

PATRIA O MUERTE: IDEOGRAPH AND METANARRATIVE IN CUBAN STATE-
PRODUCED MEDIA DURING THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

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DEDICATION

For “Puppy,” the baddest island dog in all the Caribbean.

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ABSTRACT

Cuba's state-run media outlets have long acted as conduits for the construction and reinforcement of Revolutionary ideology. This was particularly true during the Battle of Ideas, an ideological campaign that aimed to mobilize Cuban youth in the wake of the 1999 Elián González crisis. Drawing from social construction of reality theory, ideological criticism and narrative theory, and synthesizing ideological and deconstructive methods of analysis, this study uses a new theoretical model, the ideographic binary (IB) set, to examine how Revolutionary ideology was constructed and reinforced in Cuba's state-produced youth newspaper, *Juventud Rebelde*, and in speeches given by Fidel Castro at public rallies during the early years of the Battle of Ideas (1999-2002).

The findings show that ideology was expressed in the texts through five dominant IB sets. These sets functioned in their totality as a metanarrative that sought to address problematic aspects of the social, economic and political realities of post-Soviet Cuba in two major ways: by presenting the contemporary Cuban project of Revolution as a high-stakes battle between binarized forces that worked either to support or undermine Revolutionary ideology, and by acknowledging and refuting potential arguments against the viability of the Revolution through moments of textual destabilization.

CHAPTER ONE

Castro's Last Battle: Historical Background

On Thanksgiving Day, 1999, two fishermen rescued a six-year-old boy from a stretch of ocean 20 miles off the Florida coast. The dehydrated, frightened child, soon identified as Elián González, was one of just three survivors among a group of shipwrecked Cubans bound for United States shores. Some even said he was found clinging to a tire, surrounded by dolphins (Perez, 2005, p. 86). González was whisked to Miami and taken in by relatives. The Cuban government, along with Elián's father, Juan Miguel, demanded his immediate return to Cuba, while the U.S. government, backed by a considerable number of Cuban-Americans living in Florida, refused to comply (p. 87). Cuban, U.S. and international media outlets quickly picked up the story.

The debate over his repatriation, which raged for eight months, marked only the most recent chapter in a long-smoldering power struggle between Cuba and the U.S.—countries separated by 90 miles of water and an ocean of ideology. While warring factions of the González family on both sides of the Florida Strait battled for the boy, Cuban president Fidel Castro was busy transforming González into the hero of an intense Cuban propaganda campaign (Perez, 2005, p. 85).

By the time the U.S. agreed to return González to Cuba on June 8th, an irrevocable course had been set: Castro had funneled the excess of patriotic fervor into a full-scale revolutionary revival, and December 5, 1999, in the wake of the first nationwide Cuban rally for the return of González, Castro announced the birth of a new period of revolutionary reinvigoration in Cuba. The Battle of Ideas had begun.

The Battle of Ideas was an ideological campaign directed at young Cubans (Kapcia, 2005, p. 400), a politically silent contingent of the population who had grown up during the destitution of post-Soviet Cuba, a time of scarcity referred to euphemistically as the “Special Period.” The campaign aimed to give “a potentially lost generation a stake in the system” (p. 401). The push did not come a moment too soon. By 1999, Castro had reached the age of 73 and no successor had been appointed. The Battle of Ideas offered a way to reinvigorate a dated and suddenly endangered party line. Cuban youth, previously thought of as a nuisance and potential source of uprising, were suddenly viewed as a valuable resource for promoting an activist political culture comprised of revolutionaries prepared to carry forward the revolution after Castro’s death (Kapcia, 2005, p. 400).

Cubans took up the battle cry in droves in the months that followed, defying popular international sentiment by proving “the old mechanisms and ethos of [Cuban] political mobilisation... could still be effective in reinforcing active support” (Kapcia, p. 400). Mass media was a central means of transmitting this reinvigorated ideology, and various organs of Cuba’s state-run media system worked in concert to construct a powerful ideological narrative during this time. In June 2002, the rising ideological intensity spurred the proposal of a constitutional referendum to change three articles of Cuba’s constitution. The referendum, which was later amended into law by Cuba’s National Assembly, proposed three changes. First, it called for the addition of the following paragraph to the constitution:

Socialism and the revolutionary political and social system established in the Constitution and proven through years of heroic resistance to aggression of all kinds and economic warfare waged by the successive administrations of the most powerful country that has ever existed, and having demonstrated their capacity to transform the country and create an

entirely new and just society, are irrevocable; and Cuba will never again return to capitalism. (“Constitution,” 2002)

Second, the referendum called for the prohibition of international negotiations as long as Cuba remained subjected to “aggression, threat, or coercion from a foreign power” (“Constitution,” 2002), and finally for the addition of a reference to these changes later in the constitution. Although the Battle of Ideas had no official end, and although rhetoric invoking it by name continued throughout the remainder of Castro’s tenure, the tone of the referendum proved a marked departure from the climate of grassroots mobilization and individual empowerment that defined the early years of the Battle of Ideas.

Castro, for his part, remained insistent that the struggle would continue. In mid-2006, the ailing president handed temporary power to his younger brother Raúl. In early 2008, the transfer was made official. But in his official resignation letter, published February 19, 2008 in *Granma*, Cuba’s state-run newspaper, Castro wrote, “This is not my farewell to you. My only wish is to fight as a soldier in the battle of ideas” (Castro, 2008). However, the adoption of this more authoritarian approach can be understood as an ideological turning point in the campaign. The microcosm of media-transmitted rhetoric during the early years of the Battle of Ideas offers a useful way in to examining larger ideological strategies at work in historical Cuba, as the rhetoric transmitted during this time drew heavily from an ideological line that appeared, in varying forms, throughout Castro’s tenure. Further, such a study has the potential to shed light on broader questions of ideology formation, particularly in state-run media systems.

CHAPTER TWO

Systems of Meaning Making: Linking to Theory

This thesis follows a course of research focused on examining strategies of ideology construction within written and spoken media artifacts emerging from Cuban state-produced media during the early years of the Battle of Ideas (1999 – 2002) through a combination of reading methods drawn from the domains of ideological criticism and deconstructionism. The course of scholarship is theoretically grounded in ideological criticism, social construction of reality theory and narrative theory.

Ideological Criticism

Ideological criticism provides a broad theoretical base within which to ground the study of ideology construction in a closed media system. Media scholars have often treated ideology as just one of many possible frames through which meaning can be constructed (Oliver & Johnston, 2000, p. 37) and have thus seen the use of framing theory as an adequate means of examining ideology and ideological movements. However, Oliver and Johnston have argued that “an ideology links a theory about society with a cluster of values about what is right and wrong as well as norms about what to do” (p. 44), and have called for the scholarly recognition of ideology as a freestanding theory, especially in the analysis of social movements (p. 37).

When taken as a freestanding theory, ideological criticism describes the means by which communication leads to the emergence of a “hegemonic ideology” (Foss, 2004, p. 242). An ideology itself can be understood as a “pattern of beliefs that determines a

group's interpretations of some aspect(s) of the world" (Foss, 2004, p. 239). Ideologies serve to unite "groups whose members share a problem or desire, are mutually dependent... and feel an affinity for the group" (p. 240). It appears that the Cubans' shared cultural history, their collective forced participation in the fifty-year project of anti-Westernization that has defined Castro's reign, and their widely shared affinity for their leader have shaped them into a strongly connected ideological group. The ideological group of particular interest to this course of study is Cubans who came of age during the Battle of Ideas. These youth form an interesting subset of the larger ideological group, as the campaign was directed largely at them in particular, and as most had had little to no experience of life outside of Castro's insular ideological microcosm.

Cuban ideology has been examined by several primary scholars. Kapcia, Perez and Gropas in particular have studied ideological codes and mechanisms at work in Cuba and have each posited theories about how ideology functioned before, during and after the Battle of Ideas.

Kapcia has theorized that Cuban ideology aims at the broadest level to reinforce the value and importance of *Cubania*, or Cubanness, a concept that is composed "less of well-articulated ideas than a series of ideological 'codes'" (Kapcia, 2005, p. 403). He has further argued that two of the most prominent of these ideological codes are "a profound and consistent belief in the liberating power of education and culture and a belief in 'moralism'" (p. 404). According to Kapcia, the ideals of education and morality have comprised an integral part of Cuban ideology since the 1959 revolution, but experienced a new burst of prominence in the years following the Elián González crisis as the Cuban government struggled to mobilize Cuban youth during the Battle of Ideas (p. 399).

Kapcia has also asserted that a strong emphasis on the central role of family has served to quash dissent and dissatisfaction with the government by encouraging Cubans to “look to the locality and to family networks rather than to the impoverished state for resources, support and unity” (2005, p. 410). Perez (2005) has argued that Castro carefully funneled the Elián González debate through several ideological lenses: nationality, race and family (p. 85).

Attention has also been paid to the ideological motivations behind the Cuban government’s consistent use of ambiguous terminology. Although a revolution has traditionally been understood as “a total transformation... of a given political and economic system and the social structure thereof in a relatively short time” (Kapcia, 2000, p. 7), Gropas has noted that the Cuban government’s treatment of the term seems to imply a continuous act (Gropas, 2007, p. 533). The word conveniently “assumes different forms depending... on the context at hand” (Gropas, p. 533) and has come to describe “the ongoing state political project... rather than merely representing an event in history and a radically different structure... it is also an ongoing process of which ‘moral’ and ‘revolutionary’ citizens are part” (Gropas, p. 533). In Cuba, Gropas has argued, “the intertwining of history and the Revolution has become so entrenched that their boundaries have become blurred and one is often unable to distinguish the two” (p. 536).

Previous scholars have noted that Cuban rhetoric regularly references revolutionary Cuban heroes who serve as paragons of self-sacrifice, voluntarism and sensitivity (Kapcia, 2005, p. 410). However, the references are not exclusively symbolic; on almost every street corner, one is “confronted by the faces of historical heroes and martyrs appropriated in support of the revolutionary cause” (Gropas, 2007, p. 537).

Perhaps the most famous of these human ideographs is Ernesto “Che” Guevara, an Argentinean-born Marxist revolutionary who became a close ally of Castro during and after the revolution. His portrait has come to represent a very powerful “political memory” (Gropas, 2007, p. 531) in Cuba. The story of Che’s heroic life and tragic death at the hands of the U.S.-aided Bolivian military in 1967 forms an integral storyline in Cuba’s larger ideological narrative. According to Kapcia, this Che storyline consists of “selfless commitment, self-sacrifice, voluntarism, and youthfulness” (2005, p. 407). During the Battle of Ideas, clothing and other items bearing Che’s likeness “also constituted a fashion statement, an identification with a young rebel (whose early death preserved his youthful attractiveness and prevented subsequent blame) and, above all, an opportunity to parade both their ‘belonging’ and their distinctiveness, to be both revolutionary and dissenting” (Kapcia, p. 407-8). Another indicator of the power of the Che ideograph is the surprising fervor with which his image has been embraced beyond the boundaries of Cuba. By the early years of the Battle of Ideas, Che’s likeness was already a powerful and prominent pop-culture icon across the developed and developing worlds.

It appears that regular Cuban citizens, too, were offered the opportunity to become ideographs of a sort. During the Elián González crisis, Cuban youth were strongly encouraged to take on prominent roles in the organizing of rallies and public discussions (Perez, 2005, p. 91), and were allowed to enjoy center stage in the debate. Gropas has further noted that the Cuban ideology also regularly works to generate fear of another U.S. invasion. She has argued that such fear has long served a major bolstering force for the Revolution: “This sense of being under siege is an ideological resource

which has been cultivated and nurtured by the state apparatus and used as a mechanism of unification for a struggle against external aggression” (Gropas, 2007, p. 534).

However, the implied threat is not just political. It also appears to be billed as a cultural, economic and moral invasion of which Cubans must be constantly wary. Generating such fear seems to strengthen Cuban ideology by legitimizing its reasons for existence, for “national sovereignty and independence have ... taken the form of a sacred symbol used by the Party to address the people, assert its right to rule, and maintain popular political allegiance” (Gropas, 2007, p. 535).

Scholarship has also addressed the more generalized concept of ideology in communist countries. Lu has used ideological criticism to examine political slogans emerging from communist China, where they were employed as a “powerful rhetorical form of persuasion” (1999, p. 19). Lu has also noted several characteristics of Chinese slogans, which are “short, rhythmical, presenting a one-sided view... and emotionally charged” (p. 19). Lu’s research gains further relevance to the outlined course of study in light of her assertion that her analysis is relevant beyond the confines of scholarship tied directly to China: “although totalitarian regimes may differ in some details, their rhetorical means and ends bear a close resemblance to one another” (p. 504).

Scholars have pursued ideological examinations exploring the longer story of Fidel Castro’s presidency, but the body of scholarship tied directly to ideology building during the Battle of Ideas remains scarce. Kapcia has noted that the “relationship between Fidel and the evolving ethos is necessarily close, complex and a rewarding seam to mine in understanding Cuba” (2005, p. 411), while Delgado has noted that “Castro has surprisingly not caught the eye of rhetorical scholars” (1999, p. 1). However, Delgado

contends, “The sheer volume and centrality of rhetoric to Castro’s ideological goals suggests that he is a political figure who nearly demands investigation by rhetorical scholars” (Delgado, p. 2). Gropas (2007) has identified a scholarly bias in extant research on Cuban ideology, observing that “constructions of Cuban society and historical narratives have been largely dichotomized in contemporary writings according to their authors’ ideological affiliations” (p. 538). Further, she notes, the area would benefit from a more precise rhetorical examination of recurrent terms. For example, “The distinction between... [a communist and a revolutionary] has been largely disregarded in popular and academic literature” (Gropas, 2007, p. 538).

Although a number of theories have been posited about various ideological constructs at work in Cuba, several gaps in research are evident. First, previous scholars have not closely studied how these discrete ideological lines fed into a larger narrative, especially during the Battle of Ideas. Second, there is little scholarship examining how Cuba’s state-run media system was used to construct, reinforce and transmit such ideology. Third, the particular ideological group of Cuban youth contemporary to the Battle of Ideas has not been studied in depth.

Social Construction of Reality Theory

Social construction of reality theory offers a useful theoretical complement to theories of ideological criticism. Berger and Luckmann (1966) have posited that members of a society are compelled to construct the realities in which they function (1966, p. 1). This occurs through processes of social communication by which habits and ideas are gradually adopted by all members of a society and are eventually seen as inherited,

incontestable realities. Mass communication appears to play a major role in constructing and disseminating such realities, especially in countries with state-run media systems.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), institutionally constructed habits may eventually become permanent and transcendental. This process, termed “reification,” is “the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something else than human products - such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will” (p. 82). When this happens, institutions are “experienced as existing over and beyond the individuals who ‘happen to’ embody them at the moment” (p. 55).

Understanding how such a process functions is of use to the researcher hoping to understand how ideology functioned in Cuban media during the Battle of Ideas.

This theory also emphasizes that habits and ideas must be legitimized before they are widely adopted. And to be legitimized, they must be justified. According to Berger and Luckmann, “There must be ‘explanations’ and justifications of the salient elements of the institutional tradition. “Legitimation” is this process of ‘explaining’ and justifying” (1966, p. 86). And this is an ongoing process. The proposed course of research aims to examine the means by which Cuban ideology was legitimized during the early years of the Battle of Ideas. Institutions must consistently explain and defend themselves to remain relevant, and the Battle of Ideas, coming as it did upon the heels of the Special Period, seems borne at least in part out of the government’s recognition of its need to relegitimize itself in the eyes of Cuban youth. The question of how this was achieved is central to the outlined course of research.

Cavender and Hufker (1990) have used social construction of reality theory to argue that U.S. media used negative news frames to construct stigmatizing definitions of

Cubans immigrating to the U.S. during the 1980 Mariel Boatlift. They have further argued that “news frames are grounded in a historical and ideological context” (p. 322), which can “profoundly influence the public definition of events” (p. 322).

Although the authors’ research examined the social construction of Cubans within U.S. media, their identification of anti-Cuban, anti-Castroan themes as well as themes of group undesirability (Cavender & Hufker, 1990, p. 328) may mirror themes of pro-Cubanism, pro-Castroism and group undesirability emerging from Cuban media. Further, their assertion that the research “illuminates the media’s role in the social construction of reality through news frames that help shape the public definition of events” (p. 333) is generalizable to the study of social construction of reality in other media systems, including Cuba’s media system.

The scholarly application of social construction of reality theory has thus far largely been confined to examinations of media in open societies. However, the application of the theory to a closed media system may prove enlightening. Using social construction of reality theory to examine how ideology transmitted through a state-run press is adopted by strongly connected ideological groups is also potentially illuminating, as ideological groups in Cuba have little access to outside information.

Narrative Theory

Narrative theory offers a useful definitional complement to the previously mentioned theories. The broad theoretical concept of “narrative” and the rhetorical figure of “metanarrative” have been described at length in postmodern literature. Narrative definitions emerging from postmodern scholarship are well-suited as a theoretical framework for qualitative research, as they “provide... information about the context for

many contemporary artifacts and suggest... the exigence to which many of these artifacts and their ideologies respond” (Foss, 2004, p. 241).

A narrative can be understood as a type of ideological frame, an explanation for why the world functions in the manner that it does; and also as a means of forming and organizing traditional knowledge (Lyotard, 1984, p. 19). Through the narrative, “the set of pragmatic rules that constitutes the social bond” is established (Lyotard, p. 21).

Lyotard has advanced the idea that the study of narrative “open[s] culture... as a site of transformation and dispute” (Readings, 1991, p. 63). Lyotard’s writings offer a potentially useful way in to understanding how narrative functions in Cuban state-produced media. His assertion that the stories of a society serve to demonstrate positive or negative apprenticeships that “bestow legitimacy upon social institutions... [And] represent positive or negative models of integration” (Readings, p. 20) sheds light on Cuban media’s treatment of subjects. For example, it appears that constant referencing of Cuban heroes and enemies serves to bolster hegemonic definitions of “good” and “bad” Cubans, and expresses by extension a system of punishments and rewards.

Lyotard (1984) has also noted that the narrative form “lends itself to a great variety of language games” (p. 20). Of particular interest when studying Cuban media is the language game of the interrogative statement, which Castro regularly employs in speeches, in what appears to be an attempt to force a moral choice. After addressing a difficulty or making a statement that might be unpopular, Castro often repeats the phrase, “The Revolution asks this of you!” This rhetorical challenge removes Castro himself from the equation and forces the listener to confront the Revolution directly. Thus, Castro seems able to launder his own wills and desires into a larger narrative, one that is much

more difficult to challenge.

A metanarrative takes the truth claim of narrative several steps further, functioning as an all-encompassing explanation that serves powerful definitive and normative purposes. The metanarrative, according to Readings, “claims to be the story that can reveal the meaning of all stories, be it the weakness or the progress of mankind,” (1991, p. 63). It is through a claim of universal truth consolidated from the many narratives of culture that the metanarrative draws its status (p. 63), as well as its authority to organize “the succession of historical moments in terms of the projected revelation of a meaning” (p. xxxiii).

Metanarrative will serve as a guiding mega-concept during research. A metanarrative will be defined within this course of research as an all-encompassing explanation of history and knowledge that aims to guide memory, thought and action. The sea of interconnected ideologies at play in Cuba during the Battle of Ideas emerges in its totality as a metanarrative for several reasons. First, rhetoric emerging from this time appeared to gather many smaller narratives. Second, this rhetoric seemed to shape public thought and action. Third, it appears to have remained consistent throughout the Battle of Ideas, and built upon extant ideology.

However, as ideology often deals in the currency of intangibles, the need for more concrete criteria for identifying metanarrative arises. Roe (1994) has suggested that a metanarrative is created by identifying and comparing the dominant story of a discussion and the stories that contradict it (p. 52). It can be inferred from this that the researcher might also be able to identify metanarrative by searching for moments in a text when smaller narratives appear in binary form, that is, when opposing stories are at play in a

single text. Although Roe discussed metanarrative as a means of bringing together opposing lines of discourse without the intention of reconciling them, it can be asserted that the entity connecting stories and counter-stories might just as easily use acts of identification and comparison to dissect and discredit the non-privileged story. Of interest here is not the outcome, but the act of aggregation itself.

This definitional work can be applied to studying the construction of metanarrative during the Battle of Ideas. If, as suggested by the aforementioned scholars, a metanarrative is an amalgam of disparate ideas; and if, as suggested by Roe, an ideological line cannot be considered a metanarrative unless its converse is also acknowledged somewhere in discourse, then it follows that a metanarrative can be identified by tracing the threads of intersecting and colliding lines of narrative discourse, especially those that appear in binarized form. Thus, several criteria emerge for identifying the narratives that comprise Cuba's ideological metanarrative during the Battle of Ideas. First, as a metanarrative gathers together smaller lines of discourse, a story must stand on its own as a smaller narrative in order to be considered a part of the metanarrative. Second, there must be acknowledgement, direct or indirect, of arguments that run counter to the story. Finally, there must be a discourse that discredits the counter-story within the metanarrative. The identification, examination and analysis of such narratives and the ways in which they are established, destabilized and resolved is the primary focus of this course of research.

A metanarrative can also be identified by its potential for meaning making. Although examining public reaction to ideology during the Battle of Ideas falls beyond the scope of the proposed research, a criterion of high value can be used to identify

metanarrative and its components. Put another way, stories cannot be considered a part of the metanarrative unless they attempt to respond to larger questions about meaning. According to Lyotard (1984), the narrative is an inherently unstable entity, and the postmodern condition can be best understood as a “crisis of narratives” (Readings, 1991, p. xxxiii). However, such a crisis does not necessarily undermine the project of narration. In fact, it may instead perpetuate and validate the role of narrative in society, for as systems of meaning diverge into an increasingly complex matrix of competing ideologies, the constructional, meaning-shaping function of the narrative becomes ever more important. Thus, Lyotard has argued that narrative’s value lies in its ability to provide a source of comfort amid the chaos, attempting as it does to place difference “within a narrative construct that will lend it meaning” (Lyotard, p. 82).

A metanarrative is achieved through acts of communication transmitted by a rhetor, in this case, an “institutional rhetor” (Foss, 2004, p. 246). An institutional rhetor has, by definition, a high degree of authority, and often a high degree of credibility. Fidel Castro is an especially interesting institutional rhetor to examine, as he seems to have succeeded in completely transforming Cuban ideology and attaining something close to absolute power during his tenure. (It is interesting to note that no fewer than nine U.S. presidents came and went during the time Castro was in office.)

Gropas (2007) has noted that narrative constructs are also evident in Cuba’s physical landscape, which seems to act as a living monument to the revolution. She notes that Cuban cities, especially Havana, are saturated with visual elements that “can be perpetually read in terms of historical narratives... Havana’s landscape of billboards and graffiti acts as a mnemonic device, reminding people of their past” (p. 531). On almost

every street corner, “one can read a variant of ‘United with dignity and sacrifice’ or be confronted by the faces of historical heroes and martyrs appropriated in support of the revolutionary cause” (p. 536). Thus, Gropas argues, physical structures act “a device for preserving the Revolution’s future” (p. 532) as much as discourse structures do. Although the examination of the narrativity of Cuba’s physical structures falls beyond the scope of this course of research, Gropas’ work is worthy of note, as it provides evidences to support the idea that narrative devices serve important functions in Cuba. Further, it suggests that scholars can reasonably expect to see similar narratives at play in other artifacts emerging from Cuba, especially media artifacts.

Although there is little extant research on the role of metanarrative in Cuba, the broader relationship between narrative and institution has been studied at length. Linde (2001) has suggested that there are two basic approaches to studying narrative in institution: the first involves examining how “narrative is used to carry out the daily work of the institution” (p. 1), while the second involves examining, among other things, “the way an institution uses narrative to create and reproduce its identity by the creation and maintenance of an institutional memory” (p. 1). The identification of these two types of narration, one that reinforces ideological structures in particular moments, and another that reinforces ideology over longer periods, correlates well with the synchronic and diachronic methods of ideological analysis described in the methods section of this thesis.

To summarize, narrative theory poses a broad glossary of theoretical terms with which to understand processes of meaning making. These theoretical terms offer a practical method of getting under the skin of Cuba’s tangled, complex system of signs and meaning. However, little extant research has examined the shape and function of

narrative forms in state-run press systems, and the body of narrative work directly tied to Cuba and Cuban media is scarcer still. Thus, the canon of narrative theory would benefit from the scholarly application of narrative constructs to artifacts emerging from Cuban state-produced media.

Synthesis of Theories

Ideological criticism, social construction of reality theory and narrative theory trace similar arcs around a central question about ideology: what does it do? At core, all three theories pose that it structures meaning systems. However, each theory also stakes out a more nuanced position within this very broad ideological domain, and thus, each allows the researcher to uncover something slightly different.

Ideological criticism posits answers about how ideology forms, and allows the researcher to identify recurrent patterns of belief within Cuban media and their accompanying ideological symbols. It describes the ways in which meaning structures become embedded and sees communication as a central means of structuring, transmitting and perpetuating meaning systems. And if, as Oliver and Johnston (2000) have argued, ideology functions by linking theories to values (p. 37), then ideological criticism may also help to reveal both the values being transmitted by Cuba's state-run press and the larger social constructions at work behind them. Ideological criticism may also help to uncover how Cuba's state-run media shaped meaning and how Fidel Castro functioned as an institutional rhetor.

Social construction of reality posits answers about why ideology forms, and aids the researcher in understanding the means by which ideology becomes embedded in a group by theorizing that humans are compelled naturally to seek group membership by

subscribing to dominant meaning constructs. This theoretical framework may also shed light on why ideological tactics were used in the manner that they were in Cuban press and how media systems go about framing news events.

Finally, narrative theory offers a flexible means of identifying and understanding the completed form of an ideological construct. Narrative theory operates with a sort of double-consciousness that not only allows the researcher to answer questions about ideology in Cuban press, but also aids him or her in forming the questions themselves. Because narrative theory describes processes, means and conduits, it can be used to identify ideological patterns; when working from theory to artifact, it guides the question, what am I looking for? However, it also provides a useful definitional framework with which to describe uncovered ideology. Thus, when working from artifact to theory, it also guides the question, what have I found? Narrative theory, especially when paired with complementary methodological techniques, may also allow the researcher to dismantle the dichotomized belief patterns present in Cuban media in order to better analyze their discrete components.

When Cuban ideology is filtered through the theoretical constructs outlined above, the following research question emerges: *How did Cuban state-produced media use ideographic binary sets to reinforce an ideological metanarrative in written and spoken texts during the early years of the Battle of Ideas (1999-2002)?*

CHAPTER THREE

Dissecting Meaning: A Graduated Methodology

This thesis has thus far reviewed literature and theory relevant to the examination of ideological construction in Cuban media during the early years of the Battle of Ideas, forming a theoretical synthesis from relevant aspects of ideological criticism, social construction of reality theory and narrative theory. The methodology outlined below, which synthesizes elements of reading techniques emerging from the genres of ideological criticism and deconstructive criticism into a new theoretical model, the ideographic binary (IB) set, will be paired with theories discussed above in order to posit answers to the following question:

How did Cuban state-produced media use ideographic binary sets to reinforce an ideological metanarrative in written and spoken texts during the early years of the Battle of Ideas (1999-2002)?

A set of five sub-questions to guide and inform the breadth and depth of research emerged from the primary research question. These sub-questions divided the course of scholarship into four graduated domains of research.

- A diachronic analysis of the speech set as a whole and concurrent series of synchronic analyses of the individuals speeches were guided by SQ1: *How are ideographic binary sets used within the individual speeches and the speech set as a whole?*
- A diachronic analysis of the story set as a whole and a concurrent series of synchronic analyses of the individual stories were guided by SQ2: *How are*

ideographic binary sets used within the individual stories and the story sets as a whole?

- A comparative analysis of the speech and story sets was guided by SQ3: *How is usage of ideographic binary sets similar and different in the written and spoken texts?*
- A set of localized conclusions was drawn based on SQ4: *What does this usage reveal about how ideology was constructed within Cuban state-produced media during the Battle of Ideas?*
- A set of generalized conclusions was drawn based on SQ5: *What does this usage reveal about how ideology is constructed within state-run media systems in general?*

In concert, these questions map a course of research capable of producing descriptive, analytical and comparative scholarship. The primary research question aims to describe ideology and the strategies by which it is constructed in order to further analytical knowledge about ideology within Cuba's state-run media system. The first three sub-questions divide research into several primary domains. In concert, these domains aim to uncover how ideology functions similarly and differently among individual texts, text sets and written and spoken mediums and are thus well posed to further comparative knowledge about the singular and cumulative functioning of these ideographic binary sets within media artifacts. Finally, sub-questions four and five aim to generalize these findings on two levels: first, within Cuban state-produced media, and second, within state-run media systems in general.

Definitional Framework and Selected Artifacts

Some definitional clarification of terms within the primary question is necessary. “IB sets” were defined as ideographic sets within the texts that stand in for larger ideas and concepts and come paired in binaries. For example, ideology that is expressed within a text through binarized expressions of approaches to humanity could be labeled as a Humanizing orientation / Dehumanizing orientation IB set. (See discussion of methods of ideological and deconstructive criticism below.) As outlined in the theories section above, a “metanarrative” will be defined within this course of research as an all-encompassing explanation of history and knowledge that aims to guide memory, thought and action.

Two text sets, one a written form of communication and one a spoken form of communication, will be examined using the methodology outlined below. As mentioned above, research will be limited to media artifacts produced between December 1999, when Castro officially declared the start of the Battle of Ideas, and June 2002, when the 2002 constitutional referendum was passed by Cuba’s National Assembly.

The first text set includes 17 stories published in Cuba’s state-produced youth newspaper, *Juventud Rebelde (Rebellious Youth)* between the dates of December 5, 1999, and April 10, 2002. This set was gathered from the original Spanish-language newspapers held at the Library of Congress and translated into English by the author of this thesis with the help of a professional proofreader.

The second set includes nine speeches given by Fidel Castro at public gatherings and rallies between the dates of December 23, 1999, and May 1, 2002. English

translations of these speeches were gathered from an electronic database of public speeches maintained by the Cuban government. (See references for Web address.)

The outlined set of research questions is best answered using qualitative methods, as research will involve the close examination of a variety of ideological strategies within rhetorical artifacts (speeches and newspaper stories). The chosen methodology will involve the analysis of these artifacts using a combination of methods drawn from the fields of ideological and deconstructive criticism.

Ideological Criticism

Ideological criticism as a qualitative method is linked directly to ideological criticism as a theoretical framework, as discussed above. Ideological criticism emerged from the broader field of rhetorical criticism, which “analyze[s] speech and written language” (Berger, 1998, p. 65). It is appropriate to the proposed course of research because it is “designed for the systematic investigation and explanation of symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes” (Foss, 2004, p. 6). Rhetoric, by definition, is the act of constructing reality through various means of communication and persuasion (Foss, p. 5).

Ideological criticism as a method asserts that “to maintain a position of dominance, a hegemonic ideology must be renewed, reinforced, and defended continually through the use of rhetorical strategies and practices” (Foss, 2004, p. 243), and the ideological critic is interested in discovering the means by which such renewal, reinforcement and defense is achieved. Foss has argued that the rhetorical critic examining artifacts should pay particular attention to questions of membership, activities, goals, values/norms, positions and group-relations, resources (Foss, p. 244). For example,

when examining Cuban media artifacts with an eye for how membership is constructed, particular attention might be paid to how members outside of the group are discussed. U.S. citizens have long been referred to in Cuban media as imperialists, while internal dissidents earn the appellation, “gusano,” or worm. This dysphemistic reference to one of the lowest life forms is regularly used “to refer to class enemies and more specifically to Cubans who are antirevolutionary” (Gropas, 2007, 534). Rhetorical criticism would be interested in examining how such acts of exclusion reinforce group membership.

McGee (1980) has noted scholars’ previously eccentric and narrow approaches to ideology (p. 2) and has proposed a model which views words and rhetoric as “the building blocks, of ideology” (p. 7). He encourages scholars to more carefully analyze ideographs, or words and symbols within a culture that come to represent high-level abstractions. To that end, he has developed a more precise method of ideological examination based on the theory that collective human groups display different behaviors than human beings in isolation do, and that these collectives develop minds of their own (p. 2). Such collectivities respond to ideologies based on vocabularies of “ideographs,” or words that come to symbolize high-level abstractions in a society and imply certain political and ideological commitments. Through these ideographs, human beings are conditioned “not directly to belief and behavior, but to a vocabulary of concepts that function as guides, warrants, reasons, or excuses for behavior and belief” (p. 6). He has further asserted that such ideographs are structured, and can be understood, in two ways: through their diachronic link to past usages and, through their synchronic link to other related ideographs.

McGee (1980) has also outlined a three-step process by which a researcher can uncover, understand and describe ideology: first, the researcher must isolate a society's ideographs; second, he or she must discover and analyze their diachronic structures; and finally, he or she must discover and analyze the synchronic relationships among ideographs within a previously determined context. (1980, p. 16). The process also stresses the importance of providing a historical context for the ideologies identified.

Delgado (1999) has used this method of ideographic analysis to examine an address given by Fidel Castro to a group of Cuban writers and artists in 1961, shortly after his rise to power. Delgado has asserted that Castro aimed in his public address to create a "rhetorical ideology fusing nationalism, Marxism-Leninism, and a revolutionary spirit" (p. 1). Delgado has also noted the flexible, ambiguous nature of Castro's publicly transmitted ideology: "the rhetoricity of this ideology (Castroism) is usefully malleable and responsive to new moments and new audiences emerging in post-revolutionary Cuba. Castro generates the ideographs and simultaneously fills them with the strategic meanings" (p. 9). This adds relevance to the contents of a speech given over 45 years ago. This inherent ambiguity, Delgado has contended, allowed Castro a significant amount of space for ideological repositioning throughout his tenure (p. 10). Delgado's analysis is relevant to the proposed course of study because it proposes a method of examining and analyzing rhetoric. As the outlined course of study proposes to examine similar artifacts, and as few other scholars have used ideographic analysis to examine Castro's speeches, Delgado's method and findings lend credibility to the proposed method and offer a useful frame of reference for conducting similar analyses.

Deconstructive Criticism

McGee's methods of ideological analysis outlined above find a useful complement in deconstructive reading. Methods of deconstructive reading involve examining texts with an eye for "taking apart and exposing their underlying meanings, biases, and preconceptions—and then transforming or reconceptualizing the conceptual fields of those texts" (Foss, 2004, p. 241) in order to uncover deeper layers of meaning within the text. Deconstructive reading is often associated with literary theory and scholarship in particular, however, this method is also useful in scholarship connected to mass media, as it "can be applied to any text. It is a theory of reading, not a theory of literature" (Lye, 1996, p. 4).

The assumption is that dichotomous concepts frequently emerge from texts, and deconstructive reading "toys with the binary oppositions which appear to govern ideologies and texts, ultimately illustrating how these oppositions are in fact unreliable and frequently self-destructive" (Fogarty, 2007, para. 2).

The process of binary examination can be broken down into three main steps. These steps can be illustrated by drawing from a prominent ideographic example in Cuban ideology: the term "Revolution," which appears frequently in Cuban media, and can be understood as a privileged concept. First, according to Fogarty (2007), "Supplements," or undecidable concepts, must be identified within a text. A supplement can be understood as the implied binary opposite of a stated concept. The implied binary of a revolution is, of course, a counter-revolution. With every implied binary comes an implied hierarchy, and here, the term Revolution is clearly privileged. A supplement such

as “counter-revolution” according to Leitch, adds on and substitutes the original idea, and has the potential to complement or take away from it (1983, p. 170).

After supplements are identified, cases in which the two terms no longer function within the previously identified hierarchy must be identified. It is interesting to note that in Cuba, dissidents who oppose the project of revolution are labeled as counter-revolutionary. But what might such dissidents be called if they decided to enact their own revolution? The logical appellation would be that they, too, were revolutionaries. Such reversals must be closely examined, according to Leitch, for “the place where a reader notices a displacement of reversal in a textual chain or system often constitutes the site of a philosophical or thematic opposition” (1983, p. 180).

Next, the gaps and holes created by the reversal of the hierarchy must be identified, for it through such displacement that room is created for a concept to emerge (Leitch, 1983, p. 180). Identifying the problematic of revolution vs. counter-revolution in light of Cuba’s dissident movement, for example, raises some difficult questions, and attempting to answer these questions may lead to new ways of understanding Cuba’s ideological project. Is there enough ideological space for two types of revolutionaries to exist in the Cuban narrative? It appears not. Thus, a researcher arriving at this hierarchical gap might be led to examine what the Cuban government achieves by maintaining full control of concepts and appellations and the various ideological spaces they inhabit.

Deconstructive criticism is also well-suited as a methodological accompaniment to narrative theory, as both are based in the claim “that there is nothing that is not caught in a network of differences and references that give a textual structure to what we can

know of the world” (Lather, 2003, p. 4). While narrative theory describes the shapes and forms of ideological constructs and provides a definitional base on which to build research, deconstructive reading forces these narrative forms and their explicit or implicit opposites to the fore, allowing the researcher to “discover and make visible the dominant ideology... embedded in an artifact and the ideologies that are being muted by it” (Foss, p. 243).

The Ideographic Binary Set: Toward a New Theoretical Model

Paired together, the outlined methods of ideographic and deconstructive criticism chart a course for the thorough examination of ideological strategies emerging from Cuban media artifacts. This examination will aim to uncover preferred readings, arguments, values, assumptions, euphemisms, dysphemisms and repetitions within the speech artifacts (Foss, 2004, p. 245). While deconstructive criticism concerns itself more completely with the text, aiming to “subject to critical analyses the basic structures and assumptions that govern texts and the development of knowledge” (p. 241), ideographic analysis seeks to place such insights within a broader historical-social context. However, these two methodological approaches better guide scholarship when they are synthesized more concretely. Thus, this course of research proposes a new theoretical model, the ideographic binary set, which combines methods emerging from the two methodological genres.

This model, which draws together key concepts, assumptions and methods of analysis from the fields of ideographic analysis and deconstructive analysis, posits that ideology can be teased out of texts. It also posits that such ideology will frequently appear in binarized form. The researcher seeking to uncover ideographs begins by

charting emergent ideographs with an eye for uncovering structures of meaning that appear in binarized form. After identifying an IB set, the researcher charts the ideographic constructs through which these sets emerge. As these binary structures and their concurrent ideographic constructs emerge from the text, the researcher also seeks to identify moments in which the structures are subjected to destabilizations and resolutions, which may be implicit or explicit, and may or may not come paired together. A chart using this method of analysis would be constructed as follows:

Insert Table 1.

The emphasis within this proposed methodology is on the IB chart as a fluid map that can and should be rearranged and reworked over the course of several textual examinations. Some of these ideographic binary sets will emerge as dominant, others secondary. Some will remain stable, whereas others will be subjected to regular destabilization. Some will resist resolution and others will seek it out. The ultimate assumption of this model is that a completed chart will reveal patterns of meaning that describe a larger ideological metanarrative.

This model, dependent on ideological criticism's assumption that "some ideologies... are privileged over others in a culture, and ideologies that present oppositional... perspectives are sometimes repressed" (Foss, 2004 p. 242), draws from methods of ideographic analysis for its scope and order. First, it recognizes the validity and usefulness of seeking out a society's ideographs when the aim is to uncover latent and manifest ideologies at work in that society. The proposed model also draws from

deconstructive methods of reading. It borrows from the deconstructive assumption that dichotomies will appear within texts, that these dichotomies will not behave in a stable manner, and that dissecting these binaries and their concurrent destabilizations and resolutions helps the researcher get at meaning and ideology. Both methods of ideographic analysis and deconstructive reading assume that patterns exist in individual texts and the text sets they emerge from, and that these patterns can reveal the dominant ideologies within a society. However, synthesizing the two methods into a single model allows them to function in a more efficient manner: deconstruction, standing alone, argues less compellingly for the form such structures of meaning take. Deconstructive reading tends, by nature, toward inter-textuality, and is thus less concerned about taking into account the structures surrounding a text. Derrida's assertion that "there is nothing outside the text" (1967, p. 158) further complicates the project of using deconstructive methods to get at larger ideology and to draw qualitative conclusions. Conversely, the model of the ideograph tends, by nature, toward the static. It takes into account structural influences and encourages the researcher to consider context, as is evidenced by its emphasis on both synchronic and diachronic analyses. However, it concerns itself mainly with ideology in its stabilized form and is less well positioned to address non-privileged and destabilized ideographic constructs. When paired together, each method is able not only to respond to the questions forced but not answered the other, but also to limitations and blind spots. The model of the ideographic binary set offers a practical framework for drawing these two methods together in order to better uncover and understand latent codes of meaning, allowing the qualitative research to better navigate the gap between ground-level ideology and the larger structures that govern its functioning.

Methodological Conclusion

To summarize, this theory-guided rhetorical examination of Fidel Castro's speeches and *Juventud Rebelde's* feature stories during the early years of the Battle of Ideas, based in a methodological synthesis of techniques emerging from ideological and deconstructive criticism, is well posed to strike the desirable balance between specificity and generalizability (Foss, 2004, p. 214) that is the ultimate goal of rhetorical criticism. Such an examination offers a potentially valuable contribution to scholarly understanding of ideology on several levels.

First, it responds to gaps identified within the canon of ideological criticism. The generalized study of ideology in Cuban media and the particularized study of ideology during the Battle of Ideas have been examined by previous scholars, but there has thus far been little broad synthesis of the ideological patterns identified. In addition, little attention has been given to the study of Fidel Castro as an institutional rhetor.

Such a study also has the potential to contribute valuable original knowledge to the field of mass communications, particularly about Cuba, as few scholars have examined the transmission of ideology in Cuban newspapers and speeches during this time. The work is also capable of providing broader insight regarding strategic approaches to truth building and the methods by which meaning is constructed and communicated through closed mass-media systems. Clearly, state-run media systems aim to shape public sentiment, but scholarship has not examined at length the ideological means by which this is accomplished, and how strategies used might differ from those employed in open media systems. Further, ideological criticism is necessarily a broad theory, and pairing it with social construction of reality and narrative theory offers a more

nuanced framework with which to examine Cuban ideology.

Finally, this study also has the potential to make a useful contribution to broad political and economic thinking on Cuba. The 2008 change of power from Fidel Castro to his younger and arguably more moderate brother Raúl, and U.S. President Barack Obama's decision in early 2009 to ease the embargo and renew diplomatic dialogue with Cuba both point to the possible end of the controversial project of Cuban socialism-communism, a state-directed ideology which has consistently elicited impassioned reactions from a vocal band of supporters and detractors across the globe. Fidel Castro's departure and President Obama's move to soften diplomatic relations certainly raise complex questions about Cuba's future, and the future of U.S.-Cuban relations. The outlined course of scholarship is capable of providing analysis and insight that are well-positioned to pave the way to the positing of careful, disinterested answers to those questions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

In accordance with the methodology outlined above, the speeches and stories were analyzed in several graduated steps. First, each artifact was textually examined using a synthesis of methods of ideological criticism and deconstructive reading that aimed to uncover ideology expressed within the texts in binarized sets. These ideographic binary sets were listed in charts along with the ideographic constructs through which they emerged and any destabilization/resolution sets to which the IB sets were subjected. This constituted the synchronic step of analysis. Then, each of the text sets was analyzed as individual whole with an aim to uncover diachronic relationships between the IB sets. These synchronic and diachronic findings are presented below.

Castro's Speeches and Juventud Rebelde's Stories: General Findings

As anticipated in the methodology chapter of this study, a series of five dominant ideographic binary sets, or binarized pairings of words and symbols within Cuban culture representing high-level abstractions, emerged from the text sets as a whole. Each of these five IB sets contained a privileged ideograph (the complement) and its non-privileged ideographic opposite (the supplement). These five dominant IB sets can be folded into two broad categories. Three addressed issues related to value orientations and two addressed issues related to forces and resources:

Insert Table 1.

Emergent Ideographic Constructs

Within the texts, each of these IB sets was expressed within the stories and speeches through a series of ideographic constructs that referenced people, events, places, things and ideas. In total, 25 ideographic constructs emerged from the text sets.

Emergent Destabilization / Resolution Sets

Within the texts, the IB sets were frequently subjected to moments of destabilization, in which opposition or counterargument was acknowledged in such a way as to call into question the privileged/non-privileged construct of the set. These destabilizations were often paired with implicit or explicit resolutions, which served a restabilizing function. In several instances, unpaired destabilizations and resolutions also appeared within the texts. In total, 18 destabilization/resolution sets, listed below, emerged from the text sets. These destabilizations appeared primarily in the form of contradictory or inconsistent assertions and information. Primary issues addressed through destabilization included: sub-optimum living conditions on the island, the views and actions of Cuba's detractors and enemies, instances of the Revolution's failure, governmental use of tactics and methods inconsistent with the values it claims to espouse, and, to a lesser extent, the existence of segments of the Cuban population (on the island and beyond) who choose not to align with Cuba on various issues.

Castro's Speeches and Juventud Rebelde's stories: Diachronic Findings

See appendix for a comprehensive diachronic summary of emergent IB sets and destabilization / resolution sets.

A Note on Non-Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

Several other ideographic binary sets emerged as prominent within the text sets: *Precision / Imprecision orientation, Rational / Irrational orientation* and *Choice / Force orientation*. However, they didn't appear with enough frequency or in a consistent enough form to be labeled as dominant, and time limitations and practical constraints prevented further analysis of them.

Castro's Speeches: Diachronic and Synchronic Findings

The findings for the speech set are presented below in two sections. First, the results of a diachronic analysis examining the form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within the speech set as a whole are presented. Second, the results of a series of synchronic analyses examining the form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within each of the nine individual speeches is presented.

Castro's Speeches: Diachronic Findings

A Summary of Content

The speech set contained nine speeches in total, given at youth rallies and public gatherings between the dates of Dec. 23, 1999, and May 1, 2002. The English-language versions of the speeches averaged 4,994 words in length, with the shortest speech totaling 1,037 words and the longest totaling 10,573.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

Within the speech set, the following five IB sets emerged as dominant. *Humanizing orientation / Dehumanizing orientation*. This IB set appeared in all nine speeches. Within the speech set, this IB set was expressed most prominently through a series of ideographic constructs that presented the Revolution itself as having both human

and humanizing qualities and attributes, including compassion and paternalism. Through this IB set, the Revolution was also presented as a force that values life above all else and refuses to abandon its people under any circumstances. However, the associations didn't stop at the abstract; the Revolution was described several times as having been born, as growing over time, and even as having a heart. The total effect was that the Revolution came to appear as a living, breathing thing, capable of feeling joy and pain, and capable of empathizing fully with the situation of the average Cuban person. Conversely, opposing belief systems and governmental structures were described in inhuman and dehumanizing terms. U.S. organizations that opposed Cuban government were described as monsters, creatures or simply worms. Numerous references were made to the dehumanizing effects of the U.S. embargo, which included widespread poverty, hunger and even death.

This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that aimed to present humanity as an all-powerful force and to present the poor countries of the world as having been commodified and at times even consumed by colonialism and globalization. At the most extreme end, the U.S. was several times described as an exterminating force guilty of feeding the world genetically modified foods with little concern for the potentially dangerous consequences and even of sanctioning genocide.

Within the speech set, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was subjected to several destabilizations, which called into question the humaneness of the Revolution and the inhumanity of opposing systems. The most prominent of these destabilizations acknowledged that Cuba was seen by some countries as a human rights

violator, as evidenced by its murder of dissidents at the start of the Revolution and by other Latin American countries' hesitation to side with Cuba on diplomatic issues. Resolution was achieved through assertions that those early dissidents were murderers and torturers, and that other Latin American countries simply do not have the education or culture to think for themselves. Other destabilizations included acknowledgement of occasional cooperation from the U.S. and of the fact that not all U.S. citizens are bad. This was resolved with the assertion that the U.S. was fundamentally disunited from its founding principles and that those U.S. citizens who are reasonable would naturally side with Cuba in cases such as the Elián González crisis.

Paternalistic-familial orientation / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation. This IB set appeared in five of the nine speeches. Within the speech set, this IB set was expressed most prominently through a series of ideographic constructs that presented Cuba and the Cuban Revolution as having great respect for paternalism and family rights on one side and the U.S. as favoring individualism and disrespecting paternalism and family rights on the other. This IB set worked to present the Revolution as a force that respects, above all else, the rights of a family to make its own decisions, and as a force that is paternalistically committed to helping its own "children," the citizens of Cuba.

Conversely, the U.S. was described as highly disrespectful of the rights of Cuban families in general, and of the rights of the González family in particular, and was accused of encouraging Cuban children to emigrate against their parents' will and of endangering Elián González's mental health for show. This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that aimed to universalize González's case to the

cases of many Cuban children who emigrate illegally each year, and that described various other Latin and South American countries as sister and brother nations to Cuba.

Within the speech set, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set was subjected to an extended series of destabilization / resolution sets. The most prominent of these sets called Cuba's highly paternalistic status into question by acknowledging problematic social issues, such as the fact that many Cubans voluntarily emigrate from Cuba or encourage their children to do so, and the fact that many Latin American countries consistently side against Cuba in diplomatic issues. These destabilizations were resolved in several ways. First, Cubans who emigrate were described as victims who had been lured to the U.S. through propaganda and lies. Cubans who emigrate were also described as criminals who'd taken advantage of the U.S.'s lax immigration policies. The assertion was also made that Cuban children have the right to disobey their parents if they are told to emigrate. Dissenting Latin American countries were presented either as having been forced into siding against Cuba because of economic debt and dependence, or simply as being frozen in history and out of touch with contemporary reality. Other destabilizations included the acknowledgment of the high degree of respect some U.S. families have for paternalism. This was resolved through the assertion that such families would naturally side with Cuba in the case of Elián González.

Long-term orientation / Short-term orientation. This IB set appeared in all nine speeches. Within the speech set, this IB set was expressed primarily through a series of constructs that encouraged Cubans to take a longer view of contemporary events. These ideographic constructs described history as an interminably, almost inconceivably large backdrop

against which an individual or an era measures as incredibly tiny. Frequent references were made to Cuban heroes and to all that had happened in the 40 years since the Revolution as well as to the authority of historical record, which was described as certain to judge Cuba and its actions in a favorable manner and certain to judge Cuba's enemies and their actions in an unfavorable manner. The need to struggle continuously was also emphasized almost compulsively. The Revolution was framed in terms of a never-ending battle for which Cubans had to prepare with strength and determination, and which Cubans were described as coming closer each day and year to winning through continuous resistance and education. The U.S. was presented as Cuba's primary adversary in this struggle. This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that encouraged Cubans to endure discomfort and to adopt a selfless and sacrificial attitude, and that placed emphasis on Cuban youth as being at the vanguard of the Revolution and central to its aims.

Within the speech set, the Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected one extended destabilization which called the long-term view into question by describing the current moment as singularly crucial to the success of the Revolution. The present moment was described as a time of intense and crucial battle, as the most difficult moment in history for Cuba and for all the world. The longer story of Cuba's history was deemphasized in favor of an immediate search for solutions. This destabilization was also expressed through frequent assertions that it was imperative that the Elián González case be resolved in a timely manner. No resolutions were offered for this semantic confusion of passing time.

Benevolent superhuman forces and resources / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources. This IB set, which appeared in speeches 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9, sought to express the fundamental benevolence of the superhuman forces and resources that influenced Cuba as well as the fundamental non-benevolence of the forces and resources that influenced Cuba's enemies. Within the speech set, this IB set was expressed primarily through constructs that described people and events in terms of a series of religious metaphors. Christian religious imagery figured most prominently. Cuban ideology was described in terms of favorable religious imagery: communism and Marxism were described as life giving and in alignment with the Christian ethos of service, whereas U.S. ideology was described as evil, venomous and hellish. The diplomatic disagreement between Cuba and the U.S. was likened to the Biblical tale of David and Goliath, with Cuba presented as fighting and prevailing against a much more powerful enemy.

This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that described Revolution as transcendental and that described historical events in terms of light and dark imagery. The beginning of the Revolution was described in terms of a light dawning, and the collapse of the Soviet Union was described as the disappearance of the sun and the onset of darkness.

Within the speech set, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB was subjected to one major destabilization / resolution set which called into question the inherent benevolence of the superhuman influences that affect Cuba by acknowledging that the Soviet Union, framed as a benevolent force, had been unable to protect Cuba from the outside world. Resolution was achieved through the assertion that Cuba was not, in fact, so strongly tied to the Soviet Union. Differences

between the two systems were emphasized, Castro claimed to have predicted the USSR's collapse, and the USSR was described as having failed because it had strayed from its founding principles and had thus become spiritually disarmed.

Ideological-intangible forces and resources / Physical-material forces and resources.

This IB set appeared extensively in speeches 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Within the speech set, this IB set was expressed primarily through a series of constructs that worked to emphasize the importance and influence of ideas and ideological resources and to deemphasize the importance and influence of physical weapons and material resources. Particular emphasis was placed throughout the speech set on the fact that Revolutionary ideas and consciousness are powerful weapons, sources of strength capable of defeating physically superior enemies, as evidenced by the initial triumph of the Cuban Revolution and its endurance through the decades of adversity that followed. It was asserted that the infinite arsenal of ideas with which Cubans are equipped function in their totality as a force powerful enough to conquer the entire world, and that the Battle of Ideas itself should be seen as a concrete and not a literal manifestation of ideas. The value of intangible and spiritual wealth is emphasized and Cuba is presented as a land of extraordinary human capital, of vast political knowledge and substantial morality, patriotism and internationalism. References are also made to moments in history when Cuba succeeded in defeating militarily superior enemies. These references hearken all the way back to the start of the Revolution, when Cuba succeeded in resisting powerful adversaries even before it was equipped with the great political conscience it was described as having since developed. Evidence of this ideological might is also culled from ground-level examples of Cuba's moral and cultural richness, including its sporting

prowess and prolific production of books and music; its political and social unity and its many other cultural achievements. Conversely, capitalist countries are described as extravagant, as evidenced by the U.S. government's attempts to buy Elián González off with material goods, and also as devoid of ethics and justice. The assertion was also made that societies that had not struggled as Cuba had were incapable of having good ideas, because wealth cannot be equated with intelligence.

Within the speech set, the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set was subjected to an extensive series of destabilization / resolution sets. These sets, which called into question the privileged status of ideological wealth over material wealth, were expressed mainly through a series of assertions that acknowledged the problem of material scarcity within Cuba, resulting from the generalized failure of socialism and communism and evidenced both by continued poverty on the island and by Cuba's inability to provide material assistance to other poor countries. These destabilizations were resolved through a series of assertions that described Cuba's commitment to other poor countries as ideological in nature, and as a commitment of human capital and ideological support as opposed to economic or military support, and that attributed the failure of socialism and communism in other countries as the result of those countries' inability to overcome both systemic weakness and the might of capitalist adversaries. The IB set was also subjected to a series of lesser destabilizations that called into question Cuba's rejection of physical force by acknowledging the Revolution's early emphasis on military training. Resolution was achieved through the assertion that Cuba had advanced greatly since the early years of the Revolution, and now relied primarily on its ideological weapons to battle adversaries.

Changes Over Time

The form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within the speech set was subjected to several primary alterations and reconfigurations between December 1999 and May 2002. These changes occurred on several levels.

Three IB sets emerged consistently from the speeches throughout the time period in question: The Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set appeared in all nine speeches in a fairly consistent form that emphasized the humanizing nature of Revolutionary structures and the dehumanizing nature of anti-Revolutionary structures and also worked consistently to present Revolution as a human construct and anti-Revolution as an inhuman construct. This IB set was subjected to infrequent destabilizations, the majority of which emerged through the acknowledgment of Cuba's questionable human rights record. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set also appeared in all nine speeches, with a consistent emphasis placed on the largeness of Cuban history and the need to struggle continuously. This IB set was also subjected to consistent destabilization in the speech set through the consistent acknowledgment that contemporary Cubans existed in a perpetually crucial and constitutive moment in history. The Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resource IB set also appeared in all nine speeches, with regular emphasis placed on the power of ideas and the infinite nature of Cuban ideological resources. The moral-cultural richness of Cuba and moral-cultural bankruptcy of adversary countries was also addressed regularly. This IB set was subjected to a variety of destabilizations that called into question a host of inconsistencies, including Cuba's previous use of physical force and material inability to satisfy the needs of its own people as well as the needs of ally countries.

The other two IB sets behaved more erratically within the speeches. The Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set appeared in five of the nine speeches, but, unlike the previous three IB sets, it was expressed in an inconsistent manner through a wide variety of ideographic constructs. This IB set was also subjected to a wide variety of destabilizations, including the acknowledgment that many Cubans voluntarily leave Cuba and that many Latin American countries consistently side with the U.S. against Cuba in diplomatic issues. Conversely, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set appeared in six of the nine speeches, but was consistently expressed through one primary construct: religious references. This IB set was destabilized just once in the speech set, through the acknowledgment that the Soviet Union, presented as a benevolent force, had ultimately collapsed.

Castro's Speeches: Single-Text Synchronic Findings

The following synchronic analyses examine the form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within the speech set, which contains nine speeches given by Fidel Castro between the dates of December 23, 1999, and May 1, 2002.

Speech 1 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 1 was given Dec. 23, 1999, at the José Antonio Echeverría Social Club in Havana to a group of children who guarded the U.S. Special Interests Section during a march for the return of Elián González. The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 8,824.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 1.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

This IB set appeared in speech 1 in three forms: *Revolution as human*, *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity* and *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*. The *Revolution as human entity* construct emerged through a series of references describing the Revolution in terms of active human qualities. The children were described as having “carried out a mission entrusted to you by the Revolution, since it is the duty of the Revolution to guard the Interests Section” (Castro, 1999). Policies “pursued by the Revolution” (1999) were also mentioned. *The Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity* construct emerged through a series of references describing individuals and organizations that don’t support the Revolution in dehumanizing terms. Cuban counterrevolutionaries were referred to as “antisocial elements” (1999) of society, or simply called “worms” (1999). Relatedly, the U.S. government, a decidedly anti-Revolutionary entity, was presented through the *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* construct as a dehumanizing force that turns immigrant workers into machines, children into commodities (1999) and “does not care what happens” (1999) to anyone.

Destabilization / resolution sets. Within the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set, the *Revolution as human entity* construct was subjected to one destabilization: *Revolution as omnipotent entity*. This destabilization emerged through Castro’s statement that the open forum at which the crowd had gathered would not remain in Havana, but would move symbolically throughout the country: “One day it

may be in Cardenas, for example... Another day it may be in Plaza Cadenas” (Castro, 1999). And Castro, widely seen as the figurehead of the Revolution, also associated himself with omnipotence while discussing certificates to be handed out to the students: “I could not sign 2000 certificates – that would have been too many—but I made a special signature for you... And of course, when you sign one with your own hand, it is printed on the rest of the certificates, no matter if there are 100,000” (1999). This destabilization was paired with no resolution.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

In speech 1, this IB set was expressed through three constructs: *Cuban respect for rights of individual families*, *U.S. disrespect for rights of individual families* and *Revolution as paternalistic entity*. The first two constructs emerged through frequent references to the word “respect.” The primacy of the family bond was also emphasized: “We respect the rights of the father or mother... because that is the right of paternal authority” (Castro, 1999). Conversely, U.S. authorities were described as having no respect for Cuban parents (1999) or the “paternal authority of a Cuban family” (1999). This IB set was also expressed through a third construct: *Revolution as paternalistic entity*. This construct framed the Revolution as a paternalistic entity “dedicated first and foremost to helping children and mothers, to helping the family” (1999) and readily responding to the needs of its people. (1999).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation was subjected to two destabilization / resolution sets. The first destabilization, *Paternally sanctioned emigration*, was paired with two resolutions: *Emigrants are misled* and *Allegiance to Revolution overrides allegiance to blood*

paternalism. This destabilization emerged through the acknowledgment that tens of thousands of Cuban children have emigrated to the U.S. with parental consent since the start of the Revolution. It was paired with two resolutions. The first, *Emigrants are misled*, described such families as having been “fooled by mercenaries” (Castro, 1999) into believing that “the Revolution was going to take away their paternal authority” (1999). The second destabilization, *Allegiance to Revolution overrides allegiance to blood paternalism*, was expressed through the assertion that children have the right to disobey their parents if obeying their parents would put them in danger. This, Castro said, “would be practically the only case when a child is justified to refuse” (1999). The second destabilization / resolution set, *U.S. families respect paternalism / U.S. families would side with Cuba in Elián’s case*, emerged through the acknowledgment that U.S. citizens also give credence to paternalism: “In the United States, like everywhere else, families have great respect for the right to paternal authority” (Castro, 1999). Resolution was achieved through the assertion that such families would agree “the rights of this child and his father’s rights are being abused” (1999).

Long-term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 1, this IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Endurance of discomfort* and *Continuous struggle*. The need to endure uncomfortable situations was communicated through an extended metaphor about taking a long walk with a limited supply of water: “If boy scouts like you are going to walk three days, you do not drink all the water you take in the first half-hour ... You endure thirst better... when you know you have a full canteen with you, even if you are suffering because you want a drink of water” (Castro, 1999). The *Continuous struggle* construct was also expressed repeatedly.

The U.S. was described as having challenged Cuba to “a long struggle. If it is a long struggle, they should know the price they will have to pay for a long struggle” (1999).

The audience was also urged to gather its energy and strength in preparation for the need to struggle “continuously” and “restlessly” (1999). The battle for the repatriation of Elián González was described in terms of a feat of endurance: “The longer they keep him there, the greater our determination, the steadier our decision to fight for as long as necessary” (1999).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.
Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set emerged from speech 1 in the form of four constructs: *Power of ideas*, *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources*, *Physical violence as unnecessary* and *U.S. materialism*. The *Power of ideas* construct was expressed in several ways. First, ideas themselves were referred to as ideological weapons: “Every word carries a message, an idea. These are smart weapons ... Our smart weapons are our ideas, our smart weapons are our arguments” (Castro, 1999). Second, ideas were presented as superior weapons: “No battle of ideas is won with insults. These battles are won with reason, with arguments, with ideas” (1999). Similarly, the *Infinite ideological resources* construct was expressed through a series of statements that presented Cuba’s arsenal of ideological weapons as infinite (1999). Cuba was described as being in the possession of an endless arsenal of smart weapons (1999) capable of reaching “every corner in the world” (1999). The *Physical violence as unnecessary* construct further enforced the assertion that physical might is inferior ideological might: “A million citizens may march and none will throw a stone, because they know this is something you just do not do. They throw

something that is far more powerful than a stone. They throw an idea, a message, in a few words” (Castro, 1999). In a fourth construct, *U.S. materialism*, the U.S. was presented as overtly materialistic: “They are trying to buy his [Elián’s] innocence with sophisticated toys, all kinds of junk, taking him to Disneyworld” (1999).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB was subjected to two central destabilization / resolution sets in speech 1. The first destabilization, *Cuba’s previous use of physical force*, emerged through the acknowledgment that Cuba had previously retaliated against the U.S. with violence: “Before the Revolution, when we did not have this strength, when we did not have a united people ... we also went to ... the U.S. embassy itself to throw stones, paint slogans on walls, and do things of that sort” (Castro, 1999). This destabilization was paired with the resolution *Force as no longer necessary*: “What a difference compared with today! Such different weapons we can use now” (1999). The second destabilization, *Continued poverty in Cuba*, emerged implicitly from the IB’s claim of the superiority of the ideological-intangible to the physical-material. It was explicitly resolved by the *Success as immeasurable in economic terms* construct: “we are not first in terms of wealth, but we are in our enormous desire to help the people, because that is what the Revolution exists for, and nothing else.” (1999).

Speech 2 - Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 2 was given at the Havana International Conference Center March 8, 2000, at a youth and student rally marking the closing session of the 7th Congress of the

Federation of Cuban Women. The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 4,449.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 2.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In speech 2, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set appeared extensively, in the form of three constructs: *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*, *Revolution as humanizing* and *Anti-Revolution as an inhuman entity*. The first construct, *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*, was expressed through a series of references to the dehumanizing conditions that Cubans had been subjected to as a result of illegal immigration and the U.S. embargo. Castro referred at length to the conditions experienced by Elián González and the other would-be emigrants after they were shipwrecked, which included them being forced “to drink their own urine” (2000a) and them discussing with each other the possibility of resorting to cannibalism: “the state of suffering on the raft had reached such heights that Molina Ramos had given his companions permission to eat his body if he died” (2000a). The eventual amputation of the legs of one survivor was also mentioned. (2000a). The US’s treatment of González was also described as a “monstrosity” (2000a). This construct also appeared in the description of the Ley de Ajuste Cubano (LAC), or Cuban Adjustment Act, a law passed by the U.S. government in 1996 that imposed penalties on companies doing business in Cuba. The LAC was described as “a blockade aimed at destroying our people through hunger and disease” (2000a) that had been responsible for countless Cuban lives as well

as a rise in illegal emigration: “If it were not for the Cuban Adjustment Act, we would never have seen the emergence of this disturbing and criminal smuggling of human beings” (2000a). The *Revolution as humanizing* construct emerged in two places: first, a complex mathematical calculation of the numbers of emigrated Cubans was qualified with the following caveat: “If I have made any mistakes in my calculations... I offer my apologies. I even used fractions, but I could not talk in terms of fractions of people” (2000a). Second, Cuba was cited as the only country to have adopted “serious measures to fight the trafficking of immigrants” (2000a). The *Anti-Revolution as an inhuman entity* construct also emerged in two places: the LAC was referred to as a “diabolical killing machine” (Castro, 2000a), and the Fundación Nacional Cubano-Americano (FNCA), or Cuban-American National Foundation, was described simply as a “creature” (2000a) belonging to the U.S.

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 2, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB was subjected to one primary destabilization: *U.S. government as cooperative*. This destabilization appeared once, in the following statement: “Undoubtedly, the U.S. government is doing everything possible at this moment to return the kidnapped child to his father and grandmothers” (Castro, 2000a). No resolution was presented.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

In speech 2, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Cuban respect for rights of individual families* and *Universalisation of suffering*. The *Cuban respect for rights of individual families* construct was expressed through the following reference: “No matter how much

it hurts, the Revolution will continue to respect as something sacred the parental rights of our citizens and their right to leave with their children” (Castro, 2000a). The *Universalisation of suffering* construct was expressed through a reference implying that any Cuban child could end up in a similar situation: “How significant would Elián’s return be if four children a day and 28 children a week are taken out of the country risking the same fate or even worse than the shipwrecked boy who survived this tragedy” (2000a)?

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 2, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individual orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization: *Voluntary emigration of Cubans.* This destabilization was expressed through the reading off of a list of the names of emigrated Cubans (Castro, 2000a), and was paired with two resolutions: *Emigrants are misled* and *Emigrants are criminals.* The first resolution emerged through a description of the would-be emigrants shipwrecked along with González as having endured a “cruel and tragic ordeal” (2000a) that resulted from U.S. propaganda: “How many lives of innocent children, torn from their schools and placed in great danger by mothers and fathers acting irresponsibly or fooled by illusions or by the vicious campaigns and incitement of... overwhelming propaganda” (2000a). The second resolution emerged through the assertion that the U.S. unhesitatingly grants visas to Cuban “counterrevolutionaries” (2000a) and welcomes Cuban criminals: “Thanks to the Cuban Adjustment Act, there will not be a single adventurer or criminal with prison sentences already served or still pending, on parole or out on bail, who does not dream of traveling this way to the country where there are more things to steal and more opportunities for crime” (2000a).

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 2, this IB set appeared in the form of one construct, *Continuous struggle*. This construct was expressed through the assertion that Cubans would “keep fighting” (2000a) until the LAC had been repealed.

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 2, the Long-term / Short-term IB set was subjected to one destabilization: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization was expressed through a reference to the importance of seeking out a “relatively quick solution” to the Elián González crisis, which was described as “crucial for the mental and even physical health of the tormented child” (2000a), and through a description of the U.S.’s failure to provide Cuba with requested immigration statistics in a timely manner as problematic, for “tomorrow is not today” (2000a).

Speech 3 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 3 was given May 1, 2000 (International Labor Day), at Revolution Square in Havana during a mass rally called by Cuban youth, students and workers in celebration of International Labor Day. The word count for the English-language version of speech 3 totaled 3,982.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 3.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In speech 3, this orientation appeared in the form of four constructs: *Revolution as humanizing*, *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*, *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity* and

U.S. government as exterminator. The *Revolution as humanizing* construct was expressed through the description of the Revolution as meaning “being treated and treating others like human beings” (Castro 2000b). The *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* construct was expressed through a series of references to the U.S. government and the LAC. The LAC was described as promoting “the smuggling of humans” (2000b), while the U.S. government’s proposal to hold members of the González family at a house in Miami was likened to kidnapping: “Nothing could be more humiliating, or more closely resemble the imprisonment or kidnapping of Juan Miguel with his wife and two sons” (2000b). The *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity* construct was expressed through references to the LAC as a “murderous” (Castro, 2000b) and a “monstrous and bloody aberration” (Castro, 2000b). Finally, the *U.S. government as exterminator* construct was expressed through two references to LAC, which was described as “genocidal” (Castro, 2000b) and the sponsors of the act were described as deserving to “stand trial for the crime of genocide” (Castro, 2000b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 3, the *Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation* IB was subjected to one primary destabilization / resolution set: *U.S. citizens as cooperative / U.S. government as disunited from founding principles.* The destabilization emerged through the following statement: “We pay tribute to the overwhelming majority of those people who, despite all those lies, have opposed the odious crime committed against a small Cuban boy” (Castro, 2000b). The resolution was expressed through references to U.S. forefathers: “We do not blame the American people; we blame those who are responsible for the lies used to deceive them for much longer than Lincoln ever imagined” (2000b). It was also expressed, indirectly, through references to the forefathers

of Cuba, who “instituted our homeland’s heroic tradition of challenging the United States’ two-hundred-year old dream of annexing Cuba” (2000b) and taught Cubans “that rights are demanded, not begged for” (2000b).

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This orientation appeared extensively in speech 3 in the form of two primary constructs: *U.S. government as non-paternalistic entity* and *U.S. disrespect for rights of individual families*. The first construct was expressed through a reference to the U.S. government as having shown “little concern over his [Elián’s] mental health and the scandalous public exhibition and manipulation of which he was a victim” (Castro, 2000b), and through a reference to Cuban children who emigrate to the U.S. as often left feeling “helpless and uprooted” (2000b). The second construct was expressed through statements describing the U.S. government’s decision to hold Elián in Miami as an “injustice committed against a humble Cuban family” (2000b), which had turned the boy into a poster child (2000b) and his father into a victim: “Without the father’s knowledge or consent, the child had been taken out of the country illegally as part of an irresponsible and hazardous misadventure” (2000b). Reference was also made to a decree made by the U.S. that “a child of any age and nationality could apply for asylum in the United States against his or her parents’ will” (2000b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 3, this IB set was subjected to one primary destabilization, *Voluntary emigration of Cubans*, which was paired with three resolutions: R1: *Emigrants are misled*, R2: *Emigrants are enticed*, and R3: *Emigrants are criminals*. The destabilization emerged through a reference to the fact that 14,000 Cuban children had been allowed by their parents to emigrate to the U.S. during the first two-and-a-half

years of the Revolution (Castro, 2000b) and to the fact that Elián was attempting to emigrate with his mother when the shipwreck occurred (2000b). The *Emigrants are misled* resolution was expressed through the description of those Cuban parents who allow their children to emigrate, including Elián’s mother, as being “victims of deceit, taken in by a carefully crafted and deliberately fabricated rumor based on a fictitious law... leading these parents to believe that they would be deprived of their paternal rights over their children” (2000b). The *Emigrants are enticed* resolution appeared several times. Immigrants were described as having been “lured by the ostentatious luxury and extravagant displays of consumer societies” (2000b), attractions made more enticing “by the tremendous privileges granted by the aforementioned legislation exclusively to the Cubans traveling illegally to the United States from Cuba” (2000b). It was also asserted that “They [The U.S.] are trying to keep him [Juan Miguel] there indefinitely in the hope of enticing him away” (2000b).

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 3, the Long-term orientation / Short-term orientation IB set appeared in the form of four primary constructs: *Largeness of history*, *Continuous struggle*, *Endurance of discomfort* and *References to past-future Cubans*. The *Largeness of history* construct appeared in two places. First, Revolution was described as meaning “to have a sense of history” (Castro, 2000b), and then the U.S.’s response to a request made for Elián’s uncle to surrender the child was predicted to go “down in history as a prime example of outrageous, biased and overbearing conduct” (2000b). The *Continuous struggle* construct emerged several times in reference to Cuba’s long-standing resistance to U.S. policy: “Forty years resisting all sorts of aggressions and injustices, and the war

of ideas we have been waging ceaselessly throughout five long months have made us much stronger” (2000b). Cubans were also described as not having “rested a single day in fighting for something absolutely just” (2000b).

The *Endurance of discomfort* construct appeared in references to the Revolution as being about “defending the values in which we believe at the cost of any sacrifice” and striving for “modesty, selflessness, altruism,” (Castro, 2000b). Cubans were also warned “nothing will be easy with regard to Cuba in the future” (2000b). Finally, the *References to past-future Cubans* construct appeared in the form of a reference to a Cuban hero: “We will fulfill everything we pledged in the Baraguá Oath, in honor of the indelible and immortal memory of Antonio Maceo, the Bronze Titan” (2000b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB was subjected to one destabilization: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization appeared through the description of contemporary Cubans as “living through days of intense and crucial battle” ((Castro, 2000b).

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB appeared in speech 3 in one primary construct: *Religious references*. The case of Elián González was repeatedly described using religious imagery. The González household in Miami was described as a “living hell” (Castro, 2000b), Elián was referred to as a “martyred child” (2000b), and it was asserted that “not even Dante could have described the hell he [Elián] has been through” (2000b). The battle for Elián’s return was also likened to the story of David and Goliath:

David has grown and ... he has become a moral giant who does not throw stones with his sling, but rather examples and ideas against which the Goliath of finances, colossal wealth, nuclear weapons, the most sophisticated technology and worldwide political power based on selfishness, demagoguery, hypocrisy and lies is completely helpless. (2000b)

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In speech 3, this IB appeared in three constructs: *Power of ideas*, *Physical violence as unnecessary* and *Unity-solidarity with other countries*. The *Power of ideas* construct was expressed through references to a revolution as being a “profound conviction that there is no power in the world that can crush the power of truth and ideas” and through the assertion that “our consciousness and the ideas sown by the Revolution throughout more than four decades have been our weapons” (Castro, 2000b). The *Violence as unnecessary* construct was expressed through the following statement:

We have actually been fighting against this crime through peaceful means. Not a single window has been broken at the U.S. Interests Section, not a single stone has been thrown at that building, not a single American official or visitor has been harassed, not a single U.S. flag has been trampled on or burned in our streets. (2000b)

The *Unity-solidarity with other countries* construct appeared twice, first in the statement that “the peoples of an ungovernable world, who suffer poverty and indigence and are exploited and plundered at an ever-growing rate, will be our best comrades in arms” (2000b), and later in the rallying cry, “Long live internationalism” (2000b)!

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources orientation IB was subjected to one destabilization / resolution set: *Cuba as unable to help other countries / Cuba’s commitment as ideological*. This implicit destabilization was resolved through the following statement: “We certainly lack the

financial resources to cooperate with them. Instead we have an extraordinary and selfless human capital that the wealthy countries do not have and never will possess” (Castro, 2000b).

Speech 4 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 4 was given Sept. 28, 2000, in Havana, at an anti-imperialist rally celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. The word count of the English-language version of speech 4 totaled 10,573.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs from speech 4.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

This IB appeared in speech 4 in the form of three constructs: *Revolution as human*, *Revolution as humanizing* and *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*. The *Revolution as human entity* construct was expressed through a series of statements that presented the Revolution as having human qualities. The Comités de Defensa de la Revolución (CDR), or Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, were described as having been “born” (Castro, 2000c), while the Revolution was described as an entity that “continued to fight, to gain experience and to grow in size” (2000c) as it “resisted” (2000c), all attempts to destroy or demoralize it: “When has the Revolution ever lost heart? Never!” (2000c). The *Revolution as humanizing* construct was expressed through the assertion that “it is Marxism, socialism and communism that... have raised to the highest level the human spirit” (2000c). Finally, the *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* construct was expressed

through a reference to “those left maimed or permanently damaged by sufferings” (2000c) caused by the U.S. use of chemical weapons in Vietnam.

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-term Orientation / Short-term Orientation

In speech 4, this IB appeared in the form of two constructs: *Continuous struggle* and *Largeness of history*. The *Continuous struggle* construct emerged in the following reference: “I know the rebels and they do not give in, they fight and fight again” (Castro, 2000c). It was also expressed through the assertion that Cubans are “slowly making sound progress” (2000c). The *Largeness of history* construct emerged through several references to time. First, Castro referred to “the things that happen in 40 years! But those were very different times” (2000c), then in a reference to how the present moment would be remembered: “Let us hope that one day someone writes the history of how the country managed to perform this feat. But there is something I can say before the in-depth history is written” (2000c).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one central destabilization: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization was expressed through a reference that rejected the IB set’s emphasis on the longer story of Cuba’s history: “In the face of new problems we need to search for solutions, often immediately, although we were not fighting against new problems but old ones” (Castro, 2000c). This destabilization was paired with no resolutions.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In speech 4, this orientation appeared in the form of two primary constructs: *Religious references* and *Light-dark imagery*. The *Religious references* construct emerged throughout the speech in a variety of forms, and often drew from Christianity for its metaphors. Connections were drawn between communist-socialist philosophy and the Christian ethos of service to the poor: “I often cite the founder of Christianity as an example of someone who did not have landlords or merchants help him found his doctrine but rather illiterate fishermen” (Castro, 2000c). It was further asserted, “Marxism is based on the premise of a developed world where the productive forces had the capacity to... provide the necessary conditions for life, not simply the material life... but also the spiritual life of humanity” (2000c). Conversely, philosophies emerging from the U.S. were referred to in terms of evil forces and false idols, such as the “venom of McCarthyism” (2000c) and the assertion that many Cubans had been deceived into believing that “the United States was their savior” (2000c). The U.S. was also accused of attempting to frame communism as evil: “the simple mention of the word communism was anathema, like calling the devil; that word which stood for the purest ethics” (2000c). The metaphor of communism-socialism as good and capitalism as evil was taken to its logical end through the assertion that “They [the U.S.] want us to renounce what gave us life” (2000c).

Similarly, the *Light-dark imagery* construct was invoked several times in reference to the 1991 fall of the Soviet Union and the political and economic struggles Cuba had endured during the Special Period that followed. Near the end of the speech,

the assertion was made that “it is easy to go from darkness to light, but it is awful to go from light to darkness” (Castro, 2000c). Post-Soviet Cuba was further described in terms of darkness through a statement that referred to those who had predicted that the Revolution would collapse during the Special Period: “It was like saying the sun would disappear... Well, yes Sir, one morning we woke up without a sun” (Castro, 2000c).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 4, the Benevolent / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set was subjected to one primary destabilization, *Failure of benevolent Soviet Union*, which was paired with the following resolution: *Distancing of Cuba from Soviet Union*. This resolution was expressed through a series of statements and claims that painted the Soviet Union as a failed project that differed from the Cuban project in crucial ways. Castro claimed to have predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union (Castro, 2000c), a failure he blamed on the Soviet Union having rejected its own history, which resulted in spiritual disarmament (2000c). Cuba was further distanced from the Soviet Union through the assertion that Cuba was “not a satellite orbiting the sun, we never were” (2000c) and through the claim that Cuban youth would never allow such a collapse to be repeated on the island: “I assure you that a group of our youngsters, like we have seen shine in the rallies would have better understood what was needed there” (2000c).

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In speech 4, this IB appeared in the form of four constructs: *Power of ideas*, *Technology as dangerous*, *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources* and *Moral-cultural richness*. The *Power of ideas* construct was expressed through two references to early victories of the Revolution, victories which had occurred at a time during which Cuba

“relied not so much on our strength as on our knowledge of the mountains and on the accelerated training that we acquired every day” (Castro, 2000c), and through the assertion that the idea to form the CDR had “emerged as a sudden, inspirational response to the blast of four bombs” (2000c). The *Technology as dangerous* construct emerged in reference to the U.S. government’s use of technology “as an instrument of domination” (2000c) and Cuban counterrevolutionaries’ predisposition to violence: “They [the counter-revolutionaries who detonated the bombs] had an apartment full of bazookas, machine guns and equipment to attempt to annihilate half of the Revolutionary leadership” (2000c). The *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources* construct emerged through several references to intangible forms of wealth. First, Castro asserted that Cubans “have a lot, not only in terms of material wealth but rather in the area of wealth which is essential to all changes” (Castro, 2000c), a statement which was later supported by the claim that “spiritual wealth are [sic] underestimated because consumer societies tend to underestimate everything that is not luxurious material goods” (Castro, 2000c). The *Moral-cultural richness* construct emerged through a series of statements referring to Cuba’s cultural and social successes, which included sporting prowess and the production of music, art and books, things described as “immense sources of wealth that cannot be measured in tons and that contribute very little to a country’s macroeconomic indicators” (2000c).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 4, the Ideological-intangible forces and resources / Physical-material forces and resources IB was subjected to two destabilizations, neither of which was paired with a resolution. The first destabilization, *Cuba’s previous use of physical force*, emerged in a reference to the training of soldiers

during the initial Revolution. Castro recalled that “even then we had hundreds of thousands of armed men, trained in the mountains, not in military academies” (Castro, 2000c), and these rebels were described as “ideologically and militarily prepared to face a direct invasion” (2000c). The second destabilization, *Acknowledged value of material wealth*, called into question the privileged position of ideological-intangible wealth through the acknowledgment that Cuba struggled with scarcities: “What I am talking about here are material goods, those that are indispensable for life. Today we do not have all the essentials” (2000c). No resolutions were offered.

Speech 5 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 5 was given Sept. 28, 2000, at the Instituto Nacional de Deportes, Educación Física y la Recreación (INDER), or the National Institute of Sport, Physical Education and Recreation; in Havana, during the celebration of the 40th anniversary of INDER.

The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 4,948.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 5.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In speech 5, this orientation appeared in the form of four primary constructs: *Revolution as humanizing*, *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*, *U.S. government as exterminator* and *Power of humanity*. The *Revolution as humanizing* construct was expressed through a series of references to the primacy placed on human life by the

Revolution. Cuba was described as a country where there has never been a vanished person, a political assassination o [sic] anyone tortured. Never mind the thousands of times that liars and slanderers have claimed that people are tortured here” (Castro, 2000d), and as “the country that puts forward the most resolutions in favor of human rights” (2000d). Castro also mused, “I wonder if any other country in the world has been so devoted to humankind, to educating its people” (2000d). The *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* construct was expressed through two references to U.S. failures to protect the sanctity of human life. The U.S., Castro asserted, “does not speak out against injustice, crime, children begging in the streets, or beggars sleeping under bridges or in doorways. It does not speak out against hunger. It does not speak out against death squads, it does not speak out against corruption” (2000d). A reference was also made to the U.S.’s failure to address the issue of apartheid: “It did not speak out against apartheid; it invested in and traded with it” (2000d). The *U.S. government as exterminator* construct was expressed through the assertion that “today’s world is plundered and oppressed by the empire” (2000d). Finally, the *Power of humanity* construct was expressed through a reference to Cuban national hero Jose Martí: “Long live humanity! Which, as Martí said, is the homeland of each and every human being” (2000d).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-term Orientation / Short-term Orientation

In speech 5, this orientation appeared in the form of four primary constructs:

Endurance of discomfort, Continuous struggle, Largeness of history, Future orientation.

The *Endurance of discomfort* construct was expressed through two references embargo, in which Castro praised Cuba as being “a country which has had the courage, the sense of

honor, the dignity and the determination to endure 42 years of blockade and 10 years of special period” (Castro, 2000d). The *Largeness of history* construct was expressed through Castro’s assertion that Cuba is a “country that has written a page in history that will be extremely difficult to ignore or write off” (2000d), and whose geographical landscape contains a multitude of sites that “are full of history” (2000d). The *Future orientation* construct was expressed through a series of references to future events and the young Cubans who would experience and direct them. Castro told the young members of his audience, “I envy your future world renown” (2000d) and described himself as “convinced and confident that a great many things can still be done in the future” (2000d). The *Continuous struggle* construct was expressed through references to Cuba’s tradition of high standards and its unwavering resistance to the threats imposed by outside forces: “We have made advances and achieved a great deal of success. Do we feel proud? No, not yet. Do we feel satisfied? No, we will never be totally satisfied” (2000d). It was also asserted “the more the empire and its acolytes insist on carrying on with this loathsome behavior, the stronger will be Cuba’s commitment and its determination to struggle” (2000d). This construct was also expressed through a reference to the Revolution’s immortality: “Those who think that when a leader disappears a revolution disappears too have not understood –and I do not know if they ever will—something that I said years ago: ‘Men die, the Party is immortal’” (2000d).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 5, the Long-term / Short-term orientation IB was subjected to one primary destabilization: *Crucial Moment*. This destabilization emerged through a warning given to Cuba’s enemies:

It is impossible to continue plundering and looking down on nations that are learning and growing ever more aware of their right to wellbeing [sic] and to life.... We warn our enemies that Cuba is less and less alone, that the Cuban people have more and more friends. (2000d)

This destabilization was paired with no resolution.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In speech 5, this IB set appeared in one primary construct: *Religious references*.

This construct emerged through a reference to the New Testament of the Bible:

The New Testament reads that Christ sought out 12 fishermen. One of our great patriots also said that ‘Twelve men suffice to up-rise an entire nation, and no matter how many of you there are in your countries, you should become into physical education and sports apostles, and struggle on. (2000d)

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared extensively in speech 5 in the form of four primary constructs: *Power of ideas*, *Unity-solidarity with other countries*, *Moral-cultural richness* and *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*. The *Power of ideas* construct was expressed through a reference to the indestructibility of ideas: “A man’s ideas might disappear with him, but the ideas that have taken root in the soul and in the heart of a nation can never die” (2000d). It was also expressed through the assertion that “the lies that are the only ideology, the only weapon that can be brandished by those who are devoid of ideas” (2000d). The *Unity-solidarity with other countries* construct was expressed through several references to Cuba’s efforts to build relationships with other countries. The mission of schools such as the one being dedicated was described as “not only training

physical education and sports teachers but, perhaps above all else... to bring together the countries of Latin American and the Caribbean” (2000d). Castro further called for the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean to unite, asserting “they need it badly if they want to preserve their identity, their culture, their independence, and their hopes of one day constituting one big nation” (2000d). The construct also emerged through Castro’s substituting a much-cherished Revolutionary catchphrase for a call of solidarity: “I will not say *Patria o Muerte*. I will rather say: Long live internationalism” (2000d)!

The *Moral-cultural richness* construct was expressed through references describing Cuban citizens as capital for the Revolution:

A small country, a blockaded country that has yet to emerge from the special period can do these things thanks to its human capital, because what costs them 100 dollars costs us one dollar, because human capital cannot be bought with money, nor can all the money in the world achieve what can be achieved with human capital. (Castro, 2000d)

This construct was also expressed through a series of references to Cuba’s various cultural-social achievements, including Olympic victories and the creation of works of literature, and also through references to Cuba’s strong political and social unity: “Our country has shown how much the people of a small country are capable of enduring, what they are capable of doing” (2000d). Conversely, the *Moral-cultural bankruptcy* construct was expressed through a series of references to the lack of ethics and justice in capitalist countries, which were described as suffering from “low ethics... low sense of morale and... precarious dignity” (2000d), for “being rich does not mean being educated” (2000d), and

the noble and extraordinary idea of solidarity and internationalism does not exist in the rich, developed, capitalist world. Such ideas can only arise

from the heart of a society that struggles for brotherhood among peoples and nations, one that struggles for justice in the world. (2000d)

This construct was also expressed through a series of references to the damaging effects commercialization has on social institutions, especially the institutions of health care, which commercialization has turned “into a form of merchandise” (2000d), and sports, which is victim to a “vile and vulgar commercialization” (2000d) that Cuba is “practically struggling alone against” (2000d).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 5, the Ideological-intangible forces and resources / Physical-material forces and resources IB set was subjected to one primary destabilization / resolution set: *Voluntary emigration of Cubans / Cuba as able to offer more now.* The destabilization emerged through Castro’s acknowledgement that “when the Revolution triumphed, the United States opened its doors to all of the doctors who wanted to leave Cuba, and of the 6000 in the country at the time, only 3000 stayed” (2000d). This destabilization was resolved by the assertion that contemporary, more highly educated Cubans choose to remain on the island: “Today, there are more university graduates in Cuba than there were sixth-grade graduates at the time of the triumph of the Revolution” (2000d).

Speech 6 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 6 was given May 1, 2001 (International Labor Day), in Revolution Square, Havana, at the May Day Rally. The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 3,083.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 6.

Humanizing orientation / Dehumanizing orientation

In speech 6, this orientation appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *U.S. government as exterminator*, *Commodification-consumption of poor countries* and *Proliferation of synthetic products*. The *U.S. government as exterminator* construct was expressed through several references to the destructive actions of the U.S., which had “practically exterminated the indigenous peoples” (Castro, 2001a) in their advance westward and had imposed a “genocidal blockade” (2001a) on Cuba. The *Commodification-consumption of poor countries* construct appeared extensively in speech 6. Latin America and the Caribbean were described as playing the “sad role of a supplier of raw materials and increasingly cheap labor, as compared to the salaries paid in the United States” (2001a). References were also made to an increasingly homogenized world in which all industry, including hospitality and entertainment, would be owned by the U.S. (2001a) and all national currencies would be swallowed by the dollar (2001a). Castro predicted that such a future would impose “such inequality that it is tantamount to nothing less than the total absorption of the economies of the Latin American and Caribbean countries by that of the United States” (2001a), but offered the warning that such a future would not be tolerated by Latin American and Caribbean countries: “Let nobody be fooled into thinking that the peoples will sit back doing nothing and allow to be sold like slaves at an auction” (2001a). Relatedly, the *Proliferation of synthetic products* construct was expressed through references to the replacement of raw

commodities such as fiber and sugar and rubber with synthetic equivalents (2001a) and references to the U.S. cultivation of “genetically modified grains, with much higher crop yields, heedless of its implications for human health” (2001a).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

In speech 6, this orientation appeared in the form of two constructs: *Revolution as paternalistic entity* and *Latin-South America as an extended family*. The *Revolution as paternalistic entity* construct was expressed through a reference to Cuban citizens as the “sons and daughters” (Castro, 2001a) of Cuba. The *Latin-South America as an extended family* construct was expressed through a reference to Puerto Rico as Cuba’s “twin sister” (2001a) in the struggle for liberation.

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 6, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization, *Latin American countries as siding with the U.S.*, which was paired with two resolutions: *They were forced to for economic reasons* and *They are trapped in history*. The destabilization itself was implicit. The first resolution emerged through the assertion that many such countries are the economic victims of agreements of the Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas (ALCA), or Free Trade Area of the Americas: “it is only logical that many others, in the desperation created by enormous and unpayable debts and total economic dependence, will be led to the suicide of the FTAA” (Castro, 2001a). The second emerged through the description of countries that support ALCA agreements as having mindsets “frozen on the demands of half a century ago” (2001a), “as if they were still living in the middle of the last century” (2001a).

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 6, this orientation appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *References to past-future Cubans*, *Continuous struggle* and *Largeness of history*. The *References to past-future Cubans* construct emerged in a statement Castro made about preserving moments in history on film: “The filmed images of that day must be carefully preserved, so that future generations can see how their parents and grandparents achieved victory, and so that they may relive in part the emotion of the time” (Castro, 2001a). The *Continuous struggle* construct emerged in a statement asserting that the safe return of Elián González to Cuba in no way indicated a victory over the U.S.: “The struggle did not cease when the boy returned with his father, it had barely just begun” (2001a). The *Largeness of history* construct emerged in a statement condemning other Latin American countries for siding against Cuba: “With a despicable wretchedness that will go down in history as an unprecedented example of infamy, all of the governments of Latin America, with the exception of Mexico, joined more or less willingly in the isolation and blockade of Cuba” (2001a).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 6, the Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization: *Crucial moment*. The *Crucial moment* destabilization emerged through several statements suggesting the singularity of the present moment, in which Cuban people were said to have achieved “the highest degree of unity ever” (2001a) and through the assertion that, “internationally, there has never been such confusion, discontent and insecurity” (2001a). This destabilization was paired with no resolutions.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In speech 6, this orientation appeared in the form of two primary constructs: *Religious references* and *Light-dark imagery*. The *religious references* construct appeared through the assertion that the Organización de los Estados Americanos (OEA), or Organization of American States, had “sold its soul to the devil” (Castro, 2001a) by choosing to support the U.S. embargo. The *Light-dark imagery* construct appeared in the statement that “imperialism cannot escape from its own shadow” (2001a).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.
Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In speech 6, this orientation appeared in the form of two primary constructs: *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources* and *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*. The *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources* construct appeared in the description of Cubans as having “gained vast political experience and moral, patriotic and internationalist strength” which had allowed the country to enter “the new millennium with renewed energy and greater strength”(Castro, 2001a). The *Moral-cultural bankruptcy* construct emerged in descriptions of the U.S. and other capitalist countries as enemies that are “powerful in every way, except for ethics and ideas” (2001a), and from whom nothing good should be expected: “what can be expected today of those bourgeois and oligarchic governments, devoid of any political or ethical principles, who voted alongside the United States in Geneva” (2001a)?

Speech 7 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 7 was given Dec. 2, 2001, at Antonio Maceo Square, Santiago de Cuba, at a ceremony commemorating the 45th anniversary of the landing of the Granma yacht expedition and the birth of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR), or Revolutionary Armed Forces. The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 3,052.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 7.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In speech 7, this IB set appeared in the form of two primary constructs: *Revolution as humanizing* and *Power of humanity*. The *Revolution as humanizing* construct emerged in a reference to the events that immediately preceded the start of the Revolution. Castro explained that the landing of the *Granma* yacht expedition was delayed when one of the passengers fell overboard: “A man fell overboard into the dark, turbulent seas in the early morning hours of December 2. He could not be left abandoned, even if it meant stealing those extra minutes of life or death from the already scarce time” (Castro, 2001b). The *Power of humanity* construct emerged through several references to the ability of humanity to triumph over threats imposed by technology and globalization: “The most sophisticated technology they employ to try to turn us into slaves or subjects of a universal imperial power are not and never will be able to defeat the conscience and

intelligence of human beings” (2001b). Likewise, Castro predicted that force’s power to “subdue and dominate humanity will become ever more diminished” (2001b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 7, this IB set appeared in the form of two primary constructs:

Continuous struggle and *Largeness of history*. The *Continuous struggle* construct emerged in a description of the early days of the Revolution as a time of “continuous learning” (Castro, 2001b) and in the assertion that Cubans would “fight restlessly ever onward to victory” (2001b). The *Largeness of history* construct emerged through Castro’s description of himself as “someone who is very much aware of the limited role played by individuals in history” (2001b) and through the assertion that “It will be up to others to judge the events in which we became active participants” (2001b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization emerged through a series of references that presented both the early and contemporary days of the Revolution as constitutive moments. The particulars of the Granma’s landing in Cuba are described as fraught with peril (Castro, 2001b), a time when “anxiety was running high” (2001b). However, Castro reminded his audience that it was they who “will live in the most difficult and decisive century of human history” (2001b) and it was asserted that those who took part in the Granma expedition “would be envious of every one of you for the struggle that now lies before you” (2001b). This destabilization was paired with no resolution.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in the form of three primary constructs in speech 7: *Light-dark imagery*, *Revolution as sacred* and *Transcendentalism*. The first construct emerged during Castro's recounting of the Granma expedition's initial landing: "we had a glimpse of the land with the first light of dawn, and a group of illuminated buoys" (Castro, 2001b). The second construct emerged through the description of preparation for protecting the Revolution as a "sacred duty" (2001b). The third construct emerged through the simple description of the new objectives of the Revolution as "transcendental" (2001b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.
Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In speech 7, this IB set appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *Power of ideas*, *Triumph of Revolution* and *Cuba's infinite ideological resources*. The *Power of ideas* construct emerged through extensive references to ideas and ideology as a significant source of Cuban strength, valued always above force or military might:

There is no weapon more powerful than a profound conviction and clear idea of what must be done. It is with these kinds of weapons, which do not require enormous sums of money, but only the capacity to create and transmit just ideas and values, that our people will be increasingly armed. (Castro, 2001b)

This seemingly limitless power of ideas was described as "the most important weapon of all" (2001b), a force capable even of conquering the world (2001b).

The *Defeat of militarily superior enemy* construct emerged through the recounting of Cuba's unlikely defeat of the U.S. at the start of the Revolution, when Cuban people,

“the vast majority of whom did not possess the high degree of knowledge and political conscience we see today, but whose courage and patriotism knew absolutely no limits, were free for the first time” (Castro, 2001b). The *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources* construct emerged through the assertion that “each and every man or woman, wherever they may be, can be an army” (2001b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. This IB set was subjected to one primary destabilization / resolution set: *Failure of socialism-communism / Failure-of socialism-communism as result of corruption.* The destabilization emerged through the indirect acknowledgment of the failure of the Soviet Union: “We managed to continue forward, when a whole sector of the progressive world born of the profound social revolution that took place at the beginning of last century, in spite of its epic achievements, collapsed before its old capitalist adversary” (Castro, 2001b). The destabilization was resolved by the assertion that this failure was the result of systemic as opposed to theoretical weaknesses: “It was unable to overcome its own errors and successfully confront the anachronistic ideology and dirty tricks of the oppressive and exploitative system that it had set to overcome in order to change the world” (2001b).

Speech 8 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 8 was given April 4, 2002, at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana during the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Union de Jovenes Comunistas (UJC), or Union of Young Communists. The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 1,037.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 8.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In speech 8, this orientation appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *Revolution as human*, *Revolution as humanizing* and *Power of humanity*. The *Revolution as human* construct emerged through a series of references describing the Revolution and its concurrent organizations in metaphors of human development. The UJC was described as having been “born” (Castro, 2002a) on April 4, 1962, coming “to life at an exceptional moment” (2002a) shortly after the Revolution took its “first radical steps” (2002a). A reference was also made to “the fertile history” of the UJC. The *Revolution as humanizing* construct emerged through two statements describing the Revolution’s commitment to furthering humanity. The goals of the Revolution were described as being “to create the most fraternal and human society imaginable, where all forces and all resources are devoted to the service of humankind” (2002a) and it was asserted that the Cuban people “are designing and building the most just and human society ever seen” (2002a). Finally, the *Power of humanity* construct was expressed through the assertion that the Battle of Ideas itself had been waged not only on behalf of Cubans, but also on behalf of “the whole of humanity” (2002a), and through the statement, “humanity is homeland” (2002a).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was subjected to one major destabilization / resolution set in speech 8: *Cuba as human-rights violator / Cuban human-rights violations as justified*. The destabilization,

which called into question earlier assertions about the primacy Cuba places on humanity and human life, emerged through the acknowledgment that a number of dissidents were murdered during the early days of the Revolution. This destabilization was resolved by euphemistically describing the murders as “exemplary punishment[s]” (Castro, 2002a) meted out to people who were themselves “murderers and torturers” (2002a).

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 8, this orientation appeared in the form of three constructs: *Focus on youth*, *Continuous struggle* and *References to past-future Cubans*. The *Focus on youth* construct emerged in several references to the central role youth played in both the early and contemporary days of the Revolution. Castro described the first rebel army fighters as being “so young that most of the leaders and officers could have been members of the Union of Young Communists” (Castro, 2002a) and credited them with ushering the Revolution in: “It was at this tense and glorious moment, that our combative youth stepped ahead as an organized force and a bulwark of our nation” (2002a). Contemporary youth were described as being the vanguard of the Revolution’s continued efforts to build a just society (2002a) and these youth were offered the following words of encouragement: “Forward dear Cuban youth! Forward, dear students! Forward dear children! The world will be entirely yours” (2002a). The *Continuous struggle* construct emerged through a reference to the strength of human character: “What a capacity to struggle, resist and multiply their strengths in the most adverse conditions” (2002a)! The *References to past-future Cubans* was expressed through the following statement: “I admire and dearly love the youth of yesterday and today, and I envy the youth of tomorrow. It is as if I could already see them looming over the horizon” (2002a).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one major destabilization in speech 8: *Crucial moment*. The first destabilization emerged through the assertion that “our people are engaged in the greatest battle of ideas that could be waged in such a crucial phase for our homeland and for the whole of humanity” (Castro, 2002a), a statement that challenged the privileging of a long-term orientation. This destabilization was paired with no resolution.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In speech 8, this orientation appeared in the form of two constructs: *Defeat of militarily superior enemy* and *Power of ideas*. The *Defeat of militarily superior enemy* construct was expressed through a reference to the military prowess of early counterrevolutionaries: “The first mercenary gangs were organized and heavily armed but were fiercely resisted” (Castro, 2002a). The *Power of ideas* construct was expressed through the assertion that the Battle of Ideas “is not merely about principles... it is about concrete actions and realizations” (2002a).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Speech 9 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Speech 9 was given May 1, 2002 (International Labor Day), in Revolution Square, Havana, during a celebration of International Workers’ Day. The word count for the English-language version of the speech totaled 3,384.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from speech 9.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In speech 9, this orientation appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *Revolution as humanizing*, *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* and *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity*. The *Revolution as humanizing* construct emerged through references to the Revolution's "extraordinary humanism" (Castro, 2002b) and the Cuban people's "full and profound understanding of freedom, equality and human dignity" (2002b), and through Castro's assertion that he had "never humiliated, offended nor wreaked revenge on a single prisoner" (2002b). The *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* construct was expressed through a references to the U.S.'s economic, political and social system as being a "a total negation of all possibility of equality, freedom, democracy, human dignity and justice" (2002b) and through the assertion that the U.S.'s inclusion of restrictions on medicine and food in the embargo could be "classified as a crime of genocide by the 1948 and 1949 conventions" (2002b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. In speech 9, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization: *Cuba as human-rights violator*. This destabilization emerged through the admission that Cuba had been "condemned in Geneva by those who believe that this sea of people gathered here... has been deprived of its human rights" (2002b). The destabilization was paired by the following resolution: *Cuba's detractors as unqualified to judge it*. This resolution emerged through a series of references suggesting that the Latin American countries who had condemned Cuba were "well below achieving the educational, cultural and social rates that are essential for a healthy, decent and just life of their citizens" (2002b), incapable of understanding "the complex problems of the world and the society in which they live" (2002b) and inferior

to Cuba in all areas of development (2002b). They were also referred to as “lackeys” (2002b) and “bootlickers” (2002b) of the U.S. government.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

In speech 9, this orientation appeared in the form of one primary construct: *Latin-South America as extended family*. This construct emerged in the description of other Latin Americans as “brothers” (2002b), and of Cuba and of Bolivia in particular as a “sister nation” (2002b) to Cuba.

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In speech 9, this orientation appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *Continuous struggle*, *Largeness of history* and *Endurance of discomfort*. The *Continuous Struggle* construct emerged through references to Cuba’s long history of “rebellion and patriotic struggle” (2002b), which included “43 years of tenacious and unrelenting struggle against the powerful empire” (2002b) and Cuba’s success in “free[ing] itself from Spanish colonialism after a heroic and lone struggle” (2002b). The *Largeness of history* construct appeared in the form of a reference to “the honorable history of our Motherland” (2002b) and in Castro’s assertion that he’d refused to keep conversations between Cuba and the U.S. classified: “I did not hesitate in expressing the need and duty to leave a historical record of that conversation which they asked me to keep private only once it had already begun” (2002b). Finally, the *Endurance of discomfort* construct appeared in the form of a reference to Cuba’s resilience after the collapse of the Soviet Union: “all believed that the Cuban Revolution would be on its knees in just a few weeks, our people endured with unprecedented heroism and resilience” (2002b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. This orientation was subjected no major destabilization / resolution sets.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In speech 9, this orientation appeared in the form of one primary construct: *Religious references.* This construct was expressed through a reference to the tenets of Catholicism: “Lying is and will always be unjustifiable from a political, ethical and religious perspective. From what I remember of the catechism lessons I received in 1st Grade in a Catholic school, it violates the eighth commandment of God’s law” (2002b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In speech 9, this orientation appeared in the form of four major constructs: *Power of ideas, Moral-cultural richness, Moral-cultural bankruptcy* and *Defeat of militarily superior enemy.* The *Power of ideas* construct emerged through the following statement about Cubans: “It is with their courage, intelligence and ideas that they have defended themselves from the most powerful empire the world has ever known” (2002b). The *Moral-cultural richness* construct was expressed through a series of references to ethics, morals and loyalty. Cuba was described as a “powerful moral force” (2002b), and Castro described himself as capable of “distinguish[ing] the ethical from the unethical” (2002b) and as consistently “loyal to the truth and to the people” (2002b). Conversely, the *Moral-cultural bankruptcy* construct was expressed through two references to the unethical behavior of other Latin American countries: “When Cuba’s honor, morale and credibility were called into question by the disagreement with the host country, it became... clear

that hypocrisy and lies are inseparable and almost unique tools of the prevailing political and economic system in Latin America” (2002b). The cryptic statement was also made that “the vestal virgins of the temple of hypocrisy tore their clothes in the name of privacy” (2002b). Finally, the *Defeat of militarily superior enemy* construct appeared in the form of two references to the past victories of Cuba, a country “that once stood alone in battle against practically every one of the predecessors to those governments that voted against Cuba” (2002b) and that had “heroically resisted without a moment’s weakness on the brink of being wiped off the face of the Earth in the October Crisis of 1962” (2002b).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Juventud Rebelde stories: Diachronic and Synchronic Findings

The findings for the story set are presented below in two sections. First, the results of a series of synchronic analyses examining the form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within each of the 17 individual stories is presented. Second, the results of a diachronic analysis examining the form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within the story set as a whole is presented.

Juventud Rebelde Stories: Diachronic Findings

A Summary of Content

The story set contained 17 stories in total, all printed in *Juventud Rebelde* between the dates of December 5, 1999, and April 10, 2002. The English-language versions of the stories averaged 604 words in length, with the two shortest stories totaling 309 words each and the longest story totaling 1,256 words.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

Within the story set, the following IB sets emerged as dominant:

Humanizing orientation / Dehumanizing orientation. This IB set appeared in stories 1, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17. As with the speech set, this IB was expressed most prominently through a series of ideographic constructs that presented the Revolution as having both human and humanizing qualities and attributes and that presented opposing belief systems and governmental structures as being essentially inhuman and dehumanizing. Dissidents were described as vermin who had committed crimes against humanity in their frequent use of violent and brutal tactics, the U.S. was described as a mob of terrorists who had brought the rest of the world to its knees, and the Pre-Revolutionary Cuban government was described as a bloody dictatorship. Various Cuban organizations were described as having been born of the Revolution and the particulars of the embargo were described in their totality as an inhuman and merciless burden. This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that described the U.N. as a dehumanizing force and the U.S. government as an exterminating force that had destroyed Latin America through colonization and had carelessly caused the deaths of countless other innocent people. Within the story set, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was subjected to one unresolved destabilization which called into question its emphasis on humanizing governance through the acknowledgment that other countries had expressed concern about the human rights situation in Cuba.

Paternalistic-familial orientation / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation. This IB set appeared in stories 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 17. Within the story set, this IB was expressed most prominently through a series of ideographic constructs that presented Cuba and the

Cuban revolution as having great respect for paternalism and family rights. Direct quotes from the González family and from other Cuban citizens were used to emphasize the strong bonds that exist within Cuban families and frequent references were made to the importance of respect and the high value young Cubans place on having families of their own someday. The assertion was also made that the embargo could be battled using nothing more than love. The U.S. was also presented as a force that undermines and disrespects individual families, as evidenced by its treatment of the González family in particular and its victimization of Cuban youth through the embargo, although these negative apprenticeships appeared less frequently. This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that universalized Elián's situation to any Cuban who cares about family and described displays of solidarity with Cuba expressed by other South and Latin American countries.

Within the story set, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set was subjected to several destabilizations which called into question Cuba's highly paternalistic status. The most prominent of these destabilizations acknowledged that family is highly valued in the U.S. but resolved the contradiction by asserting that these U.S. citizens are also victims of the U.S. government, and that if U.S. citizens truly loved their children, they'd side with Cuba and demand Elián's return. Cuba's paternalistic status was also called into question through the acknowledgment that some young Cubans choose to emigrate from Cuba. This was resolved through the assertion that such emigration is the result of the U.S.'s efforts to mislead young Cubans about the reality of life in the U.S.

Long-term orientation / Short-term orientation. This IB set appeared prominently in stories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15 and 17. As with the speech set, this IB was expressed most prominently within the story set through a series of ideographic constructs that focused on the longer story of Cuban history. Current events were placed within the context of the Revolution's entire history through numerous references to the past and the future and numerous linkages of history and historical figures to contemporary events, with the focus consistently on Cuban youth. Youth were frequently described as being central to the Revolution, and as being in training to defend its legitimacy far into the future in a manner similar to the training the original revolutionaries underwent. Various events commemorating Revolutionary anniversaries were described and the youth themselves expressed feelings of strong connection to Revolutionary heroes such as Che Guevara and Jose Martí. Emphasis was also placed on the continuous progress and growth of the Revolution and of Cubans. Cuban organizations such as the UJC and the agricultural and industrial sectors were presented as constantly progressing. Emphasis was also placed on the fact that Cuban youth had endured the embargo their entire lives.

Within the story set, the Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one central destabilization which called into question this youth-oriented, long-term view of contemporary events by focusing on the present as an exceptional moment, and by describing Cuba as being locked in a battle against time. This destabilization appeared most prominently in stories published immediately after the millennium, which was described as an exceptional moment for a world overwhelmed by cataclysmic events. No resolutions were offered within the stories to this destabilization.

Benevolent superhuman forces and resources / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources. This IB set appeared in stories 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 16. Within the story set, this IB was expressed most prominently through a series of ideographic constructs that relied heavily on religious metaphor to describe people and events. Frequent references were made to spirituality in general and to the souls of Elián González and other Cubans, which were described as being in spiritual anguish because of the actions of the U.S.

Within the story set, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set was subjected to no destabilizations.

Ideological-intangible forces and resources / Physical-material forces and resources.

This IB set appeared in stories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. Within the story set, this IB was expressed most prominently through a series of ideographic constructs that worked to emphasize Cuba's moral and cultural richness as well as its emphasis on the importance of ideas and its infinite ideological resources, and to present Cuba as having strong ties with other countries. This was achieved within the story sets through frequent references to Cuba's rich cultural heritage and to the strong emotionality and trust with which contemporary Cubans regarded the Revolution. Often, these references appeared in the form of quotes from Cuban people, including the family of Elián González. Cuban youth were presented as hungry for knowledge and Cubans in general were described as rejecting hatred in favor of justice and peace. The massive numbers of Cubans attending various rallies and forums for Revolutionary causes and the growth of the UJC were presented as evidence of the high degree of unity within Cuba, where all people were described as speaking in the language of the Revolution. Foreign visitors were described as highly impressed by the culture, intelligence and class equality present in Cuban

society. Heavy emphasis was also placed on the strength of Cuba's diplomatic relationships with other countries, as evidenced by Castro's diplomatic visits to other countries, during which he was described as having been loved and welcomed along with his Revolutionary ideology. Cuba was also presented as welcoming of young people to its own country, and as sympathetic to the plight of other poor countries. Conversely, emphasis was also placed on the fundamental moral and cultural bankruptcy of enemy countries. This was expressed specifically through descriptions of the U.S.'s treatment of the González family and of the U.N.'s catering to rich and powerful countries as well as descriptions of Cuban disgust at the actions of the US., as evidenced by the UJC's growing numbers. This IB set was also expressed through a series of less prominent ideographic constructs that worked to connect the case of Elián González to larger ideological issues. His plight was universalized on several levels, first, to the plight of all Cubans, and then, to the plight of all peoples of the world, whose hopes for a better future were described as resting with him. After González was returned to Cuba in June 2000, his Miamian relatives were described as having been soundly defeated.

Within the story set, the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set was subjected to several destabilizations which called into question the assertion that ideological might was preferable to physical and material might. It was acknowledged that optimism in Cuban had lessened since the collapse of the Soviet Union, that good ideological intentions had not, in its case, been sufficient. Continued poverty in Cuba was also addressed through descriptions of practical scarcities that plagued the Cuban educational system, including lack of material essentials such as books, which were described as leading to significant frustration and hampered

achievement among Cuban youth. Resolution was achieved through the assertion that such sacrifices, although difficult, are ultimately insignificant in comparison with the rich inner world cultivated in Cubans by the Revolution. The unresolved acknowledgment was also made that technology could be useful. Attention was also given to the continued potential for criminality in Cuba, as evidenced by the actions of the Cuban dissident movement, who had rejected Revolutionary ideology and perpetrated attacks against the Revolution and its allies. This was resolved through assertions that these dissidents were criminals who had been misled by the U.S. and who would ultimately be identified and eradicated by the Revolution's programs.

Changes Over Time

The form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within the story set was subjected to several primary alterations and reconfigurations between December 1999 and May 2002. Most of these alterations and reconfigurations occurred with regards to which IB sets appeared within the stories.

Two IB sets emerged from the stories consistently throughout the period in question. The Long-term / Short Term orientation IB set appeared in all but four stories in a fairly consistent form which emphasized history, growth and struggle. Within the story set, this IB set was resistant to destabilization, although the current moment was several times acknowledged as crucial in the trajectory of Cuban history. Similarly, the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set appeared in all 17 stories and placed emphasis on the power of ideas and Cuba's strong solidarity with other countries. This IB set was similarly resistant to destabilization, although the usefulness of

technology and the problematic host of material shortages plaguing Cuba were acknowledged several times.

However, the other IB sets behaved more erratically within the stories. The Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set appeared heavily in the first half of the set, with a focus placed on religious references, and then all but disappeared in the second half of the set. This IB set was subjected to no destabilizations within the story set. Similarly, during the first half of the time period under analysis, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individual IB set appeared in five of the first six stories published, with a heavy emphasis placed on presenting Cuba as highly respecting of the rights of individual families, but this IB set disappeared after story 6 and didn't reappear again until the final story in the set. This IB set was destabilized by the acknowledgment that some U.S. families respect paternalism, but only twice. Conversely, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set emerged infrequently in the early stories, but was present in every story published after December 2001, with particular emphasis placed on presenting the Revolution as a humanizing force and on presenting anti-Revolutionary countries as highly dehumanizing. This IB was completely resistant to destabilization.

Juventud Rebelde: Single-Text Synchronic Findings

The following analyses examine the form and functioning of ideographic binary sets within seventeen feature stories published in *Juventud Rebelde* between the dates of December 5, 1999, and April 10, 2002.

Story 1 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 1, published Dec. 5, 1999, and titled “Birthday Far From Home,” commemorated Elián González’s upcoming birthday and included interviews with people close to him and a discussion of the unsatisfactory conditions under which he was being kept in Miami. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 604.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 1.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 1 in the form of one construct: *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity*. This construct emerged through the description of the U.S. as a “coven of manipulation” (Fernández, 1999, p. 8) and of those in Miami who supported the U.S.’s holding of Elián González as “vermin” (p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

In story 1, this IB set appeared in the form of three primary constructs: *Cuban respect for rights of individual families*, *U.S. government as non-paternalistic entity* and *Universalisation of suffering*. The first construct, *Cuban respect for rights of individual families*, was expressed through two quotes from members of the González family. González’s maternal grandmother was quoted as saying, “Nobody can imagine the attachment the child [Elián] has with his dad” (Fernández, 1999, p. 8), while González’s stepmother was quoted as saying, “We are one family” (p. 8). The second construct, *U.S.*

government as non-paternalistic entity, was also expressed through a quote from a family member, this time a cousin: “He will return because there they don’t love him, and here we do” (p. 8). The last construct, *Universalisation of suffering*, was expressed through a quote from an elderly woman who lived in González’s neighborhood: “Not only those who have children or grandchildren are shuddering. Who would allow a child, brother, cousin, nephew, relative or close friend, to be railroaded as has been done with Elián” (p. 8)?

Destabilization / resolution sets. This orientation was subjected to one destabilization / resolution set in story 1: *U.S. families as respecting paternalism / U.S. families would side with Cuba in Elián’s case*. This destabilization emerged and was resolved within a single quote from an elderly neighbor of González: “We suppose that they [U.S. citizens] also love their grandchildren... Can they imagine what would happen if this was done to them? I think they have been tricked.” (Fernández, 1999, p. 8).

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 1, this IB set appeared in the form of one construct: *Focus on youth*. This construct was expressed through the assertion that issues pertaining to Cuba are discussed openly with Cuban youth: “Nowadays, we speak plainly about issues like this with children” (Fernández, 1999, p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In story 1, this IB set emerged in the form of two constructs: *Moral-cultural richness* and *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*. The first construct was expressed through a quote from Juan Miguel González, who asserted with confidence that truth was on his

side: “I’m sure that he will return. I trust in our government... There will be no trial and my defense lawyer is the morale and support of the Cuban people” (Fernández, 1999, p. 8). The *Moral-cultural bankruptcy* construct also emerged through a quote from Juan Miguel González that expressed his distress over the U.S. guardians’ attempts to Americanize Elián: “At that moment, when we finished talking he said goodbye in English and I had to ask him to do so in Spanish. It is to this level that he is being manipulated” (p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 2 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 2, published Dec. 26, 1999, and titled “The Sun Does Not Rise, Your Face Does,” recounted the events of “Singing to the Sun,” a musical performance dedicated to Elián González that kicked off Cuba’s seventh annual Festival of Children’s Songs. Also discussed was what elements a song must have in order to become a classic. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 680.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 2.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 2 in the form of two constructs: *Cuban respect for the rights of individual families* and *Universalisation of suffering*. The first construct emerged through the assertion that deep respect for children is an essential element of any classic Cuban song (Reyes, 1999, p. 8). The second emerged through the suggestion that

Elián González's presence was felt constantly throughout the celebration, as the show "brought happiness to children without ignoring the little captive in Miami" (p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 2 in the form of two constructs: *Largeness of history* and *References to past-future Cubans*. The first construct emerged through the assertion that it isn't entirely possible to predict or determine which children's songs will eventually be thought of as classics: "What does it take for a children's song to become a classic? That is always a mystery" (Reyes, 1999, p. 8). The second construct emerged through a description of the young performers as all being in the likeness of Jose Martí (p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in story 2 in the form of three constructs: *Light-dark imagery*, *Religious references* and *Transcendentalism*. The first construct was expressed implicitly through the program's title, "Singing to the Sun" (Reyes, 1999, p. 8), and explicitly through a description of the stage where the performance took place: "A sun with thick eyebrows hangs in the middle of the stage and it winks with one eye" (p. 8). The second construct, *Religious references*, was expressed through the description of the performance as "a breath of spirituality" (p. 8). The third construct, *Transcendentalism*, emerged through a discussion of the difficulty of writing a song that is able to transcend the moment it is written in and achieve a longer lasting relevance: "there is also the

opinion that these songs do not transcend the event... even the writer does not know if a song will transcend” (p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in story 2 in the form of three constructs: *Power of youth*, *Unity-solidarity with other countries* and *Moral-cultural richness*. The *Power of youth* construct was expressed through a description of the energy of the children at the performance: “Children didn’t make up the majority, but they gave off the majority of the energy here” (Reyes, 1999, p. 8). The *Unity-solidarity with other poor countries* construct emerged through a listing of the countries from which some of the young performers came, which included Palestine, Quebec, Belgium, Haiti and Argentina. These performers were described as having “joined in an ecumenical vocation that hinted at a meeting that arose with enormous prospects” (p. 8). Finally, the *Moral-cultural richness* construct was expressed through several references to Cuba’s rich musical heritage and the increasing tendency of Cubans to create traditional music (p. 8).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 3 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 3, published Jan. 1, 2000, and titled “The Year of Dreams,” discussed the goals, dreams and hopes Cuban youth had for the year 2000, based on a survey of dozens of young adults and adolescents. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 1,128.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 3.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This IB set emerged from story 3 in the form of one construct: *Cuban respect for rights of individual families*. This construct was expressed through the assertion that having children and seeing them grow up, owning a home and meeting the partner of one's dreams were primary aspirations of Cuban youth (Perera & Fernández, 1999, p. 4). This construct suggests a high value placed on having and caring for family.

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 3 in the form of two constructs: *Future orientation* and *Continuous growth*. The *Future orientation* construct was expressed through the story's emphasis on young Cubans' predictions for the year 2000, a year described in terms of great anticipation: "Those of us who today are around the age of thirty, looked with great respect since childhood to the arrival of the prodigious number of the three zeros" (Perera & Fernández, 1999, p. 4). The *Continuous growth* construct was expressed through the assertion that "the explicit or private nature of every human being is the constant pursuit of goals" (p. 4) and through the following quote, from an unattributed source: "human beings tend to be ambitious and when we achieve specific goals we set ourselves to reach more" (p. 4).

Destabilization / resolution sets. This IB set was subjected to one primary destabilization: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization appeared extensively in story 3, as the story focused

on presenting 2000 as a “unique year for its three zeroes,” (Perera & Fernández, 1999, p. 4) which “could not be treated just like any other year” (p. 4). Similarly, the article described the world as existing in a consistently crucial moment, living as it does “each year through a whirlwind of overwhelming events,” (p. 4). One student was quoted as saying, “What apocalypse in the year 2000 were they talking about? The world seems to be ending every day with so much hunger and war” (p. 4). This extended destabilization was paired with no resolutions.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Religious references* and *Transcendentalism*. The first construct appeared in a reference to historical predictions for the new millennium: “a long line of prophets—some convincingly and others opportunistically—had predicted through history... the apocalyptic end of human experience” (Perera & Fernández, 1999, p. 4). The second construct appeared in the description of Jan. 1, 2000 as “the day marked as transcendental in the calendar” (p. 4) and in the discussion of one unattributed source’s prediction that “the arrival of 2000 meant the end of the mysteries and enigmas of the world” (p. 4).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources* and *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*. The first construct emerged through the statement that “to find solutions for all the problems afflicting the country” (Perera & Fernández, 1999, p. 4) was a primary goal of Cuban youth. The *Moral-cultural*

bankruptcy construct was expressed through the following quote from an unattributed source: “I am not satisfied because material interests and ambition have grown in some parts of society. That has to stop in order for society to become more balanced” (p. 4).

Destabilization / resolution sets. This IB set was subjected to one destabilization in story 3: *Failure of socialism-communism*. This destabilization was expressed through a quote from a 28-year-old Cuban, who admitted to having thought that by the year 2000,

the Cold War would have ended, and that some of the communism that Marx spoke of could be touched with your hands. But since the Soviet Union collapsed and with it many good intentions, I imagined that the start of 2000 could not be much. (Perera & Fernández, 1999, p. 4)

No resolution was present.

Story 4 – Synchronic Analysis

Story 4, published Feb. 6, 2000, and titled “For Elián, Until the Palms,” recounted the details of a gathering of 100,000 citizens rallying in the Open Forum for the return of Elián González. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 310.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 4.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 4, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Future orientation* and *Focus on youth*. The *Future orientation* construct was expressed through the following quotation, attributed to Julio Llanes, a children’s writer: ““When Elián returns, we will raise a kite together, and as time passes, we can set our children and

grandchildren on our knees and tell them a real story” (Borrego, 2000, p. 1). The *Focus on youth* construct was expressed through the assertion that “‘children do not just know how to love,’ but also teach and oblige us to love” (p.1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Justice* and *Nature*. The *Justice* construct emerged in a reference to Llanes’ statement that Elián González would ultimately be “‘rescued by the infinite power of justice” (Borrego, 2000, p. 1). The *Nature* construct appeared in a statement suggesting that the emotion Cubans felt for González might be strong enough to act as a force of nature: “If the warmth and affection that accompany and fortify us would walk with the wind... back in Miami, Elián must have felt less alone, less sad and a little safer” (p. 1). It also emerged in a quote attributed to writer Tomás Alvares de los Ríos: “‘even the palms shook their plumes for the return of our child” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In story 4, this IB set appeared in the form of three constructs: *Moral-cultural richness*, *Unity-solidarity with other countries* and *Universalisation of suffering-struggle*. The *Moral-cultural richness* construct emerged in the description of the large crowd of Cubans gathered in the Open Forum as being “filled by the common need to express the mandate of the heart” (Borrego, 2001, p. 1). The *Unity-solidarity with other countries* construct emerged in the assertion that González would ultimately be “saved by the

immense love of all honest men and women of the earth” (p. 1). The *Universalisation of suffering-struggle* construct emerged through the assertion that “In saving Elián, we save the hope of the world” (p. 1) and the description of the gathered crowd as wanting to “join the little one with reasons of the soul” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 5 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 5, published March 5, 2000, and titled “Blockade Against Hope,” discussed the ways in which Cuban youth had been negatively impacted by the U.S. embargo, including its impact on education, health care and basic human necessities. Also included was an overview of how Cubans were dealing with the resultant shortages. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 1,304.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 5.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In story 5, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* and *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity*. The first construct emerged in the description of the embargo as an “inhuman burden” imposed upon Cuba (Robbio, 2000, p. 6) and a “merciless economic siege” (p. 6) that “batters” (p. 6) Cuban youth. The *Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity* construct emerged in the description of the economic embargo as having omnipotent qualities. University professor Carlos del Porto was quoted as saying that “there is no space in which the blockade doesn’t exist” (2000, p. 6).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 5 in three constructs: *Revolution as paternalistic entity*, *U.S. government as non-paternalistic entity* and *U.S. disrespect for rights of individual families*. The *Revolution as paternalistic entity* construct appeared through the assertion that the embargo can only be overcome by love. Carlos del Porto was quoted as saying, “when we teach a class with love, or try to live our lives with love, we are breaking free from the fence” (Robbio, 2000, p. 6). The *U.S. government as non-paternalistic entity* construct emerged in the description of Cuban youth as being “the main victims of the U.S. government’s policy of isolation” (p. 6), and in the assertion that the economic consequences of the blockade have forced young Cubans to wait to begin families (p. 6).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation IB set was subjected to one primary destabilization / resolution set in story 5: *Voluntary emigration of Cubans / Emigrants are enticed*. The IB set’s focus on Cuba as being highly paternalistic was destabilized by the admission that some young Cubans are “overwhelmed more intensely by frustration and non-conformity. In this camp are those who become convinced they would only be happy if they leave the island” (Robbio, 2000, p. 6). This destabilization was resolved by the assertion that such attitudes have been “shaped by the blockade” (p. 6), and are the result of a “subtle and ongoing offensive to encourage the most talented young graduates to leave society” (p. 6).

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 5, this IB set appeared in one construct: *Continuous struggle*. Young Cubans were described as having “had to grapple with the blockade from the moment they opened their eyes to the world” (Robbio, 2000, p. 6).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In story 5, this IB set appeared in the form of three constructs: *Light-dark imagery*, *Revolution as sacred* and *Religious references*. The *Light-dark imagery* construct emerged in the referencing of an Arab proverb in a quote attributed to Carlos del Porto: “when the difficulties seem crushing, as the words of an Arab proverb say: the night is darkest just before dawn. And whether the sun rises depends only on us” (Robbio, 2000, p. 6). The *Revolution as sacred* construct was expressed through a reference to “the rich spiritual world created all these years of revolution” (p. 6) and the *Religious references* construct was expressed through the description of young Cubans as being in “spiritual anguish” (p. 6) because of the lack of material goods created by the embargo.

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In story 5, this IB set was expressed through one construct: *Moral-cultural richness*. This construct emerged in a reference to the character of Cuban youth, who were described as “hungry for all they can get in their mouths, to live, to channel all they

have learned in a landscape hampered by shortages” (Robbio, 2000, p. 6), and as benefiting from “the rich spiritual world created in all these years of revolution” (p. 6). *Destabilization / resolution sets.* This IB set was subjected to one extended destabilization, *Continued poverty in Cuba*, which was paired with two resolutions: R1: *Poverty as the result of the embargo* and R2: *Success as immeasurable in economic terms*. The story was destabilized by its focus on presenting Cuba as a country in dire struggle. Books were described as a “luxury item” (Robbio, 2000, p. 6) and it was acknowledged that “finding many things that years ago were at hand has become a real dilemma because of the difficulty to find them: an eraser, pencils, crayons, notebooks” (p. 6). The destabilization also emerged through the acknowledgement that a “brutal conflict” (p. 6) existed between Cuba’s rich Revolutionary culture and its “material inability to satisfy the cultural expectations of the people” (p. 6), and that this lack of material goods was linked to Cuban youth’s inability to “achieve, definitely, something lasting, important” (p. 6). It was also asserted that being “harassed by so many shortages” (p. 6) had created “longing and many frustrations” (p. 6) for Cuban youth. The first resolution, *Poverty as the result of the blockade*, emerged through the assertion, attributed to Education Minister Ignacio Gómez, that the embargo has been directly responsible for limiting Cuban aspirations to improve childcare and education (p. 6). The second resolution, *Success as immeasurable in economic terms*, emerged through a quote attributed to university professor Esteban Hernández: ““there is something that we must not forget in this whole story: this rich inner world, although it creates dissatisfaction, it’s also saving us”” (p. 6).

Story 6 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 6, published June 1, 2000, and titled “Solidarity as a Gift to a Child,” discussed a group of law students in Guatemala who had chained themselves together in front of a U.S. embassy to demand the return of Elián González. The actions of González’s relatives in Miami and the cost to the U.S. government of detaining González in Miami were also briefly discussed. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 345.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 6.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 6 in the form of two constructs: *U.S. disrespect for rights of individual families* and *Latin-South America as extended family*. The first construct emerged through the description of members of the González family who live in Miami as conspirators with the U.S. One of González’s great uncles is described as being part of a mafia organization that has enabled the U.S. government to successfully hold the boy (Martín, 2000, p. 1). The second construct emerged through the introductory paragraph: “Law students at the University of San Carlos de Guatemala chained themselves today in front of the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala to demand the return of young Elián González and his family to Cuba” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. This IB set was subjected to one destabilization / resolution set in story 6: *U.S. families as respecting paternalism / U.S. families would*

side with Cuba in Elián's case. The destabilization, which presented U.S. citizens as victims of their own government, emerged and was also resolved through the assertion that the majority of U.S. citizens side with Cuba in the case of González: “The federal government also has spent its own money, or better said, the money of its taxpayers, who, incidentally, in a large majority want to see this problem resolved in favor of the father” (Martín, 2000, p. 1).

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In story 6, this IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Religious references* and *Nature*. The *Religious references* construct emerged through a reference to “the soul of a child” (Martín, 2000, p. 1), while the *Nature* construct emerged through a reference to the González family’s visit to an aquarium in the U.S., where they watched caged dolphins swim: “The young boy and his little brother Hianny enjoyed the dolphins... but it would have been better for them to contemplate those passing freely from one side to the other through Varadero” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In story 6, this IB set was expressed through one construct: *U.S. as wasteful*. This construct was expressed through the assertion that the U.S. was funneling large amounts of money into González’s care and protection, including four million dollars on “security measures” (Martín, 2000, p. 1) and an undisclosed amount on extravagant field trips for which extensive security had been hired (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. This IB set was subjected to one major destabilization in story 6: *Technology as useful*. This destabilizing construct was expressed through the admission that technology can be used to promote Cuban values and causes:

“Guatemalan Jorge Mario knows that technology can also serve just causes and through the Internet he has brought together students from other countries to conduct similar protests in solidarity with one child” (Martín, 2000, p. 1). No resolution was present.

Story 7 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 7, published July 1, 2000, and titled “The Silence of the Kindred,” discussed reactions in Miami and worldwide to the U.S. government’s decision to allow Elián to return to Cuba. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 375.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 7.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set was expressed in story 7 through one construct: *Continuous struggle*. This construct emerged through a series of references to Cuba’s unwillingness to consent to the demands of the U.S. The Cuban government was said to have declared, “the struggle and the mobilization against the blockade and the Cuban Adjustment Act will continue” (“Silence,” 2000, p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In story 7, this IB set emerged in the form on one construct: *Nature*. This construct appeared in a metaphorical reference relating the weather to the calm that had emerged after González's return to Cuba: "As the adage goes: after the storm comes the calm" ("Silence," 2000, p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in the form of one construct in story 7: *Defeat of militarily superior enemy*. The first construct emerged through several references to the "silence" of González's Miamian relatives after his return to Cuba, who were described as having been soundly defeated in their attempts to keep González in the U.S.: "They were scalped, and as the Miami Post, a bi-weekly publication that circulates in Dade County, affirmed, they were crushed" ("Silence," 2000, p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 8 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 8, published Aug. 1, 2000, and titled "Party in All the Neighborhoods on the Third," discussed a series of parties arranged in Pinar Del Rio to promote community initiatives and to call for the end of the LAC and the embargo, to be held on the eve of the commemoration of the assaults on the Moncada barracks and on Bayamo during the Revolution. The story also discussed favorable economic statistics. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 255.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 8.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 8, this IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Largeness of history* and *Continuous growth*. The *Largeness of history* construct emerged through descriptions of the planned parties, which were intended to commemorate “the assaults on the Moncada barracks and on Bayamo” (Regalado, 2000, p. 1) and at which participants would dress in black and red clothes in order to demonstrate their respect for Cuban history (p. 1). The *Continuous growth* construct emerged through the listing of a series of favorable economic statistics, including reports of “an increase in the production of meat, rice, beef and a surplus of eggs supplied to the population” (p. 1), progress “in the production of local industries and services to the population, (p. 1) and growth in all locally subordinate companies (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set was expressed in story 8 through one construct: *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources*. This construct emerged through the description of a planned event at the celebration, during which residents would “be inspired by the sound of the reveille that will spur them to go toward the Open Forum to demand the cessation of the Cuban Adjustment Act, the blockade and economic war” (Regalado, 2000, p. 1). It also emerged in references to the event’s convening “the most massive of the Cuban organizations” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 9 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 9, published January 7, 2001, and titled “Moments of an Embrace,” discusses the movements of a group of 260 Venezuelan students on a one-week visit to Santa Clara, Cuba. The trip was intended to provide the students with a glimpse into the reality of contemporary Cuba. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 967.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 9.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 9 in the form of four constructs: *Focus on youth*, *References to past-future Cubans*, *Largeness of history* and *Continuous growth*. The *Focus on youth* construct emerged in a reference to the primacy the Revolution places on youth engagement and leadership: “Other members of the delegation agreed that the students are called to form the vanguard of the revolutionary process of the nation, faced with complex social, political and economic situations” (Santos, 2001, p. 8). The *References to past-future Cubans* construct emerged in references to the students’ visit to Che Guevara’s burial site, where they stopped to place an effigy of Guevara, José Martí and Simón Bolívar in a demonstration of respect (p. 8). On a related note, the *Largeness of history* construct emerged through a participant’s description of the way the moment connected her to the long-dead revolutionary: “Habnnya Rodríguez confessed that she

felt something strange that gave her chills when she was in front of Che's niche" (p. 8). Finally, the *Continuous growth* construct was expressed through the description of an area in Cuba that had experienced significant economic and social growth, including the erecting of more than 400 homes in one area in less than 10 years by "integrated micro-brigades formed by the residents of the area" (p. 8) and a rapid decrease in crime, "thanks to the persistent work in which the mass political organizations became involved" (p. 8). *Destabilization / resolution sets*. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In story 9, this IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Unity-solidarity with other countries* and *Moral-cultural richness*. The first construct appeared in several references demonstrating the positive view of Cuba the trip instilled in the young Venezuelans, who placed Cuban and Bolivian flags at Guevara's burial site, danced with and embraced their Cuban contemporaries, and claimed to "now know Cuba better thanks to the initiative of Fidel" (Santos, 2001, p. 8). The *Moral-cultural richness* construct emerged through a series of references to the favorable impressions of Cuba the Venezuelan students left with. Víctor Delgado, an adult trip chaperone, was quoted as saying, "You don't find misery and you notice the culture and intelligence of the people" (p. 8), while Venezuelan student Elson Mendoza was described as impressed by the way rich and poor Cubans lived alongside each other: "There in Venezuela, it is impossible to find a mosaic of people so different in their social upbringing in one school" (p. 8). *Destabilization / resolution sets*. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 10 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 10, published March 4, 2001 and titled “Youth on the Scale,” outlines the achievements of and challenges facing the UJC. The story discusses the organization’s annual meetings, its general aims and its hopes for the future. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 1,256.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 10.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 10, this IB set was expressed through two constructs: *Continuous growth* and *Focus on youth*. The *Continuous growth* construct appeared in several references to the ever-strengthening UJC, which had enjoyed “increased participation of the militants in the meetings, greater party discipline within the grassroots organizations, greater willingness of activists to enter the ranks of the Party as well as more participation by the base committee in its productive and educational surroundings” (Robbio, 2001, p. 3) and expected more growth in the future: “Growing with quality is the great challenge we are striving for.” (p. 3). The *Focus on youth* construct appeared extensively in story 10 in a series of quotes attributed to Julio Martínez, the second secretary of the organization. Martínez described Cuban youth as being “at the center of the organization’s efforts,” (p. 3) and as having achieved “outstanding participation in the battle of ideas” (p. 3). Martínez also described the UJC as a conduit for knowledge that would allow youth to “defend passionately and with deep arguments, the truth of the Revolution” (p. 3).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization in story 10: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization emerged through a series of references to the present moment as being an “exceptional moment” (Robbio, 2001, p. 3) in Cuban history brought about by Elián González’s return and to which, according to Martínez, the organization would need to adapt: “Times have been changing, the country moves in step with a more instructive dynamic. We live in a special moment that is within reach of the hands of the people, especially young people” (p. 3).

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set was expressed in story 10 through two constructs: *Moral-cultural richness* and *Cuba’s Infinite ideological resources*. The first construct appeared in a reference to the high percentage of attendance at the UJC’s annual meetings, which Martínez cited as proof of “a high spirit of unity” (Robbio, 2001, p. 3) within the organization. He went on to assert that “The Revolution is weaving a system, an intense preparation for the purpose, as explained by our Commander in Chief, to achieve in Cuba and in our population an advanced and integral general culture, to which I would add the word political” (p. 3). The second construct, *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources*, emerged in reference to the organization’s determination to make the most of its large supply of intangible resources to “do political-ideological work in a more authentic and richer way” (p. 3).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 11 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 11, published May 6, 2001, and titled “Algeria and Cuba in an Embrace,” discussed Fidel Castro’s official visit to Algeria to meet with Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 361.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 11.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in story 11 in the form of one construct: *Unity-solidarity with other countries*. This construct was expressed in a series of references to the strength of the bond between Cuba and Algeria. The story was titled “Algeria and Cuba in an Embrace” (Concepción, 2001, p. 1) and described the countries as having “had diplomatic relations since October 17, 1962” (p. 1). Fidel Castro was quoted as saying, “I have now returned to the heroic and struggling Algeria with profound satisfaction” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 12 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 12, published Dec. 2, 2001, and titled “The Moncada was Taken by Ideas,” described a gathering in the Open Forum in Santiago, where 10,000 citizens met to listen to a series of speakers commemorating the 45th anniversary of the Uprising of Santiago

de Cuba, the landing of the Granma yacht expedition and the birth of the FAR. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 396.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 12.

Humanizing orientation / Dehumanizing orientation

In story 12, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* and *Revolution as human*. The first construct emerged through the description of pre-Revolutionary Cuban government as a “bloody dictatorship” (Barrio, 2001, p. 1). The second appeared in the form of a reference to the “birth” (p. 1) of the FAR shortly after the Revolution.

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 12 in the form of four constructs: *References to past-future Cubans*, *Largeness of history*, *Continuous struggle* and *Focus on youth*. The *References to past-future Cubans* construct appeared in the description of the crowd in attendance of the event, a mix of those who had “joined Fidel and Raul in the clarion call of 1953” (Barrio, 2001, p. 1) and “new generations” (p. 1) of Cubans. The *Largeness of history* construct appeared through the description of the crowd as a “mosaic of generations that are unwilling to shorten the future of our history” (p. 1) who had attended the event to commemorate early Revolutionary successes and to reaffirm “their conviction to be true to our history and defend the gains achieved by the people in over 40 years of victories” (p. 1). The *Continuous struggle* construct appeared through the

description of an oath sworn by Carlos Sarabia, an event attendee who had participated in the initial Revolution and had come to reaffirm his preparedness to defend socialism in Cuba (p. 1). Finally, the *Focus on youth* construct was expressed through a quote from a student, who “stressed that there are thousands of university students of the lineage of [The Miami Five]... who are forming in the same classrooms those graduates did, and... are ready to occupy their posts... to save our people from death” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

In story 12, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Revolution as sacred* and *Religious references*. The first construct was expressed through a reference to the Moncada as a “sacred guardian of the best traditions of the homeland rebellion” (Barrio, 2001, p. 1). The second construct was expressed through a reference to the decision of the initial participants in the Revolution to “be free or martyrs” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in story 12 in the form of two constructs: *Power of ideas* and *Cuba’s infinite ideological resources*. The first construct emerged in several places: the title of the story itself was “The Moncada was Taken by Ideas” (p. 1), and the event was described as powered by ideology, not force: “It might seem like a new assault, but this time, the fortress was captured by ideas” (p. 1). One young event attendee was also quoted as saying that the greatness of Revolution is daily reinforced by the teachings of parents and instructors (p. 1). The *Infinite ideological resources* construct appeared in a

reference to the unity of the event's attendees: "There was a contrast in age among the speakers, however they spoke in a single language, that of the revolutionaries" (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 13 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 13, published Sept. 1, 2001, and titled "If we had not Been Discovered, Perhaps we Would be Happier," discussed Fidel Castro's attendance of the Third World Conference Against Racism, at which he spoke out against Western imperialism. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 309.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 13.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 13 in the form of two constructs: *Commodification-consumption of poor countries* and *Europe as exterminator*. The first construct was expressed through the story's title: "If we had not been discovered, perhaps we would be happier" (Elizalde, 2001, p. 1). The second construct emerged through a quote attributed to Fidel Castro that described Europe's colonization of Latin America as an extermination: "Across the Atlantic, there were tens and tens of millions of human beings and they were conquered, enslaved and exterminated in various ways" (p.1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical Material Forces and Resources

In story 13, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Unity-solidarity with other countries* and *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*. The first construct emerged generally from the story's subject matter and more specifically in a description of the warm welcome Castro received during his stay:

The local media stressed in their areas the stellar presence of the leader of the Revolution, while during his tours of the city he received permanent demonstrations of love and the siege of journalists that is common during his travels around the world. (Elizalde, 2001, p. 1)

The second construct, *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*, emerged in the citation of a quote from the speech Castro gave during the conference describing historical Europe as illiterate and undeveloped: "When beloved Europe was filled with so-called barbaric tribes who could neither read nor write, the Egyptians could have sent them alphabet charts" (p. 1). *Destabilization / resolution sets*. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 14 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 14, published Oct. 14, 2001, and titled "For a Peaceful Future," discussed a meeting in the Open Forum of the Revolution at which 150,000 people reaffirmed their opposition to war, terrorism and U.S. imperialism. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 309.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 14.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In story 14, this IB set appeared in the form of three constructs: *Revolution as humanizing*, *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* and *U.S. government as exterminator*. The first construct emerged through the paraphrasing of a quote attributed to artist Yasmina García: “it is essential to understand that human beings were born to create and not to destroy” (del Valle, 2001, p. 2). The *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing construct* was expressed through the description of forum attendees demanding “punishment for confessed criminals like Luis Posada Carriles and his followers, perpetrators of heinous crimes against humanity” (p. 2). The *U.S. government as exterminator* construct appeared in the description of the forum as a demonstration of the Cuban people’s “rejection of the U.S. government’s decision to impose force, causing the death of innocent civilians, and arrogantly threatening to spread a conflict of incalculable consequences” (p. 2).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 14, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Future orientation* and *Largeness of history*. The first construct emerged from the story’s title, “For a Peaceful Future,” (del Valle, 2001, p.2) and the second emerged from a description linking historical events to the present moment: “As it happened more than 100 years ago, the bells of Bayamo began to ring again this Saturday in a call to reassert our independence and sovereignty” (p. 2).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in story 14 in the form of three constructs: *Unity-solidarity with other countries*, *Moral-cultural richness* and *Moral-cultural bankruptcy*. The *Unity-solidarity with other countries* construct was expressed through a reference to “attacks like those that were executed against Afghanistan or terrible situations like widespread hunger on the planet” (del Valle, 2001, p. 2). The *Moral-cultural richness* construct appeared through the statement that Revolutionary strength must come from “justice and peace, and not of vengeance, arrogance and hatred” (p. 2). Conversely, the *Moral-cultural bankruptcy* construct appeared in the description of Cubans as “disgust[ed]... over recent events in the U.S.” (p. 2).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 15 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 15, published March 1, 2002, and titled “The Nature of the Subjects used by the Terrorist Mafia of Miami and the U.S. Government,” listed in detail the criminal backgrounds of 13 of the 21 men who had hijacked a bus and stormed the Mexican Embassy. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 621.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 15.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In story 15, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* and *Revolution as humanizing*. The first construct appeared through

descriptions of the brutal treatment passengers of the hijacked bus were subjected to during the attack. After being “violently kicked off and quickly thrown against the fence that guarded the headquarters” (“Sujetos,” 2002, p. 1), “many suffered multiple contusions, and four of them suffered serious injuries that required hospitalization” (p. 1). Conversely, the second construct appeared through the description of Cuba’s quick response to the attack: “The examination and medical attention they were given was executed with urgency by the functionaries of the Mexican Embassy, aided on the Cuban side by an immediate response to the request” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set appeared in the form of one construct: *Continuous growth*. This construct was expressed through the assertion that the Cuban Revolution “is progressing at an accelerated pace” (“Sujetos, 2002, p. 1) despite the U.S.’s “useless and impotent effort[s]” (p. 1) to destroy it.

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set only appeared in story 15 in destabilized form. No stable constructs were present.

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set was subjected to one extended destabilization / resolution set in story 15.

The main emergent destabilizing construct, *Actions of Cuban dissident movement*, appeared through the implicit acknowledgment that the attack on the Mexican embassy was carried out by Cubans, not U.S. citizens, and the explicit acknowledgment of “the

potential for crime and antisocial behavior that still survives in part of our society” (“Sujetos,” 2002, p. 1). This destabilization was paired with three resolutions: *Dissidents are criminals*, *Dissidents are enticed* and *Dissidents will eventually be eradicated*. The first resolution emerged through extended descriptions of the criminal backgrounds of some of the 21 Cubans involved in the attack, 13 of which were said to have criminal backgrounds (p. 1) and all of whom were described as “criminals” (p. 1) and “anti-social elements” (p. 1). The crimes cited included robbery, theft, aggression, violence, drug trafficking and anti-social behavior (p. 1). This resolution was further reinforced by the assertion that none of those involved “were truly motivated by ideas or objectives of a political nature” (p. 1). The second resolution, *Dissidents are enticed*, emerged through the assertion that those who performed the attack “were responding to the invitation to assault the Mexican Embassy, repeated eight times by a station official of the government of the United States” (p. 1), and that these dissidents who had been “dragged into Wednesday night’s adventure” (p. 1) would “serve as the primary raw material of the imperialists and their terrorist mafia” (p. 1). The third resolution, *Dissidents will eventually be eradicated*, emerged through the statement that the Revolution, “through its programs of educational, cultural and social development,” (p. 1) would eventually “unmask... from head to toe” (p. 1) all Cuban dissidents.

Story 16 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 16, published March 27, 2002, and titled “There is no Moral Authority to Condemn Cuba,” summarized a speech given by Foreign Minister Felipe Pérez Roque at the Commission on Human Rights of the U.N. in Geneva. In the speech, Pérez Roque

urged the U.N. to reestablish itself as a protector of human rights and warned that the organization was losing credibility by serving only the interests of powerful countries.

The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 337.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 16.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

In story 16, this IB set was expressed through one construct: *U.N. as dehumanizing*. This construct emerged through Foreign Minister Felipe Pérez Roque's urging of member countries to "reestablish the institution before they fall into disrepute as a result of their recent discredit" ("Autoridad," 2002, p. 1) through the assertion that the human rights commission had attempted to "ignore the basic human rights of the poor people on the planet" (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization: *Cuba as human rights violator*. This destabilization emerged through the referencing of an AP wire story that acknowledged Washington's "utmost concern" (p. 1) over the human rights situation in Cuba. Although the destabilization was paired with no explicit resolution, it was mitigated somewhat by the assertion that, thus far, no countries had offered support for the resolution to condemn Cuba in 2002 (p. 1).

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in the form of one construct in story 16: *Religious references*. This construct appeared just once, when Pérez Roque called each Latin American country that had supported a resolution condemning Cuba a “Judas” (“Autoridad,” 2002, p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

In story 16, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Moral-cultural bankruptcy* and *Unity-solidarity with other countries*. The first construct emerged through Pérez Roque’s extensive criticism of the U.N. and the human rights commission, which he accused of practicing “double standards, selectivity, inequality, arbitrariness and lack of democratic spirit,” (“Autoridad,” 2002, p.1) and of being held “hostage to the dictates of a minority, or as is increasingly evident, to the vagaries of the most powerful” (p. 1). The *Unity-solidarity with other countries* construct emerged through the referencing of an AP story that explained that no countries attending the commission had thus far chosen to support any resolution against Cuba (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Story 17 – Synchronic Analysis

Artifact Description

Story 17, published April 10, 2002, and titled “A Battle Against Time,” discussed a meeting of the Unión de Periodistas de Cuba (UPEC), or Union of Cuban Journalists, at which two Cuban journalists being held prisoner in the U.S. were given awards. The

story also discussed how new technologies were being used to spread ideas about the Revolution. The word count for the English-language version of the story totaled 710.

Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets

The following ideographic binary sets and concurrent ideographic constructs emerged from story 17.

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 17 in the form of two constructs: *Revolution as humanizing* and *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing*. The *Revolution as humanizing* construct emerged through the description of the Cubans being held prisoner in Miami as “invincible warriors for life and peace” (Barrio & Rodríguez, 2002, p. 1). The *Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing* construct appeared in the assertion that “it is within the rights of a nation to defend itself against terrorism, to live in peace and be respected” (p. 1) and through a reference to “the imperialist hegemony that has almost the entire planet on its knees” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This IB set appeared in story 17 in the form of one construct: *Cuban respect for rights of individual families*. This construct was expressed through a description of the wives of two of the prisoners as exceedingly grateful for the awards given to their husbands: “Adriana and Olguita, their wives, will keep with equal love as their treasured letters, the distinctions and the membership cards the Cuban journalists gave to Gerardo and Rene” (Barrio & Rodríguez, 2002, p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. No destabilization / resolution sets were present.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

In story 17, this IB set appeared in the form of two constructs: *Continuous struggle* and *Largeness of history*. The first construct was expressed through several references that framed the diplomatic tension between Cuba and the U.S. as a battle. The embargo was called “the longest and dirtiest war that was ever imposed on any people” (Barrio & Rodríguez, 2002, p. 1), and the writing of one of the prisoners was described as having been written “in the middle of the fight,” (p. 1). A reference was also made to “the long road ahead to make the true dimension of this struggle understood” (p. 1). The second construct, *Largeness of history*, appeared through the assertion that “it’s never too late, if what is done is good” (p. 1).

Destabilization / resolution sets. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set was subjected to one destabilization in story 17: *Crucial moment*. This destabilization emerged in the title of the story, “A Battle Against Time,” which emphasized the immediacy of the situation in a manner that contradicted the constructs of *Continuous struggle* and *Largeness of history*.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set was expressed through one construct in story 17: *Power of ideas*. This construct emerged in the description of one of the imprisoned journalists as being “armed with a solid shield of humor” (Barrio & Rodríguez, 2002, p. 1) that would protect him from the forces of U.S. imperialism.

Destabilization / resolution sets. This IB set was subjected to one extended destabilization in story 17: *Technology as useful*. This destabilization was expressed through a series of references to the many ways in which the Revolution was making use

of emergent technologies, both in its quest to see the prisoners released and in its broader efforts. The UPEC was described as having met, in part, to assess “in depth what has been done by the written, radio and television press, and, above all, what has been done by their electronic editions, to let the whole world know all of the truth about the five prisoners of the Empire” (Barrio & Rodríguez, 2002, p. 1). More generally, the Internet was described as “an important means of struggle” (p. 1) in the battle against U.S. imperialism, with a variety of Cuban media products now available online, so that “even the most isolated spots ... understand the reasons for the battle of their entire people for their liberation” (p. 1). This destabilization was paired with no resolutions.

CHAPTER FIVE

A Discussion of Findings

The course of research and analysis outlined above was conducted with the aim of positing answers to the following primary research question: *How did Cuban state-produced media use ideographic binary sets to reinforce an ideological metanarrative in written and spoken texts during the early years of the Battle of Ideas (1999-2002)?*

The analysis itself was guided by a set of five sub-questions that structured the breadth and depth of research by dividing the course of analysis into four graduated domains.

- A diachronic analysis of the speech set as a whole and concurrent series of synchronic analyses of the individual speeches were guided by SQ1: *How are ideographic binary sets used within the individual speeches and the speech set as a whole?*
- A diachronic analysis of the story set as a whole and a concurrent series of synchronic analyses of the individual stories were guided by SQ2: *How are ideographic binary sets used within the individual stories and the story set as a whole?*
- A comparative analysis of the speech and story sets was guided by SQ3: *How is usage of ideographic binary sets similar and different in the written and spoken texts?*

- A set of localized conclusions was drawn based on SQ4: *What does this usage reveal about how ideology was constructed within Cuban state-produced media during the Battle of Ideas?*
- A set of generalized conclusions was drawn based on SQ5: *What does this usage reveal about how ideology is constructed within state-run media systems in general?*

The discussion of findings is presented below in four parts. The first section poses a general answer to the primary research question. The second section poses more specified answers to sub-questions 1, 2 and 3 by connecting the findings to the theoretical and methodological frameworks and discussing similarities and differences between the two artifacts as well as discussing how they changed over time. This section concludes with a discussion of metanarrative that gathers these findings into a coherent whole. The third section poses answers to sub-questions 4 and 5 by discussing the more generalized implications the findings have for the functioning of ideology within both closed and open media systems. The fourth and final section addresses research limitations and makes suggestions for future research.

Answer to Research Question

Within Fidel Castro's speeches and *Juventud Rebelde's* feature stories, ideographic binary sets were used to reinforce an ideological metanarrative in Cuban media artifacts during the early years of the Battle of Ideas in several primary ways: first, they were used to dichotomize the value orientations and forces/resources that structured Cuban government and society against the value orientations and forces/resources that structured non-Cuban government and society. This was accomplished through the

expression of ideographic constructs, which referenced various people, ideas and current and historical events in a variety of contexts that demonstrated both Cuban and non-Cuban orientations and influences.

Second, the Cuban structures were promoted by the demonstration of positive apprenticeship. This was achieved through the expression of ideographic constructs that connected the IB sets to everyday events in positive ways. Likewise, the non-Cuban structures were demoted by the demonstration of negative apprenticeship. That was achieved through the expression of ideographic constructs that connected the IB sets to everyday events in negative ways.

Third, the IB sets worked also to anticipate, acknowledge and account for ideographic constructs that explicitly or implicitly called these positive and negative apprenticeships into question. This was achieved through the implicit or explicit acknowledgment of destabilizing ideographic constructs, and through the implicit or explicit offering of resolving constructs.

However, a simple description of emergent form only skims the surface of the implications posed by the findings presented above. Indeed, a deeper discussion of form and function poses much broader implications for several areas of thought and scholarship, including implications for the theoretical and methodological frameworks within which research was grounded, implications for the proposed theoretical model, and implications for the functioning of ideology within Cuba's state-run media system during the Battle of Ideas and beyond. The discussion below considers these implications through an examination of form and function within the two text sets, an exploration of similarities and differences between the sets and an exploration of changes in usage over

time between the text sets. The discussion concludes with an examination of emergent metanarratives.

Form and Functioning of Ideographic Binary Sets

Two types of IB sets emerged as dominant within the media texts: IB sets that dealt with orientations and IB sets that dealt with forces/resources. The orientation IB sets, which can be understood as working to interpret and explain reality, functioned by expressing value orientations that guided the working of Cuban societal structures during the Battle of Ideas. The forces/resources IB sets, which can be understood as working to interpret and explain the practical and theoretical constraints and opportunities imposed on that reality by external forces, functioned by describing the constraints and opportunities that guided the working of Cuban societal structures during the Battle of Ideas.

Foss (2004) has defined rhetoric as the act of constructing reality through a variety of means of communication and persuasion (p. 5) and she has argued that rhetorical critics should focus on identifying questions of membership, activities, goals, values/norms, positions and group-relations and resources that arise within the artifacts being examined (p. 244). The five dominant IB sets that fall under the two categories above can be understood as working within the artifacts to pose and respond to such questions.

Orientation IB sets. Three of the emergent dominant IB sets focused on value orientations: Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation, Paternalistic-familial orientation / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation and Long-term / Short-term orientation. As described above, these IB sets responded to questions forced by the subjective limitations

imposed on Cuban societal structures and worked to subjectively describe and determine the courses of action available to the group as a result. Within the orientation IB sets, questions of membership and group-relations were addressed through the consistent presentation of ideology in dichotomized form, with an emphasis on presenting Cubans as an ideological group distinct from various other ideological groups, including U.S. citizens and citizens of certain Latin and South American countries. Various activities and the values they represented were described and presented as acceptable or unacceptable for members of the Cuban ideological group. Particular emphasis was placed on the political and social activities of these dichotomized value structures, including approaches to governance, treatment of citizens and foreigners, and diplomatic relationships. Foss (2004) has noted that ideologies serve a uniting function (p. 240), and Kapcia (2005) has noted that Cuban ideology in particular has focused on creating a sense of “Cubanness” (p. 403) among Cubans as an ideological group. It can be inferred from the binarized nature of the IB sets within the media artifacts that such an ideology was, indeed, at work in Cuba during this time, that it worked to construct identity in a manner that pitted Cubans against the outside world and that it worked also to emphasize the otherness of the U.S. and other adversaries. Within the orientation IB sets, questions of goals were addressed through regular assertions about the aims of the Revolution, aims in which every Cuban was implicated. Gropas (2007) has asserted that Cuban ideology aims in part to generate a fear of invasion among Cubans. Such an assertion is supported by the existence of the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set, which focused primarily on presenting non-Cuban governments and societies as fundamentally devoid of humanity, and unconcerned for preserving the humanness in others.

Forces and Resources IB Sets

Two of the emergent dominant IB sets focused on forces/resources: Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources, and Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources. As described above, these IB sets responded to questions forced by the objective limitations imposed on Cuban societal structures, as determined by resource availability and the behavior of superhuman forces. As with the orientation IB sets, questions of membership and group-relations within the forces/resources IB sets were addressed through the consistent presentation of ideology in dichotomized form, including the pitting of various social and economic systems such as capitalism and socialism-communism against each other. However, extra emphasis was placed on questions of resource, with a focus on describing and explaining various opportunities, constraints and limitations imposed on Cuban societal structures. This was achieved through the IB sets' responding to questions of available ideological and material forces and resources, such as ideological and economic wealth and moral-cultural resources; and to questions that addressed the behavior of benevolent and non-benevolent superhuman forces, including nature, religion and economic and political systems. External forces and resources, which function beyond the scope of control of a given ideological group, objectively determine the courses of action available to that group. Within the artifacts, these forces included religion and high-order concepts such as justice and transcendentalism, things that influence societal structures but operate completely independent of them.

Form and Function of Ideographic Constructs

Berger and Luckmann (1966) have posited that members of any society are fundamentally compelled to construct the realities in which they function, and that social communication naturally leads to the adoption of habits and ideas that come, over time, to be seen as simply reality (p. 1). This both explains and justifies the course of research outlined above, and hints at the aims of Cuban state-produced media during this period. Berger and Luckmann have further asserted that these habits and ideas can sometimes become so permanently ingrained in social consciousness that they come to be seen as divine will, the result of cosmic laws. (p. 1). This process of reification sheds light on the functioning of several of the dominant IB sets. The Benevolent / Non-benevolent IB set focused heavily on presenting events as divinely writ, the results of superhuman forces that either aimed to help or hurt Cuba. Similarly, the Long-term / Short-term IB set emphasized the smallness of the present moment and worked to assert that time, and a country's particular history, are forces larger than the people they encompass in a given moment or over passing decades. Such an assertion also suggests that the ideology being presented is larger, too, and that it comes from a higher authority.

Berger and Luckmann's assertion that reification leads to institutions becoming seen as larger than the people who embody them at a given moment (p. 1) also sheds light on the functioning of these two IB sets, and on the particular role Fidel Castro played in the construction of ideology during the Battle of Ideas. In light of these assertions, it seems that the IB sets worked to present ideology as the will of some larger force as opposed to the simple will of a single president or government.

Foss (2004) has also described communication as creating a “hegemonic ideology” (p. 242) that tells a group how to interpret reality, and the ideographic binary sets with written and spoken artifacts analyzed above can be understood as the central forms of communication used to express this ideology in Cuba during the Battle of Ideas. Oliver and Johnston (2000) have further argued that an ideology functions by linking theories about societies with sets of values that express norms (p. 37). The emergent ideographic constructs can be understood as serving this linking function between the IB sets and daily reality. They also shed light on two of Lyotard’s assertions: first, that narrative works by constructing a set of social rules; and second, that the stories of a society demonstrate positive or negative apprenticeships that “bestow legitimacy upon social institutions... [And] represent positive or negative models of integration” (1984, p. 20). The ideographic constructs themselves can be understood as working to connect the broader concepts promoted by narrative and metanarrative to everyday life in positive and negative ways.

The referential constructs themselves can be understood as vectors that connected the highly abstract ideographic binaries with events of everyday life, which demonstrated how these abstractions played out in ground-level reality. As the vectors aimed to demonstrate both positive and negative apprenticeships, it is unsurprising that the ideographic constructs themselves were often also expressed in binarized form, and regularly pitted Cuban value orientations and forces/resources against U.S. value orientations and forces/resources.

The two types of artifacts differed in how they expressed the ideographic constructs. The speeches tended to rely on abstract invocations of the IB sets. These

focused more on the broader picture, the longer story of Cuban history, and tended toward the grandiose. The stories, on the other hand, relied on more ground-level examples. Cuban citizens were frequently used as sources and the IB sets emerged through the discussion of everyday events such as rallies and diplomatic meetings. They also consistently emphasized the promotion of ideographic constructs demonstrating positive apprenticeship more heavily than those ideographic constructs that demonstrated negative apprenticeship,

After González was returned to Cuba in June 2000, both sets were also marked by a shift in focus away from the particulars of the González case and toward the generalizable lessons emerging from the situation. The stories focused on emphasizing family and the superhuman during and immediately after the Elián González crisis, but after this point, the emphasis shifted away from Elián and focused more heavily on the actions of enemy countries, as evidenced by heavy use of the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB near the end. The stories were also marked by a shifting away from the ideological and toward the practical during this period. Early stories emphasized intangibles such as ideas and religion, while later stories focused on bolstering ideology by presenting practical evidence culled from daily life.

Form and Function of Destabilization / Resolution Sets

The destabilization / resolution sets themselves can be understood as working to acknowledge and resolve implicit tensions between ground-level reality and espoused ideology. When these implicit tensions go unacknowledged, they are left to open interpretation. Berger and Luckmann's (1966) assertion that ideology also seeks legitimation, by which asserted constructs of meaning seek to explain and justify salient

elements of the institutional tradition (p. 1), offers an explanation for the existence of destabilization / resolution sets within the IB sets. Working from this premise, it seems that the ideology at work during this time was legitimized in part by anticipating and responding directly to questions forced by ideological assertions. As posited within the methodology chapter and outlined in the findings chapter, the IB sets and their concurrent ideological constructs were subjected to frequent destabilization within the artifacts, which emerged through ideological constructs that acknowledged counterarguments and oppositions. These destabilizations were often paired with resolutions that reasserted the primacy of the IB sets in their stable form. In general, speeches also more readily acknowledged and responded to such destabilizations, whereas the *Juventude Rebelde* feature stories acknowledged and responded less often to destabilization. The bulk of the stories focused on just one or two ideographic binaries and stuck consistently to a single theme. It appears that the stories' material lack of physical space within which to address and account for inconsistencies translated to the construction of far more stabilized narratives within the stories themselves.

Lyotard's (1984) description of the narrative as an inherently unstable entity, and Readings' description of the postmodern condition as a "crisis of narratives," (1991, p. xxxiii) were also validated by the existence and behavior of the destabilization / resolution sets, which worked to undermine the assertions put forth by the ideographic binary sets. Fogarty (2007) has described the task of the deconstructive critic as being to play with the dichotomies that emerge naturally from a text with an aim to demonstrate that these dichotomies are unreliable and frequently self-destructing. The focus in deconstructive reading, then, is on identifying patterns of contradiction and

destabilization. The destabilization / resolution sets present in the artifacts examined posed numerous opportunities for such textual play. Indeed, the process of identifying and deconstructing these destabilization / resolution sets also shed light on the form and functioning of the IB sets in their stabilized form.

The Ideographic Binary Set as a Theoretical Model

As described in the methods and findings chapters, these artifacts were analyzed using the framework of a proposed theoretical model that synthesized aspects of ideological criticism and deconstructive reading, called the ideographic binary set. The experimental application of this model as a method of uncovering ideology within texts revealed some interesting insights. One of the assumptions this model makes is that uncovering the structural frameworks of ideologies can aid the researcher in better understanding the ideologies themselves, essentially, that form reveals function. But this model also makes the reverse assumption, that the researcher interested in identifying ideological structures can work backwards from the ideologies themselves as starting points, essentially, that function also reveals form. Thus, as the model itself was applied during the process of analyzing the speech and story sets, it sought to uncover both the form and function of the ideologies themselves, using neither as a starting or ending point.

The necessarily fluid and highly interpretive nature of this proposed theoretical model forces some questions about the viability of using such a model to uncover dominant strands of ideology with any type of artifact. Certainly, a different researcher applying the same theoretical model to the same artifacts might uncover a very different configuration of IB sets, ideographic constructs and destabilization / resolution sets. Even

if such a researcher were to identify the same semantic moments as ideologically significant, he or she might well interpret their form and function in a completely different manner and thus posit the existence of a different emergent metanarrative. However, this resistance to replication doesn't necessarily call the empiricism of the method into question. In fact, such textual anachronism is anticipated and legitimized by deconstructive criticism's emphasis on the primacy of the text as a freestanding whole that is best understood through the experimental and necessarily random pairing and destabilizing of emergent binary sets. Further, one of the primary assumptions of ideological criticism is that ideological strategies must constantly be renewed, reinforced and defended (Foss, 2004, p. 243) in order to remain relevant. This assumption suggests that ideology tends necessarily and fundamentally toward the fluid, and is likely to tolerate and even benefit from a methodology that mirrors such fluidity.

Similarities and Differences in Form and Function

Both the spoken and written artifacts relied consistently on these ideographic binary sets to relay messages about value orientations and the influence of external forces and resources, and both consistently invoked the same set of ideographic binary sets to relay these messages. However, the speeches consistently displayed a larger number of IB sets, and these IB sets were expressed in more diverse ways. It was not unusual for all five of the dominant IB sets to appear extensively within a single speech artifact, whereas the stories expressed the IB sets more selectively. Although up to four of the IB sets appeared in several stories, it wasn't unusual for just two or three to show up, especially in the shortest stories. Further, the rhetoric emerging from the speeches was, at times, highly emotionalized. This may also be the result of the differing environments in which

the two were produced. Certainly, the continuum of controls is broader and more stringent for the production of a written media text. Thus, the stories can be understood as emerging from a very controlled environment, whereas the speeches, although they followed controlled threads of thought, were more prone to tangent and bursts of emotion.

The differences in how ideology was expressed within the spoken and written texts can be attributed to several important factors. First and most significantly, they speak to the opportunities and constraints imposed by choice of medium. *Juventud Rebelde* had a far smaller physical and theoretical space in which to make and respond to arguments. While several of Castro's speeches reached word counts of more than 10,000, the *Juventud Rebelde* stories rarely exceeded 1,000 words, and were often significantly shorter. As discussed in the analysis chapter, on average, the average word count for the English-language versions of Castro's speeches totaled 4,994 words, whereas the average word count for the English-language versions of the newspaper stories totaled just 604. Thus, the stories had an eighth of the space in which to deal with ideographic binary sets. Thus, it appears that it is more prudent within a spoken text to be selective about which of a society's ideographs to invoke, and, perhaps more importantly, to acknowledge contradictions sparingly, as there is less room in which to neutralize them.

Changes Over Time Within the Artifacts

The primary research question focused on examining the trajectory of ideology within Cuban state-produced media artifacts between two significant ideological moments: the December 1999 rescue of a shipwrecked boy named Elián González, which in turn paved the way for the ideological push termed the Battle of Ideas; and the June

2002 passing of a Cuban constitutional referendum that described Cuban ideology in terms of a more hard-lined, and even “irrevocable” (“Constitution,” 2002) approach. During the time in between these two moments, both the form and the functioning of the IB sets within the artifacts were subjected to several shifts. Paralleling the ideological trajectory of the early years of the Battle of Ideas with contemporary political, economic and social events occurring between December 1999 and June 2002, sheds light on why.

As highlighted in the findings chapter, the speech set was subjected to several alterations and reconfigurations during the period in question. Most of these changes involved shifts in which IB sets appeared in the speeches. Three IB sets behaved in a consistent manner throughout the speech set. The Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set, which appeared in all of the speech artifacts, consistently worked to emphasize the humanizing nature of Revolutionary structures as well as the dehumanizing nature of anti-Revolutionary structures. The Revolution was consistently presented as human, while its opposite, anti-Revolution, was presented as inhuman. Likewise, the Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set also appeared in all of the speech artifacts and worked consistently to emphasize the longer story of Cuban history and the importance of continuous, unending struggle. The Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set also appeared in all nine speeches and worked regularly to emphasize the power of ideas and ideological resources. The other two IB sets appeared in less consistent form within the speeches. The Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set appeared most heavily within the first half of the speech set, with a particular emphasis placed on presenting Cuba and the Revolution as paternalistic entities that were respectful of family rights and on presenting

the U.S. as a non-paternalistic entity that was disrespectful of family rights. However, it appeared far less frequently in the second half of the speech set, and focused most heavily then on presenting Latin and South America as an extended family to Cuba. Finally, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set appeared frequently in early speeches and only sporadically in later speeches, with a consistent emphasis placed on religious references.

The story set was likewise subjected to its own set of alterations and reconfigurations. As with the speech set, most of these changes involved shifts in which IB sets appeared in the stories. Two IB sets behaved in a consistent manner throughout the story set. The Long-term / Short-term orientation IB set consistently worked to emphasize history, growth and struggle, while the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set consistently worked to emphasize the power of ideas and the importance of solidarity. A consistent emphasis was also placed on the longer story of Cuba and ideology focused consistently on the contours and aims of the Revolution. Conversely, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set was emphasized heavily within the first half of the story set, and focused particularly on religious references. However, it was almost non-existent in the second half. Similarly, the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individual IB set appeared regularly within the first half of the set, with particular emphasis placed on presenting Cuba as highly respectful of family rights, but disappeared almost entirely after story 6, which was published shortly before Elián's return to Cuba. The Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was invoked rarely within the early story sets, but appeared in every story published after December 2001, with an emphasis on presenting

the Revolution as a humanizing force and presenting anti-Revolutionary countries as highly dehumanizing.

Several shifts in subject matter were also evident within both sets. At the start of the Battle of Ideas, Cuban ideology within both sets focused consistently on Elián González and worked to emphasize the inhumanity and injustice of his situation in a manner that implicated all Cubans in the outcome. However, when the diplomatic standoff over Elián González was resolved in Cuba's favor in June 2000, the ideological focus shifted away from the particulars of the Elián González case and toward more examples and concepts that described the ideological and practical aims of the Battle of Ideas in a more generalized way. The texts were also marked by a less prominent shift away from ideological aims and toward practical ones over passing time.

Several inferences can be made about why such shifts might have occurred within the speech and story sets. First, the emphasis in both sets on the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set suggests that Cuban ideology seemed to work consistently to present the diplomatic standoff over Elián González not only as evidence of the fundamentally binarized nature of Cuban-U.S. value orientations and forces/resources, but also dire enough so as to warrant a concrete call to action, one that could mobilize the Cuban population, especially its younger contingents. The early emphasis within both text sets on the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic IB set can be understood as working to justify and present as favorable Cuba's stance on the Elián González case, namely, that he should be returned to Cuba because of its fundamentally paternalistic and family-oriented nature. Similarly, the emphasis in the early part of both sets on the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman

forces and resources IB set can be understood as working to reinforce and validate this stance by connecting it to the will of larger, superhuman forces.

However, the emphasis on González faded quickly after his return to Cuba, and the marked absence of both the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB set and the Paternalistic-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set in the second half of each set paralleled a concurrent deemphasizing of the particulars of the González case in favor of focusing on the more generalized aims of the Battle of Ideas. This appeared to serve several important functions: first, it allowed the battle to resist a premature conclusion by presenting it as something larger than the fallout of a single diplomatic disagreement, which may also explain why the Long-term / Short-term orientation appeared with such regularity throughout the speech and story sets. Second, it allowed the renewed patriotism of this time to be funneled into broader ideological causes, which may explain the consistency with which the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB sets appeared throughout the sets. Both of these two IB sets focused more on generalities, on big-picture questions of value and resource availability and were thus more easily tailored to fit the ideological aims of a series of particular events, stories or moments.

Toward a Discussion of Metanarrative

It is important to keep in mind that ideology within any social system functions on levels more complex and more all encompassing than can be described or uncovered by simply analyzing the pitting of potentialities against limitations. Indeed, something larger than the mere expression and destabilization of discrete ideological strands seems to have been at work in Cuban media during the Battle of Ideas. Thus, a discussion of the form

and function of IB sets within Cuban media artifacts that aims to posit answers to the primary research question must ultimately make larger assertions about the cumulative effect of all these discrete strands of ideology. To that end, a discussion of metanarrative serves as a useful means of gathering the various ideological expressions emerging from Cuban media artifacts produced during the early years of the Battle of Ideas into a larger and more coherent whole.

In the literature review, metanarrative was defined as an all-encompassing explanation of history and knowledge that aims to guide memory, thought and action. Readings (1991) has further described metanarrative as claiming to be “the story that can reveal the meaning of all stories, be it the weakness or the progress of mankind,” (p. 63). In some ways, it is difficult to use qualitative methods to draw definitive conclusions about emergent metanarratives within any context, and particularly difficult to do so through deconstructive methods of reading, for such methods resist acknowledging or examining effects and focus instead on uncovering form. That said, some conclusions can certainly be posed.

Working in concert, the ideographic binary sets discussed above form the broad skeleton of the ideological metanarrative at work in Cuba during the early years of the Battle of Ideas. Several aspects of the findings uncovered during analysis support the assertion that a metanarrative was, indeed, at work in Cuban media during the early years of the Battle of Ideas. In the literature review, three working criteria were outlined as evidence of the existence of a metanarrative. First, the expressed rhetoric had to gather together a variety of smaller narratives. Indeed, the ideology that emerged from the texts took on the form of a variety of smaller, interconnected narratives. These were primarily

narratives of revolutionary tenet, narratives of revolutionary figures and narratives of revolutionary history, expressed in the IB sets through a series of ideographic constructs. Second, the expressed rhetoric had to aim to shape public thought and action. Although it is ultimately difficult in a qualitative study of this nature to make definitive assertions about the aims of expressed rhetoric, the binarized nature of the emergent ideology, which presented Cuban thought and action in a positive light and non-Cuban thought and action in a negative light, suggests the ideology expressed in Cuban media during this time did, indeed, aim to shape public thought and action.

Third, it had to remain consistent throughout the period in question, and it had to build upon extant ideology. Although usage varied over time and between the two types of artifacts, the same five dominant IB sets appeared consistently. Most significantly, the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB set appeared in every single artifact. Thus, the five identified dominant ideographic binaries and their concurrent ideographic constructs and destabilization / resolution sets can be understood in their totality as working to weave a series of discrete strands of ideology into a larger, all-encompassing picture of reality, or metanarrative.

In the end, what was this emergent metanarrative? In the posing of an answer to this very large question, the name given to the ideological push itself, the Battle of Ideas, marks a good starting point. The name is, in itself, a binarized appellation, one that forces several sticky questions that get at the fundamental nature of the larger metanarrative at work. How can a battle be waged without weapons? And if it is, if successes and failures are measured not in terms of the physical-material, but in terms of the ideological, what

gauge exists to determine ultimate victory or defeat? In a sense, such a battle can be understood as never-ending.

Indeed, as discussed above, the Battle of Ideas was framed in terms of a story much longer and broader than simply the most recent diplomatic flare-up in the tome of a long-running standoff between two feuding countries. Through the IB sets' constant suggestion of incredibly high stakes, through their consistent and cumulative suggestion of a critically endangered humanity, through their consistent and seemingly out-of-place references to religion and to a history so large it threatens to consume the present and the future whole, the battle itself seems in its totality to have been framed as no less than a battle to the death between the forces of good and evil, with Revolutionary ideology pitted against a host of ideologies that threatened, constantly, to undermine it. A further discussion of form and function is capable of revealing how and why.

Metanarratives and Binary Pulls

The contours of such a metanarrative are hinted at by the existence of the IB sets, by the existence of moments in which these sets were compromised or contradicted, and the existence of moments in which these compromises and contradictions were justified. These things, in their totality, indicate that there existed a fundamental binary pull on the structures that comprised Cuban society during the early years of the Battle of Ideas. As discussed above, this pull consisted on one side of the pull of value orientations and on the other the pull of forces and resources. To become successfully embedded, the Cuban metanarrative had to reflect and promote subjective value orientations. Equally insistent was the pull exerted by objective conditions, by the limitations and demands imposed on societal structures by resource availability and various other external forces.

The metanarrative emergent in this course of research recognized and responded to this binary pull in two ways: first, it sought to align itself with the societal structures that existed in the space in between the two binary poles, and second, by actively responding to and, when possible, manipulating the gaps and inconsistencies that these opposing forces created. In this vein, ideas, assertions and concepts that explicitly or implicitly questioned the structure of the dominant IB sets consistently appeared. Deconstructive critics refer to such textual inconsistencies as moments of destabilization, and regard them as a way in to understanding how ideology is formed and functions within a given society.

In this particular case, addressing and accounting for the sometimes sizeable gaps between espoused ideology and ground-level reality allowed the Cuban metanarrative to retain control of reality, and aided it in reinforcing its own authority, recognizability and relevancy. Destabilization, essentially, was used as a bridge across the chasm. The metanarrative used destabilization to work through problematic aspects of the social, economic and political realities of post-Soviet Cuba. The task of metanarrative construction and reinforcement in Cuba became particularly difficult, and particularly important, during this period. Up until then, the significant economic and ideological support the Cuban government had received from its comrades to the East allowed it to brush aside the claims of its detractors and thus remain legitimate in the eyes of its people. However, when that essential line of support was cut, the most powerful arguments against the integrity and viability of Cuban Revolutionary ideology were no longer just theoretical. They couldn't be brushed aside as exaggeration or the byproduct of hatred and imperialism. They were ground-level, and staring Cubans in the face

around every corner: crumbling boardwalks, shrinking food rations, a paucity of the supplies necessary for daily tasks such as repairing cars, running classrooms or stocking fridges. All of these shortages, coupled with the loss of its primary ideological ally, posed constant threats to the Cuban government's attempts to construct and reinforce metanarrative. This problem was compounded by the fact that Cuban youth who had come of age during the Battle of Ideas were too young to recall the earlier and arguably headier days of the Revolution. Considering all of this, it is unsurprising that the Battle of Ideas was launched in the wake of the Elián González crisis. In some ways, such a battle had been forced by circumstance.

As evidenced by the frequency with which destabilizing constructs appeared in the texts, the metanarrative at work during the Battle of Ideas was kept fluid. This isn't surprising, however, when one recalls that postmodern theory describes the project of metanarrative creation as a futile endeavor in an age that has moved beyond modernistic concepts of grand truth and universal constructs of meaning. Indeed, such fluidity seems to have better enabled the Cuban metanarrative to respond to its own suspect status, and to argue for its own validity and primacy through direct acknowledgment of such inconsistencies. In a more general sense, then metanarrative can be understood as also serving another function: it works to shape societal structures, yes, but equally important is the task of embedding itself within societal structures already in place. If, to use the language of social construction of reality theory, it fails to become embedded in ground-level reality, it risks losing relevancy and validity in the eyes of a society. Thus, a metanarrative's success is dependent on its successful understanding and navigating of the fundamental binary pull to which all societal structures are subject. The pull of these

opposing forces must be balanced. In Cuba, achieving a structural metanarrative that both accommodated societal values and orientations and successfully withstood the sometimes substantial limits imposed by resource availability and the influence of superhuman forces was achieved by working to ensure that the smaller narratives that comprise the metanarrative remained fluid enough to adapt to a constantly shifting reality, to accommodate the pull of opposing influences.

This meant that, at times, they had to be contradicted, reversed or even dismantled. This narrative fluidity can be understood as destabilization. However, adaptability-malleability is not enough. A narrative must also retain its structure even as it is dismantled, contradicted or reversed, or it loses legitimacy and may even fail to be recognizable as a narrative in the eyes of the people. How is this achieved? Narratives successfully retain their essential structures if they succeed in acknowledging and providing acceptable justification for the contradictions and inconsistencies that such fluidity creates. Such acknowledgment may be implicit or explicit. This can be understood as achieving resolution. If the moments of destabilization demanded by narrative fluidity can be resolved, then the narratives retain their essential structures, which allows them to remain legitimate, which in turn keeps the larger metanarrative intact.

Thus, the existence of the ideographic binary sets and their concurrent destabilization and resolution sets indicate that the metanarrative that emerged during this time period aimed at once to be self-reproducing and self-destructing, simultaneously perpetual and collapsible. Indeed, the Cuban metanarrative during the Battle of Ideas seemed to function with a self-conscious understanding of its own essentially dualistic

nature, and this double-awareness informed the shaping, describing and guiding processes in a continuous sort of feedback loop. Put another way, this metanarrative seemed marked by a postmodern self-awareness that colored its tireless grasping at essential yet impossible aims. This dualistic awareness of both the vital importance of the project of metanarrative construction and the essential futility of the task in a world so postmodern sheds light on the dualistic nature of the IB sets, which worked equally diligently to express privileged concepts and their non-privileged opposites, to argue for the primacy of Cuban ideology while devoting equal energy to destabilizing and thus dismantling the constructs that gave Cuban reality its contours. Such dismantling was not only justified by the complicated nature of metanarrative, it was forced by the very definition of the word.

Generalized Conclusions

Although the course of analysis described above is most relevant to the understanding of how metanarrative functions in closed media systems, relevant conclusions can also be drawn about the functioning of metanarrative in all media systems. It may be dangerous to seek out parallels between media systems that are structured so differently, but it may be equally dangerous to fall prey to the assumption that open media systems do not also enforce and seek to legitimize metanarratives. Indeed, it is essential to bear in mind that ideology, and all the rhetorical forms used to transmit it, is a universal method of constructing meaning, and it is likely that binarized expressions of objective and subjective structural influences and the metanarratives they seek to enforce exist in every type of media system. This course of research has focused on ideology within Cuba's closed media system, but this in no way implies that

ideographic binary sets would emerge any less prominently or consistently from the artifacts of a semi- or fully open media system.

In closed media systems, where editorial decisions about content, form and delivery are made at the governmental level, the influences naturally emerge from a systemic level and might be easier to analyze in some ways as a result. In open and semi-open media systems, on the other hand, where editorial decisions about content, form and delivery are made at a variety of levels, these subjective and objective influences remain intact and relevant, but seem more likely to emerge from organizational and individual levels as well as systemic levels. Thus, scholars seeking to identify and understand metanarratives in any type of media environment could benefit from applying the theoretical model of the ideographic binaries falling under the categories of the values, orientations, available resources and superhuman forces which, in their totality, serve to reinforce the societal structures of which metanarrative is composed.

Several further conclusions can be drawn from the similarities and differences outlined above. First, it appears that media artifacts cannot be successfully used to transmit ideology unless they are aware of and respond to the practical constraints imposed by a medium. Space limitations force news stories to be more selective about how it approaches ideology. Often, a story might raise just one or a few points and see them through as opposed to raising a host of points and questions that must then be dealt with. Perhaps destabilizing information must be left out because there simply isn't time to resolve it. Second, for media artifacts to be successfully used to transmit ideology, transmitters must be aware of the strengths and potentialities of a given medium. Speeches are more direct and thus have a greater power to evoke emotion, especially

when they are delivered by an institutional rhetor as powerful as Fidel Castro. It could be inferred that receivers are thus more likely to excuse inconsistencies, to get caught up in the moment and to be influenced by forms of expression that fall below the radar of written text. Thus, speeches rely more on emotionalized responses, and as they are transmitted more directly, they allow more theoretical room for nuance. In the end, then, speeches-as-a-medium may offer a more efficient and successful means of ideology transmission and thus be a better medium through which to tackle delicate subjects.

Limitations and Possibilities for Future Research

This course of research has aimed to analyze a large enough body of texts in a careful enough manner to provide insight into the functioning of ideographic binary sets within Cuba's closed media system during the early years of the Battle of Ideas. However, it has also aimed to further more generalized ideological scholarship. The endpoint of this analysis leaves much to be explored. As this study focused on a question of product as opposed to a question of practice or commentary (Pauly, 1991, p. 3-4), the focus was on the interpretation of media artifacts as texts, or "integrated strategies of symbolic action" (p. 4). Neither Cuban citizens' interpretations of what they were consuming nor media producers' interpretations of what they were producing fell within the scope of research. However, such research positions future scholars well to examine such questions, for which the extant body of scholarship remains limited.

As discussed in the literature review, most of Cuba's ideographs and binaries have previously been considered in isolation, or have been given limited attention. Few scholars have examined Cuban ideology in a manner that brings these two concepts together cohesively or extensively. The research indicates, however, that the ideology at

work in Cuba during this time was fundamentally binarized, and a discussion of such ideology that only acknowledges or addresses privileged concepts and positive apprenticeships is ignoring half of the picture. Further, the study of the binarized functioning of ideology might also shed light on the process of ideological criticism itself. Gropas (2007) has also asserted that much research examining ideology in Cuba in the past has broken off along the “ideological affiliations” (p 538) of scholars. It is interesting to note that such splintering off is mirrored within the binarized nature of the ideology expressed by the media artifacts. This may shed light on the subtle and often elusive nature of ideology itself; even the scholar attempting to objectively examine and understand it is in some danger of being taken in or misled by it and is thus well advised to treat it carefully.

Ideological criticism aims to study the particular in a manner that is applicable to the general. Thus, one of the goals of this course of research was to make larger claims about how ideology functions. Certainly, this research is poised to offer a contribution to scholarly understanding of ideology within Cuban media. However, it is likely that ideology is constructed differently in a non-controlled media environment. Thus, the findings of this study may only have relevance in relation to other closed systems, and they may not contribute to scholarly understanding of how mass media perpetuates ideology in countries with freer press systems.

The study was also subjected to limitations imposed by the chosen framework of theories and methods. Social construction of reality theory posits a gradual adoption of habits and behaviors, while practical limitations confined the research to examining ideology transmitted during a relatively short time period. However, as the Battle of Ideas

focused on reinvigorating a long-cultivated ideology, and as the question is interested in examining how this ideology was reinforced as opposed to how it was constructed, the theory still holds weight.

The study also ran up against several practical limitations. With regards to artifact gathering, the Cuban governmental Web site from which the speeches were gathered had not made English translations of all of Castro's speeches available, and the Library of Congress did not maintain a complete archive of *Juventud Rebelde* newspapers. Both of these circumstances limited the available pool of dates from which to select artifacts. However, the artifacts were gathered with an aim for achieving an optimally representative range of dates available within the selected years. In addition, the newspaper stories had to be translated into English by the author of this study, a non-native Spanish speaker. However, the credibility of these translations was bolstered by the hiring of a proofreader fluent in both languages.

As discussed in the findings chapter, several additional prominent ideographic binary sets were identified within the texts but, owing to time and space limitations, weren't discussed. These ideographic binary sets included Precision / Imprecision orientation, Rational / Irrational orientation and Choice / Force orientation. The canon of Cuban media scholarship would certainly benefit from a closer examination of these additional ideographic binary sets.

Finally, the proposed theoretical model of the ideographic binary set could be of use to scholars studying ideology both within and beyond the boundaries of media research. The model itself would also benefit from further development and improvement, as it was applied experimentally in this course of research. The broadness

of its construction gives it great malleability and flexibility, which suggests it may be relevant in a broad range of research areas covering a broad range of topics.

Research Conclusion

To summarize, the ideographic binary sets served a three-fold function within Cuban state-produced media texts during the early years of the Battle of Ideas: first, they worked to promote Cuban ideology by pointing to its potentialities and benefits, second, they worked to demote non- or anti-Cuban ideology by pointing to its limitations and pitfalls. Third, they worked to acknowledge and resolve contradictions and inconsistencies between the espoused binaries and ground-level reality by actively destabilizing and then resolving troubling concepts.

All said, the task of uncovering and definitively analyzing ideology within Cuban artifacts during the Battle of Ideas, within any society during any given time period, is a massively complex undertaking. Deconstructive theory posits that the ideologies emerging from any social structure can be broken down into binarized sets. It further posits that projects of deconstructive analysis reveal binaries constructed from binaries constructed from binaries, and contradictions of contradictions, all of it, in some ways, incredibly resistant to scholarly attempts at defining or pinning down. Certainly, the metanarrative at work during the early years of the Battle of Ideas seems guided and powered by a logic so maddeningly circular that it might be impossible to trace it to any sort of ending or starting place. And perhaps this is precisely the point. As social construction of reality posits, societal constructs of meaning can become so embedded in a society that eventually they are scarcely recognizable as constructs at all. Instead, they are seen as simple reality, and therefore become extremely difficult to tease out from the

pattern of all that has built up around them. This doesn't undermine the work of qualitative research, but it certainly complicates the task.

Appendix 1. Sample Ideographic Binary Analysis Chart

Supplement	Complement	Ideographic Constructs	Destabilization / Resolution Sets
Humanizing orientation	Dehumanizing orientation	<i>Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing:</i> “The blockade is an inhuman burden.”	None
Long-term orientation	Short-term orientation	<i>Continuous struggle:</i> “The newest generation has grappled with the blockade since birth.”	<i>Crucial moment:</i> “We are in a race against time.”
Ideological- intangible forces and resources	Physical- Material forces and resources	<i>Moral-cultural richness:</i> “a rich spiritual world has been created in all these years of Revolution.”	D: <i>Continued poverty in Cuba:</i> “Books are now a luxury item.” R: <i>Success economically immeasurable</i> “Intangible wealth is the only kind that matters.”

Appendix 2. *Dominant Ideographic Binary Sets in Cuban Media Artifacts*

Complement	Supplement
Humanizing orientation	Dehumanizing orientation
Paternalistic-familial orientation	Autonomistic-individualistic orientation
Long-term orientation	Short-term orientation
Benevolent superhuman forces and resources	Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources
Ideological-intangible forces and resources	Ideological-intangible forces and resources

Appendix 3. *Summary of General Diachronic Findings*

Humanizing Orientation / Dehumanizing Orientation

This IB set appeared in all nine speeches and in stories 1, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17. This IB set worked to accomplish two things within the texts. First, it aimed to demonstrate that Cuban society and government values and promotes humanity and humanness, whereas non-Cuban societies and governments value and promote dehumanization and inhumanness. Second, it aimed to demonstrate through positive and negative apprenticeship that a humanizing orientation is superior to a dehumanizing orientation. Within the texts, this IB set was expressed through the ten primary ideographic constructs listed and described below, which encompassed a broad variety of attitudes toward humanness.

Revolution as human. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the Revolution itself as having human qualities and attributes, appeared in speeches 1, 4 and 8 and in story 12.

Anti-Revolution as inhuman entity. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting governmental structures and belief systems that directly opposed or even simply challenged the Revolution as inhuman entities, appeared in speeches 1, 2, 3 and 9 and in stories 1 and 5.

Revolution as humanizing. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the aims of the Revolution as fundamentally humanizing and concerned for protecting and promoting not only the humanity of Cubans, but also of all peoples of the world, appeared in speeches 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 and in stories 14, 15 and 17.

Anti-Revolution as dehumanizing. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting structures and systems that did not align with the Revolution as fundamentally dehumanizing and little concerned with the plight of human beings, appeared in speeches 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9 and in stories 5, 12, 14, 15 and 17.

Power of humanity. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting humanity as powerfully equipped to overcome adversity, appeared in speeches 7 and 8.

U.S. government as exterminator. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the U.S. government as being partially or fully responsible for various human rights violations, including genocides, appeared in speeches 3, 5 and 6 and in story 14.

Europe as exterminator. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting European colonization as an exterminating force, appeared in story 13.

Commodification-consumption of poor countries. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the developing nations of the world as in danger of being absorbed and commodified by wealthier countries, appeared in speech 6 and in story 13.

Proliferation of synthetic products. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the spread of synthetically engineered products and foods as dangerous and potentially deadly, appeared in speech 6.

U.N. as dehumanizing. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the U.N. as a corrupt and dehumanizing force, appeared in story 16.

Destabilization / Resolution Sets Within the Humanizing / Dehumanizing Orientation

Within the texts, the Humanizing / Dehumanizing orientation IB set was subjected to four primary destabilization / resolution sets, listed and described below, which called into question the positive and negative apprenticeships expressed by the ideographic

constructs. (Within destabilization / resolution sets that invoke multiple resolutions, resolutions are delineated as *R1*, *R2*, etc.)

Cuba as human-rights violator / R1: Cuba's human-rights violations as justified R2: Cuba's detractors as unqualified to judge it. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged Cuba's reputation as a human-rights violator and resolved the accusation by describing Cuba's human-rights violations as warranted and by describing its accusers as lacking the moral and cultural knowledge to make such an accusation, appeared in speeches 8 and 9 and in story 16.

U.S. citizens as supportive / U.S. government as disunited from founding principles. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that some U.S. citizens support Cuba's endeavors and resolved this problematic truth with the assertion that the U.S. has strayed from the principles of its founding fathers, appeared in speech 3.

Unpaired destabilizations. Two destabilizations that were paired with no resolutions emerged from the texts. The first unpaired destabilization, *Revolution as an omnipotent entity*, which described the Revolution in inhuman terms, appeared in speech 1. The second unpaired destabilization, *U.S. government as cooperative*, which acknowledged the U.S.'s efforts to work together with Cuba, appeared in speech 2.

Paternalistic-Familial Orientation / Autonomistic-Individualistic Orientation

This IB set appeared in speeches 1, 2, 3, 4 and 9 and in stories 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 17. This IB set worked to accomplish two things within the text. First, it aimed to demonstrate that Cuban society and government values and promotes paternalism and family rights, whereas non-Cuban societies and governments value and promote autonomy and individual rights. Second, it aimed to demonstrate through positive and

negative apprenticeship that a paternalistic-familial orientation is superior to an autonomistic-individualistic orientation. Within the texts, the Paternalism-familial / Autonomistic-individualistic orientation IB set was expressed primarily through the following constructs:

Cuban respect for rights of individual families. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting Cuba as placing primacy on the family bond, appeared in speeches 1 and 2 and in stories 1, 2, 3 and 17.

U.S. disrespect for rights of individual families. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the U.S. as disrespectful of the family bond, appeared in speeches 1 and 3 and in stories 5 and 6.

Revolution as paternalistic entity. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the Revolution as a paternal figure to all Cuban people, appeared in speeches 1 and 6 and in story 5.

U.S. government as non-paternalistic entity. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the U.S. government as treating its own citizens and the citizens of other countries in a non-paternalistic manner, appeared in speech 3 and in stories 1 and 5.

Latin-South America as an extended family. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing other Latin and South American countries in familial terms such as “brother” and “sister,” appeared in speeches 6 and 9 and in story 6.

Within the texts, the Paternalism-familial / Autonomy-individualistic orientation was subjected to four primary destabilization / resolution sets, listed and described below, which called into question the positive and negative apprenticeships expressed by the ideographic constructs.

U.S. families as respecting paternalism / U.S. families would side with Cuba in Elián's case. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that U.S. families also place primacy on the family bond and resolved the contradiction by asserting that such families would side against the U.S. in the case of Elián González, appeared in speech 1 and in stories 1 and 6.

Voluntary emigration of Cubans / R1: Emigrants are enticed R2: Emigrants are misled R3: Emigrants are criminals. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that some Cubans choose to leave the island and resolved the contradiction by describing such people as having been enticed, misled or simply being criminals, appeared in speeches 2 and 3 and in story 5.

Paternally sanctioned emigration / R1: Emigrants are misled R2: Allegiance to Revolution overrides allegiance to blood paternalism. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that some Cuban parents allow their children to leave Cuba and resolved the contradiction by describing these parents as misled and by asserting that Cuban children have the right to disobey their parents in such an event, appeared in speech 6.

Latin American countries as siding with the U.S. / R1: They were forced to for economic reasons R2: They are trapped in history. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that some Latin American countries side against Cuba in diplomatic issues and resolved the contradiction by describing such countries as having been forced to by richer countries and as being behind the times, appeared in speech 6.

Long-Term Orientation / Short-Term Orientation

This IB set appeared in all nine speeches and in all stories except for stories 6, 11, 13 and 16. This IB set worked to accomplish two things within the texts. First, it aimed to demonstrate that Cuban society and government values and promotes long-term thinking, whereas non-Cuban societies and governments value and promote short-term thinking. Second, it aimed to demonstrate through positive and negative apprenticeship that a long-term orientation is superior to a short-term orientation. Within the texts, this IB set was expressed primarily through the following constructs:

Endurance of discomfort. This ideographic construct, which focused on encouraging Cubans to make sacrifices and to bear discomforts in the name of the Revolution, appeared in speeches 1, 3, 5 and 9.

Continuous struggle. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing Cuban society as being in a continual state of rebellion and struggle against the U.S., appeared in all nine speeches and in stories 5, 7, 12 and 17.

Largeness of history. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting history as a powerful and all-encompassing force, appeared in speeches 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 and in stories 2, 8, 9, 12, 14 and 17.

References to past-future Cubans. This ideographic construct, which focused on referencing Cuban heroes of the past and future, appeared in speeches 3, 6 and 8 and in stories 2, 9 and 12.

Focus on youth. This ideographic construct, which focused on emphasizing the importance the Revolution places on youth, appeared in speech 8 and in stories 1, 4, 9, 10 and 12.

Continuous growth. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing Cuba as a place of continual economic and ideological progress, appeared in stories 3, 8, 9, 10 and 15.

Destabilization / resolution sets. Of all the extant ideographic binaries, the Long-term / Short-term orientation IB was most resistant to destabilization. The IB was consistently marked by a confusion of passing time that seemed to make it highly malleable.

However, one destabilization / resolution sets emerged, which called into question the positive and negative apprenticeships expressed by the ideographic constructs.

Crucial moment. This destabilization, which contradicted the Long-term / Short-term IB set by describing the present as a singular and vital moment, appeared in speeches 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 and in stories 3, 10 and 17. No resolution was offered.

Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources / Non-Benevolent Superhuman Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in speeches 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9 and in stories 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13 and 16. This IB set worked to accomplish two things within the text. First, it aimed to demonstrate that Cuban society and government is influenced by benevolent superhuman forces and resources, whereas non-Cuban societies and governments are influenced by non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources. Second, it aimed to demonstrate through positive and negative apprenticeship that the influence of benevolent superhuman forces and resources is superior to the influence of non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources. Within the texts, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources IB was expressed primarily through the following constructs.

Light-dark imagery. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing reality in metaphors of light and dark, appeared in speeches 4, 6 and 7 and in stories 2 and 5.

Revolution as sacred. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the Revolution as a sacred entity, appeared in speech 7 and in stories 5 and 12.

Religious references. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing reality in religious and particularly Christian metaphors, appeared in speeches 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9 and in stories 2, 3, 5, 6, 12 and 16.

Transcendentalism. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing reality as transcendental, appeared in stories 2 and 3.

Justice. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting justice as a powerful protective force, appeared in story 4.

Nature. This ideographic construct, which focused on connecting human events to larger natural events, appeared in stories 4, 6 and 7.

Within the texts, the Benevolent superhuman / Non-benevolent superhuman IB was subjected to one primary destabilization / resolution set, listed and described below, which called into question the positive and negative apprenticeships expressed by the ideographic constructs.

Failure of benevolent Soviet Union / Distancing of Cuba from Soviet Union. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged the collapse of the Soviet Union and resolved the contradiction by describing the ways in which Cuba was fundamentally different from the Soviet Union, appeared in speech 4.

Ideological-Intangible Forces and Resources / Physical-Material Forces and Resources

This IB set appeared in all speeches except for speeches 2 and 4, and in all 17 stories. This IB set worked to accomplish two things within the text. First, it aimed to demonstrate that Cuban society and government are influenced by ideological-intangible forces and resources, whereas non-Cuban societies and governments are influenced by physical-material forces and resources. Second, it aimed to demonstrate through positive and negative apprenticeship that the influence of ideological-intangible forces and resources is superior to the influence of non-benevolent superhuman forces and resources. Within the texts, the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB was expressed primarily through the following constructs:

Physical violence as unnecessary. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting physical violence as gratuitous and a tool of ideologically inferior countries, appeared in speeches 1 and 3.

Power of ideas. This ideographic construct, which focused on emphasizing the power of Revolutionary consciousness, appeared in speeches 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 and in stories 12 and 17.

Defeat of militarily superior enemy. This ideographic construct, which focused on recalling historical moments in which Cuba prevailed over better-fortified enemies, appeared in speeches 7, 8 and 9 and in story 7.

Cuba's infinite ideological resources. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing Cuba's ideological resources as limitless and ever growing, appeared in speeches 1, 4, 6 and 7 and in stories 3, 8, 10 and 12.

Moral-cultural richness. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting Cuba as a place of extraordinary cultural and moral achievements, appeared in speeches 4, 5 and 9 and in stories 1, 3, 13, 14, and 16.

Moral-cultural bankruptcy. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting the U.S. and other capitalist countries as places devoid of culture and morality, appeared in speeches 5, 6 and 9 and in stories 1, 3, 13, 14 and 16.

Technology as dangerous. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing the dangers of modern technology, appeared in speech 4.

Unity-solidarity with other countries. This ideographic construct, which focused on outlining the steadfastness of Cuba's relationships with other countries, especially poor ones, appeared in speeches 3 and 5 and in stories 2, 4, 9, 11, 13, 14 and 16.

Universalisation of suffering-struggle. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting Elián González's case as relevant to the lives of all Cubans, appeared in story 4.

U.S. as wasteful. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing the U.S. as an extravagant and wasteful place, appeared in story 6.

U.S. materialism. This ideographic construct, which focused on describing the U.S. as overly ostentatious, appeared in speech 1.

Power of youth. This ideographic construct, which focused on presenting children as powerful energy forces, appeared in story 2 and speech 5.

Within the texts, the Ideological-intangible / Physical-material forces and resources IB was subjected to five destabilization / resolution sets, listed and described

below, which called into question the positive and negative apprenticeships expressed by the ideographic constructs. These sets appeared extensively throughout the texts.

Failure of socialism-communism / Failure of socialism communism as result of corruption. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged the failure of socialism-communism and resolved this contradiction by attributing such failure to corruption and weakness, appeared in speech 7 and story 3.

Continued poverty in Cuba / R1: Poverty as the result of the embargo R2: Success as immeasurable in economic terms. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged continued scarcity in Cuba and resolved the contradiction both by blaming such scarcity on the economic embargo and by asserting that success should be measured in other ways, appeared in speech 1 and story 5.

Actions of Cuban dissident movement / R1: Dissidents are criminals R2: Dissidents are enticed R3: Dissidents will eventually be eradicated. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged Cuba's internal dissident population and resolved the contradiction by describing Cuban dissidents as criminals, as having been enticed and as a people whose days are numbered, appeared in story 15.

Cuba's previous use of physical force / Force as no longer necessary. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that Cuba had used weapons and force in the past and resolved the contradiction by describing contemporary Cuba as a place where such force is no longer needed, appeared in speeches 1 and 4.

Cuba as unable to help other countries / Cuba's commitment as ideological. This destabilization / resolution set, which acknowledged that Cuba cannot offer economic or military aid to its allies and resolved the contradiction by emphasizing that Cuba's

commitment to these countries is not economic or military but ideological, appeared in speech 3.

Unpaired destabilizations. Two destabilizations appeared in the texts but were paired with no resolutions: *Technology as useful*, which acknowledged that technology can be used to further the aims of the Revolution, appeared in stories 6 and 17. *Acknowledged value of material wealth*, which acknowledged that material goods are necessary for happiness, appeared in speech 4.

Appendix 4. *Glossary of Frequently Used Acronyms*

Spanish Acronym	Spanish / English Referent
ALCA	Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas / Free Trade Area of the Americas
CDR	Comités Para la Defensa de la Revolución / Committees for the Defense of the Revolution
FAR	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias / Revolutionary Armed Forces
FNCA	Fundación Nacional Cubano-Americana / National Cuban-American Foundation
INDER	Instituto Nacional de Deportes, Educación Física y la Recreación / National Institute of Sport, Physical Education and Recreation
LAC	Ley de Ajuste Cubano / Cuban Adjustment Act
OEA	Organización de los Estados Americanos / Organization of American States
UJC	Union de Jovenes Comunistas / Union of Young Communists
UPEC	Unión de Periodistas de Cuba / Union of Cuban Journalists

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VITA

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Erin is proud of her American roots, but sees her time spent studying journalism at the University of Missouri as an important step forward on the path to becoming a true citizen of the world. In that vein, she hopes to begin her career as a journalist at an internationally oriented publication or agency, either in the United States or beyond.