms including Internet communication. Content analysis operates on the notion that verbal behavior is a part of human behavior and that symbols are a part of events, thus it is a technique that describes with objectivity and simplification, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time (Lasswell, Lerner, & Pool 1952).

Qualitative content analysis can, to some extent, be incorporated within or conducted simultaneously with quantitative content analysis. For example, positive and negative words and phrases can be analyzed to identify the tone of text in a qualitative manner, and then processed using statistical methods in a quantitative approach. However, in many cases, in-depth analysis of selected content using qualitative research methods is required to fully understand the potential meanings for its audiences. Quantitative and qualitative analysis are often viewed as dichotomy, each serving to study only a portion of its subject, but in fact they can be supportive of each other.
Content analysis researchers use objective and a systematic study of counting and recording events to produce a quantitative description of the symbolic content in a text, while qualitative content analysis is best suited for researchers adopting critical and interpretative approaches (Neuman, 1997).

Another view notes that quantitative content analysis does not capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful, thus rendering it limited in scope (Newbold, Boyd-Barrett, & Van Den Bulck 2002). Therefore, these two approaches can often become complementary, in using numerical or statistical measures along with interpretative information to establish a meaning to the items under considerations. Therefore content analysis can be seen as quantitative only (Neuendorf, 2002), or under humanist and behaviorist traditions, thus indicating that content analysis can be undertaken using both approaches (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Quantitative content analysis collects data about media content such as topics or issues, determined by key words in context, and circulation of the media and frequency. The limitation of a quantitative content analysis is the extent to which the quantitative indicators are taken as textual meaning and social impact; therefore it would be injudicious to assume a direct or clear relationship between media texts and their impact. In short, it is not valid to assume that quantitative factors such as size and frequency of media messages equate to impact. Nor is it valid to assume that these quantitative factors are the only or even the main determinants of media impact (Newbold, Boyd-Barrett, & Van Den Bulck 2002).

Qualitative content analysis examines the relationship between the text and its likely audience-derived meaning, recognizing that media texts are polysemyc or that the
text can have multiple different meanings to different readers. Therefore, a qualitative content analysis tries to determine the likely meaning of texts to audiences. It pays attention to audience, media and contextual factors – not simply the text. Therefore, the application of qualitative content analysis relies heavily on researcher interpretation of media texts. This intensive and time-consuming focus is one of the reasons much qualitative content analysis has involved small samples of media content. The use of small sample size has been viewed as generating results that can be unreliable, since it is difficult and maybe impossible to do with scientific reliability. The use of quantitative content analysis is attractive, since it is based on scientific method rendering more reliable results. Still qualitative analysis of texts is necessary to understand the semantics of the information and audience interpretations, which is the paramount objective of media content analysis.

Therefore, media researchers and academics view quantitative and qualitative content analysis as being complementary and part of a continuum of analyzing texts to discern the text’s likely meanings to and impact on audiences (Curran, 2002; Gauntlett, 2002; and Newbold, Boyd-Barrett, & Van Den Bulck 2002). It can be concluded that a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis is the most favorable option for a textual content analysis approach from Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, and Newbold (1998) and Shoemaker and Reese (1996). In order to fully understand the meanings and possible impacts of media texts, it is best to conduct a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis methodologies.

To conduct a reliable content analysis of a material, a sampling method of the content is necessary. The process of sampling to conduct media content analysis is listed
as: (1) consisting of selecting the media form to be analyzed, such as print, radio, television, or film; (2) selection of a specific period, such as issues or dates to be analyzed; and (3) sampling of appropriate and significant content from within those media (Newbold, Boyd-Barrett, & Van Den Bulck 2002).

The most appealing method of sampling content for analysis is to conduct a census, which selects all possible items to sample. This method is preferred since it provides the most comprehensive representation of the items under consideration, but is often impractical or not possible since a very large volume of media coverage has to be analyzed consisting of a study over a long range period of many months or years. When a census is not possible, a sample of the media to analyze must be selected as a representative sample of the overall population of items. The manner in which sampling is performed requires that items be selected in an objective and unbiased manner to ensure the reliability of the results obtained from the study. There are several methods of sampling media for content analysis. Random sampling is a process of selecting every nth unit from the total population; while purposive sampling is a process that selects from key media only and not from less important media. Other methods are quota sampling in which a selection is based on a proportion of articles from several regions or areas of either geographic, demographic, psycho graphic, or subject categories; and stratified composite sampling where a process of randomly selecting units for analysis is conducted from certain days or weeks over a period.

For the purpose of this study, a quantitative content analysis will be conducted on the aggressive and passive propaganda generated from Cuba through its Granma newspaper for a period spanning one year prior to and after the September 11th terrorist
attacks on the United States. The sampling approach for conducting this content analysis will be a random sample generated through an Excel spreadsheet program in order to obtain the necessary constructed months for the analysis. The following section presents the findings generated from the content analysis.
Chapter 4

Results

An analysis of the data obtained from the three coders yielded a set of observed agreements based on the criteria set forth for the study. The coders analyzed a total of 180 articles that were obtained from the two main stories of the random sample for the constructed month. Articles were categorized into the groups that met the criteria for a news story judged to be (A) aggressive, (P) passive, (E) having an equal amount of both aggressive and passive, and (N) containing neither aggressive nor passive propaganda. The results from the three coders were tabulated and a comparison was conducted to determine the coder agreement for the specified categories. From these results, a percentage of observed agreement was calculated and a reliability test conducted using two separate methods to verify the inter-coder reliability. This reliability test was performed on the two sets of data for the year after 9/11 from September 2001 to April 2002 and before 9/11 from September 1994 to April 1994.

A measure of reliability was performed by computing the proportion of decisions on which the coders agree. A straightforward approach to coder reliability such as Holsti’s methodology utilizes two coders to determine the proportion of decisions on which they agree. This method was not used as a reliability test because it does not adjust for the amount of inter-coder agreement that occurs by chance. A more reliable test that takes into account both the observed proportion of agreement ($P_o$) and the proportion that would be expected by chance ($P_e$) is Scott’s Index or Scott’s Pi (Scott, 1955).

Scott’s Pi corrects for the number of categories used and also for the probable frequency of use, eliminating the probability that two coders will agree on each item 50%
of the time. Thus π is computed as the ratio of the difference between obtained and expected proportions of inter-coder agreement to the difference between perfect and expected agreement (Craig, 1981):

\[
\pi = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}
\]

Although Scott’s Pi is the preferred method for content analysis reliability since it can be calculated when two coders have not necessarily coded all the units, it is limited to cases of agreement between only two coders. Thus another coder reliability test must be used since this study incorporates three coders.

A generalization of Scott’s Pi in assessing reliability is presented by Craig (1981) which assesses coder reliability for instances involving more than two coders. This method calculates reliability on two out of three coders (2/3-coding) in which all final decisions are based on majority rule. The method is also extended to calculate reliability on unanimous agreement (3/3-coding) in which all decisions are based on complete agreement by the three coders.

\[
\pi_{(2/3)} = \frac{P_o^{(2/3)} - P_{e(2/3)}}{1 - P_{e(2/3)}}
\]

\[
\pi_{(3/3)} = \frac{P_o^{(3/3)} - P_{e(3/3)}}{1 - P_{e(3/3)}}
\]
The generalization of Scott’s Pi was calculated by obtaining the inter-coder agreement between the coder data (See Table 1). From this data, an agreement chart (See Table 2) was produced that summarized the inter-coder agreement. This information was tabulated for both periods of study and the necessary observed and expected percentages of agreement were calculated.

This method produced a generalized Scott’s Pi of .9277 reliability for 2/3-coding and .8408 reliability for 3/3-coding for 2001-2002, while the coder reliability for 1994-1995 resulted in .8744 and .7746 for 2/3-coding and 3/3-coding respectively. The results obtained from these reliability tests provide a favorable position for full agreement among the coders.

Another measure used in this study for inter-coder reliability is Fleiss’ kappa, which is an extension of Scott’s Pi. This formula accounts for coder agreement for more than two raters. It is used to measure inter-coder reliability for any number of coders (n) categorizing content analysis to a fixed number of items which refers to the number of events to be classified (N), while (n_{ij}) refers to the number of coders who assigned the i^{th} participant to the j^{th} category.

\[
\bar{P} = \frac{1}{Nn(n-1)} \sum_{j=1}^{k} n_{ij}^2 - Nn
\]

Fleiss kappa was calculated by obtaining the inter-coder agreement between the coder data (See Table 1) and generating a coding agreement chart (See Table 3) of all the
data. This information was tabulated for both periods of study and the inter-coder agreement was calculated.

The Fleiss computation for coder reliability generated very favorable agreement between the coders. For the post 9/11 period, 2001-2002, the coder reliability was .8944 while the pre 9/11, 1994-1995, reliability was .8278.

In summation, coder reliability for this study was tested against two different variations of Scot’s Pi. The inter-coder reliability results for the generalization of Scott’s Pi and Fleiss kappa provided high reliability between the coders for all the data periods analyzed. These results ranked in the high 80 percentile for all calculations and all periods. Therefore, these reliability results validate and support that the tasks conducted by the coders generated acceptable outcomes which allow us to proceed with the interpretation of the coder results. These interpretations are presented in the next section along with the implications of the study.
Chapter 5
Limitations and Future Research

This study focused on the aspect of aggressive and passive propaganda in Cuba’s state-run newspaper, *Granma Internacional*, in a pre/post September 11th study. It was determined to select articles from a pre/post constructed month and have three coders categorize the articles under specified criteria. To expand and further understand the results of the study, future research could be considered under the following guidelines.

As part of a content analysis study, it must be noted that a quantitative content analysis measures the size and frequency of media messages. This quantitative measure does not establish a relationship to the impact or results of the message, rather only measures the incidences at the point of time in which the analysis is conducted. Furthermore, the content analysis provides an insight as to the textual meaning and social implications of the media messages. These indicators provide a valuable resource to the study’s findings and implications without necessarily establishing a correlation.

Also, given that a constructed month was obtained for both pre and post periods, it would be recommended to expand the sample group to include a larger sample of news days. A larger field of study to include more than a constructed month would yield better results for this type of study since it would frame a clearer picture of the type of articles in the newspaper. This would also entail not only expanding the quantity of news days to analyze but also increasing the quantity of articles within the selected news days. For this type of analysis, it would be recommended to conduct a content analysis on all the articles of the newspaper taking into consideration and classifying accordingly the various sections of the newspaper. Thus a larger sample group of the news days and a
content analysis of a larger sample of the articles within each specific news day, possibly including the complete newspaper, would greatly provide a better picture for the purposes of this study.

Additionally, this study applied three coders to conduct the content analysis on the selected constructed months to generate coding results based on the propaganda criteria specified. Incrementing the number of coders could provide greater depth of understanding and comprehension of the criteria for the study. This would further enhance coder reliability and provide a broader scope of coder comparison. The interpretation of the study’s criteria would also be distributed to a larger coder group, thus magnifying the reliability measure.

Aside from increasing the number of coders for the study, it would also benefit the analysis to have the coders conduct the content analysis in a lengthier time span than what was performed for this study. Coders where given three days to familiarize themselves with the periodical and then five consecutive days to conduct the content analysis. A future study of this nature would greatly benefit if the coders are permitted to conduct the content analysis in a greater time span such as ten days or a month, thereby providing ample time for identifying the proper concepts and definitions for the study.

Furthermore, extending the classification type of aggressive propaganda and passive propaganda to include narrower concepts and definitions would be helpful in assessing the specific orientation and objective of the news articles. Greater attention could be focused on the target words and phrases that are used to identify the propaganda types. An expanded list of these words and phrases would refine the concepts, enhancing the coder’s decision making process during content analysis.
Finally, another way to extend this study is to select a review period that has more proximity to the September 11th relevant date. The period selection for the study could be limited to a time span that is closer to the September 11th, possibly to the exact one year period prior to that date in comparison to the year period after the date. Another favorable option is to expand the sample period to include various years within each pre and post period. This would provide a greater scope of news articles to select from for coding purposes and extend the content analysis to a broader field of study.

**Conclusion and Implications**

The purpose of this thesis was to obtain a content analysis of Cuba’s official newspaper, *Granma Internacional*, and measure if there was the existence of “aggressive propaganda” as a result of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. The analysis compared the newspaper’s main page articles from a previous year prior to the September 11th terrorist attack to news articles of one year after the attacks. These results provided an understanding of the article’s emphasis in regards to possible use of propaganda attributed to the issues concerning the September 11, 2001 attacks.

The specific periods analyzed for this study were from September 1994 to April 1995 compared to September 2001 to April 2002. A total of 60 news articles were selected from a 30-day constructed month. These were categorized under four types of articles: (A) aggressive, (P) passive, (E) having an equal amount of both aggressive and passive, and (N) containing neither aggressive nor passive propaganda. An “aggressive propaganda” is characterized as a propaganda type that attempts to describe the United States in a negative worldwide perspective beyond its foreign policy issues, while a
“passive propaganda” is considered a propaganda type whose objective is to present Cuba in a favorable positive manner.

The findings of the study determined that for the 1994-1995 periods, there was a proportional number of news articles that were either passive propaganda or that contained neither aggressive nor passive propaganda. Thirty percent of the news articles were classified passive propaganda and 32% classified as not containing propaganda. Aggressive propaganda articles were classified in 15% of the news articles, while only 3% had an equal amount of both aggressive and passive propaganda (See Table 4). Another 20% of the news articles resulted in inconclusive results by the three coders, meaning no coder agreement was obtained among the three coders.

The news articles for this period provide a more favorable outlook of the Cuban revolution and present issues that pertain to Cuba rather than address issues against the United States. Passive propaganda was prevalent twice as much as aggressive propaganda and a majority of the articles contained no references of propaganda. Although there were articles of aggressive propaganda, the greater part of the news stories focused on issues pertaining to Cuba or topics not related to or regarding the United States.

When considering the analysis for the 2001-2002 periods, the study determined that there was a disproportionate amount of news articles that were categorized as aggressive propaganda. A large majority of the documents, 47%, were classified as aggressive propaganda while only 12% were considered passive propaganda. A quarter of the articles or 25% were classified as not containing any propaganda and 3% had an equal amount of both aggressive and passive propaganda (See Table 5). Additionally, coder agreement could not be established for 13% of the news articles because they either
did not fit into the categories defined or the coders did not match to establish an agreement.

The analysis for this period concluded that aggressive propaganda articles were four-times more evident than passive propaganda articles and that there were more articles that contained no references of propaganda than were passive propaganda articles. From these results, it can be determined that there was a substantial amount of aggressive propaganda news articles for the 2001-2002 periods.

When comparing the periods analyzed, there were considerable differences in the results of the study (See Table 6). Aggressive propaganda increased significantly for the post-9/11 period when compared to the pre-9/11 registering a 27% difference, while passive propaganda decreased by more than half for the same period. The amount of news articles that did not contain any form of propaganda decreased slightly for the 2001-2002 periods as did the number of articles that were inconclusive between the coders. The only consistency for the period comparison was for news articles that contained an equal amount of propaganda.

Although the analysis results demonstrate an increase in aggressive propaganda news articles for the period after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States when compared to a period prior to that date, it can not be ascertained if the increase resulted from the outcome of the attacks and actions taken by the United States. Many of the so-called aggressive propaganda articles make reference to the United States in a negative manner but unrelated to the September 11th attacks or the War on Terrorism. Some of the issues address regional political concerns as well as the nearby exile community in South Florida, and the relations pertaining to the embargo and the travel
ban. Other articles refer to the War on Terrorism as news coverage while addressing the expansion and hegemony of capitalism.

Further analysis on these results presents a decrease on passive propaganda for the 2001 – 2002 periods compared to the 1994 – 1995 periods. These results can not be attributed to the increase in aggressive propaganda or the September 11th attacks and the War on Terrorism; rather it is most likely a result of the economic and political conditions within Cuba. The pre-September 11th articles reference a special period in which Cuba was experiencing harsh economic conditions after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore most of these professed passive propaganda articles are in support of Cuba’s revolutionary ideology and communist government. The decline in favorable articles regarding the revolution and Cuba can also be attributed to improved economic conditions, focus on expanding socialist countries in the region that support Cuba, and attention drawn to other international issues.

The findings of the study recognized the existence of propaganda according to its historical definition and significance. Propaganda, as it was identified in *Granma Internacional*, when used effectively can potentially be a motivating factor to stimulate a response that favors the propagandist through the use of words, phrases, symbols and images (Lasswell, 1927). There are clear signs of the various propaganda devices in the news articles analyzed. These primarily include Name Calling, Card Stacking, and Band Wagon as defined by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (1939). Although these instances of propaganda are present as identified in the content analysis of *Granma Internacional*, it is not possible to measure an association to the causes of the propaganda and the intent of the messages.
In summation, this analysis concluded that there was an increase in what has been defined as aggressive propaganda in Cuba’s newspaper, *Granma Internacional*, for the one year period immediately after September 11, 2001 when compared to the pre-September 11th period. Furthermore, it was noted that the use of passive propaganda declined in the news articles for the same period. Although, this analysis can not attribute the changes in the use of aggressive and passive propaganda in the news articles directly to the actions of the September 11th terrorist attack or the subsequent War on Terrorism by the Unites States. Many factors including the economic and political conditions in Cuba, the regional political atmosphere in the Americas, issues related to the United States embargo and travel ban, the Cuban exile community, and other international events could be motivating components that resulted in these changes. Given the multitude of factors associated with Cuba and the United States, it is difficult to find or establish a correlation with the type of propaganda in the *Granma Internacional* news articles to the overall circumstances pertaining to the September 11th terrorist attacks.
References


Appendix A

Coding Protocol

This news story protocol is aimed at assessing the level of propaganda prior to and after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the Cuban newspaper, *Granma Internacional*. It examines two types of propaganda, aggressive and passive, in the way *Granma Internacional* presents its news stories in regards to the United States. The following definitions are important in selecting and analyzing the content under study.

Headlines
A headline is text at the top of a newspaper article, indicating the nature of the article below it.

Propaganda
Propaganda is a message in either text, words, images, or symbols form aimed at influencing the opinions or behavior of people, which instead of impartially providing information, is deliberately misleading and uses logical fallacies.

Aggressive Propaganda
Aggressive propaganda is defined as text, words, images, or symbols that portray, refer, or describe an idea or expression in a negative or harmful manner. (In this study, it is specifically related to ideas or expressions toward the United States or Cuba, contained in a news article *Granma Internacional*.)

Passive Propaganda
Passive propaganda is defined as text, words, images, or symbols that portray, refer, or describe an idea or expression in a favorable or positive manner. (In this study, it is specifically related to ideas or expressions toward the United States or Cuba, contained in a news article *Granma Internacional*.)

The following steps should be taken in the content analysis coding described below (v stands for variable): (a) All front page headlines are read to identify possible inclusion into study; (b) Each qualifying story is then analyzed for specific characteristics described below.

v1. Story identification
This is the newspaper issue in which the article is published.

v2. Story day (month/day/year)
This refers to the date of the news publication.
v3. News story type from headline
Classify the type of story from the headlines on the front page of the issue. If a value of 2 or 1 is assigned to a headline, then the story is read in its entirety for further analysis incorporating the subsequent steps.

A value of 2 is assigned if the headline makes any reference to the United States, President Bush, the war in Iraq, the war on Terror, the Cuban-American exiles, anti-Cuban measures, or the embargo.

A value of 1 is assigned if the headline makes any reference to the Cuban revolution, Cuban sovereignty, the Miami Five or the Five Martyrs, or Cuban foreign policy.

External = 2, Internal = 1, Neither =0

v4. Assign a frequency count value
New story assessment is further conducted if a value of 2 or 1 is assigned in the previous step. The news story is analyzed using the following criteria:

Count each occurrence of the target words and phrases (TWP) for a score of (#,#) representing word/phrase instances of high (aggressive) and low (passive) respectively from the news story.

**Aggressive Propaganda TWP**
These are words and phrases that are associated with aggressive propaganda techniques within a news article.

- bloqueo
- bloqueo genocida
- genocidio contra Cuba
- imperio
- guerras ilegales del imperio
- imerialista
- agresiones del gobierno norteamericano
- plan de Bush
- el asesino Bush
- terrorista Bush
- mafia de Miami
- mafia terrorista de Miami
- mafia cubanoamericana
- neoliberal y de capitalistas salvajes
- ley asesina de djuste cubano
- los mayores terroristas de este hemisferio
- castigo a los cinco héroes cubanos
- terrorsita Posada Carilles
Passive Propaganda TWP
These are words and phrases that are associated with passive propaganda techniques within a news article.

- Gloriosa revolución
- Logros de la revolución
- salvar la Patria, la revolución y las conquistas del socialismo
- un pueblo encomiable, digno, unido, respetuoso
- un fruto maduro de la revolución
- trabajar para la revolución
- las ventajas sociales y humanas de nuestro sistema
- la lucha honesta y heroica de Cuba
- nuestras ideas revolucionarias
- batalla de ideas
- los cinco héroes cubanos
- patria o muerte
- derrota del imperialismo
- obras para el pueblo
- venceremos
- el deber revolucionario es hacer la revolución
- esta isla no se rendirá jamás

v5. Categorize your interpretation of the news story
After reading the news story, assess the overall expression of the news story in regards to its validity or fraudulence.

Fact = 1
Certainty = 2
Legitimate = 3
Exaggeration = 4
Misrepresentation = 5
Fabrication = 6
Unclear = 0

v6. Assign a propaganda type
If any, based on your interpretation of the entire story as a whole and not based on individual words or phrases.

Aggressive propaganda = 2, Passive propaganda = 1, Neither = 0

v7. Story prominence
This refers to the news source that takes up the most story space or the main story of the issue. Code these story sources with the associated numbers:

Primary story = 2, Secondary story = 1, Other = 0
Appendix B

Coding Sheet

v1. Story Identification

v2. Story Day (month/day/year)

v3. News story type from headline
(External = 2; Internal = 1; Other = 0)

v4. Assign a frequency count value
(high (aggressive) low (passive))

v5. Categorize your interpretation of the news story
(Fact = 1; Certainty = 2; Legitimate = 3; Exaggeration = 4
Misrepresentation = 5; Fabrication = 6; Unclear = 0)

v6. Propaganda Type from headline
(Aggressive = 2; Passive = 1; Neither = 0)

v7. Story prominence
(Primary story = 2; Secondary story = 1; Other = 0)
## Table 1 – Coder Data Agreement

### 2001 – 2002 Coder Data and Agreement

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Table 2 – Coder Agreement Chart

2001 – 2002 Coder Agreement Chart

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1994 – 1995 Coder Agreement Chart

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Table 4 – 1994 – 1995 Percentage of Coder Agreement Chart

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