

CHAPTER 16

‘Dynamic’ Obama Lectures ‘Bumblng’ Castro on Race Relations in Cuba, While Wilfully Blind to Black Lives Matter Movement in the US¹

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16.1 Introduction

A small and select but expanding group of scholars and investigators have exposed some of the historical biases, inaccuracies, and distortions in corporate media. The most well known of these is an American, Noam Chomsky, who has opposed and exposed the corporate-government-media-military nexus since the Vietnam War in the 1960s.²

Chomsky has been joined in more recent years by authors such as William Blum, a former US State Department employee who has uncovered CIA ‘adventures’ around the globe.³ Somewhat similar work has been done by former *New York Times* bureau chief Stephen Kinzer, who documented the US government’s role in overthrowing leaders in countries ranging from Hawaii

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and the Philippines, late in the twentieth century, to Iran in the 1950s and more recently Panama, Afghanistan, and Iraq.⁴

Canadian journalist Naomi Klein has taken a different tack: focusing on how the unfettered free-market capitalism envisioned by Milton Friedman and his followers has exported violence and subservience around the world in the form of disaster economics.⁵

British academic Matthew Alford has exposed how Hollywood ‘entertainment’ films actually support the US national security state and the use of American violence overseas.⁶

It is within this broader body of knowledge that the current study may be located. The portrayal of Cuba in the Western press since the 1959 Revolution has bordered on the ridiculous to anyone who has visited there and talked to the Cuban people. However, as Americans have generally been prohibited by law from visiting Cuba, they normally do not have first-hand experience to compare to corporate media depictions. As a consequence, the demonisation of Cuba and the Castro brothers has been among the most successful propaganda campaigns in the world over the past sixty years.

In March, 2016, then-US president Barack Obama paid a visit to Cuba. This chapter studies press coverage of that trip. The study compares the clichés of Cuba in press coverage to academic studies of Cuban realities, from pre-revolutionary days in the 1950s, to the present day.

Ironically, a media criticism show covered the clichés reported on the Obama trip, but failed to detect the significant clichés, only the superficial, such as how Cuba and the US are ‘a mere 90 miles, but worlds apart,’ and how Cuba is ‘frozen in time,’ with ‘crumbling buildings,’ and ‘vintage cars,’ along with ‘cigars and music,’ elements admittedly present in much of the coverage.⁷ But the program failed to unearth the deeper and more significant clichés in coverage, which we will attempt to do here.

One standard cliché in coverage is that the Castro brothers have led a long, communist, one-party dictatorship, with Fidel at the helm for 42 years, and Raúl for the past nine years. To North American thinking, it is inconceivable that there are elections in Cuba, under a one-party regime. Another part of this is that while Fidel’s predecessor Batista was not the best leader, Cuba flourished under him, relative to what has happened since.⁸

In the 1950s, under the dictator Fulgencio Batista, Cuba was a playground for the US Mafia, as documented in books by T.J. English and Enrique Cirules. Mob leaders such as Meyer Lansky and Lucky Luciano owned Havana’s biggest luxury hotels and casinos. The ‘Pearl of the Antilles,’ as Cuba was known, was the Mob’s playground, with gambling, fabulous entertainment, international celebrities, sex, sun, and sand.

The Mobsters had always dreamed of controlling their own country, free from police and government interference. Thanks to Batista’s cooperation, in return for Mob payments in the millions of dollars, the Mafia effectively ran the country, with military and police enforcers, from the 1930s until the Revolution in 1959.

The resulting role for Cubans was one of prostitution, repression, collaboration, and servitude. According to Aviva Chomsky there were 'two Cubas' in the 1950s, the 1.5 million jobless or rural poor who survived mostly on rice, a few beans and sugar water. At the other end were the 900,000 wealthiest Cubans who controlled 43 per cent of the country's income. In between, another 3.5 million struggled to make ends meet.⁹

One need only look to some of the reportage at the time. An AP story in the *Globe and Mail* said, 'The rebels hated legalized gambling because it made Cubans poorer, rich US racketeers richer, and added millions to Batista's vast fortune. That fortune has been estimated at \$200,000,000 safely stowed in foreign banks.'¹⁰

As with other periods of reportage such as during the trip to Cuba by former US president Jimmy Carter in 2002,¹¹ the media coverage of Obama's trip was an opportunity to trot out well-worn clichés about Cuba and the Castro brothers, revealing the corporate media's deep-seated ideological biases. For example, Patrick Luciani of the Atlantic Institute for Market Studies, writing in the *Financial Post*, noted that:

'Canadians are saying, 'Let's get down there before Americans ruin the place.' Too late; the ruin began with the 1959 revolution.'

Luciani praised Cuban life under Batista and belittled current Cuban accomplishments, for example in education, by saying, 'One has to ask what education means in a country that has little to read and what remains is filtered through Marxist ideology.'

The press coverage of Obama's visit provided absolutely no indication of what Noam Chomsky has identified as the real reason for the embargo against Cuba: the pro-capitalist 'rotten apple' or virus theory. That is, if Cuba is allowed to flourish on its own, unimpeded, then the 'virus' of socialism could spread to other Central American countries, as indeed it finally has done in the past decade or so. This assessment by Chomsky may be readily seen as part of his and Edward Herman's Propaganda Model of news media, relating to a number of the five filters, such as media ownership and profit orientation, the reliance on advertising and pursuant promotion of capitalism, and the anti-communism or ideology filter, which opposes nationalism anywhere other than the US.

16.2 It's All About Obama

In the Canadian and US press, Obama's visit to Cuba was—well—all about Obama. He was portrayed as a young 54-year-old man of mixed blood and 'fluid, lanky, youthful movement,' who visited Cuba with his beautiful wife and daughters. Whereas Calvin Coolidge had taken three days to arrive on a battleship in 1928, Superman Obama remarked, 'It only took me three hours.'

Obama marvelled at the significance of his trip, which he said enabled him to 'engage directly with the Cuban people,' forge 'new agreements and commercial

deals,' and 'build new ties between our two peoples.' Also, he would be able to 'lay out my vision for a future that's brighter than our past.'¹²

The *New York Times* wrote, 'All around the city on Sunday, Mr. Obama's name could be heard.' The spectators who watched Obama's arrival were awe-struck, professing they never thought they'd live to see this. Others shouted greetings and his name and 'USA.' and 'We like you,' as his entourage passed on the street. A 17-year-old was quoted as saying 'he had given her generation hope.' Obama 'has long been admired by Cubans, first as a candidate, then as a president,' we learned. When he announced restored relations with Cuba on 17 December 2014, 'that date is now recited often as a new national starting point, joining other historic dates, like July 26, 1953,' when Fidel attacked the Moncada barracks and started the Revolution.¹³

Obama lectured Cubans about the extent of their racism, ironically, given the past and current state of race relations in the US. 'We want our engagement to help lift up Cubans who are of African descent,' he said. The *New York Times* noted solemnly, 'It was also an unusually direct engagement with race, a critical and unresolved issue in Cuban society that the revolution was supposed to have erased.'¹⁴

During a joint news briefing with Raúl Castro, Obama winked at the camera and took 'a mini victory lap afterward.' Obama smoothly handled the press questions, while the allegedly-bumbling and haughty 84-year-old Castro stumbled, with his 'stiff military bearing.'

A *New York Times* article headlined, 'Along With Obama, the 21st Century Visited Cuba,' stated that 'The 30 years between Mr. Obama, 54, and Mr. Castro, 84, help explain the vast gulf that separates the two leaders, on vivid display last week...'¹⁵

The article pointed to the lack of reliable internet access, oblivious to the role played in this by the US embargo. 'The iconic image was Castro getting all huffy about some pretty anodyne critiques of the human rights situation in Cuba...The gestalt of the visit for Obama was very much "I know you're on your way out, and I'm going to speak to the Cuban population about what the future looks like after you",' the paper quoted a political science professor as saying, seemingly unaware of the fact that it is Obama who was a lame duck, not Castro.

The International New York Times began its article dismissively. 'The thing about dictators is they don't have to answer any stinking questions from the press. We call it undemocratic; they call it job security,'¹⁶ their reporter wrote.

After the first question to Raúl Castro about political prisoners, the reporter wrote, 'You could watch in real time as Mr. Castro came to terms with the idea that this was actually happening. He stammered and got himself into a muddle over how this whole news conference deal works, anyway. Was the question directed at him? It was only with prompting from President Obama that he finally answered Mr. [Jim] Acosta, though by demanding a list proving that any such prisoners even existed. (Happy to help you out with that, Sir.)'¹⁷

Almost all of the coverage portrayed Castro's request as a joke, as above. An exception was one article in *The Globe and Mail*, which stated: 'Cuba released dozens of prisoners as part of its deal to normalize relations with the United

States, and in a recent report, Amnesty International did not name any current prisoners of conscience in Cuba.¹⁸ The other media implied that Castro's request was outlandish: their presupposition was that everyone *knows* Cuba has political prisoners.

It's only when you go to a transcript of the session on *Granma*, that you learn how Raúl Castro answered questions. Instead of the bumbling fool portrayed in the press, we find his thoughtful analysis of the Cuban meaning of 'Human Rights,' and how it relates to other countries.

Raúl Castro: 'Give me the list of political prisoners right now to be released. Just mention a list. What political prisoners? Give me a name or names. Or once this meeting is over, you can give me a list of prisoners and if we have those political prisoners, they will be released before tonight. Next question.'

Jim Acosta (CNN): 'Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, President Castro?'

Raúl Castro: 'Well, I still cannot vote in the United States (Laughter).'

Afterwards, another question was directed to Raúl Castro.

Andrea Mitchell (NBC): 'What is the future of our nations, given the different definitions and the different interpretations of issues such as democracy and human rights?'

Raúl Castro: 'In the recognized institutions, there are 61 international instruments on human rights. Andrea, do you know how many countries in the world comply with all these 61 human and civil rights included in these instruments? What country complies with them all? I do. None. None, whatsoever. Some countries comply with some rights; others comply with others. And we are among these countries. Out of these 61 instruments, Cuba has complied with 47. There are countries that may comply with more, there are many that comply with less. The issues of human rights cannot be politicized, that is not correct.'¹⁹

Castro went on to mention just three of the human rights in Cuba, such as the right to quality, free healthcare, the right to free education, and the right of women 'to get equal pay as men for equal work.'

I could only find one paper which briefly reported on these remarks by Castro: *The Guardian* of London.²⁰ And yet, many newspapers jumped with glee on this simplistic notion of alleged human rights abuses in Cuba.²¹

The National Post ran an Associated Press story reporting on the press conference. Here are the first two paragraphs:

HAVANA — Cubans were glued to their televisions on Monday, many watching in a state of shock as President Raul Castro faced tough questions

from American journalists who challenged him to defend Cuba's record on human rights and political prisoners.

In a country where publicly questioning the authority of Castro and his brother and predecessor Fidel is unthinkable for most, and where the docile state-run media almost always toe the party line, the live broadcast was must-see TV. Some also marveled at tough questioning of President Barack Obama, simply unaccustomed to seeing any leader challenged in such a way.²²

This account neatly fits into the usual narrative: Cubans are shocked by the open questioning of their dictator by the fearless American journalists.

16.3 Fidel Writes About Obama

For the most part, only fleeting references are made to Fidel, which may be plugged into the previously-formulated social construction of the man who has been demonised perhaps more than any other for more than a half century. Although Fidel did not meet with Obama, he did write a response to the speech Obama delivered to the Cuban people, afterwards. Fidel's article was described the next day in the *Washington Post* as 'scathing' and 'a long and somewhat rambling recounting' of the Bay of Pigs invasion, and as 'A little disorganized.'²³ *The New York Times* described Castro's article as 'a 1600-word missive,' and an 'admonition,' and said Fidel 'chastised Mr. Obama, 54, for his youth and for failing to recognize' the major accomplishments of the revolution.²⁴

The notion that Fidel criticized Obama for his youth was fabricated. What Fidel wrote was: 'Obama was born in August of 1961, as he himself explained. More than half a century has transpired since that time.' Later on he said, '... pensions and salaries for all Cubans were decreed by [the Revolution] before Mr. Barack Obama was 10 years old.'²⁵ This is *hardly* chastising Obama for his youth.

What Fidel did was to respond to how Obama urged Cubans to 'forget the past, leave the past behind, let us look to the future together...' Indeed, it's easy for the perpetrator to say, 'forget the past,' but less so for the country which has been the victim of an invasion, bombings, poisonings, chemical and biological weapons attacks, hundreds of assassination attempts, and a relentless economic embargo.

16.4 Lectures on 'Democracy'

Another presupposition by the press, of course, is that Cuba is a one-party communist dictatorship which compares unfavorably to western democracies such as Canada and the US. So well-engrained is this notion that it hardly bears mentioning, but some still do. For example, small daily and weekly writer Gwynne Dyer wrote that '... when Fidel Castro retired after 42 years and handed power

to his brother [Raúl Castro] in 2008, Western embassies in Havana (minus the United States, of course) arranged for various “experts” from their countries to visit Cuba and explain how things were done in a real democracy—which they fully expected that Cuba would shortly become.²⁶ He went on to mention ‘the long dictatorship of the Castro brothers,’ and said, ‘I now think the regime will probably survive until and unless the US Congress finally ends the embargo and exposes Cuba to the full force of international capitalism.’

This neatly sums up a number of presuppositions which require no evidence: the Castro brothers were and are dictators, who hand over power to their appointees; Canada is ‘a real democracy,’ and Cuba is not, *etc.*

Obama stated in a press conference with Raúl, ‘We continue, as President [Raúl Castro] indicated, to have some very serious differences, including on democracy and human rights.’

In an editorial, the *Globe and Mail* stated that: ‘If Mr. Castro truly wants to normalize relations with the US, he must begin by opening his fist and extending his hand to democracy.’²⁷ This was in the context of discussing alleged human rights violations in Cuba. It’s an example of the more subtle accusations and assumptions.

In an otherwise somewhat exceptional guest column, which reviewed historical Cuban-American relations fairly accurately, even academic Jeffery Sachs offered that, ‘Cuba can and should aim for Costa Rican-style social democracy, rather than the cruder capitalism of the United States.’ Here, of course, Sachs confuses the albeit-related economic system (capitalism) with the electoral system (social democracy). The US is a capitalist economic state, with an allegedly-democratic political system, although many would take issue with this latter notion.²⁸

It’s abundantly clear to even the casual observer that our ‘western-style democracies’ are anything but. What we have, in fact, more closely approximates an oligarchy or plutocracy (rule by the few and the rich, respectively) rather than a democracy. Even the basic requisite for a democracy—majority rule—is seldom attained, as a cursory examination of the popular vote in recent decades demonstrates. Additionally, the unsavory characteristics of ‘western-style democracies’ are the very reason for their rejection by Cubans, who have ample knowledge of them, historically. For example, as Professor Isaac Saney notes,

While in other countries, economic wherewithal [wealth] is necessary for—and does lead to—political power, in Cuba this is not the case. Those who have the most money do not have political power, as they have no support among the masses and, thus, do not offer up candidates in the elections.²⁹

What Cubans know is that so-called ‘multiparty elections’ are the Trojan horse of politics, or, the ‘democracy of exploiters,’ as Fidel Castro has put it, allowing the US government to bribe and buy its way into office through one power-

hungry comprador or another. In Third World elections the US has openly or covertly run a favoured candidate, directed massive funding toward its preferred candidate, and threatened economic or military repercussions if its candidate is not elected. Once elected the candidate and his or her party run a client government at the beck-and-call of its American sponsors, just as the domestic equivalent is at the behest of his or her corporate backers. It's patently ridiculous to debate this point, since it is a matter of open historical record throughout the Third World over much of the past century.

The presupposition of 'capitalist democracies' in the West does not stand up to scrutiny. Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was elected in 2015 with a majority government, for example, while receiving only 39% of the popular vote, owing to the out-dated first-past-the-post electoral system in Canada. Hence, 61% of the population voted for other Parties. Trudeau promised in his electoral campaign that the 2015 election would be the last election under that model, but reneged on this promise 18 months into his term when it became clear that his Liberal Party most likely would not fare well under a more democratic system of Proportional Representation. As for the US, Hillary Clinton received almost three million more votes than Donald Trump in their 2016 presidential race, and yet Trump was elected president. So much for majority rule in these two countries.

Relatively speaking, in comparison the Cuban political system is a model of democracy. As authors such as Arnold August and law professor Isaac Saney have described in intricate detail, contrary to conventional wisdom, Cubans have developed an elaborate, representative and inclusive democracy which has an exemplary level of voluntary participation.³⁰ The media simply are not open to these points of view, choosing instead to parrot exclusively the views of the US Administration, with its distorted perspectives and Cold War caricatures. The fact that Obama went to Cuba to end the last vestiges of the Cold War just adds to the irony.

16.5 Lectures on the Economy

As regards the Cuban economy, one is left to conclude, as do the media, that the problem is Fidel Castro. No mention was made, for example, of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was Cuba's largest (almost exclusive) trading partner, accounting for 85% of trade, up until 1989. the USSR provided 95% of Cuban oil imports, for example. Cuban per capita income dropped by 39% following the Soviet collapse.³¹

The media said the embargo isn't working, it hasn't accomplished what it was established for.

'There's been an evolution where most of the younger [Miami] Cubans now are much less attached to the embargo, and many are saying that it hasn't worked and it would be easier if we just had normal relations with our cousin

and sister-in-law in Cuba. The great resentment among Cuban-Americans against the Cuban regime – and the notion that the embargo could bring it down – that was a strong factor in the 1960s and 1970s.³²

This was echoed in the *New York Times*: 'while many members of older generations who remained on the island have a visceral connection to the revolution and all that followed, their children and grandchildren may have little memory of the roots of resentment toward the United States.'³³

Luciani, writing in the *Financial Post*, said: 'Apologists blame the US embargo for Cuba's wretchedness. But it is not a blockade. Other countries trade with Cuba. Washington's Cuba policy is just a convenient excuse for a wrecked economy where most public resources are funnelled to an outsized military and bureaucracy.'

16.6 The Real Reason For the Embargo

The press reports that the reason for the embargo is to pressure Cuba to improve its Human Rights, or because of pressure from angry Miami Cubans, or, to pressure Cuba to democratize. The real reason for the embargo is so shocking, so unspeakable, that it must never be broached in the corporate media, except perhaps in a brief account or statement from someone who can be dismissed as a demented conspiracy theorist. The real reason the US continues its merciless punishment of Cuba is what Noam Chomsky calls, 'the threat of a good example.' It's also called the 'rotten apple theory,' or in a distorted version for more popular consumption: 'the Domino theory.' William Blum has called it 'the unforgiveable revolution.'

When a leader tries to do something for the poor and downtrodden of his country, instead of serving Washington and the IMF and other powers that be, there will be demonising and economic squeezes and coup attempts.³⁴ If all else fails, the US invades. It is worth quoting Chomsky at length on this because he cites US policymakers themselves, who are a trifle difficult to dismiss as mere conspiracy theorists.

No country is exempt from U.S. intervention, no matter how unimportant. In fact, it's the weakest, poorest countries that often arouse the greatest hysteria... The weaker and poorer a country is, the more dangerous it is as an example. If a tiny, poor country like Grenada can succeed in bringing about a better life for its people, some other place that has more resources will ask, 'why not us?' ... If you want a global system that's subordinated to the needs of US investors, you can't let pieces of it wander off Take Chile under Allende ... Why were we so concerned about it? According to Kissinger, Chile was a 'virus' that would 'infect' the region with effects all the way to Italy This 'rotten apple

theory' is called the domino theory for public consumption Sometimes the point is explained with great clarity. When the US was planning to overthrow Guatemalan democracy in 1954, a State Department official pointed out that 'Guatemala has become an increasing threat to the stability of Honduras and El Salvador. Its agrarian reform is a powerful propaganda weapon: its broad social program of aiding the workers and peasants in a victorious struggle against the upper classes and large foreign enterprises has a strong appeal to the populations of Central American neighbors where similar conditions prevail.' ... In other words, what the US wants is 'stability', meaning security for the 'upper classes and large foreign enterprises.'³⁵

Thus, Chomsky replies to those who argue that the US only intervenes over access to natural resources, as it has openly done in the Middle East. He goes on to quote from members of the US administration who spoke more openly about their goals and objections in earlier times.

Arthur Schlesinger had transmitted to the incoming President Kennedy his Latin American Mission report, which warned of the susceptibility of Latin Americans to 'the Castro idea of taking matters into one's own hands.' The dangers of the 'Castro idea' are particularly grave, Schlesinger later elaborated, when 'the distribution of land and other forms of national wealth greatly favors the propertied classes' and 'the poor and underprivileged, stimulated by the example of the Cuban revolution, are now demanding opportunities for a decent living.' In early 1964, the State Department Policy Planning Council expanded on these concerns: 'The primary danger we face in Castro is ... in the impact the very existence of his regime has upon the leftist movement in many Latin American countries The simple fact is that Castro represents a successful defiance of the US, a negation of our whole hemispheric policy of almost a century and a half'³⁶

One can see here explicitly that this concern and the Cuban example are central to a Chomskian analysis of international affairs and specifically US foreign policy, whether or not one directly relates them specifically to the Propaganda Model, as I very briefly have done above. Little or nothing has changed in the intervening decades, since the Cuban Revolution ousted the US Mafia, which was stunningly portrayed by director Francis Ford Coppola in his film *The Godfather*, as the very epitome of capitalism. Similarly, these results comply with the findings of other contemporary writers such as Chris Hedges, Stephen Kinzer, William Blum, etc.

Clearly, Cuba under the Castro brothers' leadership has not met any of the needs of American capitalism, other than functioning as Cold War bogeymen. Chomsky writes,

[T]he assigned functions of Third World countries are to be markets for American business, sources of resources for American business, to provide cheap labor for American business, and so on...the main commitment of the United States, internationally in the Third World, must be to prevent the rise of nationalist regimes which are responsive to pressures from the masses of the population for improvement in low living standards and diversification of production; the reason is, we have to maintain a climate that is conducive to investment, and to ensure conditions which allow for adequate repatriation of profits to the West.³⁷

16.7 One-Party Rule

Obama, and the media that reported on him, repeatedly take advantage of a technique called *presupposition*, in Critical Discourse Analysis terms, in which their particular perspective is privileged and alternative views are precluded. We saw this above in the way Luciani categorized as 'apologists' someone who holds a different perspective on the Cuban Embargo. The 'one party domination' presupposition is another case in point. In fact, the Communist Party is prohibited from taking part in elections, under the Cuban Constitution,³⁸ and opposition movements flourish within the dialectic of the revolution. Opposition and 'disagreement with the government' does not present a problem: it is those who are actively working in the hire of a foreign power to overthrow the Cuban government whose actions are—quite rationally and reasonably—prohibited and subjected to Cuban laws.

To provide some perspective, think of how all governments have laws prohibiting treason, with jail sentences as a result of convictions. Think about the Canadian government's reaction to the FLQ crisis in October 1970, for example, when the War Measures Act was invoked nationally, and 400 Quebecois were jailed, in response to two kidnappings, one murder and some bombings by a few dozen people in Quebec.³⁹

Finally, in terms of this brief chapter, I wish to point out these virtually unreported words of US Treasury Secretary Jacob J. Lew, from March 2016. He is elaborating on how Obama has loosened restrictions on travel to Cuba by Americans. Here is what he said:

Individuals may now travel to Cuba without being attached to a US-based organization coordinating the trip, 'provided that the traveler engages in a full-time schedule of educational exchange activities intended to enhance contact with the Cuban people, support civil society in Cuba, or promote the Cuban people's independence from Cuban authorities and that will result in a meaningful interaction between the traveler and individuals in Cuba.'⁴⁰

The words, ‘support civil society in Cuba,’ are Newspeak or code words for opposing the Cuban government. The next words, ‘or promote the Cuban people’s independence from Cuban authorities,’ make this explicit. In other words, Americans may now travel to Cuba if they engage in actions which are traitorous to the Cuban government.⁴¹

Notes and Bibliography

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- ²¹ I'm in agreement with Isaac Saney on this point. Many, if not all of these prisoners are convicted of treason, or 'working with a foreign power to undermine the government.' The international reporting bears 'no resemblance to the actual issues or evidence presented.' See Isaac Saney (2004), *Cuba: A Revolution in Motion*, Nova Scotia, Fernwood Publishing p. 69.
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- ³⁴ Venezuela under Hugo Chavez is perhaps the best recent example of this, where business and US interests objected to his government with riots, general strikes, and a coup. These activities continue under his successor, Nicolás Maduro.
- ³⁵ Noam Chomsky (1993), *What Uncle Sam Really Wants* (Tucson, AZ, Odonian Press).
- ³⁶ Noam Chomsky (2003), 'Cuba in the Cross-Hairs: A Near Half-Century of Terror,' 24 October, www.commondreams.com, excerpted with permission from Noam Chomsky (2003), *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Metropolitan Books).

- ³⁷ Peter Mitchell and John Schoeffel, eds. (2002), *Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky*, New York, p.64.
- ³⁸ Saney, *Cuba: A Revolution in Motion* p.64.
- ³⁹ For an elaboration, see James Winter (2007), *Lies the Media Tell Us* (Black Rose Books, Montreal).
- ⁴⁰ Reported by Teresa Welsh (2016), 'More People Can Now Travel To Cuba,' *US News And World Report*, 15 March.
- ⁴¹ After the election of Donald Trump in 2016, there was speculation that Trump would reverse Obama's Cuban policies. An announcement was expected in June, 2017. See Mythili Sampathkumar, 'Donald Trump to reverse Barack Obama's Cuba policies after breakthrough of decades-old stalemate,' *The Independent*, May 30, 2017. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/donald-trump-cuba-barack-obama-diplomatic-relations-raul-castro-communist-island-caribbean-a7763316.html>