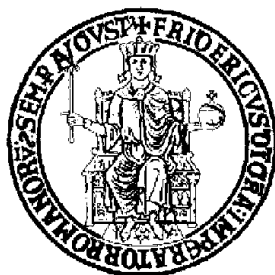


UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI FEDERICO II



DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE POLITICHE

SCUOLA DI DOTTORATO IN SCIENZE PSICOLOGICHE, PEDAGOGICHE E LINGUISTICHE

DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN  
LINGUA INGLESE PER SCOPI SPECIALI

XXVII CICLO

The '*We Will Rise*' 2010 Election Campaign:  
the Discursive Construction of Political and National Identities  
in Trinidad and Tobago

CANDIDATA

DOTT.SSA ELEONORA ESPOSITO

RELATORE

COORDINATORE DEL DOTTORATO

PROF. PAOLO DONADIO

PROF. GABRIELLA DI MARTINO

ANNO ACCADEMICO 2014/2015

*c'est – plutôt que de vouloir réduire les autres au silence, en prétendant que leur propos est vain –  
essayer de définir cet espace blanc d'où je parle, et qui prend forme lentement  
dans un discours que je sens si précaire, si incertain encore.*  
(M.F.)

## Acknowledgements

*This dissertation is the product of the generosity and assistance of many mentors, colleagues, friends and family members as I lived in Naples and Lancaster while conducting my PhD work. I have drawn on the knowledge and kindness of so many over these three years, and I am indebted to all of them.*

*I am very grateful to my supervisor at the University of Naples “Federico II”, Prof. Paolo Donadio, for his kind academic guidance, constructive comments, kindness, high spirits and many enjoyable discussions.*

*I am indebted to my tutor in Lancaster University, Dr. Johann W. Unger, for the many forms of academic support and encouragement he has given me, and particularly for patient reading and countless inspirational conversations.*

*I am grateful to the Head of our PhD Programme, Prof. Gabriella di Martino, for believing in my research project. Prof. di Martino and our PG Coordinator Mena Vilardi were incredibly helpful to me throughout my PhD journey and their support has been highly appreciated.*

*It has been my privilege to meet both Prof. Ruth Wodak and Prof. Theo van Leeuwen during my stay in Lancaster and I am grateful to both for giving me the opportunity to watch and learn from their knowledge and experience.*

*Thanks must also go to Dr. Kirk Meighoo for always keeping me updated with interesting readings and insights from the University of the West Indies and Trinidad and Tobago.*

*I gratefully acknowledge the funding sources that made my Ph.D. work possible, especially the ‘Programma STAR – Linea 2’ of the University of Naples “Federico II” that financially supported my year of research at Lancaster University.*

*I thank Antonio for starting and finishing this journey with me, for being the best PhD colleague I could ever hope for. I would also like to thank Federica, Vittorio, Virginie and all the PhD students from the Department of English Language and Linguistics at Lancaster University for all the encouragement I received throughout my stay in the U.K.*

*Heartfelt thanks go to Carola for her endless support. Together with Kristof and John, she has been the best housemate and friend that I could ever hope for during the final months of research and writing in Lancaster.*

*I thank Peppe, who has been the man behind my application for this PhD, for being the amazing friend and mentor he is.*

*I thank Alessandra, Elena, Mara, Paola and Rita, who have been celebrating with me since my High School Diploma.*

*I thank Eduardo, for his phone calls. I thank Silvia, for hers. I thank Lucio, for the Calypso Boys and everything else.*

*Finally, I am indebted to my Mum and Dad, who never got to fully understand why I decided to take a PhD, but have always encouraged me to aim high, question things and look at life from all angles. They have been my most enthusiastic supporters since First Grade and none of this could have happened without their love and their generous and strong support.*

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: THE TRINBAGONIAN CONTEXT</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>1.1 Ethnicity and the Political Process in Trinidad and Tobago</b>	<b>16</b>
1.1.1 Afro-Indian Relations in Colonial Trinidad	17
1.1.2 Politics and Afro-Indian Relations in the Post-independence Era	24
1.1.3 The 2010 Elections: Kamla Persad-Bissessar and The People's Partnership	28
<b>1.2 Discourse, Society and Identity in Trinidad and Tobago</b>	<b>33</b>
1.2.1 The Trinbagonian Society: between Plurality and Creolization	33
1.2.2 Callaloo or Pelau? Nation and Narration in the Archipelago	38
<b>CHAPTER 2: THE CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>2.1 Defining and Analyzing Political Discourse</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis</b>	<b>50</b>
2.2.1 A Plural Approach to Language, Society and Power	50
2.2.2 The Discourse-Historical Approach	55
2.2.3 Main theoretical concepts and terminology	60
2.2.4 Criticism of CDA	68
<b>2.3 Multimodality and the Critical Approach to Political Discourse Analysis</b>	<b>71</b>

<b>CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DATA AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>3.1 Analyzing a Trinbagonian Political Campaign</b>	<b>77</b>
3.1.1 Textual Data	80
3.1.2 Visual Data	83
<b>3.2 Methodological Framework</b>	<b>86</b>
3.2.1 Analyzing Textual Data: Tools from the Discourse-Historical Approach	86
3.2.2 Analyzing Visual Data: Tools from Kress and Van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar	99
 <b>CHAPTER 4: THE LEADER</b>	 <b>109</b>
<b>4.1 The Discourse of Leadership</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>4.2 Strategies of Positive Self-Presentation</b>	<b>112</b>
4.2.1 No Woman No Cry and the 'Mother' Rhetoric of 2007	112
4.2.2 From "Mother" to "I am Woman" in the 2010 Campaign	119
4.2.3 Kamla and the 'Women in Partnership'	123
4.2.4 Kamla, the Angel of Trinidad and Tobago	129
<b>4.3 Strategies of Negative Other-Presentation</b>	<b>135</b>
4.3.1 'Manout' and the Discursive Construction of the Out-Group	135
4.3.2 Dismantling Patrick Manning: "The Emperor has no Clothes"	139
4.3.3 Dismantling Patrick Manning: Eric Williams and the 'inferiority complex'	143
4.3.4 Trinidadian Creole as a Strategy of Demontage and Bonding	145
<b>4.4 Concluding Remarks</b>	<b>148</b>

<b>CHAPTER 5: THE PARTY</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>5.1 The People’s Partnership as ‘Brand’</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>5.2 Main Strategies of Nomination and Predication</b>	<b>152</b>
5.2.1 The Coalition as a Symbol of Postcolonial Modernity	152
5.2.2 The Coalition as a “United Force for Change”	155
5.2.3 The Coalition as More than a Party	158
5.2.4 The “United Force for Change” Ad Campaign	163
<b>5.3 Building the Multi-Ethnic Coalition</b>	<b>169</b>
5.3.1 Strategic Vagueness and Inclusivity: the role of deixis	169
5.3.2 The People’s Partnership as the ‘Big River’	174
5.3.3 Visual Strategies of Ethnic Inclusivity	176
<b>5.4 Concluding Remarks</b>	<b>181</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 6: THE NATION</b>	 <b>183</b>
<b>6.1 The Discursive construction of a Trinbagonian National Identity</b>	<b>183</b>
<b>6.2 Building a National “in-group”: Evolving Narratives in Trinidad and Tobago</b>	<b>186</b>
6.2.1 The 1960s: Williams’ Nation as ‘One Mother’	186
6.2.2 The 2010s :“Diversity is Strength”	188
<b>6.3 Building a Common Political Past: Teaching History as Action</b>	<b>191</b>
6.3.1 Slavery, Memory and Inclusiveness	191
6.3.2 Slavery, Resistance and Empowerment	194
<b>6.4 Proud Achievements and Historic Moments: Narrating History as Myth</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>6.5 Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality: Religious discourse as National Discourse</b>	<b>201</b>
6.5.1 “I Have a Dream”: the Power of Recontextualization	202
6.5.2 Recontextualization as Relocation: Building a Common “National Body”	204
6.5.3 Recontextualization as Appropriation: “Forged from the Love of Liberty”	208
6.5.4 From ‘Yes We Can’ to ‘We Will Rise’: Celebrating Multi-ethnic Trinidad and Tobago	210
<b>6.6 Concluding Remarks</b>	<b>215</b>

<b>CONCLUSIONS</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>References (Electronic Sources)</b>	<b>248</b>
<b>Appendix: The <i>KPB 2010</i> Corpus</b>	<b>249</b>

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1:</b> Trinidad and Tobago 2011 Demographic Report – Ethnic Composition .....	16
<b>Figure 2:</b> Electoral Map – 2007 Election Trinidad and Tobago.....	32
<b>Figure 3:</b> Electoral Map 2010 Election Trinidad and Tobago.....	32
<b>Figure 4:</b> Different Levels of Theory in DHA (In Wodak 2008).....	59
<b>Figure 5:</b> Recursivity in DHA (In Meyer 2001).....	86
<b>Figure 6:</b> Selected discourse-topics in Persad-Bissessar’s election speeches (after Reisigl and Wodak 2009:111).....	89
<b>Figure 7</b> Dimensions of analysis applied to Persad-Bissessar’s Speaking Notes (After Ribeiro 2010)....	98
<b>Figure 8:</b> “Leading Ladies” – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet .....	124
<b>Figure 9:</b> “We Will Rise” – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet .....	127
<b>Figure 10:</b> “We Will Rise” – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet .....	130
<b>Figure 11:</b> ‘I’ll Be There’ – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet.....	133
<b>Figure 12:</b> The ‘Villafana’– Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet.....	136
<b>Figure 13:</b> The ‘Do So’ ad from the People’s Partnership 2010 Campaign.....	137
<b>Figure 14:</b> Sequence of Frames in the Opening Credits of the “United Force for Change” Video Ad ...	165
<b>Figure 15:</b> Intradiegetic Gaze in the Opening Credits of the “United Force for Change” Video Ad .....	167
<b>Figure 16:</b> Final handshake in the “United Force for Change” Video Ad .....	167
<b>Figure 17:</b> Front Cover of the People’s Partnership Manifesto 2010.....	177
<b>Figure 18:</b> Presentation of Candidates in the People’s Partnership Manifesto 2010.....	180
<b>Figure 19:</b> Frames from the ‘We Will Rise’ Video Ad .....	211
<b>Figure 20:</b> Final frame from the ‘We Will Rise’ Video Ad .....	212



## List of Tables

<b>Table 1:</b> Share of Votes and Seats in General Elections in Trinidad and Tobago (2000-2010).....	31
<b>Table 2:</b> Venue and Date of Persad-Bissessar's Speeches in the 2010 Election Campaign .....	81
<b>Table 3:</b> A selection of Discursive Strategies and Devices in DHA (in Reisigl and Wodak 2009) .....	94
<b>Table 4:</b> Metafunctions in Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]) (after Callow 1999:12) .....	100
<b>Table 5:</b> Representational Structures in Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]) .....	103
<b>Table 6:</b> Interactive Meanings in Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]).....	106
<b>Table 7:</b> Persad-Bissessar Self-Presentation as 'Mother-Politician' in the 2007 Chaguanas Speech .....	114
<b>Table 8:</b> Persad-Bissessar's 'picong' against Manning .....	143
<b>Table 9:</b> Nomination and Predication Strategies in the KPB 2010 corpus .....	155
<b>Table 10:</b> Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Persad-Bissessar's Campaign Speeches .....	170
<b>Table 11:</b> Social Actors in King's "I Have a Dream" and Persad-Bissessar's Chaguanas speech.....	204
<b>Table 12:</b> The Discursive Construction of a common 'National Body' in King and Persad-Bissessar...	205
<b>Table 13:</b> Intertextual References to the National Anthem in Persad-Bissessar's Chaguanas Speech ...	209

# Introduction

## *Overview*

In his attempt to trace an ontology of Caribbean existence, Holger Henke said: “Perhaps nowhere else in the world do so many different people, value systems and logics cohabit in such a limited space” (1997: 43). This could certainly be said about Trinidad and Tobago, the southernmost islands of the Caribbean archipelago, shaped by a long history of Spanish, French and British colonialism and the overlapping fluxes of Amerindian, European, African, East Indian, Chinese and Middle Eastern diasporas.

Since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the colonial exploitation of the islands had been grounded grounded on the twin bases, first of African slavery and then of East Indian indentureship, following the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean in 1833. As a result, the descendants of liberated African slaves and former East Indian ‘*coolie*’ labourers have come to share the socio-political scenario of the postcolonial country, as the two largest groups in its complex demography. As the colony moved progressively towards self-governance, the two groups became two ready-made constituencies for two major parties with largely ethnic bases, in the context of an inherited Westminster-style Parliament. The African-based People’s National Movement headed by Eric Williams prevailed, leading the colony to independence in 1962 and governing the state through several elections for an unbroken thirty years.

Throughout the post-independence era, the heavy legacy of colonial rule, in conjunction with the perceived ethnic diversity, has influenced countless aspects of social and political life in Trinidad and Tobago. The British *divide et impera* left its imprint in this creation of clearly distinguishable groups, and with it, a vocabulary of “us” and “them” which could mark and reproduce this essential division between citizens of African and East Indian ancestry. For over forty years, the two ethnic groups have been struggling for political control through census counts and voting along ethnic lines. Although elections in the country have always served as “the critical arbiter in adjudicating the rival claims by the main ethno-cultural communities for power and

privilege” (Premdas 2004: 19), the 2010 General Election seemed to have marked a turning point in the history of the nation.

On May 24<sup>th</sup>, Trinidad and Tobago elected Kamla Persad-Bissessar, its first female Prime Minister and only the second person of East Indian origin to hold the PM office in 48 years of independence. Breaking out of the country’s rigid bipolar political mould, Persad-Bissessar won as the leader of the People’s Partnership, a new coalition party that comprised both East Indian and African political forces and movements. She defeated Patrick Manning’s People’s National Movement and succeeded in winning 29 seats out of the 41 in the House of Representatives.

Taking this unprecedented political success as its starting point, this dissertation explores the discursive and political strategies behind Persad-Bissessar’s election, analyzing a large corpus of textual and visual data from the People’s Partnership campaign. As political communication has increasingly grown beyond the realm of verbal language, understanding Persad-Bissessar’s political meaning-making required both the analysis of her election speeches as well as the study of a number of multimodal texts, such as video and printed ads as well as official portraits, which played a crucial role in the “political advertising” (Reisigl 2008: 248) of her coalition. Within a Critical Discourse Analysis framework, I will combine the ‘Discourse-Historical Approach’ (Wodak and Meyer 2009) for the analysis of Persad-Bissessar’s textual data and Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) ‘Visual Grammar’ for the analysis of the visual data.

The starting assumption is that Persad-Bissessar broadened her electorate not only by presenting a carefully engineered coalition party but also by discursively positing a new, inclusive identity space throughout the campaign and advocating a politics of inter-ethnic harmony in the country. Therefore, I set to analyze how Persad-Bissessar engaged in a multi-levelled discursive construction of identities, defining her role as the first woman PM candidate in the history of the country, legitimizing her coalition solution to political tribalisms, as well as fostering a wider national sense of belonging. As a wider aim, this work hopes to enrich the academic research agenda within the social sciences, highlighting the potential of the critical analysis of Caribbean texts and their associated discourses.

## *Research Questions*

Persad-Bissessar's political campaign brought the election of a female PM for the first time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. It also brought to power a coalition party in the country's Westminster-based political system, where coalitions have historically been rare and short-lived. What's more, Persad-Bissessar's coalition comprised political forces and figures associated to different ethnic groups, in a country that has been voting along ethnic lines for over forty years. As this study was motivated by the evidence of Persad-Bissessar's political success in the 2010 General Election, the main question underlying this research is "*What does Kamla Persad-Bissessar's political success tell us about contemporary politics in a multi-ethnic setting like Trinidad and Tobago?*". The following research questions have been formulated as a response to three main hypotheses, which I arrived at on the basis of informal observation, background socio-historical knowledge on Trinidad and Tobago and preliminary research.

Firstly, Persad-Bissessar's success has to be contextualized in the reality of a developing country where structural and cultural barriers (such as traditional perceptions of gender roles, stereotypical attitudes, women's disproportionate share of household and family responsibilities, as well as the lack of maternity leave for female parliamentarians) are factors that impede women's voices from being heard and successful participation in leadership. Therefore, the first research question refers to Persad-Bissessar's role as the first woman PM candidate in the country:

***RQ1:*** *How did Kamla Persad-Bissessar discursively present herself during the 2010 General Election Campaign?*

Secondly, politics in Trinidad and Tobago has long been bitterly divided between two major parties, competing in a zero-sum Westminster system: the People's National Movement (PNM) identified most closely with the Afro-Trinbagonian population and the United National Congress (UNC) with the Indo-Trinbagonians. Coalitions have been rare, short-lived and highly debated in the history of the independent nation. The second research question, therefore, refers to the role of the People's Partnership as a coalition party in the political system of the country:

***RQ2: How did Kamla Persad-Bissessar discursively present the coalition party she was leading during the 2010 General Election Campaign?***

Thirdly, as in any other postcolonial, multi-ethnic country, nation-building is a crucial and challenging theme in Trinidad and Tobago. Decolonization crystallized the horizontal competition between Africans and East Indians: not only the ethnic factor, but also patterns of occupation, residence and class act as powerful centrifugal forces against national cohesion. The third and final research question refers to the discursive construction of national identity in Persad-Bissessar's speeches in the wider history of national fragmentation of Trinidad and Tobago:

***RQ3: How was the Trinbagonian national identity discursively constructed in Persad-Bissessar's political discourse during the 2010 General Election Campaign?***

I will attempt to answer these research questions with an in-depth, critical analysis of political discourse from Persad-Bissessar's campaign for the Prime Ministership in the 2010 General Election Campaign in Trinidad and Tobago. The main motives behind this choice are articulated in the following section.

### *Why Caribbean Political Discourse?*

As a former colonized area that is culturally, linguistically and racially diverse, the Caribbean is often regarded as a complex human mixture, framed using various metaphors of plurality, fragmentation and hybridity. Ironically, the main obstacles to any global study of the Caribbean are already embedded in the most frequent definitions of the area: "its fragmentation; its instability; its reciprocal isolation; its uprootedness; its cultural heterogeneity; its lack of historiography and historical continuity; its contingency and impermanence; its syncretism" (Benitez-Rojo 1996: 1).

Across the Social Sciences, the Caribbean has often been defined as a "theoretical hotbed" (Munasinghe 2006: 550), for its power to challenge conventional dogmas and methods of the discipline. In fact, "academic orthodoxies regarding concepts such as

'family', 'peasant', 'religion', 'race', 'ethnicity', 'capitalism' and, especially 'culture' were seriously challenged by the region's complexity from the very inception of their application" (ibid.). Commenting on the common academic urge to systematize the political, economic, social and anthropological dynamics of the archipelago, Benitez-Rojo observed: "the new (dis)coverers – who come to apply the dogmas and methods that had served them well where they came from, - can't see that these refer only to the realities back home. So they get into the habit of defining the Caribbean in terms of its resistance to the different methodologies summoned to investigate it" (1996: 1f).

Since its inception in the 1950s, Caribbean sociology has mainly focused on social stratification, ethnicity, culture and identity. The majority of the studies historicize current social stratification and establish a causal relationship with the past colonial/plantation social structure, highlighting the role played by race and ethnicity in the social differentiation and pluralism found in the area (Reddock and Barrow 2001). Sociologists have aimed to develop broad theoretical and conceptual frameworks both relevant to the whole region as well as applicable to the single nations of the archipelago. The available studies have generally fallen either into a narrative of the continuation of ancestral diversities between the diverse ethnic groups in the Caribbean (i.e. M.G. Smith's *plural* model – Smith 1965) or into accounts of homogenization through racial and cultural mixture (i.e. Brathwaite's *creole* model – Brathwaite 1971). As I will show in the next Chapter, both models seem to fail to grasp the complex socio-political reality of Trinidad and Tobago in its entirety.

Anthropology in the Caribbean has necessarily covered issues that only became popular in the discipline as a whole in the 1980s and 1990s, such as "colonialism, history and anthropology, diaspora processes, plantations, gender, ethnicity, the 'crisis of representation' characteristic of postmodernism, local world system connections, the links between fiction and anthropology-writing and the connections between ethnology and nationalism, to name a few" (Yelvington 1996: 87). However, anthropological attention seems to have crystallized around the epistemological interest for "*pristine* cultures and social structures" (ibid.), while the Caribbean seems determined by the notion of "contact" and characterized by "*derivative* cultures broken off from their places of origin" (ibid.). As a result, the region defined by Trouillot (1992: 19) as "an open frontier in anthropological theory" remains relatively understudied by anthropologists.

Linguistics seems to have followed the same fascination for fragmentation and heterogeneity, placing the absorbing issue of language creation and linguistic creolization at the centre of the discipline over the past 60 years. The Caribbean, inclusive of the adjoining mainland regions, has produced over 35 recognizably distinct Creole languages (Devonish 2010), and countless studies have been conducted to determine each language's genesis, typology or structure, analyzing the phenomenon from a linguistic and socio-historical viewpoint. Up to few decades ago, research in the field had reserved a “half-blood treatment” (Dwivedi 2015) to pidgins and Creoles: a highly compartmentalized approach saw Creole languages as departing from (and deforming) ‘higher’ European languages rather than considering them as new languages. While this Euro-centric model has been largely abandoned, the long history of controversy over “the definitions of pidgins and Creoles and the specific criteria that distinguish them from other languages and each other” (Winford 1997: 1) goes on. Since the 1980s, “universalists” and “substratists” have been pitted against each other over how to account for the genesis of a Creole and to what extent it is actually different from its lexifier language (Kouwenberg and Singler 2008). Intimately related to the linguistic creolization in the area is the major research interest for the thorny issue of Language Policy and Planning, which, at least in the Anglophone Caribbean, still operates in the context of general unacceptance of Creole as an appropriate language for education (Roberts 2000).

Although the English-speaking Caribbean is home to the largest set of continuing democracies among postcolonial countries around the globe, political discourse from the archipelago is yet to receive adequate scholarly attention. Alongside the ever-growing mediatization of political messages, research in the field of language and politics has expanded considerably in the last decades. Given the increasing reception and pervasiveness of political text and talk, political discourse is regarded as “a complex form of human activity which deserves study in its own right” (Chilton and Schäffner 1997: 207). As language is a powerful instrument for “the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power” (Fairclough 1989: 1), the critical analysis of political discourse is one of the soundest ways to understand how politicians manage to influence society and are able to put their opinions through to a large audience on a national or even a global level.

Nevertheless, the analysis of Anglophone political discourse has been characterized by a rather Western-centric attention to Euro-American politics. Even though English is the official language of politics and government in 58 sovereign states around the world, major political figures like Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, Barack Obama, Tony Blair and George W. Bush seem to be the longstanding objects of interest of the Anglophone discourse analysts (Charteris-Black 2005). More recent studies on Anglophone political discourse in non-Western contexts have primarily been focusing on African countries (i.e. Orwenjo 2009; Adedun and Atolagbe 2011; Al-Faki 2014), but overlooked the Caribbean context. Correspondingly, there has also been a widespread tendency in Caribbean Studies to focus on literary production, rather than political or media discourse, as a lens to interpret the postcolonial social world (Harney 1996: 8). While novelists have been regarded as “important guides to uncovering the false naturalness of the subject in the social sciences” (ibid.), political discourse in the Caribbean remains understudied from the point of view of discourse analysis.

Rather than engaging in macro conceptualizations of the Caribbean, this work starts from the analysis of political discourse in search of a new perspective on ethnicity, identity and power in Trinidad and Tobago. By offering a critical discursive perspective on the complex power dynamics of the postcolonial archipelago, this work aims to represent a new prospect in both the fields of Linguistics and Caribbean Studies that would bridge the existing theoretical and analytical gap between the more socio-political *macro* aspects and the more *micro* aspects of linguistic analysis.



## *Why Critical Discourse Analysis?*

One of the main academic aims of this study is to increase scholarly awareness of the development of a critical interpretative stance for political text and talk beyond the Euro-American zone. In order to achieve this goal, this study aims to show the potential of a Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) approach to political discourse in the Caribbean.

Any political text can be considered as a highly ‘culture-bound text’, as it refers to “a wide range of cultural patterns of the society in question, including aspects of its economic, political and legal life” (Trosborg 1997: 145). As a consequence, it may look opaque from the point of view of discourse analysis, especially if rooted in highly dissimilar socio-cultural and political settings (Hodges and Nilep 2007: 11). This calls for a *critical* analysis of political texts, not merely an investigation of their linguistic features, but also an integrated socio-cultural ethnography of their historical and political contexts. CDA researchers, by naming themselves *critical*, imply “an intention to make their position, research interests and values explicit and their criteria as transparent as possible” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 7).

The use of the term *critical*, and the associated term *critique*, links back to the influence of the Frankfurt School and Habermas on the approach (See Ch. 3). It is essentially “a commitment to a dialectical theory and method” which is able to make “visible the interconnectedness of things”, those chains of cause-and-effect that may be distorted or out of sight in human affairs (Fairclough 1995: 36). Hence, in this research *critique* is understood as both a “text or discourse-immanent critique” and a “socio-diagnostic critique” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 88): the first aspect looks for “inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures” while the second aims at “demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or ‘manipulative’ character of discursive practices” (ibid.). Both aspects are extremely valuable to the scope of political discourse analysis, as they contribute “to spell out the relations between subtle properties of text and talk and the various dimensions of the political context, the political process and the political system at large” (van Dijk 1997a: 44).

CDA sees discourse as a form of ‘social practice’: this conceptualization “implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). By perceiving language use as social practice, CDA offers a context-sensitive alternative to Discourse Analysis, encompassing the whole set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks in which language operates. The difference lies, according to Wodak and Meyer (2009: 2) in the “problem-oriented, interdisciplinary” approach of CDA, aiming to demystify ideologies and elucidate the sources of power. Although CDA remains a linguistically oriented discourse analysis, it is also “firmly anchored in social reality and with a deep interest in actual problems and forms of inequality in societies” (Blommaert 2005: 6). The focus on the socio-political context, and on its mutually influencing, pervasive relationship with language, gives CDA a strong potential for investigation in the postcolonial Caribbean, marked by “neo-colonial dependency, global capital’s assaults on sovereignty, cyclical and mass migrations of population, environmental and cultural ravages, and bitter ethnic tensions among the members of its disparate diasporas” (Puri 1999: 14).

The over-arching CDA approach of this research is characterized by a holistic analysis of visual representation, supported methodologically by integrating Kress and van Leeuwen’s Visual Grammar (1996). In fact, among the main features of CDA, Wodak and Meyer (2009: 2) highlight the “extension to *non-verbal* (semiotic, multimodal, visual) *aspects* of interaction and communication: gestures, film, the internet, multimedia”. This extension, a clear example of the multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological nature of the approach, stems from the interest in “social phenomena which are necessarily complex” rather than “linguistic units per se” (ibid.). Political discourse is probably the best exemplification of how meaning is not restricted only to the linguistic code, but “resides so strongly and pervasively in other systems of meaning, in a multiplicity of visual, aural, behavioural and other codes, that a concentration on words alone is not enough.” (Hodge and Kress 1988: vii).

CDA is not to be viewed as just one school, with a unique theory or method that is uniform and consistent throughout the discipline, but as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches. One of the major strands of CDA, namely the

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), has been employed as the main theoretical and methodological framework for this study. The Discourse-Historical Approach was originally developed by Ruth Wodak, Martin Reisigl and other scholars of the ‘Vienna School’ of Critical Discourse Analysis for the purpose of analyzing racist and discriminatory discourse in post-war Austria. In the last three decades, DHA has been employed to investigate anti-semitic discourse in Austrian right-wing parties, discourses of commemoration of the Third Reich, the discursive construction of national identity in Austria, and of national and transnational identities in the EU, among others. The attention to the historical dimension of discursive acts entails an attempt at integrating as much available information as possible about “historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded, with an interest in diachronic change” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:35).

While DHA has been focusing on racism and immigration predominantly in Euro-American contexts, this research investigates ethnic relations between non-White groups in a non-Western context. Nevertheless, for its analytical focus on how the historical past is addressed in political discourse, how ethnic and national identities are discursively constructed in political discourse, and how ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ are created through discourse in multi-ethnic societies, I believe that DHA stands very close to the geographically remote Trinidad and Tobago. The country has a burdensome history of genocide, slavery and colonial exploitation, and ethnic categories and identities pervade many aspects of social, cultural, economic and political life. Consequently, the discursive construction of an inclusive national identity seems to pose an authentic challenge to Trinbagonian politicians, who have the complex duty of addressing and redressing both the traumatic colonial experiences of the past and the complex inter-ethnic relationships of the present.

This research aims at producing one of the first case studies of the application of the Discourse-Historical approach to the analysis of political discourse and identity discourse in the contemporary Anglophone Caribbean. The approach has a considerable potential for the detailed analysis of political discourse and its underlying ideologies in the archipelago and can shed light on the complexities, struggles and contradictions of the postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago by integrating knowledge about historical sources

and the social and political environment within which discourse as social practice is embedded.

### *Outline*

Understanding the complexity of multi-ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations in Trinidad and Tobago's political and social environment today requires a basic grasp of the socio-historical background (Reisigl and Wodak 2009), essential in undertaking the main issues and themes of this study. **Chapter 1** provides a historical portrait of the construction of Trinidad and Tobago's multi-ethnic immigrant society, reconstructing how Spanish, French and British colonialism shaped the country as we know it today. The chapter explores Afro-Indian relations during British rule, when the extreme diversity of peoples in a colonial context favoured social status differentiation along ethnic lines, and allowed ethnic prejudice to pervade the practices and customs of the society. We will see how ethnic friction became overtly political when universal adult suffrage was granted in 1946. As self-government was gradually increased in the 1950s, Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians stood in direct competition for leadership. The chapter also accounts for the political history of the independent nation, which was led by the Afro-Trinbagonian People's National Movement for six consecutive parliamentary terms. The election of the first (and only) coalition government in the history of the nation, the National Alliance for Reconstruction in 1986, and the election of the first East Indian Prime Minister, Basdeo Panday, as leader of the United National Congress, in 1995 are covered as the two major events in recent history that prefigure and contextualize Persad-Bissessar's success in 2010. The chapter also describes how the complexity of Trinidad and Tobago often represents a 'limit point' for major themes and theories in the social and political sciences, including M.G. Smith's *plural* societal model and Brathwaite's *creole* society model. Moreover, it covers the major theories on national identity and national history in Trinidad and Tobago: two major hot topics of discussion that would have been impossible to ignore in the context of this study.

**Chapter 2** presents the main theoretical framework underpinning this research. While the study of political discourse can be traced back to Aristotle, this research project starts from the assumption that one of the most interesting approaches to political

discourse is a *critical* one. Therefore, it adopts a specific framework, namely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which has been developed in the last two decades across Europe. Given that CDA should not be deemed a single ‘school’ in the field of Linguistics, this study advocates a Discourse-Historical approach to the critical analysis of discourse. Both CDA and the Discourse-Historical Approach are treated in detail in this chapter. This section also describes the main theoretical concepts underpinning this research, paying particular attention to the concepts of *discourse*, *text*, *context*, *genre* and *field* and addresses some of the main critical reactions to the CDA approach in academia. The final section of this chapter illustrates how Kress and van Leeuwen’s “Visual Grammar” (1996), conceptualizing visual representation as a form of “social semiosis”, represented a fruitful theoretical integration within a wider CDA approach. **Chapter 3** presents the textual and visual data collected from the People’s Partnership campaign and explains the collection process. The chapter also describes in detail both the Discourse-Historical Approach and Kress and van Leeuwen’s “Visual Grammar”.

The first of the empirical chapters, **Chapter 4**, sets out to answer the first research question. The first section of this chapter focuses on Kamla Persad-Bissessar’s *positive self-presentation*. I analyze how Persad-Bissessar discursively creates a winning image of Female Leader and PM Candidate for herself, suggesting that her policies and political decisions will invariably benefit the country and all its citizens, whereas Manning’s will not. As in any election campaign, Persad-Bissessar devoted a substantial amount of energy to building her image of leadership and her network of supporters, and a parallel amount of energy to discrediting her opponent, Patrick Manning. The second section of the chapter focuses on Persad-Bissessar’s strategies of *negative other-presentation* and demontage of her opponent in the campaign. As in the other empirical chapters, both textual and visual data are integrated in the analysis.

**Chapter 5** sets out to answer the second research question. The People’s Partnership campaign aimed to discursively create a distinctive party identity for the new coalition: in the time-span of six weeks, the coalition had to occupy a definite identity space, highly polarized in respect to its opponent, the longstanding People’s National Movement. While coalitions have been particularly unsuccessful or short-lived in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, Persad-Bissessar’s enterprise of political advertising was

committed to the positive self-presentation of the new coalition and its leadership team as the best political solution for the country.

**Chapter 6** aims to answer the third and final research question. This chapter focuses on the many attempts to imagine and construct a Trinbagonian national identity within the discourses produced for, on and from the 2010 Election Campaign by the PM Candidate Kamla Persad-Bissessar. Advertising the multi-ethnic nature of the People's Partnership became an opportunity for Persad-Bissessar to engage in a number of considerations of the traumas of the national past and the complexity of the national present.

The concluding section draws together a number of the most important themes that have developed across the chapters, concerning the relationship between discourse and national and political identities. It reprises the research questions and summarizes the main macro-themes and discursive strategies present in the data. It is by offering a critical discursive perspective on the complex power dynamics of Trinidad and Tobago, as well as by addressing the 'metadiscourse on ethnicity' as the major weapon of Trinbagonian nationalism and the winning factor in General Election, that this study offers its most original contribution.

### ***A Short Note on “Hot” Terminology***

Any work involving the issues of ethnic relations in a Caribbean country like Trinidad and Tobago needs to be clear about its terminology.

Firstly, I advocate the use of the adjective *Trinbagonian*, instead of *Trinidadian*, to refer to a native of the twin-island state of Trinidad and Tobago.

Secondly, the terms to refer to people of African and East Indian in the Trinidad and Tobago Census are ‘*African*’ and ‘*East Indian*’. Academic discourse seems to prefer ‘*Indo-Trinidadian*’ and ‘*Afro-Trinidadian*’ as the analyst’s categories (Munasinghe 2001:8). In this study, ‘*East Indian*’ and ‘*Indo-Trinbagonian*’ are used interchangeably to refer to citizens of Trinidad and Tobago claiming an Indian ancestry. I tend to prefer ‘*East Indian*’ to ‘*Indian*’, in order to avoid any possible misinterpretation of the latter as ‘*Amerindian*’, that is to say, the original natives of the Caribbean. Similarly, terms like ‘*African*’ and ‘*Afro-Trinbagonian*’ are used interchangeably to refer to citizens of Trinidad and Tobago claiming an African ancestry. The usage of adjectives like “*Creole*” and ‘*Afro-Creole*’ entail precise ideological implications (see Ch. 1) and therefore will not be used for Trinbagonians of African descent in this research, except when quoting others.

Thirdly, this study frames social heterogeneity in Trinidad and Tobago within the subsuming theoretical rubric of ‘*ethnicity*’ and ‘*ethnic relations*’ rather than the one of ‘*race*’ and ‘*race relations*’. This choice does not imply that ‘*race*’ and ‘*ethnicity*’ are interchangeable concepts, nor that ‘*race*’ is reducible to ‘*ethnicity*’. On the contrary, this study acknowledges the different ways in which ‘*race*’ and ‘*ethnicity*’ operate to classify difference: “for academic and laity alike, the globally familiar referents for race and ethnicity are rooted in ideas about biology and culture, respectively” (Munasinghe 2001: 10).

Moreover, this choice does not imply that ‘*ethnicity*’ is used in this work to euphemize ‘*race*’ and its long history as a factor of inequality and exclusion, as it has been suggested by the North American criticism of this terminological turn (see Sanjek 1994). On the contrary, a crucial motive behind this terminological choice in this study is actually detaching the Caribbean context from the Euro-American model, where ‘*race relations*’ usually entail the presence of a White and (at least one) non-White group

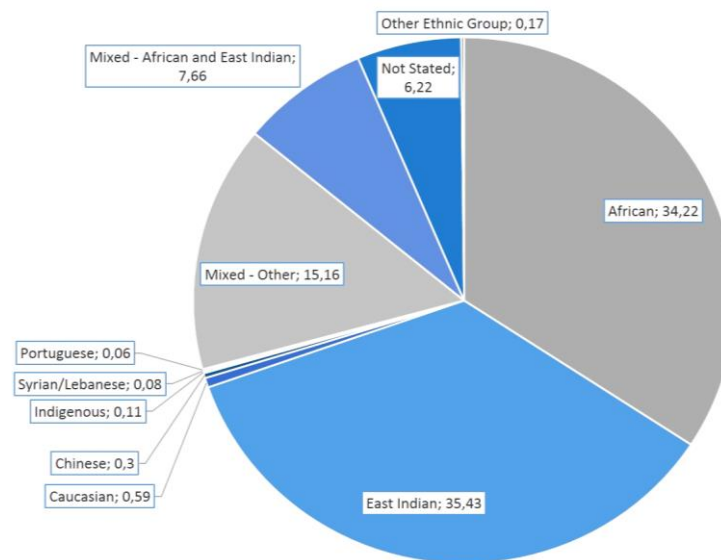
sharing a national space, with the non-White group(s) usually experiencing some form of crystallized social inequality ('*racism*'). I believe this model cannot be applied fruitfully to the demographic context of Trinidad and Tobago, a country where '*Caucasians*' (their name in the census categories of Trinidad and Tobago) represent just 0.59% of the total population (TTSCO 2011). On the contrary, '*ethnicity*', with its emphasis on cultural aspects, serves as a better term to explore the relations and cultural demarcation between the two main non-White groups in the country: the "culturally naked" African who became the bearer of the national culture and the "culturally saturated" East Indian, who was isolated in exoticism (Munasinghe 2001: 16; see 1.2.1).



# Chapter 1: The Trinbagonian Context

## 1.1 *Ethnicity and the Political Process in Trinidad and Tobago*

Situated in the southernmost part of the Caribbean, seven miles off the coast of Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago is a small twin island state with a population of 1.3 million. As other Caribbean nations, Trinidad and Tobago was largely shaped by centuries of Western colonization and the numerous overlapping waves of immigration into the country. However, because of the particular structure of its contemporary ethnic pluralism, Trinidad and Tobago is often labelled as a “bipolar” country (Premdas 2007). In fact, two main ethnic groups strongly predominate in the current demographic composition of Trinidad and Tobago, one being of African descent, and the other of East Indian descent:



**Figure 1:** Trinidad and Tobago 2011 Demographic Report – Ethnic Composition

According to the 2011 Census, Trinidad is the larger island both in terms of geographical size and population. Trinidad has more than 1.2 million inhabitants and an ethnically widely varied population. Conversely, the smaller population of Tobago is predominantly (85.3%) of African ancestry. This difference mainly resulted from Tobago’s separate

history, in which its society and social institutions developed independently from Trinidad's until 1889, when the British colonial power decided to unite the two administrations.

The demographic ratios between and among the various ethnic groups is only one of the many predisposing factors that have contributed to forming the contemporary political scene in Trinidad and Tobago, encompassing “the nature of economy, [...] the settlement patterns, size of the country, its position in the context of international politics and the nature of its stratification system” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 17). The combination of these factors created the environment in which many political outcomes throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century were determined.

Any analyst setting out to pursue a research project on Trinidad and Tobago must have a proper historical understanding of its ‘creation’ over the past few centuries. By ‘creation’, I am not only referring to Trinidad and Tobago as an ‘imagined’ and discursively constructed nation (see 1.2.2). I am also referring to “the literal creation of a New World Caribbean colony: the extermination of the native inhabitants and the introduction of external investment, foreign government, expatriate managers and imported laborers, all of which occurred in this historically very recent period” (Meighoo 2008: 104). Understanding the complexity of Trinidad and Tobago's political and social environment today, therefore, requires a basic socio-historical background, essential in undertaking the main issues, themes and methods of this study. I will attempt to account for a limited number of major events, notions and theories regarding Trinidad and Tobago in the following sections.

### *1.1.1 Afro-Indian Relations in Colonial Trinidad*

Claimed by Spain in 1498, during Christopher Columbus' third voyage to the New World, Trinidad did not attract extensive settlement until the late XVIII century, for its lack of precious metals (Brereton 1981). In an effort to make the colony more lucrative, Spain opened Trinidad to a transnational immigration wave in 1777 and a large number of French settlers from the Eastern Caribbean was attracted by Spanish promises of land grants and tax concessions (Wood 1968). As they arrived in Trinidad with their African slaves, they revolutionized the local economy, establishing a plantation system for the

large-scale production of sugar. In the following two decades, hundreds of plantations were established and the population of the island swelled to 17,718, of which about 56 percent were African slaves (Premdas 2007).

By the time the British conquered Trinidad in 1797, the island was a largely French speaking territory. Trinidad was formally ceded to Britain in 1802, and ruled as a Crown Colony under a Governor. Compared to the old representative system, the Crown Colony diminished the planters' governmental power, in order to push the introduction of slave reforms. In fact, the Slave Trade was abolished in British law in 1806, and slavery itself was abolished a few decades later, by the Act of Emancipation in August 1833 that became law on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1834. Enslaved African labour was the backbone of the plantation system and emancipation compelled a search for new sources of labour supply to prevent the plantation system from collapsing (Tinker 1974). Many former slaves continued to give at least part-time labour to the sugar estates. However, the majority of them left the estates and started founding new villages along the eastern main road between Port of Spain and Arima, as well as enlarging the suburbs of the cities of Port of Spain and San Fernando, eventually emerging as skilled factory workers (Premdas 2007).

The waiting apprenticeship period finally ended the system of slavery on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1838. As freed slaves looked for alternative places to live and ways to survive on the island away from the plantations, the planters and the colonial government anxiously experimented with a variety of sources for new recruits, encompassing free Afro-Creole labourers from across the Caribbean, Black soldiers from the United States, freed African slaves from Sierra Leone and St. Helena, as well as Portuguese and Chinese indentured labourers (Premdas 2007). Although none of these sources proved to be particularly lucrative for the plantation system, nonetheless the arrival of new immigrant labourers from different countries contributed to further enriching the multi-cultural population of the island.

In 1845, Trinidad became part of a larger programme of labour recruitment to the Caribbean and other British colonies from India, which proved to be a rewarding source of workforce for the maintenance of the European plantations. In his 1974 study, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1820-1920*, Hugh Tinker postulates that Indian indentureship was hardly any different from slavery itself and that deception, kidnapping and coercion were the hallmarks of its recruitment. The first 225

Indian labourers arrived in Trinidad on the *Fath Al Razack* vessel on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1845, a date that is still celebrated as *Indian Arrival Day* throughout the nation (Dabydeen and Samaroo 1996). The demographic consequence of the indentureship system is that at the present time people of East Indian ancestry constitute about 20 per cent of the English Commonwealth Caribbean, concentrated mainly in Suriname, Trinidad and Guyana, where they represent the majority ethnic group, while they still constitute a substantial minority in Jamaica, Grenada, Barbados, and other Caribbean islands (Puri 2004).

From 1845 to 1917, Trinidad's population growth came primarily from East Indian indentured labourers, who for the most part came as young single men of Hindu faith from the Gangetic plains of the North of India (Nevadomsky 1980). According to Premdas (2007), some 143,939 indentured workers arrived in Trinidad: initially recruited on five-year contracts (and then on an additional five-year period in order to be eligible for free repatriation), they eventually became settlers on the expiry of the contract. Some benefited from the land commutation scheme introduced between 1869 and 1889, offering a grant in land to those East Indians who decided not to repatriate, many others purchased Crown land at the end of the indentureship period and introduced a rice industry on the island (Ramesar 1976; Ramsaran 1993).

In a few decades, an East Indian peasantry was born, and by the time the British Indentureship system terminated in 1917, the East Indian ethnic group was distinct and well demarcated in the country's multi-ethnic society, although positioned at the very bottom of the stratified colonial social system (Cross 1996). The extreme diversity of peoples in a colonial context on the island favoured social status differentiation along ethnic lines, and allowed ethnic prejudice to pervade the practices and customs of the society (Brereton 1979).

Relations between freed African slaves and East Indian indentured workers were conflictual from the very start, with negative stereotypes based on their different cultural practices and religion fostered under the *divide et impera* policy of the colonial authorities (Samaroo 1985). The pattern of residence was also ethnically divided, with the East Indian peasants mostly living in the rural areas while liberated African slaves were moving away from the plantations and progressively occupying the urban areas in the North of the country (Clarke 1993). This geographical segregation did not favour mutual

understanding and fostered the development of racial stereotypes, distrust and animosity between the two groups.<sup>1</sup>

Racism was exacerbated by plantation managers and local authorities, but also defensive. In the eyes of the African community, East Indians had come to undermine the newly liberated work market, by agreeing to enter the inhumane system of plantation life at a time when liberated slaves were demanding better wages and working conditions (Ramesar 1985). East Indians were labelled as '*coolies*' and were often still considered no more than temporary outsiders, although the Trinidadian population of Indian ancestry was entirely locally born by the time the indentureship system terminated in 1917 (Brereton 1979).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, when East Indians arrived in Trinidad, "a discourse deriding the moral, mental, and physical attributes" of the liberated African slaves was already in place for Indians to learn, and later to use, for their own ends" (Munasinghe 2001: 64). The East Indian community, largely of Hindu faith and still attached to a caste-inspired hierarchical social system, considered Africans almost as untouchables, on account of their skin-color and 'impure' eating habits (Clarke 1993). According to Geer (2007: 113), the colonial stereotypes of the "urban sophisticated black" and of the "traditional rural Indian" still remain in contemporary Trinidad and Tobago, and paint East Indians as "greedy or thrifty, hardworking, backwards and traditional" while Africans are considered "lazy, foolish, Europeanized and lacking family values".

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the African population emerged as dominant on the socio-political scene, embracing urban life, formal education, the Civil Service and other

---

<sup>1</sup> The colonial process of distinct ethnic group formation in Trinidad and Tobago entailed the portrayal of the African and the East Indian as ethnically and culturally homogeneous groups. In fact, the East Indians were far from being a perfectly homogeneous ethnic group at their arrival: the majority of indentured laborers came from a vast area in the North of India (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh) but there were some from the South (Madras). They were Hindu, but also included a Muslim minority, and spoke a variety of languages, encompassing Urdu and Bhojpuri. Although labelled as simply "African" in the contemporary, colonial-inherited category of the Trinidad and Tobago Census, the Afro-Trinidadians also represent a highly differentiated ethnic group with a complex history of creolization, having its origins not only in Africa, but also in other Caribbean islands as well as in the United States (see Premdas 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Imported into English from the Hindi *kuli* (day laborer), the word *coolie* came to have a pejorative connotation in the West Indies, as the term was used as a racial slur for unskilled manual laborers brought from Asia (India, but also China) to the British colonies all over the world during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As it often happens with stigmatizing labels, since the 1970s the word has been undergoing a process of politicization (Singh 1973) and re-appropriation by the Indo-Caribbean community, as in Torabully's *Coolitude* (2002).

professions before the East Indians (Brereton 1981). This fostered a deep feeling of exclusion in the East Indian community, who felt inadequately represented and only marginally involved in Trinidadian social life (Palmer 2006). Education, in particular, seemed to be one of the factors heavily affecting East Indian mobility: there was a widespread fear in the East Indian community of educating their children in schools of different faiths. In 1890, the Canadian Presbyterian mission started offering dedicated instruction in Hindi, which had an impact on the levels of social interaction and perpetuated prejudice and low fluency in English in the younger generations (Munasinghe 2001). Education during colonial times was segregated into Hindu, Muslim and Christian schools, and public schools were also largely mono-ethnic (Tewarie 1984). Samaroo (1975) suggested that education in Trinidad has been affected by a deliberate colonial strategy, which saw complicity between missionaries and planters to keep non-white ethnic groups apart.

Concerning politics, the elections between 1925 and 1946 are to be considered as “dress rehearsals for later political developments” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 21), as they marked important milestones in the development of party systems, political leadership and in the relationship between ethnicity, culture and political affiliation. In 1925, the Crown Colony system was abandoned in favour of a partially elective principle of representation, and progressively, Trinidad and Tobago moved towards universal adult suffrage in 1946, internal self-government in 1956, and, finally, independence in 1962. Bissessar and La Guerre (2013: 106) also noted how the size of a racial community has always been commonly taken by public opinion as an indication of the potential political and social strength of a community in Trinidad. They reported how critics and commentators on both the 1871 and 1891 census data speculated on the political repercussions of a growing East Indian community on the wider society and how the exactly same comments were made in 1990 when the East Indian population finally overtook the Afro-Caribbean in the census.

Although the African and the Indian ethnic groups are nowadays almost equivalent in number, demography has not always been so balanced. Until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Afro-Trinbagonians constituted the largest ethnic group (47% compared to 35% of East Indians in the 1946 Census) and this had a major impact on political life and on the way power was distributed in the newly independent nation (Premdas 2007: 44).

Ethnic friction became overtly political when universal adult suffrage was granted in 1946: as self-government was gradually increased, the Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonians were in direct competition for leadership. What gave the ethnicity issue the primacy that it had in the context of the 1946 election was the “language test controversy” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 25). Following the publication of the Franchise Committee Report in 1943, the proposed language requirement of competence in English as a necessary qualification to vote became an issue of major political and ethnic tension, at a time when almost 50% of the East Indian community was illiterate (Ryan 1972).

Between 1936 and 1943 the two main ethnic groups had been joining together as a fairly united front against British colonial power, leading the 1937-38 Trinbagonian labour unrest throughout the oilfields, the sugar belt and the towns (Brereton and Yelvington 1999). However, the 1946 Language Test controversy contributed to linking ethnic tension to political competition, and “prompted Indo-Trinidadian leaders to close ranks once again” (Munasinghe 2001: 193). For Ryan (1996: 5), “the bulk of the Indian population, working-class or otherwise, did not identify with the nationalist movement”, and the fear of being ruled by a strong Afro-Trinbagonian majority made Indo-Trinbagonian leaders aim at postponing the colonial handover of power to local politicians. Throughout the 1940s, Indian consciousness amongst the East Indians in Trinidad was strengthened by the Indian independence movement, which resuscitated and enhanced the social and cultural exchanges with India (from Indian cinema to Hindu religious and cultural missions to the Caribbean) and contributed to reinforcing the notion that East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago were “bearers of a foreign culture” (Munasinghe 2001: 200).

Following the introduction of universal adult suffrage in 1946, a new political arena was constructed: the two large East Indian and African ethnic groups became two ready-made constituencies for two major parties with largely ethnic bases. The context of a colonially inherited Westminster-style Parliament, instituted on the very eve of independence in December 1961, would only exacerbate this polarization. (Brereton 1981; Yelvington 1993). The pre-independence 1956 General Election saw the emergence of the People's National Movement (PNM) under the leadership of the charismatic Eric Williams, winning 13 out of the 24 seats: the party's manifesto was committed to independence and equality “across race and religion, class and colour”

(Ryan 1972), but it was largely supported by the urban-based middle and lower classes, who were mainly of African ancestry. The People's Democratic Party (PDP), founded by Bhadase Maraj (the founder of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, the major Hindu organization in Trinidad and Tobago since 1952), was isolated in the rural, orthodox Hindu districts and captured only 5 of the 24 elected seats in the Legislative Council. By the pre-independence 1961 General Election, the major opposition to the PNM became the stronger Democratic Labour Party (DLP), led by Rudranath Capildeo, uncle of Nobel Prize-winning author V.S. Naipaul. Initially a coalition of East Indian and French Creole forces<sup>3</sup>, the DLP became the political expression of the rural, more conservative Indo-Trinidadian middle and upper-middle class, a traditional élite with a primarily Hindu leadership (Ryan 1972).

The 1961 election, on the very eve of Independence, was the crucial moment when the ethnic divide in the political life of Trinidad and Tobago became more evident, and set the scene for all the subsequent elections (Figueira 2009). The DLP victory in the short-lived West Indies Federal Election in 1958 had posed a major threat to Williams and the PNM. The 1961 General Election campaign was characterized by “the worst outbreak of racial animosity” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 56) between Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonians. Earlier that year William's PNM introduced the *Representation of the People Bill*, designed to modernize the electoral system by instituting the permanent registration of voters, identification cards, voting machines and revised electoral boundaries. The DLP viewed this as an attempt to disenfranchise illiterate, rural East Indian voters, less educated and more likely to be intimidated by the process (MacDonald 1986). For the DLP the reforms attempted to “rig elections through manipulation of the voting machines, to allow non-national Afro-West Indians to vote in Trinidad and Tobago, and to gerrymander constituencies to ensure a PNM majority” (Meighoo 2003: 55).

The 1961 election gave the PNM a two-thirds majority (20 out of 30 seats) that allowed the party to draft the constitution of the independent country without much input

---

<sup>3</sup> The DLP was formed in 1957 through the merger of three opposition parties in the Legislative Council: the People's Democratic Party, the Trinidad Labour Party (born in the 1920s as the Trinidad Workingmen's Association led by the French Creole Arthur Andrew Cipriani) and the Party of Political Progress Groups (originally led by the Portuguese unionist Albert Gomes) (see also MacDonald 1986).



from the DLP, relegated to opposition. The PNM had prevailed: “vanquished the old politicians; established a Cabinet system of government, a bicameral legislature, and a liberal, non-racial constitution. [...] negotiated independence with the British government and with the parliamentary opposition and secured an unprecedented two-thirds majority in parliament”. (Meighoo 2003: 60). Full independence from the British colonial yoke arrived the year after, on August, 31<sup>st</sup>, 1962.

### *1.1.2 Politics and Afro-Indian Relations in the Post-independence Era*

The winner of the prestigious ‘Island Scholarship’ and Oxford PhD holder Eric Williams is the man who led the country to independence and substantially shaped postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago. Williams became Prime Minister at independence in 1962, and remained in that position until his death in 1981. An excellent communicator, he was internationally recognized as a major scholar in History: his critique of British imperialism, the path-breaking *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), was among the first works analyzing the African slave trade, the effects of slavery and the cause of its abolition from the perspective of a Caribbean historian. His work as an historian “signified his commitment to redress the colonial condition” (Munasinghe 2001: 209), a commitment that soon overflowed in the political arena:

[Williams] had verve and flair; he had that all-important quality identified by Vidia Naipaul as the personal trait which Trinidadians most highly value: *style*. With his dignified bearing, sharp tongue, his ever-present trinity of props – hearing aid, dark glasses and cigarette drooping from his lips – ‘*The Doc*’ was a sharply-etched, unique public personality” (Oxaal 1982:112f).

The achievements of the PNM in its first six years of activity were made out of “a combination of political shrewdness, determination, toughness, aggression, luck, and circumstance, sometimes at the cost of antagonism and bitterness particularly in terms of African-Indian relations” (Meighoo 2003: 60f). The PNM “regime survival” was maintained through forms of patronage directed at the economy sectors traditionally dominated by the Afro-Trinidadians, such as the oil and gas industry, and by focusing on the needs of the elite classes rather than those of the working class (Hintzen 1989). Since the PNM controlled “immense patronage and privileges”, it was able to consolidate its

electoral majority from the “Mixed” group, as well as the Chinese and White minorities, and a small but significant slice of the East Indian middle class (Premdas 2007: 46). Thanks to this inter-ethnic support, the PNM was able to rule the country for six consecutive parliamentary terms.

According to Premdas (2007), with the rise to power of the People’s National Movement, assimilation was favoured instead of cultural pluralism: the party tried to glue together all the disparate cultures of the two islands as part of its postcolonial nation-building efforts. “There can be no Mother India for those whose ancestors came from India... There can be no Mother Africa for those of African origin [...]. The only Mother we can recognise is Mother Trinidad and Tobago”, Eric Williams (1962: 279) said, although speaking of a society comprised only of people with gene pools originating elsewhere in the world, as even the few survivors of the indigenous Taino tribes were actually immigrants from the Greater Antilles.

When Trinidad and Tobago became independent, East Indians were still largely confined to the primary sector of the economy, with a number of religious, linguistic and cultural differences underscoring their alienation and symbolically positioning them outside of the nation of Trinidad, while Afro-Creole culture became even more predominant under the PNM administration (Munasinghe 2001). In his famous Woodford Square speech ‘*Massa Day Done*’ (1961), Eric Williams had blamed the colonial ideology for creating and consolidating racial divisiveness in the West Indies and advocated the refusal of any form of racialism in the PNM. In fact, the heritage of British colonial policies and its plantation society structure kept influencing every aspect of socio-political life on the island, and persisted in marking and reproducing the “*Us vs. Them*” division between the two major ethnic groups (Puri 1997; 1999). The wider context of competition occurring over scarce resources, paired with ethnic divisiveness, made public life often seen as a place for conflict rather than cohesion (Premdas 2007).

Economic and political developments in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s created the right climate for the contestation of the PNM’s domination of Trinidad and Tobago. “The Black Power movement, the oil boom and the subsequent slump, the decline in the national pre-eminence of sugar, demographic changes, and the rise and fall of the “one love” party – the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) – created the context for a challenge to Afro-Trinidadian cultural and political hegemony”

(Munasinghe 2001: 228). Between 1968 and 1970 the Black Power movement gained strength in Trinidad and Tobago (with a major uprising during the 1970 Carnival), and posed a major challenge to the PNM, contesting its economic and political agendas from a stronger anti-imperialistic stance and derisively referring to the PNM elite as “*Afro-Saxons*” (Oxaal 1971). The leadership of the Black Power movement developed at the St. Augustine Campus of the University of the West Indies. Led by Geddes Granger (now Makaandal Daaga), the National Joint Action Committee joined up with trade unionists led by George Weekes of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union and Basdeo Panday, then a young East Indian trade-union lawyer and activist. During the 1970s and the 1980s the sugar industry of Trinidad and Tobago (usually associated with East Indian labour) deteriorated, and Basdeo Panday rose to national stature due to his struggles on behalf of the sugar workers. By the mid-1980s, the dramatic fall in international oil prices resulted in economic recession for Trinidad’s oil-based economy.

Loss of economic well-being and the death of the charismatic Williams in 1981 contributed to the electorate driving away from the PNM, which won only 3 seats in the 1986 election. A new, multi-racial party, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) led by Afro-Tobagonian A.N.R. Robinson, took the remaining 33 seats and 66% of the votes: a coalition that brought together anti-PNM forces, the Tobago autonomist Democratic Action Congress (DAC) and the United Labour Front (ULF), successful among East Indian voters and led by the Indo-Trinbagonian Basdeo Panday (Ryan 1996). The NAR “promised to forge an alliance among labour, business, and government and to promote ethnic harmony” (Munasinghe 2001: 239). However, the so-called “*Rainbow Party*”, that had brought together politicians with an electorate of multiple ethnicities, did not last long: the economic situation confronting the NAR was appalling and in an ethnically divided context like Trinidad, the issues of resource allocation and income distribution brought ethnic factionalism back to the coalition. In particular, Panday’s ULF was pushing to readdress “the composition of the boards of state enterprises, the public utilities and other statutory bodies” more in favour of East Indians (Munasinghe 2001: 243).

As a consequence, the National Alliance for Reconstruction suffered a rapid split in 1988, with all the members of the former ULF being expelled by the party. Basdeo Panday, the most prominent East Indian leader in the coalition, launched later in October

1988 a party called the United National Congress (UNC), aimed to attract the consensus of the East Indians. NAR electoral support declined because of the austerity programme and the neo-liberal economic policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund. On top of that, an attempted coup by the Muslim organization Jamaat al Muslimeen in 1990 tried to capitalize on the dissatisfaction.

In 1991, the nation returned to the polls in a renewedly divisive Afro-Indo arena, with the PNM getting a majority over the UNC, and with Patrick Manning being appointed Prime Minister for the first time. For Premdas (2007), the significance of the 1991 election lies in the fact that, after the 1986 victory of the cross-communal NAR coalition, the country went back to the predominant pattern of the old ethnic politics, represented by the Afro-Trinidadian PNM and the Indo-Trinidadian UNC. While in the 1991 election Manning's PNM victory derived from the vote being splits between Panday's UNC and Robinson's NAR in a number of critical constituencies (Premdas 2007), the latter two parties originated a complete different scenario during the following election.

In 1995, a 17-17 tie in the seats obtained by the PNM and the UNC imposed the demand for a coalition government, the first in Trinidad and Tobago's history. The UNC was able to form a coalition with the two-seat National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) and the leader of the UNC, Basdeo Panday, became the first East Indian and trade unionist Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. This was a traumatic event for the African community, that resulted in the PNM mounting a massive electoral campaign.

Between 2000 and 2002, Trinidad and Tobago experienced one election every year: the UNC won the 2000 election, but lost their majority in 2001, following four defections. A new election was called in December 2001, but resulted in an unprecedented tie in the reformed 36-member House of Representatives. As prescribed by Trinidad and Tobago's constitution, it was up to the President, A.N.R. Robinson, to select one of the two party leaders to form a government, and Patrick Manning (PNM) was favoured over Basdeo Panday (UNC). For Premdas (2007), the 2001 election represented an authentic lost opportunity for power sharing and inter-ethnic partisan accommodation in the history of Trinidad and Tobago.

With an 18-18 split in Parliament, it was only a matter of time before a new election would be called. In October 2002, a stronger PNM won again against the UNC,

with Manning being appointed as Prime Minister for the second time. The PNM secured its government for five years, winning 20 seats out of 36 with 50.7% of the votes, while the UNC took 16 with 46.5%.

In November 2007, the PNM won again, against the official opposition United National Congress–Alliance (a coalition of the UNC and six smaller parties) as well as the Congress of the People (a UNC splinter group that won no seats). On a platform that highlighted its strong economic management and proposed introduction of an executive presidency, the ruling PNM gained 45.9% of the votes and 26 seats in the reformed 41-member House of Representatives, and Manning was appointed as PM for the third time.. The main opposition UNC took 15 seats and 29.7% of the votes and the newly established Congress of the People gained 22.6% of the votes but no seats. The PNM majority was a few seats short of the two-thirds required to amend the constitution. Manning advised President George Maxwell Richards to dissolve Parliament on April, 8<sup>th</sup> 2010, resulting in a General Election to be held 2 years sooner than was constitutionally mandated. On May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010 Manning's PNM lost the election to the People's Partnership, whose political advent is the main focus of this study.

### *1.1.3 The 2010 Election: Kamla Persad-Bissessar and The People's Partnership*

An independent parliamentary democracy since August 31<sup>st</sup> 1962, Trinidad and Tobago became a Republic in 1976, although remaining in the Commonwealth of Nations. The Parliament of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago has two chambers. The country elects on a national level a House of Representatives, composed of 41 members, for a maximum five-year term in single-seat constituencies. The Prime Minister is chosen from among the elected representatives on the basis of his or her command of the support of the majority of legislators. The Senate has 31 members: 16 Government Senators appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister, 6 Opposition Senators appointed on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition and 9 so-called Independent Senators appointed by the President to represent other sectors of civil society. The non-executive President is elected for a five-year term by an electoral college consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament. Other elected bodies include the Local Government bodies in Trinidad (2

cities, 3 boroughs, 9 Regional Corporations) and the Tobago House of Assembly, which is composed of 12 elected members and is entrenched in the Constitution. Reinstated in 1980, the Tobago House of Assembly handles local government in the island of Tobago. While constitutional amendments have granted Tobago greater control over urban and rural development, health, education and housing, its Assembly has no legislative powers (Green 2014).

Like the overwhelming majority of English-speaking Caribbean countries, Trinidad and Tobago has sustained democracy since independence, withstanding the numerous issues that commonly affect developing countries, such as widespread economic crises, ethnic conflict, corruption, issues of distributive justice and inequality (Duncan and Woods 2007). Corruption accusations were among the main reasons for the deepening unpopularity and rising tide of criticism over Patrick Manning's third mandate as Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. The so-called 'UDeCOTT scandal' earned the country a spot on the Global Integrity's 2009 watch list (Kirton et al. 2010). Manning and the Executive Chairman of UDeCOTT (Urban Development Corporation of Trinidad and Tobago), Calder Hart, were surrounded with corruption charges stemming from the biased granting of millions of dollars' worth of contracts and from the alleged acceptance of bribes. Among the most widely publicised aspects of the UDeCOTT scandal was the alleged involvement of state funding in the construction of the Heights of Guanapo Church, which also entailed the award of the church building contract to a Chinese company and the importation and exploitation of a large number of Chinese immigrant workers on the construction site (ibid.). Among the other projects of Manning's targeted by allegations of corruption, the 'Two Million Dollar Flag' became a long-running saga in the local press: a company alleged to have close links to the PNM was paid two million Trinidadian Dollars (approximately two million euros) to erect a Trinbagonian flag at the National Stadium in Port of Spain.

Manning dissolved the Parliament on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010, following a threatened vote of no confidence, and a General Election was announced to be held on May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010. Consequently, Patrick Manning and the leader of the Opposition Kamla Persad-Bissessar had only six weeks to rally the country for votes. As the leader of the United National Congress Persad-Bissessar immediately began rallying and engaged with the other opposition parties and trade unionists of the country to mount a joint campaign and

present a single platform against the PNM at the forthcoming election. The accord between the political forces in the People's Partnership coalition was made public on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010 when the five leaders gathered at the Charlie King Junction in Fyzabad to sign their 'Declaration of Political Unity'. Four main political forces joined to form the People's Partnership alongside the United National Congress led by Persad-Bissessar, whose 41 candidates were presented at a massive rally at the Mid-Center Mall in Chaguanas on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2010.

The first to join Persad-Bissessar was the Congress of the People (COP), formed in 2006 by Winston Dookeran and his supporters. At the time, Dookeran was the political leader of the UNC and had been engaged in internal party feuding with the Panday-loyalist UNC executive. The party soon came to represent a 'third way' between the UNC and the PNM. The other member was the Tobago Organisation of the People (TOP) led by Ashworth Jack, an autonomist political party in Tobago formed in 2008 from a split from the Democratic Action Congress. The National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), founded in 1969 by the leader of the Trinbagonian 'Black Power' movement Makandal Daaga, joined the coalition to contest under the COP sign. Similarly, the labour-dominated Movement for Social Justice (MSJ), led by the trade unionist Errol McLeod, joined the coalition to contest under the UNC sign. The coalition was very broad and inter-ethnic: "the UNC brought in the lower class Indian, the COP the middle class in the ethnic group, NJAC [...] would provide an image of Afro-Indian solidarity, the leader of the Movement for Social Justice, a former leader of the powerful OWTU (Oilfields Movement for Social Justice), would have provided appeal to the lower class Afro-Creoles" (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 158).

Kamla Persad-Bissessar led this heterogeneous coalition to victory over the People's National Movement. Persad-Bissessar had become a Member of Parliament in 1995 for the Siparia constituency on the United National Congress ticket, and served as Attorney-General and Minister of Legal Affairs, and Minister of Education between 1995 and 2001. She had actually pursued a career in education on graduation, teaching at schools and universities in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, before becoming an attorney-at-law. She served as leader of the Opposition from April 2006 to November 2007. Excluded from a leadership position in the UNC on the eve of the 2007 election, she was elected as the leader of the party in January 2010, following internal UNC

election. She served as leader of the Opposition again from 25 February 2010 to 26 May 2010, when she took office as Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

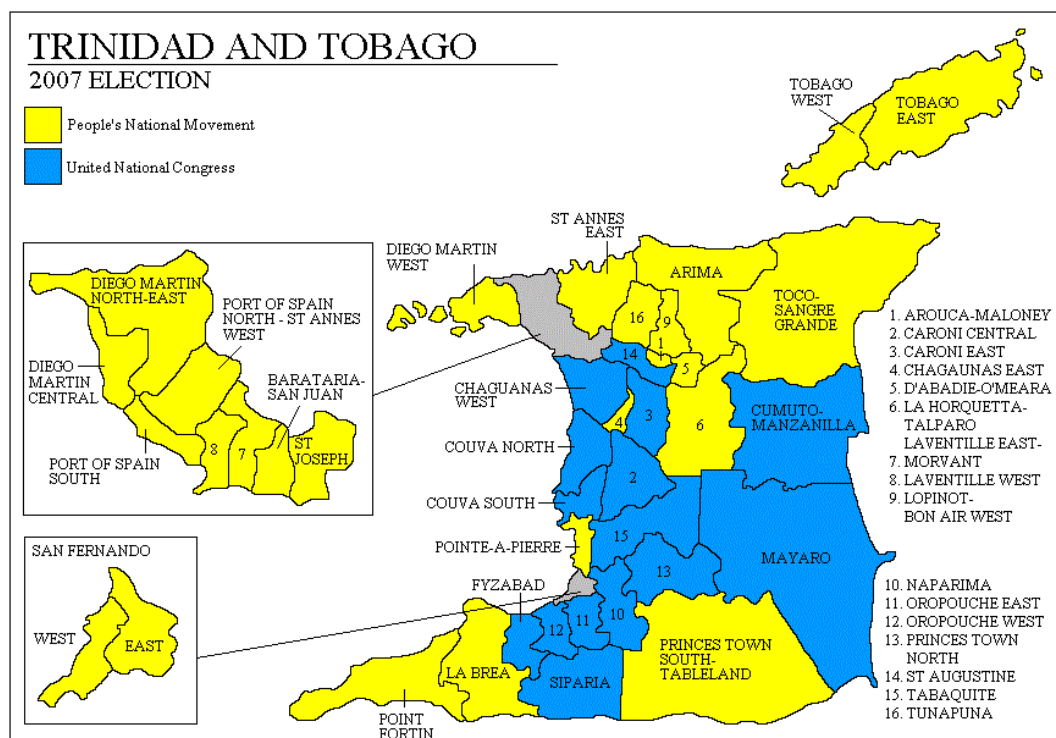
The People's Partnership coalition won the election to hold 29 seats out of 41 in the House of Representatives. The results are best summarized in the following table, which takes into account the national summary of votes and seats for the general election over the 2000-2010 decade:

Year	PNM	UNC	COP	TOP
2000	46.4% (16)	51.7% (19)	-	-
2001	46.5% (18)	49.9 (18)	-	-
2002	50.7 (20)	46.6% (26)	-	-
2007	45.9% (26)	29.7% (15)	22.6% (0)	-
2010	39.5% (12)	42.9% (21)	15.1% (6)	2.1% (2)

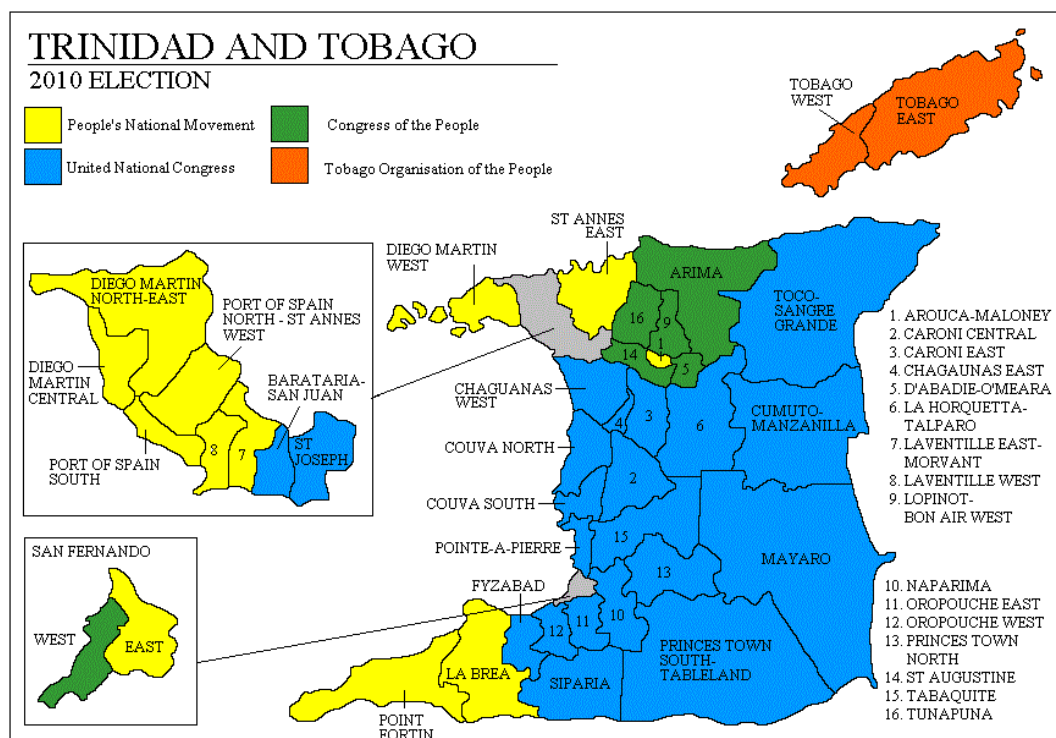
**Table 1:** Share of Votes and Seats in General Election in Trinidad and Tobago (2000-2010)  
(Psephos Election Archive - <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>)

The coalition clearly brought together the opposition vote: the UNC would probably have won fewer seats and the three main coalition parties would have won fewer seats overall, with the PNM quite possibly retaining considerably more than 12. Indeed, the COP contested 41 seats in 2007 and won none of them. In 2010, the party contested 14 seats and won six, even though its share of the vote was considerably smaller. It is also notable that the UNC, only contesting 25 seats to the PNM's 41, still won a greater share of the vote, with 42.9% to the latter's 39.5%. Furthermore, the table does not show that the People's Partnership landslide could easily have been even more dramatic: in four of the 12 seats that the PNM held, it did so by a margin of less than 5% of the votes. By contrast, the UNC won many of its 21 seats by margins of 40% or more (Bishop 2011). Integral to the coalition's electoral success was the decision to run just one UNC, COP or TOP candidate in each constituency, something that prevented a split by negotiating who would contest which seats in advance. This consequently led to a landslide victory which unseated many incumbent PNM MPs in what were formerly considered safe seats. The changes in constituency political color are clearly visible in a comparison between the 2007 and the 2010 electoral maps:





**Figure 2: Electoral Map – 2007 Election Trinidad and Tobago**  
(Psephos Election Archive - <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>)



**Figure 3: Electoral Map – 2010 Election Trinidad and Tobago**  
(Psephos Election Archive - <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>)

## ***1.2 Discourse, Society and Identity in Trinidad and Tobago***

### ***1.2.1 The Trinbagonian Society: between Plurality and Creolization***

Since its inception in the 1950s, Caribbean sociology has mainly focused on social stratification, ethnicity, culture and identity. The majority of studies historicize current social stratification and establish a causal relationship between the past colonial/plantation society and the contemporary national states, highlighting the role played by race and ethnicity in the social differentiation and pluralism found in the area (Reddock and Barrow 2001). Two major attitudes can be traced in the way Caribbean national societies are depicted in contemporary academic discourse, the first one being a narrative of the continuation of ancestral diversities between the diverse ethnic groups, the other one of homogenization through mixture (Segal 1994). We will see in this section how the great complexity of Trinidad and Tobago can be regarded as a challenging ‘limit point’ for both currents.

The first theory, very influential and popular among English-speaking scholars in the 1960s, portrays the Caribbean society as a colonially structured and inherently *plural* one: multi-ethnicity and post-coloniality are two closely linked factors in the portrayal of a deeply divided nation, with racial tensions firmly entrenched between ethnic groups constituting quite separate and independent cultural sections within the same country. This “Plural Society” theory is usually attributed to M.G. Smith, a Jamaican poet and social anthropologist, who conceived of Caribbean societies as political units characterized by cultural plurality. Different sections of the total population practice different forms of common social institutions, such as “marriage, family, property, religion, economic institutions, language and folklore” (M.G. Smith 1965: 14-15). Smith’s model was deeply influenced by the work of J.S. Furnivall (1944; 1948), a British colonial officer in Southeast Asia. According to Furnivall (1948: 304), any colonial society can be considered as “a medley”, for the population “mix but do not combine. Each group holds to its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. [...] There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately within the same unit”. It is the portrait of a conflictual society with

“no common will” (Furnivall, 1944: 447), made up of different cultural sections that tend to reside separately and where interaction is economic and instrumental, rather than authentically social. This social structure also affects the local economy, which tends to be stratified into a number of specialized sectors, each almost entirely dominated by a single cultural group. Furnivall’s thought was deeply influenced by British colonial interests and by the constantly sought-after justification for white dominance. He argued that a white European minority, working as “a benevolent but impartial umpire” (1948: 65), was needed in order to rule and maintain stability, as without an “elaborate western superstructure over native life” (1948: 280), society would collapse. For the later M.G. Smith (1991), the monopoly of power by force and fear was no longer seen as a necessary and essential precondition for the maintenance of the plural society. However, his focus was always on the presence of mutually exclusive groups, their disunity and the consequent instability of the plural nation.

But is the atavistic divisiveness between Africans and East Indians enough to label Trinbagonian society as “plural”? Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago is far from being an ethnically conservative society. While Froude in 1888 postulated that “the African and the Asiatic will not mix”, the proportion of ‘*Mixed*’ people in the Census has been rising constantly over the past forty years and is now 22.8% (see 1.1). Among this percentage, almost 8% declare themselves as ‘*dougl’a*’, a Hindi-derived word used to indicate the offspring of an Indo-Afro union (Regis 2011). Moreover, Trinidad and Tobago does not seem to have the structure of an actual plural society: “there is no internal ethnic authority comparable to the Great Council of Chiefs in Fiji; no absolute religious differentiation (with different applicable civil laws) as in Malaysia; and no differential economic organisation such as occurs in Fiji”, where land is collectively owned by Fijian descent groups who rent it to East Indian farmers (Meighoo 2008: 106f). The definition of Trinidad and Tobago as a “plural society”, therefore, seems to date back to the work of the first American anthropologists doing fieldwork in Trinidad and Tobago (Herskovits 1947; Klass 1961). The cultural communities they investigated were then living in isolated villages as distinct and opposed groups in a country with no roads, holding on to different ancestral languages, religions and traditions. The Trinidad and Tobago they described does not exist anymore.

The other competing theoretical approach, in contrast to the “Plural” society model, which stresses the persistence of social segmentation and conflict between ethnic groups, sees this Caribbean society as an inherently “Creole” society. The Barbadian scholar Kamau Brathwaite (1971; 1974) developed this framework partly drawing on the work of the historian Elsa Goveia on the slave society of the Leeward Islands (1965). The term “Creole” was first used in Jose de Costa’s *Historia Natural* in 1590 to describe “those born of Spanish parents in the Indies” (Mintz 1996: 301). Brathwaite traced the etymology of the word “Creole” to two Spanish words: “*criar*” (to create, imagine, found) and “*colon*” (colonist, settler). In *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820*, Brathwaite maintained that black Africans and white Europeans in Caribbean colonial societies are not to be considered as “separate nuclear units” but rather as “contributory parts of a whole” (1971: 307). For Brathwaite (1974: 11), the process of creolization that occurred in Caribbean societies always entailed two levels: “*acculturation*, which is the yoking (by force and example, deriving from power/prestige) of one culture to another (in this case the enslaved/African to the European); and *inter/culturation*, which is an unplanned, unstructured but osmotic relationship proceeding from this yoke”. Brathwaite was “one of the first to posit that the liberating process of creolization originates from an unrestricted interaction of cultures” (Balutanski and Sorieau 1998: 5) and saw Caribbean society as having emerged over time through “imitation, native creation or indigenization, language, sex and amorous influences” (Brathwaite 1974: 19).

The concept of creolization has been widely used to identify the process in which new cultures and societies emerged during the colonial period throughout the Caribbean. As a mode of understanding Caribbean societies, the Creole-society framework has been embraced in most of the northern Caribbean, including the Hispanic areas, but its application to the Southern Caribbean has been more problematic (Reddock 2002). Brathwaite’s approach finally addressed the fixed superiority/inferiority power relations between White and Black/Coloured populations in the Caribbean. However, while this attention to the unequal terms of acculturation is one of the most helpful and contemporary features of Brathwaite’s analysis, it also implied paying less attention to relations between non-white, subordinate ethnic groups in a situation of multiple-ethnic contact, such as the Afro/Indo relations in Trinidad and Tobago.

Caribbean people of East Indian ancestry, making up the 20% of the population in the archipelago, are often considered one of the main limit points of the creolization framework. Brathwaite's (1971) study of the development of creole society in Jamaica was framed between 1770 and 1820, a time when African slavery was still active, and East Indians were not present yet in the West Indies. Brathwaite later addressed the East Indian presence in the Caribbean in his 1974 work *"Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean"*. However, it has been pointed out, both by Puri (1999: 20) and Munasinghe (2006: 555), that this theoretical integration significantly changed the trajectory of Brathwaite's "Creole" society into a substantially "Plural" one, since East Indians were seen by Brathwaite (1974: 11) as compelled to "adjust themselves to the existing creole synthesis and the new landscape", without actually becoming "Creoles".

Self-categorization through the usage of very precise labels shapes the divisiveness between Trinbagonians of African and East Indian ancestry. Naming has a profound implication in Trinidad and Tobago: ethnicity formation is intrinsically connected to nation building and links to the notions of inclusion or exclusion from the country's leading roles. "Creole" has come to have a very specific meaning and three main usages in Trinidad and Tobago. It is used: "(1) to refer to an amalgam of descendants of Europeans who still dominate the local economy, known locally as French Creoles"; (2) "primarily by Indians to refer to persons of African descent, also referred to by a Hindu derivative 'kirwal'" and (3) to refer to the cultural artifacts of the dominant culture such as 'Creole food', 'Creole bacchanal' and so on" (Reddock 1998: 65). Khan (2001: 285) identified a fourth, additional and complementary usage of the term creole "by Afro-Trinidadians, in speaking about the 'Creole' part of society as distinct from 'Indo'".

In fact, Creole (or "Afro-Creole", with the prefix narrowing down the other potential meanings of the word) is the most widely used term for self-reference by people of African ancestry in Trinidad and Tobago.<sup>4</sup> East Indians in the country are not

---

<sup>4</sup> Local academics or politically conscious people also use "Black" and "African", as well as "Afro-Trinidadian" (Munasinghe 2001).

considered and do not consider themselves as “Creole”.<sup>5</sup> Quite the opposite, “East Indian” and “Creole” are considered as “mutually exclusive categories” (Munasinghe 2001: 6).

Representations of ethnicity with its rhetoric of labels built amid colonial inheritance, paired with perceived cultural differences and crystallized stereotypes, are deeply involved in the explicit and implicit discussion over “which group contributed more into the building of the nation, and was therefore more deserving of political and economic ascendancy” (Geer 2007: 121). A “Creole” person is considered as possessing not only local culture but also local biology. It is the result of a local “miscegenation”, which is traditionally associated by Brathwaite with the local mix of people of European and African descent. The underlying implication of Brathwaite’s framework is that the word “Creole” has come to imply a “native” status in Trinidad and Tobago. The designation of the ‘chosen’, legitimated ethnic group to take the leadership of the independent Trinidad and Tobago is configured in a dialectical relationship with the definition of what it actually means to be Trinbagonian, and inherently contributes to the shaping of the slippery definition of contemporary national identity for the country.

The Creolization model emerged during a highly ideologically charged historical moment and has to be historicized in the political context of the post-1960s, when the British Caribbean was at the forefront of the cause of national independence. Brathwaite’s *creolization*, as well as Ortiz’s *transculturation* and Glissant’s *transversality*, were meant to be “powerful tools for intellectual critique of western colonialism and imperialism, tools appropriate to a specific context and grounded in Caribbean realities” (Sheller 2003: 188). In Trinidad and Tobago “decolonization went hand in hand with the positive re-evaluation of formerly despised Afro-Creole lower-class cultural forms” (Munasinghe 2006: 557). The theory of Creolization highlighted the active role of African ancestry in the Caribbean and the importance of African cultural traditions, and elevated the Afro-

---

<sup>5</sup> This does not imply that East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago are to be considered as a perfect self-contained community. Many studies have focused on the actual “creolization” of the East Indian community in the Caribbean, where by “creolization” they intend the many changes and blending of traditions from their original communities in India. Examples are the creation of a common language among the East Indian labourers, the attenuation of the caste system, the modification of marriage and joint family structure, and changes in the routinisation of the Hindu faith (see Nevadomsky 2001; Vertovec 2001).

Creole segment of Trinbagonian society to the role of ‘culture creators’ in the newly independent nation, serving an overtly anti-colonialist nationalist project.<sup>6</sup>

For Shepherd and Richards (1998: vii), “today, approximately twenty-six years after its public launching, Kamau Brathwaite’s creole society model is generally accepted as the leading interpretation of Caribbean society”. The original absence of East Indians in the framework has a significant impact on the way Trinbagonian national identity is conceptualized. If nation-building is “the basic Third World ideology and project” (A.D. Smith 1983:232), in Trinidad and Tobago the premises for any nationalist discourse lie in the space between the “Plural” and the “Creole” model. Trinbagonian national identity, as we will see in the next section, seems to discursively emerge from the fluid, dialectic interplay between these two narratives of plural cosmopolitanism and creolization.

### *1.2.2 Callaloo or Pelau? Nation and Narration in the Archipelago*

Theorists have been trying to frame Trinidad and Tobago speaking either of the divided or interactive nature of the relations between its ethnic groups, but the Caribbean diaspora “presents a formidable task of understanding the limits and meaning of terms like ‘the Caribbean people’ or ‘the Trinidadian nation’” (Harney 1996: 7). The presence of the East Indian diaspora in Trinidad and Tobago has added a further level of complexity to the issue of nation-building, compared to the wider Caribbean space which is generally imagined, “for a specific constellation of historical forces” as a Black, African derived space (Munasinghe 2002: 668). Moreover, “unlike England or the United States, whose concerns about multiculturalism have been linked to the increasing presence of immigrants, the multicultural question in Trinidad is informed by the power struggles among discrepant diasporas” (Guilbault 2011: 5). As we have seen in the previous

---

<sup>6</sup> At the same time, Afro-Creoles had been perceived by the British colonial power as the best candidates for post-colonial self-rule (as they had been for slavery), because of the inherently racist and misguided belief that they were brought to the Caribbean as “culturally naked” (Lewis 1983: 4). On the contrary, East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago had always been deemed unmixable, completely saturated with an ancient and complex (albeit pagan and inferior) civilization. Afro-Trinbagonians were seen as a tabula rasa upon which Western ideals, morality, religion, and systems of government could be easily imprinted.

sections of this chapter, the two most important diasporas in the country, the African and the East Indian have been debating “issues of national representation and equality in relation to participation in decision-making and the sharing of material wealth in the country” (ibid.).

The impulse to create homogeneity out of heterogeneity has been represented as the common ground for the European nationalisms of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and is still transversal to most nationalisms and nation-building projects in the world. However, the diasporic origins of both East Indian and African communities, with their inability to claim actual autochthony, has produced a national narrative about homogenization that necessarily takes on board, and sometimes even foregrounds, a condition of Caribbean heterogeneity, whether conceptualized as plurality or mixture. In fact, in the contemporary Trinidad and Tobago two main national narratives are in tension, and they seem to largely fall in the opposition between a vision of the country as “Plural” versus a “Creole” one (see 1.2.1).

The first conceptualizes Trinidad and Tobago as a “cosmopolitan plural” nation (Munasinghe 2001: 40), clearly seeing the plurality of the various immigrant groups in the country continuing up until the present. This Trinbagonian national narrative celebrates “not the creation of unity from heterogeneity, not the capacity to invent a new identity out of many old identities, but the coexistence of diverse ancestral kinds in harmony” (Segal 1994: 226). The second national narrative pivots around the notion of “mixing” in Trinidad and Tobago and understands national identity essentially as a “Creole” one. We have seen how the term Creole in the Caribbean “refers to a local product which is the result of a mixture or blending of various ingredients that originated in the Old World” (Bolland 1992: 50). However, this interpretation may imply an underlying inequality between the African and East Indian ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago (see 1.2.1)

Two food metaphors are often used to epitomize this tension between ethnic groups and different degrees of heterogeneity and homogeneity in the discursive construction of national identity in Trinidad and Tobago. These metaphors are frequently used in Trinbagonian lay discourse as well as in the academic and political ones. The *callaloo* stew, popular throughout the Caribbean, is often regarded as the “mixing metaphor” *par excellence* of Trinbagonian nationalism, where by “mixing metaphor” I



intend “those practices, discourses or events where the foundational theme of mixing is communicated through analogy, metonym, images, motifs as well as in literary terms” (Khan 2001: 4). Created in the Caribbean by West African slaves mixing both African (*okra*) and indigenous (*dasheen*) plants, callaloo requires a sizzle stick to simmer down all the ingredients. For this reason, it is often associated with the idea of a Caribbean ‘Melting Pot’ originating through the analogous principles of creolization.

The mixing metaphor of *pelau* is often seen as challenging the one represented by callaloo: pelau (or pilau) is a one-pot dish consisting of rice and chicken cooked with coconut milk and aromatic herbs. Pelau is often associated with the idea of a more plural ‘Ethnic Stew’ rather than a ‘Melting Pot’, because the different ingredients still keep their solid structure and their flavours in the final dish. Moreover, callaloo is a mixing metaphor with a dominant African flavour in it. The origins of callaloo have in fact been traced back to the Palava sauce, a greens-based stew of West African Cuisine. Conversely, with its sugar caramelized chicken and rice, pelau has the potential to represent both East Indian and African ingredients, preparation techniques and traditions.

In the Trinbagonian national context, multiculturalism is “not about how a ‘monoculture’ addresses the so-called disruptive presence of migrants” but rather seems to be focused on how, “out of diversity, unity can be created” (Guilbault 2011: 6). As a critical discourse analyst, I see Trinbagonian national identity as being primarily constructed through discourse and, especially, political discourse. In my approach, I draw on the available literature conceptualizing the construction of ‘nation-ness’ as a form of “social and textual affiliation” (Bhabha 1990:292). Throughout this study, I will adopt the Discourse-Historical framework to investigate the discursive construction of the Trinbagonian nation and national identities (de Cillia et al. 1999; Wodak et al. 2009). Nations are understood as mental constructs that exist in the minds of the nationalized subjects, “constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture” (Wodak et al. 2009:22). Discourse-Historical scholars primarily based their framework on the works of Anderson (1988); Bourdieu (1994a and 1994b); Ricoeur (1992); Martin (1995); Hall (1992 and 1996) and Kolakowski (1995). The Discourse-Historical approach to the construction of national identity can be subsumed around five major tenets:

First, nations are understood as “imagined political communities” (Anderson 1991), mental constructs that exist in the minds of the nationalized subjects. According to Anderson, a nation is imagined as limited, sovereign, and as a deep, horizontal community, distinguished from any other community mainly by the way in which it is imagined. Nevertheless, when Anderson treats nationalism as a transportable, “modular” phenomenon, he inevitably follows in the tradition that sees nationalism as a ‘Western phenomenon’ and as a derivative, mimetic exercise in non-Western countries. In this respect, nation-building projects in Trinidad and elsewhere in the Caribbean cannot be considered either as wholly derivative or as completely free from the imperatives set by modular European nationalisms (Munasinghe 2002), in the same way as Chatterjee (1993) theorized anti-colonial Bengali nationalism.<sup>7</sup>

Second, “national identities are discursively (through language and other semiotic systems) produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed” (de Cillia et al. 1999: 153). Hence, the idea of the Trinbagonian nation is “constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture” (Wodak et al. 2009: 22) and becomes reality “in the realm of convictions and beliefs through reifying, figurative discourses continuously launched by politicians, intellectuals and media people” (de Cillia et al. 1999: 153). Clearly, politicians have a prime role in the discursive construction of national identity and Trinidad and Tobago is no exception. More specifically, given that ethnicity represents a clear political issue in Trinidad and Tobago, political rhetoric can be requested to bridge ethnic diversities in the unifying narrative of a ‘Trinbagonian nationality’.

Third, drawing on Bourdieu’s notion, national identity can be regarded as a sort of *habitus*, “a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes (a) of related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared within a specific group of persons; (b) as well of similar behavioural dispositions; (c) all of which are internalized through ‘national’ socialization” (ibid.). The state “shapes those forms of perception, of categorization, of interpretation, and of memory” that serve as the basis for an orchestration of a “national

---

<sup>7</sup> The nationalisms of the “Creole Pioneers” that Anderson refers to are restricted to primarily Spanish America and Brazil with brief mention of the United States and Haiti. They cannot contain the different histories of the Anglophone Caribbean, where the independence movements unfolded in the 1960s as opposed to the 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Munasinghe 2002).

character” or “national common sense” as *habitus* (Wodak et al. 2009: 29). We will see how, in the case of the Trinbagonian nation, these ideas and schemata in political discourse relate to the idea of a Trinbagonian ‘essence’ that sets its nationals apart from other peoples because of its “diversity”, as well as its ‘common national history’ or ‘specific national territory’ (see Ch.6).

Fourth, the discursive construction of nations and national identities is seen as running hand in hand with “the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness” (ibid.). Discursive constructs of nations and national identities often tend to “emphasise national uniqueness and intra-national uniformity but largely ignore intra-national differences” (Wodak et al. 2009:4). However, the Trinbagonian case is an excellent example of the complex tension at the imaginary collective level between the construction of sameness and the construction of difference, between narratives that highlight pluralistic multiplicity and the attempts at group-internal homogenization.

Fifth, “there is no such thing as the one and only national identity” (ibid.), which is not fixed in an essentialized sense. As Billig states, “there invariably will be competing conceptions, histories, stereotypes etc.” (2009: 348). Different identities are discursively constructed according to context, that is according to the audiences to which narratives or speeches or written genres are addressed, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic being discussed (de Cillia et al. 1999: 153). Trinidad and Tobago can be regarded as a nation whose members “are enculturated in many heterogeneous and often conflicting regional, supraregional, cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious, sexual, political and otherwise defined ‘we’-identities” (Wodak et al. 2009: 4).

The Discourse-Historical Approach conceptualizes the construction of national identity as building “on the emphasis on a common history, and history has always to do with remembrance and memory” (de Cillia et al. 1999: 154). In this respect, Halbwachs’ (1992) concept of “collective memory” (that is, a socially constructed representation of the past that is shared by members of a group, such as a generation or nation-state) is of particular interest for a discursive approach to national identity. The “cultural construction of nationness” (Bhabha 1990: 292) gives a high prominence to “origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness” (Hall 1996). These premises seem to make it hard for a work on a Caribbean nation to fit in this literature elaborating on the deep connection between nation and historical narration. Several Caribbean intellectuals have discussed

the role of history and memory in the archipelago (V. S. Naipaul 1962; C.L.R. James 1962; Walcott 1974). The Caribbean people are broadly seen either as the bearers of a “nonhistory”, associated with the painful heritage of colonization, genocide and slavery, or the bearers of a sense of “historylessness”, associated to a sense of amnesia and erosion of identity (Glissant 1981).

Nevertheless, national history is to be regarded as a *post-hoc*, meaning endowed narrative, “a story which people tell about themselves in order to lend meaning to the social world” (Ram 1994: 153). National history is always constituted by a construction and fictionalization that revolves not only around “founding myths and myths of origin, mythical figures, political successes, times of prosperity and stability”, but also attempts at making sense of “defeats and crises” (Wodak et al. 2009: 31). Through the framing power of discourse, both victories and defeats can “become carriers of consensual values and ideals, and which therefore have value as objects in collective memory” (Wodak and Heer 2008: 1). The ultimate aim of this research is to investigate the framing power of political discourse in the Trinbagonian context, understanding to what extent it is able to make sense of the past and present national complexity, marked by the continuous transgression of any neat sociological dichotomy.

## Chapter 2: The Critical Analysis of Political Discourse

### 2.1 *Defining and Analyzing Political Discourse*

The study of political discourse can be traced back to the origins of politics itself. In the Greek πόλις and later in the Roman Empire, the study of rhetoric, understood as the art of verbal persuasion, was thought of as an authentic form of political science. A great emphasis was placed on the training of orators in a formulaic tradition, made up of a great number of speech patterns and set pieces to be largely learned by heart. Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, dating from the 4th century BC, is still considered the classic original point of reference in the study of the subject, and his distinction between three different main forms of oratory ('*deliberative*', '*judicial*' and '*epideictic*') is commonly found in many contemporary works on rhetoric and political discourse (see Reisigl 2008). For Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 206), this uninterrupted human attention to political verbal behaviour has created an authentic apparatus for the critical observation of the connection between language, politics and power, which can be traced up to present times.

Although the recognition of the role of language as an essential instrument of politics is as ancient as Aristotle, there is no straightforward and unanimous definition of 'political discourse'. A reason for this might be that "what is political is a matter of interpretation", and any definition of political discourse could be considered a political statement itself (ibid.). As van Dijk (2003: 212) points out: "Political science offers as many definitions of 'politics' as there are political scientists", and this encompasses the very general definitions of concepts like 'politics' and 'power', as well as the more specific classification of the activities politicians engage in".

What is usually jointly agreed across the social sciences is that politics and language are "intimately intertwined" (Chilton and Schäffner 2002: vii): political interaction, in fact, requires language structure in order to exist. Language plays a crucial role, "for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language" (Schäffner 1996: 201). Political actors are extremely aware of the power of language, "because its use has effects, and because politics is very largely the use of

language” (Chilton 2004: 14). Nevertheless, narrowing down the field of political discourse is again an interpretative, and highly ideological process, that implies answering to questions like “what is political?”, “what is not?”, and “why?”.

If we start from the assumption that linguistic behaviour unavoidably involves structures of domination and legitimation (Giddens 1984), all language might be considered ‘political’. In this respect, critical discourse analysts have been focusing on the non-neutrality of language, conceptualizing discourse in terms of issues such as power, conflict, control, or domination, drawing in large part on the work of Habermas (1981), Foucault (1972), Bourdieu (1980), and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) (see 2.2.1). By intimately linking language and power, Fairclough (2000: 3) conceptualizes political differences mainly as differences in language, and political struggles as, at least partly, struggles over which forms and uses of language should dominate.

However, if ‘all discourse is political’, then defining “political discourse” as a field of study becomes a real challenge. Concerned with what he deems as an overgeneralization of the concept, Wilson (2001: 398) shares Graber’s (1981) definition and delimitation of political discourse as being characterized by “formal/informal political contexts and political actors, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals”. When trying to identify a text as ‘political’, we can base ourselves on two fundamental criteria. The first is *functional*: political texts are historically and culturally determined and fulfil different functions related to different political activities. The second is *thematic*: its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations. “Political discourse”, therefore, can be considered as an “umbrella term” covering a variety of text types or genres defined by a social domain: politics. It includes both intra-state and inter-state discourse and it may take various forms: “examples are bilateral or multilateral treaties, speeches made during an electioneering campaign or at a congress of a political party, a contribution of a member of parliament to a parliamentary debate, editorials or commentaries in a

newspaper, a press conference with a politician or a politician's memoir" (Schäffner 1997: 119).<sup>8</sup>

While language has always been considered closely related to politics throughout the centuries, the more contemporary relationship between politics, government and mass media, resulting in what Fairclough (2000: 3) defined as the "mediatization of politics", has transformed the study of political discourse. The growing mediatization of political messages in the late twentieth century had two major implications: an increased reception and pervasiveness of political text and talk, and, consequently, an increased need for awareness and the development of a critical interpretative stance towards these kinds of text and talk (Chilton and Schäffner 1997:206). The analysis of political discourse is now deemed to be one of the best ways to understand how politicians manage to influence society and are able to put their opinions across to large audiences on a local, national or even global level.

Although the classic tradition of rhetorical studies is a thousand and a half years old, I share Reisigl's (2008: 244) point that it cannot represent an adequate framework for the complexity of contemporary political discourse, as "political situations, systems, conditions, and circumstances have changed and become increasingly complex, and, with these transformations, the forms, types and functions of political speeches have also altered remarkably". While more recent rhetorical studies show a growing multidisciplinary stance, including communication science, historical construction, social theory, and political science (e.g. Gill and Whedbee 1997), contemporary analysis of political discourse encompasses a vast choice of different approaches not limited to the analysis of its rhetorical aspects.

Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 208-11) compiled an overview of three broad literatures in the linguistic analysis of political discourse, in part related to the historical specificity of the countries (France, Germany, the U.K.) where these approaches

---

<sup>8</sup> Since this study focuses on the election campaign of a professional politician and PM candidate, we could easily define it as a study of "political discourse" *strictu sensu*. However, as a critical discourse analyst, I adopt van Dijk's broader definition of political actor, which aptly includes not only official or professional politicians, but involves "people as citizens and voter, people as members of pressure and issue groups, demonstrators and dissidents, and so on" (van Dijk 1997a:13). Acknowledging that politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics, entails a necessary extension of the scope of political discourse and highlights the role of context in the production and comprehension of political text and talk.

developed, with a range of different analytic methods being applied. When addressing the approaches to political discourse in English, they mainly take into account studies from Britain and the U.S., but also include seminal contributions from scholars of other European countries, such as the *Socio-Cognitive* and the *Discourse-Historical* approach to Critical Discourse Analysis that originated in the Netherlands and Austria respectively. American scholars who have applied linguistics to the analysis of political discourse have largely focused on Presidential rhetoric, and seem to have lacked the critical ambition of their European counterparts. Indeed, for example, Chomsky's engagement as a philosopher, political commentator and activist in the United States had no direct application in his linguistic research.

The European panorama appears different: since the late 1970s, first critical linguists (Fowler, Hodge, Kress and associates) and then critical discourse analysts (Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak among others), have been systematizing the attention to linguistic manipulation in political discourse that had already been displayed in the ground-breaking novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell, published in 1949. If "political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible" (Orwell 1969: 225), the contemporary Anglophone approach to political discourse entails a critical study of the language of politicians, often looking for implied meaning, which is only recognizable to the hearer if he/she adopts "a particular ideology or set of attitudes and values" (Chilton 2004: 37).

The absence of a straightforward definition for the term 'political discourse' suggests the existence of the same difficulty for the delimitation of its analysis. In recent decades, the area of research encompassing linguistics and politics has been subsumed under various names, encompassing *Political Linguistics*, *Politolinguistics*, *Political Discourse Analysis* and/or *Analysis of Political Discourse*. According to Tretkyakova (2006: 227) while Political Linguistics is aimed at identifying the typical language forms used as functional tools of communication within the political context, Political Discourse Analysis mostly deals with the political constituents and the interpretation of social practices. Politolinguistics (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Reisigl 2003; Wodak and de Cillia 2006) can be seen as a first attempt to create an academic discipline for the research of political discourse, relying theoretically on actual concepts in political science, as well as on rhetorical and discourse analytical categories. It conceptualizes "the political" making



a distinction between the three dimensions of polity, policy and politics, and tries to grasp the specific political functions of speeches with respect to these dimensions. Okulska and Cap (2010: 11) find the term Analysis of Political Discourse (APD) “clearer and more scientifically objective” than Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), as the former “entails no ambiguity resulting from its possible interpretation as an ideologically motivated enterprise”. Nevertheless, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) appears to be the longstanding prevailing term to refer to “inter-and multi-disciplinary research that focuses on the linguistic and discursive dimensions of political text and talk and on the political nature of discursive practice” (Dunmire 2012: 735).

What makes PDA’s linguistic and discourse based approach to politics distinctive is its use of “abundant empirical evidence in the form of text and talk” (Chilton and Schäffner 2002: 4). One of the core goals of political discourse analysis is “to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect” (Wilson 2001: 410), and almost all linguistic levels are involved, from lexis to pragmatics.<sup>9</sup> The balance between linguistic analysis and political analysis is essential, as it “is what distinguishes political discourse analysis from political research as found, say, in political science” (ibid.). For van Dijk (1997a: 11), PDA entails a political approach to discourse and a definition of discourse in the way contemporary Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) conceptualizes it:

Without collapsing *political* discourse analysis into *critical* discourse analysis, we would like to retain both aspects of the ambiguous designation: PDA is both about political discourse, and it is also a critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political *power*, *power abuse* or *domination* through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular, such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political *inequality* that results from such domination.

---

<sup>9</sup> As Wilson (2001: 410f) fittingly summarizes, “at the level of lexical choice there are studies of such things as loaded words, technical words, and euphemisms (Graber 1981; Geis 1987; Bolinger 1982). In grammar [...], there are studies of selected functional systems and their organization within different ideological frames (Fowler and Marshall 1985). There are also studies of pronouns and their distribution relative to political and other forms of responsibility (Maitland and Wilson 1987; Wilson 1990; Pateman 1981; Lwaitama 1988) and studies of more pragmatically oriented objects such as implicatures, metaphors, and speech acts (van Dijk 1989; Wilson 1990; Holly 1989; Chilton and Ilyin 1993)”.

van Dijk here acknowledges the virtual impossibility of a fully objective and non-political account of political discourse, and takes an openly critical stance. Still, the adoption of a critical stance implies both “subscribing to a careful analysis of empirical data coming from the world under study” and “acknowledging the status of the analyst as an active part of this world” (Okulska and Cap 2010: 5).

Conversely, Wilson (2001: 399) believes that many studies of political language reveal the analysts’ political bias and invites analysts to make clear their own motivations and perspectives in targeting political discourse for analysis. While Wilson calls for more descriptive perspectives “where the main goal is to consider political language first as discourse, and only secondly as politics” (ibid.), for van Dijk (1997a: 14) “political actions or practices are at the same time discursive practices”, and both the political functions and implications of forms of texts are of special interest for Political Discourse Analysis. I agree with Wilson (2001: 411) “not to lose linguistic rigor for the sake of sociopolitical claims”, but still I consider it futile to produce language-based analyses that do not fully account for why, in social and political terms, specific linguistic choices have been made (van Dijk 2001a: 360).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as a field, is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias: it examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. Sharing van Dijk’s (1997a: 11) belief that the analysis of political discourse is a *critical* enterprise, I believe CDA can constitute a fruitful approach for this study, in order to fully account for the role of political discourse in the “enactment, reproduction, and legitimization of power and domination” (van Dijk 2001a: 360) in Trinidad and Tobago.

## 2.2 *Critical Discourse Analysis*

### 2.2.1 *A Plural Approach to Language, Society and Power*

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) emerged as a network of scholars in the early 1990s (with the publication of works like Fairclough's *Language and Power* and Wodak's *Language Power and Ideology* in 1989, as well as with van Dijk's launch of the journal *Discourse and Society* in 1990), and developed in the following decades into a complex group of approaches connected through a number of basic shared theoretical assumptions.

Referred to either as a programme of study (Wodak and Meyer 2009) or as a form of critical social research (Fairclough 2003; 2006), in the last two decades CDA has become a popular and firmly established programmatic approach to language in society (Blommaert 2005: 3). The approach has been quite innovative in "establishing the legitimacy of a linguistically oriented discourse analysis, firmly anchored in social reality and with a deep interest in actual problems and forms of inequality in societies" (Blommaert 2005: 6). CDA explores the role of semiosis in social change, starting from a definition of discourse (see 2.2.3) constantly emphasizing the dialectical, mutual relationship between language and society, "not conceived to be as simply deterministic but invoking an idea of mediation" (Meyer 2001: 15). A broader type of discourse analytical research, CDA is primarily concerned with power relations and how these are enacted, reproduced and resisted by written, spoken and visual texts in different public contexts (see van Dijk 1993, 1997a, 2001; Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak 2004a; Reisigl and Wodak 2009).

Although originated principally by linguists, CDA is essentially interdisciplinary, creatively and holistically integrating theoretical approaches across disciplines rather than applying them separately. CDA has never attempted to "fuse into one single specific theory or methodology" (Martin and Wodak 2003: 5) and is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches rather than as just one school: there is currently no unique theory or method that is uniform and consistent throughout the discipline, and this is acknowledged by CDA scholars (van Dijk 2001b; Wodak and

Meyer 2001; Weiss and Wodak 2003). However, although CDA “is not a specific direction of research” and “does not have a unitary theoretical framework” (van Dijk 2001a: 353), in this section I will try to cover the overall conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the approach, basing myself on the common perspective and the general aims shared by CDA scholars.<sup>10</sup>

The theoretical origins of CDA can be traced to the work of a large number of thinkers. Unger (2013a: 29) pertinently summarizes the complexity of the theoretical influences on CDA by analyzing its genealogy: “the ‘critical’ part of CDA comes partly from critical theory (Habermas) and is shared with critical linguistics (Fowler, Halliday), while the ‘discourse’ part owes a lot to Foucault’s and Habermas’s conceptions of this term”.<sup>11</sup> In particular, the term ‘*critical*’ is emphasized in the perspective and programme of CDA. Some CDA scholars work with a more neo-Marxist notion of critique (Fairclough 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999), while others are closer to the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). In both cases, *critique* is conventionally used in a broader sense, denoting the practical linking of “social and political engagement” with “a sociologically informed construction of society” (Krings et al., 1973: 808) and presupposes “a particular political stance on the part of the researcher and is intended to be instrumental in bringing about social change” (Hart and Cap 2014: 2).

Like its precursor Critical Linguistics (CL) (Fowler et al. 1979), CDA stems from the Bakhtinian (1981; 1986) notion that *language is never neutral*, but emerges from sociocultural interaction and is motivated by struggles among different social groups. Halliday’s (1985) conceptualization of language as a “social semiotic” and his attention to the strong and pervasive connections between linguistic and social structure influenced much work done both in CL and CDA: “Halliday’s critical contribution has been to

---

<sup>10</sup> The reader is directed to Wodak and Meyer (2009) as well as Hart and Chap (2014) for a more detailed outline of the different ‘traditions’ of methodological approaches to CDA other than the *Discourse-Historical Approach* (such as Fairclough’s *Dialectical-Relational* approach, Van Dijk’s *Sociocognitive* approach, van Leeuwen’s *Social Actors Model* and the *Corpus-Linguistics* model, among others). For the *Discourse-Historical Approach* adopted in this study see 2.2.2.

<sup>11</sup> On these key theories in relation to CDA, see also Van Dijk 1998.

develop theory for building grammars of meaning which can then be used to track the materialization of social activity in discourse” (Martin and Wodak 2003: 3).

The plural nature of CDA derives from its concern with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures, rather than with language use per se (Titscher et al. 2000:144). Because CDA focuses simultaneously on textual (or linguistic) analysis and on context, it emphasizes multimodal and multimethodological approaches that combine different levels of analysis of text in context: its social and historical situatedness, and the intertextual and interdiscursive dimensions. As a matter of fact, CDA developed as a response to the traditional divide between linguistics and areas of the social sciences such as sociology, and aims at being “a critical semiotics rather than a critical linguistics” as well as “a social linguistics/semiotics rather than linguistics/semiotics per se”, characterized by “the development of tools for the systematic examination of a range of modalities alongside language” and by a “more balanced concern with language and society (Martin and Wodak 2003: 4). While linguistics has traditionally focused on the *micro* analysis of texts and interactions, social sciences has attended more to the *macro* aspects of social practice and change. Although this distinction, as van Dijk (2001a: 354) points out, can be considered as a sociological construct in its own right, CDA is meant to bridge precisely this gap between *micro* and *macro* approaches. Consequently, although CDA remains a linguistically oriented discourse analysis, it is also “firmly anchored in social reality and with a deep interest in actual problems and forms of inequality in societies” (Blommaert 2005:6). Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) offered eight foundational principles for CDA. These are:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture, and is constituted by them.
4. Discourse does ideological work – representing, constructing society reproducing unequal relations of power.
5. Discourse is historical – connected to previous, contemporary and subsequent discourses.
6. Relations between text and society are mediated and a socio-cognitive approach is needed to understand these links.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and implies a systematic methodology and an investigation of context.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

A founding notion of CDA is that of “discourse as a social practice” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258), a factor contributing to the (re)production of society:

Describing **discourse as social practice** implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258, my emphasis)

By perceiving language use as *social practice*, CDA represents a highly context-sensitive discourse analysis, encompassing the whole set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks in which language operates. Language is seen as a part of society rather than an external factor, as well as a social, and socially conditioned, process (Fairclough 1989:22). Discursive practices are regarded as both structured by and structuring action, in a framework exploring the tension between these two sides of language use, “the socially shaped and the socially constitutive” (Fairclough 1995: 131). Discursive practices are socially constitutive in a number of ways: discourses construct and perpetuate social conditions, and have a number of social macro-functions. They may serve to construct collective subjects and perpetuate (by re-producing or justifying it) a certain social status quo, but discursive practices are also instrumental in transforming, dismantling and even destroying that status quo (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 40).

The notion of *power* is a central element of social life and, consequently, a central issue in CDA. Language is not seen by CDA scholars as powerful in itself, but as gaining power by the use that powerful people, such as politicians, make of it. This concern with power as a central condition of social life, and the effort to develop a theory of language taking into account this relation as a major premise, was explicitly displayed by Fairclough in *Language and Power*, one of the first CDA works to be published in 1989. Fairclough aimed at correcting “a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power”, as well as increasing consciousness of how “language contributes to the domination of some people by others” (1989: 1). Power is conceptualized by Fairclough (1995: 1) both in

terms of “asymmetries between participants in discourse events” and in terms of “unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in particular social contexts”. While CDA “takes an interest in the ways linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power” (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 15), language is not merely seen as an instrument for indexing and expressing power, but also as a powerful element of challenge to existing power relations. Language, therefore, “can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 10). In other words, CDA scholars aim at investigating critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, and legitimized by language use” (53). Accordingly, Fairclough (1995: 93) defines CDA as:

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

CDA scholars seem to draw on Habermas’ claim that: “(l)anguage is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. In so far as the legitimations of power relations, (...) are not articulated, (...) language is also ideological” (quoted in Wodak 2001). Rather than belonging to the realm of ideas, *ideology* is seen by critical discourse analysts as having a true existence in language, and is conceptualized as those “significations/constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough 1992: 87). Ideologies play a recognized role in the legitimization of power abuse by dominant groups, becoming most effective (that is, *hegemonical* in the Gramscian sense), when naturalized or perceived as common sense (see Gramsci 1971). In this process, defined by Fairclough (1995) as “naturalisation”, language plays a fundamental role: language is “a material form of ideology, [...] invested by ideology”, helping

establishing, maintaining or transforming power relations within a specific socio-economic context (Fairclough 1995: 73).<sup>12</sup>

In line with other proponents of CDA, Van Dijk (1995: 22) holds that ideologies are often implicitly expressed in text and talk and sees the exercise of power in contemporary democracies as no longer primarily coercive, but persuasive, with discourses working to help construct new ideologies and reinforce already present ones. Ideologies are, therefore, best observable in discourse, and especially in political discourse: “if the political field is thoroughly ideological, then so are its political practices, and hence its discourses” (van Dijk 2006: 728ff). “Discourses make ideologies ‘observable’ in the sense that it is only in discourse that they may be explicitly ‘expressed’ and ‘formulated’” (van Dijk 2006: 728ff). A discourse of power and authority will display certain characteristic linguistic features: “social agency will be assigned in particular ways, and this will be expressed through particular transitivity forms; or specific modal forms will systematically express relations of power” (Kress 1985: 28).

Given the role of political discourse in the “enactment, reproduction and legitimation of power and domination” (van Dijk 2001a: 360), many CDA studies have dealt with political text and talk. However, as indicated above, the different approaches to CDA vary according to which research methods they use and place varying emphasis on each of the theoretical assumptions outlined above. Therefore, in the following sections I will be addressing more specifically the Discourse-Historical Approach, known as the ‘Vienna School’ of Critical Discourse Analysis, my chosen theoretical and methodological approach.

### *2.2.2 The Discourse-Historical Approach*

As previously mentioned, CDA should not be considered as a single, unitary ‘school’ in the field of Linguistics. Having CDA as an ‘umbrella-term’, the various approaches can differ according both to which theoretical assumptions underline the investigation and to

---

<sup>12</sup>Many CL and CDA works deal with aspects of the relationship between discourse and ideology (see, e.g., Fairclough 1989, 1995; Fowler et al. 1979; van Dijk 1998; Wodak 1989; Wodak 2001).



which research methods are used to perform the analysis. The Discourse-Historical approach (henceforth DHA) is the one I largely draw on for my theoretical framework.

Originating in the ‘Vienna School’ of Discourse Analysis, and situating itself within Critical Discourse Analysis, DHA has been focusing on the analysis of historical, organizational and political topics and texts since the early 1990s. DHA “finds its focal point in the field of politics, where it tries to develop conceptual frameworks for political discourse” (Meyer 2001: 22). In fact, DHA scholars have been investigating political discourse since the very beginnings of the approach, which was first developed to analyze the discursive construction of anti-Semitism in the 1986 Austrian Presidential election campaign (Wodak 1990). In the last two decades, the DHA has been further elaborated in a vast number of studies in the domain of politics. DHA scholars have been focusing on the right wing populist rhetoric in European countries (Pelinka and Wodak 2002; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2008; Richardson and Wodak 2008b), the discursive construction of national identity in Austria (Wodak et al. 2009), EU discourses and European identities (Wodak and Weiss 2005; Krzyżanowski and Busch 2006), the discourse of immigration, discrimination and racism in Austria (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), among other topics.

DHA scholars adopt a precise definition of social critique as a constitutive part of their research practice, largely elaborated after the socio-philosophical influence of Critical Theory (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001:32-35). DHA defines itself as critical by drawing on the difference between *scientific* theory and *critical* theory as conceptualized by the Frankfurt School. Critical theory is regarded as aiming at making “agents” aware of hidden coercion in order to free them from it, is “reflective” and not “objectifying” in that it is always itself a part of the object-domain it describes and requires a different kind of evidence and confirmation compared to scientific theories.

Drawing on Critical Theory (and particularly Benhabib 1992: 77–110), DHA follows a complex concept of social critique that embraces at least three interconnected aspects. Two are primarily related to the dimension of cognition: the “*Text or discourse immanent critique*” (aiming at discovering text or discourse internal inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas), and the “*Socio-diagnostic critique*” (an exposure of the manifest or latent possibly persuasive or ‘manipulative’ aspect of

discursive practices, through the use of contextual knowledge). Conversely, the third is related to the field of action: the “*Prognostic critique*” is seen as a possible contribution to the transformation and improvement of communication, such as reducing sexist discourse or language barriers within public and media reporting institutions (Reisigl and Wodak 2009:88). Nevertheless, this latter aspect, intimately related to the critical theory agenda, seems to play a lesser part compared with linguistic and historical analysis in the majority of DHA studies.

The Discourse-Historical Approach situates itself at an extremely complex crossroads of schools and sub-disciplines, representing, to various extents, rich theoretical and/or methodological influences for the scholars of the ‘Vienna School’. These numerous influences include:

- the socio philosophical Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School (see Horkheimer and Adorno 1991 [1944]; Marcuse 1980; Horkheimer 1992; Habermas 1984, 1987, 1996, 1998), and in particular Jürgen Habermas’ language-philosophy;
- German ‘politicolinguistics’ (e.g. Dieckmann 1964, 1975, 1981; Burkhardt 1996; Jung, Wengeler and Böke 1997; Jarren, Sarcinelli and Saxer 1998; Klein 1998; Sarcinelli 1998);
- the Dispositive Analysis of Siegfried and Margret Jäger and the Duisburg group (S. Jäger 1992 and 1993; M. Jäger 1996; S. Jäger and M. Jäger 1992; S. Jäger and Januschek 1992; S. Jäger and Link 1993; Kalpaka and Rhätzel 1986; Link 1990 and 1992);
- classical and new rhetoric as well as argumentation theory (e.g. by Toulmin 1996; Perelman 1976, 1980, 1994; Kopperschmidt 1980, 1989; Kienpointner 1992, 1996; Kindt 1992, Wengeler 1997; van Eemeren and Grootendorst 2004);
- British discourse analysis in the tradition of Hallidayan SFL (e.g. by Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995; Fowler 1996; Hodge and Kress 1988; van Leeuwen 1995 and 1996);
- Van Dijk’s (1991, 1993, 1998) Sociocognitive discourse-analytical approach.

According to Titscher et al. (2000: 158), in the context of the other CDA approaches, DHA marks its difference in three major aspects: “the emphasis on interdisciplinarity, the principle of triangulation and the ethnographic approach to sources of data”. Given the complexity of its influences and backgrounds, one of the most salient features of DHA is certainly the effort to work “interdisciplinarily, multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information” (Reisigl and Wodak 2011: 35), but I believe this is to be considered a shared feature of CDA approaches (see 2.2.1) rather than a distinctive trait of DHA.

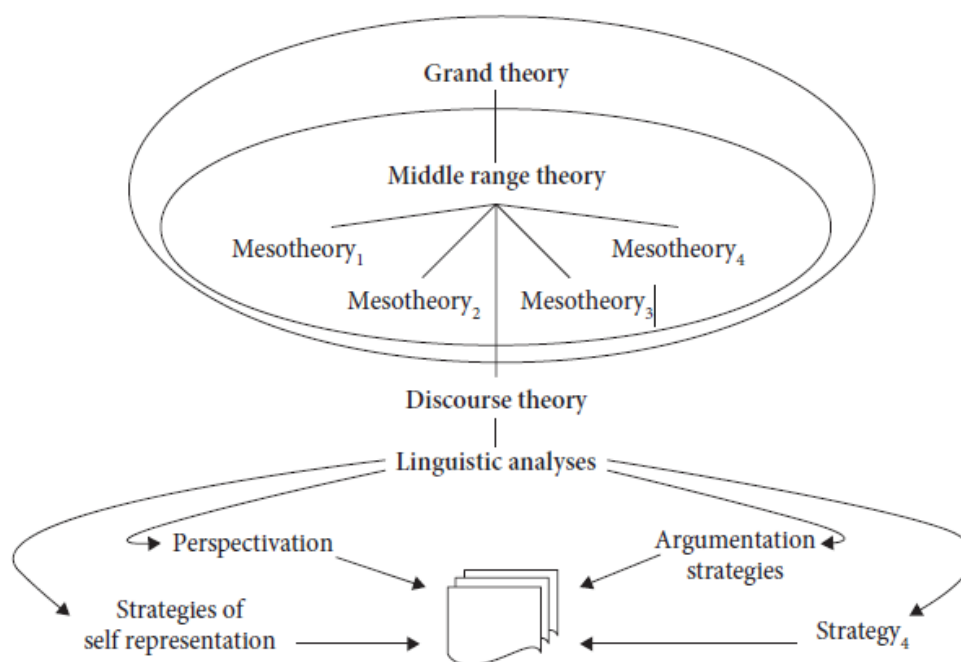
Linguistic and historical analysis both play a major role in DHA. This attention to the historical dimension of discursive acts always entails an attempt at integrating as much available information as possible about “historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 35), with an interest for diachronic change (Wodak et al. 1990; Wodak et al. 1994). The interconnectedness of discursive practices and extra-linguistic social structures is explored employing the principle of *triangulation* (Cicourel 1964). As discursive phenomena are approached from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives taken from various disciplines, DHA’s triangulation aims at transcending the purely linguistic dimension, while including more or less systematically the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive event.

The trademark interdisciplinarity and the necessity to draw on multiple theoretical approaches can be regarded as stemming from an ethnographic attitude that is typical of DHA, aiming at analyzing given contexts and relating these to a number of texts in the investigation of complex social problems. Not merely seen as ‘background information’, the notion of context is mainly understood historically and conceptualized in four different levels (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 93):

- 1) The immediate, language or text internal co-text;
- 2) The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- 3) The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’ (middle-range theories);
- 4) The broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (macro theories).

DHA scholars advocate a pragmatic approach to theory, avoiding getting exhausted in the theoretical labyrinths of social research or aiming at the operationalization of unoperationalizable ‘grand theories’ as is often the case in social research (Moutzelis 1995), by aiming rather at developing problem-oriented conceptual tools relevant to specific social problems and given contexts (Wodak 2008:11). It is an important principle of DHA and of this research project that “the selection of theories and data should be

driven not by the abstract, academic need to find data to support certain theories, nor the need for theories to explain certain data” (Unger 2013a: 29). Wodak (2008: 11) systematizes three different levels of theory to take into account, grand theory, middle-range theory and discourse theory:



**Figure 4:** Different Levels of Theory in DHA (In Wodak 2008)

Meyer (2001: 19f) summarizes the main features of these three levels of theory and analysis:

- General social theories, often called ‘grand theories’, try to conceptualize relations between social structure and social action and thus link micro- and macro-sociological phenomena. Within this level one can distinguish between the more structuralist and the more individualist approaches. To put it very simply, the former provide top-down explanations (structure→action), whereas the latter prefer bottom-up explanations (action→structure). Many modern theories try to reconcile these positions and imply some kind of circularity between social action and social structure.
- Middle-range theories focus either upon specific social phenomena (such as conflict, cognition, social networks), or on specific subsystems of society (for example, economy, politics, religion).
- Discourse theories aim at the conceptualization of discourse as a social phenomenon and try to explain its genesis and its structure.

As Unger points out (2013a: 27), among other levels of theory listed by Meyer (2001) and not present in Wodak's (2008) visual scheme, the level of "Linguistic Theory" represents one of the authentic cores of her theoretical framework. Linguistic theories, such as theories of argumentation, of grammar, of rhetoric, "try to describe and explain the patterns specific to language systems and verbal communication" (Meyer 2001: 20). Wodak can be regarded as "the most linguistically orientated of the CDA scholars" (Meyer 2001: 21), explicitly trying to establish a theory of discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) and describing and modelling the connection between *fields of action* (Girnth 1996), *genres*, *discourses* and *texts*, considering the aspects of *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity*. These and other main theoretical concepts underlying this study are discussed in detail in the next section.

### 2.2.3 Main theoretical concepts and terminology

#### **Discourse**

The introduction of the term *discourse* in the field of linguistics marked a major "turning away from sentences as exemplars of usage in the abstract", towards a stronger focus on the social nature of language in terms of interaction, linguistic socialization and social identity building (Mills 2004: 8). Still, the notion of discourse is far from being straightforward, and there are as many ways of defining and interpreting discourse as there are different traditions and methodologies of discourse analysis. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, CDA understands discourse to be represented by any spoken, written and multimodal text, and discourse analysis as an interpretive and explanatory act that always entails a systematic methodology and an investigation of context:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, discourse is socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:258).

*Discourse* as an abstract noun and *discourses* as a count noun, a distinction that echoes Gee’s (1996) division between discourse “with a small d” and “a big D”, are used differently by CDA scholars. The usage as an abstract noun (described in the above quotation from Fairclough and Wodak) concerns language in use, and the role of discourse as a form of social action. As a count noun, it entails, especially for Fairclough, a “way of signifying experience from a particular perspective” (1995: 135) and describes particular aspects of the physical, social and psychological world. For Fairclough (2000: 170), different discourses are different ways of representing associated with different positions.

The Discourse-Historical approach sees discourse as “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as “texts”, that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 66). “Macro-topic relatedness”, “pluri-perspectivity” and “argumentativity” are regarded as constitutive elements of a discourse by Reisigl and Wodak (2009:89), who consider discourse to be:

- A cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action;
- Socially constituted and socially constitutive;
- Related to a macro-topic;
- Linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view.

The Discourse-Historical approach makes a further distinction, inspired by Lemke (1995: 7f) between *discourse* and *text*, the first not necessarily oral and the latter not necessarily written. It views discourse as a form of knowledge and memory, whereas text illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents. Discourse may thus be defined as ‘talk and text in context’ (van Dijk 1997b: 3) or a ‘set of texts’ (Dressler and Merlini-Barbaresi 1994: 7ff).

## **Text**

The definition of text, like that of discourse, has also been undergoing constant revision among theorists (see De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Fowler 1996; Fairclough 1995; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). Text is often recognized as the basic component of discourse and seen as “a complete linguistic interaction (spoken or written), preferably from beginning to end” (Eggins 2004: 4).

Within CDA theory we can find more than one definition of ‘text’ in terms of what is included or excluded as a textual element within discourse (see also van Dijk 1990: 164; Ehlich 1983; Schiffrin 1994: 20-4; Wodak 1996: 12ff). DHA adopts a theory-dependent definition of text, drawing from the seven criteria for the definition of text, as proposed by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). Two of these criteria are text-internal (“cohesion” and “coherence”, both referring to the structure of the text), the others are text-external and context-dependent: “intentionality”, “informativity”, “acceptability”, “situationality” and “intertextuality”. However, while in traditional text-linguistics the investigation of text-internal criteria predominates and text-external factors remain in the background, in CDA, the text-external factors or context play a major role in understanding the text which is regarded as “a manifestation and result of particular combinations of factors” (Wodak 2008: 9; see following section on ‘Context’).

This study adopts Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996; 2001) call for a more inclusive definition of text: their multimodal approach aims at understanding all the representational modes which are in play in a text (see 2.3). Also Fairclough (2003: 2) has been moving towards this broader view, arguing that CDA should use “text in a broad sense” and including as texts visual images as well as sound. On the basis of his more

inclusive definition of text, van Leeuwen (2004: 7-14) proposes the following typology: “speech genres combine language and action in an integrated whole, written genres combine language, image and graphics in an integrated whole. Speech genres should therefore be renamed “performed” genres and written genres “inscribed genres”.

As we have seen, establishing the intertextual relations between the chosen texts is one of the key features of CDA. Both individual texts and the relationships between multiple texts are analyzed to offer insights into social phenomena: “it is not individual texts that produce social reality, but structured bodies of texts of various kinds – discourses – that constitute social phenomena” (Phillips and Hardy 2002: 82).

## **Context**

Different research methods in the field of linguistics use the word “context” to refer to those meaningful extra-linguistic factors such as culture, society or ideology to be taken into account in any comprehensive analysis (see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Cicourel 1992; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Leckie-Tarry 1995; Wodak 1996; 2000). What marks the difference in CDA’s strong focus on context is a broader understanding of it, not limited to a number of isolated variables of the social situation, but encompassing social, psychological, political and ideological components and constituting a crucial reason for the characteristic interdisciplinary approach.

One of the main insights of CDA is that discourse production and comprehension are perceived as context-dependent in a mutual and dialectic way that further marks the importance of the investigation of the contextual dimension. van Dijk argues that “contextualization is a fundamental part of our understanding of human conduct” (2008: 5). However, according to van Dijk (2005: 72) in linguistics, discourse analysis and the social sciences, the role of context has always been widely discussed without adequate explicit theorizing. In *Discourse and Context*, van Dijk (2008) addressed context in cognitive terms, assuming that “context models” are constructed by the speech participants of or about a situation, which lead to the recognition and knowledge of contextual information. Working as the link between social situations and discourse, such context models are not to be seen as static mental representations, rather as dynamic structures, on-goingly constructed, updated and reconstructed both at a personal and a



social level. For van Dijk (2008: 4) “context comes in different sizes and scopes, may be more or less micro or more or less macro, and metaphorically speaking seems to be concentric circles of influence around some state of affairs, event or discourse”.

The Discourse-Historical Approach to CDA (see Wodak and Meyer 2009; Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 89; Richardson and Wodak 2009b: 46) also places great emphasis on investigating context, and follows the principle of *triangulation* (Cicourel 1964) with the aim of minimizing the risk of critical bias (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 22). Accordingly, context represents one of the major macro-units of analysis in this research as without analyzing the multi-level context of the texts produced on the events selected, one cannot reach a complete understanding of the phenomena under examination. As we have seen, DHA takes into account four different heuristic levels of analysis ranging from the immediate, language or text internal co-text to the broader socio-political and historical contexts (see Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 93 and par 3.3.2 of this work). Analyzing the context of a text entails an examination of the processes of ‘*intertextuality*’, ‘*interdiscursivity*’ and ‘*recontextualisation*’, three crucial notions in the context of this research.

The notion of intertextuality has been widely adopted as a staple of CDA, referring to how elements of another text (words, phrases or larger elements) are incorporated within the text in analysis. Originally based on the theories of dialogism developed by Bakhtin and Voloshinov and adapted by Kristeva (1986), it perceives texts as always embedded in a context and synchronically and diachronically related to a set of other texts and voices, often multiple and complex and not always easy to identify (Fairclough 2003). Such connections are established in different ways: “through explicit reference to a topic or main actor; through references to the same events, by allusions or evocations; by the transfer of main arguments from one text to the next and so on” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90).

Transferring an element from its context (that is, de-contextualizing it), and inserting it into a new context is defined as recontextualization (see Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90). After the two-phase process of decontextualization and recontextualisation, the given element may partly acquire new meanings (as meanings, following Wittgenstein, are meant to be formed in use). This can occur, as Reisigl and Wodak (2009) indicate, when political speech is selectively quoted and reported in newspaper

coverage and speech commentary, where they (partly) acquire new meanings. Recontextualization often takes the textual form of a mix of both ‘new’ recontextualized elements and ‘old’ elements (such as particular words, expressions, arguments, topoi, rhetorical devices among others), creating tensions, contradictions and antinomies which can be identified and analyzed. van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) distinguish between four main transformations involved in recontextualization: the rearrangement of elements (e.g., rearranging the order of activities); the deletion of elements; the addition of elements such as purposes or justifications; and the substitution of elements. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) aptly interpret recontextualization as a dialectic of ‘colonization’ and ‘appropriation’.

As for interdiscursivity, it refers to the intertextual relation between different discourses, different genres and/or different styles within a text. It also takes into account how the particular combination of that text, with its particular deployment of discourses, genres and/or styles, links the text to other intertextually related texts on other topics or sub-topics (e.g. discourse on climate change often contains aspects of discourses on finance and health, see also Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90-93). Fairclough (1995: 12) interprets interdiscursive analysis in terms of his Foucauldian concept of “orders of discourse” (that is, “the ordered set of discursive practices associated with a particular social domain or institution”) as the relationship of discursive events to orders of discourse (Fairclough 1993: 136). Interdiscursivity involves the relations between other discursive formations which according to Foucault constitute the rules of formation of a given discursive formation (Fairclough 1992).

## **Genre**

The approach adopted by CDA scholars in relation to genre is largely compatible with that of Swales (1990) and Bhatia (2004), both putting more emphasis on the additional dimension of social situation in genre analysis. Wodak (2001: 67) sees genre as bound to a ‘situational context’, which in itself is embedded in the broader historical and socio-political context. Swales (1990: 58) defines genre as “a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes” as well as “various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience”.

Communicative purpose, thus, is conceptualized from a socially-oriented perspective and the identification of the social activity becomes central in the process of genre identification.

Linked to Swales' definition of genre and to the notion of "communicative purpose" are Kress' references to participants and to 'functions, purposes and meanings' (Kress 1985: 19). For Kress (1985: 19), "[t]he conventionalised forms of occasions lead to conventionalised forms of texts". Fairclough also suggests that genre is "a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity" (1992: 126). If genres are event schemata of how people use language conventionally, in order to achieve ratified (or even institutionalized) social purposes, political genres could be considered as genres 'par excellence', for their nature as "communicative acts whereby (representatives of) different social groups and institutions pursue their (particular) needs, aspirations, and values" (Cap and Okluska 2001: 7).

Fairclough distinguishes between three levels of genre analysis: "pre-genre narrative", "disembedded genres" and "situated genres" (Fairclough 2003: 68). Pre-genres entail the highest level of abstraction (such as narrative or conversation). Disembedded genres (such as interview or report) are at a middle level, less abstract than pre-genres: not limited to particular networks of social practices but available as "a sort of social technology" (ibid.). Finally, situated genres are the most concrete and embedded in a specific social situation (an example is the ethnographic interview).

Political texts, and election speeches in particular, often show a high level of what Fairclough (2003) defines as "genre mixing", that is the process of hybridization by which the influence of different genres becomes visible in a single text. Genres can also form "genre chains", when genres are connected to each other regularly, forming chain-like sequences entailing a systematic transformation between the linked genres. These phenomena of hybridization, closely related to, and made possible by intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and of the formation of genre chains around specific events, such as an election, are both to be taken into account in the analysis.

## Fields

In CDA, “field of actions” (Girnth 1996; 2002) indicate “places of social forms of practice” (Bourdieu 1991: 74) or “frameworks of social interaction” (Reisigl 2008: 247). For Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 36), field of actions may be understood as “segments of the respective societal ‘reality’, which contribute to constituting and shaping the ‘frame’ of discourse”. Examples of fields would be political, educational, bureaucratic and journalistic. Fields of political action, according to Reisigl (2003; 2008:247f), “relate to at least eight different functions or socially institutionalized purposes of discursive practices”:

- the lawmaking procedure;
- the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will;
- the party-internal formation of attitudes, opinions and will;
- the inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions and will;
- the organisation of international and (especially) interstate relations;
- political advertising;
- the political executive and administration;
- the various forms of political control.

The distinctions among these eight different “functions or socially institutionalized purposes” of political discourse are not clear-cut. That is, a ‘discourse’ about a specific topic can find its starting point within one field of action and proceed through another one. Discourses and discourse topics “can ‘spread’ to the different fields and cross between them realized as thematically connected and problem-related semiotic (e.g. oral or written) tokens that can be assigned to specific semiotic types (i.e. textual types or genres), which serve particular political purposes” (Reisigl 2008: 247).

The notion of field is helpful in analyzing a number of different features, not least intertextuality and recontextualization. In moving from one field to another, a text may acquire whole ranges of new meanings that are salient in the new field. (Unger 2013a)

#### 2.2.4 *Criticism of CDA*

Having outlined CDA as a linguistic theory and having addressed the main reasons why it has been chosen as the background theory and method for the analysis of political discourse, it is important to address the main points of criticism that CDA practitioners and their studies usually attract. CDA has been subject to critical reactions regarding interpretation and context, particularly in relation to researcher bias in analysis, research tactics and methodological shortcomings (Blommaert 2005: 31).<sup>13</sup>

One of the main earlier criticisms of CDA comes from Schegloff (1997), who argues that CDA should engage in a description of the texts before moving to the level of analysis, even though it does not primarily focus on the local construction of interaction. According to Schegloff, a level of conversation analysis (CA) in CDA would avoid the introduction of ideologically pre-ordained categories and would help the analyst to adhere more closely to the data, and thus introduce into the study only what is demonstrably relevant for the behavior of participants in an interaction. In order to answer to this critique, I agree with Breeze (2013: 513) on the role played by the different backgrounds and aims that inevitably divide CA and CDA. Conversation analysts mainly focus their analysis on “micro interactions”, unwilling to include what might have come before or after that given interaction under study. By contrast, as we have seen, CDA’s field of focus is wider and encompasses a more macro conceptualization of context, aiming at investigating the role that interaction plays in social relations and institutional power structures.

The theme of CDA as ‘biased research’ is one of the main criticisms launched by Widdowson (1996; 1998; 2005), who maintains that CDA linguists may start from an ideological position and make a selection of those texts and evidences that support those positions. CDA would end in an ideological interpretation rather than a real analysis. Starting from the assumption that there is no value-free CDA as there is no value-free science (Blackledge 2005: 17), in replying to this latter point I agree with Fairclough

---

<sup>13</sup> In this section, I will be addressing only some of the most debated aspects of criticism of CDA. For a more detailed overview see Breeze (2013).

(1996) who pointed out that CDA, unlike most other approaches, is always explicit about its own position and commitment.

On the selection of texts, I will start by saying that the analysis of all the texts associated with a particular process of change or discursive struggle would be impossible in any theoretical framework because of the sheer size of such a corpus. However, although CDA must necessarily select a finite number of discourse structures in order to perform the analysis, the selection is made in order to address specific social problems (van Dijk 2001a: 99). For example, the analysis of deixis or metaphors in political discourse will certainly reveal recurring and meaningful aspects about the specific issue under investigation (see Ch. 4). The DHA principle of *triangulation* (Weiss and Wodak 2003) followed in this analysis helps to avoid bias in terms of methods and data selection. Stubbs (1997) proposes that an integration of corpus methodology might represent a solution for the ‘CDA bias’ and there has actually been a growing trend to draw on corpus methodology in CDA (Baker et al. 2008: 277-283). However, not only would it “certainly be wrong to rule out qualitative approaches to textual analysis, but also “quantitative methodology has many flaws and inconsistencies” (Breeze 2013:505). In the more specific context of this study, I agree with Breeze (ibid.) who maintains that “qualitative analysis of a small sample of text might be the only way of analyzing certain types of discourse, for example, the discourse of a particular politician or party”.

Blommaert (2005: 33ff.) offers further elements of critique: (1) “the linguistic bias in CDA”; (2) “its closure to particular kinds of societies”, i.e. projecting features of “Late Modern, post-industrial, densely semiotised First-World societies” onto the globe; and (3) “its closure to a particular time-frame, i.e. the lack of a sense of history”. Taking on board Blommaert’s criticism, I attempted at producing research that would overcome these aspects. Firstly, while this investigation puts a very “high price on linguistic-textual analysis” (Blommaert 2005: 34), this represents a foundational aspect for an overall understanding of the complexities, struggles and contradictions of the political setting of Trinidad and Tobago. Consequently, linguistic analysis is embedded in a strong historical, social and political contextualization of the country under examination. Secondly, I have addressed CDA’s Western-centric attention to Euro-American politics by producing one of the first case studies of the application of the Discourse-Historical Approach to the analysis of political discourse and identity discourse in the contemporary Anglophone

Caribbean. Thirdly, my research, by adopting a Discourse-Historical Approach, is deeply concerned with explaining the discursive construction of national and political identities in postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago within a ‘sense of history’, as it would be impossible to proceed otherwise.

### ***2.3 Multimodality and the Critical Approach to Political Discourse Analysis***

Political discourse can be regarded as a striking example of how meaning is not restricted only to the linguistic code, but “resides so strongly and pervasively in other systems of meaning, in a multiplicity of visual, aural, behavioural and other codes” (Hodge and Kress 1988: vii). This is far from being a recent tenet in the field: evidence from a variety of Greek and Roman sources on rhetoric shows how the deep connection between “knowing and believing” and “seeing and the visualised” (Gronbeck 2008: xxii) has been clear to rhetoricians since the very birth of the discipline. In his *Institutio Oratoria* (I AD), Quintilian clearly describes gesture as a powerful, crucial part of the technique used by public orators to “sway the feelings of the crowd” (Kendon 2004: 17). In more recent times, Fairclough (2000: 97), when analyzing the language of U.K. New Labour, stressed the importance of non-verbal communication (gestures, facial expressions, but also dress and hairstyle) as carrier of “values which can powerfully enhance the political message” and contribute to the successful communicative style of a leader.

We have seen how CDA is concerned with the role of language in social life, rather than with language as an object for philological studies. CDA investigates the mutual relationship between language and meaning making in social practices, with an interest in the constitutive power of language for the discursive construction of reality. This focus on language as a social practice has produced increasing awareness of the multimodal nature of communication in CDA scholars, an understanding that “spoken language as it is actually used cannot be adequately understood without taking non-verbal communication into account” (van Leeuwen 2014: 281). Similarly, “many forms of contemporary written language cannot be adequately understood unless we look, not just at language, but also at images, layout, typography and colour” (ibid.). As defined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 164), “social semiotics draws attention to the multi-semiotic character of most texts in contemporary society, and explores ways of analyzing visual images (from press photographs and television images to Renaissance art) and the relationship between language and visual images”. In addition, the increasing dissemination of electronic media and tendencies to visualization in print media may have



contributed to the increased theoretical attention to communication as a multimodal phenomenon where “meaning is realized in an interplay between different modes of signification such as language, image, and music” (Horsbøl 2006: 149).

However, while the growing mediatization of contemporary politics has highlighted the essential visual component of political communication to the point that “a concentration on words alone is not enough.” (Hodge and Kress 1988: vii), “scholars of communication have only begun to scratch the surface of the political and social implications” of the visual (Gronbeck 2008: xxii). There is an established tendency amongst critical discourse analysts to analyze speeches by politicians, parliamentary debates and media reports, editorials and TV interviews. However, as “only a handful of critical discourse analysts argue strongly for the inclusion of multimodality” the bulk of work in the field of critical discourse analysis remains “firmly mono-modal, looking only at written and spoken language” (van Leeuwen 2014: 287). Texts which linguists study “create meanings not only through language but also through visual features and elements such as images, color, the layout of pages, even through material objects and architecture” (Machin 2013: 347). However, in one of his most recent contributions, van Leeuwen (2014) pointed out that only 1 in 17 articles in journals like *Language and Politics* and *Critical Discourse Studies* critically analyzed multimodal discourse. A reason behind this could be that the study of political argument has been often, and unfortunately, “coloured by the assumption that the claims and the reasons [of argumentation] must be linguistically serialised” (Willard 1979: 212).

I start from the assumption that adopting a logocentric position when examining a political campaign will only ever provide an inadequate account of how politicians’ standpoints are advanced. Given the crucial role played by multimodal communication in the field of “political advertising” (Reisigl 2008), a complete understanding of political meaning-making during an election campaign not only requires the analysis of language in written texts, but entails the study of a number of multimodal texts beyond the realm of language, such as video ads, printed ads, official portraits. I draw on the recent academic work in the field of discourse studies that has expanded empirical and analytic foci from linguistic discourse to include pictorial and visual materials (Lassen et al. 2006; Richardson 2008; Richardson and Wodak 2009; Mackay 2013). The ‘visual turn’ in these studies has been driven by an “emerging recognition that such symbols provide access to

a range of human experience not always available through the study of [linguistic] discourse” (Foss 2004: 301).

Studies in multimodality, especially the groundbreaking work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2001), have been emphasizing that “communication, partly facilitated by new technologies, was moving away from monomodality (where modes operated more often in isolation) to multimodality”, and the different modes had become more integrated (Machin 2013: 247). According to Horsbøl (2006: 153) the growing importance of multimodal communication in the political field is to be regarded as not simply connected to the increasing importance of the mass media in general but also related to “a diminishing loyalty among voters towards the political parties” in modern political culture. In multimodal political communication, visual elements are being used to communicate complex ideas and attitudes. These visual texts that are used as advertisements for political election campaigns “strongly address emotions and cause affective responses (as does pathos-oriented rhetoric in general)”, for example trying to “evoke positive or negative responses by applying simplistic ‘we-discourses’ or seductive metaphors as unifying elements” (Richardson and Wodak 2009: 52). As we will see in Ch. 4 and 5, diminishing loyalty among voters and emotional appeals seem to apply to the context of the 2010 snap election in Trinidad and Tobago and seem to lie beneath the positive self-presentation strategies adopted by Persad-Bissessar to present herself and her party at the election.

Taking into account political meaning-making through multimodal resources required a necessary integration of the Discourse-Historical Approach with Critical Discourse Analysis as introduced earlier in this chapter. More specifically, I integrated Kress and van Leeuwen’s “Visual Grammar” (1996) for the analysis of multimodal resources into DHA for the analysis of political speeches, in what can be regarded as an operationalization of the foundational CDA principle of interdisciplinarity (See 2.2.1). Theoretically, multimodal studies can be seen as informed by three main distinct traditions: social semiotics (e.g. Hodge and Kress 1998; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; van Leeuwen 2004); interaction analysis (e.g. Norris 2004) and cognitive theory (e.g. Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009). While the work of multimodal discourse analysts is not necessarily ‘critical’ in the sense of critical discourse analysts, multimodal discourse analysis informed by the tradition of social semiotics has represented a more “critical

strand” (van Leeuwen 2014: 283) within the field. Both CDA and Kress and van Leeuwen’s social semiotic approach to multimodal analysis share the tenet “that human communication is always social. It is defined by and construes, and over time can be transformed by and transform, its social context” (Djonov and Zhao 2014: 1). The social semiotic approach is based on the Hallidayan idea that “semiotic resources develop in response to social and cultural needs” and that semiotic practices cannot be understood without taking into account both their social, cultural and situational context (van Leeuwen 2014: 282). In fact, the social-semiotic approach grounds the notion of ‘mode’ in its cultural and material uses, conceptualising modes as organized sets of semiotic resources for making meaning, shaped by the daily social interaction of people in a specific context of time and place (Jewitt 2009). In the context of this study, this conceptualisation of visual representation as a form of “social semiosis” on the same level as language represents a crucial common ground for an integrated, multimodal critical approach to political communication in Trinidad and Tobago.

According to Bezemer and Jewitt (2010: 183f), central to Kress and van Leeuwen’s approach are three theoretical assumptions:

- First, social semiotics assumes that representation and communication always draw on a multiplicity of modes, all of which contribute to meaning. It focuses on analyzing and describing the full repertoire of meaning-making resources which people use in different contexts (actional, visual, spoken, gestural, written, three-dimensional, and others, depending on the domain of representation), and on developing means that show how these are organized to make meaning.
- Second, multimodality assumes that all forms of communication (modes) have, like language, been shaped through their cultural, historical and social uses to realize social functions. All communicational acts are socially made, and meaningful about the social environments in which they have been made. Different modes shape the meanings to be realized in mode-specific ways, so that meanings are in turn differently realized in different modes. For instance, the spatial extent of a gesture, the intonational range of voice, and the direction and length of a gaze are all part of the resources for making meaning. The meanings of multimodal signs fashioned from such resources, like the meanings of speech, are located in the social origin, motivations and interests of those who make the sign in specific social contexts. These all affect and shape the sign that is made.
- Third, the meanings realized by any mode are always interwoven with the meanings made with those other modes co-present and co-operating in the communicative event. This interaction produces meaning. Multimodality focuses on people’s process of meaning making, a process in which people make choices from a network of alternatives: selecting one modal resource (meaning potential) over another.

Starting from the initial aim of extending the concepts of Halliday's Systemic-Functional Linguistics (1978), Kress and van Leeuwen proposed a systematic way of analyzing images with clear formal criteria, to bring out what is being communicated by means of visual designs and to analyze the way that different semiotic resources are deployed to communicate ideas, values, and identities. They were "not so much interested in individual visual elements and how they symbolized or connoted ideas and values, but in the underlying repertoire of choices, of meaning potentials, that communicators could draw upon" (Machin 2013: 348). Their *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), attempts to build an integrated descriptive framework, which could facilitate the process of "reading" images.<sup>14</sup> The approach focuses on how images are combined into a coherent, meaningful whole, in much the same way that discourse analysts examine how words are combined into clauses, sentences and whole texts. In this respect, their idea of "Visual Grammar" is not to be intended as a set of rules for the correct use of language but rather a set of socially constructed resources for the construction of meaning. Grammar, in their view, is intended as going "beyond formal rules of correctness" and representing a "means of representing patterns of experience" that "enables human beings to present a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them" (Halliday 1985:101).

As we have seen, Kress and van Leeuwen started from the assumption that both language and visual communication express meanings that belong to and are structured by society. They draw on selected publications from a considerable body of work by researchers in such areas as communication and media studies (Dondis 1973; Dyer 1982; Fiske 1982; et.al.), studies on the psychology of visual perception (Arnheim 1969, 1974, 1982; Gombrich 1960 et.al.), information design (Tufte 1983 et.al.) and visual semiotics (Barthes 1967, 1977; Eco 1976; Saint-Martin 1987), to formulate their interpretations of the ways that images do project their meanings. However, their approach refutes Barthes' (1977) conceptualization of the image, according to which images are secondary and subordinate to language in the process of meaning-making. In their opinion, Barthes failed to recognize that "the visual component of a text is an independently organized and

---

<sup>14</sup> In my quotations throughout this study, I refer to the second edition of *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, published in 2006.

structured message — connected with verbal text, but in no way dependent on it. And similarly the other way round.” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]:17f). On the contrary, in their view, the two semiotic systems and their potential meanings are neither fully conflated, nor are they wholly opposed: “language and visual communication both realize the same more fundamental and far-reaching systems of meaning that constitute our culture, each by its own specific forms, and independently” (ibid.). By drawing on Halliday's metafunctions, although employing a different terminology, Kress and van Leeuwen are powerfully stating that the visual mode draws upon the same semantic system as does language and that everything which can be said about the semiotic code of language can be said, in terms specific to it, about the semiotic code of pictures:

The visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communicational (and representational) requirements, in order to function as a full system of communication. We have adopted the theoretical notion of ‘metafunction’ from the work of Michael Halliday for the purpose of dealing with this factor. The three metafunctions which he posits are the *ideational*, the *interpersonal*, and the *textual* (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]:41f).

According to the *Representational* (Ideational) function, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006[1996]: Ch. 2 and 3) classify images as either *Narrational* or *Compositional*, building upon Halliday's (2004) transitivity system. *Representational* meanings can be summarized with the question ‘*What is happening?*’ and construe the nature of events and participants involved, as well as the circumstances in which they occur. The *Interactional* (Interpersonal) function focuses on the relationships between the object or ‘participant’ in the representation and the viewer (2006[1996]: Ch. 4 and 5). *Interactional meanings* answer the question ‘*How is the relationship between the viewer, the image and the image-maker?*’ and are usually realized through gaze, angles and shot distance. The *Compositional* (Textual) function transfers Halliday's focus on language and text to the composition of the image (2006[1996]: Ch. 6). Compositional meanings refer to ‘*How is the image composed?*’ and are “concerned with the distribution of the information value or relative emphasis among elements” (Unsworth, 2001:72). The metafunctions and their role in this study will be analyzed more in-depth in the following chapter.

## Chapter 3: Research Data and Methodological Framework

### 3.1 *Analyzing a Trinbagonian Political Campaign*

Election campaigns are the moment when “the struggle for power becomes theatrical” (Alexander 2010:9): they can be seen as “situated at the intersection of the mediatization of politics, the performance of politicians (and their campaign teams), the promotion of political visions and imaginaries, and a range of sociopolitical and economic agendas” (Forchtner et al. 2013: 209). This is especially true for Trinidad and Tobago, where campaigning has always entailed high levels of “spectacle, provocation and performance” (ibid.), with politics being ‘staged’ both on a *macro* and *micro* level.

On a *macro*, national level, the People’s Partnership mass meetings were not very dissimilar from a concert of any popular calypso singer, with a colorful display of party flags, buttons, and posters. The design of political rallies in Trinidad and Tobago makes each of them into an authentic “work of art high tech entertainment intended to lure everyone to come for a social as well as a political treat” (Premdas 2004: 35), with dancing, fireworks and celebrations. Music is an integral and indispensable part of the campaign, and famous singers are usually invited onto the stage in the big, crucial rallies of the campaign (Fraser 2009). Set in a context that is more similar to a rock concert than a political meeting, the Trinbagonian political leader and PM candidate is the central protagonist of a rally, often entering the stage to bring it to a climax and a close, similarly to the most important singer in a concert line-up.

On a more *micro*, local level, the visual presence of party identity has always been entrusted to canvassers and community leaders, who are the carriers of the party’s paraphernalia of buttons, T-shirts, posters, and messages. This, according to Premdas (2004), links back to the traditional Trinbagonian method of local grassroots campaigning at constituency level, through individual house-to-house canvassing and small group, household and neighborhood gatherings.

Furthermore, Trinidad and Tobago has not been exempt from the global mediatization of politics. In recent decades, parties have placed an ever-growing emphasis on their media program during elections, involving advertisements placed on

radio, television, the printed media and, more recently, the internet and social media such as Facebook. Mediatized forms of political communication have not diminished or replaced the crucial importance of local canvassers, of the PM candidates' walkabouts and of the mass rallies with Carnival-style sound-systems. On the contrary, they have integrated the traditional grassroots campaigning and the itinerant rallies into the media offered: now party hymns sung by popular calypsonians are available on YouTube and posted on the candidates' official Facebook pages, with pictures of the crowd at the rally and the speaking notes of the PM candidate made available almost in real-time (Fraser 2009).

Any political text can be regarded as a highly 'culture-bound' text, referring to a wide range of cultural patterns of the society in question, including aspects of its economic, political and legal life (Trosborg 1997: 145). Political communication, especially during election campaigns, "must hook into the background culture, symbols, narratives and myths, topoi and so on of the respective society in order to be successful" (Forchtner et al. 2013: 209). Adopting a Critical Discourse Analysis approach enabled me to account for the complexity of the cultural patterns in the political Trinbagonian context, not limiting the study to an analysis of mere linguistic features embedded in texts, but encompassing a 'critical' socio-cultural analysis of the underlying ideologies in written and spoken discourse. More specifically, the Discourse-Historical Approach to CDA provided "a vehicle for looking at latent power dynamics and the range of potentials in agents, because it integrates and triangulates knowledge about historical sources and the background of the social and political fields within which discursive events are embedded" (Wodak 2009: 38).

As we have seen in Ch. 2, CDA is a multifaceted, trans-disciplinary approach that has been fruitfully applied to a vast number of studies in the field of Political Discourse Analysis and election campaigning, although primarily in a Euro-American context. The available studies in this field clearly represented a valid starting point for my analysis, especially during its early stages. However, as in any CDA study, the choice of appropriate methods and data depended upon the specific object of research. More precisely, according to Fairclough (2005: 80):

Certain aspects of method appertain to CDA as such, while others are dependent upon the research project and the object of research. CDA entails some form of detailed textual analysis. It specifically includes a combination of interdiscursive analysis of texts (i.e. of how different genres, discourses and styles are articulated together) and linguistic and other forms of semiotic analysis. What data is selected, how it is collected, depend upon the project and object of research. So too does the particular nature of linguistic and other forms of semiotic analysis – whether for instance one focuses on argumentation, narrative, modality, transitivity, nominalization, voice, etc. Some work in ‘critical linguistics’ (Fowler et al. 1979) and CDA is particularly associated with Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1978, 1994), but that merely reflects the biographies of certain figures in the field. In principle, any approach to linguistic analysis might be drawn upon.

Given its complexity of means and purposes, the study of the People’s Partnership political campaign was in itself a call for interdisciplinarity. In my integrated, multimodal critical approach to Trinbagonian political discourse, I start from the assumption that both language and visual communication express meanings that belong to and are structured by society (see 2.3). In order to fully account for Persad-Bissessar’s campaign strategies, this research had to be able to integrate those very aspects of “spectacle, provocation and performance” (Forchtner et al. 2013: 209) typical of the Trinbagonian political scene, that are even more straightforwardly represented in the visual resources from the campaign. Therefore, both textual and visual data were taken into account for a complete analysis of the People’s Partnership’s political communication strategies throughout the campaign. Kress and van Leeuwen’s “Visual Grammar” (1996) was selected as the most fruitful method that could be integrated into the Discourse-Historical approach for the analysis of visual data.

However, as this research began in February 2012 (that is almost two years after the May 2010 election), campaign material was not available anymore on the official People’s Partnership website, which was already featuring the main actions of the coalition as a ruling party. Fortunately, the intense usage that Persad-Bissessar had made of social media during the 2010 People’s Partnership campaign became extremely useful during the data collection phase. While Persad-Bissessar’s interactions on social media fell beyond the scope of this research, Facebook could be used as an authentic archive. Retrieving Persad-Bissessar’s daily posts from April and May 2010 on her official Facebook page was crucial for the collection of all the speeches that Persad-Bissessar gave during the six weeks of the campaign as well as the party ads that the People’s



Partnership produced to be broadcast on local television channels.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the General Secretary of the People's National Movement did not agree to the diffusion of Patrick Manning's speaking notes, and this limited the ability of the project to produce comparative research between the two parties. While the research design was influenced by these availability constraints, this also prompted a more in-depth analysis of a new political leader in contemporary Caribbean politics as Kamla Persad-Bissessar became.

### *3.1.1 Textual Data*

As political speeches have often been considered the most “salient” genre for political discourse analysis (Wodak 2009: 2), Persad-Bissessar's political speeches from the 2010 campaign represent the core of my analysis. In order to conduct this research, I built the ‘*KPB 2010*’ corpus (88,493 words), composed of twenty-five speaking notes, collected in the time span encompassing her election campaign launch (April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010) and the election day (May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010). They were retrieved from Persad-Bissessar's official Facebook page, where they were posted and made available to the public, usually the day after the rally. Contextual information on the date and place of the rally were included at the beginning of each speaking note.

Being speaking notes, and not actual transcriptions of the speeches, I am aware of the possible discrepancies between the version posted on Facebook and the one delivered at the corresponding rally. However, in the videos of the 2010 campaign rallies that I was able to retrieve online on YouTube, Persad-Bissessar seems to read quite extensively from her speaking notes. I am also aware of the possible collaborations on part of her team (and the so-called ‘spin-doctors’) in the composition of her speaking notes. In this respect, as the speech is “performed” (Wodak 2009) by Persad-Bissessar on the stage, the audience and the media will identify the speech with the speaker and her style (Pels and Corner 2003), without knowing or questioning whether the politician is the actual author (Goffman 1981).

---

<sup>15</sup> As this work is being printed in March 2015, all the data collected on Facebook are still available on <https://www.facebook.com/KamlaPersadBissessar>.

	VENUE	DATE
1	Gopaul Lands Car Park, Marabella, Pointe-à-Pierre (Election Launch)	12 April 2010
2	Hindu Women's Organization of Trinidad and Tobago	16 April 2010
3	Emerald Plaza, St. Augustine	16 April 2010
4	St. Helena Junction, Piarco, Caroni East	19 April 2010
5	Cumuto Recreational Ground, Barrackpore, Naparima	23 April 2010
6	Felicity, Chaguanas West	26 April 2010
7	San Juan Croisee, Barataria/ San Juan	28 April 2010
8	La Horquetta, La Horquetta/ Talparo	30 April 2010
9	Mid-Center Mall, Chaguanas (Presentation of Candidates)	2 May 2010
10	Tobago	4 May 2010
11	Harris Promenade, S. Fernando	5 May 2010
12	Couva Car Park, Couva	6 May 2010
13	Diego Martin	7 May 2010
14	Arouca, Arouca/Maloney	8 May 2010
15	Piccadilly on the Greens, East Dry River, Port of Spain	10 May 2010
16	Gasparillo, Tabaquite	11 May 2010
17	Princes Town	12 May 2010
18	Montrose Junction, Chaguanas	13 May 2010
19	Centre of Excellence, Macoya, Tunapuna (Manifesto Launch)	14 May 2010
20	Siparia, Penal/Siparia	14 May 2010
21	La Brea	17 May 2010
22	Mason Hall, Tobago	21 May 2010
23	Aranguez Savannah, San Juan (Final Rally)	22 May 2010
24	Election Eve Online Message	23 May 2010
25	Rienzi Complex, Couva (Victory Speech)	24 May 2010

**Table 2:** Venue and Date of Persad-Bissessar's Speeches in the 2010 Election Campaign

Adopting a Discourse-Historical approach, this research has been conducted with the integration of large quantities of “available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which the discursive events are

embedded” (Wodak 2001: 65). In this respect, the historical dimensions of Persad-Bissessar’s discourses have been explored also by integrating other political speeches and resources antecedent to the campaign. These integrations in the original *KPB 2010* corpus, present in Chapters 4 and 6, are to be seen as typical of the diachronic afflatus of the approach, and have often been prompted by the content of the speech itself. For example, in her speech held in Chaguanas during her 2010 People’s Partnership campaign, Persad-Bissessar is referring to another antecedent event:

**Two and a half years ago** I stood before you on these very grounds and spoke to you from my heart. **Two and a half years ago**, as you stood on these grounds in your thousands, I opened up my heart and soul to you when you my people showed me support, love and hope. **Two and a half years ago**, when you gave me the mandate to continue to serve you the people, I made a vow that there would be a day when I would stand before you again on these historic grounds and look at your faces smile with the hope and satisfaction that I have become the woman you wanted me to become. **Today**, that day has come.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010, my emphasis)

Through the DHA-based integration and triangulation about historical sources and backgrounds, supported by my personal knowledge in the political history of the context of Trinidad and Tobago, I identified the event as the “*Drums of Unity*” rally of the United National Congress, held in October 2007. A comparative analysis between the two speeches by Persad-Bissessar highlighted constant strategies as well as changes in Persad-Bissessar’s discursive construction of leadership (see Ch. 4).

Other additions integrated into the corpus were prompted by the very historical context of Trinidad and Tobago. It would have been impossible to address the discursive construction of national identity in Persad-Bissessar’s campaign without mentioning Eric Williams, the first PM of the country after Independence. Having served as Prime Minister from Independence until his death in 1981, Williams played a crucial role in shaping the country as we know it. In the context of this research, investigating the diachronic change between his conceptualization of the ‘Trinbagonian nation’ and that proposed by Persad-Bissessar, shed light on how the complex and enduring issues of diversity and integration have been addressed in the country through the succeeding decades (see Ch. 6).

### 3.1.2 Visual Data

While the election speech is one of “the central subgenres employed in the field of political advertising” (Reisigl 2008), that alone was not sufficient for an account of the discursive strategies of identity building and political persuasion in the 2010 People’s Partnership Campaign (see 2.3). Communication has become increasingly audiovisual during an election campaign, to the point that “the balance of power in the ad wars appears to lean toward those who produce the 30-second political spots rather than those who attempt to counter them in pursuit of a vigorous and informed campaign conversation” (Richardson 2002). Campaign ads are meant to “catch and maintain the attention [...], establish trustworthiness for the promoted political player, seek consistency with other campaign initiatives, and be relatively resistant to negative reactions from opponents and/or commentaries” (Horsbøl 2006: 153). Taking into consideration the role played by advertising in the discursive construction of political and national identities in the campaign, I included the following audiovisual resources in this analysis:

The ‘*We Will Rise*’ thematic ads for the People’s Partnership were among the most popular in the campaign. The video ads were retrieved from Persad-Bissessar’s Facebook page. During the campaign they were broadcast on TV, and posted on Persad-Bissessar’s Facebook page. The ‘*We Will Rise*’ campaign was conceptualized by the Ross Advertising company based in Trinidad and Tobago, in tandem with the A.S.G.K Public Strategies, the new media and political team that organized Barack Obama’s election campaign in 2008. The videos were released in four different versions: different moments from Persad-Bissessar’s ‘*Voice of the People Rally*’ held in March 2010 were selected to address various topics. (See Ch. 6):

- 1) *We Will Rise – One People* (0:50)
- 2) *We Will Rise – System of Government* (01:02)
- 3) *We Will Rise – Victory* (01:05)
- 4) *We Will Rise - Vision* (01:17)

The “People’s Partnership – a United Force for Change” video ads were retrieved from Persad-Bissessar’s Facebook page. The ads were released in five different versions of two different lengths (approximately 1 or 2 minutes) which show the five members of the political coalition discussing different topics around a meeting table. The ads were published on Persad-Bissessar’s Facebook page with the following titles, which give an account of the different main topic under discussion. The duration of the different ads is indicated in brackets: (See Ch.5)

- 1) *The People's Partnership Leaders on Good Governance (01:03)*
- 2) *The People's Partnership Leaders on Being United for Change (01:06)*
- 3) *The People's Partnership Leaders on Crime (02:03)*
- 4) *The People's Partnership Leaders on Corruption (02:05)*
- 5) *The People's Partnership Leaders on Priorities (02:10)*

The “Prosperity for All” Manifesto 2010 of the People’s Partnership. The manifesto was made available both on Facebook and on the People’s Partnership official page. In particular, the front cover of the manifesto and the portraits of the candidates for the 41 constituencies of Trinidad and Tobago were analyzed when investigating the party-internal construction of identity and positive self-presentation of the multi-ethnic coalition (See Ch. 5).

I have already mentioned that this study aimed at integrating those very aspects of “spectacle, provocation and performance” (Forchtner et al. 2013:209) typical of Trinbagonian political campaigning in order to fully account for Persad-Bissessar’s campaign strategies, and how these aspects are even more straightforwardly represented in the visual resources from the campaign (see 3.1). Taking into consideration the growing importance of the “politician as celebrity” (Corner and Pels 2003; Street 2004) in the Trinbagonian context would have been impossible without providing an account of the People’s Partnership mass meetings in their settings.

When this research started in February 2012, the pictures from the Final Rally were the only official images still available on the official People’s Partnership website. Therefore, in order to integrate this with the textual analysis of the speaking notes, I included in my analysis the portraits from the rally available in the booklet “*Kamla 2010 – The People’s Partnership: Postcards from a Journey To Victory*”. The booklet,

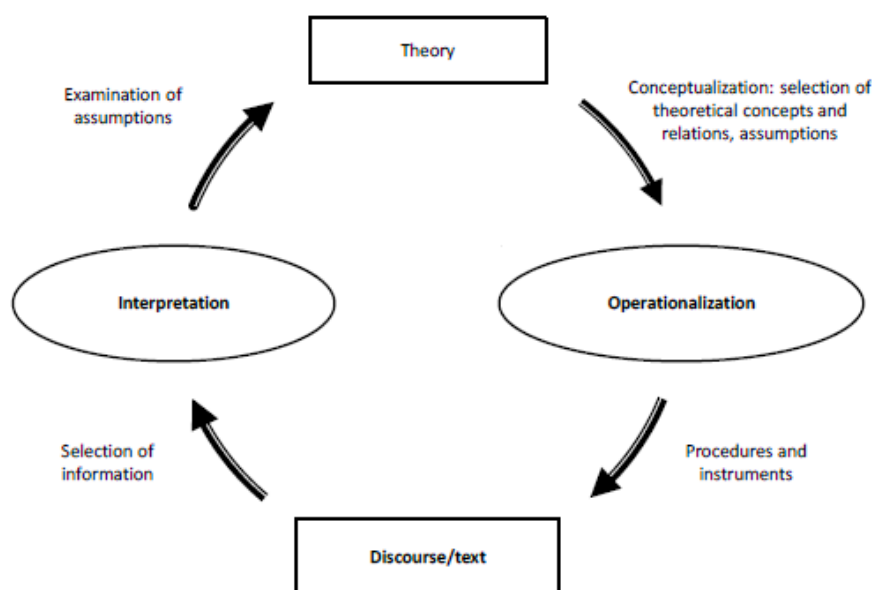
consisting of 24 postcards in a perforated binding, was published by Blue Mango only two months after election in July 2010. The pictures were taken by the photojournalist Sean Drakes, who followed Persad-Bissessar throughout her campaign until her oath taking ceremony. The reverse side of each postcard offers a caption with the date and location as well as highlights from the rally or quotations from Persad-Bissessar's address. The captions were taken into account in the analysis as their celebratory tone reinforces the positive self-presentation of Persad-Bissessar and her party.

Although not exactly coeval with the campaign, the portraits represented a useful contribution to the analysis of the campaign for two main reasons. Firstly, the pictures were taken at the rallies and represent a precious source of contextualization, given the lack of official media resources from the campaign. Given the theatricality of Trinbagonian rallies, they represent a crucial addition of visual evidence for integration with the analysis of the speaking notes. Secondly, as they can be seen as "official portraits" endorsed by Persad-Bissessar and therefore corresponding to the leading image she wanted to convey during the campaign of herself and her party (see Ch. 4 and 5).

## 3.2 Methodological Framework

### 3.2.1 Analyzing Textual Data: Tools from the Discourse-Historical Approach

As we have seen in Ch. 2, the CDA interdisciplinarity principle advocates the combination of various theories and methods and data in order to achieve an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object (Reisigl and Wodak 2009). Following two other principles typical of CDA, my research is also abductive and iterative, this means “it moves recursively between theory and empirical data” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009:95) as illustrated in the figure below:



**Figure 5:** Recursivity in DHA (In Meyer 2001)

The various levels of theory inform the overall research design and relate to the research questions and research methodologies (see Ch. 2). The process is circular, iterative and relatively open-ended; it goes over the same procedural stages several times in order to test the various stages of the investigation, namely the examination of assumptions at the interpretation stage, and to delimit clearly the best way to understand the object of

research. Wodak (2004b:210) suggests the following methodological steps for a discourse historical research project:

- a) Sample information about the co- and context of the text (social, political, historical, psychological, etc.).
- b) Once the genre and discourse to which the text belongs have been established, sample more ethnographic information, establish interdiscursivity (texts on similar topics) and intertextuality (texts with similar arguments, macro-topics, fields of action, genres).
- c) From the problem under investigation, formulate precise research questions and explore neighbouring fields for explanatory theories and theoretical aspects.
- d) Operationalize the research questions into linguistic categories.
- e) Apply these categories sequentially on to the text while using theoretical approaches to interpret the meanings resulting from the research questions.
- f) Draw up the context diagram for the specific text and the fields of actions.
- g) Make an extensive interpretation while returning to the research questions and to the problem under investigation (abductive reasoning).

As discourse can only be described, understood and interpreted in its specific context, setting and context should be recorded as accurately as possible. Consequently, the content of an utterance can be seen in relation to its associated historical events and facts. Texts must be described as precisely as possible at all linguistic levels, but the categories of analysis at each specific linguistic level will highly depend on the research questions. Unger (2013a:33) further problematizes the actual complexity of these methodological steps, which “encompass much more than just analysis of the text itself” and require:

an account of the context, including other texts, and the interdiscursive and intertextual links between the text under investigation and other texts; research questions addressing a particular (social) problem, which must be operationalized in an appropriate way for the text; the establishment of a recursive relationship between the text and theory(ies); and, finally, an interpretation which casts some light on the (social) problem.

The analytical process of DHA can be regarded as “three-dimensional”, because “after (1) having identified the specific *contents or topics* of a specific discourse, (2) *discursive strategies* are investigated. Then (3), *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) are examined. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93, my emphasis)”.

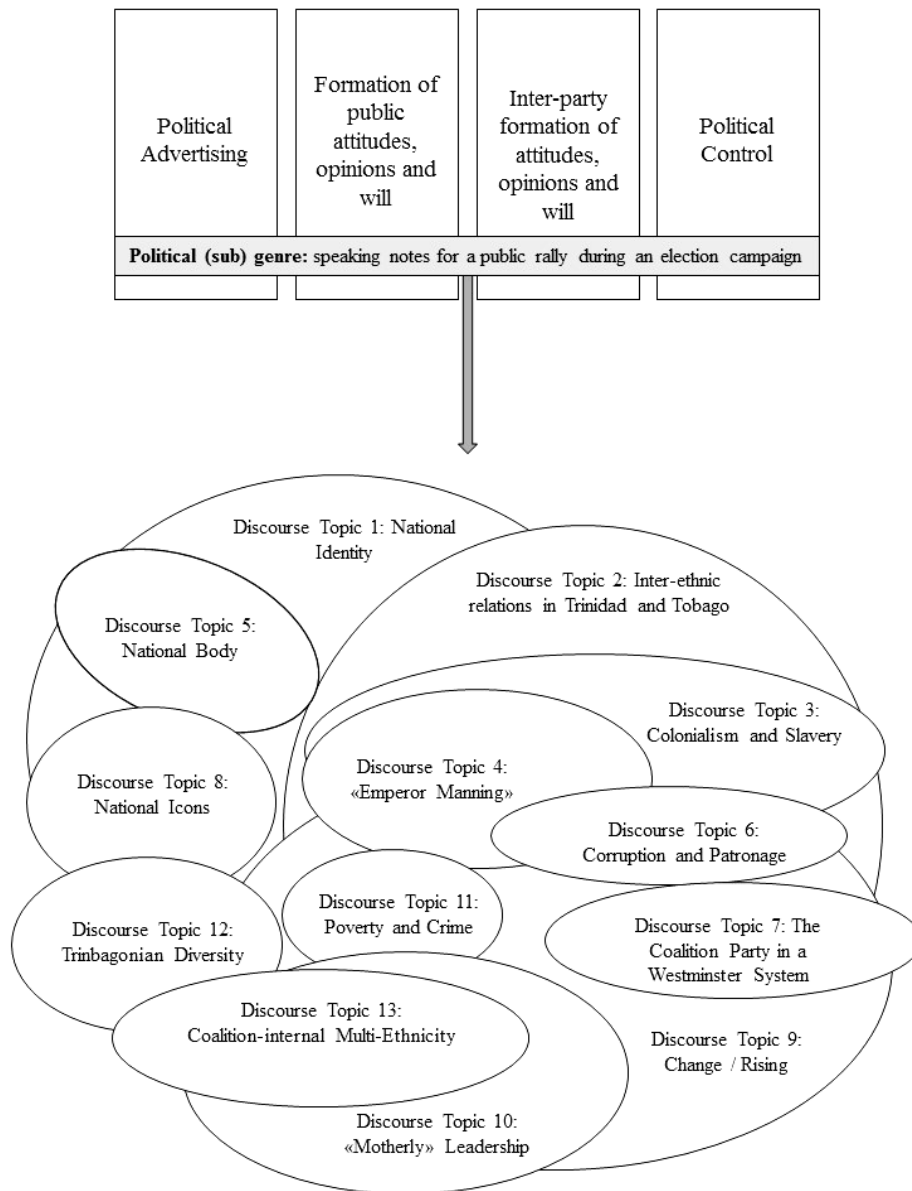


Regarding the identification of contents and topics, the analysis of political discourse often theoretically relies on actual concepts in political science. Building on a differentiated concept of “the political” that distinguishes between the “three dimensions of polity, policy and politics”, the starting point can be trying to grasp the specific political functions of speeches with respect to these dimensions (Reisigl 2008:244). Even though the differentiation between political dimensions is typically idealized, it helps the analysts to orient themselves in the wide realm of political speeches. The data in my analysis seems to be closer to a dimension of “politics”, that “revolves around the formulation of political interests, the dissentious positioning against others, the conflict between political actors (be they single politicians or ‘collective actors’ like parties, nations etc.), political advertising and fighting for followers and the acquisition of power” (ibid.).

An additional differentiation of political speeches becomes possible if we introduce the “field of political action” as a functional concept. As we have seen in 2.2.3, the “field of actions” (Girnth 1996; 2002) indicates “places of social forms of practice” (Bourdieu 1991:74) or “segments of social reality which constitute a (partial) frame of a discourse” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009:90). In the arena of political discourse analysis, Reisigl (2008:247) identified at least eight different “fields of political actions”, that is, eight different “functions or socially institutionalized purposes” of political discourse. The distinctions are not clear-cut: a political speech “may have its starting point within one of the eight fields of action and proceed onwards through another one”. Therefore, although we may identify in the field of “*Political Advertising*” the main purpose of Persad-Bissessar’s election speeches, her discourse spreads to other fields and crosses between them. Her speeches also serve the “*Formation of public attitudes, opinion and will*”, especially in terms of national identity, ethnic identity and their related political allegiances. Her speeches often move to the field of “*Inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions and will*”, as a high level of importance is laid on the formation of the coalition and its internal agreements (See Ch. 5). Moreover, her attacks on Manning (and the political system of corruption and patronage he allegedly favoured during his two terms as PM) fall in the field of “*Political Control*” that is usually performed by an opposition party (See Ch. 4 and 5).

A number of macro-discourse topics, stemming from these fields of action, have been subsequently identified in the *KPB 2010* corpus. The topics, addressed more

specifically in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, are related to the concurrent and overlapping discursive constructions of national, party and leader identities and can be summarized in the following diagram, which represents how complex are the topical intersections in Persad-Bissessar's campaign:



**Figure 6:** Selected Discourse-Topics in Persad-Bissessar's election speeches (after Reisigl and Wodak 2009:111)

Having identified the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, discursive strategies are investigated. We have seen in Chapter 1 how nations are to be understood as mental constructs as “imagined political communities” (Anderson 2006: 6), “represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects as sovereign and limited political units” (de Cillia et al. 1999: 153). In this respect, DHA scholars maintain that national identities are “discursively produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed” (ibid.) through language and other semiotic systems. In terms of discursive strategies, Wodak et al. (2009: 36-42) distinguish between four types of macro-strategies employed in the discursive formation of national identity. Within DHA, strategies indicate systematic ways of using language, and they can be located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity:

1. *Constructive Strategies;*
2. *Transformation Strategies;*
3. *Dismantling or Destructive Strategies;*
4. *Perpetuation and Justification Strategies.*

Quoting Wodak et al. (2009:33): “*Constructive strategies* are the most comprehensive discursive strategies. They attempt to construct and to establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation”. Persad-Bissessar made a wide use of these strategies in the attempt to unify both her multi-ethnic coalition and multi-ethnic nation under her leadership. She often emphasized commonality by stressing the common history of slavery and colonialism that affected most of the ethnic groups still present in the country. For example, the historical past was presented as the experience that bonded the Trinbagonian people together rather than the main reason for a complex inheritance of the colonial *divide et impera* (see Ch. 6).

As the opposition leader against the incumbent PNM, Persad-Bissessar used a number of strategies of *transformation*, which “aim to transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity the contours of which the speaker has already conceptualized. This is often effected by applying subtle rhetorical persuasion” (ibid.). Among the many strategies of transformation employed, Persad-Bissessar often relied on the classic *locus a tempore*, presenting the 2010 general election as the most favorable time for a political change.

*Dismantling or destructive strategies* “aim at dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model to replace the old one.” (ibid.). Persad-Bissessar used them to delegitimise her opponent Patrick Manning and the system he represented as PM and leader of the People’s National Movement. In this respect, the traditional Trinbagonian satirical *picong*, the art of verbal rivalry among politicians, represented an effective dismantling strategy as well as an important act of bonding with her audience.

This analysis encountered only three of the four strategies identified by Wodak et al. (2009), as it could not find evidence for *perpetuation and justification strategies*. These strategies “are employed primarily in relation to problematical actions or events in the past which are important in the narrative creation of national history. They attempt to justify or relativise a societal status quo ante by emphasising the legitimacy of past acts of the ‘own’ national ‘we’-group which have been put into question, that is they restore, maintain and defend a common ‘national self-perception’ which has been ‘tainted’ in one way or another” (ibid.). Perpetuation and justification strategies, given their main goal of maintaining or reproducing already established groups and preserving the *status quo*, were clearly not employed by an opposition leader aiming at being elected as PM. Moreover, these strategies have been primarily associated with the Austrian historical past, and the traumatic events of WWII, and reflect that particular historical and socio-political context. We will see how the traumatic past of slavery and colonialism is far from being relativized by Persad-Bissessar, but it is addressed through an empowering, highly rhetorical counter-narrative that finally gives credit to the long history of slave resistance in Trinidad and Tobago (See Ch.6)

While these macro-strategies have been associated in the existing literature with the discursive construction of national identity, DHA also encompasses a set of strategies more related to the wider dichotomy of *positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation*. Originally conceptualized as the core of racist discourse, “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 46, after van Dijk 1984) are seen as the key strategies in the discursive construction and maintenance

of any “in-group vs. out-group” differentiation and polarization (Wodak 2001).<sup>16</sup> Concepts like the construction of identity, group membership and choices in ways of talking about the self and others, as well as the creation of polarized categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’, are particularly meaningful in the political arena, as people develop social identification with political groups as part of their self-identities (Weisberg and Greene 2003:89).

Given that “identification [is] inherently relational” (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 294), it is not surprising that the concepts of “in-group” and “out-group” have been largely and directly applied to processes of party identification (Kelly 1988, 1989; Greene 2002). Strategies marking a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ have come to represent the polarization traditional in politics: for any political party, the delimitation and stabilization of the category ‘we’ (the group to which we belong) as opposed to the category of the ‘other’, (the group to which we do not belong), becomes crucial especially during an election campaign, where electors are called upon to undertake an authentic process of identification through the means of voting.

But how is this delimitation created and maintained? According to McCallion (2007:2338) any in-group identity “is socially constructed through symbolic markers (boundaries) such as narratives, creeds, rituals, and social practices”, through a continuing process “in which group boundaries are collectively generated, affirmed, maintained, and employed to mark differences between insiders and outsiders”. Needless to say, ‘us’/ ‘we’ are associated with positive elements and ‘them’/ ‘they’ with negative elements, as the core message of any election campaign can be reduced to: ‘Vote for us and you’ll get more good; vote for them and you’ll get more bad’ (Hahn 2003). The overarching strategies of “positive self-presentation” and “negative other-presentation” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) play a crucial role in the discursive creation and maintenance of this ‘us vs. them’ delimitation in an election campaign. When investigating these overarching strategies, DHA scholars (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) orientate heuristically to five questions:

---

<sup>16</sup> While DHA adopted Teun van Dijk’s the notions of ‘positive self-presentation’ and ‘negative other-presentation’, it should be clear by now that it places no emphasis on his socio-cognitivism, the latter being incompatible with the hermeneutic basis of DHA model (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

1. *How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?*
2. *What characteristics, qualities and features (more or less positive or negative) are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?*
3. *What arguments (justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness) are employed in the discourse in question?*
4. *From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?*
5. *Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or mitigated in their illocutionary force and thus their epistemic or deontic status?*

In relation to these five questions, Reisigl and Wodak (2009:94) elaborate five types of discursive strategies. Within DHA, strategy means a “more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim” (ibid.). Strategies indicate systematic ways of using language, and can be realized through a vast number of linguistic devices, but their degree of saliency clearly differs according to the dataset at hand. The strategy-related linguistic devices that Reisigl and Wodak propose for the in-depth analysis of texts are to be regarded as selected examples and not an exhaustive list:

Question	Strategy	Devices
How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?	NOMINATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc.</li> <li>tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (<i>pars pro toto</i>, <i>totum pro parte</i>)</li> <li>verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.</li> </ul>
What characteristics, qualities and features (more or less positive or negative) are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?	PREDICATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses and participial clauses or groups)</li> <li>explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns</li> <li>collocations</li> <li>explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms)</li> <li>allusions, evocations, presuppositions/implicatures, etc.</li> </ul>
What arguments (justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness) are employed in the discourse in question?	ARGUMENTATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>topoi (formal or more content-related)</li> <li>fallacies</li> </ul>
From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?	PERSPECTIVIZATION FRAMING OR DISCOURSE REPRESENTATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>deictics</li> <li>direct, indirect or free indirect speech</li> <li>quotation marks, discourse markers/particles</li> <li>metaphors</li> <li>animating prosody, etc.</li> </ul>
Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or mitigated in their illocutionary force and thus their epistemic or deontic status?	INTENSIFICATION, MITIGATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>diminutives or augmentatives</li> <li>(modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague expressions, etc.</li> <li>hyperboles, litotes</li> <li>indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion)</li> <li>verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.</li> </ul>

**Table 3:** A selection of Discursive Strategies and Devices in DHA (in Reisigl and Wodak 2009)

In the *KPB 2010* corpus, strategies and linguistic devices tend to reflect the genre and the role of political discourse in the election process and are therefore widely reflexive. As the topics of political discourse are often “political actors - politicians, elites, public figures and social institutions and organizations” (van Dijk 1997a: 28), Persad-Bissessar makes a wide use of *nomination* and *predication* strategies to refer positively to herself and her People’s Partnership and negatively to Manning and the PNM.

Strategies of *argumentation* are often realized by Persad-Bissessar through the use of ‘*topoi*’ (or ‘*loci communes*’) and fallacies. Topoi are often seen as ‘commonplaces’ based on standard arguments that can carry “socially shared identities of feeling” (Shotter 1993, cited in Myers 2005: 536): the speaker can draw on that shared repertoire to convey and legitimate its (public) viewpoints, often reproduced as an uncritical judgment (ibid.) with an argumentative character. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) define “topoi” after Kienpointner (1992, 1996) and Wengeler (1997) as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. Topoi are the content-related warrants or “conclusion rules” which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion or the central claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner 1992:194) and are therefore widely used in arguments for their role as argumentative ‘shortcuts’ or ‘commonplaces’, because they allow “speakers to get from a premise to a conclusion without explaining the warrant underlying the argument” (Unger 2013a:57). Reisigl and Wodak (2001), drawing on Van Eemeren and Grootendorst’s Pragma-Dialectic approach (1994), divided argumentation schemes as either reasonable or fallacious, the latter named as ‘*fallacies*’, as they violate any of a set number of rules for rational disputes and constructive arguing.

In the available literature in the field of political discourse analysis, topoi have been investigated in a number of studies on election campaigns (Pelinka and Wodak 2002), on parliamentary debates (Wodak and Van Dijk 2000) and policy papers (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) as they are central to the analysis of seemingly convincing fallacious arguments (Kienpointner 1996: 562). However, as specified by Reisigl (2014), the reference to the Pragma-Dialectical rules does not imply that the whole model of critical discussion advocated by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst was adopted by DHA scholars, who are particularly interested in the analysis of the contents of argumentation schemes.



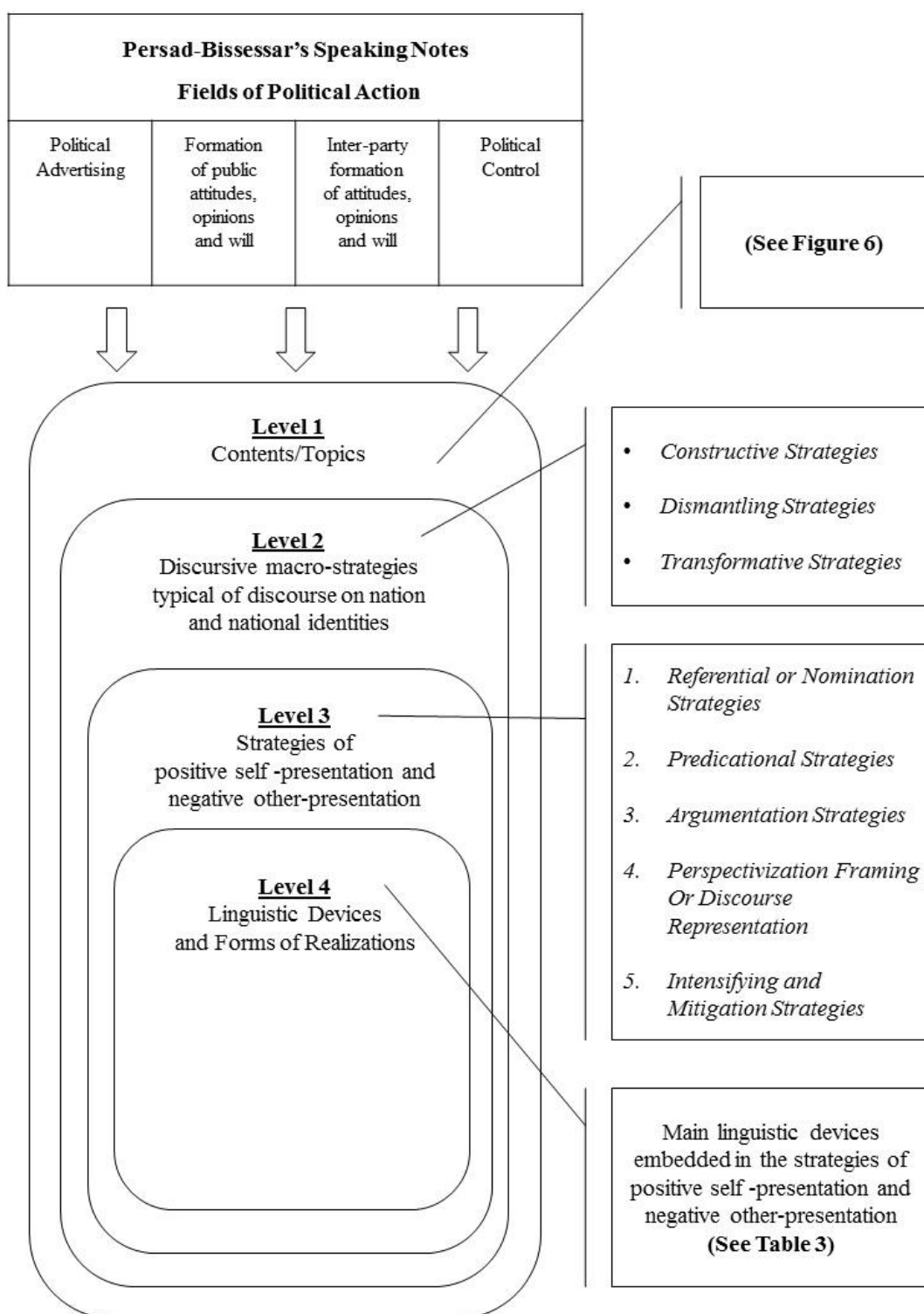
For DHA scholars, the “inconsistencies of logic, argumentation, form and content” can serve as indicators of underlying attitudes, beliefs, opinions and ideologies” (Heer and Wodak 2008:11).

Persad-Bissessar made use of these arguments in various moments of the campaign. For example, as the opposition candidate against the incumbent PM Manning, Persad-Bissessar often draws on the *locus a tempore*, the topos of a favourable time, in this case presenting the 2010 Election as the best, and almost unique, time for a political change (See Ch. 6). Persad-Bissessar also utilizes the political past of colonialism and slavery in Trinidad and Tobago as a topos, using the argumentation scheme of the already Ciceronian topos of *historia magistra vitae* (‘history teaching lessons’). Among its different uses, this argumentation scheme focuses on an event or change situated in the past and on supposedly having learned from that history (Forchtner 2014). Persad-Bissessar employed this topos as a shortcut in her argumentative strategies to invite the electors to ‘rebel’ against Manning’s government as Trinbagonians had already done against British slavers (See Ch. 6).

Other strategies, such as *intensification* or *mitigation*, were not particularly salient in the analysis. An election speech is usually “the most dissent-oriented, and, thus, the most crude and emotionalizing in tone. It attacks the political “enemy” more fiercely than other speeches, as the assertion against the opponent and the acquisition of power are its main purpose” (Reisigl 2008:253). As Persad-Bissessar’s speeches are thus characterized by a constant intensification in both her “positive self-presentation” and “negative-other presentation”, focusing on this aspect of analysis would not have yielded interesting results. Similarly, *perspectivization*, a strategy focusing on the perspective or point of view expressed by the speaker, was not very apparent in the context of this analysis. Fruitfully employed in the critical analysis of news discourse, perspectivization strategies are employed to express the speaker’s involvement through specific means of reporting, description, narration or the quotation of events and utterances. In the textual data under examination, the perspective expressed by Persad-Bissessar openly belongs to herself, her party, and by a rhetorical extension, to the nation: the actual goal of the election campaign was to communicate her point of view on the main political issues of the country and express a high level of involvement.

A critical analysis of conceptual metaphors was crucial in this study as metaphors in political discourse serve a variety of purposes, such as persuasion, legitimation, justification or enhancing group-solidarity (Chilton 1996: 71ff). Metaphors are typically used in persuasive political arguments (Semino 2008) as they “represent a certain way of viewing the world that reflects a shared system of belief” and they are “important in influencing emotional responses” because of their “cognitive and culturally rooted role” (Charteris-Black 2005: 20). Over the past decades, a vast number of cognitively orientated CDA studies have analyzed metaphors, for their high potential to be evaluative and ideological in function (Chilton 2004; Musolff and Zinken 2009; Charteris-Black 2014). This does not imply that the role of metaphor in political discourse is overlooked either in the DHA approach or in this study. On the contrary, DHA scholars have conceptualized the crucial role of metaphor in discrimination discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) and the discursive construction of national identity (Wodak et al. 2009), among others. More recent contributions to the study of metaphors have identified DHA as the most promising model of diachronic variation to account for the dissemination and entrenchment of metaphors (Musolff 2014). In this study, a critical analysis of metaphors shed light on the implications of the conceptualization of the People’s Partnership as a ‘*river*’ (Ch.5), and contributed to historicizing Eric Williams’ conceptualization of Trinidad and Tobago as ‘*mother*’ in the 1960s and comparing it with Persad-Bissessar’s conceptualization of national “in-group” (Ch.6).

Drawing on a variety of empirical and theoretical approaches employed in order to understand and interpret differing discourses and public spheres, this synopsis of DHA is necessarily eclectic, as it represents a multi-methodological approach. To conclude, the relationships between the different levels of textual analysis described so far can be summarized in the following figure:



**Figure 7** Dimensions of analysis applied to Persad-Bissessar's Speaking Notes

### 3.2.2 *Analyzing Visual Data: Tools from Kress and Van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar*<sup>17</sup>

Politicians are known to work hard on their ‘sound bites’, that is speaking in brief, complete and striking statements that are easily incorporated into media accounts and support the candidate’s objectives. It is not surprising then to realise that politicians work just as hard to construct effective ‘image bites’ and ‘video bites’, portraits and brief visual shots or video clips where candidates are shown (Schill 2012). Political leaders hire professionals to help them tackle this complex task, a phenomenon often regarded as the “professionalization” of political communication in modern politics. The term primarily refers to the “deeper and more extensive involvement in political message-making of publicity advisers, public relations experts, campaign management consultants, and the like” (Gurevitch and Blumler 1990: 279). According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), the involvement of different types of communication experts in modern, professionalized political culture implies that political communication is now a highly “designed” type of discourse, that is to say, planned by professionals with the strategic intention to influence the election decisions of the voter.

Given this “professionalization” of political communication, Kress and van Leeuwen’s “Visual Grammar” (1996) represented a fruitful methodology for integration into the analysis of the People’s Partnership campaign, for it proposes a systematic way of analyzing images, to bring out what is being communicated by means of visual designs. In their *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Kress and van Leeuwen mainly concentrate on questions of image design, focusing on:

---

<sup>17</sup> Kress and van Leeuwen’s work is a highly developed taxonomy and this section, being a wide overview of the many methodological aspects of the “Visual Grammar”, is by no means an exhaustive account of their framework. More details will be given on those aspects of Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework that are relevant to the analysis in the following chapters, when analyzing the People’s Partnership video ads and pictures in Ch. 4, 5 and 6.

1. **The Structure of Representation:** which participants are represented and in which types of processes (e.g. narrative, conceptual) do they engage.
2. **The Position of the Viewers:** how social relations and attitudes are created between the represented participants and viewers.
3. **Modality:** how images reflect reality in a more or less truthful or factual way depending on their color range and saturation, contextualization, abstraction, depth, illumination or brightness.
4. **The Meaning of Composition:** how visual information is structured in terms of informational value, salience and framing.

Given that, especially during an election campaign, every visual element is carefully managed (Moffit 1999), these four major features of Kress and van Leeuwen's framework can guide the analyst to 'deconstruct' the carefully composed 'image bites' and 'video bites' as constructed by Persad-Bissessar and their teams.

Drawing on Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions in Systemic Functional Linguistics, visual communication is seen by Kress and van Leeuwen as simultaneously making three kinds of meanings which are: *Representational*, *Interactional* and *Compositional* respectively. These meanings occur and project their meanings simultaneously, and are multidimensional structures not to be analyzed separately. The following table summarizes how Halliday's metafunctions are adapted by Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar:

Halliday	Kress and van Leeuwen	Visual Meaning
Ideational	Representational	<i>"What is happening?"</i>
Interpersonal	Interactional	<i>"How is the relationship between the viewer, the image and the image-maker?"</i>
Textual	Compositional	<i>"How is the image composed?"</i>

**Table 4:** Metafunctions in Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006 [1996])

## Representational Meanings

The analysis of representational meanings is made by identifying the represented participants and the kinds of processes involved. Represented participants can be either people, places or things. The two major processes for representing interactions and conceptual relations between people, places and things in visuals are *Narrative* and *Conceptual* processes. The conceptual process is described as the process of ‘being’ or ‘having’ and the narrative process is described as the process of ‘happening’ or ‘doing’. The two processes can be distinguished by establishing whether a vector is present. A vector is usually a diagonal line, which can be in the form of bodies or limbs, eyelines or tools, and which means ‘is connected to’, ‘is conjoined to’ or ‘is related to’. Narrative processes have a vector while in conceptual processes the vector is lacking. Both these processes seem to draw inspiration from the conceptual meaning of the clause constituents in the Systemic-Functional Transitivity system, which “construes the world of experience into a set of manageable process types” (Halliday 1985: 106).

*Narrative processes* or patterns “serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 59). Examples of narrative processes are the pictures of Persad-Bissessar on the rally stage during her campaign (see Ch. 4). A narrative process is established “when participants are found to be connected by a vector, represented as doing something to or for each other” (Kress and van Leeuwen *ibid.*). Similar to the material processes in SFL transitivity analysis (Halliday 1985), which have an ‘Actor’ and ‘Goal’ as participants, the ‘Actor’ of narrative actional processes is ‘the participant from whom or which the vector departs, and which may be fused with the vector to different degrees’ (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 59). The ‘Goal’ for narrative processes, on the other hand, is the participant at whom the vector is directed. An example is the ‘Kamla as Angel’ picture (see 4.2.4), where Kamla (‘Goal’) is being serenaded and celebrated as the angel of Trinidad and Tobago by a young singer (‘Actor’). However, when a vector is formed by an eyeline, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006[1996]: 67) define the narrative process as ‘Reactional’ rather than ‘Actional’, the actor as ‘Reactor and the goal as ‘Phenomenon’. An example is Persad-Bissessar’s ‘I’ll be there’ picture (see 4.2.4), where Kamla

(‘Reactor’) is connecting with the (unrepresented) crowd (‘Phenomenon’) by staring at it.

*Conceptual processes* are seen to “represent participants in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence” and “in terms of class, or structure, or meaning” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 79) In other words, they will define, analyze or classify people, places and things. An example is the portrait on the front page of the 2010 Manifesto, which is a symbolic representation of the multi-ethnic nature of the coalition.

In principle, there are three kinds of conceptual process: *classificational*, *analytical* and *symbolical*. *Classificational* processes relate participants to each other in terms of a ‘kind-of’ taxonomical relationship: they classify people, things and places into groups to show what they have in common and what differentiates them, justifying their membership of a certain class. An example is the representation of a family tree. *Analytical* processes relate participants to each other in terms of a ‘part-whole’ structure. They involve a ‘Carrier’ (the whole) and any number of ‘Possessive Attributes’ (the parts): they allow the viewer “to identify the carrier and allow the viewers to scrutinize the carrier’s possessive attributes” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 87). An example is a fashion shot. *Symbolical* processes portray the identity of a participant: they are about what a participant ‘means’ or ‘is’. In this structure, the participant is thus a ‘Carrier’, while his or her identity is the ‘Symbolic Attribute’. Symbolic attributes “are made salient in the representation, for example by their size, position, color, use of lighting; they are pointed out by means of gesture; they look out of place in the whole; they are conventionally associated with symbolic values” (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001: 144). We will see in 5.3.3 that both the front cover and the presentation of candidates’ pictures in the People’s Partnership manifesto can be interpreted as both ‘classificational’, given the hierarchical relationship between the PM candidate Persad-Bissessar and the other members of the party, and ‘symbolical’, for the number of meaningful ‘Symbolic Attributes’ (such as party membership and ethnicity) present in the images. The following table summarizes all the sub-classifications of both narrative and conceptual processes:

<b>Representational Structures (ideational)</b>	<b>Narrative Representations</b>	<b>Processes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Action (Actor + Goal)</li> <li>- Reactional (Reactor + Phenomena)</li> <li>- Speech &amp; Mental</li> <li>- Conversion</li> <li>- Geometrical symbolism</li> </ul>
		<b>Circumstances</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Setting</li> <li>- Means</li> <li>- Accompaniment</li> </ul>
	<b>Conceptual Representations</b>	<b>Classificational Processes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Covert</li> <li>- Overt (Single or multi-leveled)</li> </ul>
		<b>Analytical Processes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unstructured</li> <li>- Structured</li> <li>1. Temporal</li> <li>2. Exhaustive and inclusive</li> <li>3. Conjoined &amp; compounded exhaustive structures</li> <li>4. Topographical and topological processes</li> <li>5. Dimensional and quantitative topography</li> <li>6. Spatio-temporal</li> </ul>
		<b>Symbolic Processes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Attributive</li> <li>- Suggestive</li> </ul>

**Table 5:** Representational Structures in Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996])

## Interactive Meanings

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006[1996]: 114-115) posit that reading (or viewing) a visual involves two kinds of participants: the first are the interactive participants, “real people who produce and make sense of images” and communicate with each other through them in the context of social institutions. The second are the represented participants, the people, places and things depicted in the images. Interaction, with regard to visual analysis, involves determining the relationships between the represented participants and viewers. Kress and van Leeuwen conceptualized three main ways in which these relations are interpreted: *contact*, *social distance* and *attitude*. These visual dimensions should be considered as “simultaneous systems” in that “any image must either be a ‘demand’ or an ‘offer’ and select a certain size of frame and select a certain attitude” (2006 [1996]: 153).



*Contact* is established between participants when the represented participants connect with the viewers through vectors such as eyelines and gestures in such a way that images can be seen as either ‘offering’ or ‘demanding’. In ‘demand’ images, the represented participant’s gaze (and gesture, if present) seem to demand that the viewer of the image “enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 118). Kress and van Leeuwen argue that a gaze at the viewer “creates a visual form of direct address” and regard ‘demand’ images as “image acts”, in parallel to speech acts. In ‘offer’ images, the represented participant is the item on display whereby it seems to be offering information to the viewers. The two types of images are associated with different roles for the viewer and the represented actors. In offer images, the represented actor is the object and the viewer is the subject of the look; in demand pictures, the opposite is the case. While authority figures like politicians are often portrayed in powerful ‘demand’ images, we will see how Persad-Bissessar’s portrait in the front cover of her manifesto represents a softened form of ‘demand’, consistent with her proposed leadership style (see 5.3.3).

*Social distance* between the interactive participants is determined through the different ranges of shots (that is, the size of frame of the image), where distance in the shot can suggest a different relation between the represented participants and the viewer. The underlying assumption is that, as in everyday interaction, social relations determine the distance we keep from one another, and to these differences correspond different fields of vision. (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 124). Close shot or close-up (depicting the head and shoulders of the subject) signifies an intimate or a close personal relationship between participants. Medium close shot (showing waist and above) signifies a more distant personal relationship (also defined as ‘social distance’). Long shot (in which the full figure is at least half of the height of the whole frame) signifies public distance, the distance that strangers keep between themselves. Persad-Bissessar’s portrait on the front cover of the manifesto is a medium close shot, cutting off the PM candidate in her yellow ‘power-suit’ jacket approximately at the waist. This frame represents a more remote personal distance, fitting both business and social interaction, which positions Persad-Bissessar still in our personal space but not ‘too close’. However, the picture is also an example of the crucial role of facial expression (e.g. Persad-Bissessar’s big smile) in the expression of social distance.

*Attitude*, or *point of view*, is realized by the selection of a particular angle, in order to express a subjective or objective attitude towards represented participants, human or otherwise. Kress and van Leeuwen posit that ‘power’ can be portrayed through a *vertical* angle shot. A low angle, in which the represented participant is represented from below, thus towering over the viewer, is taken to express the power of the actor. Conversely, a high angle shot is used to signify viewer power. However, if “the picture is at eye level, then the point of view is one of equality and there is no power difference involved” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 140). *Horizontal* angles, on the other hand, signify the degree of involvement. There are two types of horizontal angle. One is frontal, in which the frontal plane of the image producer (and likewise the viewer) and the frontal plane of the represented actors are parallel. The frontal angle means ‘involvement’ or “what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1999: 394), in other words, it can be defined as an inclusive ‘Us’. The second type of horizontal angle is oblique, when the frontal plane of the actors in the image is not parallel to the horizontal boundaries of the image, that is, when represented participants are depicted from the side angle. Oblique angles mean “detachment” or “what you see here is not part of our world, it is their world, something we are not involved with” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006[1996]: 136), in other words, referring to ‘Them’ or ‘Other’. In the pictures from the *Kamla 2010* photobook, Persad-Bissessar is often portrayed as towering over the viewer from her stage. However, while this vertical angle expresses her power, this is counterbalanced by the short distance and strong feeling of involvement expressed in the pictures.

*Modality* in Kress and van Leeuwen’s work is to be regarded as ‘Visual Modality’, that is, the degree of “credibility” manifest in a visual text, expressing to what extent an image represents a realistic depiction of the people, places and things portrayed in the image. If an image is in ‘high modality’ that entails that a high degree of “truthfulness” or “credibility” may be ascribed to that image. The contrary occurs for ‘low modality’. Examples of high modality pictures are the portraits from the rally in the *Kamla 2010* booklet, while the decontextualized portraits of the Manifesto present a lower degree of modality. A modality marker is a marker representing one facet of the naturalistic modality of an image. The seven key visual modality markers, as identified by Kress and van Leeuwen, are summarized in the following table, which recapitulates the vast number

of resources that both constitute and maintain interaction and social engagement between the producer(s) and viewer(s) of a visual. All these resources are of clear importance, and very wisely planned, in political advertising, whose primary goal is reaching the potential electorate, being well remembered and influencing voting behavior.

<b>Interactive Meanings (interpersonal)</b>	<b>Contact</b>	<b>Image Act</b>	- Offer (Information) - Demand (goods/services)
		<b>Gaze</b>	- Direct (degrees of Engagement) - Indirect (degrees of Disengagement)
	<b>Social Distance</b>	<b>Size of Frame</b>	- Close (Intimate/Personal) - Medium (Social) - Long (Impersonal)
	<b>Attitude</b>	<b>Subjective Image</b>	- Horizontal angle (degrees of Involvement & Detachment) - Vertical angle (degrees of Power to the viewer, to the represented participants, or a relation of equality)
		<b>Objective Image</b>	- Action Orientation (frontal angle) - Knowledge Orientation (top-down angle)
	<b>Modality</b>	<b>Colour</b>	- Colour saturation - Colour differentiation - Colour modulation
		<b>Contextualisation</b>	- Absence of background - Full detail
		<b>Representation</b>	- Maximum abstraction - Maximum representation
		<b>Depth</b>	- Absence of depth - Maximally deep perspective
		<b>Illumination</b>	- Full representation of light and shade - Absence of light and shade
		<b>Brightness</b>	- Maximum brightness - Black and white or shades of light grey and dark grey
		<b>Coding Orientation</b>	- Technological - Sensory - Abstract - Naturalistic

**Table 6:** Interactive Meanings in Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996])

## Compositional Meaning

Visuals are to be treated as integrated and their parts are to be viewed as interacting with and affecting each other. They are also to be treated as the result of the “work of an overarching code whose rules and meanings provide the composite text with the logic of its integration” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 177). Kress and van Leeuwen also systematized how visuals can be analyzed in terms of their composition or structure, investigating the kinds of meanings conveyed by the various possible compositions. These include *single* mode forms, as in the composition of just a single visual, and

*multiple* mode forms, as in the composition of a text comprising one or more visuals and accompanying verbal text. Composition “relates the representational and interactive meanings of the picture to each other through three interrelated systems” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 183), which are *Information Value*, *Saliency* and *Framing*.

*Information Value* refers to how the placement of elements (participants and syntagms that relate them to each other and to the viewer) endows them with the specific informational values attached to the various ‘zones’ of the image. More specifically, Kress and van Leeuwen refer to the placement of elements on a horizontal axis (left-right placement) and on a vertical axis (top-bottom placement). They adapt the categories of Given and New used in SFL by Halliday (1985) to the analysis of visual design and note that in Western cultures ‘Given’ information is usually displayed on the left of the composition, while ‘New’ information is located on the right (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 179ff). ‘Given’ and ‘New’ are also used to create intertextuality in the People’s Partnership manifesto: while Persad-Bissessar is in the ‘New’ position on the front cover, she is in the ‘Given’ position when presenting her candidates in the following pages.

Moreover, elements placed in the top part of vertically polarized structures are presented as the ‘Ideal’, the idealized or the generalized essence of the information, and its most salient part. Those placed in the bottom part are presented as the ‘Real’, where we are to find “more specific information (e.g. details), more ‘down-to-earth’ information (e.g. photographs as documentary evidence, maps or charts) or more practical information (e.g. directions for action)” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 186f). An example from the front cover of the People’s Partnership manifesto is the presence of the Trinidad and Tobago flag in the ‘Ideal’ top part of the image, while the symbols of the parties in the coalition are in the ‘Real’ bottom part of the image, almost representing the ‘directions for action’ for the nation. While visual compositions are usually polarized along these two axes, they can also be structured along the dimensions of center and margin.

*Saliency* results from different variables that interact in complex ways to create a hierarchy of elements (participants, and representational and interactive syntagms) attracting the viewer’s attention to the composition. Judging saliency means determining the way elements have more ‘weight’ in relation to others. “[V]iewers of spatial composition are intuitively able to judge the ‘weight’ of the various elements of a

composition, and the greater the weight of an element, the greater its salience” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006[1996]: 202). They are realized by such factors as size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast (areas of high tonal contrast, for instance borders between black and white, have high salience), color contrasts, placements in the visual fields (they are heavier when moved towards the top and the left), perspective (placement in the foreground or background) (ibid.). Salience can be determined by a complex interaction of several factors or it may make use of only some of the factors. While Persad-Bissessar is predictably the most salient aspect in many of the portraits under examination (particularly because of her size, placement and perspective), in the picture from her Diego Martin ‘Women in Partnership’ rally her salience as PM is flattened, and more significance is placed on Persad-Bissessar’s non-hierarchical relations with the other female delegates of the party (see 4.2.3).

*Framing* refers to how elements are perceived as being disconnected or connected by viewers when looking at the page. The presence or absence of framing devices disconnects or connects elements of the image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense. The absence of framing stresses group identity, its presence signifies individuality and differentiation. The stronger the framing, the more the element is presented as separate. Framing devices include frame lines, empty space between elements or discontinuities of various kinds such as discontinuities of color and shape (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996] :203). Interestingly, the portraits of the candidates on the front cover of the People’s Partnership manifesto are ‘blurred’ into each other to lessen the sense of discontinuity and emphasize commonality. Connectedness, on the contrary, can be emphasized by vectors, depicted or abstract elements, visual rhymes of repetition of colors and shapes. Throughout the analysis, we will see various examples of connectedness and rhyming created by the repetition of the yellow color of the party during the People’s Partnership rallies.

## Chapter 4: The Leader

### 4.1 *The Discourse of Leadership*

Throughout the 2010 Election Campaign, Kamla Persad-Bissessar discursively constructed her claim to leadership through the consistent and extensive use of strategies of “positive self-presentation” and “negative other-presentation” (Van Dijk 1984, 1991, 1995, Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Wodak and van Dijk 2000). We have seen in Chapter 3 how this basic discursive binary is highly “functional and effective in the political process”, especially “in the competition for votes, support, and the struggle for political survival and legitimation” (van Dijk 1997a:28). The PM Candidate employed these two overarching strategies to project and emphasize a positive image of herself and her party (the “in-group”), and to project and emphasize a negative image of her opponent and his party (the “out-group”). This binary “in-group” vs “out-group” dichotomy is consistent with the wider “Ideological or Political Square” based on the “Emphasis/De-Emphasis of Our/Their Good/Bad Actions”, considered by van Dijk (1995) the strategic principle of all ideological and political discourse.

The first section of this chapter focuses on Persad-Bissessar’s “positive self-presentation” (4.2). I analyze how Kamla Persad-Bissessar discursively creates a winning image of female leader and PM Candidate for herself, suggesting that her policies and political decisions will invariably benefit the country and all citizens, whereas Manning’s will not. By drawing a parallel between two rally speeches both held at the Mid-Centre Mall in Chaguanas, I attempt to trace a possible evolution of her discourse of leadership from 2007 to 2010. During the 2007 Election Campaign, Persad-Bissessar had been relegated to a secondary role in the UNC-Alliance. In her 2007 speech at the UNC rally in Chaguanas, her sense of inherent moral rightness and her social and political dedication are linked back to her nature as a ‘mother’ (4.2.1). This self-presentation as a ‘*mother-politician*’ probably was aimed at reassuring the most traditional segments of the society. In her 2010 Campaign, the same Mid-Centre Mall was chosen as the venue for a crucial mid-campaign rally of the People’s Partnership. During the rally, Persad-Bissessar

presented her 41 Candidates as the leader of the coalition. Her empowering narrative celebrates her political and personal ‘coming of age’, and is reinforced by intertextual references to a popular 1970s feminist song (4.2.2). Knowing that female voters could represent an important winning factor, she put a further accent on women’s issues and women’s representation in politics. As part of her wider strategy of positive self-presentation, Persad-Bissessar discursively creates for herself the image of a proud defender of women’s rights and a promoter of female political activism and networking (4.2.3). As she was campaigning for power after a period of authoritarianism and corruption, Persad-Bissessar portrayed herself as an example of horizontal and collaborative leadership, as well as a supernatural agent of change that was miraculously able to heal the corruption and poverty in the country (4.2.4).

Like in any election campaign, Persad-Bissessar devoted a substantial amount of energy to building her image of leadership and her network of supporters, and a parallel amount of energy to discrediting her opponent, Patrick Manning. The second section of the chapter focuses on Persad-Bissessar’s strategies of “negative other-presentation” and “démontage or dismantling” (Wodak et al. 2009:42) of her opponent in the campaign (4.3).

The ‘*Manout*’, the exclusion of Patrick Manning, is one of the main themes of the People’s Partnership campaign. The construction of Manning as “out-group” is summarized in the gesture of arms crossed displayed in one of the most popular People’s Partnership ads: the gesture reprised the one made by Percy Villafana, an 81-year-old pensioner who became an authentic political icon after he denied Manning entry to his yard by standing with his arms crossed in front of him (4.3.1). This exclusion is reinforced by the delegitimation of Manning as a politician and a person, questioning his abilities and morality as well as those of his collaborators. Persad-Bissessar’s criticism focuses on Manning’s alleged corruption and his private interests conflicting with his role as PM. Persad-Bissessar makes use of a vivid nomination strategy, ‘*Emperor Manning*’, and derides Manning and his Ministers in a creative intertextual reference to ‘*The Emperor’s New Clothes*’, the short tale by Hans Christian Andersen (4.3.2). Persad-Bissessar also employs narratives aiming at delegitimizing Patrick Manning in comparison to Dr. Eric Williams, whose historical importance is widely acknowledged in the country regardless of political persuasion. (4.3.3) Throughout the *KPB 2010* corpus, Persad-Bissessar

employs code-switching into Trinidadian English Creole exclusively when referring to Manning and the PNM. Code-switching allows her to use stronger and more derogatory language to criticize her opponent and facilitates the strong, immediate connection she makes with the audience **(4.3.4)**.



## 4.2 *Strategies of Positive Self-Presentation*

### 4.2.1 *No Woman No Cry and the 'Mother' Rhetoric of 2007*

The UNC-Alliance campaign for the 2007 General Election can be considered as a “useful laboratory for later developments that would culminate in Kamla’s victory of 2010” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 155). On April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2006, Persad-Bissessar was appointed Leader of the Opposition after the conviction of the historic UNC leader Basdeo Panday on corruption charges. As Panday was reinstated as political leader of the UNC in January 2007, Persad-Bissessar would have expected a co-leading role. However, in October 2007, the Afro-Trinidadian Jack Warner was elected as the United National Congress Alliance chairman and co-leader, to lead the party into Trinidad and Tobago's 2007 General Election. Persad-Bissessar’s exclusion from a leadership position in the UNC-Alliance received massive coverage in the Trinbagonian media: many had interpreted the political preference for Warner as a gendered preference and as a wider reflection of gender inequality issues in the Caribbean.

On October 7<sup>th</sup>, 2007, at the UNC ‘*Drums of Unity*’ rally in Chaguanas, Kamla Persad-Bissessar communicated her decision to stay within the UNC notwithstanding the internal decisions of the party. She entered the stage to the famous Bob Marley song “*No Woman No Cry*”, hinting at the recent party-internal defeat but introducing the resilient attitude she will keep throughout her address. In her speech, a thorny party-internal issue is turned into an emotionally compelling narrative of her personal and professional life as a female politician in Trinidad and Tobago.

Throughout her address, Persad-Bissessar seems to draw extensively on the classic rhetorical “artistic proof of *pathos*” in order to heighten the emotional impact of her speech and evoke an equally emotional, empathetic response: “when speakers express strong emotions it is usually because they hope to evoke similar emotions in their audiences, but the first person they have to convince is him/herself” (Charteris-Black 2014: 108). This typical feature of political communication and rhetoric seems to be further reinforced by the role of Persad-Bissessar as one of the first female politicians in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. She presents herself in Chaguanas as fully entitled to

express her emotions regarding her exclusion from a leading role in the political arena. In doing so, she claims to depart from that “*tradition of politics*” linking negative emotions to weakness, probably alluding to a male-dominated arena:

I cannot stand here before you today and smile the way I have done in the past, telling you all is well when you know and I know that all is not well in our nation. I used to think that, in the **tradition of the politics** we have been accustomed to, it was weak to show hurt, pain, anger or disappointment. I used to think that when you come on a platform, the only thing you should reveal to people was your desire to fight for them, and your brave face. I no longer think that way.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally, 07/10/2007, my emphasis)

Here Persad-Bissessar seems to be referring to the world of politics as a traditionally male-oriented public space, characterized by a predominance of ‘masculine’ attitudes and values (Baxter 2006; Cameron 2006; Shaw 2000; Walsh 2001). The exercise of power and authority has often been seen as “a man’s prerogative” (Campus 2013: 10): throughout history “leadership has been closely associated with masculinity”, with “the king, the father, the boss and the lord” being the widespread, stereotypical images of ruling power (Keohane 2010: 121). Men politicians are therefore seen as “core members” of the political public space, and “are placed as the political norm that female politicians ought to adapt to” (Lilja 2008: 89). In this male-oriented world of politics, gender-related expectations mark how a female politician should act and speak (Kendall and Tannen 1997), so that “the rules of male discourse are not only seen as the better way to talk but as the only way” (Lakoff 1990: 210).

As one of the most prominent female politicians in her country, Persad-Bissessar seems to advocate a personal interpretation of the Trinbagonian political public sphere. In contrast with other famous Anglophone female politicians of the past like the ‘Iron Lady’ Margaret Thatcher, who “played upon a relation of contrast between the values that were socially expected of a woman and her own singularly aggressive masculine stance” (Charteris-Black 2005: 88), Persad-Bissessar portrays herself as a ‘*mother-politician*’. Consequently, the people of Trinidad and Tobago are portrayed as ‘*children*’, and her relationship with the country is founded on ‘*love*’:

Persad-Bissessar's Self-Representation as Loving Mother in the 2007 Chaguanas Speech	
Describing starting her political career as an Alderman in Siparia	[...] it was the expression of everything that I was, a <b>woman</b> with a desire to serve her country, and her people, because I <b>love</b> you
Describing her duty in Parliament as a female representative	As one of the few female representatives of this country, it was my duty to assume the natural role of mother when it came to national issues. In that sea of men who argued and cursed each other, I knew I had to be the rare voice of <b>fairness, nurturing, caring and love</b> .
Describing her decision-making process in Parliament	My <b>maternal instincts</b> made me choose sometimes not by my head, but my heart, and as any true <b>mother</b> , those instincts were never wrong. And so, I <b>cared</b> for the people of my constituency, my party and the nation, as a <b>mother</b> .
Describing her political role in the opposition since 2001	I had to defend my country's democracy and ensure that our people were protected. Again, my <b>maternal instincts</b> kicked in. They say no one is more dangerous than a <b>mother</b> who believes her children are in danger.
Describing the relationship with male colleagues in the political arena	Like all <b>mothers</b> , I took a lot for the <b>children</b> of this nation, not just the young ones, but you the people. In the background I battled the <b>whims, insecurities</b> and yes, macho attitudes of several colleagues, both on my side and the other political divide.

**Table 7:** Persad-Bissessar Self-Presentation as 'Mother-Politician' in the 2007 Chaguanas Speech

The table exemplifies how “motherliness” can become “a quality in itself” for leading women, as it can be employed “as a strategic method of organising relationships in the many public areas” (Wodak 1997: 353). Her stance seems to suggest a transfer of the most traditional stereotypically female virtues and values (such as ‘care’, ‘nurture’, ‘love’, ‘grace’, ‘humility’) to her activity in Parliament. Her role as a facilitator among the majority of conflicting male politicians in Parliament, described as “*a sea of men who argued and cursed each other*”, seems to draw entirely on “the stereotypical expectations regarding appropriate behaviour for women in the workplace”, that see “cooperative, supportive, facilitative and relationally oriented discourse strongly associated with femininity” (Holmes and Marra 2011: 318). In Lakoff’s (2002) terms, Persad-Bissessar seems to phrase her activity as politician by adopting a “nurturant parent” model rather

than a “strict father” one, and we could easily infer that her gender plays an important role in this choice.

In her ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ 2007 speech, Persad-Bissessar explains her sense of inherent moral rightness and her social and political dedication by linking it all back to her very being a “*mother*”. Although she remarks on her expertise and long career as a lawyer and politician, her political decisions are seen as a result of the “*maternal instinct*”, rather than of her rationality and professional capabilities. Apart from denouncing the “*macho attitudes*” of her male colleagues, Persad-Bissessar does not seem to propose an actual modernization of the way female politicians inhabit the public and institutional sphere in Trinidad and Tobago, and we could easily infer that she had completely internalized the system of traditional gender roles in Trinbagonian society. However, I believe that her stance is a strategic choice to negotiate discourse practices as one of the first female politicians in the Trinbagonian public space, as well as her personal interpretation of the “femininity/competence double bind” (Jamieson 1995).

According to Jamieson (1995), while female leaders are forced to appear tough to be taken seriously, this behavior is likely to elicit negative and defensive reactions from the mass media and the public. Playing the role of ‘Mother of the Nation’, one of the most common images adopted by women political leaders, is Persad-Bissessar’s chosen strategy in her attempt to transcend this very double bind. Traditionally, women had a definite role as mothers and caregivers within the institution of the family: within the mother’s role, the exercising of power by women was quite obviously legitimized (Wodak 1997). Consequently, women in leadership may draw on “discourse strategies associated with acceptable feminine leadership roles, such as the role of ‘mother’ (Holmes and Marra 2011: 318). Not only a caring and supportive figure who takes care of her family, the mother is also an authoritarian figure, who has the right to scold her husband and children (Schwartzenberg 1980).

What has been observed for Latin American countries, that is that “only on their cultural authority as mothers [...] women can acceptably venture into the political sphere” (Saint-Germain 1993:969), can definitely also be applied to the context of Trinidad and Tobago. In a country where gender binary ideology is still prevalent, this self-presentation as a loving and caring ‘*mother-politician*’ is a culturally approved model of female leadership that helps Persad-Bissessar to deal with the pressure and possible negative

evaluation of women's ways of performing their professional roles. The '*mother-politician*' would "keep people happy" (Marra, Schnurr and Holmes 2006: 256) and would represent an effective strategy to deal with the most traditionally patriarchal aspects of the Caribbean society.

In the '*No Woman No Cry*' 2007 speech Persad-Bissessar incorporates many aspects of her private life in the narration of her career in the political public sphere. While all the leading politicians publicize private information "to help construct a favourable impression of themselves" (Stanyer 2007: 81), for women in power this means also being "compelled to show themselves to be able to perform their duties without sacrificing their husband and children" (Campus 2013: 27). Persad-Bissessar's inclusion of personal stories and emotions serves the classic wider strategy of positive self-presentation and celebration of her personal and professional achievements. However, one of the private aspects that she puts to the fore is a recount of the difficulties she experienced in "finding a balance between having a career in a demanding environment and being a mother or finding time for personal relationships" (Wagner and Wodak 2006: 405). The personal narrative of the disadvantages she overcame being both a young mother and a career-oriented woman is characterized by a strong emotional involvement and sense of pride in her achievements:

You may have read stories about me studying law very pregnant, being a teacher and then practicing the law, but going into politics over 21 years ago as an Alderman in Siparia.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally, 07/10/2007)

There were days when as a mother, I wanted to stay home and tend to my family, instead of putting in the long, hard hours that representing the people require.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally, 07/10/2007)

That is what I have stood out for in my political career, being the first woman to do several things. But creating history came with a personal price.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally, 07/10/2007)

Breaking the '*men/women*' and '*public/private*' dichotomies, these examples contribute to a wider positive self-presentation of Kamla as a caring mother as well as a hard-working and strong-minded pioneer in the Trinbagonian political public sphere, where she has been present for many years as a professional *woman*:

I created history in this country as the woman who propelled the UNC government's groundbreaking universal secondary education for all policy.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally 07/10/2007)

As the first female Attorney General and then Legal Affairs Minister, I contributed to the legal framework of our nation.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally 07/10/2007)

I have been in Parliament since 1994 and I have often been the lone woman's voice in the sea of men.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally 07/10/2007)

Since women leaders are often portrayed as "outsiders" that got access to the top positions by pure chance (Braden 1996; Norris 1997), Persad-Bissessar here stresses her '*cursus honorum*', the long path that brought her to leadership. These examples can be interpreted as Persad-Bissessar's "self-presentation as main actor on the stage" (Wagner and Wodak 2006: 404). Her narrative focuses on her consciousness of being in the spotlight as a successful leading woman inhabiting the political public space, as well as her consciousness "of the power of working hard, of impressing, of being different from others, and finally, of being publicly acknowledged" (Wagner and Wodak 2006: 404).

In this respect, Persad-Bissessar's frequent use of the first pronoun singular "*I*" contributes to making her speech more subjective and engaging, but also endows it with a higher degree of authority, an awareness of her own role (Bramley 2001:27). As shown in the examples from the '*No Woman No Cry*' speech, Persad-Bissessar frequently used the pronoun "*I*" with verbs in past tenses, often expressing material processes (e.g. "*I battled*", "*I climbed*", "*I created*", "*I contributed*", "*I worked*") and this contributed to her self-presentation as an experienced and active politician with a long career of achievements.

The intertextual references to the Afghan poem '*I'll Never Return*' contribute to her empowering, self-celebratory narrative. The poem was written in 1981 by Meena Keshwar Kamal, founder of the *Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan*, to narrate the resistance of Afghan women during war times. Some of the lines of the poem (in bold in the extract) are recontextualized and embedded in the '*No Woman No Cry*' speech as a war cry against Persad-Bissessar's political enemies, both in the PNM and in her party. Transferring an element from its original context (that is, de-contextualizing it), and inserting it into a new context is defined as recontextualization

(see Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90). As recontextualization always involves transformation, it often takes the textual form of a mix of both ‘new’ recontextualized elements and ‘old’ elements (such as particular words, expressions, arguments, topoi or rhetorical devices):

As the great poet said, **I am the woman who has awoken. I have arisen and become a tempest through the ashes of my burnt people. My nation’s wrath has empowered me.** When I see the ruin and destruction at the hands of the wicked PNM **I am filled with** vengeance and **hatred against the enemy.** I want everyone to know that **I am the woman who has awoken. I’ve found my path and will never turn back.** I want to tell all my political enemies, close to me and far away, that Kamla Persad-Bissessar is a woman who gets knocked down, but she gets up again, and they are never going to keep me down.

(Chaguanas, UNC-A Rally, 07/10/2007, my emphasis).

The self-reference in the third person (“*Kamla Persad-Bissessar is*”) reinforces the epic afflatus of the passage. However, Persad-Bissessar seems to move from the standard to the colloquial in the conclusion with an intertextual reference to the chorus of the 1997 hit song *Tubthumping* by the British anarcho-punk band Chumbawamba (“I get knocked down, but I get up again You’re never gonna keep me down”). The theme of “*rising*” is already present in *nuce*, to be further developed in the 2010 Campaign as a national and personal movement towards success and leadership. The same poem by Meena Keshwar Kamal will also be embedded by Persad-Bissessar in the Presentation of Candidates speech during the 2010 Campaign, in the passage dedicated to the empowering narrative of national emancipation from slavery (see Ch. 6). Her positive self-presentation as a symbol and an example of Trinbagonian female empowerment will be further reinforced in the 2010 ‘*We Will Rise*’ Campaign.

#### 4.2.2 From “Mother” to “I am Woman” in the 2010 Campaign

The 2010 campaign saw the return of “popular themes such as ‘the people’, motherhood and children”: these themes were put to the fore in the campaign because they are “issues that would strike responsive chords that would resonate with women, who make up over 50 percent of the population in Trinidad” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013:152). Knowing that the female electorate could represent the winning factor, Persad-Bissessar put a further accent on women’s issues and female representation in politics as part of a wider strategy of positive self-presentation.

On May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2010, the PM Candidate and Leader of the People’s Partnership Persad-Bissessar presented her candidates in a massive rally at the Mid-Centre Mall of Chaguanas. Her introduction brought the audience back to another crucial moment of her political history, the ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ speech of October 2007, which had been held in the same venue but in a completely different situation for her:

**Two and a half years ago** I stood before you on these very grounds and spoke to you from my heart. **Two and a half years ago**, as you stood on these grounds in your thousands, I opened up my heart and soul to you when you my people showed me support, love and hope. **Two and a half years ago**, when you gave me the mandate to continue to serve you the people, I made a vow that there would be a day when I would stand before you again on these historic grounds and look at your faces smile with the hope and satisfaction that I have become the woman you wanted me to become. **Today**, that day has come.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010, my emphasis)

Persad-Bissessar is referring to her ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ 2007 speech as the moment when she “*opened up my heart and soul*”, and is reprising the same emotional appeal. She describes the last two and a half years as the period of time in which an authentic “coming of age” has occurred. She is now the PM Candidate, “*the woman you wanted me to become*”, probably referring to her high level of popularity in public opinion polls in 2007, such that made Basdeo Panday’s decision to appoint Jack Warner as Chairman and co-leader incomprehensible to many.

After this introduction, Persad-Bissessar embeds in her speech the lyrics of ‘*I Am Woman*’, the tune she chose as a personal anthem and soundtrack for her entry on stage



throughout the 2010 campaign.<sup>18</sup> The song seems to fit Persad-Bissessar's history of political achievements, as well as the parallel she is wishing to draw between the Chaguanas rally in 2007 and the one in 2010. Parts of the song's lyrics are embedded in the speaking notes for the Presentation of Candidates speech of May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2010, rearranged by Persad-Bissessar to fit the chronological narration of her path towards leadership and her positive self-presentation as an experienced politician and as a '*self-made woman*':

Oh yes, I am wise  
 But it's wisdom born of pain  
 Yes, I've paid the price  
 You can bend but never break me  
 'Cause it only serves to make me  
 More determined to achieve my final goal  
 And I come back even stronger  
 Not a novice any longer  
 'Cause you've deepened the conviction in my soul

See me standing toe to toe  
 As I spread my lovin' arms across the land  
 But I'm still an embryo  
 With a long, long way to go  
 Until I make my brother understand  
 And I know too much to go back an' pretend  
 'Cause I've heard it all before  
 And I've been down there on the floor  
 No one's ever gonna keep me down again  
 No one is gonna keep you down again  
 WE WILL RISE, WE WILL RISE, WE WILL RISE

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010)

The song can be seen as a narration of her 'coming of age' from "*novice*" to PM candidate. Her 2007 defeat is regarded as a source of empowerment, as "*wisdom born of pain*". Now on the stage as a PM candidate, she is still an "*embryo*" and is still to be elected, but is willing to mark her change in status. Her 'coming of age' could be easily linked to the wider theme of *rising* in the campaign (she was "*down there on the floor*" and now she is "*standing toe to toe*"), and she aptly concludes by repeating her slogan. After the song,

---

<sup>18</sup> Released as a single by the Australian American Helen Reddy in May 1972, 'I Am Woman' became the Billboard Hot 100 number one single, selling over one million copies. The song represents one of the biggest hits celebrating female empowerment in the 1970s. Released at the apex of the counterculture era, it became a feminist anthem for the women's liberation movement (Perone 2004:85).

she reinforces her positive self-presentation with a “topos of experience”, supporting her image of a qualified leader (“25 years of public service”) and projecting attention onto the future *mission* of the 2010 General Election:

And as God is my witness I am humbled and honoured by the vote of confidence you have given me in my over 25 years of public service to you. I am humbled and honoured that today you the people have chosen as a leader of this historic People’s Partnership which is on a mission, with you my people, to change our country’s destiny.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010)

The choice of a famous 1970s feminist song as a personal jingle exemplifies how far Persad-Bissessar has come since 2007, finally becoming Leader of the People’s Partnership and PM Candidate. Nonetheless, some discursive strategies employed in her 2010 General Election campaign seem to link back to the theme of the ‘*mother-politician*’ of the ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ 2007 speech. Her family role as a mother and grandmother is still put to the fore in strategic moments of her campaign, as a further support to her positive self-presentation and legitimation as an impartial, strong and caring leader for Trinidad and Tobago.

One of these crucial moments is her first public appearance as PM Candidate on April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2010, as earlier that day Patrick Manning announced the date for the General Election:

Sisters and brothers, I stand here today as one of you, a woman, **mother, grandmother**, a wife, daughter, sister and friend. I am here too as a lawyer, public servant, and a Prime Ministerial candidate.

(Hindu Women’s Organization, 16/04/2010, my emphasis)

**As a mother and grandmother**, I am also deeply concerned about the extent to which our children are being introduced to human values.

(Hindu Women’s Organization, 16/04/2010, my emphasis)

During the speech at the Hindu Women’s Organization, Persad-Bissessar employs a careful positioning that highlights her family roles (“*a woman, mother, grandmother, a wife, daughter, sister and friend*”), together with her institutional ones (“*lawyer, public servant, and a Prime Ministerial candidate*”). Brought up in the rural town of Siparia in a traditional Hindu family, Persad-Bissessar never identifies openly as a Hindu woman

in the speech, as part of a wider strategy of religious vagueness throughout the campaign (see Ch. 6). Positioning herself as a ‘*mother*’, she is still able to create a bond with the audience of Hindu women (“*I stand here today as one of you*”). She positions herself closer to their problems and needs as wives, daughters and sisters both in the closely-knit Hindu family and in the wider Trinbagonian society.

Her Victory Speech on May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010 is another key moment in which Persad-Bissessar presents herself as a ‘*mother-politician*’. Since she has just been elected as the country’s Prime Minister, she may be deliberately choosing to draw on a discourse strategy that associates her role as PM with her role as a ‘*mother*’. As we have seen in 4.2.1, this could be interpreted as a legitimisation strategy linking her role as PM to the most acceptable traditional female leadership roles, in which women are licensed to behave in authoritative ways. When illustrating the key features of her future leadership, she adds “*the nurturing nature of a mother and grandmother*” as an extra value to her political and government experiences:

I bring to my leadership not just political experience and government experience but I also carry into the office of the Prime Ministership **the nurturing nature of a mother and grandmother** and I will look after each of you all as my own.

(Victory Speech - Rienzi Complex, 24/05/2010, my emphasis)

Later in the speech, in thanking her family she reprises the difficulties experienced when trying to “*juggle her roles*” between wife, mother and politician, as described in the ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ speech of 2007:

It is never easy on a family when **your wife and mother** juggles her roles with her political life and so tonight I pay tribute to them for the way they have endured these years with love and selflessness.

(Victory Speech - Rienzi Complex, 24/05/2010, my emphasis)

Rather than being targeted exclusively to a more male (and patriarchal) electorate, the ‘*mother-politician*’ strategy is employed also as a bonding strategy with the female electorate. The Trinbagonian female electorate has been supporting Persad-Bissessar from the beginning of her political career and the women’s vote represented an important winning factor also in the 2010 ‘*We Will Rise*’ Campaign.

#### 4.2.3 *Kamla and the ‘Women in Partnership’*

Persad-Bissessar has always been regarded as close to women’s issues. Her foundation of the *Siparia Women’s Association*, a non-governmental association born in the early nineties, gave life to that supportive “gender network” that is regarded by Bissessar and La Guerre (2013:151f) as an important factor in Kamla’s election as the first female Prime Minister in the history of Trinidad and Tobago.

During the 2010 ‘We Will Rise’ Campaign, Persad-Bissessar hosted a rally in Diego Martin entitled ‘Women in Partnership’ with all the other female delegates of the People’s Partnership, aiming to address women’s issues in Trinidad and Tobago. In the context of an all-female rally, Persad-Bissessar relied one more time on a self-presentation that highlighted her family roles of mother and grandmother. Although Persad-Bissessar served as Minister of Education between 1999 and 2001, and contributed to facilitating universal Secondary Education in Trinidad and Tobago, her concern for Trinbagonian children’s issues is discursively mediated and reinforced by her role as “*mother and grandmother*”:

My friends, tonight you are probably wondering why Kamla have a milk pan with her, I brought this milk pan from home, you know **I have two little grand-babies** and I know how hard it is to buy milk for them and how difficult it must be for many mothers who rake and scrape to ensure that they get the money to feed their children, this milk pan represents the hope of a better future for our children and our babies. It represents my commitment to you that I will put our children first and foremost on the list of priorities of government. You can trust me, you can trust me with your children, because **I too am a mother and a parent.**

(Diego Martin, 07/05/2010, my emphasis)

In this populist *argumentum ad misericordiam*, an appeal for compassion and empathy to win the audience over to her side, lies the rhetorical connection between Kamla and her audience. By posing a fairly unrealistic scenario in which also Persad-Bissessar experienced difficulties in buying milk for her grand-babies (“*I know how hard it is to buy milk for them*”), the PM candidate aims at shortening the distance even from the most underprivileged part of the electorate. The milk pan becomes the symbol of her commitment to children, who are premodified with “*your*” and “*our*”, and considered as children of the nation. The “*topos of trust*”, often employed by politicians during

campaigns in their quest for votes, is here “unpacked” and explicated: trust has been earned by her longstanding role as “*a mother and a parent*”, rather than as a former Minister of Education

The Diego Martin rally was reprised by the local press, which highlighted its women-only nature. The Trinidad Express commented on the absence of men on the stage: “even the job of adjusting the microphone for each speaker was done by a woman” (Julien 2010). The two pictures from the Diego Martin rally included in the ‘*Kamla 2010*’ photobook exemplify the extent to which the female political component was highlighted and ‘staged’ during the rally.



**Figure 8:** “Leading Ladies” – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet

The picture is accompanied by the following caption

May 7, 2010 Diamond Vale, Diego Martin.

**LEADING LADIES:** Advancing social development and condemning violence on women among the topics of the three-hour meeting hosted by female delegates of the People's Partnership. Before departing Kamla summons her 'sisters' to join in song. The audience is witnessing a display of affection not commonly seen on a political platform.

Pictured (from left) COP delegate Anna Maria Mora, UNC delegate Nela Khan, UNC delegate Annabelle Davis, UNC leader Kamla Persad-Bissessar, UNC delegate Verna St. Rose Greaves and COP delegate Carolyn Seeparsad Bachchan. Present but not pictured: COP delegate Nicole Dyer-Griffith and UNC delegate Stacy Roopnarine.

Politicians are among those subjects that are usually required to look out of the frame and directly engage with the viewer, as “looking at the viewer, or the right to do so, in itself suggests *power*” (Machin 2012:111, my emphasis). The female politicians in the picture do not directly engage the viewer with their gaze, and the picture could be considered as an “offer” rather than a “demand” in Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996: 122ff) terms. However, while there is no symbolic ‘contact’ or interaction between the viewer and the women depicted, it is the very nature of politicians on a rally stage that does not seem to suggest their presence in the picture as merely ‘objects’ of the viewer’s scrutiny, but as ‘performers’ (Wodak 2009), since they are fully aware of the mediatization of their public presence. The angle of interaction, slightly oblique to the left and vertical, contributes to giving the viewer the feeling of being somewhere in the audience attending the Diego Martin rally. The angle reinforces the high, powerful status of the women in the picture as politicians and role models: they are “*Leading Ladies*”, as the caption maintains. The absence of direct gaze is balanced by the distance of the shot: although the picture is actually a long shot, the angle cutting the stage gives a higher sense of closeness and makes the viewer feel as if they were standing front-row at the feet of it, close to the energy of the moment, actually supporting the People’s Partnership. The social actors in the picture are represented *en groupe*, and the four women in the center are collectivized and politically categorized through the use of the color yellow as belonging to the same party.

In particular, two main elements in the picture can be regarded as having a central symbolic value in the composition. The first element is the aforementioned *color yellow*: starting from the assumption that “the meaning of color rests on association” (Kress and

van Leeuwen 2002: 354), the *People's Partnership yellow* could be interpreted as a strong “color act” of political renewal.<sup>19</sup> The color yellow has both an *interpersonal* and a *textual* metafunction in the picture. Interpersonal, because the color yellow is used to act on the audience with a political end, the final aim of representing the Party's ideas and the values they stand for. Textual, because the repetition of the color yellow creates cohesion and offers the semiotic possibility of recognizing a pattern among the women in the picture. In this respect, the function played by the color is both putting them in relation with each other while, simultaneously, ‘associating’ them to the People's Partnership. The picture is aptly cropped to leave the white shirts of the Congress of the People's delegates to the sides and give salience to the traditional African dress in yellow worn by Verna St. Rose Greaves, whose presence symbolizes the ethnic inclusivity of the coalition and inter-ethnic solidarity between Trinbagonian women.

The second element is the focus on the process of *holding hands*: the leader Kamla is not perfectly at the center of the picture, which is occupied by her hand holding that of UNC delegate Annabelle Davis at her right. The picture may aim at representing a ‘feminine’ approach to leadership, departing from the rigid hierarchy typical of the traditional notion of power. As the caption says, “*Kamla summons her ‘sisters’ to join in song*”, and singing together in choir while holding hands can be seen as a symbolic act that levels any trace of hierarchy, being closer to the horizontal dimension of power promoted by the feminist movements (Hillman 2009: 22).

The caption, like the very title of the photobook, *Kamla 2010*, exemplifies how Persad-Bissessar was frequently called by her first name by the media and the public during the campaign. Although often denounced as a form of gender discrimination (Stein 2009), in the case of Persad-Bissessar the use of the first name can be seen as a strategic choice, part of her self-presentation as a motherly figure for the nation. Compared to her long, hyphenated surname, her first name may serve to give a stronger sense of warmth and familiarity.

---

<sup>19</sup> Yellow was introduced in 2010 in the political arena of Trinidad and Tobago. Yellow became the new UNC color and also came to symbolize the wider People's Partnership coalition, in opposition to the traditional red of the People's National Movement. The new color marked a departure from the orange of the United National Congress under Basdeo Panday. The choice could be interpreted as a possible way of reprising the rising sun in the UNC symbol, transmitting the positive, warm and energizing vibe of a new dawn for Trinidad and Tobago.

The image of horizontal solidarity and strong bonding in the picture is further reinforced by the caption, maintaining that “*The audience is witnessing a display of affection not commonly seen on a political platform*”. The caption positively highlights the exceptionality and inclusive nature of the coalition, but also seems to link back to the stereotype of women being ‘emotional politicians’, more willing to display their emotions as Persad-Bissessar showed in her 2007 ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ speech. But rather than being “*the lone woman’s voice in the sea of men*” as she was in 2007, Persad-Bissessar is now portrayed as the leader of a coalition that gives political visibility to women and sees in her “*gender network*” a crucial share of her electorate.

This idea of a strong network of women is reinforced by the second picture from the Diego Martin rally of May, 7<sup>th</sup> 2010, on the following page in the *Kamla 2010* booklet:



**Figure 9:** We Will Rise” – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet

The caption of the picture states:

May 7, 2010 Diamond Vale, Diego Martin.

**WE WILL RISE:** Lisa Maraj of Diego Martin Northeast hoists a UNC pin and casts hopeful eyes at the female delegation of the People’s Partnership as they host a meeting with a “Ladies Night” theme near Wendy Fitzwilliam Boulevard. “I’m not walking in fear”, announced delegate Verna St. Rose Greaves who denounced violence and name-calling in campaigning. “We must be the change we want”, declared Greaves.



The picture portrays Lisa Maraj, a Diego Martin North East Councillor for the UNC, attending the “*Ladies Night*” rally and showing her UNC pin. The composition, juxtaposing her face (as “Carrier”) with the UNC symbol (the “Symbolic Attribute”), is an asymbolic process epitomizing her role as councillor. In the Trinbagonian system, she is the ‘front-line face’ that represents the government at the local level, maintaining the everyday relationship between the party and the electoral district, being available for direct contact with the citizens. Her arm, working as vector, connects the UNC pin (situated at the “ideal”, emotive level of promise in a “given” position, representing the party ideals that the elector can trust) and Maraj herself (situated at the “real”, practical level of product, representing the person available to represent the party at the local level).

Maraj is not alone in the audience, but we can see two other women of different ages with her in the picture and glimpse two men in the background, all working as “non-transactional reactors”, casting their gaze towards something or someone undepicted in the image. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]: 67f), as there is no Phenomenon (that is, the object of the glance of one or more of the represented reactors) included in the image, the pictures of non-transactional reactors can become a source of representational manipulation. This happens frequently in the cropping of pictures in the news, portraying somebody’s reaction to something or someone we cannot see (see Hall 1982). In this case, being on page 14 of the booklet, this portrait is in dialogue with the picture of the “*Leading Ladies*” on the stage on page 13, almost constituting a diptych. Maraj is portrayed casting “*hopeful eyes at the female delegation of the People’s Partnership*”, that is to say, she is looking at the same image we were looking at in the previous picture that she saw on the actual occasion from her perspective at the foot of the stage.

To further reinforce the connection between the two pictures, the caption reports the words of Verna St. Rose Greaves, depicted in the “*Leading Ladies*” picture, and her resolution to stop “*violence and name-calling*” against women in the country. Picturing Maraj in the booklet is a highly symbolic choice: she is part of that “*gender network*” that has been supporting Kamla since the 1990s, contributing to creating and reinforcing her network in small villages throughout the country and establishing relationships with community boards, NGOs and public and private organisations.

#### 4.2.4 *Kamla, the Angel of Trinidad and Tobago*

The common psychology of leadership usually endorses the view of the great leader as a “Great Man”, who is “irredeemably masculine, heroic, individualist and normative in orientation and nature” (Grint 2010: 40). If this dominant model has given life to many ‘Iron Ladies’, women leaders very much in line with the ‘Great Man’ stereotype, Persad-Bissessar seems to adopt a different strategy. In a context such as the 2010 General Election campaign in Trinidad and Tobago, those very characteristics generally considered to be “inappropriate in leaders” (Rosener 1990: 120) could have possibly constituted a “female advantage” for Persad-Bissessar (Hegelsen 1990). As a female PM candidate, she presented herself as “more participatory and interpersonally oriented” as well as “more likely to adopt empathetic, supportive, and collaborative approaches” (Kellerman et al. 2007: 16f). In this respect, her gender difference could have possibly been instrumental in signaling and promoting a political change, which would bring a new, more inclusive kind of administration to Trinidad and Tobago.

This accent on her motherly and collaborative leadership is at the heart of the conclusions of her Diego Martin “*Women in Partnership*” speech. As we have seen in 4.2.3, Persad-Bissessar engages in an appeal to solidarity, reprising the story of a single mother being arrested for stealing baby milk. Holding a milk pan in her hands, she asks the audience to fill it with money to be donated to the single mother and her baby:

Friends tonight I am asking each of you to make a contribution however small in the milk pan, it will be passed around at the end of the meeting. All contributions in the milk pan will be given to the baby Hannah fund. It will go to a child who needs a chance at life. Let us give our children that chance to live, love and learn. Our nation’s finest minds starts with that very milk pan and tonight I signal that our children will not have to suffer much longer, because when we take government they too will rise. Instead of Manning drinking wine from golden goblets, our babies will have milk in their bottles.

(Diego Martin 07/05/2010)

In her appeal, Persad-Bissessar starts from the very grassroots of collaboration and solidarity, asking for a “*contribution however small*”, almost as if passing an offering plate in a church. Rather than promoting an image of power based on authority, stereotypically associated with fathers (and especially “strict fathers” *à la* Lakoff),

Persad-Bissessar stresses the aspects of motherly care and provision of goods. Her appeal serves to create a strong polarization between her positive self-presentation as “Mother of the Nation”, and the negative presentation of Manning as Emperor, “*drinking wine from golden goblets*” (see 6.3.2).

As she was campaigning for power after a period of authoritarianism and corruption, Persad-Bissessar portrayed herself as an agent of change able to “clean up corruption in politics” (Norris 1997: 163), and as someone who was able to “heal the country and bring peace and reconciliation” (Campus 2013: 44). In the context of the wider theme of ‘*rising*’ adopted in the campaign (see Ch. 6), Kamla put herself on a pedestal as the high priestess of her country, the only candidate that could make Trinidad and Tobago rise from the previous Manning administration. By the time of the final rally, held on May 22<sup>th</sup> at Aranguez Savannah, Persad-Bissessar was already the favorite in the run for the Prime Ministership: she entered the stage escorted by kids dressed as angels, to receive a serenade meaningfully entitled “*An Angel*”. The moment is captured in the *Kamla 2010 Photobook*:



**Figure 10:** “We Will Rise” – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet

Persad-Bissessar is clearly the protagonist of the picture: the arm of the young boy kneeling at her right works as a diagonal vector that directs the attention towards her. The slightly oblique angle puts her in a salient position, with her figure, dressed in her trademark yellow skirt suit, extending to the entire height of the image. The stretched arm of the young boy, together with his eyeline vector, connects him to Persad-Bissessar: he is speaking or singing to her. The caption, where the rally is described as an exotic “*great pilgrimage to Mecca*”, helps to contextualize the image better:

May 22, 2010, 2010 Aranguez Savannah, Aranguez.

**SILKY SERENADE:** The streets leading to the Aranguez Savannah resemble images of the great pilgrimage to Mecca. Election Day is two days away and this is the final rally. Dancers with wings like golden rays ignite the event, and unveil the enthusiastic delegates. Vibrant flags, yellow balloons and homemade banners prance overhead to the soundtrack of howls, screams cheers, Pranava Maharaj, 14, of Vistabella in San Fernando, performs an original ballad titled “An Angel” for Kamla, who was escorted on stage by young, angelic performers.

As we read from the caption, Persad-Bissessar entered the stage in her final rally at Aranguez Savannah escorted by young kids dressed as angels. The ‘little angels’ are holding hands in circle on the right of the image, representing a minor process embedded in the major process of the serenade, important to contextualize and add meaning to the narrative structure of the picture. The young singer is dedicating his song, evocatively titled ‘*An Angel*’, while on his knees, almost worshipping her.

Persad-Bissessar is the “goal” of the singer’s action, but she is also the “reacter” of a non-transactional reaction: she is not glancing back at the kneeled boy, but she is smiling while looking at the crowd, which is not included in the picture. Her hands in the air suggest she is pleasantly and humbly surprised by the serenade. The setting also suggests a form of approval, with other delegates on the stage portrayed as cheering, smiling, applauding, or waving flags. Maharaj’s song is a cover of the song “*An Angel*”, popularized by the Kelly Family in the 1990s. The lyrics have been recontextualized and adapted to reinforce the presentation of Kamla as Angel:

From the pristine cosmic dance  
 You have come to give a solid chance  
 An Angel from that magic star  
 Kamla Persad-Bissessar  
 Sometimes I wish I were an Angel, sometimes I wish I were you  
 With your Angel's guiding hand  
 To lead us to the Promised Land  
 With beauty, passion, hope and care,  
 A wind of change is in the air  
 To save our island paradise  
 Together We Will Rise  
 Can you not hear the victory drums?  
 Angel, your time has finally come!  
 Together with you, our Angel Kamla Persad-Bissessar, We Will Rise!

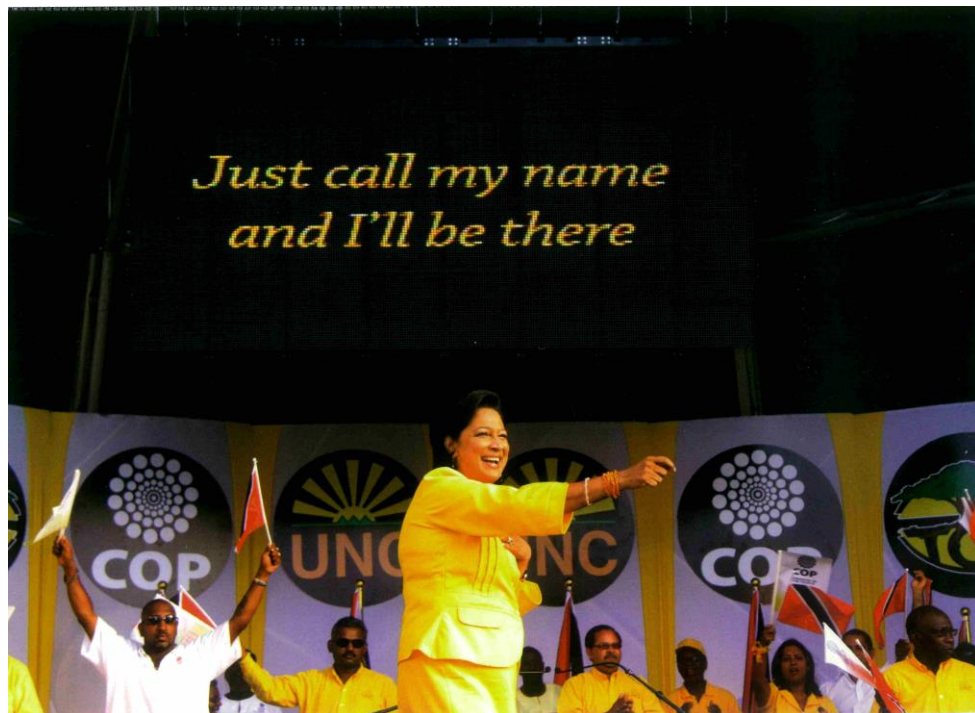
The lyrics display an extensive use of religious intertextuality and interdiscursivity: her hand is the *Angel's guiding hand*, the national body is celebrated as a Caribbean *paradise*, the future of her government is the *Promised Land*. Also the '*We Will Rise*' motto is embedded in the lyrics, as well as the accent on the '*wind of change*' that she will bring to the nation. The PM candidate is clearly presenting herself as the supernatural being that will save Trinidad and Tobago.

This representation of Kamla as an angel seems to fall in with two well-rooted beliefs on women leaders. Firstly, the qualities that Persad-Bissessar will bring to her leadership ("*beauty, passion, hope and care*") are a stereotypical positive representation of a 'Mother of the Nation' leader. Placing Persad-Bissessar on such a supernatural pedestal in the campaign links back to "the well-rooted belief that women are more honest, and therefore less easily infected by power" (Campus 2013: 47). Secondly, as Kamla is portrayed as coming from a star and descending as a blessing on Trinidad and Tobago, she is presented as not involved in the causes of the contemporary national problems. This aspect links back to the stereotype of the woman leader as "outsider", when "being extraneous becomes an asset", especially on those occasions when "the disastrous state of things is produced by the male dominant elite" and "the situation is so serious that real change is needed" (ibid.).<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Other female leaders have been elected in other non-Western contexts to "clean-up" politics, such as Corazon Aquino of the Philippines, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia and Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua (Col 1993; Cantrell and Bachmann 2008; Solheim 2000).

In another moment from the Aranguez Savannah Final Rally, Persad-Bissessar almost seemed to ‘answer’ this popular demand for a saviour with a reference to another song. The moment is portrayed in the *Kamla 2010* photobook: Persad-Bissessar is on the stage greeting the audience, again as the “reacter” of a “non-transactional reaction”: she is smiling and looking at the crowd, which is not depicted in the picture. The connection with the audience is reinforced by her arm, working as a vector pointing somewhere in the crowd, making her also the “actor” of a “non-transactional action”. The picture is aptly cropped to show the karaoke screen displaying the lyrics to the Jackson Five’s song “I’ll be there”, meaningfully positioned in the “Ideal” upper half of the image and chosen to epitomize her pledge on the eve of the election date.



**Figure 11:** ‘I’ll Be There’ – Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet

Her candidacy is presented as a popular demand, an answer to the country’s needs rather than a competition for political power: she is ‘offering’ herself to the nation, her supernatural powers will ‘heal’ Trinidad and Tobago, and peace in the “*island paradise*” will be finally restored.

As in any political campaign, her discursive strategies are aimed at creating a strong polarization between Kamla '*the Angel*' and Manning '*the Emperor*'. The following sections focus on Persad-Bissessar's strategies of negative other-presentation and "démontage" of her opponent, the leader of the PNM Patrick Manning.

### 4.3 *Strategies of Negative Other-Presentation*

#### 4.3.1 *'Manout' and the Discursive Construction of the Out-Group*

After having called a snap election during his second term as Prime Minister following alleged corruption in the building sector, Patrick Manning was not in the most favourable of positions in the run-up to the 2010 General Election. Beginning her Campaign in the Pointe-à-Pierre Constituency on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Persad-Bissessar promptly introduced one of the main themes of the Campaign in the discursive construction of an “out-group” for Manning and the PNM, the pun on his name, *'Manout'*:

Whatever might be the thinking behind his rash decision to prorogue Parliament to call a general election, the people of this country are relieved. Finally, we will all have an opportunity to express our disapproval of his managing the nation's affairs by voting him out of office. Even Manning himself has admitted that he is on his way out. We all say after the election, it will not be Manning but **Manout**.

(Pointe-à-Pierre Constituency, 12/04/2010, my emphasis)

Here, Persad-Bissessar is quoting a famous slogan of the National Alliance for Reconstruction, the only other successful coalition in the history of the nation. The pun, changing the end of Manning's surname from sounding like *'In'* to *'Out'*, and the appeal to a “*vote him out of office*” seem to be both references to the “*Vote 'em Out*” campaign by the NAR against the PNM. According to Joseph (2000), “the call by the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) to “*Vote Them Out*” in 1986 utilised all media, produced some memorable commercials and routed the PNM”. The NAR's most famous campaign image was one of a child pleading: “*Vote them out. Please*”.

The theme of excluding Manning from what can be considered as a wider national “in-group” is at the core of the *'Do So!'* campaign, one of the most popular ads supporting Persad-Bissessar. The campaign reprises the gesture of Percy Villafana, a 81-year-old former Co-operative Development Officer with the Ministry of Agriculture, which brought him fame on the Trinbagonian public scene in March 2010. His gesture against Manning, which was dubbed *'the Villafana'*, was popularized during the People's



Partnership campaign.<sup>21</sup> The 81-year-old pensioner became an authentic political icon, he joined the Partnership in the rallies and was also portrayed in the *Kamla 2010* photobook:



**Figure 12:** The ‘Villafana’– Picture from the ‘Kamla 2010’ Booklet

Two pictures are juxtaposed on the page. On the left, a young People’s Partnership supporter raising the popular ‘Do So!’ poster, a graphic design of crossed arms on a yellow background. On the right, Villafana himself, repeating his iconic crossed arms gesture and wearing a t-shirt with the ‘Do So!’ slogan and depicting the same gesture. Even though the two are not actually part of the same picture, the composition gives the effect of an intra-diegetic gaze. Villafana is portrayed standing on the stage and the young supporter seems to be looking at him from the crowd. The fact that Villafana is a 81-year-old pensioner and former Ministry officer guarantees him respect and social authority in

---

<sup>21</sup> As the Prime Minister Patrick Manning was on a political walkabout in the San Juan area, Villafana denied him entry to his yard by standing with his arms crossed in front of him. The photo of Villafana blocking the PM was printed on the front of the daily newspapers and shown on the evening news. When interviewed by local television, Villafana reportedly said “That sign is to ward off evil”, contributing to the negative other-presentation of Manning in the media. Villafana’s gesture links back to the syncretic Afro-Christian belief in evil spirits and the traditional remedies against them.

Trinbagonian society: he is the voice of a wise old man and the young supporter is portrayed as following his example and imitating his gesture. The composition aims at representing the transversal power of the People's Partnership, able to bring together different generations and to represent them all.

The elliptical nature and the brevity of the '*Do So!*' slogan, paired with the iconographic symbolism of the gesture, are the two main aspects that made the ad so powerful. The young supporter in the picture is waving one of the '*Do So!*' posters that were printed on a yellow background by the major newspapers as a full-color centerfold pull-out to be taken to People's Partnership rallies. Actually, the '*Do So!*' ads found on thousands of electricity poles across the country were printed on a white background, making the slogan even more elliptical, because the viewer could not associate the People's Partnership iconic yellow color to it.



**Figure 13:** The 'Do So' Ad from the People's Partnership 2010 Campaign

Advertising often employs language ellipsis as it helps deal with time and space constraints, “as long as what is omitted is easily recoverable by the intended audience” (Johnson 2008:9f). In this respect, the ‘*Do So!*’ slogan may have contributed to building an in-group of electors based on implicit shared knowledge, so that People’s Partnership supporters would all know what the “*so*” is that they have to “*do*”.

Following in the steps of Basdeo Panday, Kamla also attracted Afro-Trinbagonian Calypso singers to sing political anthems against the PNM during the 2010 Campaign. The idea of ‘*Manout*’ was also powerfully reprised in ‘*Patrick Manning have to go*’, a popular calypso hymn commissioned by the People’s Partnership from the calypsonian Edwin ‘*Crazy*’ Ayoung:<sup>22</sup>

Patrick Manning have to go.  
After the Calder Hart fiasco  
And the hospital in Scarborough  
Yes Trinidad and Tobago  
Patrick Manning have to go  
Like Schlumberger and Texaco  
Gordon Grant, Bata and Esso  
Salvatori and Johnny O  
Patrick Manning have to go

The lyrics of the calypso song list two of the most controversial moments of Patrick Manning’s political history as PM. The first is “*the Calder Hart fiasco*”, the *casus belli* for the 2010 snap election, that exposed the PNM to a number of allegations of corruption crystallized around Calder Hart, executive chairman of the Urban Development Corporation of Trinidad and Tobago (UDeCOTT), responsible for the construction of public infrastructure.

The second is the “*hospital in Scarborough*” scandal, when Manning’s Housing Minister Keith Rowley was accused of using materials from the Scarborough Regional

---

<sup>22</sup> The role of Calypso music in offering commentary on social, political and economic issues is widely acknowledged in Trinbagonian society. Calypso can be seen as ‘the people’s newspaper’, a crucial source of understanding and knowledge of the prevailing situations within the country, in a language that is the localized, colloquial Trinidadian Creole. The calypsonian freely comments on the latest news and events, exposing scandals and gossip usually involving powerful public figures of the country, such as politicians. (Regis 1999). Given this traditional interpretation of Calypso as ‘free speech’, these open forms of party endorsements as expressed in Crazy’s ‘*Patrick Manning have to go*’ are often seen as contradicting the real nature of Calypso music.

Hospital construction site for his private venture in 2004. In addition, the calypsonian also lists a number of major foreign multinational corporations (“*Schlumberger, Texaco Gordon Grant, Bata, Esso, Salvatori, Johnny O*”) present in Trinidad and Tobago. The corporations are often at the center of scandals, corruption allegations and controversies for a number of issues, including the working conditions and wages of the Trinbagonians employed as well as the abuse of natural resources and ecological damage caused to the islands. The calypsonian associates Manning with the multinational corporations in his request to send them all away from the country. As the former PM is linked to a shared issue of economic power and exploitation, he is indirectly portrayed as “out-group”, not belonging to the country, not authentically Trinbagonian, and he is invited to leave the country.

#### 4.3.2 *Dismantling Patrick Manning: “The Emperor has no Clothes”*

The UDeCOTT scandal is undoubtedly one of the main themes of Persad-Bissessar’s campaign, as it caused the snap election that would eventually bring the People’s Partnership to victory. Persad-Bissessar often condensed the possible comments on Manning’s leadership style, his alleged corruption and private interests into a vivid nomination, calling him ‘*Emperor Manning*’. Kamla makes a frequent use of ‘*Emperor Manning*’ to refer to her opponent throughout the campaign. In the speech at the Harris Promenade in S. Fernando she employs this nickname in a long intertextual reference to the short tale by Hans Christian Andersen, “*The Emperor’s New Clothes*”. In classical Aristotelian rhetoric, the ‘*narratio*’ gives a more or less biased account of a problem under discussion. Similarly, Andersen’s tale is altered to serve Kamla’s personal version of the UDeCOTT scandal as “*a story of vanity and arrogance*”:

Tonight I want to tell you a story of vanity and arrogance. Once upon a time there lived an Emperor called Patrick - and he was a very arrogant man, who did not care about his people, he was a very vain man and not very bright. The Emperor liked to build monuments and wear fine clothes - all to show off to visitors from far away countries when they came for big waste of time meetings. One day, a Canadian smart man called Calder came to see Patrick and he told Patrick that he would make the finest clothes for him out of a special thread that only people worthy to be in the Cabinet would be able to see. Calder told the Emperor that the clothes would cost him \$300M and to make up the cheque in the company name with his initials CH because no one would make the connection. So Calder made the clothes and Patrick said he would wear it on 24th May, because that was an important day in the Country. And before the big day, the Emperor tried on the new clothes made of special thread and all the Cabinet ministers told him he lookin' real good; except one called Keith and he was fired and accused of being a *wajang*. Once Calder got his money he disappeared with the money, - fled the country. On the 24th of May, when Patrick came out in his new clothes made by Calder everyone in the country knew that the special thread was really a hoax and the Emperor had no clothes. The Emperor was so ashamed having been fooled because of his arrogance and vanity; he was never seen again....and everyone in the Country lived happily ever after.

(Harris Promenade, St. Fernando, 05/05/2010)

One of the reasons why Persad-Bissessar decided to employ storytelling to talk about the UDeCOTT scandal could be its intricacy and the intensive media coverage that derived from it. According to Charteris-Black (2014: 237), “the old stories and the familiar ways to tell them” prove effective especially when dealing with complex issues, as “the data may be too much to absorb or the arguments too complex to follow”. The extract can also be considered an example of the role of narrative in political speeches as “as a device that supports the fundamental persuasive intention of presenting an ideologically biased selection of past events” (Schubert 2010:143).

This form of satirical storytelling in Trinbagonian political discourse also links back to the tradition of *picong*: “a local medium derived from an oral tradition of storytelling that was a combination of humour, hate, slander, sex and politics” (Premdas 2004:36). Through the use of *picong*, politicians engage the crowd in “street theatre”, slurring the reputation of their adversaries and evoking laughter in the audience. Crowds usually expect to be served up with a form of *picong* in exchange for the hours of listening to political propaganda (ibid.).

The narration serves Kamla’s negative other-presentation of Manning, who is described as “*very arrogant*”, “*very vain*”, and “*not very bright*”, just like Andersen’s Emperor. The characters in Andersen’s tale are substituted by the three main protagonists of the UDeCOTT scandal: Manning is the Emperor, Calder Hart is the swindler figure (of which there are actually two in the original tale), and Keith Rowley is the child in the

crowd who blurts out that the Emperor is wearing no clothes. The plot is extensively altered by Kamla, who includes real life events like Calder Hart fleeing the country after the scandal or Rowley being publicly called a “*wajang*” (a Trinidadian Creole term for someone behaving badly) by Manning. The Emperor’s procession with his new clothes is substituted by the Election Day, and while in Andersen’s tale the Emperor continues his procession, Manning will never be seen again in the country after May 24<sup>th</sup>, constituting the “happy ending” of the tale in Kamla’s view.

The People’s Partnership positive self-presentation forged an image of solidarity and inter-ethnic collaboration, led by a caring *mother-politician* and democratic leader. Conversely, in constructing the PNM as the “out-group” led by Manning, Persad-Bissessar often employs specific referential strategies similar to those found in the discourse of racial discrimination and the discursive construction of immigrants as out-groups (Van Leeuwen 1996; Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Examples are the use of “*genericisation*” and “*collectivisation*”, generic references in the plural to social actors as group entities, but without quantifying them. PNM members are often qualified through “*abstraction*”, that is, the representation of social actors by means of a quality. In this case, the quality is implied in the negative connotation of the generic collective reference assigned to them:

VISION 2020 is proof that the government knows what the country needs. But **Mr. Manning and his band** do not care about that!

(St. Helena, 19/04/2010, my emphasis)

And so when **Patrick Manning and his friends** get desperate and start the lies and the dirty tricks, and that’ll be soon, believe me...it’s not going to work. This time it’s different.

(St. Augustine, 16/04/2010, my emphasis)

We don’t have to go on as we are going and end up in disaster. We don’t have to go down with **Patrick Manning and his cronies**.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010, my emphasis)

The people are fed up of the incompetence, arrogance and the bankruptcy of the minds of the **Manning and his minions** who have the audacity to shut down your parliament and then come back to you to ask for your vote.

(Harris Promenade, St. Fernando - 05/05/2010, my emphasis)

And a lady told Manning here last night he must wear white if he wants to win. Well, I tell you tonight Manning losing this election whether he wear white, black or red... he cyar win even if he wear YELLOW, because the people have decided that they have had enough on **Manning and his clique!**

(Harris Promenade, St. Fernando, 05/05/2010, my emphasis)

An independent committee comprising UWI lecturers, private sector representatives and Ministry officials found that **Manning and his cohorts** pursued this project for blatant political mileage and ignored geo-technical reports that predicted failure.

(Arouca, 08/05/2010, my emphasis)

We have been reporting all these matters to the Integrity Commission. And I promise you tonight that when your People's Partnership government takes office on May 25 we will make sure that the Commission doesn't drag its feet on these matters. And so I tell **Manning and his pardners: WATCH OUT!** If you do the crime, get ready to do the time!

(La Brea, 17/05/2010, my emphasis)

Each might seem like a massive problem on its own, but each one is an individual link in the chain of poverty...so when we attack poverty, we attack crime. Ent that is common sense? Well if you know that and I know that, how come **Manning and them** doh know that?

(La Brea, 17/05/2010, my emphasis)

These reference strategies contribute to reinforcing the representation of "*Manning as Emperor*". The members of the PNM are collectivized to resemble a feudal court rather than a modern party. They are portrayed as faithful servants ("*minions, cohorts, pardners, cronies, clique*") ready to please their Prime Minister as subjects would do with their emperor. These nomination strategies have two major implications. Firstly, they imply Manning appointed his Ministers and collaborators to positions of authority, regardless of their qualifications. Secondly, they imply that the relationships inside the PNM are highly hierarchical and founded on mutual private interests of a dubious nature ("*friends, band*") rather than on the common good of the nation.

### 4.3.3 Dismantling Patrick Manning: Eric Williams and the ‘inferiority complex’

The PNM is the oldest party in the political history of the Nation, the first party to rule independent Trinidad and Tobago and also the one to rule it for the longest period of time. The party takes great pride in the fact that Eric Williams, regarded as the ‘Founding Father of the Nation’, was also its founder. In the negative other-presentation of Manning and his PNM, Persad-Bissessar often employs narratives aimed at drawing a parallel and highlighting the differences between Eric Williams, whose historical importance is widely acknowledged in the country regardless of political preferences, and Patrick Manning. More specifically, Persad-Bissessar accuses Manning of having an “*an inferiority complex*”, trying to live up to the important history of the party he is leading and trying to imitate Williams’ initiatives and style, obviously without succeeding. The following extract from the speech in La Brea is one of the various occasions on which she talks about Williams to discredit Manning, repeating almost the same passage in different rallies with little or no variation:

	WILLIAMS	MANNING
1.	The late Dr. Eric Williams built the national stadium.	So Manning rushed to build the bigger and more expensive Tarouba Stadium.
2.	Williams built the Pt Lisa’s estate.	So Manning grade the site down the road to build an even bigger industrial estate, and then for good measure he trying to build another one in Pranz Gardens too!
3.	Williams got a doctorate.	Well, Manning managed to get one of his Ministers’ family to give him a doctorate too!
4.	Williams built the waterfront and the twin towers in Port of Spain.	Manning built the education towers and one set of other buildings taller than the twin towers!
5.	Williams was called father of the nation.	You know Manning called HIMSELF Father of the Nation?
6.	Williams used to wear dark glasses all the time.	You know Manning wearing shades even in the night too!
7.	Williams used to wear a hearing aid.	Well, Manning not wearing a hearing aid yet but he certainly DEAF! So you see, Manning has an inferiority complex!

**Table 8:** Persad-Bissessar’s ‘*picong*’ against Manning



In her parallelism between Manning and Williams, Persad-Bissessar seems to follow the semiformal, ritual exchange of satirical '*picong*', the long-established genre of storytelling and caricaturing of the opponent in Trinbagonian political discourse that injects a "lighter note" into the hours-long rallies of political propaganda. The dialogic structure also resembles the Afro-American form of verbal duelling commonly known as "playing the dozens" (Labov 1972), here employed to insult and ridicule her opponent. Kamla's statements about Williams describe his achievements, which are part of the commonly shared national knowledge. The statements are short and with a SVO structure. To each of these Kamla then compares Manning's work reprising the same topic she addressed talking about Williams. She uses longer utterances, with a much larger number of adjectives ("*bigger*", "*more expensive*", "*even bigger*", "*taller*") which link back to the overarching strategy of presenting Manning as '*Emperor*', building public infrastructures that Kamla describes as exaggerated, useless or costing too much public money.

Kamla refers to another moment when Manning attracted a great deal of public criticism, when in a solemn address to the nation during his second mandate as PM in 1995 he stated: "*Today, I speak to you as the Father of the Nation, and as the Leader that you have chosen*", appointing to himself the title that had hitherto been Williams'. Manning is portrayed as an 'inferior copy' of Eric Williams also by drawing a parallel between Williams's doctorate in History at the University of Oxford which was rated as first of his class in 1935, and Manning's honorary doctorate, received from Medgar Evers College in 2007. Williams was known for his trademark shades and hearing aid, and Kamla concludes the parallelism with a classic '*picong*' joke in Trinidadian Creole on the supposed deafness of Manning, unable to listen to the electorate. Code-switching to Trinidadian Creole is a discursive and political strategy that Kamla employs often in her speeches, with a very precise communicative goal: talking freely and in a derogatory way about her opponent.

#### 4.3.4 *Trinidadian Creole as a Strategy of Demontage and Bonding*

The Trinidadian creolist Alleyne (1965) was among the first scholars to raise a key issue on the role of language in the political process of the early post-Independence era in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Trinidadian Standard English has always been the language of formal political life, in which administration and parliamentary debates are habitually conducted. In this respect, Alleyne denounced an alarming language gap between the educated elite who had inherited political power, and the Creole-speaking mass of the population on whose behalf power was supposedly being exercised.

Since the 1960s, the literacy rate in the country has been steadily growing, reaching 98.8% in 2011.<sup>23</sup> The status of Trinidadian Creole has also been constantly evolving, especially since 1975 when it was recognized as a language variety in its own right. However, any use that politicians might make of Creole in their speeches does not necessarily imply that the variety enjoys any kind of official status in the political system, rather its usage seems to link back to that use of Creole as the “*language of solidarity*”:

Increased status for the Creole and an identification with it as the language of the territory have made for greater use of it in public contexts, such as parliament; motivation towards a pure Standard is disappearing since most people balance out their use of standard and creole in relation to the demands of each situation. If StE (Standard English) is the language of power, TrnC (Trinidadian Creole) is the language of solidarity, and appropriate language use necessarily entails balancing the two varieties. (Youssef and Winford 2004:513)

The functions of Creole in a political speech in the Caribbean are limited, and include “sloganeering, telling jokes, abuse and as an emotional rhetoric device” (Devonish 1986: 100), while political content is always expressed in Standard English. Throughout the *KPB 2010* Corpus, Persad-Bissessar code-switches to Trinidadian Creole exclusively when she is talking about her opponent Patrick Manning and the PNM. Kamla uses Creole for the very same reasons described by Devonish: as a strongly metaphoric and idiomatic rhetorical device to make people feel closer to her opinions and reinforce her “in-group”. Hence, she code-switches into Creole when sloganeering against him or other members

---

<sup>23</sup> Total of people over the age of 15 (male: 99.2% and female: 98.5%) who can read and write (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2013).

of the PNM, when she is being ironic or mocking their work during their last mandate. The UDeCOTT scandal that brought Manning to call the snap election in 2010 is one of the PNM-related topics on which Kamla more frequently makes ironical comments in Trinidadian Creole:

When you told us Manning was protecting Calder Hart and called you a “wajang” when you spoke about the lack of cabinet oversight, we believed you. But when you flip flop and now tell us, leave Manning alone, we cyar believe yuh! When yuh tell us, stay on de ship no matter what state it in, we ayah believe yuh! Yuh could sing fuh yuh supper, but yuh would never get ah chance tuh eat it because Manning and the PNM will not be there after May 25th! Will you now help Manning defend this corrupt transaction that occurred under his nose and watch? Manning upstaged you on this. I want to tell you that this is a big, big leak, Keith. Yuh goh have tuh hire de Chineese tuh help yuh tuh plug it because the PNM ship is sinking! Keith, yuh say it eh have no court martial! Well, ah want tuh tell yuh dat there is a court martial! The date for de court martial is May 24th and the people will be the jury.

(Arouca, 08/05/2010)

In this excerpt, Kamla is addressing the PNM former Planning Minister Keith Rowley. Rowley was dismissed by Manning in 2008 because he had demanded Cabinet oversight over a multi-million dollar project being undertaken by Calder Hart’s UDeCOTT), the same Corporation that caused the scandal and the snap election of 2010. Here Kamla is speaking in response to Rowley’s declaration of May 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010, when he used a ship metaphor to refer to the PNM party with Manning as the “Captain”: *“There is a political ship called the MV PNM, and as a sailor, when your ship goes into battle, that is no time to throw the captain overboard.”* To announce his lasting faithfulness to the PNM, Rowley used another cross-domain mapping, calling himself a “sailor”: *“I am a sailor on the PNM ship and I know what my duty is. And it does not matter what shape the ship is in, don’t give up the ship”*.

The “Nation-as-Ship” or the “Party-as-Ship” are conventional metaphors widely used in political discourse, suggesting “a large container holding many people”, “a society moving forward through space” as well as “the idea that political events are partially determined by the (metaphorical) weather” (Grady et al. 1999: 109f). The code-switch into Creole may be Persad-Bissessar’s attempt to ridicule Rowley’s declaration of faithfulness to the PNM and his use of metaphors to make his speech more elevated and inspiring. Choosing metaphors in the same domain to link back to Rowley’s declarations,

Kamla defines the UDeCOTT scandal as a “*big, big leak*” and the result is that the “*PNM ship is sinking*”. The reference to hiring the Chinese to “*plug the leak*” in the PNM ship is another metaphorical reference to the complexity of the UDeCOTT scandal, as well as a reference to the alleged exploitation of a vast number of Chinese immigrant workers on the construction site of the Heights of Guanapo Church in Trinidad and Tobago (see 1.1.3). Persad-Bissessar also codeswitches into Trinidadian Creole when addressing the internal tensions in the PNM during the 2010 Campaign. In particular, she addresses Manning’s rejection of the PNM Senator Penny Beckles as a candidate for the Constituency of Arima, where she had been MP since 2002:

Why don’t you talk about why you throw out Penny Beckles. Why don’t you tell the people that you ‘fraid she? She won the seat for Arima in 2007 Mr. Manning, she was deputy speaker of the House of Representatives... but YOU THROW YOUR PENNY OUT AND NOW YOU BANKRUPT so you getting farse and minding we business.

(Harris Promenade, St. Fernando, 05/05/2010)

According to Kamla, Manning rejected Beckles’ candidature because he was “*’fraid she*” (afraid of her), portraying Manning as a weak, sexist politician. As a female candidate with a strong network of female supporters and 11 female MP Candidates (Kamla being the 12<sup>th</sup> as Candidate for the constituency of Siparia) out of 41, Persad-Bissessar creates a sharp contrast between the modern and women-friendly People’s Partnership and the PNM.

Another example of the use of code-switching to talk about party-internal tensions in the PNM is when Kamla describes the personalities of PNM ministers as weak or problematic and Manning as incapable of coordinating them, in the established custom of ‘*picong*’:

The Ministry of National Security went from bad to worse! Man, SPONGEBOB coulda do ah better job than these fella! [...] He re-shuffled his cabinet and pretended not to hear the cry from his own party to give Dr Keith Rowley the Ministry of National Security. Instead, he put Keith in the doghouse and end up firing him. And he doh want Keith tuh talk. Not at all. Having put him in the PNM doghouse, he now trying to muzzle him! Buh wait, all hell will break loose soon...yuh ever hear ah plot hound muzzle ah Rottweiler?!!

(Couva, 06/05/2010)

The Ministry of National Security (that passed from Howard Chin Lee to Martin Joseph after a reshuffle) is described as worse than Spongebob, the eponymous character of an animated television series. Using the metaphorical idiom “*put somebody in the doghouse*”, Kamla goes on to create another metaphorical reference in the same domain. Manning denied Rowley the Ministry of National Security in favour of Martin Joseph during the reshuffle (“*he has been put in the doghouse*”). Manning fired Rowley and is now trying to “*muzzle*” him, in order to keep him silent on the PNM’s internal issues. According to Kamla he will not succeed: Manning is only a “*plot hound*” too weak to compete with Rowley, who is pictured as a “*Rottweiler*”, a stronger and more aggressive dog.

Good public speakers “are skilled to listen to the familiar ways through which ordinary people adjust to the world” (Charteris-Black 2014: 237). Creole discursively creates a ‘talking politics’ very similar to what you would hear on the streets and in the homes of Trinidad and Tobago. Code-switching proves a powerful communication strategy in Persad-Bissessar’s speeches for two main reasons: firstly, it allows her to talk freely about her opponents, using a stronger and more derogatory language. Secondly, and more importantly, Creole works as a political communication facilitator, similarly to Calypso music. Speaking in colloquial language that is familiar to the people allows Persad-Bissessar to create a strong, immediate connection with her audience. With vivid imagery and straightforward creole speaking, Persad-Bissessar reinforces her image as ‘one of the people’, in opposition to Manning’s ‘*Emperor*’ image, as detached and deaf to the people’s needs.

#### **4.4 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has shown how Persad-Bissessar discursively negotiated her role as the first female PM candidate in the history of Trinidad and Tobago through employing different strategies of “positive self-presentation” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). More specifically, the two main strategies she adopted in order to broaden her electoral appeal have been identified as presenting herself as the *mother-politician* and as the *self-made woman*.

The first strategy, highlighting motherliness as the underlying quality shaping her leadership style, may have been aimed at smoothing the way for the first ever election of

a female PM Candidate by appealing to the segment of Trinbagonian society – both male and female - holding the most traditional patriarchal values. The referential and predication strategies highlighting the “*nurturing nature*” of her family roles as “*mother and grandmother*” relate to the most culturally approved model of female leadership. Rather than being designed exclusively to appease the male and patriarchal section of the electorate, Kamla seems to have employed the image of the mother-politician principally as a bonding strategy with the female electorate. The second strategy, presenting Kamla as the successful self-made woman able to ascend to the role of PM candidate in only three years, targeted the female Trinbagonian electorate, who saw in Persad-Bissessar both a role model as well as a promise of more women-oriented policies in the future government.

Throughout the campaign, Persad-Bissessar forged the self-image of a democratic and caring leader, able to foster solidarity and collaboration in the country. In the highly polarized context of the run for the prime ministership, Persad-Bissessar’s positive self-presentation was closely connected to delegitimising Manning’s leadership style and authority. Persad-Bissessar employed specific referential strategies similar to the discourse of racial discrimination and the discursive construction of immigrants as “out-groups” (Van Leeuwen 1996; Reisigl and Wodak 2001) for the discursive exclusion of Manning and his PNM from the national “in-group”. In the “negative other-presentation” of Manning, Persad-Bissessar also made wide use of two discursive strategies linked to the tradition of political communication in Trinidad and Tobago: picong (satirical storytelling) and code-switching into Trinidadian Creole, both aimed at dismantling Manning’s power and distancing him as ‘*the Emperor*’.

## Chapter 5: The Party

### 5.1 *The People's Partnership as 'Brand'*

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the People's Partnership can be regarded as a “masterpiece of political engineering” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2014: 158), for the way it fit together a number of political forces in a new unity arrangement. With the final goal of removing the PNM from power, the coalition incorporated all the major strands of the Trinbagonian electorate in terms of ethnicity and social class (see 1.1.3). From the point of view of discourse studies, Persad-Bissessar's PP can be also considered “a masterpiece of political advertising”, for the way its entrance into the Trinbagonian political arena marked the origin of a far-reaching discursive enterprise, committed to the “positive self-presentation” of the new coalition and its leadership team.

The People's Partnership '*We Will Rise*' campaign aimed at discursively creating a distinctive party identity for the new coalition: in the time-span of six weeks, the coalition had to project and occupy a definite identity space, highly polarized in respect to its opponent, the longstanding People's National Movement. Persad-Bissessar's campaign can be seen as an authentic operation of “political branding”, a brand being a product or a service “made distinctive by its positioning relative to the competition and by its personality, which comprises a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values” (Hankinson and Cowking 1993: 10). According to Krouwel (2012: 64), “a party label is often laden with historical and ideological significance and provides important mobilizing clues for sections in the electorate”.

In this respect, nomination and predication strategies (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; see Ch.3) seem to play a crucial role in Persad-Bissessar's speeches, as they constitute the “foundation” of the discursive construction of the new party as a positively connoted social actor in the Trinbagonian political arena. Name-changing at the institutional level is a powerful discursive act, and can therefore be appropriately investigated with a discursive approach (Unger 2013b). With nomination and predication strategies as the starting point for the analysis (representing the sort of genre-bound, context-bound as well as strategy-bound linguistic choices typical of political communication), this chapter

focuses on party strategies of in-group building and on the evaluative attribution of positive traits, often related to plurality and unity. These features represent one of the core strategies in Persad-Bissessar's campaign speeches, and are to be contextualized in relation to the time-honored national debate on parliamentary reforms and political representation in a multi-ethnic country, as well as to the issues of corruption and party patronage, in order to be appropriately interpreted (see Ch.1).

Although coalitions had been particularly unsuccessful or short-lived in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, Persad-Bissessar presented the election of the People's Partnership coalition party as the only possible solution to the problem of the lack of proper representativeness in the colonially-inherited Westminster model (5.2.1). A strong accent is placed on party-internal unity as the crucial guarantee for the long-awaited political stability after the recurring snap elections during the previous decade (5.2.2). '*Party politics*' is presented by Kamla Persad-Bissessar as an oligarchic and corrupt way of conducting politics in Trinidad and Tobago, compared to her '*coalition politics*', which is portrayed as being able to ensure a higher degree of accountability and democracy in the nation (5.2.3).

At the same time, the accent was laid on the plural and cohesive identity of the coalition in order to legitimize the People's Partnership as the only political force able to overcome ethnic tribalisms in Trinbagonian politics, and to ensure representation for all the ethnic segments of the nation (5.3). This is achieved through the strategic use of deixis (5.3.1) and metaphors (5.3.2), and even more straightforwardly with the visual representation of ethnic inclusivity in the party manifesto (5.3.3).



## ***5.2 Main Strategies of Nomination and Predication***

### ***5.2.1 The Coalition as a Symbol of Postcolonial Modernity***

Since independence in 1962, the politics of Trinidad and Tobago has functioned within the framework of a unitary state regulated by a parliamentary democracy modelled on that of Great Britain. The reliance on the Westminster model, traditionally geared to single-party government, has often been deemed as a divisive factor in the multi-ethnic country: the first-past-the-post, ‘winner takes all’ system has also been considered inadequate to guarantee ample representativeness to all the segments of society in the Trinbagonian context (see Ch. 1). Although coalitions remain somewhat exceptional in the context of a Westminster model, and particularly unsuccessful or short-lived in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, Persad-Bissessar presented the election of the People’s Partnership coalition party as the only possible solution for good governance in the country.

In 2010, General Elections took place almost contemporarily in Trinidad and Tobago (May 24<sup>th</sup>) and in the UK (May 6<sup>th</sup>). According to Bishop (2011: 55), both the elections resulted in the “ejection of deeply unpopular incumbent governments to be replaced by coalitions”. More specifically, the British election resulted in a hung parliament and were followed by long days of negotiations with the aim of forming a full coalition government. Contradicting what has been defined as an “old axiom of British political life”, that is to say that “the British do not have coalitions, do not like them, and have an electoral system that prevents them” (Wright 2013: 105), the British ‘Conservative – Liberal Democrat Coalition Agreement’ was signed on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 2010. This event became a strong argument for Persad-Bissessar’s positive self-presentation and legitimization of the People’s Partnership as a feasible political solution within a Westminster model. Persad-Bissessar commented on the publication of the British Agreement during a rally in Gasparillo:

The People's Partnership is the new way. Look across the water to Britain. Britain is working now to establish their coalition government in their parliamentary democracy. We got the idea of parliamentary democracy from Britain. But ain't it nice to know we got a head start on them on coalition – we have been building ours these past many weeks. And now they are trying to build their coalition just these past two days. Ain't no one saying coalition is a threat to Britain – that the United Kingdom will fall because they are going to form a coalition government. Instead, they say the ability to form a coalition government is a tribute to the strength of the system of parliamentary democracy.

And here, in Trinidad and Tobago, our People's Partnership is not just a sign of the strength of our democracy, it is a sign of the strength of our people. A people willing and eager to reach their hands across to their brothers and sisters, to join forces, are a people who are confident, strong, and becoming stronger. A people who spread fear about joining hands with others are a people who are themselves weak and fearful.

Right now, Britain is following our lead down the road of unity and coalition. Let us set forward down that road with confidence and strength. When we become able to govern from and for a broad base of our people, we find we have a future without limits. When we erase the boundaries between the people of Trinidad and Tobago, we find there are no boundaries to what Trinidad and Tobago can do.

(Gasparillo 11/05/2010)

This excerpt is an example of one of Persad-Bissessar's main arguments in favor of the "coalition solution" to the issue of representativeness in Trinidad and Tobago's Westminster model parliament. In the first paragraph, the election of a coalition party is regarded as "*a sign of the strength of our democracy*", a symbol of the nation's healthy democratic process, while in the second paragraph, Persad-Bissessar presents the People's Partnership as a further source for strength for the people, by drawing on a classic "*stronger together*" trope. This 'coalition is strength' argument is clearly linked to the negative-other presentation of the PNM as "*a single-rule party*" (see 5.2.3): the "*single-rule party*" is described by Persad-Bissessar as the 'old way' of doing politics in Trinidad, unrepresentative of and unaccountable to its electorate. In her view, only the "*weak and fearful*", with a clear reference to Manning's PNM, can distrust the coalition solution she is presenting.

The fact that a coalition government is being adopted in a Western country with a longstanding Westminster-style parliamentary democracy reinforces this argument against Manning's threats of coalition instability. However, that country is Britain, Trinidad's former colonial master, and Persad-Bissessar cleverly avoids portraying the British example as an institution of power. Not an important presence in the Caribbean

twin-islands of Trinidad and Tobago anymore, Britain is now presented as a far and foreign country: you have to “*look across the water*” in order to find it. Persad-Bissessar’s casual “*We got the idea of parliamentary democracy from Britain*”, strategically backgrounds the historical causes of the presence of the system in the Caribbean nation, swiftly passing over centuries of British colonial rule and slavery.

In an authentic postcolonial reversal between what were considered the center and the margins of a former Empire (and current Commonwealth of the Nation), the People’s Partnership is represented as the source of inspiration for the formation of a coalition government in Britain. Persad-Bissessar comments that “*Britain is following our lead down the road of unity and coalition*” and “*ain’t it nice to know we got a head start on them on coalition*”. This argument is reinforced four days later in the Siparia rally:

The People’s Partnership is only the beginning of the unity process. It’s a process that we will continue as a country and one people. And the fact is...the People’s Partnership is already ahead of what just happened in the UK. We’re ready to lead. We’re ready to start governing on Day 1. In the UK, they had to figure out things after the election...we’ve already done that. And that’s what has Manning and the PNM so worried. They know we have a stable, unwavering force for change – and that their days are numbered. Ten days and counting.

(Siparia 14/05/2010)

In the excerpt, the People’s Partnership is portrayed as already “*ahead of what just happened in the UK*” of the UK because “*they had to figure out things after the election*”. Here Persad-Bissessar is referring to the nature of the British coalition agreement in Britain as a post-election ad hoc solution to a hung parliament, while the People’s Partnership agreement was signed before the election. For Persad-Bissessar, not only is Trinidad and Tobago adopting a coalition government, which is in itself considered by the PM candidate as a staple example of modern democracy, but it is also ‘mastering the art’ of coalition. The coalition government, therefore, becomes a symbol of postcolonial progress in Persad-Bissessar’s positive self-presentation. Rather than relying on the British example as a source of legitimation, Persad-Bissessar stresses the role of her coalition in presenting an autochthonous solution to a colonially inherited political system, finally able to transcend its deficiencies.

### 5.2.2 The Coalition as a “United Force for Change”

Given the historical past of independent Trinidad and Tobago, characterized by the PNM’s long-lived single party rule, the possible election of a brand new coalition party represented a crucial moment of change, as well as a risky choice in terms of stability. With recent losses of parliament majorities and recurring snap elections in 2000, 2001, 2002 as well as 2010 (see Ch. 1), Persad-Bissessar needed to present her new coalition as solid enough to lead the country for five years.

By looking at the concurrent use of nomination and predication strategies by Kamla-Persad Bissessar to refer to her party in the *KPB 2010* Corpus, we can infer more about the characteristics, features and qualities the PM candidate attributes to her coalition:

Nomination Strategies	Predication Strategies
<i>People’s Partnership</i>	<i>our, your, broad, historic, unique, united, unity, wider</i>
<i>Government</i>	<i>our, my, broad, clean, coalition, fully representative, new People’s, People’s Partnership, Partnership, responsible, responsive, united, user-friendly</i>
<i>Coalition</i>	<i>our, our broad, our unique</i>
<i>Force for Change</i>	<i>our, committed, singular, stable, strong, united, unified, unstoppable, unwavering</i>

**Table 9:** Nomination and Predication Strategies in the *KPB 2010* Corpus

We can identify a number of predication devices linked to a “predication of union or unity” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:58), expressed by adjectives like “*singular*”, “*united*”, “*unity*”, “*unified*”. While unity is always presented as a value and a desirable condition in political discourse (‘the topos of unity’), and any coalition programme is supposed to unite the voters, in the divisive Trinbagonian context this emphasis on unity seems to acquire a greater importance. In Persad-Bissessar’s speeches, the accent on party-internal unity is almost compulsory, as being a united coalition represents a crucial guarantee for long-awaited political stability.

When describing the importance of unity as a fundamental value and a source of strength in her party as well as in the nation, Persad-Bissessar embeds a long narrative sequence in her Final Rally speech:

You remember going to school and being teased or bullied for the way you looked, or the way you dressed. It hurt, and left you feeling all alone, without a friend in the world. But at some point, we all grew up. And as we grew up, we realized we weren't the only ones being bullied. We realized other people felt the way we did. And when we learned we weren't alone, we felt a little stronger. And when we got a little older and a little smarter, we realized not just that there were others who felt as we did; we got together with those others and shared our problems and our experiences. By sharing our hopes and our wants and our dreams, we became stronger still. Suddenly the bully didn't seem so tough anymore, because when we came together, each of us with others who felt as we did, we became stronger than the bully.

We learned as children, that if we came together, united, as one, we could beat the bully. Let us remember that lesson now, as adults. If we come together now, united, as one, we can beat the bully. Teams, playing together, united as one, are better than any one player. Let us come together as a team, united, as ONE people, working to solve the problems of Trinidad and Tobago. Because the coalition presents a new way, a way of unity and strength instead of division, the coalition represents change in the way things are done in Trinidad and Tobago.

(Final Rally, San Juan/ Barataria, 22/05/2010)

Persad-Bissessar seems to be aware of the power of *narratio* in political discourse (Charteris-Black 2014: 17f). By creating a shared story, she supports the solidarity and intimacy between herself as an orator and her audience. Almost an allegory, the short story is a classic “coming-of-age” narrative designed to tug at the heartstrings by evoking what must be commonly shared experience of childhood. In the allegory, the children are the citizens and the bully is, expectedly, Patrick Manning. Like Aesop teaching moral lessons through his fables, Persad-Bissessar aims to illustrate the value of coming together, “unpacking” the topos of unity and giving her audience a moral *exemplum* in which they can see themselves as the main, successful protagonists. The second paragraph creates a connection between the past-oriented narrative and the present argumentation, so that the “*together we are stronger*” lesson learned in the past can be applied to the Trinbagonian present, where the People’s Partnership is presented as “*a new way of unity and strength*” that will avoid snap elections for the next five years.

Persad-Bissessar makes large use of the *argumentum novitatis* based on the ‘new = good’ equation, usually present in any election campaign by an opposition party aiming

at being elected. At the same time, the coalition is always presented as a “*change*” that does not compromise stability. The novelty aspect is counterbalanced by the coalition being “*strong*”, an authentic “*force*” that is “*unstoppable*” and “*unwavering*”. In this respect, *United Force for Change*, the metaphorical nomination strategy that Persad-Bissessar employs in her speeches, can be considered a sort of *summa* condensing three main features of her coalition that the PM Candidate frequently puts to the fore throughout the campaign: *unity*, *strength* and *change*:

I stand before you today with a **strong united force for change** at my side. The UNC and COP and NJAC and MSJ and TOP together, **united, committed** to one future for Trinidad. A **singular, unstoppable, unwavering force for change**. A **united force for change committed** to a new day and a new way forward.

(Siparia, 14/05/2010, my emphasis)

Here Persad-Bissessar presents herself as the candidate for the Siparia Constituency using the People’s Partnership slogan, “*A New Day, a New Way Forward*”, putting the accent on futurity which is typical of political advertising during election times (Reisigl 2008). For the future, Persad-Bissessar offers the alternative of an upcoming government which is “*clean*” (while the PNM is “*corrupt*”), “*fully representative*” (while the PNM is not). In a classic electoral polarization, opposed to Manning’s “*single party rule*” is a coalition whose main features are discursively constructed as “*broad*” and “*wider*”, as well as clearly divergent from the PNM.

The discursive strategies aiming at representing the *People’s Partnership* as a stable and united coalition were not enough to make Persad-Bissessar appear secure during the campaign. The PM Candidate often had to reply to Manning’s attacks on the validity of a coalition party government in the Trinbagonian context:

My friends, recently the Prime Minister, having no policy, spent the better part of an hour trying to convince the population that coalition governments do not work and that the UNC unity will collapse. [...] To start with, this election is going to be contested by, not a **coalition**, but a **partnership**. That is the first mistake [Manning] has made about the unity we now have.

(St. Helena, 19/04/2010, my emphasis)

But attacking me and our unity. suggesting our **Partnership** can't hold together or stay strong...that's just not going to get it done for you. [...] You have shown us what happens when too much power rests in the hands of too few. As much as you try to fight it, Patrick Manning, you are the reason that our Partnership is so strong. You are the very reason that this country has joined together as force for change. And you're the reason, we'll stay together, strong and unified.

(La Horquetta, 30/04/2010, my emphasis)

In the speech in St. Helena, Persad-Bissessar is answering back to Manning, who had defined a coalition government as a “recipe for disaster” in the PNM Cunupia rally held on April 16<sup>th</sup>. Manning listed past unsuccessful examples of opposition party coalitions that had never made it to winning elections, such as in 1976 and 2007, as well as the short-lived, controversial experience of the National Alliance for Reconstruction (1986-1991).

As it has never been used for a registered party in the political history of the country, the very use of the name “*partnership*” can be seen as a form of “rebranding” that aims at representing a departure from the past (Koller 2008; Unger 2013b).<sup>24</sup> Persad-Bissessar uses it as a counter-argument (“*not a coalition, but a partnership*”) against the historical frailty of coalition parties in the political history of the nation, as if “*partnership*” could hint at a higher level of unity and solidity than “*coalition*”, positing a brand new space of strength and unity that can prove Manning wrong in the future.

### 5.2.3 *The Coalition as More than a Party*

Although ‘*party*’ could be seen as a neutral common name, almost a technical form of reference in the context of an election, it is infrequently used for self-reference in Kamla Persad-Bissessar’s speeches.

*Party* is more frequently associated by the PM candidate with her opponent’s party, the People’s National Movement, whose long life and crucial importance in the history of the independent nation made it the party *par excellence* in the Trinbagonian

---

<sup>24</sup> National Alliance for Reconstruction was the name of the only other successful coalition party (1986 General Elections) in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. The name ‘alliance’ was also reprised by the opposition parties united in the UNC-Alliance in the 2007 Elections, who lost to Manning’s PNM.

context.<sup>25</sup> Out of a total of 97 occurrences of “party” in the *KPB 2010* corpus, only 10 are a direct reference to the People’s Partnership (10.3%), while 57 are direct references to her opponent’s party, the People’s National Movement (58.7%).

As broad representativeness is one of the main discourse topics of Persad-Bissessar’s campaign, being just a *party* is often presented as too narrow as a definition for the People’s Partnership. Throughout her campaign, *party politics* is presented by Kamla Persad-Bissessar as an old-fashioned way of conceiving politics in Trinidad and Tobago, compared to the innovative *coalition politics* she is proposing. In the context of a snap election called by Patrick Manning following accusations of corruption involving the Government and the Urban Development Corporation of Trinidad and Tobago (UDeCOTT), the plural nature of the People’s Partnership coalition is presented as a guarantee of *accountability*, compared with the PNM’s “*one party rule*”:

That’s why it’s time for a unity partnership of the people. **One party rule** is unaccountable.  
A partnership government of the people holds politicians accountable. One party rule is corrupt.  
A partnership government of the people has checks and balances.  
(La Horquetta, 30/04/2010, my emphasis)

Through the use of a fallacious argument, specifically a “hasty generalization”, not only is Patrick Manning’s party depicted as unaccountable and corrupt, but any government constituted by one party is portrayed as such, implying that the only possible solution for good governance is a “*partnership government of the people*”. The other implication of this fallacious argument against the PNM’s *one party rule* is that the People’s Partnership will automatically be accountable only because it is a *coalition*. The populist reference to the “*government of the people*” reinforces the collective nature of the partnership and aims at making the Trinbagonian people feel they are at the very heart of the democratic process.

---

<sup>25</sup> The People’s National Movement is the country’s oldest political party, the only one retaining the same name, colors and symbols since 1956. The history of the PNM represents an exception in the ever-changing political arena of Trinidad and Tobago, characterized by a long list of short-lived minor parties and coalition attempts.



In the same speech in La Horquetta, the equation between “*single party rule*” and “*greed and corruption*” is reinforced, while the plural nature of the People’s Partnership coalition is also presented as a guarantee for *representativeness*:

It’s that **one party rule** and too much power in the hands of a single person and **a single party** does not benefit the common good and more often than not leads to greed and corruption. That’s what we’ve seen the last eight and a half years. And the answer is not more of the same, not a continued concentration of power in the hands of the corrupt but rather a **united partnership** that reflects and brings all the people together.

(La Horquetta, 30/04/2010, my emphasis)

In the context of a wider *argumentum novitatis*, (an appeal to novelty, based on the ‘*new = good*’ equation), by being a place for unity that “*brings all the people together*”, the partnership is also able to “*reflect*” the country’s plurality in opposition to Manning’s “*one party rule*”. The accent on plurality and representativeness receives intertextual support in Persad-Bissessar’s speech in La Brea. Here the coalition is advertised with an ambitious reference to the promise of representativeness and equality expressed in the lyrics of the national anthem of Trinidad and Tobago: “*This our native land/ here every creed and race/ find an equal place/ and may God bless our nation*”.

In a People’s Partnership government, your voices, your concerns will always be heard, and they will guide us in making policy. We will make sure that we are true to our national anthem that promises an **equal place for every creed and race**. That is what our coalition represents.

(La Brea, 17/05/2010, my emphasis)

According to Hintzen (1989: 77), the twenty-three years of unbroken PNM rule in post-independence Trinidad “institutionalized, justified and protected” the practice of using state resources for party patronage. Party affiliation, even more divisive in multi-ethnic countries like Trinidad and Tobago (Premdas 2007: 64), is often linked to the electoral promise of material benefits, like jobs or scholarships, followed by post-electoral redistributive programmes favoring the support base of a party in power (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 63).

Among the occurrences of *party* in the *KPB 2010* corpus, the clusters “*party cards*” (6 occ.), “*party symbols*” (2 occ.) and “*party ties*” (1 occ.), are to be considered as ‘indirect’, negatively connoted references to the PNM party government and to the issues

of corruption and party patronage in the country. One of the recurring arguments of her campaign is the unimportance of *party cards*, principally used when renewing the invitation to join her coalition:

We're not checking **party cards** at the door to our ship. Everyone's welcome. And for those who want to join the good news is our ship isn't sinking.<sup>26</sup>

(Montrose Junction, Chaguanas 13/05/2010, my emphasis)

And those who want to help, those who join us in building our new future I say to you: "We're not checking **party cards**".

(La Brea, 17/05/2010, my emphasis)

And that's why this final week, in these last few days, as I travel our country and talk to our nation, I've invited everyone whether you're UNC, COP, TOP or PNM to join our effort to support the People's Partnership. We don't check **party cards** at our door. Join us.

(Tobago, 21/05/2010, my emphasis)

As in a system of government patronage "*party cards*" can be considered as actual "credit cards for benefits", Persad-Bissessar reassures the audience that the People's Partnership will not pay particular attention to party affiliation. At the same time, in a wider-strategy of negative other-presentation, she discredits the benefits of PNM patronage as "*little hand-outs*" that citizens are forced to "*trade their dignity*" for:

We don't want to be kept dependent on a **party card** for little hand-outs, we don't want to trade our dignity for a little ten day work, we just need opportunity, we just need a government that will work with us and not against us.

(Final Rally, San Juan/ Barataria, 22/05/2010, my emphasis)

Poverty is when you trade your dignity for a **party card** and a ten day work.<sup>27</sup>

(La Brea, 17/05/2010, my emphasis)

---

<sup>26</sup> While the metaphor of the sinking ship to refer to her opponent's party could be seen as a classical, overused trope in political discourse, it could also be considered an evocative intertextual reference to a political calypso song popular in the 1986 Elections, *The Sinking Ship*, by the calypsonian Winston 'Gypsy' Peters. The song became an authentic hit, to the point that it has been considered a key factor in the 1986 success of the NAR coalition over the PNM (Finden-Crofts 1998: 149f.), and therefore could represent a particularly meaningful quote for the PM candidate Persad-Bissessar.

<sup>27</sup> The "*ten days of work*" refer to the Unemployment Relief Programme (URP) from the Ministry of Local Government. The URP provides funding to a 'community leader' for employing a group of community members for ten days on rotation basis. Often used as an electioneering instrument during campaigns, the URP funds have been often redirected to traditionally Afro or Indo-Trinbagonian dominated electoral constituencies after a successful election, while the designation of 'community leaders' has often been marked by nepotism (Figueira 2009 :30f).

Another aspect of Persad-Bissessar's crusade against current party politics in Trinbagonian society is the abolition of "*party symbols*" and "*party ties*". Here Persad-Bissessar hints at a common practice in the Parliament sessions of Trinidad and Tobago: members often wear pins and ties with party symbols as well as other garments, like scarves or shirts/blouses in the party colors (red for PNM, orange for UNC). Her strong stance against this practice is expressed from the very outset of the campaign, in the inaugural speech delivered in the Pointe-à-Pierre constituency:

Ours is a vision in which **party symbols** tacked on to the ties of government leaders in Parliament to display party partisanship rather than citizenship is unpatriotic, since government means being accountable to all of the people, not just those whom elected them.

(Marabella, 12/04/2010, my emphasis)

Persad-Bissessar here 'drapes herself in the flag' employing an *appeal to patriotism*, coming to the fallacious conclusion that the usage of party symbols would be necessarily unpatriotic, and therefore unworthy of a good government leader. This vision is reprised and becomes an actual promise of policy intervention on two other occasions during the campaign:

[...] there will be no more **party symbols** worn on the ties and blouses of parliamentarians from the ruling party since we will serve all the people all of the time, regardless of which party you support.

(Croisee - San Juan, 28/04/2010, my emphasis)

What might sound as an elevated pledge for equality is actually a very precise political attack, targeted at the trademark '*balisier tie*' worn by the People's National Movement members, made more explicit in the non-gender neutral reference to "*party ties on the suits*" in the Montrose Junction speech.<sup>28</sup>

There will be no **party ties** on the suits of members of parliament with political symbols in the People's Partnership government. We will represent the interests of all!

(Montrose Junction – Chaguanas, 13/05/2010, my emphasis)

---

<sup>28</sup> The *balisier tie* was introduced in 1956 by the PNM founder Dr Eric Williams, and has always been a fixture among PNM members, who were required to wear it on all formal occasions. The balisier flower (*Heliconia bihai*) is the PNM official symbol, and the Party's political headquarters in Port of Spain is known as *Balisier House*.

As we have seen, *representativeness* and *accountability* are two pillars of the People's Partnership's strategy of positive self-presentation in the 2010 General Election campaign, aimed at discursively targeting two of the major issues of contemporary Trinbagonian politics, one being democracy and constitutional reform and the other being corruption and party patronage. Compared to the PNM "*one party rule*", the plurality of the People's Partnership seeks to represent a possible solution for both problems.

Firstly, in Persad-Bissessar's words the presence of a multi-ethnic coalition party could put an end to the '*Who watches the watchmen?*' paradox, that is to say, how power, and the actions of people in power, can be held to account in the Trinbagonian context. Secondly, the PP is portrayed as a guarantee of a higher level of representativeness by including both Afro and Indo-Trinbagonian political forces as well as minor parties (such as the Movement for Social Justice and the National Joint Action Committee) in the future government. As we will see in 5.3, the discursive construction of plurality and the inclusivity represents a core strategy of the People's Partnership campaign.

#### 5.2.4 *The "United Force for Change" Ad Campaign*

Drawing on Goffman's dramaturgical model for the way identities are performed (1959), Wodak (2009) has conceptualized modern politics as composed of separated yet connected spheres: professional politicians staging or performing politics on the "frontstage" (in the presence of an audience, e.g. a public speech, a press conference) and their everyday life of work "backstage" (e.g. in informal meetings, briefings). The fact that the general public does not normally have access to the "backstage" is seen by Wodak (2009:19) as an important factor in the growing disenchantment with politics. The rising popularity of fictional genres focusing on the everyday activities of politicians and their staff backstage (such as *The West Wing*, the USA TV series Wodak analyses in her book) is related by Wodak to the public interest in the "backstage" realm of politics. The "backstage" of politics recreated in fiction satisfies "a widespread desire among audiences: the urge to know more about how decisions are taken, how politicians live, and what their everyday life might consist of." (Wodak 2009:163).

The “*United Force for Change*” video ads address this separation between “frontstage” and “backstage” in the wider context of the 2010 snap election in Trinidad and Tobago, characterized by a sense of disillusionment in the government after the latest corruption scandals under Manning’s administration. The ads deliberately blur the boundaries between the real and the fictional, portraying the five leaders of the different parties and movements in the coalition sitting around a table in a private meeting room and discussing the main issues of the country and the policy solutions proposed by the coalition.

The ads were released in five different versions of two different lengths (approximately 1 and 2 minutes) which are excerpts from different moments of the same meeting (the setting is the same, and the five leaders are wearing the same clothes). The ads were published on Persad-Bissessar’s Facebook page with the following titles, which give an idea of the different main topics under discussion. The duration of the different ads is indicated in brackets:

- *The People's Partnership Leaders on Being United for Change (01:06)*
- *The People's Partnership Leaders on Good Governance (01:03)*
- *The People's Partnership Leaders on Crime (02:03)*
- *The People's Partnership Leaders on Corruption (02:05)*
- *The People's Partnership Leaders on Priorities (02:10)*

As do many other pieces of visual fiction, the People’s Partnership video ads also open with a credit sequence. The presence and structure of the opening credits seem to endorse Street’s (2004: 441) belief that “[p]oliticians become stars, politics become a series of spectacles and the citizens become spectators”. All the ads open with the same intro, which presents the ‘main characters’ of the coalition in the style of the opening credits of a TV series. The opening is very fast paced, presenting all the five leaders in only 10 seconds and 7 frames, including an introductory ‘title’ frame stating “*The People’s Partnership – A United Force for Change*” against the background of an evocative dawn at the beach, and a final frame superimposing the same title on a group frame from the meeting (See fig. 14).



**Figure 14:** Sequence of Frames in the Opening Credits of the 'United Force for Change' Video Ad

In the opening credits, the portraits of the five leaders are characterized by a complex overlapping of different frames: the flag of Trinidad and Tobago is in the background, “*The People’s Partnership – A United Force for Change*” superimposed on the lower part of the image, the portrait in the centre of the image and the corresponding party symbol on the right. As the portraits of the five different leaders are therefore juxtaposed to the symbol of the party they were contesting under during the election, the aim of the composition seems to be the practical, election-related one of matching the ‘face’ of the candidate to the ‘party symbol’.<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, while in the opening credits of a TV series the real names of the actors (and sometimes the names of the characters played by the actors) are usually superimposed on the frames, there are no names in the opening sequence of the ad, probably because the five political leaders are regarded as public figures who are already widely known.

Music usually plays an important part in the opening credits, and the People’s Partnership ad makes no exception: the opening theme is a musical crescendo of drums and a tribal choir. The music transitions to a soft soundtrack during the meeting: a harmony of hopeful-sounding violins with accents from more traditionally Trinbagonian instruments, such as the steel drum.

During the meeting, the five leaders are portrayed around an oval table with Persad-Bissessar in the middle. They all are dressed in ‘power suits’ with jackets and ties, while Daaga is wearing his trademark Dashiki, the traditional African garment he has been wearing in public since his affiliation to the Black Power movement in the 1970s. With notes, pens and books on the table, the politicians are filmed discussing the main issues of policy in Trinidad and Tobago.

One the five versions of the video is more clearly dedicated to advertising the internal unity in the coalition, and the importance of “being united for change”. The meta-discourse on political unity follows the same pattern of Persad-Bissessar’s speeches against “*one party rule*” and in support of a coalition government as a ‘cure-all’ political solution for Trinidad and Tobago. Nevertheless, all five versions of the video ad are clearly aimed at staging the solidity of the coalition agreement even when discussing

---

<sup>29</sup> Errol McLeod and Makandal Daaga, as leaders of two extra-parliamentary movements, contested the 2010 election under the UNC and COP symbols respectively.

other policy issues. As they speak in turn, the members of the meeting listen and openly express their agreement both verbally and through proxemics, such as smiling and nodding. This representation of unity and agreement in the coalition is achieved also with the wide use of either angled shots filming a whole side of the table, or closer shots that portray other participants close to the speaker in the background, so as to include their positive reactions in the frame:



**Figure 15:** Intradiegetic Gaze in the Opening Credits of the 'United Force for Change' Video Ad

In order to symbolize their agreement, the four allies shake hands with the leader Persad-Bissessar in turn:



**Figure 16:** Final handshake in the 'United Force for Change' Video Ad



The ads can be seen as a form of the “fictionalization of politics” (Wodak 2009:160), staging the People’s Partnership “backstage” meeting and moving it to the “frontstage” for the sake of political advertising. “Showing the backstage” has two main consequences in the ad. Firstly, it simulates a higher degree of proximity “which allows identification with politics and politicians” (Wodak 2009: 163). In this respect, the ads can be regarded also as a visual reprise of the promise of increased transparency and accountability that Persad-Bissessar highlighted during the People’s Partnership campaign. (see 5.2). Secondly, seeing the five politicians discussing issues such as crime and its relation with poverty and the education system in Trinidad and Tobago or the shortage of beds in Trinbagonian hospitals gives life to a mythical reality in the Barthesian sense, “a reality the audiences would like to believe in, precisely because complex problems find a solution, through seemingly wise politicians who adhere to values which are deemed positive by hegemonic elites as well as by the general audience” (Wodak 2009: 160).

### 5.3 *Building the Multi-Ethnic Coalition*

#### 5.3.1 *Strategic Vagueness and Inclusivity: the role of deixis*

The fascination of politicians with the “relational values” of pronouns (Fairclough 1989: 125), and particularly for the inclusive power of the first person plural pronoun, has been widely scrutinized (Wilson 1990). One of the most interesting aspects of the pronoun ‘we’ in political discourse is related to its referentially complex nature: many analyses capture an inherent semantic duality by drawing a distinction between ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ forms, as well as more ‘ambivalent’ uses of the pronoun ‘we’ (Mulderriig 2012). These distinctions are crucial in the context of political discourse, because the inclusion or exclusion of participants from the deictic centre helps to “conceptualise group identity, coalitions, parties, and the like, either as insiders or outsiders” (Chilton 2004: 56).

Bearers of expressions of social relations, pronouns belong to a class of deictic expressions whose meaning is not intrinsic, but depends on the very context of utterance. The context of Persad-Bissessar’s campaign speeches can be considered as a form of face-to-face interaction: all her rallies entailed her physical presence on a stage, giving a public speech in a specific place and time during her itinerant campaign for the Prime Ministership across the nation. Persad-Bissessar’s choices in terms of social deixis seem to posit a collective space where the single identities (Kamla’s “I”, but also the “he” referring to her opponent Manning) seem to play a lesser role. On the contrary, an important accent is placed on the plurality of “we” and “you”, and on the space of dialogue created between these two main collective social actors in the campaign. As we can infer from Table 10, Kamla Persad-Bissessar has a predilection for the pronoun “we”.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> The software used to carry out the frequency analysis is Antconc 3.4.1w (Anthony 2014).

Pronoun	Number of Occurrences	Freq. per 1000 Words
<i>We</i>	1681	18.99
<i>You</i>	964	10.89
<i>I</i>	643	7.26
<i>He</i>	519	5.86
<i>They</i>	352	3.97

**Table 10:** Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Persad-Bissessar's Campaign Speeches

Persad-Bissessar is fully aware of the power of 'we' and makes a strategic, political use of the pronoun in her campaign. Her wide use of the pronoun 'we' in the *KPB 2010* corpus can be ascribed to three main motives.

Firstly, the wide use of the pronoun 'we' can be considered a classic inclusive move aiming at drawing the people closer and fostering a process of identification in the potential voters. Being a collective, institutional identity, a party could refer to itself in the third person, with the party name '*The People's Partnership*' or with other forms of self-reference such as '*our party*', or '*this coalition*'. According to Wilson (1990: 62), "indicating self-reference by means other than *I* or *we* is said to represent a distancing strategy on the part of the speaker, because the choice of pronoun indicates how close-distant the speaker is to the topic under discussion, or the participants involved in the discussion". Therefore, while any other choice marks a stronger separation from the audience/voters, the use of the first person plural 'we' brings the party and the electors closer together, and could represent an instrument for promoting inclusiveness in the context of Persad-Bissessar's campaign.

Secondly, it could be a context-related choice. The 2010 General Election in Trinidad and Tobago was a snap election: the Parliament was dissolved on April 8<sup>th</sup>, and the date of the General Election was announced by Prime Minister Patrick Manning on April 16<sup>th</sup>. The unity accord between the political forces in the People's Partnership coalition was only made public in April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010 when the five leaders gathered at the Charlie King Junction in Fyzabad to sign what was described as a 'Declaration of Political Unity'. This late formalization of the coalition may have influenced Persad-Bissessar's language choices to the point that the party name '*People's Partnership*' is not present in the speaking notes for all the rallies held before the "Declaration of Political Unity". In the *KPB 2010* corpus, we find the first occurrence of '*People's Partnership*' only in the

Felicity speech of April 26th, 2010. In the first five rallies of the Campaign, Persad-Bissessar will opt for the vaguer ‘we’.

Thirdly, and more interestingly, Persad-Bissessar’s use of ‘we’ can be seen in the context of a wider strategy of alternatively foregrounding and backgrounding markers of ethnic and political identity in the diverse context of Trinidad and Tobago. According to the constituency where the rally is held, nomination devices are chosen in order to appeal the ethnic and/or political identity of the majority of the voters in the audience. This might represent a plausible reason why Persad-Bissessar is not using the ‘*People’s Partnership*’ party name in the Barrackpore rally of April 23rd, held the day after the official ceremony of Fyzabad, in a moment where the “*Declaration of Political Unity*” of the newly-formed coalition party was dominating the front pages of all the main newspapers of the nation.

The town of Barrackpore, in the constituency of Naparima, is part of a rural area in the South-West of Trinidad where a high proportion of East Indians have been traditionally employed in the primary sector.<sup>31</sup> In this constituency, Persad-Bissessar does not need to stress the multi-ethnic, inclusive side of the new coalition. On the contrary, she aims at reinforcing her role as the Leader of the United National Congress and at underpinning the East Indian roots of her party. Therefore, in Persad-Bissessar’s Barrackpore speech, ‘*the UNC*’ becomes the political social actor in the section dedicated to policy promises in the primary sector. The classic use of ‘*will*’ in political discourse represents Persad-Bissessar’s commitment to the certainty of her propositions:

---

<sup>31</sup> When indentured laborers from India were offered a cash incentive to buy land in Trinidad and Tobago in lieu of a return passage to India, many purchased crown lands on the sugar-rich ‘Naparimas’, an Amerindian name historically used to refer to the south-western part of the island. The East Indian sugar workers came to represent the backbone of the Indo-Trinidadian opposition party after Independence and also Basdeo Panday started his political career as a sugar worker’s trade unionist. He became President of the *All Trinidad Sugar and General Workers’ Trade Union* (ATSGWTU) in 1973, founded the East Indian opposition party the United National Congress in 1989 and was elected as the first East Indian Prime Minister in 1995.

**The UNC will** end the corruption and nepotism associated with the importation and sale of agricultural equipment and inputs”

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

**The UNC will** reverse the policy of using prime agricultural lands for housing and shopping malls. We will cease the misuse and abuse of agricultural lands.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

**The UNC will** provide increase state subsidy to farmers to purchase both used and second hand vehicles for use in food crop production and marketing.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

**The UNC will** pursue policies to secure guaranteed prices for agricultural produce supplied on a regular basis.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

In the Barrackpore speech, ‘*The UNC*’ alternates with a strategically vague exclusive ‘*we*’ as the subject of more policy promises, while the “People’s Partnership” coalition is never mentioned:

**We will** create local capacity and increase production and productivity to build up exports.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

**We will** introduce a wage support mechanism for farmers hiring labour in specific food production activities.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

**We will** relocate the Ministry of Agriculture from Port of Spain, to be called the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Production, to an area closer to the farming community.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

**We will** provide state support to the farming community in the area of research, extension services and exports marketing.

(Barrackpore, 23/04/2010, my emphasis)

Conversely, the nomination device ‘*People’s Partnership*’ is strategically used by Persad-Bissessar in those constituencies that are not as politically faithful to the UNC as Barrackpore. The ‘*People’s Partnership*’ had the power to work as a coalition brand-name, standing for unity and ethnic inclusivity, especially in those constituencies with a history of PNM support or a strong African majority.

The latter is the case in Tobago, where Africans constitute 85% of the population and the inclusive rhetoric of the ‘Rainbow Party’ was the only possible strategy for an East Indian PM candidate to adopt in order to stand a chance of being elected. The Tobago Organization of the People (TOP) joined the People’s Partnership coalition to contest the two constituencies of Tobago East and Tobago West and succeeded in winning them both over from their traditional PNM control. The inclusion of the TOP in her coalition was an important political move for Persad-Bissessar, as the inclusivity of the People’s Partnership represented an important counterbalance to Tobago’s historic independentism and feeling of distrust towards the central government of Trinidad.

Persad-Bissessar dedicates a section of her address to policy promises targeting the special needs of Tobago. Here Persad-Bissessar seems to specify the referent of the exclusive ‘we’ by mentioning ‘*the People’s Partnership*’ at the beginning of her list of policy interventions:

Tonight, Tobago, let us talk about our plan.

**The People’s Partnership will** revisit the provision of the Tobago House of Assembly Act, in particular the Fifth schedule, with a view to granting greater autonomy and responsibility to the people of Tobago.

**We will** define the Housing and Land Settlements Programme while taking into account the cultural preferences of the people of Tobago.

**We will** implement measures to regularize land titles in Tobago.

(Tobago 21/05/2010, my emphasis)

A possible reason for this is that the pronoun ‘we’, paired with Persad-Bissessar’s affiliation to the United National Congress and her East Indian ethnicity, involved the danger of being interpreted as an exclusive, “*UNC-we*” by the audience. On the contrary, by specifying the referent of ‘we’ as the People’s Partnership before starting her list of policy interventions, she implies the inclusion of the TOP in the coalition and hints at a higher degree of representativeness of Tobago in the future government.

The issue of crime in Tobago is particularly heartfelt for the negative impact it has on the business of tourism. In the section of her Tobago speech dedicated to the fight against crime, she specifies that the policy measures she is presenting were envisioned by the People’s Partnership before listing them:

In other words, you end crime by having a plan. And the **People's Partnership** has one.

**We will** improve policing and establish clear measurable guidelines for crime reduction.

**We will** make sure every Police vehicle has a Global Positioning System (GPS) to link vehicles to one another and to police stations across the country.

**We will** invest heavily in police training and modernize physical infrastructure and amenities.

**We will** get police out from behind desks and on the streets.

(Tobago 21/05/2010)

The inclusivity of the People's Partnership represents a 'guarantee' that Persad-Bissessar brings to the fore when most needed in her campaign. As illustrated in the following sections ethnic inclusivity in the coalition was constantly constructed throughout the campaign in order to broaden the electorate of the coalition. The use of metaphors and the visual representation of ethnic inclusivity represent two of the most vivid discursive strategies employed by the PM Candidate.

### *5.3.2 The People's Partnership as the 'Big River'*

The celebration of diversity and multi-ethnicity were strategically deployed by Persad-Bissessar to present her coalition as a new order of democratic governance that could avoid exclusivism and promote power sharing. The metaphor of coalition as a '*river*' is one of the best examples from the corpus of the positive self-presentation of the People's Partnership as a new and inclusive political proposal. The coalition represented as a big river into which all rivers can flow and merge can be seen as a discursive strategy aiming at detaching ancestry from the political vote and ethnicity from representation in a country where the '*apaan jhaat*' (vote for your own race) has always been a widespread tendency:

Brothers and Sisters when I look out into this massive audience, I'm convinced more than ever that the People's Partnership is where the Ganges meets the Nile;  
 but MORE THAN THAT, not just the Ganges and Nile;  
 for those whose ancestors are from China - the Yangtze River joins here;  
 for those whose ancestors are from France - the river Seine joins here;  
 for those whose ancestors are from the UK - the River Thames joins here;  
 for our brothers and sisters of Syrian/Lebanese heritage - the Euphrates joins here;  
 for those with Portuguese ancestors - the Douro river joins here;  
 no matter what your ancestry may be, I invite you to take my hand and join us;  
 this is where we will all find a sense of place; a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010)

River metaphors have been popular ever since Heraclitus' *panta rhei* and are commonly used to describe the stream of time as ever-flowing and unstoppable (Lakoff 1993:242). According to Loue (2008), river metaphors are often used in therapy to help patients deal with change in their life, while for Sell (2012), they are employed to describe transnational and diasporic identity in contemporary writing.

'*Where the Ganges meets the Nile*' is a line of a famous 1999 Trinidadian song by the iconic calypsonian David Rudder. The confluence of the two historic waterways represented the possibility for Indo-Trinidadians ("*Ganges*") and Afro-Trinidadians ("*Nile*") to co-exist without tensions "*in a lovely nation under a groove*". Kamla Persad-Bissessar quotes Rudder's metaphorical encounter between the two rivers, not restricting her discourse to the two larger ethnic groups, but taking into account even the smaller minorities on the island, such as Caucasian (0.59% of the population), Chinese (0.30%), Syrian/Lebanese (0.08%), Portuguese (0.06%). With this 'enlarged' river metaphor, where many different "rivers" merge in the People's Partnership, Persad-Bissessar aims at discursively creating a new political space, not based on the Afro/Indo two-party system, but presenting her new coalition as an ethnic inclusive party where Trinidadians and Tobagonians "*no matter what your ancestry may be*" can find political representation.

The constructive strategy employed is one of "inclusion" (Wodak et al. 2009), taking into account the diasporic origin of the different ethnic groups as rivers originating very far from the Caribbean island, but, more importantly, stressing the ethnic inclusiveness of her coalition as the only possible confluence for the many different rivers. Inclusiveness is also achieved with an "inclusive we at the highest scope" (Urban 1986), not simply hinting at the plurality of the coalition but aiming at including the whole nation of Trinidad and Tobago.



Through the use of religious interdiscursivity (see Ch. 6), Kamla represents herself as a caring guide (“*take my hand*”), with an intertextual reference to the iconic gospel song “*Precious Lord, Take My Hand*”, often performed at Martin Luther King's civil rights rallies to inspire the crowds and reprised at the Pastor's funeral by the singer Mahalia Jackson. The seminal “rule of three”, typical of political speeches and often indicating a transitional point where the audience has the option to applaud (Charteris-Black 2005: 6), is used by Kamla Persad-Bissessar (“*place*”, “*belonging*”, “*purpose*”) to present her party as the only possible identity solution for the multi-ethnic Trinbagonian population.

With a mild invitation (“*I invite you*”) and an epistemic promise (“*We will all find*”), Persad-Bissessar relies entirely on the positive presentation of a uniquely Trinidadian multiculturalism, which does not aim at erasing the diasporic origin of its citizens, but reflects a new image of cultural pluralism that discursively celebrates diasporic difference as naturally belonging to Trinidad and Tobago. “Romancing” hybridity through this image of water blending naturally into a single common waterway, Trinidadian multiculturalism is made to look effortless, and the People's Partnership is presented as the only possible political space promoting conciliation among ethnic groups.

### 5.3.3 *Visual Strategies of Ethnic Inclusivity*

In the creation of her People's Partnership, Persad-Bissessar seems to have learned the lesson of Basdeo Panday, the only other East Indian PM in the history of the country. Panday was among the first politicians to advocate the importance of attracting a number of prominent Afro-Creole personalities to his party. According to Panday, it was important to appeal to the wider Afro-Trinbagonian community, especially at media level, in order to win elections (La Guerre 2000). For Bissessar and La Guerre (2013:159) “the psychological effect of unity” created by Persad-Bissessar in her People's Partnership campaign “allowed voters to cross more easily into a new organizational tent, since they were not contesting against one another”.

Election manifestos have been the object of investigation by a number of political discourse analysts within the CDA framework (Donadio 2005; Dobson 2007; Kaal 2012),

but available studies seem to have focussed more on the discourse analysis of the textual content, overlooking the multimodal resources usually included in a manifesto. The front cover of a party manifesto is a crucial conceptual representation of a party's identity: on the front cover of the People's Partnership 'Prosperity for All' manifesto, ethnic inclusivity in the party is staged visually, by juxtaposing the portraits of the main five political leaders in the coalition.



**Figure 17:** Front Cover of the People's Partnership Manifesto 2010

The picture portrays from left to right: Ashworth Jack (leader of the Tobago Organisation of the People), Errol McLeod (leader of the Movement for Social Justice), Makandal Daaga (leader of the National Joint Action Committee), the Indo-Trinidadian Winston Dookeran (leader of the Congress of the People), and Kamla Persad-Bissessar in her trademark yellow suit, as the leader of the United National Congress and leader of the

People's Partnership coalition. All the five protagonists have their party logos positioned like golden halos behind their heads. The Trinidad and Tobago flag and the symbols of the parties contesting in the Election complete the composition at the top ("ideal") and bottom ("real") of the image.

The decontextualized nature of the yellow background reinforces the viewer's attention to the classificational process in the picture, that is, the relations among the participants portrayed in the image. Persad-Bissessar's portrait is in the foreground and considerably larger in size, while her coalition allies are in the background on the left. The composition can be regarded as a "single-levelled overt taxonomy" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 88), where a "superordinate participant" (the Leader Persad-Bissessar) is on a higher level, but connected to the four "subordinates" that are placed together at a second lower level, in the same size and the same orientation.

The role of the participants, and the way they relate to each other and with the viewer, is also enhanced by the zone they occupy in the image, and by the "informational value embedded in that specific area of the image" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 177). Here Persad-Bissessar is in the "New" position on the right, while the four men are in the "Given" position on the left, although backgrounded and smaller compared to the female leader. Although the four male leaders are all renowned politicians and activists in the country, Persad-Bissessar had also had a long political career before being elected as PM in 2010. This visual choice might be linked back to the presentation of a female candidate to the Prime Ministership as the new political proposal for Trinidad and Tobago (see Ch. 4). She aims at representing a force for change and a departure from the past of Manning's administration.

The picture can be regarded as a 'demand' in Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006 [1996]: 122ff) terms as the PM candidate and the four leaders in the background directly engage the viewer with her gaze. However, Persad-Bissessar's demand is 'softened' by her smiling eyes and her serene face expression. Persad-Bissessar's hands are included in the medium-close shot as they are both lifted closer to her waist and her face. The inclusion of her hands and the way they are positioned are two extremely salient aspects of the portrait. Her left hand finger pointing upwards as a vector can be regarded as a symbolic representation of the "We Will Rise" motto. The other hand, closed in a clenched fist, can be seen as a representation of power and control. Moreover, the position

of her hands makes two pieces of jewellery visible, both with a high symbolic value. One is the wedding ring on her right hand, which links back to the strategies of positive self-presentation as mother and grandmother of the nation that we have seen in Ch 4. The other is the Hindu sacred thread on her left wrist. The bracelet, commonly called *mauli* or *kalava*, is usually tied by a priest to the wrist of believers that attend Hindu prayer ceremonies. As an Indo-Trinidadian PM candidate in a multi-faith country, Persad-Bissessar made no direct references to Hindu culture or religion throughout the campaign speeches (See 6.5). However, the inclusion of the bracelet in the picture is a symbolic representation of her Hindu roots. Rather than openly positioning herself as Hindu, Persad-Bissessar makes a semiotic reference which is intelligible only to other Hindu believers, aware of the religious meaning of the sacred red and yellow thread.

As the front cover of the manifesto, the picture can be regarded as a symbolic attributive process of what the party ‘means’ or ‘is’. The five leaders pose for the viewer rather than being shown as involved in some action. In this respect, they can be seen as acting as “Carriers” in relation to a number of prototypical and ‘essential’ “possessive attributes” (skin color, color and kind of hair, items of clothing such as Daaga’s traditional dashiki) which create visual concepts of their different ethnicities (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 108). The juxtaposition of the portraits and the relationship between them is the symbolic representation of the multi-ethnic value of the coalition. The lettering “Prosperity for All”, right at the bottom of the four portraits, reinforces the inclusivity of the message.

More specifically, the presence of Jack, Daaga and McLeod acts as a visual counterpart for Kamla’s ethnicity, which is clearly not African. This is particularly true for McLeod and Daaga, whose inclusion was meant to speak primarily to the Afro-Trinidadian electorate and had a great symbolic value for the People’s Partnership coalition. Second from left, Errol McLeod had been President General of the renowned *Oilfields Workers’ Trade Union* (OWTU) for 21 years. The 1970s oil boom occurred under the PNM government and the oil industry has always been associated with the Afro-Trinidadians. McLeod was the UNC candidate in the Pointe-à-Pierre constituency, site of the country’s largest Petrotrin oil refinery, and succeeded in winning it for the People’s Partnership. Third from left, Makandal Daaga, was the leader of the 1970s Black Power Revolution in Trinidad and Tobago. Born Geddes Granger, he changed his name in

homage to his ancestral roots in Africa. He founded the National Joint Alliance Committee as a student movement at the University of the West Indies in St. Augustine and challenged Eric Williams' government. Contesting (but not winning) as a COP candidate in the Laventille West constituency, he aimed at representing the ideological alternative to the traditional affiliation to the PNM of the Afro-Trinbagonian electorate. In particular, Daaga's anti-imperialistic Black movement has been referring to the PNM elite as "*Afro-Saxons*", challenging the PNM positions since the 1970. Daaga's inclusion in the People's Partnership, therefore, can be interpreted as related to Persad-Bissessar's wider strategy of negative-other presentation of the PNM as a corrupted elite led by an '*Emperor*'.

The same symbolic representation of the multi-ethnic value of the coalition is found on page 34 of the Manifesto, where the forty-one People's Partnership candidates are portrayed. Kamla Persad-Bissessar is depicted on the left side, now in the "Given" position as the Leader of the coalition, presenting her chosen candidates for the Election:



Figure 18: Presentation of Candidates in the People's Partnership Manifesto 2010

The candidates are portrayed in smiling close-ups that are consistently smaller than the picture of the PM candidate, with party logos positioned like halos behind their heads. The reader may easily recognize the first three candidates at the top centre of the page: not only because they are situated in a “salient” position (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 177) in order to attract the viewer’s attention, but also because they were already portrayed on the front page of the manifesto. Ethnic diversity is visually “staged” in the composition. Although their surnames would have been enough to reveal the candidates’ ethnic backgrounds, their half busts are shown in a two-page group picture in full color. Juxtaposing the 41 portraits has the same value as on the front cover of the manifesto: the candidates are “Carriers” in relation to a number of ‘essential’ “Possessive Attributes” which create visual concepts of their different ethnicities, expressing the multi-ethnic nature of the coalition.

#### **5.4 Concluding Remarks**

In this chapter, nomination, predication and argumentation strategies (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) have been shown to play a crucial role in Persad-Bissessar’s speeches, contributing to the evaluative attribution of positive traits to the new coalition. *Accountability* and *Representativeness* represented the two pillars of the People’s Partnership’s strategy of positive self-presentation in the 2010 General Election campaign.

Firstly, in Persad-Bissessar’s argument, the People’s Partnership’s “*coalition politics*” was positively portrayed as being able to ensure a higher degree of accountability and democracy in the nation, while the PNM’s “*one party rule*” was negatively connoted as oligarchic and corrupt. By showing the fictional political “backstage” of the coalition, the “*United Force for Change*” advertising videos aimed at simulating a higher degree of proximity and acted as a visual correspondence to the promise of increased transparency and accountability. In the wider context of disillusionment and corruption scandals, the ads can be seen as a form of “fictionalization of politics” (Wodak 2009:160), staging the People’s Partnership private meetings and moving them to the “frontstage” for the sake of political advertising.

Secondly, the People’s Partnership was portrayed as the guarantee for a higher level of representativeness and as promising a more equal distribution of power among

ethnic groups in the Westminster model inherited from the colonial period. The promise of representativeness was primarily achieved through the inclusion of both Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonian political forces in the coalition, but also with a constant use of discursive strategies of “unification and cohesivation” (Wodak et al. 2009). The metaphor of coalition as a ‘*river*’, into which all rivers can flow and merge, is one of the best examples in the data of the positive self-presentation of the People’s Partnership as a new and inclusive political proposal. The visual staging of multi-ethnicity in the compositions of the official portraits used in the Manifesto seem to reinforce this strategy, while a strategic use of nominal and pronominal deixis helped Persad-Bissessar to alternatively foreground and background markers of Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonian ethnic and political identity during her rallies.

A strong emphasis was placed on party-internal unity as the crucial guarantee for the long-awaited political stability after the recurring snap elections over the previous decade, employing a number of devices linked to a “predication of union or unity” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:58), which in the divisive Trinbagonian context seems to acquire an even higher significance. This predication of unity seems to be employed to counterbalance the frequent use of the ‘*argumentum novitatis*’ in order to present the coalition as a ‘change that does not compromise stability’.

## Chapter 6: The Nation

### 6.1 *The Discursive construction of a Trinbagonian National Identity*

This chapter focuses on the many attempts to imagine and construct a Trinbagonian national identity within the discourses produced for, on and from the 2010 Election Campaign by the PM Candidate Kamla Persad-Bissessar. The examples of analysis are mainly extracted from the speech delivered by Kamla Persad-Bissessar at the Mid-Centre Mall in Chaguanas on May, 2<sup>nd</sup> 2010.<sup>32</sup> During the rally, Persad-Bissessar officially presented her 41 candidates standing for election. The presentation of the multi-ethnic nature of the People's Partnership became an occasion for Persad-Bissessar to engage in a number of considerations of the traumas of the national past and the complexity of the national present. Throughout the Chaguanas speech, the PM candidate fostered the sense of belonging to a common "in-group", celebrating the country's diversity and stressing its common history and achievements. Drawing on the frameworks developed by Wodak et al. (2009) and de Cillia et al. (1999), I selected four major semantic macro-areas related to the construction of national identity in Trinidad and Tobago to be analyzed in this chapter:

1. *the discursive celebration of Trinbagonian 'diversity'*
2. *the narration and confabulation of a common political past*
3. *the discursive construction of common Trinbagonian 'national icons'*
4. *the discursive construction of a 'national body'.*

*The discursive celebration of Trinbagonian 'diversity'* is one of the main strategies adopted by Persad-Bissessar to celebrate contemporary hybridity and strategically neutralize ethnic tensions in the country. Ethnic and religious heterogeneity is emphasized as a unique Trinbagonian feature that does not pose a threat to the unity of the national

---

<sup>32</sup> Memorialized in V.S. Naipaul's novel *A House for Mr. Biswas*, Chaguanas has been an East Indian majority area since the beginning of British indentureship. Founded as a colonial market town traversed by the arterial Caroni Savannah Road, the Chaguanas of the 2010s is the largest and fastest growing town in the country. While it has historically been considered an Indo-Trinidadian town dominated by the UNC, it has grown to become increasingly multi-racial and could have been chosen to incarnate the modern, multi-ethnic afflatus of the People's Partnership.



“in-group”. On the contrary, diversity is celebrated as the country’s richness and strength. In this respect, the way national identity and the sense of belonging to a national “in-group” are discursively constructed seems to have evolved from the 1960s to present times. To better understand how the idea of a Trinbagonian national “in-group” has been changing in Trinbagonian discourse, I draw on Eric Williams’s history book *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (1962), to support my analysis of Kamla Persad-Bissessar speech in Chaguanas by way of comparison (6.2). Williams’ postcolonial effort to create a Trinbagonian “in-group” entailed the rhetorical integration of the country’s many ethnic communities as ‘children’ of ‘Mother Trinidad and Tobago’. Williams’ rhetoric of nationalism was embedded in a wider, coeval discourse of anti-colonialism: publishing a book on Trinbagonian history in the year of Independence was highly symbolic of his willingness to create a self-contained, homogeneous “in-group” that could distance itself from British colonial power. Forty years later, the presentation of Persad-Bissessar’s multi-ethnic coalition party in Chaguanas becomes the occasion for the discursive construction of the Trinbagonian national “in-group” as inherently diasporic and diverse. Persad-Bissessar’s speech shows how a strong and explicit metadiscourse on race is still the privileged weapon of Trinbagonian nationalism as well as the winning factor during general elections. By “romancing” (Edmondson 1999) Trinbagonian hybridity as national harmony, Persad-Bissessar strategically overlooks the complexity of the power relations between the different ethnic groups in the country.

The *narration and confabulation of a common political past* in Trinidad and Tobago revolves around the complex creation of an inclusive narrative of the traumatic past of slavery and colonialism. Persad-Bissessar’s Chaguanas speech is an example of how history can be *magistra vitae* also in the postcolonial scenario of Trinidad and Tobago, when creatively taught through a discursive strategy of ethnic cohesivation and empowerment (6.3). The scope of Persad-Bissessar’s historical narration is twofold. Firstly, it aims to overcome the traumatic past experiences of colonialism and slavery through a narration that sees enslaved people represented as the main social actors, and finally gives credit to the long history of resistance to slavery in the Caribbean. Secondly, the construction of a common Trinidadian past creates the narrative foundations for building contemporary solidarity among the different ethnic groups inhabiting the twin-island state.

The *discursive construction of common Trinbagonian 'national icons'* is introduced by Persad-Bissessar to highlight the achievements of the nation in the Chaguanas speech (6.4). Persad-Bissessar aims at fostering a sense of national pride as the prime emotional tie to the native country and engages in a detailed description of the accomplishments of notable Trinbagonian citizens. Clearly, also her unprecedented political coalition is presented as a new crucial achievement in the history of the small Caribbean nation.

Discursive phenomena like *interdiscursivity* and *intertextuality* support Persad-Bissessar's discursive creation of national identity in the Chaguanas speech (6.5). More specifically, Persad-Bissessar made a wide use of rhetorical and persuasive strategies recontextualized from religious discourse, often making specific references to Christianity (e.g. the theme of *rising* and the choice of the motto '*We Will Rise*'). Martin Luther King's seminal "*I Have a Dream*" speech represents an important source of inspiration for the PM candidate's integrative rhetoric: intertextual references to King's speech support Persad-Bissessar in the *discursive construction of a 'national body'*, aiming at building inclusiveness between the island of Trinidad and the one of Tobago, as well as between different ethnic regions and cities. Furthermore, intertextual references to the National Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago are included by the PM Candidate as an authentic appropriation of the guiding principles expressed by the anthem as the principles of the new coalition party.

Persad-Bissessar's discursive construction of a Trinbagonian national identity is centred on the internal harmonization of a multi-ethnic, conflictual country. Ethnic inclusivity is achieved even more straightforwardly when expressed visually in the '*We Will Rise*' video ad (6.6). One of the most famous party ads of the People's Partnership campaign, it was inspired by Obama's successful "*Yes We Can*" video of 2008. Thanks to the guest appearances of Trinbagonians of varied ethnic background, age and gender, the '*We Will Rise*' video can be interpreted as a claim for national ethnic harmony in Trinidad and Tobago.

## 6.2 *Building a National “in-group”: Evolving Narratives in Trinidad and Tobago*

### 6.2.1 *The 1960s: Williams’ Nation as ‘One Mother’*

The *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (1962) represents the first attempt at the postcolonial creation of a homogeneous national “in-group” in the country. Written by Eric Williams, the Afro-Trinidadian leader of the People’s National Movement and the first PM of the nation, the book was meaningfully published on August 31, 1962, the Independence Day of Trinidad and Tobago. Williams felt compelled to write the whole book in the time-span of a single month in the summer of 1962, apparently because Independence Day was getting closer, and the country could not enter into Independence without a dedicated history book. As he explains in the preface: “This book originated in a personal conviction that it would be an unfortunate handicap in the field of international relations and a great mistake in respect of affairs and domestic relations, if Trinidad and Tobago were to enter on its career of Independence without a history of its own” (Williams 1962: ix).

The *History* is a full description of the arrival and settlement of the different ethnic groups living in the country, from the Amerindian ancestors to the East Indian ‘coolies’, narrated in a rigid chronological order. While the book’s title (not simply *History of Trinidad and Tobago* but *History of the People*) can be read one way as promoting the ‘People’ as the principal author of the revised national history, Williams’ account actually depicts ‘the people’ more as the passive recipient of a full bundle of national products (including the flag, the coat of arms, a national flower and bird, as well as the book), rather than having a real active role. As he points out in the preface:

“The aim was to **provide** the people of Trinidad and Tobago on their Independence Day with a National History, as they have already been **provided** with a National Anthem, a National Coat of Arms, National Birds, a National Flower and a National Flag”

(Williams 1962: ix, my emphasis).

Williams considered his book as an authentic tool for sovereignty and national identity, part of that “mass-produced invented tradition” (Hobsbawn 1983: 11) created by

bureaucratic elites to hail the masses as citizens of a newly-born independent nation and foster their sense of belonging and unity.<sup>33</sup> William's prescriptive stance on Trinbagonian unity is made clearer in the book's conclusion, where the African, Indian, Chinese, Syrian and Lebanese immigrants, as well as the descendants of the White owners of plantations, are integrated into a single family, under the guardianship of a sole "Mother":

"There can be no Mother India for those whose ancestors came from India [...]. There can be no Mother Africa for those of African origin [...]. There can be no Mother England and no dual loyalties [...]. There can be no Mother China [...] and there can be no Mother Syria or no Mother Lebanon. A nation, like an individual, can have only one Mother. The only Mother we recognise is Mother Trinidad and Tobago, and Mother cannot discriminate between her children. All must be equal in her eyes." (Williams 1962: 279)

The use of a metaphor of the nation as a *Mother*, who both reproduces and nurtures her citizens as sons, allows the reader "to reason about the nation on the basis of what we know about the family" (Lakoff 1996:155) and serves to "emotionalize the issue", linking state affairs to "the much-emotion loaded ground of familial-domestic affairs" (Tekin 2010: 199).

Political rhetoric often employs family metaphors to create a sense of unity and togetherness. Family metaphors are personifying metaphors and can be used to give meaning to the phenomena of the world in a humanized, anthropomorphized form (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 34). "Personifications possess high suggestive force. In reference to the mental construct of nation, these metaphors also imply intra-national sameness and equality. The very vividness of such metaphors, moreover, favors identification of the addressees with that of the personified collective subjects" (Wodak et al. 2009:44). Drawing on Billig (1995: 71), Chouliaraki (1999: 49) maintains that "personification and the concomitant attribution of intense human feelings to the nation metaphorize relations within the nation as relationships of kinship, of family, thus further forging a sense of 'imagined community' among its members".

---

<sup>33</sup> Williams' narrative of the independent nation was in contrast to the then-current theories of Caribbean society, describing the archipelago as home to a "plural society" (M.G. Smith 1965), made up of different cultural sections that tend to reside separately and who are held together by economic reasons, rather than by a sense of belonging to a common culture. Because of the presumed incommensurable differences among ethnic groups, external domination (rather than independence) was often deemed as a structural condition for any multi-ethnic Caribbean society (See Ch. 1).

The 1960s Trinbagonian nation state had necessarily to be discursively created with a constructive strategy (Wodak et al. 2009) emphasizing a unifying common feature: being loyal to the *Mother*. On the one hand, this metaphor represents Williams' effort to create the Trinbagonian "in-group": gluing together all the disparate cultures of the two islands in order to incorporate the country's many ethnic communities into a single, governable whole. In this respect, Williams' dominant nationalist discourse gave prominence to the potential for a full creolization, without taking into account the many limits of the application of Brathwaite's concept to the special case of Trinidad and Tobago (see Ch. 1).

On the other hand, William's usage of a family-related lexical item triggers the conceptual image of "the family as a self-contained group of loving and mutually supportive members united against the outside world" (Bloor and Bloor 2007: 77). Through his narrative of a shared Trinbagonian past, Williams discursively built a national "in-group" as opposed to the British colonial "out-group", a polarization created by providing throughout the book "selective counter-information concerning either more elevated aspects of the colonized or degraded features of the colonizers" (Tsuji 2008: 1155). "*Massa day done*" - the days of the colonial master are over - as Williams stated in a famous Public Lecture at the Port of Spain Speakers' Corner of Woodford Square in 1961. By marking a new separation from "Mother England", the family metaphor reinforces solidarity and unity in the pristine independent nation and distances Trinidad and Tobago from the recent colonial experience.

### 6.2.2 *The 2010s: "Diversity is Strength"*

In the 1960s, the creation of a Trinidadian "in-group" was instrumental to Eric Williams' postcolonial nation building. His unity against the "*Massa*" served the formal exclusion of any remnants of colonial power from the country. As PM Williams "insisted that unless a Trinidadian was in favor of the nationalist movement he was not truly Trinidadian" (Harney 1996: 57), but his rhetorical nationalism actually paved the way for the political ascent of the emergent, urban middle-class of African ancestry. While Williams addressed the urgent need for unity and singular allegiance in postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago, "race has provided the means of populist non-class integration of the masses into

politics, enabling the development of opposed bourgeois nationalist Afro-Creole and Indian political parties” (Puri 1999: 17). Moreover, although Williams hinted at the equality of citizens/children as the only possible solution for governance, the advancement of Africans and Indians has always been conceived in mutually exclusive terms. As a result of the political success of the PNM, Afro-Creole culture became more predominant in the following decades under Williams administration (Premdas 2007, see Ch. 1).

Four decades later, Persad-Bissessar’s conceptualization of a national “in-group” identity is different in many aspects from the one proposed by Eric Williams. Clearly, British colonial power is further away in history and cannot represent a key topic for Persad-Bissessar’s nationalist discourse of unity. Rather than marking a distance between a British “out-group” and a Trinbagonian “in-group”, Persad-Bissessar seems to be concentrating more on addressing the thorny issue of national harmony internal to the very “in-group”. The longstanding discursive construction of national ethnic harmony and cultural blending in Trinidad and Tobago seems to be further reinforced by the presentation of her coalition party at the 2010 General Election. Her discursive construction of a national identity is intimately linked to the legitimation of her coalition party as the best political solution for Trinidad and Tobago. Throughout the campaign, both the nation and the coalition are represented as plural, multi-ethnic and multi-faceted, yet serenely harmonious and united in diversity. In the Chaguanas speech, the PM candidate engages in the *discursive construction of Trinbagonian diversity*, an authentic epideictic celebration of the country’s multi-ethnic nature:

We are a nation that derives its strength from its **diversity**. We are one nation, comprised of people whose ancestors came from different continents, whose skins have different tones, and who pray to different gods. And the result is a beautiful culture that has produced music, dance, food and festival known throughout the world. We are not merely tolerant of our **differences**; we embrace our **differences**. We combine, share and exchange; and the result is that we are all better for it. We are stronger for it. And now the People’s Partnership finally presents for the people of Trinidad and Tobago a political choice that mirrors the strength of the nation. For the first time, our politics is not confined to a contest of race against race; region against region; interest against interest. For the first time, our politics now embraces our **differences**, and creates strength from what was once divisive in the past.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010, my emphasis)

While ‘*diversity*’ usually involves a set of “largely aesthetic, politically and morally neutral expressions of cultural difference” that find their allotted space in the public sphere, ‘*difference*’, on the other hand, refers to “questionable notions and practices in a minority group or category”, which create conflicts, weaken social solidarity and constitute an impediment to national cohesion” (Eriksen 2006: 14). Persad-Bissessar’s speech deliberately blurs these conceptual lines: while *diversity* is obviously celebrated as a national ‘*strength*’, any negative connotations of the Trinbagonian ‘*differences*’ are completely neutralized. As Persad-Bissessar systematically celebrates ‘*differences*’ as the dominant trope of nationality (“*different continents*”, “*different tones*”, “*different gods*”), she produces a narrative of Trinidad and Tobago as intrinsically diasporic.

Persad-Bissessar’s call for racial and cultural harmony is explicitly articulated through a constructive strategy based on singularisation (Wodak et al. 2009), highlighting and praising the nation’s uniqueness. Ethnic and religious heterogeneity is emphasized as a unique feature that does not pose a threat to national unity (“*We are one nation*”), on the contrary, it represents the country’s richness and strength. Persad-Bissessar does not attempt to erase differences *à la* Eric Williams, but keeps them below “the veneer of homogeneity” (Premdas 1996: 3). There might not be “Mother India” or “Mother Africa”, as Williams used to say, but surely there are “Grandmother India” and “Grandmother Africa” in the background of Persad-Bissessar’s new national narrative. This strategic celebration of Trinbagonian diversity aims at flattening the racialized ‘*Us vs. Them*’ dichotomy in the country and promoting an imagined, ‘larger’ unified people. Clearly, according to Persad-Bissessar, the only possible political solution for Trinidad and Tobago is a multi-ethnic party like the People’s Partnership, which promises to “*embrace differences*” and offers full representation for all the country’s utmost diversity (See Ch. 5).

In the Chaguanas speech, Persad-Bissessar refers to national culture as one of the most evident manifestations of Trinbagonian harmonious diversity. Actually, Trinbagonian “*music, dance, food and festivals*”, being highly visible aspects of national culture and identity, are often at the center of heated cultural debates. Public discussions typically involve the extent of the role that the different ethnic groups (particularly Indo

and Afro-Trinbagonians) have played in the cultural production of the nation.<sup>34</sup> With her references to “*music, dance, food and festivals*”, the PM candidate alludes to those aspects of Caribbean culture that Edmondson (1999: 2) defined as “romances”, that is to say, “particular tropes and paradigms identified with an essential Caribbeanness (such as Carnival and cultural hybridity, to name two of the more striking examples)”. The actions of “*combining, sharing and exchanging*” culture in multi-ethnic Trinidad and Tobago are presented as effortless and natural by Persad-Bissessar, in an idealized representation of Caribbean society that often marks the way in which “dominant or contending groups, whether political, social, economic, or scholarly, reconcile interests and conflicts by disguising them through such mystified tropes and discourses” (Edmondson 1999:4). The rhetoric of a “Carnival Nation”, where “nationalism becomes a project of cooking together the big pilau” (Harney 1996: 59), seems to be Persad-Bissessar’s shortcut in order to overlook the complexity of the power relations and the anxieties around the notion of ethnic equality in the country.

### ***6.3 Building a Common Political Past: Teaching History as Action***

#### ***6.3.1 Slavery, Memory and Inclusiveness***

Historical memory is an indispensable prerequisite for national identity: the “cultural construction of nationness” (Bhabha 1990: 292), as we have seen in Chapter 1, “builds on the emphasis on a common history, and history has always to do with remembrance and memory” (De Cillia et al. 1999: 154). Although the “*narration and confabulation of a common political past*” is regarded as a crucial theme in the discursive construction of any national identity (Wodak et al. 2009), it represents an authentic challenge for contemporary politicians in multicultural Trinidad and Tobago.

How to build a common past out of a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural postcolonial nation, when the main shared experience usually consists of the traumatic past of

---

<sup>34</sup> The debate on the national dish of Trinidad and Tobago is one of the most prominent examples of this intra-ethnic tension. The *callaloo* stew, popular throughout the Caribbean, is far from being widely accepted as a national dish in the country. Other popular options with East Indian origins, such as *pelau* or fried *doubles*, are often brought into the debate (see Ch. 1).



genocide, slavery, and colonial exploitation? In the postcolonial Caribbean, “history, taught as morality, is religion. History, taught as action, is art”, and the only possible use of history is “idiosyncratic, personal, and, therefore, creative” (Walcott 1974). This quotation of the St. Lucian Nobel Prize winner aptly prefigures Kamla Persad-Bissessar’s attitude towards Trinidadian history in her election speeches. “*Teaching history as action*” became instrumental to Persad-Bissessar’s political success: the PM candidate addresses the traumatic past of Trinidad and Tobago through using constructive strategies (Wodak et al. 2009), contributing to a process of national identity building in a postcolonial context. Historical memory, therefore, becomes instrumental to the foundation of a common narrative of empowerment that can promote contemporary inclusiveness, identification and solidarity among ethnic groups. The cultural trauma (Alexander et al. 2004) of slavery becomes collective memory in Persad-Bissessar’s speech, a form of remembrance that grounds the identity-formation of the Trinbagonian people as one.

In a country not used to the presence of coalitions in the political arena, the “*narration and confabulation of a common political past*” serves Persad-Bissessar’s efforts to broaden the electorate of her People’s Partnership. More specifically, by putting the experience of slavery at the core of the discursive construction of a common Trinbagonian past, the PM candidate recreates a narrative of common resistance that backgrounds ethnic antagonism. In Persad-Bissessar’s speech in Chaguanas, a new ethnic equality is expressed in terms of the contribution the different ethnic groups gave to the making of the independent nation:

My sisters and brothers, today is the day we write a new future of our country. Somewhere beyond the horizon, over the rainbow, the spirits of the great forefathers and foremothers of our land who crossed the Atlantic, the Middle Passage and the Kala Pani, so many centuries ago to brave the slings and arrows of slavery and indentureship and oppression, are looking at us today and they are smiling. They are singing and dancing in the great beyond in joy that finally, the land they toiled to build, the future they wanted and dreamt of for their great-great-grandchildren is at hand. (Chaguanas, 02/05/2010)

Quoting Wodak et al. (2009:31), “the construction of a common political past revolves around founding myths and myths of origin, mythical figures, political success, times of prosperity and stability, defeats and crises”. Persad-Bissessar’s speech re-writes the

history of the “*founding fathers*” by narrating their epic, almost biblical, journey across the Atlantic. By using a plural common noun, she is recounting the shared history of “*forefathers and foremothers*” (and their link with the present-time “*great-great-grandchildren*”), regardless of any ethnic background. This emphasis on commonality is strengthened by the use of the inclusive form of address “*My sisters and brothers*”, and by the use of the pronoun “*our*”, as in “*our country*”, “*our land*”. In the context of an election campaign, this degree of inclusiveness can only be achieved with political change. As the opposition leader against the incumbent PNM, Persad-Bissessar used a number of strategies of transformation (Wodak et al. 2009), such as relying on the classic ‘*locus a tempore*’, the topos of a favorable time for change (“*today is the day*”). This urgency for change is achieved also through emphasizing the (awaited) difference between now and the future (“*a new future for our country*”) and hinting at a blessing by the spirits of the ancestors, who are smiling on the new course of national history she is going to lead.

One of the most interesting aspects of the narration is the mention of both the African “*Middle Passage*” and the East Indian “*Kala Pani*” (the Hindi words for the ‘black waters’ of the Atlantic). The PM candidate is drawing a parallel between the practice of African slavery and East Indian indentureship, the system of labor supply for British colonial plantations that replaced slavery after abolition. In her inclusive effort, Persad-Bissessar enters the longstanding, heated debate on whether East Indian “*indentureship*” should be considered as a form of “*slavery*” comparable to the African experience in Trinidad and Tobago (Tinker 1974). This represents a crucial aspect of the explicit and implicit discussion over “which group contributed more into the building of the nation, and was therefore more deserving of political and economic ascendancy” (Geer 2007:121). Persad-Bissessar’s stance seems to equate the two phenomena as both forms of “*oppression*”, stressing the common suffering as an experience that binds and therefore highlights the ‘equality’ of the nation’s two largest ethnic groups.<sup>35</sup> By paralleling the two phenomena, she is able to build an inclusive, empowering discourse

---

<sup>35</sup> Her stance here seems to reprise that of Eric Williams (1962:278), who maintained that “all the races”, regardless of how and when they settled in Trinidad, were “all victims of the same subordination,” and their cultures had “all been submerged in the common subordinate status of colonialism”.

on slavery that does not leave the East Indian electorate unrepresented, but aims at finding commonality in the historical remnants of postcolonial trauma.

### 6.3.2 *Slavery, Resistance and Empowerment*

Slavery is recounted by Persad-Bissessar in an empowering and inclusive narrative: the forefathers (and *foremothers*, with a hint to the importance of the female contribution to the making of the Caribbean nation) are portrayed in the act of fighting against the Shakespearian “*slings and arrows*” of colonial oppression. This section of Persad-Bissessar’s speech seems to have been heavily inspired by the poem *I’ll Never Return* written in 1981 by the Afghan poet and activist Meena Keshwar Kamal.<sup>36</sup> However, while the poem narrates Meena’s resistance as an Afghan woman during war times entirely in the first person singular (*I’m the woman who has awoken / I’ve found my path and will never return / I’ve seen barefoot, wandering and homeless children*), Persad-Bissessar employs the first person plural to collectivize the experience of slavery and colonial oppression. Brought to contemporary Trinidad and Tobago, the Afghan poem acquires new meaning through a process of recontextualization and aptly serves Persad-Bissessar’s empowering narrative of past slavery:

We've found our path and will never return, will never go back. We've seen barefoot, wandering and homeless children. We've been reborn amidst epics of resistance and courage. We've learned the song of freedom in the last breaths, in the waves of struggle and in victory. My brother, my sister, my countryman tell Patrick Manning that he must no longer regard us as weak and incapable. With all our strength, we take each other's hands and rise on the path of our country's liberation. Our voices are mingled with thousands of arisen people. Our fists are clenched with the fists of thousands compatriots. Together we've stepped up to the path of our nation to break all these sufferings, all these fetters of bondage, of slavery. We are the people who have risen. We've found our new destiny and will never return, we not going back.

(Chaguanas, 02/05/2010)

The Chaguanas speech aims at underlining the often unrecognized active role of the people of Trinidad and Tobago in the abolition of slavery, as well as in the achievement

---

<sup>36</sup> The poem seems to be particularly dear to Persad-Bissessar, who had included a number of intertextual references to the poem also in her ‘*No Woman No Cry*’ 2007 speech (See 4.2.1).

of independence. Rather than conceptualizing these two events as gracious British concessions to patiently waiting slaves, Persad-Bissessar highlights the importance of Trinbagonian opposition and resistance.<sup>37</sup> This process of rewriting history through political rhetoric has different means of realization throughout the excerpt.

To begin with, the former enslaved population of Trinidad and Tobago is represented as the actor of a large number of different processes in the metaphorical narrative of liberation: material (“*We’ve found our path*”), mental (“*We’ve seen [...] children*”) as well as relational processes (“*We’ve been reborn*”). While material processes represent an action having an effect on an outer entity and relational processes are related to being and becoming, a mental process “construes a ... change in the flow of events taking place in our own consciousness” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 197). Trinbagonians are represented as the main social actors and main authors of a major change in the national socio-political asset. As liberated slaves, they are experienced survivors and authentic actors of a process of postcolonial self-determination.

Whereas the strategies of reference (or nomination) bring the social actors or phenomena, events and processes into being, the strategy of predication linguistically provides these actors or events with characteristics and traits (Reisigl and Wodak 2009:94). Slavery is linguistically characterized using words belonging to the semantic field of *war*: an epic of “*resistance and courage*”, a “*struggle*” that in the end led to “*victory*” thanks to the work of “*compatriots*” coming together. This choice can be interpreted as a further strategy of empowerment, because a war always implies two sides equally fighting for victory. Colonialism, on the other hand, entails an imbalance, with a stronger, white power crushing a colonized people, conceptualized as weak and inferior.

Moreover, the process of liberation from slavery and the colonial yoke is conceptualized as an authentic ‘*journey*’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Charteris-Black 2005). Evidence can be found in the use of journey metaphors like “*path*”, “*step*”, “*return*”, “*go back*”. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001:56), “in linguistically constructing imagined communities [...] and collective subjects like ‘*rac*es’, ‘*nations*’ and ‘*ethnicities*’, [...] metaphors serve to create difference-levelling sameness and

---

<sup>37</sup> For historical accounts of slave resistance on Trinidadian plantations, see Brereton (2012). On the role of the 1930s Labour movement in the independence of Trinidad and Tobago, see Kiely (1996).

homogeneity”. In the excerpt, metaphors are used conceptualizing freedom from slavery as a “*path*” that has been found, and a “*song*” that has been learned, that both collectivize and empower the audience. The main rhetorical purpose of journey metaphors in political discourse is to create solidarity and “encourage followers to accept short-term suffering for worthwhile long-term objectives” (Charteris-Black 2005: 46). However, in this excerpt the “journey” of liberation from slavery is completed, and is pictured in retrospective, having the high value of experience (topos of *historia magistra vitae*) with the final aim of creating a strong parallel with the present Trinidadian political situation.

This relationship between past and present is organized largely across two temporal lines. For the narrative of slavery and liberation the present perfect tense is selected rather than the past tense, a choice implying a strong relation between the colonial past and the present time. For the comment on the present political situation and the government of Patrick Manning, Persad-Bissessar switches over to the present tense. This use of different tenses is neither arbitrary nor neutral, but always indicates different orientations towards the topics that are talked or written about, as “temporal distance nearly always conveys modal distance” (Fowler et al. 1979:207).

Indeed, this parallel between past and present in Persad-Bissessar’s speech gives way to a second parallel, this time between the PNM and slavery. Framing Manning as a slaver that regards his citizens as “*weak and incapable*” is clearly part of Persad-Bissessar’s wider campaign strategy of “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). We have seen (Ch.3) how this polarization entails the use of positive images of unity and sameness in the formation of an “in-group” in order to differentiate this identity in relation to what is negative and “other” (de Cillia et al. 1999). Persad-Bissessar’s “negative other-presentation” depicts the PNM as racist and non-egalitarian. Conversely, her “positive self-presentation” qualifies the People’s Partnership as the ‘*Rainbow Party*’ of ethnic inclusion, where anybody in the country can find their political representation (see Ch. 5). Persad-Bissessar high use of the first person plural subjective “*we*” and possessive “*our*” reinforces the idea of a *party* “in-group” overlapping with a *national* “In-group”. In Persad-Bissessar’s words, Patrick Manning is isolated and left alone in the “out-group” (see Ch. 4), with his Afro-Trinbagonian electorate finding a new political home in the People’s Partnership.

#### 6.4 *Proud Achievements and Historic Moments: Narrating History as Myth*

The popularization of national “heroes” or “icons” seems to be the “indispensable appendage to any possible interpretation of national identity” (Eriksonas 2004:15). The emotional ties to the native country are fostered by a sense of national pride, supported by a description of the achievements by notable citizens, which are able to incarnate a narrative of exceptionalism and transmit messages about what it means to belong to a particular nationality (Hall 1996). The ‘*We Will Rise*’ campaign in 2010 is an example of Persad-Bissessar’s interest in the creation of a narrative of “national heroes”.<sup>38</sup> In her Chaguanas Presentation of Candidates speech, Persad-Bissessar dedicates a full section on the life and achievements of notable Trinbagonians and ‘*pride*’ seems to be the dominant feeling that the PM candidate aims to transmit to the audience:

We are **proud** of this land, we are **proud** of our people, we are **proud** of the progress that we have made together. We are **proud** of the achievements of our citizens who have excelled in sports and in the arts, in business and in labour, in politics and in government, in Parliament and the Judiciary, in the media, community and society. Our nation would not be the same without them. We would not have the same sense of ourselves without them, we would not be the same people or society or country without them.

(Chaguanas 02/05/2010, my emphasis)

In her argument, Persad-Bissessar establishes a triangular relationship between ‘*pride*’, ‘*achievements*’ and ‘*identity*’. In Persad-Bissessar’s words, the achievements of notable Trinbagonians are instrumental to building identity for their fellow citizens both at the individual and at the collective level (“*we would not be the same*”). At the same time, pride is powerfully inclusive and recognizing the exceptionality of these individual achievements and being proud of them is the common feeling that binds. After her introduction, Persad-Bissessar lists a number of national icons of different ethnic backgrounds, and briefly describes the reasons why Trinbagonians should be proud of them and their achievements:

---

<sup>38</sup> Persad-Bissessar’s idea will be further developed after the election in 2012, resulting in the publication of a booklet on the achievements of 60 “notable Trinbagonians entitled *National Icons of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago*, as part of Government’s 50th anniversary of Independence celebrations.

When a **Brian Lara** or **Hasley Crawford** or a **Daren Ganga** or **George Bovell** or a **Dwight Yorke** gives a world class performance we feel uplifted, our spirit soars and our hearts are glad and we rise. It is at moments like when our nation qualified for the World Cup thanks in no small part to our very own **Jack Warner** that we recognise ourselves for what we truly are: citizens of Trinidad and Tobago. When a **Minshall** or **MacFarlane** surprises our imagination we get a jolt of joy, and we feel a sense of pride and accomplishment when we are exposed to the work of our great artists like the late **Issiah Boodhoo** or **Jackie Hinkson** or **Leroy Clarke** who leave us to ponder and to reflect. When Nobel Laureates like **V.S. Naipaul** and **Derek Walcott** speak of their sources of inspiration, or **Earl Lovelace** writes about how we live with each other and how we feel and dream, we are inspired that we are also part of a society and culture of what created them. And when people like **Pat Bishop** speak we should listen, not silence her.

People like **Anthony Sabga**, **Sydney Knox**, **Helen Bhagwansingh** and **Joseph Charles** give us a first-hand example of how business empires are built and prompt us to feel that with hard work, patience and dedication, genuine accomplishment is possible. A **Tubal Uriah “Buzz” Butler**, an **Adrian Cola Rienzi** and a **George Weeks** make us proud that ordinary citizens can rise to be leaders, that ordinary people banding together to serve their interest and to secure their dignity can change the course of history and make a difference. **George John** we remember as distinguishing himself as a journalist. In politics, we have had some proud moments. When the late **Dr. Eric Williams** and **Dr. Rudranath Capildeo** found common ground to make it possible for agreement on the 1962 constitution and pave the way for Independence for Trinidad and Tobago... that was a proud moment. When the whole country came together for the clean-up campaign immediately after the election when the NAR government came to power in 1986, that was a proud moment.

(Chaguanas 02/05/2010, my emphasis)

In this excerpt, national pride constitutes a strong, positive pull of allegiance for Persad-Bissessar’s target audience. The speech is an authentic process of emotional elicitation, with a strong focus on feelings. Rather than the way Trinbagonians *should feel* about the cited works and events, Persad-Bissessar talks about the way they *actually feel*. This is primarily achieved choosing verbs in the present tense that describe the positive inner reaction to these “national achievements”, such as “*feel uplifted*”, “*feel a sense of pride and accomplishment*”, “*get a jolt of joy*” as well as the more metaphorical “*our spirit soars*”, “*our hearts are glad*”.

The first part of the excerpt describes the achievements in sports, arts, literature and culture, that are mainly valued for the emotional enrichment they can represent for the Trinbagonian people. Persad-Bissessar’s celebration of national achievement begins with a long list of athletes: national sport breeds authentic ‘foundation myths’ of national superiority and can be compared to war and state funerals in its capacity to act as an ‘ubiquitous metonym’ for the concept of a nation in both daily life and media discourse

(Alabarces et al. 2001).<sup>39</sup> While sport can be seen as a classic source of national pride at an international level, Persad-Bissessar also gives prominence to more specific aspects of Trinbagonian culture, such as the masquerade tradition of the Trinidad Carnival. The Carnival is the national cultural phenomenon *par excellence*: a tradition legitimated by “having deep and unquestionable roots in the heart of Trinidadian culture”, as well as being “a national allegory of the major popular art forms in Trinidad: costume-making, steelband and calypso” (Harney 1996:43).<sup>40</sup> Peter Minshall and Brian McFarlane, two of the nation’s most famous and respected ‘*mas-man*’ (Carnival costume designers), are therefore included by Persad-Bissessar in the artistic contributions of the country together with the painters Isaiah Boodhoo, Jackie Hinkson and Leroy Clarke.

The second part of the excerpt focuses on achievements in business, labour, journalism and politics, which are mainly valued for the moral example they can set for the Trinbagonian people. When describing achievements in business, Persad-Bissessar seems to be drawing on Weber’s (1904) famous study linking the Protestant ethic (“*hard work, patience and dedication*”) to the spirit of modern capitalism (“*how business empires are built*”). When describing achievements in politics, Persad-Bissessar strategically selects two moments in the country’s political history as “*proud moments in politics*”. Her final aim is to identify historical precedents for Indo/Afro collaboration in the political history of the nation and thus legitimize indirectly the political project of the People’s Partnership.

Firstly in this regard, Persad-Bissessar refers to the creation of the 1962 Constitution and mentions two notable politicians who had a crucial role in the draft: Eric

---

<sup>39</sup> Brian Lara and Daren Ganga are famous first-class cricketers, the athlete Hasley Crawford became Trinidad and Tobago’s first Olympic champion in 1976, while the swimmer George Bovell won the first-ever Olympic swimming medal for the country in 2004. Dwight York played in the English Premier League and in the World Cup for the Trinidad and Tobago national team, the “Soca Warriors”. Persad-Bissessar also praises the work of the UNC politician Jack Warner, who at the time of the 2010 election was also President of the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF) and Vice President of FIFA (1997-2011). Warner was involved in Trinidad and Tobago’s successful qualification campaign for the 2006 World Cup finals in Germany, as well as in a number of transparency controversies and allegations of corruption that Persad-Bissessar necessarily avoids mentioning.

<sup>40</sup> On the crucial importance of Carnival in the nation-building process of Trinidad and Tobago see: van Koningsbruggen (1997), Mason (1998), Cozart Riggio (2004).



Williams and Rudranath Capildeo.<sup>41</sup> As political history is often monopolized by the key role played by the Afro-Trinidadian Williams and the PNM, Persad-Bissessar aims at creating inclusivity also by highlighting the East Indian contribution of Capildeo in the making of the independent nation.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, Persad-Bissessar mentions the election of the National Alliance for Reconstruction, when the “*whole country came together for the clean-up campaign*” The NAR is the only political precedent for a multi-ethnic coalition in the history of the nation and is highly instrumental to the legitimation of the People’s Partnership.<sup>43</sup>

The description of achievements in the political history of the nation allows Persad-Bissessar to conclude the discursive celebration of the Trinbagonian national icons with a connection to the political present of the country. The final aim of the ‘canonization’ of the Trinbagonian national icons becomes clearer in the following excerpt:

And today we are marking another such moment. This is another one of those historic points in time that defines what is happening here in our country now, the shift that is taking place, this warm embrace by the population of change, the emergence of this Partnership of the People, the commitment by all on this platform to partner with the people---- this movement of unity that is building momentum across our country- that we are creating together---this will take us to another proud moment in our national history. AND WE WILL RISE.

(Chaguanas 02/05/2010)

Contextualized in the discursive celebration of the excellent Trinbagonians of the past, the People’s Partnership candidates presented in the Chaguanas rally are elevated as

---

<sup>41</sup> The two politicians emerged in the pre-independence 1956 General Election as the political leaders of the two major ethnic groups in the country: Eric Williams, leader of the People’s National Movement (PNM), was supported by the urban-based middle and lower classes, who were mainly of African ancestry, while the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) led by Rudranath Capildeo, was the expression of the more conservative rurally-based Indo-Trinidadian middle and upper-middle classes.

<sup>42</sup> The creation of the 1962 Constitution is actually a highly controversial issue in the history of the nation. While the PM Candidate praises Capildeo for his involvement and collaboration, actually the PNM already had the political power to impose the majority of its choices during the writing process.

<sup>43</sup> When the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) came into power in 1986, the Prime Minister ANR Robinson immediately initiated a “Clean Up Day”, with volunteers cleaning the cities and the beaches of rubbish. It was a highly metaphorical action as the party succeeded in power after the PNM, hinting at the many accusations of corruptions and patronage in the uninterrupted years of rule of the Afro-Trinbagonian party.

moral examples of “*commitment*” and “*unity*”. National history is still “the advent of the epochal” (Bhabha 1990:141) in Persad-Bissessar’s words. Drawing on a ‘*locus a tempore*’, Persad-Bissessar presents the People’s Partnership as a “*shift that is taking place*”, a moment that is marking another “*historic point in time*” of the national history. Its formation and its future election success are portrayed as the next proud moment in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. The implication is that, by electing Persad-Bissessar’s coalition, the audience can witness the making of the Trinbagonian ‘myth’.

### ***6.5 Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality: Religious discourse as National Discourse***

The political use of rhetorical and persuasive strategies recontextualized from religious discourse is a classic rhetorical strategy in political discourse (Chilton 2004; Bhatia 2007) that has been widely used by Persad-Bissessar. Interestingly, the Indo-Trinidadian Persad-Bissessar made no direct references to Hindu culture or religion throughout the campaign, while often making more specific references to Christianity.<sup>44</sup> A possible reason for this choice could be that Persad-Bissessar’s ‘*We Will Rise*’ campaign was specifically aimed at the inclusion of the Afro-Trinbagonian electors, traditionally associated with the PNM and mainly of Christian faith. More generally, as an Indo-Trinidadian PM candidate in a multi-faith country, this religious rhetoric could have possibly helped Persad-Bissessar to position herself at a higher, spiritual level, while winning her the sympathy of the Christians who make up almost 55% the country (GOTT Census 2011).

An example of Persad-Bissessar’s religious interdiscursivity is the choice of the theme of ‘*rising*’ as the leit-motif of her campaign. Being plural, future, and biblical, ‘*We Will Rise*’ displays all the staples of political communication. The motto has been widely

---

<sup>44</sup> Persad-Bissessar’s story of personal religious syncretism was often brought to the fore during the campaign in the attempt to legitimate herself as an impartial leader. Daughter of a Pundit and born into a Brahmin Hindu family, Persad-Bissessar “was baptized as a child in the Spiritual Baptist faith, a radical step for any Indian family, but also attended the Mohess Road Hindu School, Erin Road Presbyterian School, and the Siparia Union Presbyterian School” (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013:148). Persad-Bissessar’s multi-faith stance strategically won her the endorsement of a number of religious leaders in the country, including the Shouter Baptists, the Pentecostals, the Muslim community, as well as the Hindu Maha Sabha. Interestingly, she took her oath as Prime Minister swearing not on the Bible but on the Bhagavad Gita, one of the holiest scripts of the Hindus.

used as a “claptrap” (Atkinson 1984), that is an expression designed to gain applause throughout the campaign. The use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ is strategic, and it is extended metonymically to represent all Trinbagonians. The choice of the semi-modal ‘will’ represents an epistemic rendition of Kamla’s determination and keen desire to lead Trinidadians above their current difficulties, linking to both the context of corruption and scandals that led to the 2010 Election, and to the future of Trinidad as a developing country. “*Rising*” is the crucial predication of empowerment in Persad-Bissessar’s campaign, and represents the discursive qualification of Trinidadians as ‘risen from the ashes’ of past slavery. An example of this use is found in the Chaguanas speech, when the PM candidate refers to the Trinbagonian people as “*the people who have risen*”, in an intertextual reference to Matthew’s 28:6 “*He is not here, for He has risen*”. In Persad-Bissessar’s view Trinbagonian people, the people who have already ‘risen’ once from slavery and colonialism, are ready for the present and future with the new People’s Partnership government. This aspect is further reinforced by the futurity in the motto, clearly implying a negative judgement on the current PNM government.

#### 6.5.1 “*I Have a Dream*”: the Power of Recontextualization

Obama recently popularized and brought back into fashion interdiscursivity between political and religious discourse, and his 2008 presidential campaign has become famous for its correspondences with Martin Luther King’s speeches. The Reverend’s style also seems to have had a major impact on Persad-Bissessar’s 2010 campaign: the PM Candidate often included in her speeches King’s sermon-like parallelisms, vocatives, enumerations, repetitions and rhetorical questions. In a passage from her Chaguanas speech, Persad-Bissessar’s interdiscursive references to a higher religious or spiritual discourse become more explicitly intertextual. Her integrative rhetoric echoes Martin Luther King’s seminal ‘*I Have a Dream*’ speech, delivered at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963:

Today we make a new future and honour our history by charting a new country forward. Today the dream of our forefathers and foremothers to create a land that is prosperous for all, a land where every child and every single person is afforded equality, safety and judged, not by the colour of his or her skin or the texture of his or her hair, but by the content of his or her character, today, that country, that land is just within our grasp. Today, we stand together as one people: men, women, children, African, Indian, Chinese, labour leaders, academics, labourers, every creed and every race have come together for a new mandate for Trinidad and Tobago's future.

(Chaguanas 02/05/2010)

Obviously, the Reverend's speech underwent an essential recontextualization in time and space. While King's emancipatory speech pushed his narrative in an epistemic realm of futurity (reinforced by his repeated use of "*will*"), in Persad-Bissessar's speech there is a higher level of factuality, expressed by tenses in simple present. The Trinbagonians of 2010 are free men and women that do not limit themselves to "*dream*" as their "*forefathers and foremothers*" did in a time of slavery and colonial oppression. For the PM candidate, change is not going to happen in an unspecified future thanks to the faith in God, but is happening in the present because of the actions of the Trinbagonian people ("*today we make*", "*today we stand*"). King's speech was a defining moment in the American Civil Rights Movement and one of its most famous lines is a strong reference to the racial issue in the United States:

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character (King 1963).

Persad-Bissessar quotes the passage entirely, but adds a second reference to the texture of the hair, which represents a more precise racial indicator in the contemporary Caribbean.<sup>45</sup> Another aspect that Persad-Bissessar seems to borrow from Martin Luther King is the definition by *enumeration* of the main social actors at play:

---

<sup>45</sup> More than skin color (which is often an inaccurate ethnic marker in a Caribbean country with a less than 1% White population and a "Mixed" ethnic group constantly increasing), hair texture in Trinidad and Tobago represents the authentic indicator of ethnic identity among the population, as "hard hair" necessarily implies Afro-Trinbagonian ancestry as opposed to "soft", East Indian or "Spanish" hair (Khan 1993).

MLK	KPB
<i>All of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics</i>	<i>men, women, children, African, Indian, Chinese, labour leaders, academics, labourers, every creed and every race</i>

**Table 11:** Social Actors in King's '*I Have a Dream*' and Persad-Bissessar's Chaguanas speech

King is addressing a very specific issue in the United States of the 1960s and seems to focus more on race (*black men and white men*). The appeal to religion (*Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics*) is seen by the Reverend as a possible source of equality (*all of God's children*). Speaking of contemporary Trinidad and Tobago, Persad-Bissessar introduces the issue of gender equality (*women*), ethnicity (*African, Indian, Chinese*) as well as class (*labour leaders, academics, labourers*), while the references to religion and race (*every creed and every race*) are condensed in the intertextual reference to the Trinbagonian national anthem. The national anthem represents another source of inspiration and legitimation for Persad-Bissessar, who employs it in a meaningful intertextual reference in the conclusions to her Chaguanas speech (see 6.5.4).

### 6.5.2 *Recontextualization as Relocation: Building a Common "National Body"*

Together with enumeration, repetition is another rhetorical device that exemplifies the strong interdiscursive links between political and religious discourse. A basic device of lexical cohesion and reinforcement, repetition is also found in the rhetoric of Old Testament prophets and in religious sermons (Charteris-Black 2014: 68). In the final part of her Chaguanas speech, Persad-Bissessar gives a bird's eye view of the Trinbagonian national geographic space, following a pattern of repetitions similar to King's conclusions to his "*I Have a Dream*" speech:

MLK	KPB
<p>And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.</p> <p>Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.</p> <p>Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.</p> <p>Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.</p> <p>Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.</p> <p>But not only that:</p> <p>Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.</p> <p>Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.</p> <p>Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.</p>	<p>And we will rise from white sands of Las Cuevas to the black pitch lake in La Brea;</p> <p>We will rise from the busy industrial town of Point Fortin to the quiet fishing village of Parlatuvier;</p> <p>We will rise from serene village of Moruga to the tranquil village of Matelot;</p> <p>We will rise from the striking shore of San Francique to the stunning shore of Sans Souci;</p> <p>We will rise here from the centre of Chaguanas to the centre of Castara,</p> <p>We will all rise.</p> <p>We will rise as one people, one nation, united together under the People's Partnership and rejoice together "free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty we are free at last!!!"</p>

**Table 12:** The Discursive Construction of a common 'National Body' in King and Persad-Bissessar speeches

In this excerpt, Persad-Bissessar engages in the “*discursive construction of a national body*”: this political focus on the “local, geographic and physical dimension” of the national territory with its boundaries, its natural resources and its landscapes, is one of the main semantic macro-areas related to the discursive construction of national identity (de Cillia et al. 1999:158). The divide between East Indian and African, Trinidadian and Tobagonian is often marked along geographical lines and paralleled by a strong urban/rural divide (Munasinghe 2001). Hence, the intertextual reference to a masterpiece of inclusive rhetoric such as the “*I Have a Dream*” speech helps Persad-Bissessar in the creation of a new, inclusive national narrative, where the most diverse corners of the nation can feel represented.

The PM candidate necessarily operates a recontextualization of King’s speech, which relocates it in the Trinbagonian geographical context. Although mountains were a biblical trope dear to the Reverend (used also in another seminal speech, “*I’ve Been to the Mountaintop*”), quoting King’s repetition of famous mountain names in the United States would not have been as effective in Persad-Bissessar’s speech. The geography of Trinidad and Tobago sees the highest hills concentrated in the Northern Range of the country,

therefore King's mountains are substituted by a number of different places throughout Trinidad and Tobago. The localities seem to have been carefully chosen to represent the whole nation and its diversity:

- two places representing the naturalistic uniqueness and diversity of the nation: the beaches of Las Cuevas and the Pitch Lake of La Brea;
- two cities representing two of the main economic resources of the country, that is oil production and tourism: the major oil-producing center of Point Fortin in Trinidad and the popular tourist destination of Parlatuvier in Tobago;
- two of the most remote countryside villages of the nation, representing the rural heart of the nation: the small fishing village of Moruga in the deep south of Trinidad and the isolated rural settlement of Matelot in the north-eastern corner of Trinidad;
- two seaside villages, representing the island nature of the nation: the tranquil village of San Francique on Trinidad's south west coast and the popular beach break of Sans Souci on Trinidad's north east coast;
- two cities representing the bond between the island of Trinidad and the island of Tobago and the urban and the rural natures of the nation: the busy city of Chaguanas where the rally is held, which is the largest borough and fastest-growing town of the nation, and the small seaside village of Castara on the leeward coast of the island of Tobago.

The uniqueness of Trinbagonian geography is reinforced by Persad-Bissessar's frequent use of adjectives, used in pairs either to stress diversity (*white* sands / *black* pitch lake; *busy industrial* town / *quiet fishing* village) or similarity (*serene* village / *tranquil* village; *striking* shore/ *stunning* shore) throughout the nation.

In her repetition pattern, Persad-Bissessar substitutes King's "*Let freedom ring*" with her political motto '*We Will Rise*'. On the one hand, King's choice was motivated by his concern with achieving freedom and equality for African Americans. On the other hand, as we have already seen in Chapter 4 and 5, Persad-Bissessar based her campaign on the complementary discursive strategies of demontage and transformation (Wodak et al. 2009: 40ff). The idea of '*rising*', therefore, is crucial to the dismantling of the PNM government in power and the presentation of the 2010 General Election as the favorable time for a change ('*locus a tempore*'). The conclusion of this narrative journey across Trinidad and Tobago is made powerful by the quotation "*Free at last, free at last, thank*

*God Almighty we are free at last*". King had in turn quoted the famous expression from the chorus of an "*old Negro spiritual*", one of the many African American songs collected by the Nashville choir director John Wesley Work Jr. By quoting King's spiritual, Persad-Bissessar implies that true freedom can be achieved only through integration with our opposites, a unity which in her words can only be made possible by her party, the People's Partnership.

Religious interdiscursivity seems to be the preferred strategy for the discursive construction of a common "National Body" also in the Felicity speech. Here Persad-Bissessar employs the repeated "*Tell them*" structure, found in the Gospels to stress the importance of proselytism in Christian faith. The use of repetition contributes to a sermon-like crescendo towards the final '*We Will Rise*' slogan.

Tell them there is a New Day and a New Way Forward for everyone in Trinidad and Tobago!  
 Tell them there is no longer a Black, White or Brown Trinidad and Tobago,  
 Tell them there is no longer a North and South Trinidad and Tobago,  
 Tell them there is no longer an East-West corridor,  
 Tell them there is no longer an ocean of difference between Trinidad and Tobago,  
 Tell them each and every citizen will benefit from the change sweeping the nation.  
 Tell them, each of you, We Will Rise! Every man, woman and child, no matter who you are...say  
 it, We Will Rise! We Will Rise!

(Felicity, 26/04/2010)

Inclusiveness in the discursive construction of a common National Body is achieved by discursively positing an ideal space, where the different geographical corners of the country are no longer as polarized as they used to be before the advent of the People's Partnership. Persad-Bissessar's slogan, "*A New Day and a New Way Forward*", is embedded in the first line of the excerpt to make it evident that the coalition under her leadership represents a departure from the past. In the excerpt, Persad-Bissessar is hinting at the differences between North Trinidad, usually regarded as busy and urban, and South Trinidad, rural and less developed. These '*North/South*' and '*Urban/Rural*' dichotomies quite significantly also align to an implicit '*Afro/Indo*' distinction in Trinidad and Tobago, linked to the originally unequal participation of the two ethnic groups in the principal sectors of the national economy (Clarke 1993).

In addition, Persad-Bissessar addresses another crucial divide in the country, the one between the island of Trinidad and the one of Tobago. Tobago's history developed



independently up until 1898, when it became a ward of Trinidad. This union was never organic and the “*ocean of differences*” between the two islands and their peoples is far from being metaphorical.<sup>46</sup> Throughout the decades, these differences have encouraged the construction of a Tobagonian ethno-national identity vis-à-vis a Trinidadian one, as well as constituting the basis for the Tobagonian movement for independence (Luke 2007). Given the presence of the Tobago Organization of the People (TOP) in the People’s Partnership coalition, Persad-Bissessar necessarily needs to stress the importance of unity in the twin-island state. As the concepts of place, culture, race, class, ethnicity are so mutually constitutive in Trinidad and Tobago, the discursive construction of a common ‘National Body’ actually contributes to Persad-Bissessar’s wider discursive construction of social equality and ethnic inclusivity in the country.

### 6.5.3 *Recontextualization as Appropriation: “Forged from the Love of Liberty”*

Recontextualization, from one discourse, text or genre to another, occurs when a dominant text imports elements of another text for some strategic purpose (Chilton and Schäffner 2002: 17). This “appropriation of elements of one social practice within another” (Fairclough 2003: 32) has often been considered by discourse analysts as one of the most important processes in text production and meaning making (Wodak and De Cillia 2006: 345). Persad-Bissessar concluded her Chaguanas speech with another crucial intertextual reference to the National Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago, ‘*Forged from the Love of Liberty*’:<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Tobago is separated from Trinidad by 18 miles of ocean, and is different from Trinidad in terms of its ethnic composition (in Tobago people of African descent comprise the 85% of the population) as well as language (Tobagonian Creole is distinct from Trinidadian Creole and closer to other Lesser Antillean creoles). The social relations between Tobagonians and Trinidadians have been filled with stereotypes and prejudices. In Trinidad the widespread image of Tobago is the one of “a rural and backward society”, inferior to Trinidad’s “more cosmopolitan, mixed population”. Conversely, in Tobago the central government is often viewed as “distant, unconcerned and unsympathetic” (Luke 2007).

<sup>47</sup> Originally composed by Patrick Castagne as the national anthem for the short-lived West Indies Federation (1958-1962), it was adopted by Trinidad and Tobago when it became independent in 1962. The anthem line “side by side we stand, islands of the blue Caribbean sea”, originally meant to apply to the Federation, was easily adapted to describe the twin-island state of Trinidad and Tobago.

National Anthem Lyrics	KPB
<p>Forged from the love of liberty  In the fires of hope and prayer  With boundless faith in our destiny  We solemnly declare:  Side by side we stand  Islands of the blue Caribbean sea,  This our native land  We pledge our lives to thee.  Here every creed and race find an equal place,  And may God bless our nation  Here every creed and race find an equal place,  And may God bless our nation.</p>	<p>As the sun rises on the morning of 25th May after the election; let this be the signal for all of us to join hands in building a new future for this Country based on the guiding principles of this great nation;  forged from the love and liberty - we will rise;  in the fires of hope and prayer - we will rise;  with boundless faith in our destiny - we will rise;  side by side we stand - we will rise;  islands of the blue Caribbean sea – we will rise  this our native land we pledge our lives to thee - we will rise;  where every creed and race find an equal place - we will rise,  May God bless you, May God bless our nation  WE WILL RISE.  Thank you.</p>

**Table 13:** Intertextual References to the National Anthem in Persad-Bissessar’s Chaguanas Speech

The idea of futurity embedded in the ‘*We Will Rise*’ motto is the key to this speech’s conclusions. The rising sun is not only a classic metaphor for a new beginning, but it is also a double reference to both Persad-Bissessar’s United National Congress party (whose symbol is a sun rising above the Trinity Hills) and to her personal motto as a Leader and PM candidate “*Kamla, a new day, a new way forward*”. Her extensive use of an “inclusive we” also echoes Trinidad and Tobago’s motto, ‘*Together We Aspire, Together We Achieve*’, embodying the atavistic preoccupation with producing ‘a Trinbagonian people’ in an ethnically fragmented country. The final “*May God bless you*” stresses the interactive nature of the rally speech and the inclusive relationship that Persad-Bissessar tries to build with her audience by addressing it directly.

By quoting entirely the lyrics of the National Anthem, recontextualizing them in her speech and interposing the ‘*We Will Rise*’ motto at every line, Persad-Bissessar appropriates the Anthem and creates a new version of it. She embeds the concepts of racial equality and religious freedom as originally set forth in the National Anthem, so that the “guiding principles of the nation” become the “guiding principles of the party”, in a way that automatically legitimizes the new government after the Election Day of May 24<sup>th</sup>.

#### 6.5.4 From 'Yes We Can' to 'We Will Rise': Celebrating Multi-ethnic Trinidad and Tobago

With their given contextual differences taken into consideration, the People's Partnership campaign has often been associated with the 2008 Obama campaign by Trinbagonian journalists and intellectuals. According to Maharaj (2013: 93), "the PP campaign shared with the Obama campaign common themes of unity across previous divisions, hope in the political subject and the necessity for change in political and social structures". It appears that Obama's political communication strategies represented a successful and convincing model for Persad-Bissessar: the '*We Will Rise*' thematic ads for the People's Partnership campaign were conceptualized by the Ross Advertising company based in Trinidad and Tobago, in tandem with the A.S.G.K Public Strategies, the new media and political team that organized Barack Obama's election campaign in 2008. Persad-Bissessar also hired Bernie Campbell, an American political organization consultant who had previously worked on Obama's campaign.<sup>48</sup>

The People's Partnership '*We Will Rise*' party video ad seems to follow in the footsteps of the globally famous '*Yes We Can*' video from the 2008 Obama Campaign. Obama's video featured the singer will.i.am from the multi-ethnic hip-hop group Black Eyed Peas. The editing alternated footage from Obama's New Hampshire primary speech with a multi-ethnic cast of famous actors, musicians and other American youngsters repeating or singing Obama's words. Like Obama's '*Yes We Can*' video, Persad Bissessar's '*We Will Rise*' video is also shot in stark black and white, with an alternation between Persad-Bissessar speaking, Nigel Rojas singing and a number of Trinbagonians chanting '*We Will Rise*' in the refrain. Also the Persad-Bissessar video features a local celebrity: Nigel Rojas, vocalist and guitarist of the Trinidadian reggae/rock band Orange Sky. Nigel Rojas' moving '*We Will Rise*' rock ballad constituted a neat and modernizing

---

<sup>48</sup> Mr. Henry B. Campbell, who was part of Obama's 2008 campaign strategy team, was hired by the PM candidate ahead of the 2010 General Election. The collaboration between Campbell and Persad-Bissessar became public during the campaign, when Campbell was denied entry by Trinidad and Tobago Immigration on April 23th, 2010. Persad Bissessar gave her version of the event during the rally held at the Cumuto International Grounds, blaming the People's National Movement (PNM) for the deportation of the American strategist.

departure from the fast *soca* or the loud and catchy political *kaiso* (calypso music) that have usually dominated the Trinidad and Tobago political arena (see 4.3.1).



**Figure 19:** Frames from the ‘We Will Rise’ Video Ad

The video ends with the slogan “*Kamla 2010 – a New Day, a New Way Forward*” written on the evocative background image of a sky at dawn, symbolizing the new start that her leadership represents for the country. The address of her website, [www.kamla.tt](http://www.kamla.tt), is written at the bottom of the image. The URL redirects to her Facebook fan page, opened in March 2010 and updated daily during the Campaign (See 3.1).



**Figure 20:** Final frame from the 'We Will Rise' Video Ad

Persad-Bissessar's footage is taken from the *Voice of the People* Rally held by Persad-Bissessar on March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010 in Chaguanas. As the UDeCOTT scandal was bursting out, the Opposition Leader Persad-Bissessar tried to gain the support of political parties, labor leaders as well as business and non-governmental organizations towards a unified opposition front against Manning. The '*We Will Rise*' ad was released in four different versions: the editing is similar, with the same alternation of Persad-Bissessar's speech, Nigel Rojas's song and the supporters chanting the refrain. What changes is the extract of Persad-Bissessar's speech, as different moments from the rally are selected to address different topics:

1. We stand for a vision of a nation in which our abundant natural resources are invested in the people not in political profiteering. We stand for a society where law and order is restored and women and children can be safe in their homes and on the streets again. We stand for a system of government that is accountable to the people: not just those who elected them, but for all of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.
2. Today we are united as a nation – one people under God, united in a common purpose to save our nation for all of us and for generations to come.
3. This will be a victory of the people, whoever you happen to be, man or woman, of every creed and race. We will continue to raise our voices and clamour for change until we are free again. Until criminals are behind bars and we no longer live in self-imposed jails. Until our children can be safe in schools. Until our hospitals have beds and medicines. Until we can rule out and run out the drug trade destroying our children.

4. We stand for a system of government that is accountable to the people, not just for those who elected them, but for all of the people of Trinidad and Tobago. We stand in support of negotiations with, but not impositions on our nation's unions and workers. I want to say that People's victory is finally at hand. May God bless you, may God bless our nation.

In the speech, some of the main themes of the People's Partnership future campaign are put to the fore: the management of natural resources, the issue of crime and safety, as well as government accountability. The use of text on screen is limited, only the '*We Will Rise*' phrase appears in capital white letters, always synchronized with the refrain. During the refrain, Kamla leaves the scene to her electorate and Nigel Rojas singing, projecting the audience into an unspecific future:

We will rise, we will rise, I can see a new day dawning from the hope that's in your eyes. We will rise, we will rise, turn the pages of our history, change the courses of our lives.

The '*Yes We Can*' catchphrase trademarked by Obama is substituted with Kamla's motto '*We Will Rise*'. Both slogans share a rhetorically effective triadic or three-part structure. Because of the idea of permission and ability inherent in '*can*', Obama's modal choice constitutes the lowest degree of pressure, but showing a positive, 'can-do' attitude ("Yes" and "*Can*") and shortening the distance between himself and his audience with the inclusive ("We"). Although the '*Yes*' at the beginning of the catchphrase increases the epistemic force of the proposition, Obama's '*can*' primarily concerns ability and potential, and its elliptical nature further opens up potentially infinite possibilities. Compared to '*can*', '*will*' represents a higher scale of modal commitment, and signals a higher degree of certainty about the validity of a proposition (Radden and Dirven 2007). '*Will*' represents an epistemic modal rendition of Kamla's strong potential as Leader, and reassures the electors that more actions will be definitely taken in the future.

Obama's '*Yes We Can*' video was the linchpin of his campaign, based on the core themes of change, hope and unity, in which he offered a new vision of race relations based on his own version of the American Dream. Similarly, the political advertisement of Persad-Bissessar's coalition in the '*We Will Rise*' video is linked to the visual construction of a national image of national unity and ethnic inclusivity in Trinidad and Tobago. Just as in the Obama video, Persad-Bissessar does not mention Election Day or

voting, and, although its primary communicative goal is linked to the General Election, it could be considered a sort of universal claim for national inter-ethnic harmony in Trinidad and Tobago.

In the '*We Will Rise*' video, Persad-Bissessar appears and speaks first, representing the preacher's leading voice. In a dialogic musical structure of "call and response" Persad-Bissessar is eliciting the audience's responses in her speech, and she receives "a supporting response of acceptance" (van Leeuwen 2004: 252) consisting of singing and music. The constant sound of applause and cheering in the background reinforces the response as acceptance. Clearly, this form of eliciting is "an exchange that occurs in situations with an unequal relationship" and characterizes ritual interactions between social groups and their leaders, like a priest does during prayers in a Christian church (van Leeuwen 2004: 254). In the video, the responders are Trinbagonian citizens of various ethnic groups, who follow her lead like a congregation and chant '*We Will Rise*' with Nigel Rojas. The citizens appear one after another in a 'one to many' progression: the very act of singing together is highly symbolic, and represents a strong unifying factor. The video can be defined as a "social unison", because the participants sing the same notes, and in this way express a sense of belonging, of being united (van Leeuwen 2004: 252). However, although the single voices chanting '*We Will Rise*' harmonize, they are still recognizable thanks to the clearly distinguishable turn-taking of the spoken 'we will rise' lines, that can be matched to the voices of the different men and women portrayed in the frames. The choir, therefore, does represent unity without complete uniformity, advertising the People's Partnership as a place where Trinbagonians are still allowed to maintain their own identity and diversity and portraying Persad-Bissessar as the mediator of this diversity 'by popular demand'.

The guest appearances are by Trinibagonians of varied ethnic background, age and gender, in a basic East Indian/African alternation. The presence of the dread-locked, Afro-Trinidadian Nigel Rojas can be interpreted as acting as an authentic visual counterpart for Kamla's East Indian ethnicity. In this respect, Persad-Bissessar's video recalls the ads branded by Luciano Benetton for his "United Colors of Benetton" clothing company. From 1984 on, Benetton's advertising consisted of the then unusual and politically correct inclusion of Asian, Hispanic and Black young models, giving rise to a new *de facto* standard for racial representation in ads. Benetton's ads came to incarnate

“the antithesis of conflict, the expression of unity, the nurturer of internationalism” (Back and Quaade 1993). Similarly, the alternating images of young Trinbagonians of different ethnic backgrounds singing together in the ‘*We Will Rise*’ video aim at creating a visual representation of a harmonious, almost choral, multi-racial country.

## **6.6 Concluding Remarks**

Throughout the campaign, the PM candidate fostered the sense of belonging to a common “in-group”, celebrating the country’s diversity and stressing its common history and achievements. Her discursive construction of a Trinbagonian national identity is centered on the internal harmonization of a multi-ethnic, conflict-ridden country, resulting in the selection of the four macro-strategies identified in the analysis. The first is the *discursive celebration of Trinbagonian ‘diversity’*. Celebrating contemporary hybridity is the prime discursive strategy to strategically neutralize ethnic tensions in the country: Persad-Bissessar’s call for racial and cultural harmony is often articulated through constructive strategies based on singularisation (Wodak et al. 2009), highlighting and praising the nation’s uniqueness. The second macro-strategy, *the narration and confabulation of a common political past* aims at creating new narrative foundations for contemporary solidarity among the different ethnic groups inhabiting the twin-island state. By addressing the traumatic past of colonialism and exploitation in the country through the use of constructive strategies (Wodak et al. 2009), the PM candidate aims at fostering national identity building in Trinidad and Tobago’s current postcolonial context. Similarly, the third macro-strategy, *the discursive construction of common Trinbagonian ‘national icons’* aims at fostering a sense of national pride as the prime emotional tie to the native country by engaging in a detailed description of the accomplishments of notable Trinbagonian citizens. Finally, the fourth macro-strategy, *the discursive construction of a national body*, focuses on the natural resources and landscapes of the twin-island state. This is achieved through an intertextual reference to a masterpiece of inclusive rhetoric such as MLK’s “I have a Dream” speech. As the divides between East Indians and Africans as well as between Trinidadians and Tobagonians are often marked along



geographical lines, intertextuality supports Persad-Bissessar in the creation of a new, inclusive geo-national narrative, in which the most diverse corners of the nation can feel represented. The political use of religious interdiscursivity is a classic rhetorical strategy in political discourse that has been widely used by Persad-Bissessar. Christianity represents an important source of inspiration for the PM candidate's integrative rhetoric, who made a wide use of rhetorical and persuasive strategies recontextualized from religious discourse (e.g. enumeration, repetition), as shown also by her choice of the motto 'We Will Rise'.

## Conclusions

### *Summary of findings*

The tension between ethno-cultural unity and plurality, pervading most aspects of Trinbagonian socio-political life, has constituted a core theme of much of the body of social scientific writing on Trinidad and Tobago. Focusing on the critical analysis of political texts, this research project set out to offer a new, discursive perspective on the complex power dynamics of the country. In this respect, Critical Discourse Analysis, for its “more balanced concern with language and society” (Martin and Wodak 2003:4), represented an inspiring framework for this study, enabling me to focus both on the *micro* linguistic analysis of texts as well as on the contextual *macro* aspects of social practice.

As we have seen, Persad-Bissessar’s political campaign was exceptional for more than one reason. Firstly, and for the first time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, a female candidate was elected as Prime Minister. Secondly, after the NAR’s success in 1986, a new coalition was brought to power in the country’s Westminster-based political system. What’s more, Persad-Bissessar’s multi-ethnic coalition won in a country that had been voting along ethnic lines for over forty years. The research was conducted around three main research questions, with the final aim of investigating what this unprecedented political success could reveal about politics in contemporary Trinidad and Tobago.

The first research question addressed the role of Persad-Bissessar as the first woman PM of the country, asking *how Kamla Persad-Bissessar discursively presented herself during the 2010 General Election Campaign*. As seen in Chapter 4, Persad-Bissessar’s political success has been discursively interpreted as the result of a carefully planned strategy of what Reisigl and Wodak (2001) call “positive self-presentation”. Persad-Bissessar seems to have employed a combination of two main discursive strategies in order to broaden her electorate: presenting herself as the ‘*mother-politician*’ and as the ‘*self-made woman*’.

The first strategy, highlighting motherliness as the underlying quality of her leadership style, aimed at smoothing the election of a female PM Candidate within the traditionally patriarchal segments of Trinbagonian society. The referential and

predicational strategies referring to the “*nurturing nature*” of her family roles as “*mother and grandmother*” are strategic hints aligning her with the most culturally approved model of female leadership. As seen in her Victory Speech on the night of May 24<sup>th</sup> 2010, this self-presentation strategy can be interpreted as a further support, as well as a preventive strategy, to deal with the pressure and possible negative evaluation of her future role as Prime Minister. Rather than being targeted exclusively to the male electorate, the *mother-politician* strategy has also been employed as a bonding strategy with the female one. By presenting herself as a “*mother*” struggling to buy milk for her children in the context of the all-female “*Women in Partnership*” Diego Martin rally, Persad-Bissessar discursively created the image of a caring, empathetic leader who was closer to women’s issues in the country.

The second strategy, presenting Kamla as the successful *self-made woman* who sang feminist songs from the 1970s, targeted the Trinbagonian female electorate, who saw in Persad-Bissessar both a role model as well as a promise of more women-oriented policies in the future government. The ‘coming of age’ narrative in her Chaguanas Rally on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2010 is a crucial moment in her legitimation as leader. Only three years before, Persad-Bissessar had been excluded from a leading role in the UNC. Her political ascendancy, therefore, is portrayed as the realization of a miraculous process of empowerment, contextualized in the wider theme of “*Rising*” adopted by the campaign. The multimodal staging of female bonding with other female delegates of the coalition also marks an evolution from the 2007 election, when she defined herself as “*the lone woman’s voice in the sea of men*”, to her leadership position in 2010. Persad-Bissessar is now portrayed as the leader of a coalition that gives political visibility to women and symbolically levels any trace of hierarchy in her leadership, being closer to the horizontal dimension of power promoted by the feminist movements.

Given the history of opposition and struggle for political visibility of the East Indian community in the country, the election of a female PM candidate of East Indian ancestry was a significant novelty in the political scenario of Trinidad and Tobago. However, I deliberately interpreted the findings trying not to fall into the triumphalist rhetoric of Indo-Caribbean feminism, which saw the “ascendancy of Kamla” as “the apex” and “the fulfilment of the steady progress of Indo women in all walks of public life” (Kanhai 2013: 1). Unquestionably, considering their starting point as trophies of

masculinity and status in the male-dominated colonial demography, Trinbagonian women made tremendous gains in terms of equality and rights throughout the 20th century. Thanks to the Oil Boom of the 1970s and 1980s, the country has seen the growth of a large, articulate and economically secure group of women of all ethnicities. In the Trinidad and Tobago of the 2010s, women fully participate in the political life of the country, not only as voters, as party canvassers and supporters but also as parliamentarians and ministers. However, in the present research, Persad-Bissessar's success has been contextualized rather as part of a wider political trend that sees female candidates triumph during hard political times, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean (Saint-Germain 1993). As she was campaigning for power after a period of authoritarianism and corruption, her gender difference could have possibly been instrumental in reinforcing the idea of an actual political change, thanks to an '*angel*' descending like a blessing onto Trinidad and Tobago to bring a new, more inclusive kind of administration.

Throughout the campaign, Persad-Bissessar forged the self-image of a democratic and caring leader, able to foster solidarity and collaboration in the country. In the highly polarized context of running for prime ministership, dismantling Manning's leadership style and authority was closely related to Persad-Bissessar's positive self-presentation, almost as the other side of the same coin. Persad-Bissessar employed specific referential strategies similar to those used in the discourse of racial discrimination and the discursive construction of immigrants as "out-groups" (van Leeuwen 1996; Reisigl and Wodak 2001) in order to achieve the discursive exclusion of Manning and his PNM from the national "in-group". In the "negative other-presentation" of Manning, Persad-Bissessar also made wide use of two discursive strategies traditional in political communication in Trinidad and Tobago: *picong* (satirical storytelling) and code-switching into Trinidadian Creole, both aimed at dismantling and distancing Manning as "*the Emperor*". Her *picong* against Manning is a legitimate, established custom that discursively posited a space where she was able to both ridicule her political adversary and foster a ritual process of bonding with the audience by the means of an established custom. Similarly, strategic code-switching into the colloquial and familiar Trinidadian Creole worked as a political communication facilitator, reinforcing Persad-Bissessar's image as "one of the people",

in opposition to Manning's "*Emperor*" image, assigning him to the "*Afrosaxon*" PNM elite detached from the people's needs.

The second research question addressed the role of the People's Partnership as a coalition party in the context of Trinidad and Tobago, asking *how Kamla Persad-Bissessar discursively presented the coalition party she was leading during the 2010 General Election Campaign*. As the leader of the coalition, Persad-Bissessar was in charge of the discursive "foundation" of the new party as a positively connoted social actor in the Trinbagonian political arena. As coalitions were particularly unsuccessful or short-lived in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, nomination and predication strategies (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) played a crucial role in Persad-Bissessar's speeches, contributing to the evaluative attribution of positive traits to the coalition, often related to plurality and unity. In Chapter 5, the discursive positive self-presentation of the coalition has been contextualized in relation to the political issues of the country (corruption and party patronage as well as the problem of ensuring equitable political representation in a multi-ethnic country) in order to be appropriately interpreted. Given its inherent plurality, the People's Partnership seeks to represent a possible solution for both problems: *Accountability* and *Representativeness* represented the two pillars of the coalition strategy of positive self-presentation in the 2010 General Election campaign.

Firstly, in Persad-Bissessar's argument the plurality of a coalition party would solve the problem of controlling the actions of persons in positions of power. The People's Partnership's "*coalition politics*" was positively portrayed as being able to ensure a higher degree of accountability and democracy in the nation, while the "*Party politics*" of PNM's "*one party rule*" is negatively connoted as oligarchic and corrupt, and related to the problem of party patronage that has been adversely affecting the country since independence. By showing the fictional political "backstage" of the coalition, the "*United Force for Change*" advertising videos aimed at simulating a higher degree of proximity between politicians and electorate and acted as a visual reprise of the promise of increased transparency and accountability. The ads can be seen as a form of the "fictionalization of politics" (Wodak 2009: 160), staging the People's Partnership private meeting and moving it to the "front stage" for the sake of political advertising, in the wider context of disillusionment after the latest corruption scandals under Manning's administration.

Secondly, the People's Partnership is portrayed as the guarantee for a higher level of representativeness and as a promise of a more equal distribution of power among ethnic groups in a Westminster model. Persad-Bissessar stresses the role of her coalition in being able to present an autochthonous solution to the problems of a colonially inherited political system. The parallel with the 2010 General Election in the U.K. reinforces this reversal strategy: the People's Partnership is presented as being finally able to transcend the deficiencies of the British "first-past-the-post" system. The promise of representativeness is primarily achieved with the inclusion of both Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonian political forces in the coalition. Paired with a constant use of discursive strategies of "unification and cohesivation" (Wodak et al. 2009), the multi-ethnic nature of the coalition could have resulted in a "psychological effect of unity" (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 159) that contributed to broadening the electorate of the People's Partnership. The metaphor of the coalition as a '*river*', into which all rivers can flow and merge, is one of the best examples from the data of the positive self-presentation of the People's Partnership as a new and inclusive political proposal. The visual staging of multi-ethnicity in the compositions of the candidates' official portraits in the Manifesto seem to reinforce this strategy, while a strategic use of nominal deixis helped Persad-Bissessar to alternatively foreground and background markers of Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonian ethnic and political identity during her rallies. Moreover, a strong accent was placed on party-internal unity as the crucial guarantee for the long-awaited political stability after the recurring snap elections in the previous decade, employing a number of devices linked to a "*predication of union or unity*" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 58), which in the divisive Trinbagonian context seems to acquire even a higher significance. This predication of unity seems to be employed to counterbalance the large use of the "*argumentum novitatis*" in order to present the coalition as a change that does not compromise stability.

The heavy inheritance of bi-lateral hostility between Africans and East Indians has been "one of the great ironies of decolonization" (Puri 1997: 120) in Trinidad and Tobago, with longstanding ramifications affecting claims to national identity and political legitimacy. Persad-Bissessar discursively presented her coalition as a new order of democratic governance that could be able to avoid exclusivism and promote power sharing. In this respect, the construction of the People's Partnership image and its

legitimation as the best political solution for Trinidad and Tobago is strongly connected to her discursive construction of a new kind of Trinbagonian national identity. Throughout the campaign, both the nation and the coalition are represented as plural, multi-ethnic and multi-faceted, yet serenely harmonious and united in diversity. This aspect was further investigated in Chapter 6, which aimed to answer the third and final research question of the study, referring to *how Trinbagonian national identity was discursively constructed in Persad-Bissessar's political discourse during the 2010 General Election Campaign*. Persad-Bissessar's discursive construction of Trinbagonian national identity is centered on the internal harmonization of a multi-ethnic, conflictual country, reflected in four main macro-strategies singled out in the analysis.

The first is the *discursive celebration of a specific Trinbagonian 'diversity'*. Celebrating contemporary hybridity is a prime discursive strategy to strategically neutralize ethnic tension in the country: Persad-Bissessar's call for racial and cultural harmony is often articulated through "singularisation" (Wodak et al. 2009), a constructive strategy highlighting and praising the nation's uniqueness. The second macro-strategy, the *narration and confabulation of a common political past* aims to create new narrative foundations for a contemporary solidarity among the different ethnic groups inhabiting the twin-island state. By addressing the shared traumatic past of colonialism and exploitation in the country through the usage of "constructive strategies" (Wodak et al. 2009), the PM candidate aims to foster national identity building in Trinidad and Tobago's postcolonial context. Similarly, the third macro-strategy, the *discursive construction of common Trinbagonian 'national icons'* aims to foster a sense of national pride as the prime emotional tie to the native country by engaging in a detailed description of the accomplishments of notable Trinbagonian citizens. Finally, the fourth macro-strategy, the *discursive construction of a national body*, focuses on the natural resources and landscapes of the twin-island state. This is achieved through an intertextual reference to a masterpiece of inclusive rhetoric, MLK's "*I have a Dream*" speech. As the divides between East Indians and Africans as well as Trinidadians and Tobagonians are often marked along geographical lines, intertextuality supports Persad-Bissessar in the creation of an inclusive geo-national narrative, within which the most diverse corners of the nation can feel represented. The political use of religious interdiscursivity is a classic rhetorical strategy in political discourse that has been widely used by Persad-Bissessar. Christianity

represents an important source of inspiration for the PM candidate's integrative rhetoric, who made a wide use of rhetorical and persuasive strategies recontextualized from religious discourse (e.g. *enumeration, repetition*), as shown also by her choice of the motto '*We Will Rise*'.

The findings for the three research questions are to be interpreted as inextricably intertwined: the discursive construction of the multi-ethnic, choral People's Partnership is in a mutual, dialectical relationship with the discursive construction of the multi-ethnic choral nation of Trinidad and Tobago. The self-presentation of Persad-Bissessar as an angel from above, supported by her role as the first female PM candidate in the history of the country, completes the picture with the promise of a caring intervention from the outside. Presented as such, Persad-Bissessar's intervention would be able to deal with the unsolved socio-political issues of postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago.

In revisiting the findings in these conclusions, I would like to briefly discuss how they fit into the debate on multi-ethnicity and socio-political fragmentation in the Caribbean archipelago (see Ch 1). Given the lack of unity in the very initial national independence movement (see 1.1.1), the quest for harmony can be easily defined as "the hidden text of all discourse on nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago" (Harney 1996: 37). As elections in Trinidad and Tobago have usually served as sites of struggle for ethnic assertion, the People's Partnership campaign aimed to present itself as the beginning of a new politics of ethnic harmony in the country. The presentation of Persad-Bissessar's multi-ethnic coalition party at the General Election became the occasion for the discursive reimagining and reframing of the Trinbagonian national "in-group".

Persad-Bissessar discursively constructed a united and cohesive "in-group" that was also inherently diasporic and diverse. Her national narrative, emerging out of the postcolonial ethnic tension in the country, places a strong accent on inclusiveness. The discursive creation of a renewed Trinbagonian democracy is effected by a consistent use of "constructive strategies" (Wodak et al. 2009), especially those of "unification" and "cohesivation".

Nevertheless, her discursive construction of national identity also drew heavily on the rhetoric of the "cosmopolitan plural" nation (Munasinghe 2001: 40), celebrating "the coexistence of diverse ancestral kinds in harmony" rather than the new invention of "a new identity out of many old identities" (Segal 1994: 226). In this respect, Persad-



Bissessar's campaign discourse makes frequent use of the trope of "hybridity as harmony" (Puri 1999), one of the most widespread and enduring paradigms of essential Caribbeanness in hegemonic intra-Caribbean discourse. The trope has been fittingly defined by Edmondson (1999) as one of the Caribbean "romances". According to Edmondson, romances "serve dominant or contending groups, whether political, social, economic, or scholarly" in their effort to "reconcile ideological interests and conflicts by disguising them through such mystified tropes and discourses" (1999: 4).

Persad-Bissessar's Trinidad and Tobago can be regarded as a *Pelau* rather than a *Callaloo* (see 1.2.2). In the case of the classic *Callaloo* – "Melting Pot", all the ingredients yield a final product of uniform consistency and flavor, which is quite different from the original inputs. All cultures become reflected in one common culture, but this is generally the culture of the dominant group. Given the ideological implications of the African-dominated Trinbagonian "Melting Pot", we could infer that her East Indian ethnicity played a role in this choice. The concept of *Pelau* – "Ethnic Stew" offers a higher level of compromise between integration and cultural distinctiveness, and it is a compromise with a great rhetorical potential. Far from being negated, Trinbagonian diversity is portrayed as completely non-conflictual and constitutes an ideologically central component in Persad-Bissessar's nationalist narrative. It is by "romanticizing" Trinbagonian hybridity as national harmony, that Persad-Bissessar is able to manage the contradictions inherent in that very hybridity, strategically overlooking the complexity of the power relations between the different ethnic groups in the country.

### *Contributions of this thesis*

Undoubtedly, it is the hope and aim of any research project to stimulate academic debate and enrich the academic research agenda. I believe that the major contribution of this thesis is that it has 'brought' Critical Discourse Analysis to the Caribbean, where it has had only a very limited application to date. Rather than engaging in macro conceptualizations of the Caribbean, this work started from the analysis of political discourse in search of a new discursive perspective on ethnicity, identity and power in Trinidad and Tobago and showed the potential of critical studies in this field. Following the Discourse-Historical Approach, I drew together both the *micro* and *macro* levels of

analysis, in order to overcome the failings of micro-studies to ‘contextualize’ discursive phenomena, and the failings of macro-studies to explain how broader discourses affect micro-processes.

The thesis contributes to the field of Linguistics, by showing the importance of going beyond research in the fields of Creole Linguistics and Language Policy in the Anglophone Caribbean. Moreover, it contributes to Critical Discourse Analysis, which has focused almost exclusively on racism and immigration in Euro-American contexts for the last two decades, and has more rarely investigated race and ethnic relations between non-White groups in English-speaking contexts. Finally, it contributes to Political Discourse Analysis by fostering a more open and contrastive approach to the study of political discourse, which is characterized by a rather Western-centric attention to the great personalities of Euro-American politics so far. The analysis of Persad-Bissessar’s leadership can be of interest also to the field of Gender Studies, as the majority of the aforementioned great personalities studied in PDA have been men.

This thesis also contributes to research in the field of Political Science by adding a discursive dimension to Caribbean Politics analyses. While political scientists often claim to take account of political discourse in their research, this is rarely backed up by the kind of detailed linguistic analysis of discursive strategies found in this thesis.

### *Limitations*

I am aware of the fact that, given the scale and limitations of a PhD thesis, some aspects of the analysis were not given as much attention as they could have been. More specifically, I regret that my study did not entail an in-depth analysis of the voice of Persad-Bissessar’s opponent, Patrick Manning. As a partial justification to this, I may say that the PNM Secretariat denied me access to Manning’s speaking notes and materials from the 2010 Campaign, frustrating any possibility of a contrastive analysis. I am also aware of the fact that my study could have embraced a fuller diachronic perspective or a wider mapping of political discourse in the Anglophone Caribbean, instead of concentrating on a single case-study. It is my aim to address these two aspects in my future research.

### *Opportunities for future research*

As an early career researcher at the end of her PhD journey, I feel very close to the issue of availability of library resources and digitalization in the field of Caribbean studies. Some phases of the research process, such as literature review or data collection, which are generally time and energy-consuming in any field, can become an authentic challenge even for more experienced researchers when dealing with the often limited availability of material from/on Caribbean countries. In my future research, I aim to further develop my current research interest in the contemporary narratives of Caribbean history and identity, as well as to contribute to the creation of a digitalized and searchable database of Caribbean political discourse. The creation of a digitalized and searchable database of Caribbean commemoration speeches from the whole English-speaking archipelago, covering the history of independent rule of the Caribbean up to the present time, would encourage a contrastive and diachronic perspective in the exploration of the power issues at stake when key historical events (such as emancipation from slavery or independence from colonial rule) are officially commemorated by contemporary dominant political actors. Adopting a CDA approach in the analysis would contribute to the scholarly understanding of the complex relationships between colonial history, current politics and the discursive construction of national identities in the Caribbean.

### *A Final Thought*

Throughout this study, the initial key assumption has been that national identities have a fluid and context-dependent nature, generated and reproduced through discourse. Persad-Bissessar's political triumph has been saluted as the "triumph over race" (Bissessar and La Guerre 2013: 147) in Trinidad and Tobago politics. However, from the results of this study, Persad-Bissessar's political and national discourse still seems to fall seamlessly into Harney's (1996: 49) conceptualization of the "metadiscourse on race" as a Bourdieusian *habitus* in Trinidad and Tobago's national discourse, even fifteen years after its publication.<sup>49</sup> By "metadiscourse", Harney means how any discourse on

---

<sup>49</sup> By "race" Harney means what in this study has been conceptualized as "ethnicity" (see Introduction).

nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago is embedded in and informed by the discourse on ethnic plurality and its related quest for harmony. Persad-Bissessar's political discourse shows how a strong and explicit "metadiscourse" on ethnicity in Trinidad and Tobago is still the privileged weapon of the Trinbagonian nationalism as well as the winning factor in a general election. As these final words are being written, the People's Partnership is concluding its first full five-year mandate and, although with major changes in its cabinet, it is campaigning for re-election in 2015.

## References

- Adedun, E. and Atolagbe, A. (2011). 'A Man in Whom I have Great Confidence: A Discourse Analysis of Former President Olusegun Obasanjo's Farewell Speech', *Akademieia*, 2 (1), 1-9.
- Alabarces, P., Tomlinson, A. and Young, C. (2001). 'Argentina versus England at the France '98 World Cup: narratives of nation and the mythologizing of the popular', *Media, Culture and Society* 23(5), 547-566.
- Alexander J., Eyerman R., Giesen B., Smelser N. and Sztompka P. (Eds.) (2004). *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Alexander, J.C. (2010). *The Performance of Politics: Obama's Victory and the Democratic Struggle for Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Al-Faki, I. (2014). 'Political Speeches of Some African Leaders from Linguistic Perspective (1981-2013)', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, 2014/3: 180-198.
- Alleyne, M. (1965). 'Communication between the élite and the masses', in F. Andic and T. Matthews (Eds.). *The Caribbean in Transition*. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico Press.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on The Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised and Extended Edition). London: Verso.
- Arnheim, R. (1969). *Visual Thinking*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Arnheim, R. (1974). *Art and Visual Perception*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Arnheim, R. (1982). *The Power of the Center. A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Atkinson M. (1984). *Our Masters' Voices: Language and Body Language of Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Back, L. and Quaade, V. (1993). 'Dream Utopias, Nightmare Realities. Imagining Race and Culture within the World of Benetton Advertising', *Third Text* 22, 65-80.
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., KhosraviNik, M., Krzyżanowski, M., McEnery, T. and Wodak, R. (2008). 'A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press', *Discourse and Society* 19, 273-306.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Michael Holquist (Ed.), C. Emerson and M. Holquist (trans.). Austin, TX: University of Austin Press.
- Bakhtin, M. (1986). *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, C. Emerson and M. Holquist V. W. McGee (trans.). Austin, TX: University of Austin Press.
- Balutanski, K. and Sourieau M.A. (Eds.) (1998). *Caribbean Creolization. Reflections on the Cultural Dynamics of Language, Literature and Identity*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Barrow, C. and Reddock, R. (Ed.) (2001). *Caribbean Sociology: Introductory Readings*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Barthes, R. (1967). *Elements of semiology*. London: Cape.

- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image, Music, Text*. New York: Noonday Press.
- Baxter, J. (Ed.). (2006). *Speaking Out: The female Voice in Public Contexts*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Benhabib, S. (1992). *Situating the Self: Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics*. New York: Routledge.
- Bezemer, J. and Jewitt, C. (2010). 'Multimodal Analysis: Key issues', in L. Litosseliti (Ed.), *Research Methods in Linguistics* (pp. 180-197). London: Continuum.
- Bhabha H. (1990). *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2004). *Worlds of Written Discourse: A Genre-Based View*. London: Continuum.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE.
- Billig, M. (2009). 'Reflecting on a critical engagement with banal nationalism - reply to Skey'. *The Sociological Review*, 57(2), 347-352.
- Bishop, M. (2011). 'Coalescing for Change? Novel Coalitions in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 100:412, 55-63.
- Bissessar, A.M. and La Guerre, J. (2013). *Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana: Race and Politics in Two Plural Societies*. Plymouth U.K.: Lexington Books.
- Blackledge, A. (2005). *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Blommaert, J. (1997). 'Language and Politics, Language Politics and Political Linguistics', in J. Blommaert and C. Bulcaen (Eds.) *Political Linguistics* (pp. 1-10). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bloor M. and Bloor T. (2007). *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: an Introduction*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Bolland, N. (1992). 'Creolisation and Creole Societies: A Cultural Nationalist View of Caribbean Social History', in A. Hennessey (Ed.) *Intellectuals in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean* (pp. 50-79). London: MacMillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980). *Questions de Sociologie*. Paris: Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Sozialer Raum und 'Klassen': Leçon sur la leçon. Zwei Vorlesungen*. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp.
- Bourdieu, P. (1994a). *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen*. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp.
- Bourdieu, P. (1994b). 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field', *Sociological Theory* 12/1, 1-18.
- Brathwaite, K. (1971). *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brathwaite, K. (1974). *Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean*. Mona, Jamaica: Savacou Publications.

- Breeze, R. (2013). 'Critical Discourse Analysis and its Critics', *Pragmatics* 21:4, 493-525.
- Brereton B. (2012). 'Resistance to Enslavement and Oppression in Trinidad, 1802 – 1849', in R. L. Hangloo (Ed.) *Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean: History, Culture and Identity* (pp. 95-111). New Delhi: Primus Book.
- Brereton, B. (1979). *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brereton, B. (1981). *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*. London: Heinemann.
- Brereton, B. and Yelvington, K. (Eds) (1999). *The Colonial Caribbean in Transition: Essays on Post-Emancipation Social and Cultural History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2004). *Language and Identity*, in A. Duranti (Ed.) *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 268-294). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Burkhardt, A. (1996). 'Politolinguistik. Versuch einer Ortsbestimmung', in: J. Klein and H. Diekmannshenke (Eds.) *Sprachstrategien und Dialogblockaden: Linguistische und politikwissenschaftliche Studien zur politischen Kommunikation* (pp.75–100). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Cameron, D. (2006). *On Language and Sexual Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Campus, D. (2013). *Women Political Leaders and the Media*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Cantrell, T. H. and Bachmann, I. (2008). 'Who Is the Lady in the Window? A Comparison of International and National Press Coverage of First Female Government Heads', *Journalism Studies* 9(3), 429–46.
- Charteris-Black J. (2005). *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of Metaphor*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2014). *Analyzing political speeches: Rhetoric, discourse and metaphor*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chatterjee, P. (1993). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chilton, P. (1996). *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common European Home*. Berne and New York: Peter Lang.
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analyzing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Chilton, P. and Schäffner, C. (1997). 'Discourse and Politics', in T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction* (pp. 206-230). London: SAGE .
- Chilton, P. and Schäffner, C. (2002). 'Preface', in P. Chilton and C. Schäffner *Politics as Text and Talk* (pp. vii-viii). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Chouliaraki, L. (1999). 'Media Discourse and National Identity: Death and Myth in a News Broadcast', in R. Wodak and C. Ludwig (Eds.), *Challenges in a Changing World* (pp. 37-62). Vienna: Passagen Verlag.
- Chouliaraki, L., and Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.
- Cicourel, A. (1964). *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

- Cicourel, A. (1992). 'The interpenetration of communicative contexts: Examples from medical encounters', in A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (Eds.) *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* (pp. 291-310). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarke, C. (1993). 'Spatial Patterns and Social Interaction among Creoles and Indians in Trinidad and Tobago', in K. Yelvington (Ed.) *Trinidad Ethnicity* (pp. 116-135). Knoxville TN: University of Tennessee Press and London: MacMillan Warwick University Caribbean Studies Series.
- Col, J. M. (1993). 'Managing Softly in Turbulent Times: Corazon Aquino: President of Philippines' in M. Genovese (Ed.) *Women as National Leaders*. London: SAGE.
- Corner, J. and Pels, D. (Eds.) (2003). *Media and the Restyling of Politics: Consumerism, Celebrity and Cynicism*. London: SAGE.
- Cozart Riggio, M. (Ed.) (2004). *Carnival: Culture in Action – The Trinidad Experience*. London: Routledge.
- Cross, M. (1996). 'East Indian–Creole Relations in Trinidad and Guiana in the Late Nineteenth Century', in D. Dabydeen and B. Samaroo (Eds.) *Across the Dark Waters: Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Caribbean* (pp. 15-38). London: MacMillan Caribbean.
- Dabydeen, D. and Samaroo, B. (Eds.) (1996). *Across the Dark Waters: Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Caribbean*. London: MacMillan Caribbean.
- De Beaugrande, R. and Dressler, W.U. (1981). *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London: Longman.
- De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (1999). 'The Discursive Construction of National Identities', *Discourse and Society* 10 (1999/2), 149-173.
- Devonish, H. (1986). *Language and Liberation: Creole Language Politics in the Caribbean*, London: Karia Press.
- Devonish, H. (2010). 'The Language Heritage of the Caribbean: Linguistic Genocide and Resistance', *Glossa*, 5(1). School of Social Sciences and Humanities: Universidad del Turabo, Puerto Rico.
- Dieckmann, W. (1964). *Information und Überredung: Zum Wortgebrauch der politischen Werbung in Deutschland seit der Französischen Revolution*. Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag.
- Dieckmann, W. (1975). *Sprache in der Politik. Einführung in die Pragmatik und Semantik der politischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Dieckmann, W. (1981). *Politische Sprache – Politische Kommunikation: Vorträge – Aufsätze – Entwürfe*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Djonov, E. and Zhao, S. (2014). 'From Multimodal to Critical Multimodal Studies through Popular Discourse', in E. Djonov and S. Zhao (Eds.) *Critical Multimodal Studies of Popular Discourse* (pp. 1- 14). New York: Routledge.
- Dobson, G. (2007). 'The textual representation of political paradigm shift: a critical discourse analysis of two election manifestos, *Working Papers in Language Pedagogy - Eötvös Loránd University*, 1, 99-124.
- Donadio, P. (2005). *Il Partito Globale La nuova lingua del neolaburismo britannico*. Milano: Franco Angeli.



- Dondis, E. (1973). *A primer of visual literacy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dressler, W.U. and Merlini Barbaresi, L. (1994). *Morphopragmatics: diminutives and intensifiers in Italian, German, and other languages*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Duncan, N. and Woods, D. (2007). 'What about us?' The Anglo-Caribbean Democratic Experience', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 45(2), 202-18.
- Dunmire, P. (2012). 'Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language', *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6/11, 735-751.
- Duranti, A. and Goodwin, C. (Eds.) (1992). *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dwivedi A.V. (2015). 'Language, Identity, and Gender: A Study of Creole in the Caribbean', *Linguistics and Literature Studies*, 3(1), 11-17.
- Dyer, G. (1982). *Advertising as communication*. London: Methuen.
- Eco, U. (1976). *A theory of semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Edmondson, B. (1999). 'Introduction. The Caribbean: Myths, Tropes, Discourses', in B. Edmondson (Ed.) *Caribbean Romances: The Politics of Regional Representation* (pp. 1-11). Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. Educational Books.
- Eggins, S. (2004). *An introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Pinter.
- Ehlich, K. (1983). 'Text und sprachliches Handeln: Die Entstehung von Texten aus dem Bedürfnis nach Überlieferung', in A. Assmann, J. Assmann and C. Hardmeier (Eds.) *Schrift und Gedächtnis. Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* (pp. 24-43). Munich: Fink.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2006). 'Diversity versus difference: Neo-liberalism in the minority debate', in R. Rottenburg, B. Schnepel and S. Shimada (Eds.) *The Making and Unmaking of Difference* (pp. 13-36). Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.
- Eriksonas, L. (2004). *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway, and Lithuania*. Brussels: Peter Lang.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1996). 'A reply to Henry Widdowson's 'Discourse analysis: A critical view'.' *Language and Literature* 5.1: 49-56.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, New Language?*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2005). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Marges linguistiques* (9), 76-94.
- Fairclough, N. (2006). *Language and Globalization*. London: Routledge.

- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). 'Critical Discourse Analysis', in T. van Dijk (Ed.) *Discourse Studies. A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2. Discourse as Social Interaction*. (pp.258-84). London: SAGE.
- Figueira, D. (2009). *The East Indian Problem in Trinidad and Tobago 1953-1962*. Bloomington, IN: iUniverse.
- Finden-Crofts, J. (1998). *The consumption of calypso music in Trinidad*. PhD Thesis, University College London.
- Fiske, J. (1982). *Introduction to Communication Studies* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). London: Routledge.
- Forceville, C. and Urios-Aparisi, E. (Eds.) (2009). *Multimodal metaphor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Forchtner, B. (2014): 'Historia Magistra Vitae: The Topos of History as a Teacher in public struggles over self- and other representation', in C. Hart and P. Cap (Eds.) *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies* (pp. 19-43). London: Bloomsbury.
- Forchtner, B., Krzyżanowski, M. and Wodak, R. (2013). 'Mediatization, right-wing populism and political campaigning: the case of the Austrian Freedom Party', in M. Ekström and A. Tolson (Eds.) *Media talk and political elections in Europe and America* (pp. 205-228). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Foss, S. K. (2004). Framing the Study of Visual Rhetoric: Toward a Transformation of Rhetorical Theory, in C. A. Hill and M. Helmers (Eds.) *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (pp.303-314). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *L'ordre du discours*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Fowler, R. (1996). *Linguistic Criticism* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (1979). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge.
- Fraser, T. (2009). 'Trinidad and Tobago', in M. Esipisu, I. Khaguli (Eds.) *Eyes of Democracy: The Media and Elections* (pp. 52-54). London: The Commonwealth Secretariat Publications.
- Furnivall, J.S. (1944). *Memorandum on reconstruction problems in Burma*. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Furnivall, J.S. (1948). *Colonial Policy and Practice*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Gee, J. P. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). London: Taylor and Francis.
- Geer, S. (2007). 'Race, Politics and History in a Survey of Contemporary Ethnographic Writing on Trinidad', *NEXUS*, 20 (1), Article 5, 105-133.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.
- Gill, A.M. and Whedbee, K. (1997). 'Rhetoric', in T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process. Vol. 1* (pp.157-184). London: SAGE.
- Girnth, H. (1996). 'Texte im politischen Diskurs: Ein Vorschlag zur diskursorientierten Beschreibung von Textsorten', *Muttersprache*, Vol.106/1, 66–80.
- Girnth, H. (2002). *Sprache und Sprachverwendung in der Politik: Eine Einführung in die linguistische Analyse öffentlich-politischer Kommunikation*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

- Glissant, E. (1981). *Le Discours Antillais*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gombrich, E. (1960). *Art and illusion: A study of the psychology of pictorial representation*. London: Phaidon Press.
- Graber, D. A. (1981). 'Political Languages', in D. Nimmo and K. Sanders (Eds) *Handbook of Political Communication* (pp.195–224). Beverly Hills: SAGE.
- Grady, J., Coulson, S. and Oakley, T. (1999). 'Blending and metaphor', in G. Steen and R.W. Gibbs. (Eds.) *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 101–124). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.
- Green, R. (2014). 'Trinidad and Tobago', in *The Commonwealth Yearbook 2014*. London: Nexus Strategic Partnerships.
- Greene, S. (2002). 'The social-psychological measurement of partisanship', *Political Behavior*, 24, 171-97.
- Grint, K. (2010). *Leadership: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gronbeck, B. E. (2008). 'Visual Rhetorical Studies: Traces through Time and Space', in L. C. Olsen, C. A. Finnegan and D. S. Hope (Eds.) *Visual Rhetoric: A Reader in Communication and American Culture* (pp. xxi-xxvi). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Guilbault, J. (2011). 'The Question of Multiculturalism in the Arts in the Postcolonial Nation-State of Trinidad and Tobago', *Music and Politics* 5 (1), 1-21.
- Gurevitch, M. and Blumler, J. G. (1990). 'Comparative research: The extending frontier', in D. L. Swanson and D. Nimmo (Eds.) *New directions in political communication* (pp. 305–328). Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Habermas, J. (1981). *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*. 2 Volumes. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol. I: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. London: Heinemann.
- Habermas, J. (1987). *The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol. II: Lifeworld and System*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. (1996). *Die Einbeziehung des Anderen: Studien zur politischen Theorie*, Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp.
- Habermas, J. (1998). *Die postnationale Konstellation: politische Essays*, Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp.
- Hahn, D. (2003). *Political Communication: Rhetoric, Government, and Citizens*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Pennsylvania: Strata Publishing.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992) [1950]. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, S. (1982). 'The determination of news photographs', in S. Cohen and J. Young (Eds.) *The Manufacture of News*. London: Constable.

- Hall, S. (1992). 'The question of cultural identity', in S. Hall, D. Held and A. McGrew (Eds.) *Modernity and its futures* (pp. 274–316). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hall, S. (1996). 'Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity?'', in S. Hall and P. Du Gay (Eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 1–17). London: SAGE.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3<sup>rd</sup> revised Edition). London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as a Social Semiotic The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hankinson, G. A. and Cowking, P. (1993). *Branding in Action*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.
- Harney, S. (1996). *Nationalism and Identity. Culture and the Imagination in a Caribbean Diaspora*. London: Zed Books.
- Hart, C. and Cap, P. (Eds.) (2014). *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Hegelsen, S. (1990). *The Female Advantage: Women's Way of Leadership*. New York: Doubleday.
- Henke, H. (1997). 'Towards an Ontology of Caribbean Existence', *The Caribbean(s) Redefined - Latin American Issues*, 13, 37–68.
- Herskovits, M. (1947). *Trinidad Village*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Hillman, J. (2009). *Gli stili del potere*. Milano: RCS.
- Hintzen, P. (1989). *The Costs of Regime Survival*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawn, E. (1983). 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in E. Hobsbawn, T. Ranger, (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (pp.1-14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hodges, A. and Nilep, C. (2007). 'Introduction: Discourse, war and terrorism', in A. Hodges and C. Nilep (Eds.) *Discourse, War and Terrorism* (pp. 1-18). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Holmes, J., and Marra, M. (2011). 'Leadership discourse in a Maori workplace: negotiating gender, ethnicity and leadership at work', *Gender and Language*, 5(2), 317-342.
- Horkheimer, M. (1992). *Traditionelle und Kritische Theorie: Fünf Aufsätze*. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp.
- Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T. W. (1991) [1944]. *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente*. Frankfurt/M: Fischer.
- Horsbøl, A. (2006). 'From Our Plan to My Promises: Multimodal Shifts in Political Advertisements', in I. Lasse, J. Strunck and T. Vestergaard (Eds.) *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: ten critical studies* (pp. 149–172). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jäger, M. (1996). *Fatale Effekte: Die Kritik am Patriarchat im Einwanderungsdiskurs*. Duisburg: DISS.
- Jäger, S. (1992). *BrandSätze: Rassismus im Alltag*. Duisburg: DISS.

- Jäger, S. (1993). *Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einführung*. Duisburg: DISS.
- Jäger, S. and Jäger, M. (Eds.) (1992). *Aus der Mitte der Gesellschaft (I–IV): Zu den Ursachen von Rechtsextremismus und Rassismus in Europa*. Duisburg: DISS.
- Jäger, S. and Januschek, F. (Eds.) (1992). *Der Diskurs des Rassismus: Ergebnisse des DISS-Kolloquiums November 1991*. Osnabrück: Redaktion Obst (OBST 46).
- Jäger, S. and Link, J. (Eds.) (1993). *Die vierte Gewalt. Rassismus in den Medien*. Duisburg: DISS.
- James, C.L.R. (1962). *The Black Jacobins*. London: Vintage.
- Jamieson, K. H. (1995). *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jarren, O., Sarcinelli, U. and Saxer, U. (Eds.) (1998). *Politische Kommunikation in der demokratischen Gesellschaft: Ein Handbuch*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Jewitt, C. (Ed.). (2009). *The Routledge handbook of Multimodal Analysis*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Jewitt, C. and Oyama, R. (2001) 'Visual meaning: a social semiotic approach', in T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt (Eds.) *Handbook of Visual Analysis* (pp. 134-56). London: SAGE.
- Jung, M., Wengeler, M. and Böke, K. (Eds.) (1997). *Die Sprache des Migrationsdiskurses: Das Reden über 'Ausländer' in Medien, Politik und Alltag*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Kaal, B. (2012). 'Worldviews: Spatial Ground for Political Reasoning in Dutch Election Manifestos', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines Journal* Vol. 6 (1), 1-21.
- Kalpaka, A. and Räthzel, N. (Eds.) (1986). *Die Schwierigkeit, nicht rassistisch zu sein*, Berlin: Express Edition.
- Kanhai, R. (2013). 'Kamla at the Apex: Reflections on Indo-Caribbean Feminisms', *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies*, 6, 1-7.
- Kellerman, B., Rhode, D. L. and O'Connor, S. D. (2007). *Women and leadership: The state of play and strategies for change*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Kelly, C. (1988). 'Intergroup differentiation in a political context', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 319-32.
- Kelly, C. (1989). 'Political identity and perceived intragroup homogeneity', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 239-50.
- Kendall, S., and Tannen, D. (1997). Gender and language in the workplace. In R. Wodak (Ed.), *Gender and discourse*. (pp. 81-106). London: SAGE.
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keohane, N. (2010). *Thinking about Leadership*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Khan, A. (1993) 'What is 'a Spanish'? Ambiguity and 'Mixed' Ethnicity in Trinidad', in K. Yelvington (Ed.) *Trinidad Ethnicity* (pp. 180-207). Knoxville TN: University of Tennessee Press and London: MacMillan, Warwick University Caribbean Studies Series.

- Khan, A. (2001). 'Journey to the Center of the Earth: The Caribbean as Master Symbol', *Cultural Anthropology*, 16 (3), 271-302.
- Kiely R. (1996). *The Politics of Labour and Development in Trinidad*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.
- Kienpointner, M. (1992). *Alltagslogik. Struktur und Funktion von Argumentationsmustern*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog.
- Kienpointner, M. (1996). *Vernünftig argumentieren: Regeln und Techniken der Diskussion*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- Kindt, W. (1992). 'Argumentation und Konfliktaustragung in Äußerungen über den Golfkrieg', *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. 11, 189–215.
- Kirton, R., Anatol, M., and Braithwaite, N. (2010). *The Political Culture of Democracy in Trinidad and Tobago: 2010 Democracy in Action*. St. Augustine: The University of the West Indies, Institute of International Relations.
- Klass, M. (1961). *East Indians in Trinidad*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Klein, J. (1998). 'Politische Kommunikation: Sprachwissenschaftliche Perspektiven', in O. Jarren, U. Sarcinelli and U. Saxer (Eds.) *Politische Kommunikation in der demokratischen Gesellschaft: Ein Handbuch* (pp. 186–210). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Kolakowski, L. (1995). 'Über kollektive Identität', in K. Michalski (Ed.) *Identität im Wandel* (pp. 47–60). Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.
- Koller, V. (2008). 'The world in one city: Semiotic and cognitive aspects of city branding', in B. Mitsikopoulou (Ed.) *Branding Political Entities in a Globalised World. Special issue of Journal of Language and Politics*, 7(3), 431-50.
- Kopperschmidt, J. (1980). *Argumentation. Sprache und Vernunft 2*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Kouwenberg, S. and Singler, J. V. (Eds.) (2008). *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Kress, G. (1985). 'Ideological Structures in Discourse', in T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Vol.4) (pp. 27-42). London: Academic Press.
- Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (2002). 'Colour as a Semiotic Mode: Notes for a Grammar of Colour', *Visual Communication* 1(3), 343-68.
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2006) [1996]. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Arnold.
- Krings, H., Baumgartner, H. and Wild, C. (1973). *Handbuch philosophischer Grundbegriffe*. Munich: Kösel-Verlag.
- Kristeva, J. (1986). *The Kristeva Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Krouwel, A. (2012). *Party Transformations in European Democracies*. New York: State University of New York Press.

- Krzyżanowski, M., and Busch, B. (2006). 'Outside/inside the EU: enlargement, migration policies and the search for Europe's identity', in J. Anderson and W. Armstrong (Eds.) *Geopolitics of European Union Enlargement: the Fortress Empire* (pp. 107-124). London: Routledge.
- Krzyżanowski, M. and Wodak, R. (2009). *The Politics of Exclusion: Debating Migration in Austria*. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- La Guerre, J. (2000). *Basdeo Panday. A Political Biography*. Tunapuna, Trinidad: Chakra.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London: Verso.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', in A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 202-251). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1996). *Moral Politics. How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, R. (1990). *Talking Power: The Politics of Language in Our Lives*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Lassen, I., Strunck, J. and Vestergaard, T. (Eds.) (2006). *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Leckie-Tarry, H. (1995). *Language and context. A functional linguistic theory of register*. London: Pinter Publishers.
- Lemke, J. L. (1995). *Textual politics. Discourse and social dynamics*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Lewis, G. (1983). *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lilja, M. (2008). *Power, Resistance and Women Politicians in Cambodia: Discourses of Emancipation*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Link, J. (1990). *Schönhuber in der Nationalelf: Halbrechts, Rechtsaußen oder im Abseits? Die politische Kollektivsymbolik der Bundesrepublik und der Durchbruch der neorassistischen Schönhuberpartei*. Duisburg: DISS.
- Link, J. (1992). 'Die Analyse der symbolischen Komponenten realer Ereignisse. Ein Beitrag der Diskurstheorie zur Analyse neorassistischer Äußerungen', in S. Jäger and F. Januschek (Eds.) *Der Diskurs des Rassismus: Ergebnisse des DISS-Kolloquiums November 1991* (pp. 37-52). Osnabrück: Redaktion Obst (OBST 46).
- Loue, S. (2008). *The Transformative Power of Metaphor in Therapy*. New York: Springer.
- Luke, L. B. (2007). *Identity and Secession in the Caribbean Tobago versus Trinidad, 1889-1980*. St. Augustine: University of the West Indies Press.
- MacDonald, S.B. (1986). *Democracy and Development in the Caribbean*. New York: Praeger.
- Machin, D. (2012). *Introduction to Multimodal Analysis*. London: Bloomsbury.

- Machin, D. (2013). 'What is multimodal critical discourse studies?', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 10:4, 347-355
- Mackay, R. (2013). 'Multimodal legitimation: Looking at and listening to Obama's ads', in P. Cap and U. Okulska (Eds.) *Analyzing Genres in Political Communication: Theory and practice*. (pp. 345-377). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Maharaj, J. V. (2013). 'Carnival Poetics and Caribbean Politics', in M. Pirbhai and J. Mahabir (Eds.) *Critical Perspectives on Indo-Caribbean Women's Literature* (pp. 93-120). London and New York: Routledge.
- Marcuse, H. (1980). *Ideen zu einer kritischen Theorie der Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp.
- Marra, M., Schnurr, S. and Holmes J. (2006). 'Effective leadership in New Zealand workplaces: Balancing gender and role', in J. Baxter (Ed.) *Speaking Out: The Female Voice in Public Contexts* (pp. 240-260). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Martin, J. R. and Wodak, R. (2003). 'Introduction', in J. R. Martin and R. Wodak (Eds.) *Re/reading the Past: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Time and Value* (pp. 1-16). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Martin, D.C. (1995). 'The Choices of Identity', *Social Identities*, 1(1), 5-20.
- Mason, P. (1998). *Bacchanal! The Carnival Culture of Trinidad*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- McCallion, M. (2007). 'In-Groups and Out-Groups', in G. Ritzer (Ed.) *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (pp. 2238-9). New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Meighoo, K. (2003). *Politics in a Half Made Society: Trinidad and Tobago 1925-2001*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle.
- Meighoo, K. (2008). 'Ethnic Mobilisation vs. Ethnic Politics: Understanding Ethnicity in Trinidad and Tobago Politics', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 46 (1), 101-127.
- Meyer, M. (2001). 'Between theory, method and politics: Positioning of the approaches to CDA'. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (1<sup>st</sup> Edition) (pp. 14-31). London: SAGE.
- Mills, S. (2004). *Discourse - The New Critical Idiom*. London: Routledge.
- Mintz, S. W. (1996). 'Enduring substances, trying theories: the Caribbean region as *Oikumene*', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, 289-311.
- Moffit, M.A. (1999). *Campaign strategies and message design: A practitioner's guide from start to finish*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Moutzelis, N. (1995). *Sociological Theory: what went wrong? Diagnosis and Remedies*. London: Routledge.
- Mulderrig, J. (2012). 'The Hegemony of Inclusion: a corpus-based critical discourse analysis of deixis in education policy', *Discourse and Society* 23 (6), 701-728.
- Munasinghe, V. (2001). *Callaloo or Tossed Salad? East Indians and the Cultural Politics of Identity in Trinidad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Munasinghe, V. (2002). 'Nationalism in Hybrid Spaces: The Production of Impurity out of Purity', *American Ethnologist* 29(3), 663-692.



- Munasinghe, V. (2006). 'Theorizing World Culture through the New World: East Indians and Creolization', *American Ethnologist*, 33(4), 549-62.
- Musolff, A. and Zinken, J. (2009). *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Musolff, A. (2014). *Metaphor in the Discourse-Historical Approach*, in C. Hart and P. Cap (Eds.) *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies* (pp. 45-66). London: Bloomsbury.
- Myers, G. (2005). 'Applied linguistics and institutions of opinion', *Applied Linguistics* 26(4), 527-544.
- Naipaul, V. S. (1962). *The Middle Passage*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Nevadomsky, J. (1980). 'Changes in Hindu Institutions in an Alien Environment', *The Eastern Anthropologist*, 3:1, 39-53.
- Nevadomsky, J. (2001). 'Changes over Time and Space in the East Indian Family in Trinidad', In C. Barrow and R. Reddock (Eds.) *Caribbean Sociology: Introductory Readings* (pp. 449-470). Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Norris, P. (1997). 'Women Leaders Worldwide: A Splash of Color in the Photo Op', in P. Norris (Ed.) *Women, Media and Politics* (pp. 149-65). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, S. (2004). *Analyzing multimodal interaction: A methodological framework*. London: Routledge.
- Okulska, U. and Cap, P. (2010). *Perspectives in Politics and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Orwell, G. (1969). 'Politics and the English Language', in W. F. Bolton and D. Crystal (Eds.) *The English Language Vol. 2: Essays by Linguists and Men of Letters, 1858-1964* (pp. 217-228). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Orwenjo, D. (2009). 'Political grandstanding and the use of proverbs in African political discourse', *Discourse and Society* 20, 2009/1:123-146.
- Oxaal, I. (1982). *Black intellectuals and the dilemmas of race and class in Trinidad*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Palmer, C. (2006). *Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Pelinka, A. and Wodak, R. (2002). 'Dreck am Stecken'. *Politik der Ausgrenzung*. Vienna: Czernin Publishers.
- Perelman, C. (1976). *Juristische Logik als Argumentationstheorie*. Freiburg: Alber.
- Perelman, C. (1980). *Das Reich der Rhetorik*. Munich: Beck.
- Perelman, C. (1994). *Logik und Argumentation*. Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum.
- Perone, J. (2004). *Music of the Counterculture Era*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Phillips, N. and Hardy, C. (2002). *Discourse analysis. Investigating processes of social construction. Qualitative research methods series 50*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Premdas, R. (1996). *Ethnicity and Identity in the Caribbean: Decentering a Myth*. Working Paper 234. Notre Dame, IN: Helen Kellogg Institute.

- Premdas, R. (2004). 'Elections, Identity and Ethnic Conflict in the Caribbean', *Pouvoirs dans la Caraïbe*, 14, 17-61.
- Premdas, R. (2007). *Trinidad and Tobago: Ethnic Conflict, Inequality, and Public Sector Governance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Puri, S. (1997). 'Race, Rape, and Representation: Indo-Caribbean Women and Cultural Nationalism', *Cultural Critique* 36, 119-63.
- Puri, S. (1999). 'Canonized Hybridities, Resistant Hybridities: Chutney Soca, Carnival, and the Politics of Nationalism', in B. Edmondson (Ed.) *Caribbean Romances: The Politics of Regional Representation*. (pp. 12-38). Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. Educational Books.
- Puri, S. (2004). *The Caribbean Postcolonial: Social Equality, Post/nationalism, and Cultural Hybridity*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ram, U. (1994). 'Narration, Erziehung und die Erfindung des jüdischen Nationalismus', *Osterreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 5, 1994/2, 151-177.
- Ramesar, M. (1976). 'The Impact of the Indian Immigrants on Colonial Trinidad Society', *Caribbean Quarterly* 22, 6-7.
- Ramesar, M. (1985). 'Recurrent Issues Concerning Indian Immigrants to Trinidad', in J. La Guerre (Ed.) *Calcutta to Caroni: The East Indians of Trinidad* (pp.135-152). St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: Extramural Studies Unit, University of the West Indies.
- Ramsaran, R. F. (1993). 'Growth and adjustment in a petroleum based economy: some aspects of the Trinidad and Tobago experience since 1970s', *Social and Economic Studies* 42(4), 217-240.
- Reddock, R. (1998). 'Contestations over Culture, Class, Gender and Identity in Trinidad and Tobago: "The Little Tradition"', *Caribbean Quarterly* 44(1 and 2), 62-80.
- Reddock, R. (2002). 'Contestations over culture, class, gender and identity in Trinidad and Tobago', in V. Shepherd and G. L. Richards (Eds.) *Questioning Creole: Creolisation discourses in Caribbean culture*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle.
- Regis, L. (1999). *The Political Calypso: True Opposition in Trinidad and Tobago, 1962-1987*. St. Augustine: University of the West Indies Press.
- Reisigl, M. (2003). 'Rede als Vollzugsmeldung an die (Deutsche) Geschichte: Hitler auf dem Wiener Heldenplatz', in J. Kopperschmidt (Ed.) *Hitler der Redner* (pp. 383-412). Munich: Fink.
- Reisigl, M. (2008). 'Rhetoric of Political Speeches', in R. Wodak and V. Koller (Eds.) *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Reisigl, M. (2014). 'Argumentation analysis and the Discourse-Historical Approach. A methodological framework', in C. Hart and P. Cap (Eds.) *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies* (pp. 67-96). London: Bloomsbury.
- Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination*. London: Routledge.
- Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2009). 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition) (pp. 243-269). London: SAGE.
- Richardson, J. (2008). 'Our England: Discourses of 'race' and class in party election leaflets', *Social Semiotics*, 19(3), 321-337.

- Richardson, J. and Wodak, R. (2009a). 'The impact of visual racism: Visual arguments in political leaflets of Austrian and British far-right parties', *Controversia* 6 (2), 45–77.
- Richardson, J. and Wodak, R. (2009b). 'Recontextualising fascist ideologies of the past: Right-wing discourses on employment and nativism in Austria and the United Kingdom', *Critical Discourse Studies* 6 (4), 251–267.
- Ricoeur, P. (1992). *Oneself as Another*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Roberts, P. (2000). 'Changing Values and National Identities in the Caribbean and their effect on Language Education Policy', in M. Leicester, C. Modgil, and S. Modgil (Eds.). *Systems of education: Theories, policies, and implicit values* (pp. 182-195). London: Falmer Press.
- Rojo, A. B. (1996). *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Rosener, J. (1990). 'Ways Women Lead', *Harvard Business Review* 68(6), 119–25.
- Ryan, S. (1972). *Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago: A Study of Decolonization in a Multiracial Society*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ryan, S. (1996). *Pathways to Power: Indians and the Politics of National Unity in Trinidad and Tobago*. St Augustine: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Saint-Germain, M. (1993). 'Women in Power in Nicaragua: Myth and Reality' in M. Genovese (Ed.) *Women as National Leaders*. London: SAGE.
- Saint-Martin, F. (1987). *Semiotics of visual language*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Samaroo, B. (1975). 'The Presbyterian Canadian Mission as an agent of integration in Trinidad during the 19th and early 20th centuries', *Caribbean Studies* 14 (4), 41-55.
- Samaroo, B. (1985). 'Politics and Afro-Indian Relations in Trinidad and Tobago', in J. La Guerre (Ed.) *Calcutta to Caroni: The East Indians of Trinidad* (pp.74-96). St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: Extramural Studies Unit, University of the West Indies.
- Sanjek, R. (1994). 'The Enduring Inequality of Race', in S. Gregory and R. Sanjek (Eds.) *Race*. (pp.78-102). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Sarcinelli, U. (1998). 'Legitimität', in O. Jarren, U. Sarcinelli and U. Saxer (Eds.) *Politische Kommunikation in der demokratischen Gesellschaft: Ein Handbuch* (pp. 253–67). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Schäffner, C. (1996). 'Editorial: Political Speeches and Discourse Analysis', *Current Issues in Language and Society* 3, (3), 201-204.
- Schäffner, C. (1997). 'Strategies of Translating Political Texts', in A. Trosborg (Ed.) *Text Typology and Translation* (Benjamins Translation Library) (pp. 119 -143). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schegloff, E. (1997). 'Whose text? Whose context?', *Discourse and Society* 8(2), 165-187.
- Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schill, D. (2012). 'The Visual Image and the Political Image: A Review of Visual Communication Research in the Field of Political Communication', *Review of Communication*, 12:2, 118-142.

- Schubert, C. (2010). 'Narrative sequences in political discourse: Forms and functions in speeches and hypertext frameworks', in C. R. Hoffmann (Ed.), *Narrative Revisited: Telling a story in the age of New Media* (pp. 143-162). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schwartzberg, R. (1980). *Lo Stato spettacolo*. Roma: Editori riuniti.
- Segal, D. (1994). 'Living Ancestors: Nationalism and the Past in Postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago' in J. Boyarin (Ed.) *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace* (pp. 221-239). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sell, J. P.A. (Ed.) (2012). *Metaphor and Diaspora in Contemporary Writing*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Semino, E. (2008). *Metaphor in discourse*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Shaw, S. (2000). 'Language, gender and floor apportionment in political debates', *Discourse and Society*, 11(3), 401- 418.
- Sheller, M. (2003). *Consuming the Caribbean*. London: Routledge.
- Singh, R. (1973). 'I Am a Coolie', *Heritage* (Georgetown, Guyana), 2, 25-7.
- Smith, A.D. (1983). *State and Nation in the Third World*. Brighton: Harvester.
- Smith, M.G. (1965). *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Smith, M.G. (1991). *Pluralism, Politics and Ideology in the Creole Caribbean*. New York: Research Institute for the Study of Man (Vera Rubin Caribbean Series, No.1).
- Solheim, B. (2000). *On the Top of the World: Women's Political Leadership in Scandinavia and Beyond*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Stanyer, J. (2007). *Modern Political Communication*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Stein, K. (2009). 'The Cleavage Commotion: How the Press Covered Senator Clinton's Campaign', in T. Sheckels (Ed.) *Cracked But Not Shattered: Hillary Clinton's Unsuccessful Campaign for the Presidency*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Street, J. (2004). 'Celebrity politicians: Popular culture and political representation'. *The British Journal for Politics and International Relations* 6(4), 435-452.
- Stubbs, M. (1997). 'Whorf's children: Critical comments on critical discourse analysis (CDA)', in A. Ryan and A. Wray (Eds.), *Evolving models of language* (pp. 110-16). Clevedon, England: BAAL in association with Multilingual Matters.
- Swales, J. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tekin, B. (2010). *Representations and Othering in Discourse: The Construction of Turkey in the EU context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tewarie, K. (1984). 'Integration and Multiculturalism: A Dilemma in the School System in Trinidad and Tobago', *Paper presented to the 3<sup>rd</sup> conference on East Indians in the Caribbean*, 31 August, 31 1-12.
- Tinker, H. (1974). *A new System of Slavery: the Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R. and Vetter, E. (2000). *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Torabully, K. (2002). *Coolitude: An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*. London: Anthem Press.
- Toulmin, S. (1996). *Der Gebrauch von Argumenten*. Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum.
- Trosborg, A. (1997). 'Translating Hybrid Political Texts' in A. Trosborg (Ed.), *Text Typology and Translation (Benjamins Translation Library)* (pp. 3-23). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Trouillot, M. R. (1992). 'The Caribbean Region: an Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, 19-42.
- Tsuji, T. (2008). 'Villaging the Nation: The Politics of Making Ourselves in Postcolonial Trinidad', *Callaloo* 31 (4), 1148-1174.
- Tufte, E. R. (1983). *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*. Cheshire, CT: Graphics Press.
- Unger, J. W. (2013a). *The Discursive Construction of the Scots Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Unger, J. W. (2013b). 'Rebranding the Scottish Executive: a discourse-historical analysis', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 12 (1), 59-79.
- Unsworth, L. (2001). *Teaching multiliteracies across the curriculum: Changing contexts of text and image in classroom practice*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- van Dijk, T. (1984). *Prejudice in Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- van Dijk, T. (1990). 'Social cognition and discourse', in H. Giles and W. P. Robinson (Eds.) *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology* (pp. 163-86). Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- van Dijk, T. (1991). *Racism and the Press: Critical Studies in Racism and Migration*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. (1993). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. (1995). 'Discourse analysis as ideology analysis', in C. Schäffner and A. Wenden *Language and Peace* (pp. 17-33). Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing.
- van Dijk, T. (1997a). 'What is Political Discourse Analysis?', in J. Blommaert and C. Bulcaen *Political Linguistics* (pp. 11-52). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- van Dijk, T. (1997b). 'The Study of Discourse' in T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process* (pp. 1-34). London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. (1998). *Ideology. A Multidisciplinary Study*. London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. (2001a). 'Critical Discourse Analysis', in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton (Eds.) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- van Dijk, T. (2001b). 'Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (1<sup>st</sup> Edition) (pp. 95-120). London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. (2003). 'Political Discourse and Ideology', *Doxa*, 1, 2003: 207-225.

- van Dijk, T. (2005). 'Contextual Knowledge Management in Discourse Production. A CDA Perspective', in R. Wodak and P. Chilton (Eds.) *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis* (pp. 71-100). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- van Dijk, T. (2006). 'Politics and Language: Overview', in K. Brown, (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Second Edition, Volume 9 (pp. 728-740). Oxford: Elsevier.
- van Dijk, T. (2008). *Discourse and context: A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Eemeren, F. H. and Grootendorst, R. (2004). *A systematic theory of argumentation: The pragma-dialectical approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Koningsbruggen, P. (1997). *Trinidad Carnival: A Quest for National Identity*. London: MacMillan.
- van Leeuwen, T. (1995). 'Representing social action', *Discourse and Society*, Vol. 6/1, 81-106.
- van Leeuwen, T. (1996). 'The representation of Social Actors', in C. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (Eds.) *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 32-70). London: Routledge.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2004). *Introducing social semiotics*. London: Routledge.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2014). 'Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodality', in C. Hart and P. Cap (Eds.) *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies*. (pp. 281-295). London: Bloomsbury.
- van Leeuwen, T. and Wodak, R. (1999). 'Legitimizing immigration control: A discourse-historical analysis', *Discourse Studies*, Vol. 1/1, 77-122.
- Vertovec, S. (2001). 'Hinduism in Diaspora: The Transformation of Tradition in Trinidad', in C. Barrow and R. Reddock (Ed.). *Caribbean Sociology: Introductory Readings*. (pp. 622-642). Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Wagner, I. and Wodak, R. (2006). 'Performing Success: Identifying strategies of self-presentation in women's autobiographical narratives', *Discourse and Society* 17(3), 385-411.
- Walcott, D. (1974). 'The Caribbean: Culture or Mimicry', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 16 (1), 3-13.
- Walsh, C. (2001). *Gender and Discourse. Language and Power in Politics, the Church and Organisations*. Edinburgh: Pearson Education.
- Weber, M. (1904). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons, 1930/2001. London: Routledge Classics.
- Weisberg, H.F. and Greene, S.H. (2003). 'The Political Psychology of Party Identification', in M.B. MacKuen and G. Rabinowitz (Eds.) *Electoral Democracy* (pp. 83-124). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Weiss, G. and Wodak, R., (Eds.) (2003). *Critical Discourse Analysis. Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Wengeler, M. (1997). 'Argumentation im Einwanderungsdiskurs: Ein Vergleich der Zeiträume 1970–1973 und 1980–1983', in M. Jung, M. Wengeler and K. Böke (Eds.) *Die Sprache des Migrationsdiskurses: Das Reden über 'Ausländer' in Medien, Politik und Alltag* (pp. 121–49). Stuttgart: Westdeutscher Verlag.

- Widdowson, H. (1996). 'Reply to Fairclough. Discourse and interpretation. Conjectures and refutations', *Language and Literature* 5.1: 57-69.
- Widdowson, H. (1998). 'The theory and practice of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Applied Linguistics* 19.1: 136-151.
- Widdowson, H. (2005). *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Willard, C. A. (1979). 'Arguing as epistemic II: A constructivist/interactionist view of reasons and reasoning', *Journal of the American Forensic Association*, 15, 211-219.
- Williams, E. (1944). *Capitalism and Slavery*. Richmond VA: University of North Carolina Press.
- Williams, E. (1962). *History of the Nation of Trinidad and Tobago*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Wilson, J. (1990). *Politically speaking*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wilson, J. (2001). 'Political Discourse', in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton (Eds) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 398-415). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Winford, D. (1997). 'Introduction: on the Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles', in A. K. Spears and D. Winford (Eds.) *The Structure and Status of Pidgins And Creoles: Including Selected Papers From The Meetings of The Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (pp. 1-31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wodak R., de Cillia R., Reisigl M. and Liebhart K. (2009). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (2<sup>nd</sup> Revised Edition). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wodak, R. (1989). *Language, Power and Ideology: Studies in Political Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. (1990). 'The Waldheim Affair and antisemitic prejudice in Austrian public discourse', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 24/2-4, 18-33.
- Wodak, R. (1996). *Disorders of Discourse*. London: Longman.
- Wodak, R. (1997). "'I know, we won't revolutionize the world with it, but...': Styles of female leadership in institutions' in H. Kottthoff and R. Wodak (Eds.) *Communicating Gender in Context* (pp. 335-370). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. (2000). 'The rise of racism. An Austrian or a European Problem', *Discourse and Society*, 11, 5-6.
- Wodak, R. (2001). 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (1<sup>st</sup> Edition) (pp. 63-94). London: SAGE.
- Wodak, R. (2001). 'What CDA is about: A summary of its history, important concepts and its developments', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-13) (1<sup>st</sup> Edition). London: SAGE.
- Wodak, R. (2004a). 'National and Transnational Identities: European and Other Identities Constructed in Interviews with EU Officials', in R. K. Hermann, T. Risse, and M. Brewer (Eds.) *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU* (pp. 97-128). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Wodak, R. (2004b). Critical Discourse Analysis, in C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium and D. Silverman (Eds.) *Qualitative Research Practice* (pp. 197-214). London: SAGE.

- Wodak, R. (2008). 'Introduction: discourse studies - important concepts and terms', in R. Wodak and M. Krzyżanowski (Eds.) *Qualitative discourse analysis in the Social Sciences* (pp. 1-29). Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Wodak, R. (2009). *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Wodak, R. and de Cillia, R. (2006). 'Politics and Language: Overview', in K. Brown (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Second Edition, Volume 9 (pp. 707-719). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Wodak, R. and Heer, H. (2008). 'Introduction: Collective Memory, National Narratives and the Politics of the Past', in H. Heer, W. Manoschek, A. Pollak, and R. Wodak (Eds.) *The Discursive Construction of History: Remembering the Wehrmacht's War of Annihilation* (pp. 1-16). Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Wodak, R. and Van Dijk, T. A. (Eds.) (2000). *Racism at the Top. Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States*. Klagenfurt, Austria: Drava Verlag.
- Wodak, R. and Weiss, G. (2005). 'Analyzing European Union discourses: Theories and applications', in R. Wodak and P. Chilton (Eds.) *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis* (pp. 121-135). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (2009). 'Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> Revised Edition) (pp. 1-33). London: SAGE.
- Wodak, R., Menz, F., Mitten, R. and Stern, F. (1994). *Die Sprachen der Vergangenheiten*, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.
- Wodak, R., Nowak, P., Pelikan, J., Gruber, H., de Cillia, R. and Mitten, R. (1990). *'Wir sind alle unschuldige Täter'. Diskurshistorische Studien zum Nachkriegsantisemitismus*. Suhrkamp: Frankfurt/M.
- Wood, D. (1968). *Trinidad in Transition: The Years after Slavery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, A. (2013). *British Politics: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yelvington, K. (1996). 'Caribbean', in A. Barnard and J. Spencer (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. (pp. 86-90). London and New York: Routledge.
- Yelvington, K. (Ed.) (1993). *Trinidad Ethnicity*. Knoxville TN: University of Tennessee Press and London: MacMillan Warwick University Caribbean Studies Series.
- Youssef V., Winford, J. (2004). 'The Creoles of Trinidad and Tobago: Phonology', in B. Kortmann, and E. Schneider, in collaboration with K. Burridge, R. Mesthrie and C. Upton (Eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English: A Multimedia Reference Tool* (pp. 508-524). Vol. 1: Phonology. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.



## References (Electronic Sources)

- Anthony, L. (2014). *AntConc* (Version 3.4.1w) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/>
- Bramley, N. R. (2001). *Pronouns of Politics: the use of pronouns in the construction of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews*. PhD dissertation. Australian National University. <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/46225> (Last accessed 31 March 2015).
- Joseph, T. (2000). 'Ad Nauseam', *Trini Center – Trini News Online Forums* <http://www.trinicenter.com/Terryj/2000/Dec/Adnauseam.htm> (Last accessed 31 March 2015).
- Julien, J. (2010) 'Man out, strongwomen in', *Trinidad Express News*, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010. [http://www.trinidadexpress.com/news/Man\\_out\\_strongwomen\\_in-114869059.html](http://www.trinidadexpress.com/news/Man_out_strongwomen_in-114869059.html) (Last accessed 31 March 2015).
- Psephos Election Archive (Adam Carr's Election Archive). *Trinidad and Tobago*. <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/t/trinidad/> (Last accessed 31 March 2015).
- Richardson, G. (2002). 'Visual Storytelling and the Competition for Political Meaning in Political Advertising and News in Campaign 2000', *American Communication Journal* 5:3 (Spring). <http://ac-journal.org/journal/vol5/iss3/articles/visual/visual.htm> (Last accessed 31 March 2015).
- Trinidad and Tobago Central Statistical Office - TTSCO (2011). *Population and Housing Census Demographic Report*. <http://www.cso.gov.tt/> (Last accessed 31 March 2015).
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2013). 'Adult and Youth Literacy. National, regional and global trends, 1985-2015' *UIS information paper*. Montreal: UIS. <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Documents/literacy-statistics-trends-1985-2015.pdf> (Last accessed 31 March 2015).

## **Appendix: The *KPB 2010* Corpus**

### **1. Gopaul Lands Car Park, Marabella, Pointe-à-Pierre (Election Launch) - 12 April 2010**

#### **GREETINGS**

Thank you, thank you, thank you my brothers and sisters.

#### **TOP**

I would like to extend a warm, heartfelt welcome to our sister isle, Tobago whose next representative in government is here, the leader of the Tobago Organisation of the People, TOP, Mr. Ashworth Jack.

Welcome Ashworth, welcome to the joint platform of the United National Congress.

We know our brothers and sisters in Tobago are just as anxious as we are here in Trinidad to get our country right.

It was not so long ago that the people of Tobago through the TOP made a complete rejection of the PNM and today the revolution for change has arrived on the shores of Tobago as it has all around the world.

This event heralds the start of a process that will take the United National Congress in alliance, in partnership with several political organisations and civic groups into office in the interest of the people.

#### **COP**

I am also pleased to announce that this afternoon I held a very cordial meeting with the Political Leader of the Congress of the People, Mr. Winston Dookeran, in which we agreed to the preparation of a formal policy document that will define the unification arrangement between our two political parties as we move the process forward towards contesting the general election on one national platform and bring back responsible governance to our nation..

That is the expression of the will of the people for a sustainable and unbreakable unification.

That is the formula that- is in the interest of the people which our two parties have committed themselves to.

And it is this prospect of unity across all boundaries with NGO's, unions, civic groups, and others who have joined our platform that has so frightened Patrick Mr. Augustus Mervyn Manning.

#### **MOUNTING PUBLIC PRESSURE**

Ladies and gentlemen, Brothers and Sisters, on Thursday last we saw what the power of the people and a responsible media and labour movement can achieve.

We witnessed the surrender of Manning to the mounting public pressure

against the charges of corruption surrounding UDeCOTT and Calder Hart and so many state institutions,

against the draconian property tax,

against the TTRA Bill that threatened the loss of thousands of jobs,

against the water shortage and self-confessed corruption at WASA,

against the unchecked crime wave,

**against** the rising cost of living,

**against** the squander mania,

**against** the alleged land deal with Abu Bakr,

**against** the damning findings and publication of the Uff Commission of Enquiry,

**against** the Rapid Rail project,

**against** the failure to answer public demands and pressures in Parliament for answers on the Church in Guanapo Heights owned by Manning's spiritual advisor and being built by UDeCOTT's Shanghai Construction on state land,

**against** Manning's declared war on the construction sector,

**against** Manning's attacks on the media and his wild accusations that they were taking bribes simply because they exposed the corruption at UDeCOTT and elsewhere,

**against** the trampling upon the rights of workers, farmers and families

The list is so long that I would utilise the entire time allotted me here tonight in going through each of the wrongs perpetuated against the people by the Patrick Manning and his maladministration.

### **COWARDICE**

Then, in an act of cowardice, the day before parliament was due to debate a vote of no confidence I had tabled, Mr. Manning fearful of what would be revealed, advises the President to dissolve the Parliament.

### **PALACE COUP**

There is also a school of thought which said Manning got wind of a palace coup about to take place in which he learnt that many of his own MPs, fed up of his ways and embarrassed by the corruption, had intended to support the no confidence vote against him.

And Manning simply couldn't take that chance.

Imagine, for the first time in our political history a Prime Minister will call an election some two and a half years before his term is up.

Two and a half years!

That he has been forced to do so is an admission in itself of his failure.

It begs the question whether Manning knew that the criminal probes would have produced enough evidence to institute charges against a number of people?

So is it that Manning decided to take front as we say and call an election in the desperate hope that he can be returned to office and use his influence with a new mandate to trifle with the outcome of investigations?

Is that the reason?

### **RELIEF**

Whatever might be the thinking behind his rash decision to prorogue Parliament to call a general election, the people of this country are relieved.

Finally, we will all have an opportunity to express our disapproval of his managing the nation's affairs by voting him out of office.

Even Manning himself has admitted that he is on his way out.

We all say after the election, it will not be Manning but Manout

## **MANNING LEGACY**

In the ten years since Manning assumed office Trinidad and Tobago has slipped into the abyss of despair.

With all the money in the world available to him due to the high oil prices our nation is in the worst crisis in its history.

There is not a single area we can point to and say, here he has done well. His two terms in office have been an unmitigated disaster.

But be all that as it may, let us not take this general election for granted.

Manning is desperate and will do anything, anything to hold on to power.

You will recall only too well how Manning openly met with gang leaders dubbed by him as community leaders during an election time to arrange a truce!

You will remember his alliance with Abu Bakr and the Jamaat who campaigned for the PNM.

So to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

## **HOUSE PADDING**

Your party has time and again publicly protested the house padding being used by Manning's PNM under the guise of housing where their members are given homes in marginal constituencies so that the influx of their party loyalists who now live there shift the balance in the favour of the Manning administration.

During the course of the next few weeks the Housing Development Corporation will be distributing thousands of keys to so-called new home owners many of which are in marginal constituencies.

This will have the potential effect of transferring PNMites from one area into a marginal constituency so that the PNM increases the number of people who vote for their party in those closely contested seats.

How can we fight such house padding other than by making formal and legal representations on the people's behalf?

Well, one other way is to urge you to overwhelm their attempts to manipulate the vote by simply going out in the largest voter turnout in our history to place your ballot against Manning.

For every one house padding vote they get we must bring out ten anti-Manning votes.

Ten to one.

## **TEN TO ONE**

Let nothing stop this victory of the people.

## **VISION**

Ours is a vision in which good governance means being accountable to the people, one in which citizens will no longer have to witness the wholesale raiding of our Treasury by an elitist regime enjoying its champagne lifestyle while the people thirst for such basic necessities as water.

Ours is a vision of a nation in which our abundant natural resources are invested in the people not in political profiteering.

Ours is a vision where law and order is restored and no one needs cower in fear again, afraid to walk the streets or sleep at night.

Ours is a vision in which party symbols tacked on to the ties of government leaders in Parliament to display party partisanship rather than citizenship is unpatriotic since government means being accountable to all of the people, not just those whom elected them.

Ours is a vision in which hospital beds come before extravagant conferences and summits, where the construction of homes and hospitals and schools are considered of greater priority than fanciful buildings, white elephants that stand as monuments to Manning's obscene extravagance.

Ours is a vision in which we believe that education is the best means of uplifting our youth, that a career inspired work programme is better than a handout.

### **CEPEP, GATE**

And let me make it abundantly clear tonight that under my leadership of a UNC government **CEPEP will remain in place, GATE will remain in place.**

In fact, we will improve upon it.

I think it is a crying shame that Manning should have CEPEP employees slaving under the conditions which they do.

Unlike Manning I am not about ignoring the plight of the people, I am about empowering the people and improving their lives.

So read my lips, there will be no removal of CEPEP or GATE or other social programmes that help people out.

In fact, when we cancel some of Manning's other grandiose billion dollar construction projects and stop the corruption we can channel that money where it should have been put to begin with – towards the people that need it most.

### **MINISTRY OF THE PEOPLE**

And let me formally announce tonight that should I have the honour of your support to be the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago I will establish a Ministry of the People where groups of concerned citizens can take their grievances and be heard rather than have to resort to burning tyres and demonstrating on the streets.

The Ministry of the People will be empowered to bring to Cabinet the urgent concerns of villagers or any interest group who believe their legitimate cause is not being heard by the relevant authorities.

Once your voice is not being heard, you can escalate the complaint to the Ministry of the People and know that it will receive my personal attention as Prime Minister and that of the Cabinet and **it will be acted upon.**

That is good governance, that is the level of accountability people expect and should get.

Gone will be the days of this high handed arrogant style of government.

There will be no more talk of private jets.

There will be no more Calder Harts.

There will be no more UdeCOTT's,

There will be no more NAPA fiascos

There will be no more fanciful Summits,

And I can personally assure you I have no need for a seer woman nor a seer man.

I can see for myself what is wrong in our country and I can see for myself the kind of future which we need to build for our children. And YOU CAN SEE

So write it down and you can hold me to this campaign pledge tonight.

You will get a Ministry of the People dedicated to tackling, head on, the issues of groups of concerned citizens who feel their needs and pleas for help are being overlooked or ignored by the authorities.

And this Ministry will be staffed by some of the most dedicated individuals possible, perhaps drawn from some of the very groups themselves that today clamour to be heard.

That is the kind of evidence of our Vision the creation of a national community that is compassionate, humane and caring.

## **GENDER**

Ours is a vision in which men and women stand as equals.

## **WORKERS**

Ours is a vision in which we respect our workers representative unions where we sit in meaningful **negotiations** not **impositions** on our nation's unions, as we build a renewal of faith with workers.

## **FOOD SECURITY**

Ours is a vision of a nation that grows to feed itself as we embrace our farmers in a crucial partnership of our nation's development.

## **ENVIRONMENT**

Ours is a vision in which we take on board the concerns of environmental groups so that we see national security and environmental security as being equally important.

## **CARING LEADERSHIP**

Ours is a vision of a leadership that listens to the people with our hearts, a leadership that holds out the same concerns you have for yourself and your family, leadership that is characterised by integrity, humility and competence.

## **EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION**

Ours is a vision in which there is a more equitable distribution of our nation's wealth and a pro-active not re-actionary, policy of poverty reduction.

## **BUSINESS COMMUNITY**

Ours is a vision in which we enjoin with the business community in a genuine partnership of nation building and the creation of an enabling environment that can advance our nation in ways never thought possible before.

## **BACK TO BASICS**

So on the question of where does the UNC want to take this Country as opposed to where has Manning taken us?

Rather than building a lot of buildings and financing expensive meetings which do not help us achieve economic independence plus the obsession about using foreign resources - let's spend the money and the resources on going "back to basics to improve the quality of life for the citizens of T and T.

And what do we the citizens want?

Not much when you think about it:

1. We want to be safe.
2. We want to be able to earn a living to support our families
3. We want to give our children good opportunities for their future - through education
4. We want to be able to access good medical care when we are sick.
5. We want basic infrastructure - roads, transport system, water, electricity.

That's it really...everything else is gravy...these are the basics and with all the resources and money that passed through Manning's hand, we should have achieved these things already or be well on the way.

## **FOUNDATION FOR NATIONHOOD**

Under Manning, we have really lost our way as A Nation and we need re-establish the fundamental underpinnings and foundation of Nationhood.

At Independence in 1962, there was a call to help build this Country and thousands answered this call - many nationals who were abroad came back home and shoulder to shoulder we built industries, the public sector, roads, bridges, utilities, hospitals.

Compare and contrast this independence movement of the 60's with the Manning philosophy of attacking and undermining every single indigenous talent and resource.

His administration has attacked the local doctors, nurses, the entire local construction industry, the entire public service, the local media, you name it. Once it name local Manning has attacked it and elevated foreigners in their place.

How do we build a Nation like that?

How can that be a path to "developed" country status?

This is the exact opposite - following Manning will lead us to perpetual dependence, not independence!

## **CHOICE IN THIS ELECTION**

So in this election it just doesn't come down to getting rid of Manning, that is a choice the people have already made, this election comes down to replacing what doesn't work with a government whose priorities are in the right place.

It is a choice between the exclusivity of the Manning regime or the inclusivity of the UNC.

It is a choice between more of what you have had to endure for two Manning terms or the opportunity to put your country back on track.

And it all comes down to you.

Your vote.

You have the power to make that change.

You control the destiny of an entire nation.

I urge you to enlist for this mission.

Make sure you and everyone you know is registered to vote.

Join the revolution for change.

Let us together rescue our nation from this madness!

Long live Trinidad and Tobago.

Long live the Victory of the People.

My love you all.

And as you leave, please Drive Safely.

And May God bless you all.

## **2. Hindu Women's Organization of Trinidad and Tobago - 16 April 2010**

It is my honour to share this evening in the company of such a distinguished group of women of the Hindu Women's Organization and your friends and well wishers.

I heartily and sincerely congratulate your President, the Executive and the members for another year of hard work achievement, all done in a spirit of self-sacrifice for the benefit of the community at large.

Sisters and brothers, I stand here today as one of you, a woman, mother, grandmother, a wife, daughter, sister and friend. I am here too as a lawyer, public servant, and a Prime Ministerial candidate.

As many of you know, today the Prime Minister announced the date for General Election, and the irony is not lost on me that an address to the Hindu Women's organisation is the first of my official functions after that announcement.

### **Challenges**

The problems you face as Hindu women are not very dissimilar to the problems faced by women in general in this country. I therefore propose to address a couple of these, and where possible to shed some light on what my government will do to address these concerns.

In every society women play a most important role in the moral and spiritual development of the family and the community.

Hindu women do no less. In fact, today, our women are challenged in a most emphatic way to be more than mothers and wives.

The exigencies of living in a country plagued by high food prices, inflation, high expenditures for travel and home mortgages and rentals have forced many of our women to combine the role of a wife with that of a mother and also a worker.

This has brought about stresses in the family as well as affected the quality of attention that working women are able to give to their children especially in their formative years.

### **The role of the Father**

This problem of inadequate parenting time and devotion to the child is compounded in this society because fathers have not risen up as speedily as they should have done with respect to sharing the responsibility for parenting.

Too many fathers are neglecting their responsibilities towards their children, particularly their sons, the effect of which is seen in the wider society through drug use, deviancy, gangsterism and waywardness.

### **Day care facilities**

Unfortunately, a new industry has begun to blossom in our country. It is called in some societies day care centres for children. Here it seems to be more of outsourcing parenting.

Many of the day care centres in our country are inadequate, are poorly staffed and in general cannot meet the standards for a first world day care centre.

Recognizing the need for professionally run centres, when you elect me to be your Prime Minister, as a start, it is my attention to ensure that government workplaces provide day care facilities so that mothers can nurse their babies and feel comfortable that their children are being taken care of while they work.

Advanced societies have benefited from such progressive policies in the workplace, and I can see absolutely no reason why this cannot be effected in our country. Our nation's babies deserve better.



### **Human Values**

As a mother and grandmother, I am also deeply concerned about the extent to which our children are being introduced to human values.

Our education system while it provides for a secular education must now also provide for education in human values.

There is an argument that this should be the primary responsibility of the home and the parents. While this has tremendous merit, a child spends at least one third of his/her formative years at school, and so the school curriculum must now include education in human values.

Throughout our society, our sisters are under stress resulting not only in suicides but as we have seen only last week, children are paying a heavy price for the differences between their parents.

### **Post partum depression**

The problem of post- partum depression in Trinidad and Tobago is not treated as the serious medical problem that it is, resulting in many mothers becoming increasingly frustrated and severely depressed. This must change, and I will change it.

### **Children**

I am not satisfied with the response of the authorities to the protection of children.

I wondered how much the conscience of the society has been affected by the frequency of violence against our nation's children. Many seem to have become numb!

How many remember Amy Anaumuntudo?

How many remember that a comprehensive investigation was conducted which was never released in public because it contained damning indictments against this government.

Today our children continue to be exposed to abuse and even murder.

This must change, and I will change it.

There is desperate need for more social workers, greater powers of removal, more counselling facilities and personnel, more support services. The laws are there, and it is my intention to implement them.

### **Half Way Houses**

But poor governmental response has also weakened the ability of the social services as a whole to respond in a preventative manner to the needs of women.

In this regard it is distressing that we do not have sufficient halfway houses with professional staff to intercede on a timely basis so as to save the lives of women in distress.

Half way houses should not be a burden on groups of private citizens but there should be a greater amount of funding and support by government, even though they may be managed by organizations like yours.

### **Social Programmes**

I wish to address the condition of women who are working in government social work programmes. One such program is the now famous CEPEP programme.

I wish to make it clear that my Government will not close CEPEP. However, it is my intention to examine the working conditions of these workers with a view to improving those conditions.

No longer will women have to work without access to toilet facilities, and basic employment conditions like sick leave and job security. We will ensure that CEPEP employees are treated with the respect that they deserve.

### **Young males**

As we speak this evening, I am also very concerned about the attitude of young males in the society in terms of their self-development and personal futures.

Young women appear to have a greater interest in their future than our young men, as evidenced by the increasing enrolment of women at our tertiary institutions, even in faculties that were once regarded as the domain of male students.

I heartily applaud our young women but am deeply concerned about our young males, especially when we see the number of young males being killed as a result of gang warfare and the gang culture that has pervaded the society.

The earth has been sufficiently stained by the blood of our young people.

Mother Earth is crying aloud at the destruction of human life, crying with the mothers who continue to lose their sons. We cannot afford to lose another generation of males.

We must find out the cause for the frustration, the reason why our youth are being attracted to alternative cultures and life styles.

They must be brought back into the mainstream of national life. They must not be allowed to live as dissidents on the fringes of society, as complainants without redress.

We must as communities catch them before they slip into the crevices.

### **The Hindu Family**

The Hindu family has always been rooted in strong values. They have generally been known to be close knitted and supportive of each other.

Environmental forces and alternative life styles have threatened the integrity of family life amongst Hindus.

Hindu fathers and mothers are also today throwing up their hands in despair as a result of the widening gap between themselves and their off springs.

The clash of tradition and modernity, of traditional values and modern day life styles is resulting in deep fissures in family life even amongst Hindus.

We stand to lose another generation if you are not proactive in entering the world of our children, to keep them closer to us, not through authoritarianism but through understanding and deeper conversations.

The task of parenting has never been an easy one. However it becomes even more difficult with each passing generation.

It becomes more difficult in an age where technology brings information and life styles that are marketed as superior to traditional values and life styles.

Thankfully, most of the children of this nation still know and practice right from wrong.

### **The Mission**

It is my intention to rebuild the society not only in the context of the economy, but also place great emphasis on the values which we live by.

Kofi Annan said: **“When women thrive, all of society benefits, and succeeding generations are given a better start in life,”**

I subscribe to this view.

As a Prime Minister I will ensure that women have an equal place in my government and that they be allowed to shape the society with an equal voice. The proverbial glass ceiling has been broken forever.

I will ensure that the laws relating to the protection of our children are implemented and the relevant resources provided so that implementation is effective.

I intend to lead the charge in taking back control of our lives and our families and creating a social safety net designed to rebuild the family structure.

I propose to establish a L.I.F.E. Commission. LIFE - Living Is For Everyone, combining the diverse and dispersed facilities and services available into one location with the sole objective of uplifting our communities, family by family.

In keeping with the de-centralization of government and its services, each of the 41 constituencies’ should have a LIFE Center. Each LIFE Center will be directed by the Ministry of Social Development and house such programs as:

**Community Infrastructure:** This provides aid to the citizenry with help with developing and maintaining the physical infrastructure in the constituencies.

**Differently-Abled Citizens:** provides eligible recipients with the means to meet their basic living needs.

**Income Assistance:** provides eligible recipients with the means to meet basic needs for food, clothing and shelter.

**Assisted Living:** provides social support services to individuals with chronic illness or disabilities in all communities, in a home or institutional setting.

**Family Violence Prevention Program:** supports the operation of appropriate shelters, which serve all constituencies, and delivers prevention programs.

New initiatives include:

**National Child Benefit Reinvestment:** provides communities with resources to design and implement community-based projects to improve the lives of children in low-income families. The program is intended to help reduce child poverty, help low-income parents rejoin the workforce, and reduce program overlaps at the community level.

**M.I.L.K. Program:** provides grants to the LIFE Centers for supplemental foods, health care referrals, and nutrition education for low-income pregnant, breastfeeding, and non-breastfeeding postpartum women, and to infants and children up to age five who are found to be at nutritional risk

But my friends none of these lofty ideals will be realized unless we form the next government.

You have a role to play in effecting a change in government.

I need not remind you of the corruption, the wanton wastage, the threat of dictatorship that looms large before our eyes, the decadent health system and the lack of basic infrastructure even after the government has spent over \$300 billion in nine years. We are not better off today than we were nine years ago.

If anything conditions have worsened.

None of this can be changed without a change in Government.

You have a duty to step out of your homes and offices and to become serious campaigners for the change you want and you deserve.

Now is not a time for complacency. Now is not a time for fear. Now is a time for courage and a fierce determination to take charge of our country and of our lives.

I am confident that with your support, we, you and I, our communities and our nation, we will rise.

I thank you.

### **3. Emerald Plaza, St. Augustine - 16 April 2010**

#### **“Take my Hand...”**

Rarely can you point to a calendar and say, “This is when Freedom comes.”

This is when Justice will be realized...

This is when Hope takes hold...

This is when Change finally arrives...

This is when our nation stops being about one man and once again becomes a nation by the people and for the people.

So circle May 24...Make sure everyone knows.

This is the day we’ve been waiting for – election day.

Today we stepped on the road to history and that road will carry us as far as we are willing to go together.

History is never a gift, it is never handed to the eager.

It must be earned.

History demands work, commitment, dedication and more than anything it demands belief.

And so we start making history today. We start believing today.

Only a few hours ago, negotiations were concluded between the UNC and the COP.

And as you know – there’s been a lot of talk about these talks.

Is there really change in the air?

Will it be different this time?

Will we move forward united...will we walk this historic road together?

I can tell you tonight – the answer is yes.

We move forward as singular, unstoppable, unwavering force for change.

History is already happening...Change is already happening.

But history must be earned.

Every day for the next five weeks...we cannot take our eyes from the prize.

There is too much at risk.

Tonight, we start a five-week fight for the future of our nation, the future of our families, the future of our children.

Because the unthinkable is five more years of Patrick Manning.

We cannot afford five more years of corruption and cronyism.

We cannot afford five more years of looking from the outside in as our nation’s wealth is squandered and stolen.

And that’s why this time it will be different...why it must be different.

There is no choice.

If our children are to have world class schools, there is no choice.

If we are to have a health care system that takes care of all our sick, there is no choice.

If we are to have confidence and faith in our leaders, there is no choice.

If we are to embrace change and ensure change, there is no choice.

So take my hand and join me on this path.

Together, no one can tell us what we can’t do.

There were those who thought the UNC and COP would not come together. That we couldn't find  
 common ground to move our nation forward.  
 They were wrong.  
 Patrick Manning was wrong.  
 He didn't want to call this election. He didn't want to have to face the people.  
 But we forced him.  
 And now that we have, we must grab this moment and take back our country.  
 Because it was never for sale... it was never to be used for personal gain.  
 So take my hand and join me on this path.  
 Together we'll make things right.  
 Together we'll make the Trinidad we want, the Trinidad we need.  
 A Trinidad we can pass on to our children with pride and confidence.  
 It's up to us.  
 It's that hard but it's also that easy.  
 But we must believe in ourselves.  
 This will not be about me. It's about us.  
 And so when Patrick Manning and his friends get desperate and start the lies and the dirty tricks...  
 And that'll be soon...believe me.  
 It's not going to work.  
 This time it's different.  
 It's not about him, it's not about me – it's about us.  
 It's about a nation of more than a million people, it's about families struggling to make it day to day, it's  
 about a health care system that has been allowed to decay, it's about our children and their schools being  
 ignored,  
 It's about a nation ready for change.  
 A nation ready to stand up for change.  
 A nation that believes it deserves change.  
 So take my hand and join me on this path.  
 And we will walk it together and we will not lose.  
 How is Patrick Manning going to stop us?  
 Will he say vote for me, I'll give you five more years like the last eight and a half?  
 Do you want more five years of that?  
 Do you want five more years of being ignored?  
 Do you want five more years of corruption?  
 Take my hand and join me on this path.  
 Our future is in our own hands.  
 And on May 24, we have the power to make that future...and no amount of money, or intimidation, can  
 change that.  
 And on that day, we will hold up our nation together, high and proud, our children by our side, our future  
 clearly ahead of us...  
 And declare our freedom.  
 Free at last, Free at last...finally...we will be free at last.  
 So get ready to work. We have five weeks.  
 And we need everybody. So if you know someone whose not registered, we have till Monday to get them  
 registered.  
 This time around, there can be no sitting on the sidelines. This time it's too important.  
 There can be no waking up the morning of May 25 with regrets that each one of us did not do all we  
 could do.  
 Now that our future is in our own hands.  
 Let's not hand it back.  
 Take my hand and join me on this path.  
 Today is when we start to make the future we want.

#### **4. St Helena Junction, Piarco, Caroni East - 19 April 2010**

##### **INTRODUCTION**

Good night ladies and gentlemen,

I feel energized to be in your presence and to see so many of you glowing yellow in the dark, like the rays of the rising sun, the symbol of our great party.

Are you ready to make history?

Are you ready to make history?

I hope so... because history is ready for us.

The winds of change are taking shape...it begins now as a gentle breeze but over the next five weeks, the wind of change will sweep this country with the force of a hurricane

So come May 24, it will topple the corrupt government of Patrick Manning and be replaced with a government by the people and for the people.

And the reason I know that this will happen is simple.

Because five more years of the same is not acceptable to people.

And that's just what Patrick Manning is offering.

Just more of the same. For another five years.

Five more years of Manning?!

That is unbearable!!! That is unthinkable!!!

But he thinks everything is fine. He thinks we should just keep going along like we are now...that we should just keep doing what we're doing...

He doesn't think there's any reason to change anything.

He wants five more years just like the past seven and half he has already had.

Do you?

Patrick Manning's says they're "ready now."

But the question is – What are they ready for?

More of the same?

More crime?

More corruption?

More schools in need of repair?

A health care system that cannot take care of our sick?

Is that what Manning's PNM is "ready for now."

We'll I've got a message for Patrick Manning...

The people of this nation are ready to remove you!

We don't need more of the same – we need change.

And that's why we're all here tonight – because change must begin now.

Change must begin here.

Change must begin with us.

Each and every one of us must take the responsibility for making this change.

Because no one wants five more years of Patrick Manning – our families can't afford it, our children can't afford it, our nation can't afford it.

So tonight, take my hand and join me on this path.

And together, we'll make history.

Because this is our moment, history isn't going to wait for us.

It's not going to offer us a second chance.

This is our chance. This is our moment.

We must grab it together. We must make this the moment we took back our country.

And that's why I'm running to be the next Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

Because if we don't stand up for change now, we might not get another chance.

This moment cannot slip from our fingers.

But you know Patrick Manning, would make a very bad history teacher...

Because every time he talks all he ever tries to do is rewrite history...

He says he finally set the date for the election so the country could return to normalcy...

Normalcy?

Can he even see out the tinted windows of his car? Can he see out of his palace window or down from the empty UDECOTT skyscrapers?

Has he taken a look at the Trinidad and Tobago he and cronies have created?

Patrick Manning just doesn't get it.

Most of his friends might have off-shore accounts but the rest of us still have to work for a living. We have to struggle to take care of our families.

Patrick Manning doesn't understand that.

He offers nothing new but tells voters to be fearful fear that I will take away the social programmes which the very UNC started.

But the people know that I am not the one who has demonstrated that he really doesn't care about the needs of the people.

I lead a people's party, Manning has created a party that today is elitist, one that lives up to a champagne jet setting lifestyle while people cry out for basic needs such as water.

As Prime Minister, I pledge to you that not only will Gate remain, I'll make Gate even better. I will open the Gate even wider.

Gate will be expanded to include vocational studies because everybody needs an education that develops their skills.

I'll make our education policy part of our economic strategy for job creation and economic diversification.

Because despite Manning's boasts of achievements in education, 60% of our labor force remains unskilled.

Imagine that -- more than half the workers in our country, 60% of them in fact, remain unskilled.

I'll support education expansion and upgrade the skills of our workers.

And I will not scrap CEPEP but improve upon it as well. Right now it is constituted as a programme that offers mere crumbs of dependency that Manning makes people feel they should be so lucky to get in exchange for party support.

But CEPEP workers deserve better and will find themselves in an expanded programme of genuine benefit and a rewarding future.

But Patrick Manning does not think any of this needs changing, he believes everything is fine just as it is.

We know better.

What Patrick Manning seems to have forgotten is that we're having new elections because he was about to lose a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

This election was forced upon him by the people because the people want change.

I guess if I were Patrick Manning I'd try to rewrite history as well.

Because the history books aren't going to remember his government very kindly.

And that's why he talks more about me at his campaign events than he does about himself.

But then that's what a candidate does when he doesn't have anything positive to talk about. When he doesn't have any accomplishments to share.

He tries to tear down the other person because he doesn't have anything good to say about himself.

But this time it isn't going to work.

This time it's going to be different.

So take my hand and join me on the path to history, on the path to our future, to our home in the rising sun.

I stand before you today with a strong united force for change at my side.

The UNC and COP and NJAC and MSJ and TOP together, united, committed to one future for Trinidad.

A singular, unstoppable, unwavering force for change.

A united force for change committed to a new day and a new way forward.

Now it's interesting...Patrick Manning seems quite obsessed with our coming together.

He talks about it everywhere he goes.

He talks about it more than he does himself...

And I know why.



Because he knows, what we know – this time it's different.

This time an entire nation is behind the call for change.

His corrupt, inept and uncaring administration has united

Everyone.

We are a singular, unstoppable, unwavering force for change

With new people and new supporters joining everyday.

Because Patrick Manning's more of the same is just not acceptable.

Patrick Manning thinks they are doing well in the fight against crime and that we need more of the same.

I say we need change.

Transnational criminal activity is a threat to our national security.

Drug and gun trafficking threaten our peace and security.

We must streamline law enforcement activities against these criminal organizations and ensure that all agencies are working together.

And we must ensure that our law enforcement has the necessary technology, training and tools to ensure national safety. But as you all know it wasn't for a lack of money that every crime plan of Manning's best performing Minister Martin Joseph failed. It was because Manning lacked the political will. He met with gang leaders and is now the subject of a police probe into an alleged land deal with Abu Bakr who campaigned openly in the last election for Manning's PNM.

But all that will be dealt with.

We are entitled to safety, security and peace of mind in our own country.

That's the change I think we need.

Patrick Manning thinks corruption is just fine.

That no bid deals for his friends...that selling off state projects to foreign interests that use foreign labor...that off shore accounts with hijacked public funds...

Patrick Manning thinks that's all perfectly fine.

He thinks that's how government should operate.

I say we need change. I say it's time to restore trust and faith in government.

And that means a focus on government transparency. That means a government that operates in the sunshine, not in the shadows.

And so I'll work to make sure we have fixed dates for national and local elections.

I'll make sure there's a two-term limit for any Prime Minister.

And I'll create a Ministry of the People to give all people a direct voice in the operation of their government.

That's the change I think we need.

And when Patrick Manning talks about attracting investment into our country...

Let me share something with him...

The corruption in his own government is one of the biggest hurdles to Trinidad attracting international investment.

And what potential investors are waiting for is a sign that we're serious about tackling corruption, that we're serious about holding those accountable who are responsible for that corruption.

And the first step in showing that is a new government.

That's the change I think we need.

Patrick Manning thinks our schools are just fine.

I say we need change.

If Trinidad is to compete in the world economy, if our children are to have a place in that economy, we must provide them a world-class education.

And a world-class education means a good preschool, a sound primary education and a secondary education that ensures that every young person has the opportunity to reach their dreams and fulfill their destiny.

If we do not, the world will pass them by.

Patrick Manning says give our children more of the same.

I say we must attract, train and reward good teachers appropriately.

I say we must invest in our schools making them the backbone of our national development.

And as part of that investment, I will make sure that each of the 20,000 students who wrote this year's Secondary Entrance Assessment exam receives a computer.

That will cost less than the flag Manning's Minister of Sport hung at the Stadium.

That's the change I think we need.

#### **LIE #1: \$300 MILLION FOR LAVENTILLE**

My friends, over the next few days and weeks, you will hear my opponents saying all kinds of things, and making all kinds of promises. They have started to already and will continue.

The Prime Minister rushed to Laventille and promised them \$300 million. You hear lie? That is lie.

What he did not do in eight years of government, when he had all the money in the world to spend he, you think he going to do that when he have no money?

Oh gosh Patrick, do you really think the people of Laevntille so stupid?

They know you lie.

#### **LIE #2: HOSPITALS LIE**

On the eve of this election the Prime Minister promised 4 hospitals! FOUR! You hear lie? That is lie.

Mr Manning thinks that we do not realize that he has been promising hospitals for the last eight years and up to now nobody knows what he did with the money he budgeted for those hospitals.

Money was put aside for hospitals that never got built – Patrick where the money gone?

Did somebody say this man have no heart?

That eh true – is his Hart that is the heart of his problem!

So do you think that when he made those promises for the umpteen time that he really intends to build hospitals for ANYBODY?

This government has been building the same hospital for the last seven years, and they have no idea when it is going to finish.

The Scarborough hospital is costing taxpayers hundreds of millions more than it was supposed to, and to date not a single person has been called to account. Hundreds of millions lost and the Government continues with business as usual –

You know what that is?

State supported corruption!

So when he comes and talks about hospitals- you hear lie, that is lie. Well in case you missed it here is more:

### **Lie #3: CEPEP**

My opponent has been parading all over the country singing his mantra that the UNC will close down the CEPEP and HYPE and that thousands will lose their jobs.

You hear lie? THAT is lie.

I have said it in Parliament, I have said it outside Parliament - our UNC Alliance is a peoples party, when we say we care, we don't mean we care for Hart and others.

That is the PNM!

The UNC's policy position is clear – we are about the creation of stable and productive jobs.

Under this government, CEPEP workers have no security of tenure, they can be removed without notice, they could be fired if they watch the boss the wrong way, or for refusing to attend a PNM rally when summoned. If you are pregnant, you cannot work in CEPEP!

Under this government CEPEP workers cannot get a loan because they cannot get a job letter the bank will accept, because they have no security of tenure, no contract, no gratuity, no pensions and low salaries.

Under this government, workers cannot move up to other jobs or get their own CEPEP contracts.

Under this government, CEPEP workers have no access to basic amenities at work – that is inhumane and shameless of a government.

That is this government's CEPEP – where workers have no future and no hope.

My government will restore pride to the workers of CEPEP.

We will ensure that all workers are guaranteed the basic rights enshrined in the ILO conventions to which this country is a signatory.

CEPEP workers will be given the opportunity to be trained to take up their own employment, to get their own CEPEP contracts.

We will ensure a decent days pay for a decent days work. THAT is my promise to you!

I repeat we will not close down CEPEP, HYPE, MiPART or any similar programmes.

Instead we will bring these under a common umbrella, a single body responsible for progressive employment, designed to reach every part of this country that is in need and, provide them with productive employment.

That is our vision for CEPEP and similar programmes.

So the next time you hear my opponent saying that the UNC is going to close down CEPEP you know what you have to tell him – tell him he LIE!

But wait, I am not finished with him yet.

#### **LIE #4: LOSS OF JOBS**

My opponent has been going around the country trying to scare the population into thinking that the a UNC alliance Government will take away their jobs.

He has been talking about the conditionalities introduced by the NAR and saying the UNC alliance will tap into people's salaries.

You hear lie? THAT is lie.

Who is it that brought the TTRA, and by completely ignoring the discussions with the labour representatives?

Do you remember the protests by public servants in the Inland revenue and customs a few weeks ago? That was the government of my opponent!

And the TTRA was going to put 2,000 workers, public servants with years of experience on the breadline. It is Mr. Manning's govt.

Who closed down Caroni and sent home 9,000 workers - Manning and his govt!

Who closed down BWIA and sent home 2500 workers – Manning and his govt!

Who sabotaged the building industry and shafted local tradesmen by bringing in foreign labor - Manning and his govt!

And the list goes on and on my friends. This government let by Mr. Manning has been the most anti worker government in HISTORY!

So when Mr. Manning comes to tell you the UNC alliance will fire workers - you hear lie, that is lie

And mind you, these are the lies by this man, in just the last two days!

#### **PNM CAMPAIGN #1 : NO PERFORMANCE**

Imagine after eight years in Government, having spent more than 300 billion dollars the Prime Minister calls an election and do you know what his campaign is based on? What has he been talking about?

Opposition unity!

Now he has gone past the lie into an area he knows NOTHING about!

Mr Manning is not talking about what he has done!

And you know why!

Murders have increased by 500% under Mr manning.

Food prices by several hundred percent.

Did you know that there are quarter of a million people living in poverty in this country according to the PNM's statistics? 250,000 people living in poverty?

So what foolishness is this about unemployment being 5%?

Mr. Manning by that warped logic is therefore admitting what we have been saying all along, that people are working and still living in poverty - the working poor, the underemployed.

Manning cannot speak about performance because his performance sucks!

He has been in charge of, he has been the HEAD of the most corrupt government in the history of Trinidad and Tobago.

Manning spent over 10.3 million dollars EVERY DAY for the last eight years and what do we have to show for it?

A set of buildings built, standing like ghosts in Port of Spain, unoccupied, over priced, overdue, nobody knows how structurally sound they are – and in at least one case we have to pay millions more to repair buildings we have not even started to use yet!

It is corruption, corruption and more corruption!

Mr. Manning says he is incorruptible - that is what HE says. Do YOU believe him?

Do you believe that he was unaware of the allegations made against Calder Hart and UDeCOTT as revealed by the Uff Commission?

Do you believe he did not know of these allegations of misconduct in office when he was openly supporting Calder Hart?

I am of the view that he fully well knew because even while the UFF commission was revealing these startling revelations, the PM was saying how great UDeCOTT and Calder Hart was!

That is MY view.

I might be wrong – and I challenge the PM and his battery of lawyers to tell the Nation whether the PM was aware of the allegations being made against Mr Hart during the Inquiry.

But more on that as the campaign continues.

PNM Campaign #2 : No PNM policies

I was saying that the PM's election campaign is based on Opposition unity something he knows nothing about.

Not only is he not talking about what he has done, he is not talking about what he is GOING to do.

Now why do you think that is so?

Obviously because they have no plans, no policies , no strategy, no VISION!

He points to vision 2020 - show me where in vision 2020 it said that they will spend billions to build a residence for the PM.

Show me where it says they will spend 500 million to build a private jet facility in Piarco which remains unused up to today! Show me!

Show me where in Vision 2020 it said that Manning was going to build all kinds of big buildings but no hospitals.

Show me where it says the government will buy hundreds of luxury vehicles and park them up, but leave public transport in a mess!

Show me where it says the government will spend a billion dollars to host two weekend parties in Port of Spain to give HYATT a lil' sale, but will not be able to give money to a child who is dying and in need of surgery.

Show me where VISION 2020 says that people will be forced to relocate, communities torn apart, places of worship marked for destruction as a result of Rapid Rail, despite the concerns of the people affected.

This government does not know the meaning of the word consultation!

VISION 2020 is proof that the government knows what the country needs.

But Mr. Manning and his band do not care about that!

They have no policies, my friends.

That is why they are asking to see ours.

In this campaign, what you see is what you get.

A vote for Mr. Manning is a vote to continue the corruption and mismanagement that we have seen over the last eight years.

He changed MPs in 2007, a new bag of faces, but the same crookedness continues.

If you put him back what will you get? More of the same!

More of you will cry as your sons and daughters, your loved ones are murdered, raped and robbed with no hope of ever getting justice.

More of you will lose your relatives in hospitals which remain under resourced and short staffed, because this government does not care.

### **SCHOLARSHIPS**

Just a quick example – for the last eight years there has been a shortage of medical staff in Trinidad and Tobago - the Ministry of Culture secretly gave \$\$ million in scholarships - how many were for nursing and medicine? None! Say it is not so!

Instead some high profile friends and family benefitted including a PNM Senator who is now a candidate! \$\$ million dollars spent and up to now the Minister cannot account for the money!

Many of the persons on the list of names (provided by the GOVT to the Nation) as beneficiaries claimed that they never received any money from this government! But we know who get - Lezama right?

Manning says that the UNC has no policies. Well I'll tell you what –

You hear lie, that is lie.

The UNC alliance Manifesto will be out soon, identifying some of our policies and plans for the future. In the Parliament we have been laying out our policies but they have not been listening.

### **THE ELDERLY**

Let me remind you of my opponent's policy.

They removed the old age pension which was a RIGHT of a qualifying citizen and replaced it with a grant which is based on the whim and fancy of the Government.

Many pensioners actually suffered a loss on income as my opponents played games with the NIS pensions and the grant ceilings.

That is their policy – remove your right and replace it with a grant which the government can remove when they want.

I am advised that my opponents are now rushing to increase the grant to the elderly to between \$2,450 and \$2,550.

I have been told by angry public servants that the Government has instructed that the increased grant be embargoed for issue until 18th May 2010, in the desperate hope that the elderly will be fooled into voting for them.

They think the elderly in this country, whom they have forgotten for the last eight years, whom they have disenfranchised, can be bribed by a paltry few dollars.

My friends in January 2008, the Governor of the Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago alarmed the nation when he described the state of the elderly in this country. Express of Wednesday 23rd January 2008 reported

“Based on the survey, Williams said that one in three persons over the age of 60 continues to work because they need additional income and some 54 per cent of retirees do not have occupational or personal pensions.

Many of them said the reason for this was primarily a lack of money. "A substantial percentage of respondents (69 per cent) are relying on government pensions (NIS/Old Age) for their retirement income," the Governor said.

He added that 70 per cent of the people surveyed were under stress to manage their finances and a significant per cent of people also had problems making ends meet.

Another alarming result, he said, was that 56 per cent of people in the 1,000 households surveyed did not have any protection against personal or property loss. “

That was in 2008.

Skyrocketing inflation caused by this incompetent government would have resulted in more and more of the elderly being pushed into poverty, barely managing to keep mind and body together.

Now they want to come with a last minute piece of mamaguy! SHAME!

When you hear Manning say he cares tell him : HE LIE!

The UNC alliance policy on this has been articulated before in the Parliament. I said then and I repeat, your UNC Alliance Government will:

- Return to the elderly their right to a pension.
- Increase the old age pension to 3,000 and index it to the rate of inflation so that when prices rise, pensioners are not put at a disadvantage. This I commit to do within the first 90 days of being elected.
- Change the legislation to allow the self employed to register with NIS and contribute to the plan which will allow an enhanced pension upon retirement.
- Establish additional offices which will allow better and efficient service to the increased clientele including the following areas: Couva, St Helena, Morvant, Debe.

To encourage savings Interest from bank, up to the tune of \$5000.00 per annum will not be considered as income in the calculation of income.

## **PUBLIC ASSISTANCE**

But the elderly is not the only group in need of assistance.

Your UNC Alliance Government will increase the levels of disability grants and the level of public assistance provided to those in need.

The predictable government response is where the money is going to come from?

Friends, it is my view that the need to provide for those who cannot provide for themselves, the need to provide for those who have served the nation in their youth and now are in the winter of their years, is not a gift – that is where the UNC Alliance and Mr Manning differs.

The need to provide for the elderly and the poor is an obligation of the government of this country.

My friends, there is much more my friends, and as the campaign progresses more of our plans to save this country will be provided unveiled you.

As to where the money will come from?

That is easy.

Remove the corruption in the award of government contracts, retrieve the billions from those who this government entrusted with the keys to the treasury and who have without a heart, snatched our children's future, and who were paid a salary to do so by this government.

Let it be known that it is not going to be business as usual.

We will tackle corruption head on and let the heads fall where they may....

Mark the date my friends!

This is a new day and this is one person, if selected as your Prime Minister, will not rest until those who have pilfered from our taxpayers are brought to justice, whether they are foreign contractors or senior government officials.

If you have done the crime – be prepared to do the time.

RAPID RAIL and other projects

One project that will definitely engage the attention of investigators is the rapid rail.

In 2007, I provided information to the Parliament in regard to several examples of unethical conduct by the Government's preferred bidder.

I called for an investigation of all contracts issued by the Government via UDeCOTT, NIDCO, NIPDEC and the Ministry of Works and Transport.

The old people used to say where there is smoke there is fire.

We have already seen the level of corruption at UDeCOTT, and we seeing REAL smoke in the rapid rail project!

Today it is being revealed AFTER the government has committed hundreds of millions of dollars that huge areas of existing communities will have to be uprooted and moved, and nobody is telling these people anything.

Just like with the smelter – Manning says he wants it and even if it kills people, even if it destroys the environment, even if it destroys communities, what Manning wants Manning gets.

Well I can promise you this much – what Manning deserves is what Manning is going to get!

So keep your battery of lawyers handy Mr. Manning!



## **CHALLENGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER**

I call on the Prime Minister tonight to institute an Immediate Moratorium On Mega Projects pending full Cost/Benefit and Environmental Reviews.

This must include a halt on work on the La Brea smelter plant, the Claxton Bay Steel Mill Port and the Rapid Rail Project.

I call on the Prime Minister to refrain from signing the \$100 million water deal with an Israeli company.

I call on the Prime Minister to refrain from proceeding with purchase of air Jamaica.

To proceed with these multi billion dollar spending of tax dollars and the incurring of debts without the consent of the people runs counter to the spirit of democracy.

I challenge him to let the campaign platform be the parliament until a new government is elected. Let the people decide.

If there is nothing to hide, the Prime Minister should easily agree to this proposal, and we have already seen the kind of problems which emerge when the PNM signs contracts on the eve of elections. Remember Severn Trent?

But I do not expect him to agree.

I want you to ask yourself why the Prime Minister is in such a haste to sign billions of dollars worth of contracts at this time. Ask yourself why!

Ask yourself why Mr Manning is not using the election to seek the approval of the country for these mega projects .

Ask yourself why Mr Manning is not using the election to seek the approval of the country for his draft constitution. Let the people decide.

Instead the Prime Minister comes to you with all kinds of frivolous and vexatious irrelevant ramblings which have no basis in truth.

## **UNITY**

My friends, recently the Prime Minister, having no policy, spent the better part of an hour trying to convince the population that coalition government s do not work and that the UNC unity will collapse.

He is trying to put fear into the hearts of voters - but he is doing so without knowing what he is talking about.

To start with, this election is going to be contested by, not a coalition, but a partnership. That is the first mistake has made about the unity we now have.

Manning has no idea what was discussed so he jumped on Winston Dookeran calling him a weak leader, and trying to incite COP supporters to rebel against the partnership.

Well, I do not have to defend Mr Dookeran, he is very capable of doing so himself.

Suffice it to say that if there ever was a weak leader in this country, his name is Patrick Mervyn Augustus Manning.

You see despite all the grand charge, it is a FACT that Manning's government has collapsed.

It is now public knowledge that Manning was facing a revolt within his own party and that several of his handpicked MPs were mobilizing against him!

They recognized his inability.

They recognized the delusions of grandeur which resulted in him committing hundreds of millions to build monuments to himself as he tried to copy the achievements of the late PNM founder Dr. Eric Williams. Williams had a doctorate, so Manning run one down.

Williams built a national stadium, so the insecure Manning decided to build a bigger one.

Williams build the Point Lisas industrial estate and so Manning was desperately trying to build the monster La Brea industrial estate.

Williams built the twin towers in Port of Spain and so Manning wanted the waterfront development.

Williams wore dark glasses, and now every time you see the Prime minister he is posing behind dark glasses as well.

Williams was called father of the Nation by the people and we all know that Manning called himself father of the nation.

You know just now Manning will start sporting a hearing aid just so that he could outdo Dr Eric Williams! And it will have to be the size of a football to match Manning's ego!

## **UNITY**

Patrick Manning is attacking us for building a force for unity.

Manning may not want unity but the people want unity.

The Unity Movement that we are building, this partnership for unity that we are forging, is a response to the call of the people.

And while we are building unity it is Manning who is presiding over the disintegration of his own party.

Just as he has presided over his own isolation as a leader and the alienation of every decent citizen in this country.

Manning's policy has always been a policy of exclusion.

That is the old politics.

To emerge as leader I had to deal with that in my own party and now with the help of the people we will deal with Manning and the old politics of exclusion in our country.

I try to listen to people . What the people are saying is important.

And the people are saying that they want unity.

A leader who lives by isolation and who believes in exclusion cannot build unity of our people across the country.

That is where manning is a total failure.

I will succeed and you will succeed because we believe in unity, because we embrace unity and the Movement we are building together is the beginning of the greater unity of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

Let this Movement that we are building together now foreshadow the greater unity of our people that will soon come.

We are not just building a united movement, we are not just building a force for change, we are building a united community, we are building a unified society so that together we can define our common purpose as a nation.

We will be 50 years old in 2012 as a nation, we must be united when we celebrate that glorious occasion.

That is why Manning cannot get anything done in this country without corruption and without foreign labour.

We want our people to be at the centre of everything that we do and build in this country.

We want to rally our people to every worthwhile cause and we want them, united and together, to be part of the implementation process, to be part of our collective achievement, to share in our national success.

My sister, my brothers, my people of Trinidad and Tobago, Let us for once this time, put an end to tribalism,

Let us strengthen national pride and build a nation together.

Manning is afraid of unity, we know that, but we will embrace unity, we will embrace each other because, we love Trinidad and Tobago and we want a united country

### **MANNING'S QUESTIONS**

I am told that the PNM Political Leader is asking questions. He wants to know who the Minister of Finance will be, who the AG will be, who will hold what positions.

If that is not a confession of an expectation to LOSE the election I do not know what is.

Manning is so sure that he is going to lose the election that he is now asking who will hold Ministerial positions in the next Government.

Well, just like Manning, I too am sure he is going to lose this election.

Tonight I think will humor the gentleman.

The voice of the people is the voice of God.

And so, I ask this massive crowd gathered here tonight : should I tell Manning, who will be one of the Ministers of your United National Congress Alliance government?

Friends, fellow citizens, I ask you - who do you think should be elected Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago in this election? Who do you want to see as your Prime Minister!

All in favor say "aye", all against say No!

Do you want Manning as PM?

Do you want Kamla as your Prime Minister?

The "ayes" have it.

### **CONCLUSION**

Fellow citizens, a vote for Mr. Manning is a vote for:

more crime, more poverty, poor health care, inadequate housing, poor infrastructure, ignorance of the elderly, and the disabled, scores of broken promises, and corruption on an unimaginable scale.

You deserve better. Your children deserve better. That is what this election is about.

Together we can rise from the depths the PNM has thrown the nation in.

But we, you and I, must do it together.

You asked me for unity, and we have managed to achieve that.

We have established a powerful team, capable, competent and ready to lead this country forward, to build a future for our children and our nation.

The govt's campaign of lies, lies and more lies, is designed to distract you from the stark realities which confront you daily.

They will use scare tactics, threats, dirty tricks, innuendo and maybe even threats of violence.

Do not be distracted.

The architects of our nation envisioned a united people when they created our nation's motto

"Together we aspire, together we achieve."

And so tonight as I close, I ask you to take my hand, and walk with me.

Together we will make the change so desperately needed in our land.

Tonight as you go back to your homes, as you look at your families, and your loved ones, know this one thing: You have in your finger, the power to judge the performance of the Prime Minister and his government.

It is in your hands to make things better or worse.

These are your choices: the UNCA or PNM. The decisions you make will determine the future of this great Nation.

And so I ask you tonight, tell me, which do you want!

Do you want Mr Manning?

Do you want the UNC Alliance?

So today, I ask you to take my hand and join me on this path to change

And together we'll make the future we want.

Together we'll build a country we can pass on to our children.

A country where they will prosper and be safe.

Together --- we'll make things right.

We've got less than five weeks to build that future and I'm asking each of you to join me.

I'm going to need each of you.

Trinidad is going to need each of you.

We are at a critical juncture of our nation. Enlist the support of everyone you know in this movement. So much rests upon the shoulders of each of us.

It is time to get your country back from Patrick Manning's grasp and put it back on track.

Together, we will win because we must. Nothing can stop this united force. The time has come for a new day, a new way forward!

May God bless us all.

## **5. Cumuto Recreational Grounds, Barrackpore, Naparima – 23 April 2010**

My brothers and sisters, tonight I have come to report to you on a situation that perhaps underlines more than anything else what this general election is all about.

the incident about which i will provide the details is now being reported on major news channels around the world even as i speak here tonight.

it is the kind of incident you expect to read about emerging from Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe but which occurred right here in Trinidad and Tobago. At approximately 9:30 p.m.

last night, a gentleman called Bernie Campbell, a seasoned political strategist with over two decades of experience, a man who has served several leading political figures in the united states and who was contracted by a firm called a.k.p.d. of the Obama campaign fame, that very same gentleman, did what he has been doing so many times in so many places, he disembarked his flight and proceeded into the immigration to take up his assignment as one of the key members in our election strategy team.

what Mr. Campbell nor any member of his team nor indeed anyone us expected, was that he would be told that acting upon the advise of the minister of national security, he, Bernard Campbell, a citizen of the united states, here to conduct his legitimate business as a political consultant which he is allowed to so do under our laws, would not be allowed entry into Trinidad and Tobago. When Mr Campbell pressed the question as to why this action was being taken, he was told that he would have to take that matter up with the minister of national security. His U.S. passport was seized.

He was later asked to sign a document attesting to his prevention from entering Trinidad and Tobago to which he refused not wishing to implicate himself in a matter which he clearly could not understand. Mr Campbell was then left standing in an empty Airport terminal hall for well over one hour with no one attending to him or seeking to advise him of the situation.

He was eventually approached by an immigration officer who told him that he would be escorted to a nearby hotel where he would spend the night and then escorted in the morning to an American airlines flight leaving in the morning.

Mr. Campbell was then taken by security into a car for the hotel. Thinking perhaps the worst was over, Mr. Campbell became alarmed when an unmarked vehicle intercepted the security car in which he was travelling and two men began questioning the driver of the security vehicle.

The driver reported to Mr. Campbell that he did not know the identity of the two men and strongly advised him to go back to be the airport where he, the security guard believed Mr Campbell would be safer. At this point Mr. Campbell reported that he was traumatised by the incident and truly fearful for his safety.

The security guard took him back to the airport where he stayed until his departure accompanied again by security to board the American airlines flight 1818 at 7:00 a.m. this morning. Also on board that flight were other members of our U.S. strategic team some of whom had served on the Obama campaign. They will not be returning fearful for their safety and of the harassment.

I wish to explain to you that under regulation 10 of the immigration regulations, made under the immigration act, chapter 18:01 of the laws of Trinidad and Tobago, a foreign national can work for a period not exceeding one month in a twelve month period.

Upon re-entering Trinidad and Tobago to assume his duties Mr Campbell would therefore have been eligible to do so under this section of the law. So what was the purpose of declaring Mr Campbell undesirable? Well a statement from the ministry of national security today denied Mr Campbell was deported. It stated he was simply denied entry by the immigration.

But here is the irony.

The very statement quotes the section under which the minister of national security is vested with the authority to refuse entry to...and i quote, any person who from information or advice which in the opinion of the minister is reliable information or advice is likely to be an undesirable inhabitant or, visitor to Trinidad and Tobago.” It is therefore clear that the decision to rely upon this section can only be done by the minister, as it is he who has the authority to rely upon it.

Do you see what i mean when i say that this is what this election comes down to? Do you see the extent to which the Manning administration would seek to go? But this bullying act against an innocent citizen of the United States of America will not go unanswered.

And while Patrick Manning might have achieved his objective of removing our team of strategists he has also achieved something far greater, he has shown his true colour to the international community and for all his pomp and ceremony at the summit here where he paraded himself, the mask falls and he is once again seen for the man he truly is, one who will stop at nothing to perpetuate his desire for power. We have reported the matter to the United States embassy but who of course can do nothing if the minister of national security decides to flex his muscles.

But this is recognised by all as an abuse of power an act of vicious political victimisation and a blatant, unwarranted harassment of a U.S. citizen whose firm conducts similar political work around the world without ever having undergone such an experience.

and so this unfortunate story is not just about Bernard Campbell’s experience, it is about how far our nation has sunk that such a level of authoritarianism can be easily applied.

this is the state of our nation today and this is the sign of more to come from an administration that is hell bent on clinging to power at all costs. Whether they negotiate alleged land deals with Abu Bakr, welcome the Jamaat al Muslimeen support, meet with gang leaders or abuse the power of the state to advance their wicked political agenda. Is this the kind of country we will accept? Does Trinidad and Tobago belong to the Patrick Mannings and Calder Harts of the world here?

and speaking of Calder Hart. By contrast to the treatment meted out to Bernard Campbell, Calder Hart who’s is the subject of a criminal probe was given a VIP entrance at the airport upon his last arrival. A v.i.p. arrival!

the very Calder Hart who is under investigation for bid rigging and against whom incontrovertible evidence is in the public domain showing his family relationship to one of the directors of Sunway, the firm which received the nod of approval for hundreds of millions of dollars in building projects.

that very same Calder Hart.

Yes, the one Manning carried on a private conversation with just before he resigned and quietly left.

So, tonight, on behalf of the incoming government of the united national congress, I wish to informally apologise to Bernard, his family, the members of the a.k.p.d. team, and indeed to the people of the united states with whom we have always enjoyed a close and cordial relationship. And may i add that on May 25<sup>th</sup> as prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago will formalise this apology and make it an official one to the united states and all those concerned. We have many wrongs to right when we assume office but this will be among the first I will seek to address.

Our campaign team now is more inspired than ever and filled with an even greater resolve to secure the people’s victory. The people will ultimately judge Patrick Manning and hold him accountable for such actions. Even the strongest pnm supporter will know that the bullying of Bernard Campbell was pushing it too far.

that’s why in our campaign we say there are three words which will change the nation...

We...will...rise.... three words to change a nation...we will rise.

But we cannot allow Manning to dictate our message and to distract us from the real policy issue which will afford you a better life. We have sought to keep this campaign at a very high level this far and tonight we will lift the bar even higher because I will focus on some policy issues...

And one of the crucial matters that must occupy our attention is accountability – a fundamental pillar of our democracy that has been so badly undermined by the PNM.

State supported corruption and corruption supported by Manning as Prime Minister is so commonplace that revelations are now greeted with a shrug of the shoulder. It is what we have come to expect from Patrick Manning. But accountability is the cornerstone of a decent, law abiding society and one of the fundamental principles of good governance.

And it is in this context that I stand before you to say that a government by the people is always for the people and this speaks to a simple obligation: serve the people. Keep sacred the promise of a safe tomorrow for our children; keep sacred the promise to our elders that they can go to sleep without fear; Keep sacred the promise that basic human needs for food, shelter, medical care and security will always be a priority; Keep sacred the promise that this country will always allow its people the right to have the hope and ambition that the next generation will have a brighter tomorrow than the generation of today.

But when we have a government that has not lived up to the promises to our people, when we have a regime that has squandered the country's bounty, that disregards the will of the people, that believes that there are rules for you and me but not for them, that wants to pit neighbour against neighbour, race against race, that has lifted up an Emperor who keeps his boot on the people's neck, it is time for us to rise up, shake off the boot on our neck and say with one voice as we go to the polls with three words of affirmation...We will rise. We will rise.

If you believe that we are at the crossroads when we can either continue the downward slide into social and economic chaos or steer our country in a different direction, let's embrace that belief...We will rise.

There is hardly an area in which we can look and not find the abject failure of Patrick Manning's administration staring back at us.

The Manning administration talks about its social programmes but how many sustainable jobs have we created, what technology has been transferred, how have exports grown and how much foreign exchange has been earned because of high government expenditure.

Their entire development strategy is wrong, bull headed and limited in vision and you can see the folly of it in the results.

What has the Manning government achieved through their economic development strategy?

1. Has the economy been diversified in any meaningful way?
2. Where are the new industries and sectors outside of energy, manufacturing and traditional services. And what has this meant for the food security of our nation or higher paying jobs for the educated graduates?
3. Why has the inflation in food prices been allowed to wreak havoc with the inflation rate of Trinidad and Tobago?

The FAO has determined that there are 4 important dimensions of FOOD SECURITY: availability, accessibility utilization and stability.

Availability equals food security at the national level, that is to say food production and food production capacity.

What is our situation in T and T?

Agricultural production is in decline. We are a food insecure nation and every time the price of oil goes up we produce less, consume more and spend more on food imports. The facts and figures are available for anyone who wants to look for it.

Access depends on two things--- the price of food and the purchasing power of a citizen or family.

Purchasing power depends on wages and income and 60 % of the labour force of this country despite Manning's boast of achievement in unskilled and the wages of unskilled workers in this country has been falling.

Food accessibility for unskilled workers is declining because they are earning less and paying more for food. And even for those who are better skilled and earning more access to food is compromised because their real income is falling.

That is what rising food prices do. It erodes the purchasing power of income. You have to buy less in the grocery.

Food security also has to do with nutrition and when you have less purchasing power and therefore less choice then your right to a healthy life style is compromised.

Food security is also compromised by the fact that so much of our food is imported and that makes us vulnerable to ups and downs in production and in prices in the international market. When you go to a supermarket, how much of our food is locally produced?

So we have decrease in production, increase in costs, decline in purchasing power, high import bill, increase in demand and yet we will do nothing about it.

In 2006 the inter-American Institute for cooperation in Agriculture highlighted the major constraints to agricultural production and growth in Trinidad and Tobago.

You know them well.—inadequate infrastructure, poor access roads, inadequate water, high costs of inputs,, inadequate market facilities, inefficient market organization, pradiial larceny, weak linkages between primary agriculture and agro processing, pest and diseases, poor soil management practices and weak farmers lobby.

Manning has crippled agriculture and undermined food security in Trinidad and Tobago. The IICA report says that appropriate policy and financial support can solve the problem of food security. We have the policy and we will finance sustainable solution working with the farmers of this country.

Manning's solution is to create mega farms and import agricultural workers from foreign countries while our farmers are punished and our people live with high prices and food insecurity everyday.

We have a solution to each of the problems identified in agriculture which we are going to include in our manifesto.

My government will work with the farmers and farming community to fix the problems that have been identified in an integrated and holistic way working together with the community.

Brothers and Sisters, it would be remiss of me if I come to you in Barrackpore and I fail to speak about agriculture and food security.

Our party with its historical roots in the rural belt from Penal to Moruga from Caroni to Ste Madeleine has always stood firm in defense of the farmers and their interests.

Manning and the PNM have systematically butchered the agricultural sector. The most vivid demonstration of this is the vandalism of Caroni (2975) Limited. The capital and equipment of this once proud flagship of the food industry is now reduced to derelict buildings overrun with bush and infested with rodents.

They close down a company that was cutting cane – to open a company to cut grass!!



Under the PNM agriculture contributes a fraction of 1% of the national gross domestic product (GDP).

Their idea of food security is for Joseph Ross to show off two cucumber and a “damadol” in Parliament. Well fear not – Fuad Khan will apply WD40 to the Ross in San Juan/Barataria!!

Remember, they promised is family farms, then state farms, at the end of the day we got “super-pharm”.

They introduce YAPA (Youth Apprenticeship Program for Agriculture) to promote farming skills for the youth in agriculture – they politicize this program so that today there is a labour shortage in this most critical sector.

Given our roots in rural Trinidad, it is easy for us to feel your plight.

You suffer from droughts and then your crops are destroyed in the floods.

The cost of agricultural inputs – chemicals, fertilizers, etc, is astronomical.

You work hard from sunrise to sunset – then thieves go away with your valuable produce. Under Manning the police can hardly assist to save a life far less save a bundle of bags.

You are without basic drainage and infrastructure. We live with you, we know your problems.

Many persons are asking me for policy – so tonight I give you policy!!!!

They want POLICY – TAKE POLICY!!!

We believe that the Nation Must Feed Itself, Food Security is a Basis for Develop Country Status – not wasteful ole talk and pretty documents!!

We will return Agriculture to the center of development as a modern, technology driven, profitable, secure and attractive sector for employment and business.

Trinidad and Tobago is blessed with arable lands, enterprising farmers, a tropical climate and moderate rainfall to accommodate a vibrant agricultural industry. The UNC will reverse the policy of using prime agricultural lands for housing and shopping malls. We will cease the misuse and abuse of agricultural lands. We will treat farmers with the respect and dignity afforded to those whose feed our nation.

The UNC government will develop a network of “Food Basket Centers” as targets for investment in agric-business within the key agricultural districts.

Barrackpore must be a prime target and given the designation of a “Food Basket”.

We will provide state support to the farming community in the area of research, extension services and exports marketing.

We will defend our food farmers against social ills and natural disasters such as praedial larceny and flooding.

Our strategy for irrigation will be linked to our policy on flood control.

All our agric-support strategies will be innovative and will avoid offending WTO regulations.

We intend to introduce legislation to provide for crop insurance so that farmers can be assured of maximum protection in the event of natural disasters.

The UNC is aware that the No. 1 Enemy of the Farmer is praedial larceny. We will strengthen the rural police service to upgrade units with manpower and equipment that will deal specifically with praedial larceny in every farming district.

We will establish export centers in selected areas to work with farmers to secure niche export markets in North America and Europe

We will link state temporary work programs with rural development needs to provide an aggressive program of repairs and rehabilitation of drains, waterways, canals, and rivers to support the farming community. So we may expand CEPEP and URP to provide labour and infrastructure support to the farming community. By one innovative UNC policy CEPEP will move from painting stones to clearing watercourses to support the farming community.

In one shot – our Brothers and Sisters in the CEPEP will join the productive sector and contribute to our wealth. This is how we will reform the CEPEP and URP.

We will introduce a Wage support mechanism for farmers hiring labour in specific food production activities. This will serve to attract the youth to agriculture.

The UNC recognizes that access roads are the bloodlines of the agriculture sector. We will double the current budget to provide urgent support in the cleaning and rehabilitation of agricultural access roads across Trinidad and Tobago. Imagine they now paving road after road after road to win vote. If your dog lie down in the road they pave the dog.

Millions spent on paving good roads. We will spend in proving good access roads.

In the area of land reform the UNC will lease state lands to genuine farmers in parcels large enough to allow for mechanization and economies of scale.

**NO FARMER WILL BE EVICTED FROM STATE LANDS.**

Recognizing that many of our small farmers are in occupation for decades of small pieces of lands formerly vested in Caroni Ltd. and used for exclusively for agriculture, we will provide for the acquisition of a maximum of two acres of state lands to those already in possession of such lands, they will pay 50% of the market price of those lands

In the area of food production we will re-establish Caroni (1975) Limited into a national food production company and a purchasing and processing center. This will serve to create a development corridor between the food producing community and local and international markets. Caroni will enter into downstream food production and processing activities in collaboration with the manufacturing sector. Caroni Ltd will be the hub around which satellite farms are integrated into a food production grid. Such areas as the canned food sector, aquaculture, dairy, poultry based processed foods and cocoa will be developed within the confines of a modern technology and research driven production environment driven by Caroni (1975) Limited.

Caroni will lead the initiative to provide research and technical support to the farming community. Caroni will further become the lead interface between the Faculty of Agriculture at the UWI and the community of farmers in an effort to link research in new crops, varieties and techniques directly to the farmers.

Caroni will establish a machinery pool of agricultural equipment that can be rented to farmers on a needs basis.

Caroni Ltd will work with Caribbean Airlines and other carriers to develop affordable transportation for export farmers to the metropolitan capitals. Locally we increase the number of wholesale and retail markets across Trinidad and Tobago.

The UNC will end the corruption and nepotism associated with the importation and sale of agricultural equipment and inputs. We will remove taxes and duties on all agricultural equipment and inputs and centralized the purchasing mechanisms to sell chemicals and other inputs to the farming community.

The UNC will provide increase state subsidy to farmers to purchase both used and second hand vehicles for use in food crop production and marketing.

We will introduce a program of crop insurance, to insure crops against natural disasters.

The UNC will pursue policies to secure guaranteed prices for agricultural produce supplied on a regular basis.

We will relocate the Ministry of Agriculture from Port of Spain, to be called the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Production, to an area closer to the farming community.

We will provide incentives to encourage sophisticated and more effective and efficient practices in agriculture.

We will create the framework for farmers and agro industry to work in mutual support and we will use the school feeding programme and an expanded tourism industry with strong linkages to absorb primary production.

We will create local capacity and increase production and productivity to build up exports.

We will link knowledge through the School of Agriculture at the UWI to the farming community and to the production, quality and market distribution process. We will rehabilitate the St. Joseph farm, we will think Centeno and our production capability in agriculture will be brought into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We won't do like Manning—bring foreigners, on mega projects, state funded at high costs to the taxpayer, with our farmers completely left out of the cold.

We are committed to food security for Trinidad and Tobago and even for the wider region.

We will work with other governments in the region to make food security in the Caribbean region a reality.

And we will together use knowledge to improve productivity and performance...

We will build up indigenous capacity, improve the lives of farmers, offer incentives to farmers who use technology and best practice to become more competitive, and make agriculture productive and prosperous and our country food secure...

And we will solve the basic problems identified by the FAO through effective water management, soil management, access roads, marketing and so on. The problems are not hard to solve but it requires the will.

## **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY**

Patrick Manning is busy implementing strategy for an era that no longer exists and focussed on energy only.

They lack the imagination to create a strategy that has competitiveness rather than comparative advantage as its centrepiece. They are judging development achievement by spending rather than the difference that it makes to the lives and quality of life of human beings.

That is why they continue to believe that one size fits all when it comes to the legal framework for development, incentives for development, facilitation of development, the role of government, the role of competition and the role of the consumer.

It is this lack of imagination that accounts for energy having such dominance in the economy and there being such a low level of economic diversification and there having been such a decline in agriculture.

This is not to say that Tand T must not do all it can to get the most value it can from its natural resources especially energy resources...

Energy will remain the engine of the economy for a long time. But we cannot build economic sustainability on the energy industry alone.

Our concern is that we have most of our eggs in one basket.

My government's strategy for development envisions the creation of advantages in addition to the ones with which God endowed us.

In this regard our first priority will be to identify sectors for development.

The ones that appear to us as attractive at this time are biotechnology, communications technology, information technology, high-technology manufacturing, tourism and food security.

For each of these sectors we will:

1. Implement an appropriate legal framework;
2. Develop a tailor made incentive regime;
3. Build sector-specific physical infrastructure;
4. Have a human resource development strategy which links tertiary outputs with new industry needs
5. Implement an export marketing strategy.

We must unite my sisters and brothers to make the changes we seek.

We don't have water security, we don't have food security, we don't have human security and national security...

Our energy security is being jeopardized by depleting resources, and our future security is being compromised by our over-independence on energy resources and an unfocussed diversification strategy.

We need to secure ourselves by making change...

We need to build our future by making change...

Join this united force for change...

For good governance, inclusion and human and sustainable development for all of us in Trinidad and Tobago.

And never forget the stories such as those which I began my address with tonight. Never forget the Bernard Campbells who are victims of abuse of power, nor the Calder Harts who are recipients of special privileges, never forget the victims of crime whose names are remembered only by their families and forgotten by an uncaring government, never forget the workers whose rights are being trampled upon and whose voices are ignored and whose needs are unheeded, never forget yourselves in all of this, knowing that you have the power to effect the change you wish for your country. Never forget the three words that will forever change the face of this nation...We will rise. We will rise. We will rise.

May God Bless you and May God Bless Our Nation.

## 6. Felicity, Chaguanas West – 26 April 2010

Felicity is a beautiful place. It means happiness and you should be happy because together we are going to make Change.

Many years ago, the famous anthropologist Morton Klass, did research here. And his wife wrote about the community in a novel that she wrote. She called felicity Amity village. Amity is for friend ship just as Felicity is happiness. So we come here tonight not just in friendship but with the spirit of love for the beautiful people who live here. And together we will make change for our own happiness – the happiness of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

WE WILL RISE together

Our Nobel Laureate Derek Walcott, also wrote about Ramleela in Felicity and when he spoke after receiving the Nobel prize he remembered Ram Leela and the people of Felicity in his Nobel speech. SO you are somebody in the world.

Always remember that You are somebody and your lives matter and no tin pot dictator must be allowed to take that away.

During this campaign, I have told you why we should make change and put a new government under my leadership in power.

My arguments have been based on our policy positions and because we need to change the style of leadership in our country.

We will do things differently. ..

We will do them better...

We can makes success sustainable...

We can make Tand T a better place.

### **QUALITY OF GOVERNANCE**

One of the major problems with our lovely country at this time is the quality of governance. ..

Arrogance, hubris, spite, corruption, incompetence, malfeasance and vindictiveness have set in.

The wealth of the land is shared only among the few who are favored by Patrick Manning and his cronies.

Decisions are being made that lack the most basic common sense.

Money is being wasted as though it is mere paper from a printing press.

Something is wrong with Patrick Manning.

It is as though a kind of lunacy has taken hold of him.

A man called David Owen, who used to be a Foreign Secretary in the British Government wrote a book about how power corrupts.

The title of the book is **“In Sickness and in Power.”** He draws on the work of a prize winning historian called Barbara Tuchman who won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize.

Tuchman writes that “power breeds folly” and she describes folly, listen carefully, and I quote, as “a pervasive persistence in a policy demonstrably unworkable or counter- productive.”

Can we think of anything like that in this country?

What about buildings before people?

What about Summits before hospitals beds?

What about foreign workers before citizens?

What about a private jet before food security?

Who in our country, in a position of power is guilty of such folly?

The historian speaks of “wooden headedness” which is a failure to heed information, a failure to keep the mind and the judgment open...

a failure to think rationally...

Do you recognize anyone in a position of authority in this country who is like that?

Owen writes in his book “In Sickness and Power” about the hubris syndrome.

For the Greeks who gave us the word hubris-Hubris was used to describe the behaviour of a powerful figure who was so puffed up with overweening pride and self-love that he treated others with insolence and contempt.

Do you know a powerful figure in this country who is puffed up with self-glorification and who is contemptuous of others?

Keith Rowley, Penny Beckles, the people of Trinidad and Tobago who are uniting to free themselves?

Whom do you know who is contemptuous of all of us?

To Patrick Manning, Trinidad and Tobago is a stage which has been given to him so that he can exercise power at will and walk all over the people of this country.

But we will not let him walk all over us again.

As long as we unite, we will through our vote in this election on May 24 liberate ourselves.

We must free ourselves my sisters and brothers.

Makandal Daaga at Charlie King Junction in Fyzabad where we had that big meeting of our united force for change asked the people to repeat "We are the government."

It is time to take back our government, to liberate ourselves to free our country from the dictatorship of Patrick Manning.

Did you see the abuse of power to send Bernie Campbell who had legitimate business here and who was conducting his business within the law—did you see how he was evicted from our country?.

Did you see how Winston Dookeran, a man who has served in this country in so many capacities, did you see how he was treated when he went to the savannah with his supporters to draw attention to the escalating murder rate in Trinidad and Tobago?

In one night, six murders--

And when people protest, abusive power is the only response of the Patrick Manning government.

And the madness and arrogance are spreading. ..

Martin Joseph says he does not have to explain anything to anyone...

they do not act on behalf of the people...

they don't think that they are accountable to the people...

they are a law unto themselves. ..

They use power to hurt and to abuse.

Vote them out. Vote Patrick Manning out. Vote Martin Joseph out. Sisters and brothers let us put an end to abuse of power.

We must make change happen in this country and then we can begin to develop our country in a more inclusive and participatory way.

We are uniting as a force for change, so that we can unite our country and include all our people in the governance process.

But first we have to unite against Patrick Manning and his cronies and then we must unite to build and to govern our country.

## **INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT – SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

So let us talk some issues.

I want to speak tonight on industrial development within a sustainable development framework.

There was an era when wealth in the world was created through the ownership of land.

This was followed by an era when wealth creation depended on the ownership of production, especially factory production capacity.

Later wealth creation depended on the ownership of cheap sources of power such as coal and electricity that drove mass production.

Even later, it was the ownership of the means of mass transportation that drove wealth creation.

Today wealth creation depends on the ownership of knowledge.

And knowledge doubles every few months.

How are we poised in T and T to create wealth in this knowledge era?

We have been through policies such as industrialization by invitation, import substitution, control of the commanding heights of the economy, nationalization of the financial and energy sectors, trade liberalization and government interventions and corrections.

We subscribed to the Washington Consensus and we joined the WTO.

But all of these responses have been built on a platform of comparative advantage.

We have always been exploiting our natural resources such as oil, gas, land, cheap labour and our climatic conditions.

Very often we have had no alternative but to use the capital, know-how finances and services of foreign investors.

This is not to say that foreign investors do not add value.

Far from that, foreign investment is very valuable.

But we must strengthen the local business sector so that they can play a greater role in our development in the future.

**Our strategy for development is based on competitiveness and competitiveness today is built on education, knowledge, technology and productivity.**

**Competitiveness** means the ability to produce goods and services at standards of cost, quality, service and delivery that can match the international best.

How do we build such a competitive economy?

In our world, nations are as competitive as their companies and institutions are competitive.

Companies and institutions can only compete in a knowledge world if they learn and grow and develop capacity to be creative, to adapt and to innovate.

The same principle applies to our homes, communities and the society at large.

Societies that thrive in the future will be those in which the people learn and grow and constantly learn and develop so that they are able to meet any challenge whether anticipated or unexpected.

That is why **education is the centerpiece of our development strategy** because the reality of life in a knowledge economy and knowledge world is that only learning communities and societies will be able to fashion and create a sustainable future.

In a society of 1.3 million, we have to create the opportunities for every child, every woman, every man to constantly develop and retool and reinvent themselves.

We do not have 1.3 billion like China, we do not have one billion like India.

We only have 1.3 million and in a small society like ours every individual must count.

Human resources, human beings, human minds, and the human imagination must be the foundation of our development strategy.

Trinidad and Tobago needs to do better and we must work together to ensure that our country does better.

At the present time among the 130 countries in the world that are ranked for competitiveness, our rank is 86.

Last year we ranked 91 so we moved up but for the last several years we have been declining in competitiveness.

In 2001 we were ranked 38, 2002 our rank was 37 in 2003 we were 49, in 2004, 41, in 2005, we were 60, 2006 we were 67.

In 2007 84, and in 2008, 92.

Human development is central to our overall strategy for sustainable development. In this regard, tertiary education has been identified consistently as one of the most important factors in human capital development. Human capital output at the tertiary level is a major contributor to economic growth and sustainable development.

Our principal strategy, therefore, in tertiary education is to expand and develop tertiary education until we achieve a 60% participation rate, to rationalize the tertiary sector to avoid duplication, wastage and needless overlap, to build efficiencies and effectiveness in the system and to support accountability and synergy in the sector.

Two critical things are necessary – strengthening of the primary and secondary levels to ensure that enough students are adequately prepared to go on to further studies and transforming a haphazard and fragmented tertiary sector into a system.

Twelve thousand (12,000) students take CXC every year, half of them get less than five (5) CXC passes and an almost equal number also fail Mathematics and English.

The preparation of students at basic education level, therefore, needs to be strengthened and performance levels of larger numbers of students need to be raised, in order to make tertiary education meaningful to at least 60% of each graduating cohort.

### **TERTIARY EDUCATION**

To address the needs of a diversified group of students graduating from the secondary system, the tertiary sector must cater for this diversity in programme offerings as well learning systems and teaching methodology.

The fragmented tertiary sector, therefore, must be rationalized and harmonized into a national tertiary system and steps must be taken, working with other countries in the region and with CARICOM to create a functional and responsive regional tertiary system.

Beyond strengthening the system, emphasis will be placed on linking tertiary education to a diversifying economy moving in the direction of service-oriented and knowledge-based industries.

In fact, we view the throughput from the tertiary sector as creating a skills and talent pool which will be attractive to investment in knowledge-intensive industries and graduates with the inclination could be guided into entrepreneurial ventures in the knowledge sector with appropriate incentives.

Technical and vocational programmes will be integrated into the sector at post secondary and tertiary levels.

A National Commission for Higher Education will guide the sector and we will work with CARICOM and other governments of the region as well as the Association of Tertiary Institutions to establish a Regional Qualifications Framework and to strengthen quality in a diverse system across the world.

The vision beyond tertiary expansion supported by GATE for a diversified economy based on knowledge and creativity is for high paying jobs and a better quality of life for our people.

And in addition to teaching and learning we will partner with the private sector to support research and innovation in a serious way.

We will also ensure that these institutions are producing human resource capacity to supply the sectors that we have identified as priorities for development.

For the time being, we have prioritized biotechnology, information technology, hi-tech manufacturing, light manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, agriculture and tourism, the arts, entertainment and sports as sectors for development.

Our government will build a genuine multi-partite partnership between government, labour, business and civil society.

We will ensure that each party knows its role in our development strategy and we will assist each to play its role.

Our objective setting process will be inclusive with all parties being involved from the ground floor.

Government will be the major facilitator of development.

Our role will be to create a business environment that is among the most attractive in the world.

We will simplify the investment approval process, provide world class infrastructure, ensure that crime is minimized, that the political environment is stable and that input costs are competitive.

The business community will be charged with investing in the priority sectors.

Our Government will ensure that each sector has an appropriate legal environment, an attractive incentive regime, a good supply of human resources and an appropriate international marketing regime.

We will ensure that sectors are intensely competitive and that there are strong industry associations. Our approach will be to foster strong industry clusters where the focus is on industry competitiveness in addition to firm competitiveness.



We are not interested in being an economy that can make large numbers of people available at cheap rates.

We want to be a highly skilled economy that supplies highly productive human resources who are compensated at international levels of wages, salaries and other terms of employment.

Our labour partners will be the architects and facilitators of this thrust.

We will encourage our labour leaders to strengthen their resolve to look after their membership in a holistic manner by investing in important areas such as housing, education.

We will establish a National Competitiveness and Innovation Council to support not just a knowledge economy but a creative economy as well.

Sisters and brothers I spoke recently in Barackpore about food security and agriculture and I outlined a comprehensive policy.

Tonight I want you to know that our strategy is to educate our people, create new businesses, diversify with knowledge and creative industries to reduce our dependence on energy and to create higher end jobs for our sons and daughters whom we are committed to educating in large numbers because human development is central to our industrial strategy for a competitive economy.

Our approach is for inclusion and participation.

We will be a peoples government. I have already talked about A ministry of the people.

So when they ask you what is the UNC policy for development, tell them you are.

You are the priority. People first...

Tell them there is a New Day and a New Way Forward for everyone in Trinidad and Tobago!

Tell them there is no longer a black, white or brown Trinidad and Tobago,

tell them there is no longer a North and South Trinidad and Tobago,

tell them there is no longer an East West corridor, tell them there is no longer an ocean of difference between Trinidad and Tobago,

tell them each and every citizen will benefit from the change sweeping the nation. Tell them, each of you,

We will Rise. Every man, woman and child, no matter who you are...say it, We will Rise! We will Rise!

Patrick Manning is against that, he is against the unity we are forging..

He is trying to raise doubts, he is trying to invoke fear.

But it will not work.

Kamla will always stand with the people, for the people and be guided by the people .

We will forge unity.

We will partner with the people to build a strong economy and to provide good governance.

Kamla will never let you down.

We will not let you down.

WE WILL RISE From the white sands of Las Cuevas to the black pitch lake in La Brea;

WE WILL RISE from the busy industrial town of Point Fortin to the quiet fishing village of Parlatuvier;

WE WILL RISE from serene village of Moruga to the tranquil village of Matelot;

WE WILL RISE from the striking shores of San Francique to the stunning shore of Sans Souci;

WE WILL RISE

WE WILL RISE as one people, one nation, united together under the People's Partnership - the People's Partnership!

God bless you.

Power to you.

Power to the people.

And may God bless our nation.

## **7. San Juan Croisee, San Juan/Barataria – 28 April 2010**

My brothers and sisters tonight I want to put this election in its proper perspective. As you all know by now justice Herbert Volney resigned from his distinguished post as a judge to contest the general election as a UNC candidate.

Imagine what it took for justice Volney to arrive at the decision to leave behind his career as a judge to become involved in the change so desperately required in his country. He would be leaving behind all his years of study, his dedication to the judiciary, any of the benefits accrued from his position and open himself to the ridicule that is sure to come from Manning's pnm simply because he chose to put Trinidad and Tobago before his own needs.

Justice Volney's decision underscores the desperate need by every sector of the society to remove Patrick Manning from office. People from within the labour sector such as patriots Errol McLeod and David Abdullah, NGO's, environmentalist organizations, women's groups, representing artists, farmer's groups, all opposition parties and now even members of the judiciary are standing up for their country against Patrick Augustus Mervyn Manning.

The whole country is uniting against what Manning has done to this once peaceful, progressive twin island state. Even an 81 year old citizen, Percy Villafana singularly took a stand against Manning and his security squad who entered his yard.

Percy's upraised crossing of his hands that showed Manning he was unwelcome has now become a symbol of defiance against the regime.

Each day more and more people even from within the pnm are coming to the conclusion that a loss at the polls for Patrick Manning would be a victory even for the PNM since Manning is a failure to his party and the country.

One of those former PNM supporters recently asked me, Kamla will you take away anything from us? I said yes of course I will.

I promised him that under a UNC government led by me there will be no more Calder harts. There will be no more corruption scandals and UDeCOTTs, there will be no more NAPAs, there will be no more two million dollar flags, there will be no more 800 million dollar Tarouba stadium fiascos, there will be no more 300 million dollar prime ministerial palaces, there will be no more private jets, there will be no more TTRA bill, there will be no more property tax, there will be no more limp blimps in the sky, there will be no more Martin Josephs, or Dick Fordes, or Gary Hunts, there will be no presidential seal on the Prime Minister's car, there will be no more fanciful billion dollar summits, there will be no more party symbols worn on the ties and blouses of parliamentarians from the ruling party since we will serve all the people all of the time regardless of which party you support, there will be no more champagne lifestyles while people beg for water, there will be no more Juliana Peane, there will be no more construction of tall empty buildings instead of hospital beds and new hospitals, there will be no more endless terms for the prime minister, we propose a two term limit on anyone elected Prime Minister and a fixed election date, but best of all, best of all, there will be no...more...Manning!!!

That is what you can expect us not to have under my leadership. Now let me tell you a little about how I plan to govern. I will always look for consensus, reaching out for agreement and understanding. But I will be independent in my thinking and firm in my decisions. I will always put the needs of the people first, staying true to the faith you bestowed in me and those that you elected to lead the nation. We will govern this country like it never has been before, where everyone counts and each of you matter most. Within the partnership of the people all voices will be heard and every interest shared. No one will be left out.

You are building up momentum and you are the centre of the change process, you are uniting, coming together to make change.

Remember, democracy is about you, freedom is about you.

Trinidad and Tobago is about you, this is your country, our country

The wealth of this country is about you, all the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago. And we shall rise. Let us rise together people of Trinidad and Tobago.

What a wonderful evening this is in San Juan, an important city centre in this country. This Croisée is always busy for as long as I can remember.

When I was a child it was busy. When I was growing up it was busy. Throughout my years in parliament, the Croisée has been busy.

The Croisée and this San Juan area has always been a place of business and commerce with a lot of small business and family business and stalls in the market where goods and services are exchanged on a daily basis.

San Juan is also a place of crossroads, of people, of culture, of religion.

Some may say that with its fast pace, high energy and its crossroads character, it is a crazy mixed up kind of place.

But it really is a beautiful place with character, full of life and with humanity.

San Juan is urban and it is rural; it is modern, it is traditional and somewhere in between as well...

**It is very much Trinidad and Tobago.**

There is a strong element of spirituality as well. There are any number of mosques here and churches of all denominations and temples everywhere...

And the people here are freedom loving, hardworking and basically law-abiding.

But crime has come now to take away your community, to upset the order, to mash up your success, to spoil the music of **San Juan all stars** and to disturb the rhythm of **Panberry steel orchestra, both of which you have given to the nation.**

Where you created music, you now have tears...

Where you were building a life and a family and a home and trying to make a living...

You now have to worry everyday about whether your loved ones will come home or not...

Or whether the man walking up to you will put out a gun and shoot you.

**Where is there in this government the will to fight crime and the will to restore this country to peace, security and harmony? Where is it?**

You could not find the will to deal with crime in Patrick Manning or Martin Joseph if you took a telescope to look for it.

Look at what their inaction is doing to us, to our families, our communities. Look at where they have brought us to.

We are on our knees begging them to do something about crime and they are doing absolutely nothing.

Patrick Manning and Martin Joseph are an absolute waste of time. They are literally drawing money under false pretences- because they have failed to carry out the most basic responsibility of a government which is to protect the people from harm.

Not only do Patrick Manning and Martin Joseph not provide safety and security for us as citizens, but they are part of a corrupt regime that supports corruption with the power of the state.

How else would manning try to kill the “UFF” report by calling an election and preventing debate?

How many corruption scandals have we had in this country under manning?

The corruption supported by Manning in this country stinks to high heaven...no pun intended on the Guanapo church

And they have the gall to make a calypso saying “Manning Going Back” - **Manning not going back...**

**Percy Villafana say so, you say so... the people say so... Manning going out!**

It's not “**Mann-ing**”, it's “**Man-out**”- manning going out...

we will not vote for dat! Patrick have to go!

To PNM people in the audience and at home, I want to say to you, let us unite to get rid of Patrick Manning. You notice how Patrick taking cover under the PNM banner!

He sheltering under the pnm banner to save himself...

He change the calypso to save himself...they change it from Patrick going back to pnm but each of you know as I said a loss at the polls for Patrick manning is a victory for the party he represents since manning is a failure to his party and the country.

So to the supporters of the PNM who have love for their country then they must save the country from Patrick Manning's leadership, and save their party in the process for another time and a new leader.

Tell me if I am not speaking the truth when I say that Trinidad and Tobago has no positive future with Patrick Manning and no political party in this country has any future with Patrick Manning as its leader.

You have nothing to fear under my leadership of this country...

Look at the fear, intimidation and terror, which we are living under in this country under manning's leadership...

You have nothing to lose. We have everything to gain...

Let us take back our country, let us take back our freedom. My people of Trinidad and Tobago let us unite to secure freedom and opportunity and to make progress as a democracy and with the economy of Trinidad and Tobago. Let us make political and economic progress.

Somebody told me that Patrick Manning was talking about my leadership the other night on some platform. Manning say he worried about my leadership and he warning the people about my leadership. ..

What happen to Patrick? Patrick doesn't get it?

The people not worried about Kamla's leadership...

The people from the east, the people from the west, the people from the north, from central and south, are **fed up with Patrick Manning's leadership.**

Patrick Manning, soon to be the discarded leader of his party, wants to cast aspersions and to create doubt about my leadership! Imagine that!

But let me tell Patrick Manning that the people are in **no** doubt about his leadership...the evidence of his failure is there for all to see.

The people want him to go!

The party wants him to go ...

And everybody in Trinidad and Tobago wants Patrick to go...

We not taking dat. We not voting for manning and he wants to cast doubt about the peoples' partnership?

And he worried about who have safe seat and who does not.... **Patrick seat safe? They do have no safe seat**. Patrick manning can't guarantee anybody a safe seat. He has already sacrificed his own party to Calder hart. There is no safe seat.

We, this united force for change, this people's partnership for unity in Trinidad and Tobago.

We are united in our diversity.

Patrick is so desperate he is even attacking the media for bias. He wants the media to write good things about him. Patrick Manning not easy- he wants the media to write good things about him...

He is asking for the impossible... what good things can they say? He wants the reporters to lie?

And how many times will they write about vision 2020?

People so bored with that because even a blind man could see that vision 2020 gone through...

Because Patrick Manning could talk from now till may 24 about what his government does, every citizen knows that it is having no impact on their lives, each time another crime is committed, each time someone is denied medical attention, each time someone cries out for water, each time we learn of more of our tax payer's dollars being siphoned off in a billion dollar corruption scandal, we know that the government propaganda about moving in the right direction is a lie!

Our citizens still have to look over their shoulder every day.

Everywhere they go the crime is so bad; they still have to live with a prime minister who supports corruption; the taps don't have water, food prices up, up, up...

Even those who have a job are poor, much less those without.

The most basic needs of the citizen cannot be met and Patrick Manning talking vision 2020. For who?

But what will we do about our country, let us forget about Patrick Manning and his cronies- let us move on- what will we do about our country? What are the solutions? What will we do about crime?

First of all we will deal boldly and strongly with criminals and criminal elements- we will make no bones about that...

And if there are any corrupt officers in the police force we will weed them out.

We cannot have corrupt officers enforcing the law. They will only compromise the entire police service which by and large consists of decent citizens and responsible officers...and if the police service is compromised this will make it impossible to deal effectively with crime and criminals.

But there are other issues which we need to consider and so I want to have a discussion with you on crime but also on justice.

Because we must not only deal with crime, we must deal with the causes and sources of crime.

Making it work requires four core principles to be the driving force behind implementation, it requires, leadership, good management, measurement of performance, and accountability. There will no longer be shirking of responsibilities, "passing of the buck" and hence no one to be held accountable for failure.

And we must reestablish a credible system of justice in which all are equal before the law and in this way we will restore faith in the justice system and this itself will change the environment surrounding crime.

So I want to talk to you tonight about crime and justice, going forward with this united government partnering with the people for good governance after may 24, 2010.

The current government neither has the will nor the competence to deal with the lawlessness and indiscipline pervading our society and which feeds the environment within which crime flourishes.

The current situation speaks to a moral decay that now pervades the society propelled by a corrupt and ineffective leadership which considers the loss of lives “collateral damage”.

Unless we remove this nightmare of escalating crime, investments in education, investment promotion, sports, the arts and social services will have little transformative benefit. These things will make little difference in a crime ridden society.

Our government will take a multipronged approach which attacks the political, economic, social, technological and managerial dimensions required to reinstate safety and security.

The first involves addressing the issue of white collar crime and corruption...

The second addresses the fundamental challenges of effective management of the institutions of law and order...

The third requires the reorganization of our education system and productive sectors to provide viable alternatives to criminal activities.

So we will deal with white collar crime; we will restructure the law enforcement agencies...

And we will reorganize our education system.

We will design productive sectors to attract those who might be attracted to crime.

I already told you that we will deal boldly with crime and criminals but here are some other things that we will do...

We will support the management of the police services to ensure that there are proper levels of policing and hold the service accountable for effective delivery through the establishment of clear measurable benchmarks for crime reduction and containment.

We will establish a national security operational centre (NSOC), involving use of technology to set up a real time centralized system for tracking crime. This will involve equipping every police vehicle with GPS and linking with every police station through an appropriate technology platform...and we will not tolerate any abuse of equipment.

A majority of crime involves the use of vehicles. Enforcement of road traffic laws and regulations would serve as a major deterrent to other illegal activity. A variety of mechanisms including radar speed detection guns will be used in this initiative.

We will deploy GPS bracelets on offenders who are on probation but are still deemed a security risk

We will guard our coast line through the 360 degree radar linked to all branches of the security services. And we will monitor connectivity and insist on staying connected

We will establish the national security protective services training academy to improve capacity of our police officers to perform at their optimal levels to improve investigation, detection, prosecution and so on.

We will strengthen the national Security Council, to link intelligence, strategy and execution in crime fighting something which seems to be absent now. I don't know what intelligence Manning is getting now besides tapping people phone and spying on citizens....

We will modernize physical infrastructure and amenities to boost morale and improve productivity in the police service.

Police will be on the street and in the communities not in the police station.

### **We will intervene to re-socialize the young away from crime**

**Schooling** — we need to strengthen the secondary system to ensure that students move on to further education or to productive roles in the economy.

**Recidivism** — the prison system is replete with young offenders and more seasoned offenders who keep passing through a revolving door. We must move to a serious strategy for rehabilitation and reintegration into the society and economy. That is linked to education and skills building.

**Special strategies** - We will design specific strategies to deal with drugs, to deal with guns, to deal with gang violence and to deal with deportees.

**Community policing** — this is important both for policing, for community building, and for crime prevention and will be executed as a strategy which acknowledges that police presence in the community is an important deterrent to crime.

**A household by household approach to poverty reduction** — it has been established that there is a link between poverty and crime.

Our crime reduction strategy must be supported by a poverty reduction strategy that is different in that it would tackle the different age groups within a house hold to ensure education and skills for the young, second chances for dropouts that channel them into productive endeavour, special programmes for women, skills programmes for the unskilled willing to work and targeted programmes for the elderly and the differently-abled.

### **Overhauling criminal justice - from arrest to determination to release and from release to rehabilitation and integration**

- We will re-engineer the justice system in consultation with all stakeholders to ensure swift justice from the point of arrest to the final determination of all criminal matters.
- We will introduce and implement legislation which will re-balance the justice system in favour of victims with emphasis on protection for the rights of victims, witnesses and jurors.
- We will expand and implementing community service sentencing proper mechanisms in place to support such a system.
- We will overhaul the penal system so that prisoners have a real opportunity to turn around their lives reducing the revolving door syndrome of repeat offenders.
- And we will facilitate the further establishment of half-way houses in conjunction with NGO's to assist in reintegration of past offenders into society
- We will reorganize the justice system so that a clear distinction is made between criminal matters and civil matters
- We will make more effective links between the law enforcement and justice systems to ensure that justice is done and is seen to be done

So let us move forward to a new day. You have nothing to fear. You have nothing to lose. And you have everything to gain.

We will do things differently. We will build a society based on unity.

The leaders of our force for change have partnered with each other and together we will partner with the people so that we can all rise.

We cannot address human development issues seriously if we are managing a society in which deviant behaviour is the norm.

It is time to get back on track.

The moral decay in our society which I spoke to you about earlier derives from behaviour at the top.

If Patrick Manning supports corruption and white collar crime at the top of our society what example is that to the rest of the country?

If Patrick Manning builds a church in Guanapo with public funds, or transferred funds from cost overruns from corrupt deals in other projects, what kind of example is that for the rest of society?

So crime is not just about crime and the criminals, it is about other things too.

So we will deal with crime. We will deal with criminals. We will deal with policing.

But we will also deal with justice. ,

We will make strategic social interventions and focus on human development to bring all our people into the productive process.

We want all our people to contribute.

Law and order yes but justice and fairplay too. And humanity.

So what does it say that Patrick Manning when asked to participate in public political debates with me refuses.

And in explaining his unwillingness to debate in front of the people, he says, “what do I have to gain by that?”

My friends – his answer tells us everything we need to know about Patrick Manning.

“What do I have to gain by that?”

That’s how Patrick Manning sees everything.

That’s his first and only question – “what do i have to gain by that?”

And that’s been the problem the past eight and a half years,

Not once has Patrick Manning asked “what do the people need? What can I do to help the nation?”

He has only asked – “what can I gain from that?”

And for eight and a half years, Patrick Manning and his cronies have been taking and taking and taking – and never once have they given back.

Manning has made corruption an art form.

His friends have lined their pockets with no-bid projects. They’ve set up off shore accounts with our money. They’ve used our money to bring in foreign labor and take jobs away from our very own workers.



Patrick Manning is responsible for an administration of greed and graft.

And it starts with him.

When a government goes bad – the rot and the decay always starts at the top. It's the leader who gives permission for everything that happens.

And just yesterday, Patrick Manning confirmed his philosophy for governing – “what do I have to gain from that?”

That was actually his response to the question of whether he would debate me.

He never thought that it might be helpful to the nation.

He never wondered whether it was the right thing to do.

All he was concerned about was – “what do i have to gain from that?”

Could we as a nation have a better reason for change?

Patrick Manning just told us all why he doesn't deserve another term as Prime Minister...

He isn't concerned about the nation – all he's concerned about is “what does he have to gain...”

The most basic quality in good leadership is putting the needs of others before yourself.

A leader must want more for those she leads than for herself.

A leader must seek the common good, not personal gain.

And that's why Patrick Manning has not been a leader - “what do I have to gain from that?”

A leader would never ask that.

A leader would never put himself ahead of what is best for the country.

But that is always what Patrick Manning has done.

He has always put what is best for himself ahead of what is best for the people.

And that's why he was forced to call this election two and half years early...

This is why the people have demanded this opportunity for change.

And change is exactly what is coming.

Now to be fair...I know another reason Patrick Manning doesn't want to debate me.

Because he doesn't want to have to defend his record

Because, frankly, it's indefensible.

He doesn't want to have to discuss what he's done for the nation.

Because he hasn't done anything.

He doesn't want to have to discuss his plans for the nation.

Because he doesn't have any plans for the nation.

He's satisfied with how things are.

He wants more of the same.

He doesn't want to have to explain what he's done to stop crime  
 Because he hasn't done anything.  
 He thinks everything is just fine.  
 But it's not.  
 Because a government should never be led by a person who would ask –“what do I have to gain from that?”  
 And when I'm Prime Minister – that's one thing you'll never hear from me.  
 And that might be one the largest differences between myself and Patrick Manning.  
 Patrick Manning believes he owns our government.  
 I believe the government is for the people and should be run by the people.  
 And right now it's not...  
 But we can change that.  
 On May 24, we can change that.  
 Trinidad cannot afford five more years like that last eight and a half...  
 And together we can change that.  
 Together we will change that.  
 Thank you, God bless you and god bless Trinidad.  
 God bless you all.  
 God bless Trinidad and Tobago.

## **8. La Horquetta, La Horquetta/Talparo - 30 April 2010**

Good evening my brothers and sisters... This is an incredible gathering and incredible evening....  
 I am proud to have with me on our platform the 24 UNC candidates that will bring home your victory on election night on May 24<sup>th</sup> 2010! Let us welcome the 24 freedom fighters of the people! They represent what we know are the finest group of representatives one can possibly find. Their names will go down in history as the group of patriots that took the fight to Patrick Manning's PNM and WON!

I am confident that the rigorous screening process which we conducted over the past two weeks have delivered such a high calibre of candidates that we were given an extremely tough task of deciding who in the opinion of the screening committee would be best suited to contest the election and bring home the seat. Those who were not selected were not rejected but will have important roles to play in assisting the party and government of the the People's Partnership. We will need all the willing and capable to provide the level of real representation which the population requires during our term in office.

And while each of our candidates are deserving of special mention and at our join platform on Sunday all 41 of the People's Partnership will be presented, I wish to make a comment on one of them tonight since his candidacy has created such a stir and driven Patrick Manning into further panic. Imagine Patrick Manning has the temerity to speak about interference in the independence of the judiciary! A Prime Minister who called the former Chief Justice into his office and told him he could resign or he would be

charged!

And when the Chief Justice refused he proceeded on a relentless campaign to hound him out of office eventually losing the battle in court where the Chief Justice was exonerated. Then you will recall the former DPP wrote about how the Attorney General pressed him several times to file charges on people which would advance his political agenda and how he resisted and sternly objected to his interference. And ironically those are some of the foremost reasons that prompted Herbert Volney to make the kind of sacrifice he did, resign all his privileges and income as a Judge and engage in the political process that would see the end of Patrick Manning.

So here is a judge who sees what is happening to his country and the very judiciary he serves and wonders how he could change it. So he decides to end his long illustrious career as a judge in defence of country and judiciary from the tyrannical behaviour of Patrick Manning. The question to ask is why? Why would anyone leave his position as a judge to do this? Former Justice Volney is not a rich man, he has a mortgage like most of us. He has a family to look after like most of us. He has so much to risk including the criticism for the courageous decision he has made. I would like to read for you what Herbert Volney had to say regarding the reason for his decision. And I quote:

“In what is perhaps the most judicious decision I have ever had to make in my life, and in the full face of any criticism which this would cause, I Herbert Volney, felt compelled to leave behind a career and life for which I had studied hard and dedicated myself towards diligently in the judiciary, to save a country which I knew would not survive another term under the current political leadership. And I weighed my options carefully before making the sacrifice of my judicial career to assist in the process of delivering Trinidad and Tobago from the crisis it faces today.”

Former Justice Volney goes on to tell us:

“What is ironic is that the independence of the judiciary should be held up as one of the criticisms of my decision when that is precisely one of the very reasons I took the decision to leave and play a part in ensuring there is a change in the political directorate. The former Director of Public Prosecutions you will recall recounted the circumstances when on several occasions the Attorney General sought to interfere with his independence and attempted to press him into advancing what he the DPP believed was a political agenda. You will also recall the hounding of the former Chief Justice. I see the emergence of a dangerous, self absorbed, Maximum Leader who will stop at nothing to get those around him to do his bidding.

So judge me if you will for the hastiness between my resignation as a member of the judiciary and my entrance into the realm of politics but the weight of burden of my doing nothing to save this nation far outweighs anything anyone may say about my actions and decision. I am at peace with what I have chosen to do. I believe it is the will of God and I have so answered a call to duty, I can think of no higher service than that. I will defend Trinidad and Tobago with the same fervour, fearlessness and fairness which I exercised each day of my life in the many years I served the judiciary. I have taken a stand for my country simply because I was left no choice. I am confident that history will vindicate my decision by the part I will now humbly play in the liberation of Trinidad and Tobago.” End of Quote of former Justice Volney.

So you see my brothers and sisters the level of sacrifice and the integrity of someone like Herbert Volney displays in playing the part he does today. I know the people of this country and in particular the constituents of St. Joseph will repay this confidence he has placed in them and reward his patriotic decision when they elect Herbert Volney as their winning representative, giving the seat of St Joseph for the people and the United National Congress!

This is the difference people everywhere are making to our campaign. There is such a willingness of so many people and groups to become part of this whole movement for change.

It is wonderful how we are making it happen – and what is even more wonderful is that we are making it happen together

If there's one thing we've learned in the last eight and a half years – it's that Patrick Manning and his PNM don't have the answers.

It's that one party rule and too much power in the hands of a single person and a single party does not benefit the common good and more often than not leads to greed and corruption.

That's what we've seen the last eight and a half years.

And the answer is not more of the same, not a continued concentration of power in the hands of the corrupt but rather a united partnership that reflects and brings all the people together.

A united government that works for and includes each of us.

A broad government that delivers what the nation and the people need.

And that's exactly what our People's Partnership will do.

It's how we return government to the people, how we make it accountable to all of us and how we end Patrick Manning's near decade long government for and by corruption.

It's really been the one reliable thing about Patrick Manning – He'll always put his own interests ahead of the nation.

He'll always be sure to take care of his friends instead of the people.

He'll always ask, "What's in it for me?" and never "What's best for the country?"

Patrick Manning has never ever met a scandal he hasn't been responsible for...

Calder Hart...

UdeCOTT...

NAPA....

A two million dollar flag....

An 800 million dollar stadium....

A 300 million dollar Prime Minister's Palace...

These are the examples of what happens when a single person and a single party get too much control and too much power.

It was Lord Acton, a British historian, who first said – "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

There couldn't be a more apt description of Patrick Manning.

He and his government are "absolutely corrupt."

And it is this corruption and arrogance of power that have led us to this moment.

To our moment...

This is our time to take our government back.

This is our moment for change.

Never has an election choice been so clear.

Never has the differences between candidates been so stark.

And yet as the nation rallies against him, Manning still doesn't get it.

He's a man with nothing to say.

He refuses to debate me – because he has nothing to say.

After eight and a half years, he has no record of accomplishment.

He has done no good that he can point to...

All he has is a long list of scandals...

That will be his legacy.

And so as he campaigns, like all desperate politicians, he spends more time talking about me and our People's Partnership, than he does about himself.

But what he doesn't understand is – We've tried it his way for eight and a half years...

AND it hasn't worked.

Is our country better off?

Are our families safer?  
Are we better able to take care of our sick?  
Do all our families have access to clean water?

Are we more confident about our future?  
We've tried it Manning's way – and he has failed.  
It's time for a new way. It's time for a new day.  
It's time for us to rise.  
You've heard his attacks. He wants you to be afraid.  
But I think it's fair to say that Patrick Manning is no expert on governing by unity.  
He only knows one way. His way.  
His way is arrogant single party rule.  
His way is a single party—his party—that's accountable to no-one.  
His way is one man, one party that tolerates corruption. It enriches one man and one party.  
That's why it's time for a unity partnership of the people.  
One party rule is unaccountable. A partnership government of the people holds politicians accountable.  
One party rule is corrupt. A partnership government of the people has checks and balances.  
Patrick Manning has no business criticizing our unity partnership. He knows nothing about it.  
Now, you've heard another criticism by Manning. He says our partnership will fall apart, that it can't last.  
Here again, Manning is talking about something that he knows nothing about.  
Manning's single man, single party rule serve only him and his party.  
Our unity government of the people will serve the common good.  
We have a common interest in fighting crime to make the people safe in their homes and neighborhoods and communities.  
Our commitment to fighting the plague of crime in our country is the glue that will hold our partnership together.  
We have a common interest in providing health care to workers and families so our people can enjoy strong healthy lives.  
Our commitment to improving health care is the glue that will hold our partnership together.  
Ours is a commitment to our country, our safety, our health. That's the glue that will hold this country together.  
Manning doesn't understand this.  
He thinks that the point of government is to enrich the politicians.  
We think it is to enrich your lives and those of your children.  
He thinks the point of parties is to prolong his personal grip on power.  
We think the point of parties is to serve you the people and no one leader should be able to serve more than two terms.  
He thinks the point of elections is for the people to serve the politicians.  
We think that elections is the time for the electorate to evaluate whether the government they elected has done the job in their interest. And there should be a fixed election date.  
He's got it all wrong.  
We know that the government belongs to you, not the politicians.  
We know that wealth and prosperity belong to you, not the political parties.  
And we know that this election is your chance to hold the politicians accountable.  
To vote your dreams, not your fears.  
To take back your government from the corruption of single party rule.  
We need a government for and by the people –not for and by Patrick Manning.

This is exactly the right time to call on the nation to come together and work together for the common good.  
We've tried it Manning's way – and it doesn't work.  
We're ready for a new way.

We're ready for a government that brings us all together.  
 We don't want power in the hands of a few.  
 We want authority in the hands of many – we want us all to be accountable to each other.  
 We want to work together to lift our nation.  
 We want to work together to correct the misdeeds of the last eight and a half years.  
 And that's what this campaign is all about.  
 It's about a new way.  
 It's about a new Trinidad.  
 It's about a government we can all be proud of...a government that works for each of us...a government that puts all our interests first.  
 So Patrick, it's time you find something else to talk about.  
 If you can...  
 I know it's hard since you haven't done anything.  
 But attacking me and our unity...  
 Suggesting our Partnership can't hold together or stay strong...  
 That's just not going to get it done for you.  
 We know you'll say or do anything to keep your grip on power but questioning our resolve, questioning our commitment, questioning our dedication to work together and to turn our country around...  
 That's not going to work.  
 And it's time for you go.  
 You have shown us what happens when too much power rests in the hands of too few...  
 As much as you try to fight it, Patrick Manning, you are the reason that our Partnership is so strong.  
 You are the very reason that this country has joined together as force for change.  
 And you're the reason, we'll stay together, strong and unified.  
 Because it is time for you go...  
 So every time you attack our Partnership, you do nothing but strengthen it.  
 We've tried it your way and now it's time to try it our way...  
 It's time for you go.  
 So all you here tonight...all of you listening or watching at home.  
 Join us.  
 Take a stand with us.  
 This is our moment.  
 This is our time to come together.  
 Talk to your family and friends, visit my website and facebook page, volunteer to help our effort.  
 This is your campaign  
 Because this should be your government.  
 And together we can take that government back.

Leadership is not a position... It is not a skill...

**Leadership is a relationship and in leadership, ACTION speaks louder than words**

Credibility is the foundation of leadership. It is about how leaders go about earning the trust and confidence of their constituents.

It is about what people demand of their leaders and the actions leaders must take in order to intensify their constituents' commitment to a common cause.

People want leaders who hold to an ethic of service and are genuinely respectful of the intelligence and contributions of their constituents.

They want leaders who will put principles ahead of politics and the larger good before self-interest.

Can someone who builds a palace for himself for \$180 million while his constituents cannot find a hospital bed be said to be putting the interests of their constituents before their own?

Can someone who defends a run-away state enterprise chairman, over and over, even while his own AG has launched a criminal investigation into that chairman be said to be putting principles ahead of politics?

And what are we to believe when the UDECOTT Chairman, who needs to answer to the police, is tipped-

off by one of the highest offices in the land? And then he calmly flies off to Miami. (*And the breaking news on that one is that Calder Hart returns on Monday to face an indictment and thereafter there will be a gag order by the court and we can say nothing on the matter so that there can be no accusation of prejudicial pre trial bias. And I don't know how true this story is but the nation certainly waits with baited breath to see the wheels of justice grind.* )

The **HART** of the matter is that for Patrick Manning the people do not matter. They are simply stepping stones to personal power.

Can someone who allowed his party treasurer to benefit from a multi-million dollar transaction at the expense of the people be trusted?

Can we have confidence in someone who has not till this day accounted for his whereabouts on the night of July 29, 1990? Now he stands accused by the leader of the attempted coup of 1990 of making a deal with him to win the election of 2007.

Patrick Manning will do anything for power. Power is all that matters to him.

That is why he says **HE** has nothing to gain from debating me. Because that is how he sees governance, only by what it gains HIM. His decisions are not based upon how it will benefit you, what gains you will get, it has always been about what HE gains.

The PNM as a party has allowed Manning to damage its credibility. Counting newspaper headlines and blaming the media is merely a distraction. A pompous dictator never looks within himself to find his problems.

It is typical of one who sees himself as the centre of the universe, to blame others for his misfortunes It is always someone else or something outside himself to be blamed.

When researchers ask people about the leadership that they want do you know what they say? **Honesty. Vision. Inspiration. Competence. Fair Mindedness. Supportiveness. Humility. Broad mindedness. And Intelligence.**

There is not a single adjective there that can be attributed to Patrick Augustus Mervyn Manning. It is on this ground that the people of Trinidad and Tobago are making a judgement of him. It is because Patrick Manning does not rise to the standards and expectations of citizens of this country and members of his own party that both the party and the country have decided to get rid of him. Listening to people has never been one of his skills. Manning listens to no one except perhaps his prophetess.

It is on these characteristics that the people of Tand T have judged Patrick Manning's PNM. It is on these grounds that the leadership of the PNM is absolutely without credibility.

When a Minister withdraws her deposit with Clico Investment Bank while ordinary depositors have to wait for their money, without any idea of how long. Can this be deemed honest? Or is this an abuse of position for self-interest?

Bernie Campbell, our political advisor, was unceremoniously deported from Tand T by a minister who said that he does not have to explain anything to anyone. Is that a show of leadership or an unsophisticated and classless display of raw power? It merely made Tand T look like a banana republic. The Minister reinforced the people's view that he cannot be believed because he denied his involvement but we produced the evidence that he gave the order. But the people won the victory when there was a hue and cry locally and around the world and the Minister was forced to back down even though the damage to our international reputation had already been done.

Did you read about the Nurse Report into the HDC, in the Guardian of Monday April 26 2010? It is a tragic tale of mismanagement, waste of resources, an organization out of control and a total absence of accountability.

The Nurse Report into the HDC could just as well have been a report into how all of Tand T is managed by Patrick Manning's administration. Competence seems to have gone out the door and been replaced with chaos. And because of the lack of character of most of Manning's Ministers, they follow the leader although he is destroying the country, as if they have a ring around their lord.

What is forward looking for Patrick Manning? Was the hosting of two summits costing over \$1 billion, with no visible benefits to date, be considered forward looking? Is the wooden-headedness associated with building smelters while sound technical advice tells us it is a bad idea not simply arrogance? And they have the gall to talk Vision 2010. **Has vision 2010 done anything for you lately?**

Credibility like reputation has to be earned over time. It does not come with the job or the title. It comes with our actions and the consistency of our actions.

**Credible leaders do what they say they will do.  
They practice what they preach.  
They walk the talk.  
Their actions are consistent with their words...**

How could you investigate Rowley four times, still have him under investigation but approve him as a candidate? What is the message? Manning talks of principle but acts on expediency.

And while we are on this subject we must recall that one of the main attacks on us by the PNM is that our unity is fragile.

If you want to judge our unity, look at the conduct of Vasant Bharath on the COP platform on Wednesday April 27, 2010. What a show of character! This is the stuff of which we are made.

Therein lays the sustainability of our unity. If you want to understand unity, think of compromises, the give and take that everybody, including myself would have had to make to get to this point.

Manning condemns corruption but he nurtures UDECOTT and its principals. He lets the HMB transaction disappear into the woodwork. Is Manning walking the talk? Or strutting like a dictator. Where has Manning created unity? Look at what he has done to his party. He has interfered and destroyed every institution in this country including his own party.

**"Manning, you say you have the strength and courage to manage this country but every project you undertake has run over budget and taken more time than planned. In some cases the overruns are in the hundreds of millions...  
You spin-doctor every statement you make, you deliberately misuse statistics and expect the good people of Tand T to believe you.  
Your message is that self-interest comes before principle."**

Nothing in Manning is fair-minded or broad-minded. It is simply a survival strategy. It is unashamed use of human beings by a callous dictator. Political survival and power overall is Manning's game. So he will use Rowley, he will discard Penny; he will destroy the PNM and then try to shelter under its banner.

The opposite of the leader with credibility **is one who is arrogant ...causes ...fragmentation...is inflexible...is vain...creates dependence... and does not share power and authority**

In other words, for the leader without credibility staying in power is his only objective. And this power is all about him and for him.



Patrick believes that it is by and in accordance with his will things happen.

His ego has imprisoned his mind. He sees no-one as his brother. Fear and guilt, divide and rule are his tools.

His arrogance and vanity have driven him to separate himself from us by building himself a palace, by putting the coat of arms number plates on his official car and by surrounding himself with a circle of sycophants and building a political business mafia with his cronies. But we will see. We will see who will run for cover. No wonder we are all disappointed and ashamed of Patrick Manning as our leader both in the party and in the country.

But let us move on to better things...

The People's Partnership and my government will put people at the centre of its governance strategy. The primary principle and value that will guide our actions will simply be "**doing the right thing**"...

The right thing is what is in the best interest of the people.

The Report of the UFF Commission of Enquiry is a classic case of an administration mired in a sea of arrogance, vanity and in-flexibility. Manning and UDECOTT and Calder Hart not merely put the good citizens last in their priorities, UFF is saying that the interests of the people simply did not matter.

The PM must account to the people of Tand T for the findings of the UFF Commission of Enquiry. He must do so long before May 24. The Report is a commentary on his stewardship over the resources of Tand T. The Report is his personal scorecard. It is by the Uff Report that history will judge Manning.

My government will ensure that there is no repeat of the UDECOTT affair. We will be credible leaders. **Honesty shall be our number one value**

We will neither let the UFF Report go to sleep during this election nor after the election. We shall be an accountable government and we therefore demand accountability from the Manning administration.

Our credibility comes from having kept our promises.

We promised that we will unite Tand T. We have done it and the united opposition is growing from strength to strength every day. We promised a one- on- one fight. We are doing it!

We promised that we would be vigilant on behalf of the people of Tand T.

We kept the Manning administration under such pressure in the Parliament that our threat of a vote of no confidence virtually brought them down. It is that threat that forced them to call this election.

The PM knew that his own members had planned to vote against him and he could not deal with that.

We promised that our campaign will be clean and dignified. We have maintained a high standard during the campaign and will continue to do so after the campaign.

We promised you transparency. That is why we agreed to the debate with the PM.

We want you to know how we plan to manage Tand T. We have no secrets. But the PNM is afraid that they will have to answer questions about UDECOTT, the church in the heights of Guanapo, Rowley, the HDC, the hospitals without beds, the escalating crime and much more. So they have refused to participate.

Credibility does not come easily. We have worked hard to earn it. Now the good people of Tand T are demonstrating that they trust us, they have confidence in us and they share our vision.

**And we will not let you down. Kamla will not let you down.  
The Peoples' Partnership will not let you down.**

Our campaign is about educating you. It is not about appealing to basic instincts. It is about unity not division. It is about collaboration not isolation. It is about good governance not corruption. You can believe us and trust us because you know that we will not put a palace before a hospital bed and we will not try to buy a private jet before the police get vehicles.

The current Government has pursued ill-conceived policies and mismanaged our economy placing their priorities – the priorities of the people and misallocating our national resources

Our economy must be reorganised to ensure that the needs of the poor and disadvantaged are given priority, that everyone in our society has a sense of ownership and belonging, that there is sustainable growth and diversification of the economy.

It is a shame that in a country so rich there is such basic needs that remain unfulfilled and such abject poverty. We need to implement an economic policy that improves the quality of life of all our People so that we all share in the wealth and prosperity of our country.

I will ensure that through my leadership of a UNC government with the People's Partnership there is zero tolerance for corrupt practices and unwise and wasteful expenditure.

We will develop strategies to create an environment for investment by increasing domestic savings, facilitating competitive interest rates, securing property rights, good governance, widening and expanding domestic value-added production and a low rate of inflation. And you can be assured there will be no property tax. You can be assured there will be no TTRA bill. We will be a responsible government, directing expenditure to areas where you the people need them most. Water from before NAPA. Health care before Prime Ministerial palaces. Crime prevention before wasteful corrupt UDeCOTT projects.

We shall seek to find a balance between consumption and savings. We must cater to both present and future needs. Sustainable jobs will be a priority and be placed before Summits.

We will develop innovative strategies to attain sustainable growth and diversification of the economy

**We will establish an Economic Development Board** to be staffed by the best nationals from Academia, Civil society, labour and Industry to advise on economic policy after consulting with the communities and stakeholder Councils

**We will revisit the legislation establishing the Heritage and Stabilisation Fund** with a view to delinking the two funds and determining the mechanisms for contributions and withdrawals so that it can be used for the purpose for which it was intended as a security buffer to the economy and not as a pool to be drawn from for political fancy.

Manning's style of managing the economy is founded on prophecy. If a prophetess advises that a rapid rail system should be built, they go off and do just that. If she advises that billion dollar summits will attract tourists and investments, then again they run-off and do that.

They ignore the Governor of the Central Bank. They ignore the warnings of the Economists. They talk vision 2020 but they have no plan. It is only projects and corruption.

We have a different view. We say **“Plan your work, work your Plan and your Plan will work for you”**.

So let us move forward to a new day. You have nothing to fear. You have nothing to lose. And you have everything to gain.

We will do things differently. We will build a society based on unity

The leaders of our force for change have partnered with each other and together we will partner with the people so that we can all rise.

**God Bless You All.**

**God Bless Trinidad and Tobago.**

## **9. Mid Center Mall, Chaguanas (Presentation of Candidates) – 2 May 2010**

### **GREETINGS**

Two and a half years ago I stood before you on these very grounds and spoke to you from my heart. Two and a half years ago, as you stood on these grounds in your thousands, I opened up my heart and soul to you when you my people showed me support, love and hope. Two and a half years ago, when you gave me the mandate to continue to serve you the people, I made a vow that there would be a day when I would stand before you again on these historic grounds and look at your faces smile with the hope and satisfaction that I have become the woman you wanted me to become. Today, that day has come.

*Oh yes, I am wise  
But it's wisdom born of pain  
Yes, I've paid the price  
You can bend but never break me  
'Cause it only serves to make me  
More determined to achieve my final goal  
And I come back even stronger  
Not a novice any longer  
'Cause you've deepened the conviction in my soul  
See me standing toe to toe  
As I spread my lovin' arms across the land  
But I'm still an embryo  
With a long, long way to go  
Until I make my brother understand  
And I know too much to go back an' pretend  
'Cause I've heard it all before  
And I've been down there on the floor  
No one's ever gonna keep me down again  
No one is gonna keep you down again*

**WE WILL RISE, WE WILL RISE, WE WILL RISE**

And as God is my witness I am humbled and honoured by the vote of confidence you have given me in my over 25 years of public service to you. I am humbled and honoured that today you the people have chosen as a leader of this historic People's Partnership which is on a mission, with you my people, to change our country's destiny.

My sisters and brothers today is the day we write a new future of our country. Somewhere beyond the horizon, over the rainbow the spirits of the great forefathers and foremothers of our land who crossed the Atlantic, the Middle Passage and the Kala Pani so many centuries ago to brave the

slings and arrows of slavery and indenture ship and oppression, are looking at us today and they are smiling. They are singing and dancing in the great beyond in joy that finally, the land they toiled to build, the future they wanted and dreamt of for their great great grandchildren is at hand. Today we make a new future and honour our history by charting a new country forward. Today the dream of our forefathers and foremothers to create a land that is prosperous for all, a land where every child and every single person is afforded equality, safety and judged, not by the colour of his or her skin or the texture of his or her hair, but by the content of his or her character, today, that country, that land is just within our grasp. Today, we stand together as one people: men, women, children, African, Indian, Chinese, labour leaders, academics, labourers, every creed and every race have come together for a new mandate for Trinidad and Tobago's future.

My fellow citizens, are we going to let that opportunity pass? Are we going to fail our destiny?  
No we cannot. We cannot.

I look at you and I see the expression of everything good that our country can be.

I look at you here and I see a people who have put aside the petty differences that divided us and come together in recognition that we are one people, one country and one love.

I look at you here and I see a people with the one, simple desire to change our country's destiny because you are patriots who love our beautiful Trinidad and Tobago and I say to you, thank you my people, thank you for putting your faith and love in this People's Partnership and I am here today to tell you we will not fail you.

We will fulfill your mandate and your dreams of a better country, a better future for your children and a better destiny for us all.

Look at us today.

We are a people who will rise.

We will rise out of the oppression and tyranny of the Patrick Manning regime and we will rise out of the killing fields he has turned our beloved country into.

We will rise because of our great love for our country and for each other.

We will rise because we know that now is the time to be there for each other, to stand together and defend our land.

We will rise because we are a people who never bow down and obey even when the tyrants destroy everything they have,

We will rise up as a people and join in protest to stand up for what is right, true and just,

We are a people who will rise to become a tempest as the winds of change blow through the ashes of our suffering country.

We will rise as a people because our nation's wrath has empowered us

When we see the ruin and destruction at the hands of the wicked Manning regime we rise to fight for truth, integrity and justice to prevail.

We will rise as a people who know now that true courage is the person who stands up for what is Right.

That is why today, we must rise to fight for this new destiny for Trinidad and Tobago.

That is why today, through the rivers of betrayal and pain that the Manning maladministration has inflicted on this country, we will rise to let them know that we the people have opened closed doors of ignorance

We've found our path and will never return, will never go back. We've seen barefoot, wandering and homeless children. We've been reborn amidst epics of resistance and courage

We've learned the song of freedom in the last breaths, in the waves of struggle and in victory. My brother, my sister, my countryman tell Patrick Manning that he must no longer regard us as weak and incapable.

With all our strength we take each other's hands and rise on the path of our country's liberation.

Our voices are mingled with thousands of arisen people. Our fists are clenched with the fists of thousands compatriots. Together we've stepped up to the path of our nation, To break all these sufferings all these fetters of bondage, of slavery, We are the people who have risen. We've found our new destiny and will never return, we not going back.

**That is why** my sisters and brothers it is so wonderful to see you here this evening. I see you in all your colours and variety in all your individuality and togetherness. This is my people; this is your people; this is our people. This is Trinidad and Tobago.

Brothers and Sisters when I look out into this massive audience, I'm convinced more than ever that the People's Partnership is where the Ganges meets the Nile; but MORE THAN THAT, not just the Ganges and Nile; for those whose ancestors are from China - the Yangtze River joins here; for those whose ancestors are from France - the river Seine joins here; for those whose ancestors are from the UK - the River Thames joins here; for our brothers and sisters of Syrian/Lebanese heritage - the Euphrates joins here; for those with Portuguese ancestors - the Douro river joins here; no matter what your ancestry may be, I invite you to take my hand and join us; this is where we will all find a sense of place; a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose.

We are proud of this land

We are proud of our people

we are proud of the progress that we have made together.

### **PROUD OF ACHIEVEMENTS**

We are proud of the achievements of our citizens who have excelled in sports and in the arts, in business and in labour, in politics and in government, in Parliament and the Judiciary, in the media, community and society.

Our nation would not be the same without them.

We would not have the same sense of ourselves without them, we would not be the same people or society or country without them.

When a Brian Lara or Hasley Crawford or a Daren Ganga or George Bovell or a Dwight York gives a world class performance we feel uplifted, our spirit soars and our hearts are glad and we rise.

It is at moments like when our nation qualified for the World Cup thanks in no small part to our very own Jack Warner that we recognise ourselves for what we truly are...citizens of Trinidad and Tobago.

When a Minshall or MacFarlane surprises our imagination we get a jolt of joy

And we feel a sense of pride and accomplishment when we are exposed to the work of our great artists like the late Issiah Boodhoo or Jackie Hinkson or Leroy Clarke who leave us to ponder and to reflect.

When Nobel Laureates like V.S. Naipaul and Derek Walcott speak of their sources of inspiration, or Earl Lovelace writes about how we live with each other and how we feel and dream, we are inspired that we are also part of a society and culture of what created them.

And when people like Pat Bishop speak we should listen, not silence her.

People like Anthony Sabga, Sydney Knox, Helen Bhagwansingh and Joseph Charles give us a first hand example of how business empires are built and prompt us to feel that with hard work, patience and dedication, genuine accomplishment is possible.

A Tubal Uriah Buzz Butler, an Adrian Cola Rienzi and a George Weeks make us proud that ordinary citizens can rise to be leaders, that ordinary people banding together to serve their interest and to secure their dignity can change the course of history and make a difference.

George John we remember as distinguishing himself as a journalist.

In politics we have had some proud moments.

When the late Dr. Eric Williams and Dr. Rudranath Capildeo found common ground to make it possible for agreement on the 1962 constitution and pave the way for Independence for Trinidad and Tobago--- that was a proud moment.

When the whole country came together for the clean-up campaign immediately after the election when the NAR government came to power in 1986, that was a proud moment.

**And today we are marking another such moment.**

This is another one of those historic points in time that defines what is happening here in our country

now, the shift that is taking place, this warm embrace by the population of change, the emergence of this partnership of the people, the commitment by all on this platform to partner with the people---- this movement of unity that is building momentum across our country- that we are creating together---this will take us to another proud moment in our national history.

AND WE WILL RISE

And I can think of no other time that this nation has needed another proud moment when we can do something together again that is noble, that can make us redeem ourselves, that can make us feel that we can be whole again as all God's children under the sun .The past is the past- and whatever missteps we might have had in the past is in the past. We must learn from history. But we must not let the past dictate the future.

We certainly cannot continue as we are going. That can only lead to disaster. So let us focus on the future. A new day, a new way forward. We must take stock and take charge of things. We must come together to save our country and to salvage our future.

We can create the future we want. Yes we can. And we must create our future together, now.

We don't have to go on as we are going and end up in disaster. We don't have to go down with Patrick Manning and his cronies. We don't have to be ruled by the past and let the past ruin our future.

We can create the future as we want it to be and we can make a decisive difference in our lives and so cross another watershed and achieve another high point in our history.

Will you take my hand? Will you join us and make history?

### **DEFINING MOMENT**

This general election on May 24 comes at a defining moment in our nation's history.

The oil and gas boom has fizzled out and the returns from this have been squandered by an uncaring, inept and corrupt administration.

Now the hard work of building a sustainable economy to deliver results for you the people stands before us.

And the reason we have united in this Partnership of the People for the People which you see this evening on this unity platform,

The reason that we have united is to be able to do the hard work addressing the urgent social needs which every citizen cries out for – Crime, Corruption, Health Care, Water, Education, Better jobs, Drainage, Housing, Poverty Reduction... These are just some of the areas which the Manning administration has left unattended and the people have paid the price of the neglect.

And you the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago have told us that we must unite. And we have been listening and we are listening now. We have united because we need a great deal of competence and a broad base of deep skills to do that task well, one that represents the interests of all of the people.

It is not going to be easy because deterioration has set in, in almost every area of our society.

### **MANNING'S LEGACY**

That is the real legacy of Patrick Manning- a legacy of crime, poor social services, inadequate infrastructure to support productive endeavour and productivity and no meaningful plan for job creation. That is Patrick Manning's legacy.

The political crisis arising out of the UDECOTT scandal has undermined the relationship between the government and our people.

That crisis of trust is what, more than anything else, has brought the Manning government to its knees.

The task of my government now- the new government of the People's Partnership- will be to stabilize the economy, to rebuild our society and to restore trust in government.

My immediate task will be to introduce greater transparency and accountability in government and to ensure that our oil and gas wealth is truly used for the development of our nation and our people.

The Peoples' Partnership has agreed on a clear and coherent policy position.

This is contained in our Manifesto which, after much deliberation, is now complete to go to print.

Our manifesto for a United People to Achieve Sustainable Development for Trinidad and Tobago

summarises the initiatives and actions we intend to take after May 24, 2010.

One of our major thrusts in our manifesto, in the spirit of partnership with the people, will be the mobilization and engagement of communities throughout Trinidad and Tobago so that everyone of you can make a contribution to success in Trinidad and Tobago and everyone of you can not only benefit directly from national success, but feel close to it.

The task of setting this country on a progressive sustainable development path will not be easy.

That is why the involvement of our people is so vital to success. My government shall be a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We are now faced with a troubled economy globally, and our Caribbean neighbours, a market for goods and services exported from Trinidad and Tobago, are facing very serious economic problems. However I am confident, that with unity and with support from the People's Partnership and with your participation, commitment and help, we shall together overcome all challenges one by one.

And we will rise

There may be challenges, there will be challenges, but we will conquer them together one by one. We will rise

We will see a new day. We shall rise together. We will build a new society. We will build unity. We will build Trinidad and Tobago together. We will do things differently.

And in this way, by doing things differently, we will achieve different results; better results - more meaningful to people, making a real difference in their lives.

So let me give you a framework for how we intend to approach our development strategies and let me share with you the foundation pillars on which our action strategies are built.

#### **DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK**

In our vision for this Country HOW we do things is as important as WHAT we do - we must build a Nation founded on core values and principles - it is these values and principles that will ensure our sustainability and success over the long term.

Our roads must be paved with asphalt and integrity - not corruption;

the concrete in our buildings and bridges must be mixed with gravel, cement and professionalism - not nepotism;

our performing arts centres must have designs that are inspired by the legacies of Beryl Mc Burnie, Lord Kitchener, Soondar Popo and Rudolph Charles - not by strangers;

our schools must be built with concrete beams supported by columns of industriousness - not laziness;

our children's school bags must be filled with books and computers and a commitment to excellence - not mediocrity;

our police vehicles must be driven by honesty and truth - not by pappy show ;

our courts of law must be governed by equality and justice - not anarchy;

our Parliament must be filled with persons who are driven by love of country and patriotism more than love of self.

This is where Manning lost his way.

This is where the People's Partnership will get our Nation back on course.

Take my hand and let's embark on this historic journey together.

So that on May 25<sup>th</sup>, Liberation Day, we can all join hands and sing the words of the old African American Spiritual - "free at last, free at last, thank God

Almighty, we are free at last".

For remember that the principle which guides us in our Peoples' Partnership is that the highest mission of any society is development of its citizens - so that the guiding principle behind our sustainable

development strategy is that people must be at the centre of the development strategy, process and objectives.

The Peoples' Partnership signed a Declaration of Principles and Declaration of Values.

These also guide our approach to development.

And our commitment is to genuine sustainable development which means that:

- we will leverage our resources and apply our effort in such a way that we will produce more than we consume,
- we will constantly take fundamental principles of environmental sustainability into account and that as we develop our country today,
- we will also secure the best interest of future generations.

So we will not only live for today like Patrick Manning and his cronies.

We will build for tomorrow too so our children, their children and their children can also enjoy a sustainable life.

And we will rise.

### **POLICY PILLARS**

Let me share the seven pillars on which our policy is based with you.

Seven (7) PILLARS Of sustainable development

#### **PILLAR 1** – People-Centred Development –

We need everyone and all of you can Contribute

In a country of 1.3 million people the optimum contribution of each and every citizen is crucial.

In a knowledge driven economy, a strong basic education system and significant participation in tertiary education make a decisive difference.

Accordingly, we commit to making Human Development a central thrust through the education system and through the creation of other infrastructure to support lifelong learning, skills building, institutional strengthening and the building of competitive capacity.

What will this mean for you?

Well what it will mean for you is that your children will get a better education at preschool, primary and secondary and will be better prepared to go on to tertiary and so they will have more options in life, better options for careers and real choices about good paying jobs.

This will allow Trinidad and Tobago to embark on an education driven strategy for development which will support diversification of the economy and therefore less energy dependence, business growth in knowledge sectors, creative sectors, and fresh investment opportunities and better paying jobs for our citizens..

And we will rise.

#### **PILLAR 2** – Poverty Eradication and Social Justice – Preference for Poor and Disadvantaged

The number of people who continue to live under the poverty line is about 20%. For an energy-rich Nation like Trinidad and Tobago this is totally unacceptable.

Social Justice demands that abject poverty be reduced and ultimately eradicated.

All our citizens are entitled to a sustainable livelihood and the gap between the haves and the have-nots must be closed.

The issues of poverty eradication, closing the divide between the rich and the poor and providing a safety network for the poor and vulnerable, are fundamental to the strategy of development which we embrace.

Glaring inequities in a society and wide gaps between the haves and have-nots, and large numbers of people living in abject poverty, either isolated in rural areas or in clusters in urban areas are not only a source of national guilt but a source of potential instability, violence and crime as well.

More people living well then, is better for all of us.



We will set a target of 2% reduction of poverty per year beginning in 2011 and we will lift people out of poverty on a household by household basis by a range of strategies that are outlined in our manifesto.

The poor will obviously benefit from this.

Communities will benefit from this and the society as a whole will benefit from this because more people will be doing better, prosperity will be spread more broadly and as a nation we will feel better (less guilt) and less threatened (less potential for instability) probably have less crime linked to poverty.

And we will rise

### **PILLAR 3** – Information and Communication Technologies – Connecting Tand T

Information and communication technologies (ICT) and the systems which they can create are fundamental to the development of every modern, progressive society.

The ICT backbone, linked to the competencies of a well educated population, provide the required support for effective communication, information sharing and knowledge management.

We will expand the Country's internet connection capabilities so that every Citizen will be able to access and conduct business for a wide range of Governmental Services.

IT based learning will be infused in education at primary and secondary levels to support and complement other forms of teaching, learning and basic research.

How will you benefit from this- computer for every SEA student as they enter secondary school opening up a world of knowledge to them.

We will support this by providing community based internet cafes with the ultimate aim of connecting every home.

Every home will then have the basis for e learning and connectivity with the world.

It will improve the quality of education, the readiness of graduates for the workplace and an IT world.

This will also facilitate IT based industries and other knowledge industries and create more good jobs.

**[Please visit [Kamla.tt](http://Kamla.tt)**

I Congratulate Fan No. 10,000: DEVIN ROOPNARINE whose Birthday is Today : 2nd May 2010 : he is 21 years old- and our party is also 21 years old.

Current Number of Fans : 14,360

An average of 25,000 people read each post

Over 1,300 comments on our 300 posts

Over 600 fans actively commenting this week

In our first 3 days 1.3 million people looked at our facebook

This is today's world of IT

AND WE WILL RISE

### **PILLAR 4** – A more Diversified, Knowledge Intensive Economy – Building on the Native Genius of our People

In a world in which innovation is the decisive competitive advantage, human initiative and creative capacity represent an enormous asset.

We will create a society in which creativity and creation are encouraged and rewarded.

We will thus encourage and develop strong linkages among our creative sectors, technological sectors, design sectors and our education and academic sectors.

The Energy Economy while vital to our sustenance now cannot be viewed as the basis of our sustainability.

Already the services sector contributes more to employment than any other sector.

Therefore it is vital that we provide critical support to this sector, infusing elements of the creative economy in all other sectors while seeking opportunities for the establishment of niche, skills-intensive manufacturing in order to ensure that our economy is resilient and that there are long-term economic opportunities for our people – opportunities which will lead to higher standards of living and a better quality of life for all.

This is meant to achieve two things, reduce our independence on energy **and** change our industrial strategy to one based NOT on comparative advantage but on COMPETITIVENESS

Development of new industries linked to higher rates of participation at tertiary level – new industries in the creative sectors, technological sectors, design, education but also tourism, festivals, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology and other areas.

SO--- Diversified economy... More industries... New industries... More jobs. Better paying jobs .

2020 vision is a destination in Patrick Manning's mind. He is the sole proprietor. It is not a shared vision.

We not only share our vision with you, you will participate in it you will create it.

2020 vision is a destination in one head.

Sustainable development on the other hand, is a process in which we all will participate.

We shall build a sustainable economy together.

And we will all rise.

#### **PILLAR 5** – National and Personal Security – Human Security for Peace and Prosperity

This is a critical area for our country and has been for some time.

Trinidad and Tobago will not be able to design a desirable future unless law and order, security of the person and of property can be addressed in a context in which all citizens can feel that justice can and will be done.

We will seek to transform the Society to create a just and fair environment.

We recognize that lawlessness and disorder contribute to the atmosphere in which criminal activity thrives and we will address this challenge head on.

But we will also focus on addressing social issues which nurture an environment in which crime tends to flourish, and we will rethink the prison system, reorganize the justice system and make interventions of a preventative nature.

At the centre of our focus will be human security and the establishment of a regime of peace, security and prosperity on a sustainable basis forward for our nation.

I don't have to tell you what Human Security through a reduction of crime will mean for all of us.

It will mean that we can sleep better at night.

That we will not have to be constantly looking over our shoulder as we go about our business from day to day...

That we won't have to count the murders on a daily basis...

That we won't have to live in fear of kidnapping...

That we won't have to worry about our children when they go to a club or a party...

So that we will not have to curtail our social activities in the evening and at night...

So that it will not cost as much to run a business....

We will be able to live again in freedom...

Free at last... We will rise.

#### **PILLAR 6** – Good Governance – People Participation

The focus in this area will be on three (3) key elements for the purpose of ensuring transparency, accountability, participation and effective representation as essential principles of good governance.

These are:

strengthening existing institutions

enhancing democracy, and

Strengthening execution and delivery capacity.

We will enhance democracy by strengthening existing institutions and by establishing new institutions or appropriate infrastructure to support accountability, transparency, consultation, participation and consensus building and more meaningful representation.

We will emphasize restructuring of government delivery systems to make government more responsive to the needs of the People.

We recognize that the People are sovereign and that the Government is the servant of the People.

We will support the separation of powers among key institutions in the Society such as Parliament, the Executive and the Judiciary and we will strengthen the autonomy of institutions, which have been systematically undermined over time, to support a functioning democratic governance system.

We will promote a climate of national dialogue within a framework of civility and consensus building. We will initiate a process of consultation to rewrite the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

The objective of Constitution Reform will be to establish a framework for good, responsive governance and to nurture and build a participatory culture and to strengthen democracy.

All of you will be part of the development process that is what we mean by this.

Power to the People. Influence by you. Strong decentralized local government to put you' the people in charge.

Power to our citizens not to one man.

And we will rise!!

#### **PILLAR 7 – Foreign Policy – Securing Our Place in the World**

Trinidad and Tobago is a small state and an island state that is an archipelago

We are part of CARICOM which consists of a number of other small island states which share a common history as well as aspirations for progress and achievement.

We are one of 84 countries in the world with population size of under 3 million and it is imperative that we structure our foreign policy to support and advance our objectives for sustainable national development, progress, peace and security for our 1.3 million people.

From a foreign policy perspective we will work in concentric circles, beginning with CARICOM, in an increasingly connected and interdependent world, to secure space and opportunity in the world for our country and our region.

We will strike an appropriate balance between bilateral and multilateral initiatives.

The entire thrust of our international relations strategy will be to achieve the national goals and objectives that we set for ourselves and to work with others, wherever and whenever mutual interests and objectives meet, to advance common cause.

We see the international arena and the world system as a space of opportunity to build partnerships, to leverage resources and to influence the direction of decision making regionally, across the hemisphere and globally.

We appreciate fully the need to harness talent, knowledge and experience and to build competence to achieve these things.

In a country of 1.3 million people, we have a workforce of about 600,000, and about 300,000 households, how do we leverage the markets and other opportunities in the world to give every home a reasonable living and every citizen a better life

And how do we help them to do better and to realize their dreams and ambitions in an interconnected, interdependent world.

That is what foreign policies are for;

and how to influence the world system so that the rest of the world appreciates that a small country like Trinidad and Tobago and a region of small countries such as we have in the Caribbean have special needs and need to have special things attended to.

If you are a small country like us you don't want to have a Group of 20 countries making decisions for you, although G20 is better than a G8. What a small country like Trinidad and Tobago really wants is a G200 so we can participate, organize Caricom and build alliances to our benefit.

My sisters and brothers, government is about people, whether local government, economic policy or foreign policy, the whole purpose of government action is to make the lives of citizens better and that is how as Prime Minister I will approach development.

And that is how we in this Peoples' Partnership will approach development.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

#### **WHAT DIFFERENCE WILL OUR MANIFESTO MAKE?**

But what difference will this shift in approach and policy make? What difference will our manifesto make? What difference will our new government make in your lives and in the life of our country?.

What would be the policy shift that will occur if development of our country were guided by our 7 pillars and our manifesto and what would be the impact of this policy shift?

In general, the economy will be transformed and the political system will be more responsive and participatory. But I want to take the time to mention nine (9) specific differences.

1. The first difference is that all development would take place in the context of a Land use and Physical Planning framework and that sustainable development principles will apply.

There will be order and purpose in development strategy and execution.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

2. The second is that people would be central to the development process not in word but indeed – education for all will be a reality, 60% tertiary participation will be realized, a poverty reduction strategy will be set in motion, social welfare support will be integrated for impact and jobs will be created on a sustainable basis in a thriving economy which reduces our dependence on energy and creates jobs through new industries that pay better.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

3. The third is that we will achieve food security as a reality and in the process effectively address the issue of water resources management, including flooding and water security and that will have a direct effect on our quality of life and the price of food.

By linking workers to the productive process and to sustainable initiatives we will improve productivity and enhance sustainable development practices throughout the country.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

4. The fourth is that we will be strengthening our energy industry, but we will also be building for a sustainable future linked to alternative energy and new knowledge and creative industries such as sports, entertainment, festivals, information technology, biotechnology, high tech manufacturing, light manufacturing, tourism, agro-industries and knowledge industries.

Sustainable diversification of our economy would therefore become a **sustainable** goal.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

5. The fifth is that the crime and personal security situation will be decidedly improved and the justice system overhauled resulting in faith that justice will be done and seen to be done. Poverty will also be reduced on a systematic basis and the quality of life in individual homes will be further improved by our home focused strategy. More people will be empowered to achieve sustainable livelihoods and more children will achieve in school.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

6. The sixth is that local government will be more meaningful to people and more impactful on community development and there will be many more opportunities for participation and influence by citizens.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

7. The seventh is that you will have clean, responsible and responsive government with legislative changes and constitutional amendments to curb excesses and abuse of power. There will be a decided emphasis on transparency and accountability.

AND WE WILL ALL RISE

8. Eight, we will have immediate action in specific areas identified in our 120 day plan that will begin to make a difference immediately such as measures for water resources management, flood control, irrigation and fixing leaks in the WASA system.

**WE WILL ALL RISE**

9. Nine, the mood and tone of the country will change and **barriers** will be broken down through consultation, participation, involvement and consensus building. This will help us achieve unity of purpose in our efforts and partnership and trust in the society.

**AND WE WILL ALL RISE.**

**TODAY**, we invite you to be a part of the economic, social and political transformation of Trinidad and Tobago.

We recognize that a holistic and synergistic approach to sustainable development is necessary to achieve meaningful and lasting results.

Accordingly, structures, mechanisms and institutions will be created as may be required to effect coordination, integration and optimum impact in the right places so that policy implementation yields the maximum direct benefit to our citizens.

Sisters and brothers I have taken the time to share the framework of our policy with you and to point out how it would impact you personally and the difference it would make in our country.

We have come together to see a new day.

We have come together to create a new society. We have come together for a better Trinidad and Tobago.

I didn't think I would get an opportunity to be here at this point at this time.

But I am here and you are here and we are here together.

Hold my hand, Let us put God in front and let us walk together.

Let us build a brighter future for our children.

I need your help, I need your support as I need the support of my brothers and sisters on the platform.

The Peoples' Partnership that we are building.

I will not let you down.

Kamla will not let you down.

We will not let you down.

## **CONCLUSION**

Make no mistake about it, we are at a defining cross roads in our nation's history; on 24th May we have a very important decision to make as a people;

we can either continue to sink lower and lower into the abyss that Patrick has taken this Country;  
or we can choose to lift ourselves out of the abyss that we are now in.

Under the banner of the People's Partnership, we will rise from the paralysis of fear and intimidation to the new paradigm of empowerment and confidence;

we will rise from the Machiavellian politics of divide and rule to the new age politics of unity and inclusion;

we will rise from the morass of corruption and patronage to a new dawn of transparency and accountability;

we will rise from Manning's cynicism and arrogance to a new dispensation of hope and humility;

we will rise from the pre-dominance of foreign dominance to the re-birth of national pride and nation building –

we will put Trinidad and Tobago first above all else.

**AND WE WILL RISE** From white sands of Las Cuevas to the black pitch lake in La Brea;

**WE WILL RISE** from the busy industrial town of Point Fortin to the quiet fishing village of Parlatuvier;

**WE WILL RISE** from serene village of Moruga to the tranquil village of Matelot;

**WE WILL RISE** from the striking shore of San Francique to the stunning shore of Sans Souci;

We will rise here from the centre of Chaguanas to the centre of Castara

We will all rise

WE WILL RISE as one people, one nation, united together under the People's Partnership and rejoice together "free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty we are free at last!!

As the sun rises on the morning of 25th May after the election; let this be the signal for all of us to join hands in building a new future for this Country based on the guiding principles of this great nation;

forged from the love and liberty - we will rise;

in the fires of hope and prayer - we will rise;

with boundless faith in our destiny - we will rise;

side by side we stand - we will rise;

islands of the blue Caribbean sea – we will rise

this our native land we pledge our lives to thee - we will rise;

where every creed and race find an equal place - we will rise,

May God bless you

May God bless our nation – WE WILL RISE.

Thank you.

## 10. Tobago – 4 May 2010

Greetings Tobago!

To my brothers and sisters in the most beautiful island in the Caribbean, tonight the winds of change have come to Tobago!

Can you feel it?

Tonight you have the change to be part of the change which is sweeping the country.

People are saying ENOUGH!

They have seen what the PNM has done, and they are saying that they will not take it anymore!

They want representation!

They want transparency!

They want justice!

They want a Government of the people, for the people and by the people!

Do YOU want that too?

Then come on board the winds of change and let us build this country home by home, street by street, community by community, town by town until we return this country to its pristine glory, and every man can sing to the high heavens...**thank god almighty today we have achieved liberation!**

### TOBAGO

The PNM has treated Tobago with SCORN.

Although we are a twin state nation, and despite the fact that Tobago effectively controls the THA, and the two seats in Parliament, Tobago has been treated with scorn by the PNM. What can Patrick come here and tell you? What can he boast about that he has done for Tobagonians?

**Crime in Tobago** is at an all time high. Patrick knows that. But to solve major crimes here, they have to import policemen from Trinidad to do it. Tourists are being warned not to visit out your tourist destinations.

This is what the US embassy has to say about Tobago:

**“In Tobago, the media have reported an increase in the incidence of violent crimes, including attacks on expatriate residents and tourists in their residences, at least two of which involved the use of machetes.**

**While local authorities have announced increased measures to fight crime, the U.S. Embassy advises that when making reservations at private accommodations, visitors should ensure that 24-hour security is provided.**

**There have been reports of home invasions in the Mt. Irvine/Buccoo Bay, and Bacolet areas, and robberies occurring at the waterfalls and on isolated beaches in Tobago where visitors are not in a group. Visitors to Tobago should ensure that all villas or private homes have adequate security measures.”**

If you were a tourist would you come here after you read that?

The Government’s failure to deal with crime in this area is costing the island significant loss in foreign exchange, and more than that, it is costing Tobagonians thousands of dollars in income from businesses associated with the tourist trade.

When I was Minister of Legal Affairs I caused legislation to be passed to reduce the waiting period for marriages in Tobago, to allow tourists to come here to be married and to enjoy the ambiance and personality of the most friendly country in the world!

Alas, after eight years of Patrick in power, PNM inaction is killing the tourist industry in Tobago.

**Unemployment is high** but Patrick has not a clue, he has no plan to create any employment in Tobago.

**Health** the Scarborough hospital of shame promised by Patrick in 2005 is now five years overdue! And they still promising a delivery date. At the end of October 2009 Jerry Narace came to Tobago and toured the Tobago hospital with the new contractor. He said then that the hospital was going to be delivered in May 2010. The Contractor gave them a completion date of May 2010.

We are in May 2010 now, and is the hospital finished?

The Minister of Health earlier this month, sought to calm Tobagonians with another mamaguy that the Hospital will handed over in the third quarter of 2010. But the Chief Secretary of the THA Orville London is now on record as saying that the hospital will be commissioned in 2011.

I tell you God alone knows when Tobagonians will be able to get any kind of medical attention at the new Scarborough hospital. They can find the resources to build the PM house in record time, but a hospital for the people of Tobago takes them 9 years!

But it gets worse. The Tobago News of April 2010 reported, and I want to quote this:

**“Minister Narace emphasised that there have been no cost overruns for the project, expressing satisfaction with the way the construction has gone”**

Who does he think he is fooling?

No cost overrun? The Scarborough hospital was budgeted to cost \$135 million when it was started in March 2003.

In October 2009 the Minister of Health told the media and I quote:

**“This contract is near \$500 million with the equipment and that is the fixed equipment. We will still have some moveable equipment which we will move from the (old) Scarborough hospital and maybe just one or two small pieces. It will not exceed another US\$2 (million) or US\$3 million,’ Narace said.**

On June 14, 2008, Narace had told the House of Representatives that China Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC) was then awarded a \$241.3 million contract to complete the construction of the hospital and had submitted a tender for \$236.3 million in respect of the supply of medical and other equipment. That figure plus the \$241 million gave a total of \$477.3 million.

Today the Scarborough hospital is estimated to cost \$570 million and he says there is no cost overrun?

The contract is already overrun by 422%. You should have built 4 hospitals in Tobago for that price! Instead Tobagonians have not even got ONE!

Something is wrong with that!

But the Minister is satisfied with the way things have gone. Why? Because the PNM does not care about Tobago!

This Scarborough hospital is the clearest indication of how Patrick thinks about Tobago...

I commit that **my government will complete this hospital as a matter of priority**. We will make sure that the relevant staff and state of the art equipment is provided to ensure that Tobagonians are treated with respect and have access to the hospital care they deserve.

But you want more?

#### **Registrar General's Office**

Since the PNM came into office, staff at the Register General's office in Tobago have been clamoring for relocation.

Nine years have passed and the Government refuses to move them to more appropriate accommodations. Every year since 2002, a new location has been found and every year this government has been in office NOTHING has been done. Do you think the PNM cares?

The registrar general's office is cramped. They cannot offer the full range of services as they do in Trinidad because they simply do not have the space to do so. Patrick knows this but does he do anything about it? No! Because for the PNM, Tobago is only important when election is called.

Workers have been protesting outside the registrar's office for the longest while, begging for better working conditions. They were outside protesting TODAY! And they will be there TOMORROW.

But I tell you now, that if you vote for the TOP on May 24<sup>th</sup>, those workers will not be protesting on May 25<sup>th</sup> 2010! I give you my personal assurance that we will find appropriate accommodation for the Registrar General's office. We will change the way things are done in Tobago, and change it for the better.

Every services available at the Registrar General's offices in Trinidad will be available right here in Tobago.

What the PNM has not done in eight years we will do in **one month!**

When you vote for change THAT is what you will get! **CHANGE! Not Shortchange but REAL change!**

#### **Land Titles**

One of the most depressing things that I have heard on this platform here tonight is the fact that, after 48 years of independence, most Tobagonians still face great problems in getting land titles for property here in Tobago.

Many of your families run the risk of losing property owned and occupied by their family for generations because a lot of the evidence of ownership has been lost over time by hurricanes, fires etc.



Because of this you cannot transfer land to your children and your parents cannot transfer property to you! You cannot go to the bank and get a loan to fix your house, to open a business, or to do anything else because you cannot prove the land is yours to start with. You cannot even apply for the grants and subsidies offered by the Government to upgrade your homes

This problem is well known.

What is perhaps not well known is how this PNM government has refused to fix this problem.

Friends, on August 30<sup>th</sup> 2006, the THA received a copy of a report of a Special Committee appointed to

**"investigate and make recommendations for the amendments of the Real Property Ordinance (RPO) and/or the Judges Guidelines with a view to finding a solution to the pressing problem of Land Titles in Tobago"**

That committee was chaired by my sister Dr. Eastlyn McKenzie, and included Tobago lawyer Ms Francis Wilson,

Mr Kamau Akili Council for sustainable development,

Mr Alvin Pascal Senior State council,

Mr Eric Taylor Attorney at law and

Mr Lyndon Antoine Land surveyor.

**All persons who had first hand experience of the problems facing Tobagonians to get title to their land!**

This committee analysed the problem and came up with 13 recommendations which they thought could quickly and effectively address the problem.

The reports states on page three :

**"Your committee is confident that when the process is fully implemented, in accordance with the Acts and the relevant regulations there would be an efficient process in place to remedy the present pains of obtaining and regularizing land titles in Trinidad and Tobago especially in Tobago.**

**Your Committee is however realistic in its expectations and does not foresee the implementation process beginning soon. (They KNEW the PNM would not act!)**

**Your Committee therefore makes these recommendations, which it thinks can be implemented immediately to ease the frustration of and give hope to applicants and Attorneys at Law that there is understanding and empathy for situations which, because of history, culture and the laws mandating registration of title deeds in Trinidad, a people suffer"**

THAT was in August 2006! My friends 2006 passed, 2007 passed, 2008 passed, 2009 passed, 2010 here and passing and up to today the PNM has not implemented these recommendations.

Three pieces of critical legislation passed by a UNC government in 2000 remain on the statute books awaiting implementation and recommendations gathering dust while people in Tobago become disenfranchised, robbed of their rights by the PNM government

Tobagonians today remain unable to prove that their property is THEIRS!

Why?

Because the PNM has historically taken Tobago for granted.

That is why they have treated you with scorn.

I will implement the recommendations of this 2006 report. I will implement the laws required to give it effect.

Your People's Partnership is about serving YOU, the people of this country first, second and third. That is our purpose!

## **PROMISES**

I have told you we will change the old age grant back to a pension and increase it to **\$3,000!** Pensioners no longer have to live in poverty!

**We will expand GATE** to incorporate foreign studies in priority areas and ensure that the programme reaches a wider audience.

**We will deal with crime head on!** Under a Partnership Government no criminal will be safe.

A safer Tobago means that there will be an **increase tourism thrust** with all the benefits to Tobago that come with it.

We will **resuscitate the agricultural sector** and pursue food security in Trinidad and Tobago.

We will **introduce a Corruption Commission** to investigate and prosecute any crime found in the award of contracts by the state.

We will **introduce a procurement policy** to ensure that proper accounting procedures and transparency become the hallmark of your People's Partnership in government.

We will introduce **a living wage** so that people no longer will be working and still living in poverty.

We will **create sustainable, permanent jobs** in a wide variety of industries.

We will ensure that **CEPEP workers** are provided with a proper salary and the basic rights of workers including pregnancy leave, sick leave, toilet facilities at job sites etc.

My friends we will ensure that the Registrar General's office is relocated to more appropriate offices and that they are provided with the appropriate resources to serve the people of Tobago.

We will ensure that all the requirements identified by the 2006 Eastlyn McKenzie report are implemented to ensure that Tobagonians can **finally get title to their land**

This is my commitment to you. That is the commitment of the People's Partnership.

That is why on May 24<sup>th</sup> 2010, you must vote for change.

That is why on May 24<sup>th</sup> 2010, you must vote for the TOP, your representatives on the Peoples Partnership.

**Let us bring Trinidad and Tobago together, powerful, capable and competent, united as one, as the Lord meant us to be.**

**Do not let them divide you anymore.**

**May God bless you, and may God bless our nation.**

## **11. Harris Promenade, San Fernando – 5 May 2010**

### **GREETINGS**

Good evening San Fernando.

Good evening to all of you in the surrounding hinterland of South Trinidad.

Good evening Trinidad and Tobago.

Last night right here in San Fernando, Patrick's PNM introduced their slate of losing candidates for general election 2010. Noticeably absent once again from the speakers platform was, yes, of course, Keith Rowley.

The gag order on Rowley speaking on the PNM platform continues. Imagine Manning silencing Rowley?! That is the deal cut between the PNM elders, Manning and Rowley.

Use Rowley's presence on the stage but edit his voice, control what he says, when he says it, where he says it and how he says it, IF he says it at all.

And they call that "healing."

So I repeat my dare to Rowley, endorse the leadership of Patrick Manning, tell your supporters you believe him to be honest, tell them that you were wrong to accuse him, tell them that you have had a change of Calder Hart and that all will be well again if ever they do the unforgivable and give him another five years! Tell them that Keith Rowley.

I dare Manning as well to endorse Keith Rowley, tell us you are sorry to have investigated him several times and that you are recalling the current investigation!

I want to see those two man crab on stage together holding hands and endorsing each other! Could you imagine what it would be like if Manning's PNM were ever returned to office? The party would fold again in months and new elections forced upon us. And we don't need a seer woman to tell us that is what the future with Patrick's PNM holds.

What a nightmare that would be! The PNM is ready to give you another five years of Martin Joseph looking after crime. They are ready to give you another five years of people like Dick Forde telling us that the nation has lost its soul for hounding poor Calder Hart. The PNM is ready to give you another five years of Karen Nunez telling us things like she didn't know of the CLICO collapse when she withdrew her funds just before.

The PNM is ready to give you another five years of neglect of the health sector, another five years of Palaces and Summits, another five years of UDeCOTT, another five years of corruption, another five years of Manning!

That is what the PNM is ready for! Is that what you are ready to take? Absolutely not! We all know we not ready for that!

### **FUTURE**

Tonight let's talk about the future of Trinidad and Tobago.

Let's talk about the choice our nation faces.

Let's talk about the importance of this moment, what this election means to our families and our nation, and what happens if we don't grab this moment for change.

I must tell you, I'm still energized from last Sunday's rally when we first presented our United force for Change.

I am even more energized by the thousands who attended the TOP rally in Tobago last night – Tobago gone TOP – London bridge is falling down and the TOP will be the bridge between T and T.

More than 40,000 people at Midcentre, and thousands more in Tobago - the largest political gatherings, people from all across our nation, brought together by a common cause, a common purpose –

A Common Mission – the Mission of Change.

And I don't have to tell you, you already know, you already feel it – our nation is starting to believe that change is possible and that change rests in our hands.

That's what our unity has done.

That's what the People's Partnership has brought.

A change to how we see ourselves and our country.

A change to what we believe is possible...

And slowly, it has begun to replace the despair forced upon us by Patrick Manning, with Hope.

Real hope.

Hope that this nation does belong to the people and not to Manning and his corrupt cronies.

Manning has spent eight and half years pounding faith, pounding hope out of families, out of our children.

His regime has ruled by fear and threat.

He has willingly sacrificed our future for his own personal gain.

What's been in the best interest of the nation has never been one of Patrick's concerns. He has never prioritized what the people needed only what he's wanted.

Remember what he said when I challenged him to debate me –

“Why would I do that, how's that in my interest.”

That's what he said – “That's not in my interest.”

And that's the only question he asks, that's the only question he's ever asked, that's how his government operates...

Everyone must ask – “What's in the best interest of Emperor Manning.”

“What's in the best interest of Emperor Manning's corrupt friends.”

That is not a government!

That is not a democracy!

That's a country held hostage to the whims of a power hungry, greedy dictator.

And that's just what we've been the last eight and half years – we've been Emperor Manning's hostages...

### **STORY – EMPEROR HAS NO CLOTHES**

Tonight I want to tell you a story, of vanity and arrogance.

Once upon a time there lived an Emperor called Patrick - and he was a very arrogant man, who did not care about his people, he was a very vain man and not very bright.

The Emperor liked to build monuments and wear fine clothes - all to show off to visitors from far away countries when they came for big waste of time meetings.

One day, a Canadian smart man called Calder came to see Patrick and he told Patrick that he would make the finest clothes for him out of a special thread that only people worthy to be in the Cabinet would be able to see.

Calder told the Emperor that the clothes would cost him \$300 M and to make up the cheque in the company name with his initials CH because no one would make the connection.

So Calder made the clothes and Patrick said he would wear it on 24th May, because that was an important day in the Country.

And before the big day, the Emperor tried on the new clothes made of special thread and all the Cabinet ministers told him he lookin' real good; except one called Keith and he was fired and accused of being a wajang.

Once Calder got his money he disappeared with the money, - fled the country.

On the 24th of May, when Patrick came out in his new clothes made by Calder everyone in the country knew that the special thread was really a hoax and the Emperor had no clothes.

The Emperor was so ashamed having been fooled because of his arrogance and vanity; he was never seen again....and everyone in the Country lived happily ever after.

### **let's talk about that future...**

A People's Partnership government will ensure a safer country.

### **CRIME**

Patrick Manning has done nothing to reduce crime. All he's done is sit in his mansion and watch it get worse. Our new government will aggressively address the whole area of National and Personal Security.

Manning lacks the political will to stop crime. His government sits with the drug lords and gang leaders, and calls them community leaders.

I won't.

I'll clean it up.

I'll do what's necessary. Because if a family is not safe, a family is not free.

### **SOUTH**

This part of the country produces so much of our wealth and yet you are on the outside, you are on the periphery, you are not at the centre of things.

And Patrick Manning is from San Fernando. Lenny Saith is from San Fernando. Where is he? Like Lenny Saith retired from politics? Or is it that he too cannot carry the burden of Patrick Manning on his back any longer?

A whole election campaign and not one peep from Lenny...

And Patrick Manning says he not even telling Lenny the date of the election because he Manning don't trust anybody.

In any case, these South MEN only looked after themselves...

But this South WOMAN won't let you down...

Kamla will make sure that you are included in the governance process and in the economy...

Kamla will not let you down.

I was in Tobago last night. The people of Tobago feel so marginalized, so excluded.

But the People's Partnership is about partnership and inclusion....

We pledge to bring the people into the centre of things...

We pledge to bring you into the center of things.

## **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BOARD**

One of the things that we will do is establish an Economic Development Board. This Board will be staffed by nationals on a merit basis...

They will come from Industry, the Professions...

They will be Academics, Labour and Civil Society...

And they will advise on economic policy after consulting with communities and Stakeholder Advisory Committee, which we will work with Civil Society to establish.

Two of the things that this Economic Development Board will advise on are:

1. **The balance between consumption and savings** – how much do we consume to satisfy present needs and how much do we save to provide for future generations. This is in keeping with our general policy position on sustainable development.
2. **The Economic Development Board** will advise on a more equitable resource allocation, more efficient and effective use of resources and a strategy for more equitable income to correct the weakening of our social structure.

So that as the south continues to produce, it will enjoy the fruits of production...

Our government will be more prudent and more enlightened in the use of resources and we will also address the issues of better, more sustainable jobs...

As well as equity across the country.

We will not squander your money. We will not plunder the nation's wealth.

We will not build a Tsunami shelter that cost five times what it was supposed to and it not finished yet.

We will not have a Calder Hart or a UdeCott which is given a free hand with State support and Prime Ministerial support to give away what belongs to Trinidad and Tobago citizens to friends and family, foreign contractors, a gang of cronies and have secret accounts outside the country.

## **ENERGY**

But this is San Fernando. This is the southland and I know you want to hear about energy.

The Energy industry in Trinidad and Tobago is important for our success. Patrick Manning is supposed to be an Energy expert but he has mismanaged the sector and he has misused and misallocated the income generated by the sector.

He has turned production potential into lost opportunities into wasted assets and he has turned a windfall into another wasted opportunity.

Our approach to the Energy Sector is to manage our energy assets so that it serves our people today and tomorrow.

So we will guide exploration, exploitation, utilization and monetization of our energy resources with this in mind.

The first thing that we will do is take steps to ensure that decisions in the energy sector are not political decisions to favour friends and family and the Manning crony network – involving thieves and vagabonds posing as gentlemen, agents of national development.

We will reestablish a Project Evaluation Unit, disbanded by the Manning Administration, building and strengthening capacity in that unit – so that professionals can evaluate investment projects and public servants can be included in the policy making process.

That unit will be charged to evaluate all gas-based projects and their evaluation and advice will allow us to ensure that our citizens are informed of the opportunity costs as well as the maximum benefits from such projects.

We will re-introduce professionalism in the evaluation process for energy sector projects and we will reduce direct political interference and manipulation.

In this way, we will avoid projects like the smelter. We will weigh the costs and benefit to the community and the country. We will address the issues not just of immediate economic viability but economic sustainability and harmony with sustainable development practices as well.

We will bring accountability and transparency to the sector.

We will do this by reviewing, revising and updating laws and regulations. But taxes and practices governing the energy industry will be reviewed.

Before new energy based industrial plants are given final approval, stakeholder consultations will be required.

This is best practice in the world.

It is only Manning who believes that our people are not worthy of consultation.

That our workers are lazy and that foreign workers are better.

And that you can do anything to Trinidad and Tobago citizens and get away with it. That is the arrogance and insensitivity and callousness that we have had to live with for the last several years.

But it is to an end now. Every rope has an end my grandmother used to say.

To strengthen transparency, to improve our international image and to attract worthy investment to the energy sector, our government will immediately implement the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) to give comfort to investors and to establish transparency as a bedrock principle in investment in the country.

The whole purpose behind this initiative is to eliminate corruption... To prevent investing companies from offering bribes.

We have no way of knowing the inside story of every corrupt practice and every scandal and every deal made in the energy sector in this country.

But I can assure you that we will conduct a forensic audit at Petrotrin within the first 120 days in Office to find out what really has been happening at that particular State Enterprise with taxpayers money.

We cannot have an industry that is a source of boon for national welfare to become one in which Manning and his cronies capture the benefits which should accrue to the people of this country for themselves.

Making deals and corrupting procurement practices and entering into contracts with invisible cost overrun deals that finance campaigns and end up in secret bank accounts is what this Patrick Manning government is about. But we were talking energy. What about business creation and job creation for our people?

We can achieve that by increasing the local content at various points in the value chain. More of our citizens should enjoy ownership of energy projects and should be supported to create service sector companies and service sector jobs linked to energy.

We also want to expand the skill sets for national development which would be transferable from energy to other sectors in the economy because we want to diversify rapidly too.

So there is a link between energy and education and training and development of new sectors. But our government will place emphasis on energy security.

One of our first steps in Energy security will be to address exploration and proving up of new resources in order to maintain a healthy “reserves to production” ratio.

This is what I mean by MANAGING our energy assets. We will not be carried away by potential and possibilities.

We will be guided by reality and we will manage risk and on that basis as we facilitate further exploration by constructive engagement of investors in the sector.

Energy security will inform our management strategy for our energy assets and we will take that further in two important ways.

We will proactively move to develop alternative sources of energy with a view to establishing an alternative energy industry.

Barbados is developing strength in solar energy projects, technology and products.

Research work is on-going at the University of the West Indies in solar, wind, wave and thermal energy alternatives. We will support research in such areas and provide incentives for more intensive research involving larger research groups.

We will also proactively seek investment and partnership opportunities in third and fourth generation energy alternatives.

This will link with our research support strategy and link energy policy with research as well as development initiatives.

Such initiatives will improve our potential for research and innovation; create new, high value jobs for our people, while simultaneously contributing to our nation’s energy security.

So this is part of our plan for managing our energy assets....

Reserves to production ratio...

A review of the existing regime...

Stimulation of exploration...

Professional assessment of energy investment proposals...

Alternative energy research as well as investment...

Energy security...

More local businesses linked to the sector...



More and better paying jobs...

Smarter use of income flows from energy to support a sustainable development

Strategy....

And prosperity for all.

Our clear areas of priorities would be a comprehensive revision of the business of oil production to enhance our capacity to produce.

We will explore alternative fuels.

Given the increased concern by our major trading partners on developing alternative fuels it is incumbent that we diversify this sector to focus on the downstream industries that best utilize our primary commodity products and contribute to a competitive advantage in the production of energy based manufacturing products and job creating industries.

At all times we will be cognizant of the environmental impact of energy related initiatives and will take major policy decisions after full participation from civil society and the NGO community.

We will undertake a forensic inquiry into the operations of Petrotrin, with a special focus on two areas (1) the refinery upgrade project and the massive cost overruns and (2) the Gas to Liquid (GTL) plant which has led to multi-billion litigation in New York.

## **Oil**

Trinidad and Tobago is the oldest oil producing country in the Commonwealth.

Oil production in Trinidad and Tobago pre-dates Middle Eastern oil production.

Oil production in Tand T is in decline owing to maturing fields and lack of investment.

Additionally, Tand T has become less attractive to international oil and gas companies because of the risk involved in Deep Water exploration off the east coast.

A Deep Atlantic bid round in 2006 attracted only one company. Oil production in Tand T is in precipitous decline and is currently around 109,000 barrels per day.

## **Policy formulation**

The PNM's industrial/energy sector policy is high handed and stems from an arrogance that is based on the belief that they alone understand how to manage the national energy sector.

It is for this reason that they encountered heroic resistance from local environmentalist on the proposed construction of two aluminum smelters.

The PNM's energy policy is crafted by a small cabal that includes the Prime Minister, Professor Julien and others including Malcolm Jones.

Nothing is wrong with development once that development takes place in the context of respect for nature and people

## **National Energy Commission**

Our approach to policy formulation for the energy sector will be consultative and will utilize the talents of the technocrats at the Ministry of Energy and Energy Industries, the NGC, the NEC, the Energy Chamber (formerly the South Trinidad Chamber of Industry and Commerce), local oil and gas companies, the

NGO's, the trade union movement, the UWI, the UTT and the Arthur Lok Jack Graduate School of Business.

Within the first 120 days in office, we will appoint a National Energy Commission from among the aforementioned stakeholders the aim of which would be to come up with a comprehensive policy document on the way the energy sector should be managed and grown in the future.

The main issues to be addressed in this consultation will be

1/ the best uses of natural gas.

2/ the upgrade of the Pointe-à-Pierre Refinery and the expansion of the refining industry in Trinidad and Tobago.

3/ the use of the Green Fund to clean up legacy related pollution in the oil belt of south Trinidad.

4/ promoting energy efficiency.

5/ Establishing commercial wind and solar projects – with emphasis on Tobago.

6/ We recognize the importance of a vibrant energy sector to the continued prosperity of the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago.

### **Exploration and Production of Hydrocarbons**

- The exploration and production of hydrocarbons will be conducted with concern and care for the environment and fence line communities. Companies involved in this sector will be required to observe the highest standards for safety and environmental conduct.

- We will stimulate exploration in onshore and offshore acreages through competitive bid rounds that seek to provide a fair return to the people of Trinidad and Tobago while attracting potential investors.

- Competitive bid rounds will be held on an ongoing basis and will seek to ensure a continuous programme of exploration in the various basins in Trinidad and Tobago.

- We will revitalize the Lease Operator / Farmout Programme and offer onshore acreage currently held by Petrotrin to local entrepreneurs who would invest in wells that are currently considered un-economic for Petrotrin.

### **Downstream**

The UNC will attract investment in the downstream sub- sector with the consideration that such investment would only be in locations where there is already industrial activity.

Investors would be required to show an element of local equity participation.

In addition investors would be asked to raise a certain percentage of equity on the local stock exchange. That way the average man and woman can directly own shares in energy companies.

Investment in the downstream sector would be encouraged where such investment has a value added component the output of which can be consumed by local manufacturers.

In this regard, consideration would be given to the establishment of polymer type industries in Trinidad and Tobago that would provide feedstock for local plastics manufacturers. This will increase the competitiveness of the local manufacturing sector.

### **Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG)**

We are prepared to consider the expansion of the LNG industry given that our reserve position can justify such a decision and investment.

Any expansion of the LNG industry must however consider Government participation throughout the LNG value chain including equity in liquefaction, shipping and re-gasification.

### **Local Content in the Energy Sector**

We recognize the need to increase the level of participation in the energy sector of citizens of Trinidad and Tobago and Trinidad and Tobago owned businesses.

To this end, we will introduce in Parliament a Local Content in the Energy Sector Bill.

This Bill will seek to define targets for local participation in energy sector projects. It will also establish a Local Content secretariat at the Ministry of Energy that will have the responsibility to implement the Government's Local Content policy and to monitor compliance with it.

### **Energy Services**

The UNC recognizes that there is a vibrant "Energy Services" sub-sector in Trinidad and Tobago owned by nationals.

Local energy services companies have gone international and have made Trinidad and Tobago proud.

They have been able to do this with little or no support from Government. The UNC will provide incentives to promote the export of energy services from Trinidad and Tobago and the establishment of an "Energy Services Hub" that would supply services to Suriname, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil and African countries.

### **Ethanol and CNG**

We will maintain the gasoline subsidy to the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago.

In considering the reduction of our nation's carbon footprint, we will consider revitalizing the Sugar Industry with the view of providing the raw materials for the production of ethanol which can be used as a transportation fuel in place of gasoline as is currently done in Brazil.

We also plan to increase the number of vehicles in Trinidad and Tobago that use Compressed Natural Gas.

This will require equipping more service stations with CNG filling facilities. the PNM has spoken about this for over 5 years but has been unable to implement because of a lack of political will and sheer incompetence.

So we will have a water security and food security strategy.

But we will also have an energy security strategy....

And a diversification and deepening and widening strategy within energy...

It is time we take back our country, be more prudent with our resources and build for today and tomorrow.

We are building a partnership with the people to build back this country.

We will create more together

We will do more together

We will achieve more together

We will not let you down.

The people's partnership will not let you down.

Kamla will not let you down.

We will rise

The South shall rise

The North shall rise

The East will rise

Central will rise

The West shall rise

We shall all rise together

Together...all of us

UNC

COP

TOP

Labor

Old

Young

Men

Women

The entire rainbow of our nation – WE WILL RISE

One voice, one will, one destiny...

One common future...

A future where we are together...

One chorus of voices demanding to be given their basic human rights, the right to be protected and to live free of fear, the right to be given proper medical attention, the right to a regular supply of fresh, drinking water, the right to an independent judiciary, the right even to gather here to make known our demands.

Trinidad and Tobago will rise.

Prosperity for all. God bless you.

God bless OUR NATION.

### **QUESTIONS TO MANNING**

I want to spare a few moments to deal with Patrick and the comments he made right here in San Fernando last night

I was not here so I have to depend on the papers to report to you.

And this is what the Trinidad Express newspaper reported this morning about what Manning said:

“If Mrs Persad-Bissessar had the political acumen that is required to run a country like Trinidad and Tobago you know what she would have done, she would have had Mickela Panday the candidate for Couva North, then you would have seen political acumen.

“As it now stands UNC supporters have every right to be upset with the vindictiveness... and that your interest in the matter is if she is vindictive with her own kind what about you!” ... HER OWN KIND ... Ah coming back to dat! That is what the paper said.

### **BUT Manning will not talk about Energy security**

#### **Political Acumen**

And this is the man who has effrontery to talk about my political acumen!! About vindictiveness!! Manning, stop worrying about my political acumen and stop minding UNC business! You had a country to run with a mandate for five years and your government collapsed in 30 months. We in the People’s Partnership and the UNC know what we are doing ... and if what you have is political acumen, we don’t need it. You keep it! You know, instead of running a country, this man only worried about what we doing. Mr Manning, mind your business and leave us alone! You invented vindictiveness ... and you have the gall to talk that kind of nonsense about us? Why don’t you talk about why you throw out Penny Beckles.

Why don’t you tell the people that you afraid she ... She won the seat for Arima in 2007 Mr Manning ... she was deputy speaker of the House of Representatives ... but YOU THROW YOUR PENNY OUT AND NOW YOU BANKRUPT so you getting false and minding we business. Tell them why you throw Penny out. Is it because she congratulated me for winning the leadership of our party? Or is she a threat to you? Like Rowley. And Ken valley. And Fitzgerald Hinds ... and Eddie Hart and all the others you kicked out who did not suck up to you. I have said before that Manning is not only vindictive and spiteful he is divisive ... and he is always trying to preach race in his attempt to divide this country ... but it won’t work Mr Patrick!

### **ENOUGH IS ENOUGH**

Now it’s time for us to say - ENOUGH.

ENOUGH.

No more corruption.

No more UDeCOTTs.

No more Calder Harts.

No more skyscrapers when our families don’t have clean water.

No more talk about hospitals that haven’t been built.

No more of the government turning its head to crime and not doing what needs to be done to protect our families.

No more Property Tax.

No more TTRA Bill.

No more fanciful Summits.

No more million dollar flags.

Enough.

No more of a government that only asks “What’s in it for me?”

No more Emperor sitting in a multi-million dollar palace.

No more Patrick Manning.

Time to go...

Time to go...

Patrick Manning, it's time to go.

### **RACIST SLUR**

I want to remind you of Manning's words right here last night:

"IF SHE IS VINDICTIVE WITH HER OWN KIND WHAT ABOUT YOU!" ... her own kind.

What are you saying Mr Manning? That is a racist slur and you know it.

Everybody in this country is my OWN KIND ... because this is one country with one people ... our history of servitude and struggle binds us together.

Everybody in this country is equal ... and that is how it will always be with our People's Partnership government which takes office on May 25.

Don't try to divide this country along race and religious lines.

Ethnicity, religion, culture, class and social standing must never again be an issue in this country ... that is the PNM method of divide and rule ... we in the UNC and the People's Partnership know about unity.

We will put our hands around this nation and embrace everyone with love as one family... because that is what we are ... and on May 25 this wonderful family of Trinidad and Tobago will have a mother ...

This is the time

So take a stand.

Stand with me and stand for yourselves.

Stand for those who can't stand on their own.

It's liberation time and if we don't grab it now, it may not come again.

So join our effort.

Go to Kamla.tt and join the discussion.

Volunteer, talk to your neighborhoods. Call radio talk shows.

It's our country, not Patrick Manning's and it's time we remind him of that.

So get involved.

And make a difference.

Make a difference.

And rise....rise...

Rise for our families.

Rise for our children.

Rise for our nation.

It is time now...

If not now, when....

And may I suggest – if not now, it will be never be...

## **ROWLEY VS MANNING**

The emperor fears change.

The emperor wants more of the same.

And as you've noticed...he's had nothing to say, nothing, except to attack me and to suggest that our People's Partnership will not last.

But what Emperor Manning doesn't understand is that just because he says it, doesn't make it so...

He must think his very words can shape reality...

But he doesn't have that power –

In fact, he doesn't even have power to hold his own party together.

If he wants to see who really has the problem with unity – all Patrick has to do is look in the mirror.

All he has to do is look at the raging bull who he won't even let speak at his own party's meeting.

The party that can't hold together is Patrick's own party.

Rowley is launching his own campaign tomorrow –without Manning.

He's not invited.

If Patrick knew anything about Unity, he'd make sure his own party had unity.

And it doesn't.

Emperor Manning knows nothing about Unity so he should really stop pointing his finger at our own People's Partnership and instead start learning from us.

When the People's Partnership takes to the podium, we don't have to muzzle members of our own party. Patrick has to do that.

When the People's Partnership takes to the podium, we can stand side by side, we can work together...

Patrick's party can't do that.

“There is bitterness, there is acrimony, there is animosity” –

That's Manning talking about Rowley...

That's the unity of Emperor Manning's party...

So who has the unity problem?

Not us...not the People's Partnership.

We're a unified force for change and ready to lead.

And that's something Patrick Manning can't say about his own party.

That's something he'll never be able to say about his own party.

In this election, it's the People's Partnership that offers stability - it's the People's Partnership that offers promise and hope...

It's the People's Partnership that offers us a future...

### **Conspiracy – fixed ELECTION DATE**

Right here last night Manning spoke about a conspiracy that caused his government to fall in 1995. Remember what happened 15 years ago? Manning government had collapsed. Just liKe in 2010 ... he could not govern ... he called an early election and he lost. HE LOST ... and now he boldface to blame somebody else for that.

Here is what manning said last night ... Brian Keui Tung sold him out by telling Basdeo Panday the election date. You ever hear more foolishness than that?

He said the date was supposed to be a big secret because he wanted to spring an election on the opposition and win because of the element of surprise but somebody let him down and leak the date to Panday.

He said “THAT IS A MISTAKE I MADE THEN AND I WILL NEVER MAKE AGAIN.”

Well I have news for Mr Manning ... he was the mistake then and he is the mistake today... he lost in 1995 because of his incompetence, his arrogance, spite and vindictiveness ...

Ask Ralph Maraj (who is now one of Manning’s best friends) ... and Ralph’s sister - Occah Seepaul - who Manning made a prisoner in her own home when she refused to resign. That is Manning’s style ... to hound and harass people who don’t share his point of view ... and that is what he does to people.

So Manning lost in 1995 ... and he will lose again in 2010 because like 1995 his government has collapsed because of his inability to govern...

### **LEADERS**

And thank God for that because on May 24 this country will have real government again ... comprised of a team of some of the best talent of this country ... people like Winston Dookeran, Jack Warner, Citizen Herbert Volney, Errol McLeod, and Makandal Daaga ... and many more

Manning said my mistake was to join with them ... Well Mr. Manning they and other members of our PEOPLE’s team are ready ... the people are ready ... AND YOUR TIME IS UP.

My brothers and sisters one of the things that a People’s partnership government will do is to end the political games ... of trying to surprise the opposition and pulling election dates from back pockets ... We will have FIXED election dates ... no surprises ... no opportunity for a government to try to win re-election by seizing an advantage to get back in government. We will have fixed dates so people will judge us on our performance. And we will also have term limits for our prime minister ...

That is what you have asked of us ... and that is what we will deliver ... a government that is responsive to your wishes, responsible and accountable.

And a lady told manning here last night he must wear white if he wants to win ... Well I tell you tonight Manning losing this election whether he wear white, black or red ... he cyar win even if he wear YELLOW ... because the people have decided that they have had enough on Manning and his clique...

The people don’t want to live in a dictatorship with a tyrant who cares only about himself and his friends. The people are fed up...

The people are fed up of the neglect ...

the people are fed up of the corruption ...

The people are fed up of the squandermania ...

The people are fed up of the lack of health and other essential services like water...

The people are fed up of the lies and propaganda ...

The people are fed up of the incompetence, arrogance and the bankruptcy of the minds of the Manning and his minions who have the audacity to shut down your parliament and then come back to you to ask for your vote.

You have the power in your hands to change your lives ... so on May 24, use it to change your government.

Let us walk with God in front ... we will RISE ... we will rise ... and on May 24, you the people will RISE ... and take control of your destiny when you vote Manning and the PNM out of office.

YOU have the power. I urge you to use it to take control of your lives. You owe it to yourselves, your



families and generations to come.

### **ARE YOU BETTER OFF TODAY??**

Look around you ... ask yourself one simple question ... ARE YOU BETTER OFF TODAY?  
\$300 billion squandered ... and nothing to show for it but a palace, a few tall buildings, a billion dollar stadium and other monuments of waste ...  
\$300 billion squandered ... and you have no water ... and no beds and medicine in our hospitals ...

### **ARE YOU BETTER OFF TODAY?**

\$300 billion squandered and gangs roam our schoolyards...  
\$300 billion squandered and mothers still can't buy food and medicine...  
\$300 billion squandered and we have to live in self imposed jails while criminals walk free...  
**ARE YOU BETTER OFF TODAY?**

My brothers and sisters, BETTER DAYS are coming. BETTER IS COMING ... but only you make the difference ... you carry the greatest power in your hands ... the hand with which to mark a ballot. You hire a government and you can fire a government that does not serve you. Manning failed ... So on May 24 ... take matters in your hand. Tell Manning he HAVE TO GO ... we not taking dat!

## **12. Couva Car Park, Couva – 6 May 2010**

### **GREETINGS**

#### **Meeting with Mr. Robinson – his words to me – “DO NOT QUIT”**

Tonight let's talk about the future of Trinidad and Tobago.

Let's talk about the choice our nation faces.

Let's talk about the importance of this moment, what this election means to our families and our nation, and what happens if we don't grab this moment for change.

So tonight let's shift focus for a moment from the Manning's long record of massive corruption and his failed leadership.

To one of the most pressing issues facing our country. An issue that Manning has not only ignored but one that he has actually made worse...

### **CRIME**

Tonight let's talk about something that touches each and every family in our country, something that is deeply disturbing and something my government will aggressively tackle...

This issue of crime.

The constitution of our country guarantees to each citizen certain basic fundamental human rights.

The first right is the right to security of the person.

But in Tand T today, the State is unable to guarantee the safety of our citizens.

There is an undeclared state of emergency in this country.

People are living under self-imposed curfews, sanctioned and endorsed by a government that cannot control crime.

Our homes have been converted into virtual jails.

If a state cannot guarantee the fundamental right to safety and security, the social pact has been breached and anarchy will prevail.

When this happens the government has failed society and what you have is A FAILED STATE!

And that is what has happened here.

We have a constitutional crisis.

Manning has ruptured the very soul of our nation.

The time has come for us to re-take possession of our land.

And that is why people from all walks of life are expressing support for the People's Partnership and our rescue mission.

The tsunami of uncontrollable crime has penetrated your barbed wire fences, remote-controlled gates, security alarms, burglar proof, gated communities, steel doors and security guards, fracturing and traumatising families that never fully recover.

People are packing up and leaving, forced out of their homes by savage crime.

Every family with young children wants to have a foreign passport, as the option of leaving is now becoming a serious imperative.

Emperor Manning's reaction to crime is scandalous.

It is insensitive, callous and disgraceful.

Remember how he said kidnappings were "BOGUS"?

Could you imagine the pain this insensitive statement inflicted on the women who were kidnapped and brutally raped?

What could be worse than a leader who pours scorn on their plight and doubts the ordeal they suffered?

Instead of offering assistance, he was busy trying to trivialise it so that his gov't wouldn't look bad!

That is why yuh would see him toasting with his Siamese twin Calder Hart with fine champagne instead of visiting a kidnap victim.

Do you remember Mr Manning's reaction to the brutal murder of our daughter Tecia Henry?

He told his supporters at a party convention that the public outrage and sympathy was misplaced.

He suggested she was somehow to blame, and advised "Don't take it at face value," staining an innocent child's memory.

With confounding and unbelievable arrogance he hinted that the Government had inside information he could not disclose.

"I wish I could share the facts," he said, "but that is not for me to say."

What part of the bible does Mr Manning read that could justify the callous murder of a ten-year old girl with a smile that could melt the heart of any enemy?!!

And as if to add salt into the wounds of our national conscience, Manning has never once mentioned and probably doesn't even remember the children who were victims of crime such as ---

Vijay Persad, Sean Luke, Radha Pixie Lakhan, Amy Annamunthodo and Akeil Chambers.

But what can you expect from a man who befriended and partnered with criminals?

Remember how Manning tried to rush and give the Jamaat Al Muslimeen state lands on the eve of the general election?

Doh forget Manning under investigation for this.

Permit me to remind you of what the Privy Council said:

"The essence of the agreement between the Prime Minister and Mr Abu Bakr, on behalf of the Jamaat, was that certain advantages would be given to the Jamaat out of State property, in return for securing voting support for the Prime Minister's political party. In the opinion of the board, this was corrupt within the meaning and intendment of section 3, and each party to the agreement was acting in contravention of the section... The whole purpose of this agreement was to obtain electoral advantage for one political party, the PNM, by means of using State property, and as such, it was clearly illegal."

And just so there's no confusion, let me make this very clear, I want to warn Emperor Manning and all his cronies, when I assume office; I intend to set up a special court to expedite the criminal prosecution of any public official who violated the laws of this land which they swore to uphold.

Special legislation will be passed to ensure that trials of public officials accused of corruption and misconduct in public office take place in record-breaking time. There will be swift justice on behalf of the people!

**BY THE WAY DID YOU HEAR - the other night on our platform, Jack revealed the contents of a very important email that he received regarding the Valdez and Tory matter; well tonight I want to tell you that I too received a very important email.**

**This email is apparently being circulated by the Manning campaign in an attempt to generate support for Patrick. It has been circulated to over 5 million people so far (both locally and abroad) and it asks the recipient to add their name to list - like a petition - confirming their support for Patrick. So far, the list - after going out to 5 million people - only has three names: Hazel Manning; Calder Hart and someone who has signed their name only**

**MARTIN JOSEPH**

Manning foisted the incompetent Martin Joseph upon us. He is the invisible Minister.

He never around.

The most critical Ministry and he always missing in action!

Yuh does only see him flying high in helicopters, riding high while we suffer on de ground. He fired Howard Chin Lee to make way for this most unable of Ministers.

The Ministry of National Security went from bad to worse! Man, SPONGEBOB coulda do ah better job than these fella!

Manning has persisted with Martin Joseph despite the fact that he has failed miserably.

Millions of dollars for failed ideas: the Matrofski plans, Operation Anaconda, Eye-in-De-Sky, de Blimp, ....

He ignored the cries of the people for change.

He re-shuffled his cabinet and pretended not to hear the cry from his own party to give Dr Keith Rowley the Ministry of National Security. Instead, he put Keith in the doghouse and end up firing him.

And he doh want Keith tuh talk. Not at all. Having put him in the PNM doghouse, he now trying to muzzle him! Buh wait...all hell will break lose soon...yuh ever hear ah pot hound muzzle ah Rottweiler?!!

## **ROWLEY VS MANNING**

MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, IN DIEGO MARTIN, KEITH ROWLEY tonight WILL SPEAK ON HIS OWN PLATFORM.

NOW THAT HE DOESN'T SHARE IT WITH HIS LEADER AND PNM PRIME MINISTERIAL CANDIDATE PATRICK MANNING, HE IS ALLOWED TO SPEAK.

BUT I WONDER WHETHER HE WILL ALSO FIND THOSE PRINCIPLES WHICH HE SAID HE WOULD LAY DOWN HIS POLITICAL LIFE FOR BUT WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LOST OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS.

I WONDER IF KEITH ROWLEY WILL ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE TO ENDORSE PATRICK MANNING?

I MEAN HE COULD NOT REALLY BE EXPECTING PNM SUPPORTERS TO BUY INTO THE HYPOCRISY OF ASKING THEM TO VOTE PNM AND PUT THE MAN HE SAYS WAS PRIVY TO ALL THE CORRUPTION AT UDECOTT BACK AS PRIME MINISTER.

THAT IS JUST ABSURD.

WHAT DOES IT SAY ABOUT KEITH ROWLEY?

YOU CANNOT GIVE US ALL THESE DETAILS ABOUT HOW YOU TOLD PATRICK MANNING ABOUT THE BID RIGGING AT UDECOTT AND HOW MANNING RESPONDED BY SLANDERING YOUR NAME AND NOW THE SAME KEITH ROWLEY WILL TELL VOTERS TO ELECT MANNING?!

WHAT MADNESS IS THAT?!

IF ROWLEY STILL BELIEVES MANNING IS CORRUPT THEN SAY SO AND IF NOT APOLOGISE AND ENDORSE HIM- BUT HE CANNOT REMAIN SILENT AND ASK PNM SUPPOTERS TO PUT MANNING BACK IN POWER.

RIGHT NOW PATRICK MANNING HAS ROWLEY UNDER A THIRD INVESTIGATION AND RIGHT NOW ROWLEY HAS NOT RECANTED HIS POSITION OF WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN MANNING, CALDER HART AND UDECOTT.

But back to **Martin Joseph.**

Instead of admitting failure and resigning, Martin Joseph said the situation was not as bad as it was being made out to be, and praised the police, observing that

“If I beat up on the police every day, this is the same organisation, notwithstanding their limitations, they are the ones who are going out on the front line.....If I do that, I will be dotish, and I not dotish, I may look dotish.”

(Some would convincingly argue that this last sentence was, perhaps, a defining moment of self-realisation for the minister.)

Manning’s attitude towards crime has always been one of casual indifference.

His flippancy is manifested in public statements that constantly seek to downplay the true state of social decadence and the chaotic breakdown in law and order. As head of the government, his attitude explains why his government has done almost nothing to protect our families –

When our children were being kidnapped and raped, PM Manning said those stories were bogus and suggested that the UNC was behind them because they wanted to make the government look bad.

When people were being bombed outside Smokey’s N Bunty’s, Manning said he knew who “Mr Big” was and hinted that he will be arrested soon.

When public executions started and people were being shot and killed outside Movietowne, Manning said it was simply “collateral damage”.

Baby Tecia Henry die, Manning say “drug-related”.

Recently, I listened in amazement to a radio interview, with Mr John Donaldson.

Questioned about the crime situation, Mr Donaldson, boldly and confidently, said there was no crime crisis, as Tand T was a place of “peace and prosperity.”

Perhaps, Mr Donaldson should try telling this to the families of Kamal Harripersad, Chaitlal Singh and JP Asquith Clarke.

They were state witnesses who were executed in cold blood before they could testify. No arrests to date.

Does Mr Manning remember fourteen-year-old Amrika Ramdial?

In May 2008, she was kidnapped by four men in a grey Honda Civic outside her home in Gaston Street, Chaguanas. People who witnessed the abduction recorded the number plate of the getaway car, but the

plates were traced back to a trailer truck.

Amrika was abducted in daylight at around 3.45 pm. A car pulled alongside her, and two men came out with guns and snatched her as she walked towards her home in Orchard Gardens. She left behind one side of her shoes and book-bag. Police roadblocks failed to stop the getaway.

The list goes on and on and that list stands as a vivid indictment of Patrick Manning and his total disregard for the lives of Trinidad and Tobago families.

Manning allowed a handful of criminals to blossom and grow.

The PNM nurtured these infant gangs with lucrative URP and Cepep contracts.

He called them “community leaders” and wined and dined them. He exploited their vulnerable dependency syndrome, because he wanted to ride the back of the tiger into political office.

Now, he can neither dismount nor wound this creature that he has created, for fear that this very tiger will indiscriminately devour even the hands of those that once fed it.

Martin Joseph remains Minister of National Security, despite the proliferation of gangs under his watch. He has probably lost count of them and can’t be bothered any more.

He has armed security. How nice for him...

And this all explains why Patrick Manning, who is chairman of the country’s National Security Council, seldom speaks about crime.

He deftly and diplomatically parries the blows from probing journalists when they do get the odd chance to interview him. He often defers the matter to his esteemed Minister of National Security Martin Joseph.

Gangs have mushroomed and multiplied under his very nose, despite Martin Joseph’s famous empty cry that “We will hunt you down! We will not allow you to terrorise and hold ransom our nation!

Yet that is exactly what has happened.

Martin Joseph stumbles, stutters, mumbles and smiles, but has absolutely no concrete plans whatsoever.

He trips over every hurdle, and accepts no responsibility for the lack of vision, policy and strategic direction in the fight against crime.

His blimps were supposed to be able to identify number plates whilst up in the air and the high-tech spy equipment trace calls within seconds. What a waste of resources!

We have crossed the ominous 500 murder mark faster than Usain Bolt.

Law-abiding citizens are virtually imprisoned behind burglar-proofed windows and steel doors as if we are the ones in prison.

With a detection and conviction rate that ranks among the lowest in the world, there is no light at the end of this dark tunnel. Our murder rate is higher than that of New York, with over ten million people.

Where is the right to freedom of movement and liberty, when we all live under self-imposed curfews

because the streets belong to the criminals after 7pm and the police themselves tell us to avoid going out after dark?

Manning doesn't care about crime. He has no plan to stop crime. In fact, all his government does is commit crime.

He can't be bothered. He sees himself as a world leader. Instead of caring for our troubles, he is attempting to create a parallel political union outside Caricom, hosting summits and unnecessary regional conferences, globetrotting to meet world leaders, building an emperor's palace and a modern kingdom of imitation sky scrapers that remain empty.

He is selfish and egotistical!

How else can you describe a leader who constantly addresses his grand visions that have nothing to do with the source of the fire that is consuming Rome?

The uncompromising all-out attack against crime that we need has just not happened.

The criminals have no fear or respect for the police and law and order is fast becoming a thing of the past.

Blood and tears are flowing like water, and the soul of our nation has been ruptured.

The haemorrhaging continues unabated and the situation is desperate and critical.

Is it too much to ask of our PM that he should stop looking up into the sky at his beloved skyscrapers, so he could see the bloodshed and anguish of those with who live and walk on the ground?

It's too much to ask of Emperor Manning and that's why we need a change.

That's why we must retake our country.

That's why we need a government that will put the people first.

As Prime Minister, I'll take concrete steps to control and then end crime.

It will be a multi-pronged approach.

- We will hold the police accountable for the effective delivery of their services, establishing clear and measurable benchmarks for crime reduction and containment.
- We will establish a National Security Operational Center involving the use of technology to set up a real time centralized system for tracking crime. This will include GPS technology in every police vehicle.
- We will use GPS bracelets on offenders who are on probation.
- We will better control and patrol our coast line through 360 degree radar linked to all branches of our security services.
- We will establish the National Security Protective Services Training Academy to improve the training provided to police officers.
- We will also prioritize community policing so put police presence in all of our neighborhoods.

· We'll also overhaul the criminal justice system. Rebalancing the system in favor of victims and ensuring that criminal and civil matters are separately addressed.

· We'll also expand and implement community service for certain categories of crime as well as facilitate the further establishment of half-way houses to help the reintegration of past offenders.

These are just a few of the concrete steps we'll take.

On May 25, we'll show that a Prime Minister who is really concerned about crime and who has a plan can make a difference.

And that's exactly what I'll do.

That's exactly what we'll do together.

UNC

COP

TOP

Labor

Old

Young

Men

Women

Together, all of us invested in a common future, we'll make the future we want.

If there's one thing we've learned in the last eight and a half years – it's that Patrick Manning and his PNM don't have the answers.

### **ARE YOU BETTER OFF TODAY??**

Look around you ... ask yourself one simple question ... ARE YOUR BETTER OFF TODAY?

\$300 billion squandered ... and nothing to show for it but a palace, a few tall buildings, a billion dollar stadium and other monuments of waste ...

\$300 billion squandered ... and you have no water ... and no beds and medicine in our hospitals ...

### **ARE YOU BETTER OFF TODAY?**

\$300 billion squandered and gangs roam our schoolyards...

\$300 billion squandered and mothers still can't buy food and medicine...

\$300 billion squandered and we have to live in self imposed jails while criminals walk free...

### **ARE YOUR BETTER OFF TODAY?**

My brothers and sisters, BETTER DAYS are coming. BETTER IS COMING ... but only you make the difference ... you carry the greatest power in your hands ... the hand with which to mark a ballot.

You hire a government and you can fire a government that does not serve you. Manning failed ...

So on May 24 ... take matters in your hand. Tell Manning he HAVE TO GO ... we not taking dat!



## **Onemanship**

One party rule and too much power in the hands of a single person and a single party does not benefit the common good and more often than not leads to greed and corruption.

That's what we've seen the last eight and a half years.

And the answer is not more of the same but rather a united partnership that reflects and brings all the people together.

A united government that works for and includes each of us.

A broad government that delivers what the nation and the people need.

And that's exactly what our People's Partnership is doing.

It's time for a new way. It's time for a new day.

It's time for us to rise from the fear of criminals,

it is time for us to rise from the neglect of our nation's hospitals,

it is time for us to rise from the corruption imposed upon us by the Emperor.

We know that the government belongs to us, not the politicians.

We know that wealth and prosperity belong to us, not the political parties.

This is our chance to vote our dreams, not our fears.

Patrick – we've tried it your way – and it doesn't work.

We're ready for a new way.

We're ready for a government that brings us all together.

And that's what this campaign is all about.

It's about a new way.

It's about a new Trinidad.

It's about us together making sure we wake on May 25 with a new future..

If we rise together... our nation will rise...

Join me.

Join me.

Thank you.

God bless you and God bless Trinidad and Tobago.

### **13. Diego Martin – 7 May 2010**

Brothers and Sisters. What a revealing speech by Rowley last night here in Diego Martin. The most compelling statement by Rowley was and I quote "there will be enough time for the ship to be on dry dock and there will be enough time for court martial"

Those are the words of a man "who playing dead to catch corbeaux alive". Rowley knows that the PNM is going to lose and lose badly on 24 May...so he is biding his time to stage the mutiny on the PNM ship.

Mark my words, the day after the People's Partnership has formed the new Government, and the PNM is on dry dock; Rowley will make his move to court martial Manning! But I have news for Rowley - the people of Trinidad and Tobago not waiting - we will court martial Patrick on 24 May when we vote him out!

Is Rowley showing us the future of how he intends to deal with Manning?

#### **ROWLEYS PROBLEM**

But the problems between Manning and Rowley do not surprise me because you know that they are both geologists and that is why they are caught between a rock and a hard place!

On one hand Rowley cannot diss Manning outright before the election because his supporters will never forgive him; and on the other hand, Rowley cannot endorse Manning because no one will believe him.

You have to state it down the line Rowley, you can't be slightly pregnant. You're either endorsing Manning as a good leader or you're standing by your allegations of his corruption. To use your analogy Rowley you can't keep your captain of the ship when you know he is guiding it towards the rocks and sinking all on board with it!

But we understand the dilemma which Minister Rowley's has Ladies and Gentlemen.

He wants to lead the PNM.

But to lead the PNM he has to totally distance himself from Manning and the Manning faction. That is why Ladies and Gentlemen he spoke about "Court Martial" when he spoke in Diego Martin last night.

So after all the huffing and puffing last night we still didn't hear Rowley take on our dare and openly endorse Manning. Do that Rowley. Endorse the man you claim to be corrupt! You have the temerity to tell us leave Manning alone?

Leave this man you told there was bid rigging at UDeCOTT and who responded by firing you?! Leave that man alone? Leave him to be returned to office. Rowley is that you? Rowley is that you? Have you Rowley lost your...ah...nerve? Have you Rowley lost them...your nerves I mean.

But Rowley's dilemma is that he knows that in order to defeat Manning he will need to bring down the PNM including himself - and that is his dilemma.

So he predictably tries to disassociate himself from Manning but to associate himself with the Party - and so he predictably promotes himself as the only legitimate head of the PNM.

Listen carefully to his speech last night. You will hear it....

#### **HUSBAND AND WIFE**

He swears that the adorable ANR Robinson and I demonstrated warmth befitting of husband and wife.

Typical Rowley, but I want to tell him that no such machinations are necessary. I am happy with my own dear husband with whom I am in love after 38 years.

But if God forbid I ever had to choose another husband, it had better be a man such as ANR Robinson, rather than a man such as Keith Rowley who behaves we are told by Manning like a raging bull!

That is why he told the PNM faithful, at the end of his angry speech last night, that "they must take their Party back".

But I have several questions for Mr. Rowley –

Take back the party from who Mr. Rowley?

From who Mr. Rowley?

You must tell us Mr. Rowley, since you after all are a man of the highest integrity and though my instructions are not to descend into negative campaign, your speech last night begs the question:-

If you are a man of such high integrity, why does John Jeremie, your Attorney General, indicate that they will be reopening the investigations into your dealings at Cleaver Heights? Why were you investigated in the HDC and Landate matters?

Why Mr. Rowley, does not only Mr. Manning, but so many of your other PNM colleagues not trust you?

Why do so many of them feel that there is a lot more in the mortar than the pestle where you are concerned?

It is you who claim that you are the most investigated politician in this country not I, but I do state that there is an old saying "where there is smoke there is fire" and we in the legal fraternity know only too well that the law prosecutes whom it catches.

You see we have in Rowley one who claims to be the most investigated and Manning who claims to be the most vilified. Twiddle dee and twiddle dum.

Mr. Rowley there are many who feel that you will be caught.

There are many who feel that you have a date with destiny. There are many who like John Jeremie, continue to suggest that one day the smoke will clear and there will be much fire.

But I know a few other things, many of which I cannot say on this platform!

But one thing I can say is that this country will never appoint as its Prime Minister:-

A man filled with hate,

A man filled with bitterness,

A man filled with acrimony,

A man completely out of control,

A man who according to his friend of several decades has needed psychological counseling since 1987.

This country has made many mistakes in our short history but one mistake I am sure it will never make is to appoint such a man as its Prime Minister. And THAT is according to a man who knows you well – your own leader!

Not yesterday, not today, not ever.

## **COURTMARSHALLING MANNING**

And while I am at it I have a few other questions for Mr. Rowley. When he speaks of court martialing who in the PNM is he referring to?

Is it Patrick Manning?

And if it is tell us Mr. Rowley, for what crime will Manning be court marshaled?

Is it for corruption?

Is it for bid-rigging at UDECOTT?

Is it for interfering with the judiciary?

Is it for failure to deal with justice, law and order?

Is it for turning a blind eye and ear to the cries of the poor?

For what crime will there be court marshaled Mr. Rowley?

The people want to know Rowley. The people want to know.

You championed yourself as the person who blew the whistle on the Piarco Airport fiasco, for which you blamed the old UNC.

But was it not you who told us that what we were looking at with UDECOTT under a PNM administration was ten times worse than Piarco Airport and far more brazen!

## **ROWLEY'S BEHAVIOUR IN PARLIAMENT**

You complained about my supporting the motion on the 24 May 2001, to put you out of the Parliament indefinitely.

I admit to that.

But what is sad in all of this is that Mr. Rowley does not yet seem to understand that there is a decorum that persons are expected to bring to High Office.

He does not seem to understand that there is a culture, a noble tradition associated with the Parliament of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

Mr. Rowley just does not get it!.

He seems even now to be incapable of understanding that you cannot, no matter how justified a position you may feel you hold....., that you cannot act like a "wajang" like a "warroon" or as his own political leader puts it as a "raging bull".

Yes it is true that I voted to suspend Keith Rowley from Parliament in 2001 but it was because of his conduct which was unbecoming of a Parliamentarian.

If Mr. Rowley continues to behave like that, he will not be welcomed in the Parliament of this country.

So let me be clear, in the dialect of our youth today, when Mr. Rowley "dissed" the House, disobeyed the Speaker and refused to apologise, I voted that he be suspended.

And for the record, if there is one issue on which Patrick Manning and I agree, it is on the subject of Keith Rowley's behaviour – a behaviour correctly described by Manning as "hateful, bitter, acrimonious, full of animosity, and completely out of control".

What is more is that Manning says it is a tendency that he was aware of since 1987.

So when Rowley talks about my decision in 2001, Manning and I, and indeed other Parliamentarians did see his unacceptable behaviour for a long time, but it was only 8 years, eight long years, after I voted that he should be suspended from Parliament that Manning dared to speak out against it publicly.

But there is more.

I would have voted that Rowley be removed from Parliament in 2001.

But who relieved him of his Ministerial portfolio?

Was it the UNC?

Was it me Kamla?

Or was it his political master Patrick Manning?

Ladies and Gentlemen, we cannot condone the disorderly conduct of youth and others in society and accept it from Keith Rowley.

It is high time for Keith Rowley to take a long look at the man in the mirror.

But Minister Rowley will never get it. He will never take that long hard look at himself.

Listen to him last night when he dared speak about ANR Robinson's endorsement of this people's partnership.

Diabolically, when ANR Robinson endorsed the PNM into Government in 2001 that was alright, that was good, that was honourable.

But when he endorsed the people's partnership, that is not acceptable, that is to be condemned, that makes Keith Rowley and the PNM angry.

### **WEAK LEADER**

Ladies and Gentlemen of Diego Martin, I heard the former member of Parliament for Diego Martin North East call me "weak" at a post Cabinet media briefing on Thursday; so I want to tell you that I can go to the gym down by Starlite in Four Roads to get stronger; but there is nothing Imbert can do to get taller.

Brothers and Sisters, Manning is trying his best to label me as weak while trying his best to portray himself as strong; so Patrick if you so strong why you 'fraid me - stand up like a man and debate me on the issues: Manning are you a man or a manicou?

And you know there was once a famous politician who said: "that if you see him wrestling with a lion, feel sorry for the lion"; do you remember that quote? Well who all yuh feeling sorry for now?

Strength in Politics is not measured by how many people you can fool with lies and mamaguy; strength in politics is not measured by your arrogance and vanity; strength in politics is not measured by how many people you malign and threaten. Strength in politics is not measured by how much money you tief - if it was Manning would be like Mr. Olympia.

Strength in politics is measured by the strength of your character and determination to do good; by the strength of your intellect and compassion; by your humility and core values; and by your love and commitment for the people you pledge to serve.

On this score there is no debate and the people will judge on 24th May and with the love and support of the people of this Country, We Will all Rise.

### **THE PEOPLE'S PARTNERSHIP**

I address you today with feelings of great hope for and confidence in the future of Trinidad and Tobago.

Hope because we stand at a crossroads where TT can make a great change to govern in unity, reaching across generations of divide on ethnic and gender lines, to forge a coalition that includes men and women from all parts of TT to overcome our problems of crime, poverty and rising prices.

We can make this choice for change and reject the old pattern of governance by bitter division and bickering.

I stand here today with hope for my country, our country, united as one in a single purpose to treat all of Trinidad and Tobago as equal; men and women; African and Indian; Asian and Syrian, White and Indigenous.

All brothers and sisters working toward a common goal of a better future for Trinidad and its children.

I stand here confident because of the many members already in our broad coalition of people, parties and organizations.

Confident because if this diverse group can unite, we can solve any problem.

I stand before you not as a confident woman, but as a woman who is a confident member of a broad and diverse group seeking to continue the effort to reach out and make the coalition and the governance of our nation even broader.

Confident in the great worth of each and every voice in Trinidad and Tobago.

Confident because if we come together, listen to each other, and work together, we can meet the needs hopes and aspirations of the people who are the soul of our nation.

## **WOMEN'S ISSUES**

Today we are here to address the issues of specific concern to the women of TT. But the issues of women are the issues of the nation, and the issues of the nation are the issues of its women.

Our nation is consumed by the growing cancer of violent crime, while worrying about the pressure of rising food prices and growing poverty that reaches deeper into our homes and families every day.

These problems face the entire nation, but strike particularly hard at the most vulnerable in our community – women, children, and the elderly.

women are not just the victims of violent crime like rape, murder and domestic violence and abuse.

Women are also the mothers of the children who are drawn into and corrupted by, or become victims of the cycle of crime and poverty.

Women in TT see their children, their men, their brothers and sisters plagued by the violence and diminished by the fear that strikes at us every day.

Women shop for the family and see the rising cost of food; women know the pressures on the family budget caused by an unyielding upward spiral of food prices.

And women feel the extra pressure of having to make ends meet, care for the family, and bring what income we can into the home.

These problems are all tied together – crime, fueled by poverty, fueled by the rapidly increasing cost of basics like food for the family.

As long as any one part of the cycle continues, the entire cycle continues.

And women stand in the center of the cycle facing all of these problems at once.

We can't solve any one of these problems without solving them all.

We can't pretend that each is its own problem.

And we cannot afford to ignore any of them.

That is why the UNC/COP coalition looks to a future that changes the way we deal with these problems.

We will no longer ignore them; we will no longer ignore that they all feed each other; we will confront them all head on.

If the people of TT give us their blessing and their votes enabling us to form a government for all the people of our nation, we will begin on day one to address these problems together.

## **PLEDGES**

First, we will ease the unnecessary burden placed on all of our budgets by our own government and immediately take the property tax off the table.

Rising prices are enough of a burden without the government reaching into the pockets of the people to take more of the people's money away.

If we eliminate the reckless waste of a government that tosses the people's money up in the air without worrying where it falls, our government will not have a need to reach into our pockets and take more from its people who work for their money, watch it closely, and know its value.

We will address the crime problem in a comprehensive way.

Law abiding citizens are now prisoners in their own homes while the criminals roam freely through the country.

We must end this situation by understanding how crime, poverty and prices are all related.

The UNC Coalition's strategy to address the crime situation will be two pronged, focusing heavily on crime prevention while improving the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

We will only solve the crime problem by addressing the root causes.

That is why the **first prong** of our strategy is designed to deal with prevention of crime at a national level.

We will establish a National Crime Prevention Council to coordinate and develop a broad range of measures to prevent crime that will be incorporated in the policies of all the key ministries including the Ministry of Education, The Ministry Social Services, The Ministry of Health, The Ministry of Housing, and The Ministry of National Security.

Research shows that the school system, social services, housing, health services and a good business climate all contribute to an environment that can reduce the threat of crime.

Without this kind of comprehensive approach, which understands how poverty and prices fuel crime, we can never hope to make progress in recapturing our streets for the use of the law-abiding, hard-working people who comprise the spirit of our nation.

The **second prong** of our crime prevention strategy will be to make the existing criminal justice system more effective and to meet the expectations of the communities.

A fundamental development aim must be to protect the citizenry from violence and intimidation, and to secure their personal property.

Some of these measures would include:

Mending the divide between the police service and the general public by

Training officers how to handle witnesses, evidence, victims and their overall human awareness

Increasing the patrolling of all neighborhoods

Increasing the number of mobile police stations

Improving the time frames within which trials are held

Placing greater emphasis on the rehabilitation incarcerated persons so that they can adjust back into society in an orderly way.

In order to reduce prices, we will institute land use policies to reduce the cost of food production on TT, as well as better port use and access policies to provide more efficient flow of food products into Trinidad and Tobago.

These measures will reverse the sharp rise in food prices that have driven more families to the brink and pushed more of our people into poverty.

We will address the poverty issue by job creation programs, living wage. We will expand the social support network currently provided to the poor to ensure that we lift up those most vulnerable in our nation.

### **CALL FOR UNITY**

We are at a unique time in our history.

A time when people can put aside their differences – differences in race, class, gender, and join hands for the common good of our people.

Mothers from the hills of Laventille and mothers from the plains of Caroni and Central Trinidad and mothers here in the West in Diego Martin and mothers every where can unite and move away from tears of grief that no mother should have to endure to the tears of pride and joy that all mothers have every expectation to shed.

Rather than crying wet tears of sorrow for our family members victimized by crime, silent tears of humiliation over poverty, or slow tears of stress caused by the increased difficulty of putting food on the table, mothers of Charlottesville in Tobago and mothers of Toco can look forward to a better future.

We can look forward to that future if we choose a government that will remove the property tax; provide professional training, recruiting and salaries for a service-oriented police force; reduce food prices by better land-use and port access policies; and reduce poverty by creating well-paying jobs for the under-employed.

We can look forward to a future where law and order are restored and women and children can feel safe again in the streets and in their homes.

We can look forward to a future where a woman knows she can take her rightful place as an equal to men.

We can look forward to a future where there is no longer a black TT or a brown TT or a white TT.

We can look forward to a future where there is no longer a North or a South; no longer an East nor a West corridor.

A future with no geographic divisions but a future where all of TT comes together on one open Savannah of common purpose to meet as a national congregation of interests.

We can look forward to that future by voting for change.



We can look forward to that future by voting to take a single new road – a single new road of unity which leaves behind the many roads of bitter division.

We can travel down that one road together.

Travel down this road together may not always be as easy as we like, not as comfortable as we want it to be at first, not as comfortable at first as it will eventually become.

But the road is there; open and waiting for us if we are willing to make the change, willing to put the strife and differences behind us.

The road is open and waiting for us if we are willing to move forward down the road together; united; for change.

Brothers and sisters, please join me and help us all to move down that road together; united; for change.

On May 24<sup>th</sup> 2010, when you go to the polls, do the right thing. Vote for the People's Partnership!

As always I pray May God Bless you, and May God bless our Nation.

## THREAT

My sisters and brothers, last night Manning told the Nation that the police have told him that the threat against my life was a hoax. I want to ask Manning who he spoke to and where he got that information from. Because to my knowledge, the investigation is still going on!

Does HE know who made the call? Anything is possible with this man you know – he knew Mr Big who was bombing up Port of Spain and cause severe damage to property and people! Of course if Manning knows who the criminal was, and did nothing to arrest him up to now..... ask yourself WHY!

Two months ago, this man said the drug pushers in this country were okay with the PNM in government but they were against HIM! Manning does not only know who the criminals are, he knows what they are THINKING!

But back to the issue. A telephone call was made, information provided and a report was made to the Police. That is the procedure, and THAT is how you deal with a threat!

But you see Manning thinks that because he does lie, everybody else is like HE! Hear this:

In November 2003 Manning claimed that his life was under threat and increased his security detail. At the time **no police officer had been advised of the alleged threat**, and no evidence was ever found of any threat.

Again in 2005 a similar claim was publicly made on a political platform, and once more no evidence was found and the Prime Minister admitted that **he had made no report to the Police service**.

Last year the Prime Minister went better, revealing a death threat made **one year earlier** by an anonymous person who had somehow managed to get an unscheduled audience with Mrs. Manning. As with before **the alleged threat was never reported** to the relevant authorities, or explained why it took him a full year to report the matter. An investigation headed by Acting Police Commissioner James Philbert was appointed but to date no evidence can be found to substantiate the PM's claim!

But that was last year. On Monday February 8<sup>th</sup> 2010, the Prime Minister went to Laventille and .....you guessed it.

Once more, on a public platform, in a political meeting, the Prime minister claimed that yet another threat was made on his life. The PNM Political Leader said that he was told the night before that if he had come to Laventille, an attempt would have been made on his life. **No report to the police!**

But we must not take it lightly when the PNM political leader comes to a public platform and reveals what he says are the findings of a police investigation. That is a dangerous precedent. Last night Colm Imbert revealed that he too was privy to details of police investigations. Do you see where this is headed?

### **MILK PAN**

It will always be etched in my memory of the single mother who was arrested this year because she did not have the money to feed her child, and opted to steal milk to make sure her baby did not go hungry. If this is not a cry for social change, I don't know what is. I remember when that happened I made a mental note that if ever I has the opportunity, if ever it was up to me, THAT will NOT happen again!

My friends tonight you are probably wondering why Kamla have a milk pan with her, I brought this milk pan from home, you know i have two little grand babies and I know how hard it is to buy milk for them and how difficult it must be for many mothers who rake and scrape to ensure that they get the money to feed their children, this milk pan represents the hope of a better future for our children and our babies. It represents my commitment to you that I will put our children first and foremost on the list of priorities of government. You can trust me, you can trust me with your children, because i too am a mother and a parent.

Friends tonight i am asking each of you to make a contribution how ever small in the milk pan, it will be passed around at the end of the meeting.

All contributions in the milk pan will be given to the baby Hannah fund. It will go to a child who needs a chance at life. Let us give our children that chance to live, love and learn. Our nation's finest minds starts with that very milk pan and tonight i signal that our children will not have to suffer much longer, because when we take government they too will rise. Instead of Manning drinking wine from golden goblets our babies will have milk in their bottles.

So when Mr. Manning wants to talk about vision he must remember that he the 'I MAN' did not put the dying babies ahead of himself, he did not put the needs of the sick and ailing in the hospitals and on the hospital floors ahead of himself ,instead he wined and dined the world and today mothers in this country are delivering babies on the hospital floors and stealing milk to feed their children. Mr. MANNING YOU ARE A FAILURE, you are a national DISGRACE. If that is not weakness then I don't know what is.

## **14. Arouca, Arouca/ Maloney - 8 May 2010**

### **GREETINGS**

I address you today with feelings of great hope for and confidence in the future of Trinidad and Tobago.

Hope because we stand at a crossroads where TT can make a great change to govern in unity, reaching across generations of divide on ethnic and gender lines, to forge a PARTNERSHIP that includes men and women from all parts of TT to overcome our problems of crime, poverty and rising prices.

We can make this choice for change and reject the old pattern of governance by bitter division and bickering.

I stand here today with hope for my country, our country, united as one in a single purpose to treat all of Trinidad and Tobago as equal; men and women; African and Indian; Asian, Syrian, and White.

All brothers and sisters working toward a common goal of a better future for Trinidad and its children.

I stand here confident because of the many members already in our broad partnership of people, parties and organizations.

Confident, because if this diverse group can unite, we can solve any problem.

I stand before you as a woman who is a confident member of a broad and diverse group seeking to continue the effort to reach out and make the coalition and the governance of our nation even broader.

Confident in the great worth of each and every voice in Trinidad and Tobago.

Confident because if we come together, listen to each other, and work together, we can meet the needs hopes and aspirations of the people who are the soul of our nation.

Today as we look around our beloved country, we see many challenges.

So why, some might ask, would I feel such hope and such confidence?

Our nation is consumed by the growing cancer of violent crime, while worrying about the pressure of rising food prices and growing poverty that reaches deeper into our homes and families every day.

## **CORRUPTION A CRIME**

Earlier this week, I addressed the pressing issue of crime. Tonight, I want to deal with the issue of **corruption**. I want to tell you why the MANNING is unfit to govern. I want to expose the tentacles of corruption created and nourished Manning.

The PNM has been in power for almost half a century.

It has a history and legacy of corruption and Manning is continuing in this fine and proud PNM tradition.

As you know, Minority Leader Ashworth Jack and I had lunch with elder Statesman His Excellency ANR Robinson on Thursday.

A most inspiring and visionary meeting.

Mr Robinson is a patriot and statesman whose love for country and society is beyond question. I see him as a true father.

Today I wish to quote from a speech delivered Hon. A.N.R. Robinson about the PNM's style of governance.

This contribution was made in the House of Representatives on the 2nd August 1996:

*"They (the PNM) sought to lock me up on several occasions. They locked me up twice, wrongfully. They terrorized the population of Tobago saying that arms and ammunition were hidden. They spread the report that Cuban arms were brought from Cuba and deposited on the island. They sent policemen all over the island searching people's homes. They terrorized activists of the party that I then led. They did not find any guns and ammunition. When they locked me up they had to set me free and had to pay damages, yet they have continued a pattern of attempted character assassination.*

*If they cannot understand why they are on that side of the House, it is because of the dirty campaign that they have been conducting over the years against the people of this country whom they do not*

*particularly favour. This is the personal level to which they have reduced politics. Their leader came to the island of Tobago to take away what had been granted by this Parliament-to nullify the laws of this Parliament-and substitute himself for the laws passed by the Parliament.*

*They do not even have shame. No shame. A leader who bought a car as an election bribe. Shameful! Mr. Speaker, I can spend a lengthy time but the whole country knows their pattern of behaviour.*

*When they were in trouble with their own citizens, they sent for foreign arms to defend themselves. It was the Minister of Defence of the United Kingdom, Mr. Dennis Healey, who revealed to me at a place called Lake Como in Italy at the Rockefeller Villa where he was writing his memoirs, that they sent telegrams which would have meant the British moving back into Trinidad and Tobago and taking over. Venezuela was asked to send arms to defend their skins when they were in trouble. ...What I want to emphasize is this pattern of behaviour by the party that has turned out the most corrupt characters this country has ever seen and wasted the money of this country in the most incredible fashion. [Interruption]*

*I have to reply. They had 10 times as much money to spend in one year as they expected to spend and blew it until an hon. Member from another country had to say "it passed through them like a dose of salts". One can understand what comes from that side and why they behave in the manner that they do, and one can understand that that kind of behaviour would continue. Mr. Speaker, my record is like an open book. They tried their best to sully it: they have tried their best to destroy me personally-physically. I stood up against guns in a village called Ste. Madeleine when the police came to stop a constitutionally convened and conducted meeting. The police was sent to stop it. I stood up against them. They set the police against a people and they were becoming hostile to the police....They persecuted persons who warned or gave a different point of view, and one of the principal persons targeted for this persecution, character assassination and even physical destruction was the Member for Tobago East. After 40 years they have not learned..."*

That, my friends is not Kamla talking but Mr ANR Robinson. His legendary contribution in parliament aptly describes the PNM's modus operandi. Manning cannot break this mould. That is why, the thieving and corruption has continued.

They infiltrate and undermine the independent institutions. They control the police service. All this to avoid the long arm of the law. Let me illustrate the point by quoting from a letter sent by former DPP Senior Counsel Mark Mohammed (now High Court Judge).

#### **LABIDCO**

The letter is dated May 9th, 2002 and concerned the infamous LABIDCO project. The DPP reviewed the evidence and said: "I am of the view that a criminal investigation is warranted to determine whether among other offences, offences conspiracy to Defraud and Misbehaviour in Public Office are revealed. I have accordingly forwarded to the Commissioner of Police the documentation submitted ..... with my advice that a criminal investigation be conducted".

That is since 2002. We are in 2010. Eight years on, the police are yet to conclude their investigations.

But what can you expect when the Anti-Corruption Bureau is reporting to and taking instructions from AG John Jermie?

The former DPP, Mark Mohammed SC in May 2002, instructed the Commissioner of Police to conduct a criminal investigation into the infamous LABIDCO scandal where the PNM government destroyed some of the region's finest parks and golf courses and wasted over \$120 million on the failed La Brea Industrial Estate.

An independent committee comprising UWI lecturers, private sector representatives and Ministry officials found that Manning and his cohorts pursued this project for blatant political mileage and ignored geo-technical reports that predicted failure. Let me quote some of the findings of the investigating committee:

The chairman of NGC advised that despite the geo-technical and geological constraints La Brea/Brighton was the preferred site for the new industrial estate; (2) There was no rigorous technical, social or economical justification for La Brea/Brighton as the optimum site for the proposed new Industrial site; (3) The government choose to site the new industrial estate in the La Brea/Point Fortin constituencies rather than at Point Lisas in the Couva South constituency for political reasons as outlined in the PNM's 1991 manifesto. At the time the proposed LNG plant would have benefited primarily the promoters and investors in the project; (4) NGC committed the government to an environmental risk for which the country would have incurred an unquantifiable financial liability.

Despite all factors against development of the site Cabinet in 7th day of December, 1994 took the decision to invest TT \$435.7 million.

To facilitate his corrupt regime, Manning corrupted and undermined our constitution which is the supreme law of the land. He has abused his powers and created a silent constitutional crisis that threatens the very rule of law.

He compromised and manipulated all of the independent institutions and offices that are meant to act as a watchdog and prevent corruption.

To this corrupt end, he refused to fill the following key offices that could keep a check on corruption:

1. No Integrity Commission
2. No DPP. He vetoed the candidates recommended by the Judicial and Legal Services Commission in the person of Carla Brown-Antoine and Roger Gaspard.
3. No Commissioner of Police. Manning had someone acting at his behest.
4. No Police Complaints Authority (none for over two years now).
5. No Firearms Appeal Board (none for almost two years now). So businessmen and repeat victims of crime cannot even protect themselves.
6. For over FOUR years, Manning refused to fill the posts of Solicitor General (SG) and Chief Parliamentary Counsel (CPC).

As if this was not enough, Manning then tried to intimidate and scare the population so that no one will even want to report corruption.

Remember how he tried to amend the Integrity in Public Life Act ? Instead of trying to catch the corrupt, they wanted to scare you away.

Who will make a complaint if they risk a \$500,000 fine and five-year jail term if the complaint is eventually dismissed?

What the Government should have done is deal with the problems caused by the lack of accountability and transparency in the functioning and operations of the IC. No details are provided in its annual reports about the number and type of complaints, the status of the investigation into these complaints and the time-frame for completing same.

Matters needlessly and endlessly drag, until the frustrated complainant loses interest and faith. The present law understands and recognises the fact that ordinary citizens would not have access to hard evidence to prove corruption.

People might have a suspicion or have a small part of a larger jigsaw puzzle.

They might know something is wrong, but cannot prove a case because they do not have access to the official documentary evidence.

Corruption normally involves a conspiracy or joint enterprise by several public officials.

Why not an amendment to state that the IC must complete its investigation within 12 months from the date of the complaint? Instead, they try to control the Integrity Commission.

Manning feel we 'chupid! His speeches are a nothing but an idle bluff, a huff and puff about how great he is. And, like a recurring decimal, he keeps attacking Errol Mc Leod and Mackandal Dagga.

Last night, he stooped so low, he even attacked our rallying cry, "We Will Rise", saying it sounded like an ad for Viagra.

Well, since he say dat ah hear he wants to join de UNC..... yesterday we get a call to send an application form to join de UNC to the PM's residence!

But rise we will, my people, against the corruption, deceit and hypocrisy of Manning and his croonies!

We have moved from the good ole days of the Francis Prevatt and John O' Halloran to Calder Hart and Andre Monteil! Nothing has changed!

Tonight, I want to tell my friend Dr Keith Rowley: Keith, you were right, this will be a UDECOTT election! And Manning's corruption will be the issue.

You want to be a sailor on the PNM ship and say "It doesn't matter what state the ship is in?" You say leave Manning alone?

Well keith, when you say leave Manning alone, you are also saying leave Calder Hart alone!

When you told us Manning knew about the bid-rigging and manipulation of tenders at UDECOTT, we believed you.

When you told us Manning ignored you when you raised a red flag about UDECOTT cabinet, we believed you.

When you told us Manning was protecting Calder Hart and called you a "wajang" when you spoke about the lack of cabinet oversight, we believed you

But when you flip flop and now tell us, leave manning alone, we cyar believe yuh!

When yuh tell us, stay on de ship no matter what state it in, we ayah believe yuh.!

I want to tell you, Keith, there are so many leaks on the PNM's ship that you, Manning and Calder Hart will be the only ones left on it after May 25th!

Yuh could sing fuh yuh supper, but yuh would never get ah chance tuh eat it because Manning and the PNM will not be there after May 25th!

I have built a new ship, Keith, the SS KAMLA. Its name is "The People's Partnership".

And everyone from the malfunctioning PNM is grabbing our lifeline and climbing aboard the UNC's ship!

Get on the last raft or else you, Manning and Calder Hart will have to hug up and swim to Carrera Island!

### **UDECOTT PROJECTS**

Manning tells us that UDECOTT finished projects on time and within budget. You hear lie that is lie. Let at look at ten projects:

(attached)

## **MONTEIL**

Tonight, I want to ask you Keith, where is Andre Monteil, PNM party Treasurer?

On August 17, 2009 Manning stood in Parliament and defended the corrupt transaction. Monteil, as Chairman of the Housing Development Corporation (HDC) lent \$60 million to Clico Investment Bank which in turn lent money to Monteil's company "Stone Street Capital Co Ltd" to buy the shares in Home Mortgage Bank.

Can you imagine that? The chairman of the HDC oversees the authorisation of a 'loan' to Clico (where he is Executive Director of C L Financial Limited and a director of Clico Investment Bank) which later goes to a private company owned by said chairman to buy shares in HDC (where he is chairman). Clearly a case of taking out of the left pocket and putting in the right, only the transfer is of funds not belonging to you.

Manning never told the nation that the Central Bank report viewed the entire transaction negatively and recommended the use of "moral suasion" to convince Monteil's company, Stone Street Capital to divest its shares.

In fact, the Central Bank report went so far as to suggest that NIB be used as the vehicle for the re-purchase of the shares and Monteil be paid back the \$110 million for the shares plus interest and expenses incurred.

In effect, the Central bank was saying to Manning, 'Hear what, he's the treasurer of your party, talk to him, nah. Reason with him nice, nah. Tell him tuh give de people back dey money nah. It is not PNM money; it is de people's money!'"

It is inconceivable that a transaction of such importance and magnitude could have taken place without the knowledge, consent and tacit permission of cabinet, Keith. Where were you? Are you hiding Monteil on the PNM ship? Is he in the engine room with Calder Hart sipping champagne?

What did you do as Minister of Housing, Keith? What about the directors drawing fat salaries who served on the Boards of the Housing Development Corporation and the Home Mortgage bank? Are we really expected to be so naive as to believe that a hundred million-dollar transaction involving the sale of shares in a government-controlled financial institution takes place and no one in the government knew about it? Were these directors asleep when all this was taking place? Did they vote in favour of the sale of the shares to Monteil?

Will you now help Manning defend this corrupt transaction that occurred under his nose and watch? Manning upstaged you on this. I want to tell you that this is a big, big leak, Keith. Yuh goh have tuh hire de Chinese tuh help yuh tuh plug it because the PNM ship is sinking!

Keith, yuh say it eh have no court martial!

Well, ah want tuh tell yuh dat there is a court martial! The date for de court martial is May 24th and the people will be the jury.

And they will find Manning guilty of causing the death of the thousands that have been murdered during his tenure! And they will find you, Keith, guilty as an accomplice, as part of a joint enterprise to allow Calder hart and Andre Monteil to rape our treasury!

There are many unanswered questions.

In Parliament, Manning said, "a question arose with respect to the financing of the transaction under which HDC was said to have made a deposit of \$100 million in CLICO Investment Bank. Mr Andre Monteil was at the time chairman of both HDC and CLICO's bank." Monteil's resignation from the HDC Board is no plaster for this cut which raises the issue of conflict of interest.

In Panday's appeal, Chief Justice Archie highlighted the importance of Monteil:

“The Attorney General’s later account of his investigation is that, on 25th April 2006, the day after judgment was delivered, he telephoned Mr Monteil, who was his personal friend...He (Monteil) told CLICO to ‘clean up their mess’ and says he used the word ‘mess’ because he was “angry”.

In winding up the 2008 budget debate in the House of Representatives, Manning promised the nation that the Government would ensure the HMB shares would be retransferred.

The PNM tried to distance itself from Monteil, its own treasurer! Manning claimed that he did not know what Monteil was doing when the government passed legislation to facilitate Monteil’s transaction. Did you know about it Keith? Monteil too eh jumping ship, yuh know...

Do you remember Manning promising to bring legislation to reverse this corrupt transaction? Has it happened? Manning said, what had emerged with one individual substantially owning the HMB shares was contrary to Government policy. He said the Government intended to revert to legislative action to correct it. Well, where is it? Do you remember telling the nation, Keith that :

“PNM had surrendered its legacy to one man who was leading the PNM down a road which, I am certain, will be filled with regret.”

Well, guess what? Come May 25th, Manning and Calder Hart will have to live with that regret!

Remember when Rowley told us Manning cannot be trusted with our money? Let me remind you of what you said: “I want to tell my Government tonight that the tax I pay, I marking meh money. And it is to buy medicine for the hospital, chalk for the schools and to pay old age pension...”

Well, we marking we ballot! And we marking "X" next to the UNC and the COP because the people know that the one person you could trust with your money is a Mother!

Manning even promised that “In correcting it we’re going to ensure that the shares are retransferred at the same price.”

Manning told reporters that Government wanted the legislation to be brought to Parliament before the term ends in October.

We are a small nation with finite, non-renewable resources.

We have had the experience of an economic boom and recession. Spending in excess of \$1 billion for a facial that will last a few months and do nothing to change the ugly reality of rising unemployment, imminent retrenchment, terrifying crime and rising cost of living, is ridiculous and irresponsible.

It is like a family frittering away its savings during the rainy season on painting over its house, when the roof and posts need changing.

Beneath the glossy veneer of these colourful advertisements lies the oppressive, raw and harsh reality – helpless poor and sick living below the poverty line, lying down on the floors of the hospital because there aren’t enough beds, dilapidated police stations, escalating crime, rising indiscipline and violence in schools, condemned school buildings, low energy reserves, rampant corruption and discrimination and marginalization in the distribution of state resources.

Our nation is at a critical juncture. If the PNM is not removed from office in the next general election, there will be a repeat of 1956-1986, when it ruled this country for 30 years without interruption. There will be a repeat of the last 8 years.

They will plunder the treasury and the corruption that will follow will dwarf anything we have already seen.

And the Manning/PNM ship will take us straight off a cliff...

But we’ll not let that happen.



Our ship will take us to the future we waited for but that Manning has denied us.

And a People's Partnership government will confront corruption straight on and bring it to an end.

- We will engage the population immediately to bring about Constitutional Reform.
- We will put in place checks and balances to safeguard against the abuse of power.
- We will ensure a free press unfettered by government intimidation and uncompromised by Government preference.
- We will establish a right of recall for non-performing parliamentary representatives.
- We will limit the Prime Minister to two successive terms as head of government.
- We will require each ministry to prepare a strategic plan, the cabinet will approve and publish those plans and each Minister will submit periodic reports on the progress of those plans
- We will empower the Auditor General to conduct compliance, financial, operational, forensic performance and value audits and we'll empower the Auditor General to engage external auditors to assist when needed.

These are just a few of the steps we will take but most of all, ending corruption is about political will.

Ending corruption is about knowing the difference between right and wrong.

I have the will, I know the difference...

Patrick Manning does not.

So my friends, this must be our moment.

Together we must look forward and see one common future and then choose that future.

Between now and election day, Emperor Manning will open the bag of dirty tricks.

He'll try to divide our people and have them turn on each other.

He does not want us to be one nation. He does not want us to be one people. He wants us separated.

North and South.

East and West.

Trinidad and Tobago.

And then he wants to use us like pawns in his chess game...moving us here and there...all so he can stay in power and we can gain nothing.

Well, not this time Patrick.

We're tired of being used.

We're tired of being manipulated.

And we're tired of you.

It's time we all look forward to a common future and choose a government we can trust...

How, in the face of these problems, can we have hope?

How, in the face of these problems, can we restore confidence that our nation will have a brighter future?

The answer is simple – out of great adversity rises great opportunity.

The challenges placed before us are so vast, that for the first time people from all across the country are coming together to form the solution.

These problems that face our nation – crime, poverty, rising prices for basics like food and shelter – these problems face the entire nation, but strike particularly hard at the most vulnerable in our community – women, children, and the elderly.

Yet the groups that have come together as part of our partnership include people from every part of our community; every walk of life –

the young and the old;

the African, the East Indian, the Asian, the Syrian and the mixed;

men and women;

laborers from the cane fields to the oil rig;

professionals from Caroni and San Fernando to Port of Spain.

We come together because we seek an answer to the problems of crime, poverty, and rising prices.

We come because we see our loved ones fall victim to violent crime, petty robberies, domestic violence and abuse.

We come together because we see our parents, our husbands and our wives, our children, and our brothers and sisters become victims of the cycle of crime and poverty.

We see our loved ones plagued by the violence and diminished by the fear that strikes at us every day.

We see the rising cost of food;

We know the pressures on the family budget caused by an unyielding upward spiral of food prices.

And we feel the pressure of having to make ends meet, care for the family, and bring what income we can into the home.

These problems are all tied together – crime, fueled by poverty, fueled by the rapidly increasing cost of basics like food for the family.

As long as any one part of the cycle continues, the entire cycle continues. And every family in Trinidad and Tobago is affected by this cycle.

We can't solve any one of these problems without solving them all. We can't pretend that each is its own problem.

And we cannot afford to ignore any of them. That is why the UNC/COP partnership looks to a future that changes the way we deal with these problems.

We will no longer ignore them; we will no longer ignore that these problems all feed each other; we will confront them all head on.

If the people of TT give us their blessing and their votes enabling us to form a government for all the people of our nation, we will begin on day one to address these problems together.

First, we will ease the unnecessary burden placed on all of our budgets by our own government and immediately take the property tax off the table.

Rising prices are enough of a burden without the government reaching into the pockets of the people to take more of the people's money away.

If we eliminate the reckless waste of a government that tosses the people's money up in the air without worrying where it falls, our government will not have a need to reach into our pockets and take more from its people who work for their money, watch it closely, and know its value.

Next, we will address the crime problem in a comprehensive way.

Law abiding citizens are now prisoners in their own homes while the criminals roam freely through the country.

We must end this situation by understanding how crime, poverty and prices are all related.

The people's partnership strategy to address the crime situation will be two pronged, focusing heavily on crime prevention while improving the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

We will only solve the crime problem by addressing the root causes.

That is why the first prong of our strategy is designed to deal with prevention of crime at a national level.

We will establish a National Crime Prevention Council to coordinate and develop a broad range of measures to prevent crime that will be incorporated in the policies of all the key ministries including the Ministry of Education, The Ministry Social Services, The Ministry of Health, The Ministry of Housing, and The Ministry of National Security. Research shows that the school system, social services, housing, health services and a good business climate all contribute to an environment that can reduce the threat of crime.

Without this kind of comprehensive approach, which recognizes how poverty and prices fuel crime, we can never hope to make progress in recapturing our streets for the use of the law-abiding, hard-working people who comprise the spirit of our nation.

The second prong of our crime prevention strategy will be to make the existing criminal justice system more effective and to meet the expectations of the communities.

It is fundamental to the future of our great and cherished nation that we protect the citizenry from violence and intimidation, and secure their personal property.

To do so, we must:

Mend the divide between the police service and the general public by training officers how to handle witnesses, evidence, victims and their overall human awareness; increasing the patrolling of all neighborhoods, and increasing the number of mobile police stations.

To restore the public's confidence in our criminal justice system we must also improve the time frame within which trials are held, and we must place greater emphasis on the rehabilitating prisoners so that they can adjust back into society in an orderly way, rather than return to a life of more crime.

In order to reduce prices, we will institute land use policies to reduce the cost of food production on TT, and better port use and access policies to provide more efficient flow of food products into Trinidad and Tobago from overseas. These measures will reverse the sharp rise in food prices that have driven more families to the brink and pushed more of our people into poverty

Finally, we will address the poverty issue by. . . [job creation programs, living wage?]

We are at a unique time in our history. A time when people can put aside their differences – differences in race, class, gender, and join hands for the common good of our people.

We celebrate Mother's Day tomorrow.

I do want to share with you some of the things that we want to do to ensure gender equity and gender mainstreaming in Trinidad and Tobago.

I want to share with you some of the things that we have included in our manifesto for action to address issues that are important to women and to address the issue of gender equity.

**Our Government will:**

- Champion the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women by promoting gender equity enforced by strong Equal Opportunities Legislation and informed by a National Gender Policy.

**Our Government will**

- Champion the rights of women and mandate that women be adequately represented in the boards of all state-related entities and as commissioners in all statutory authorities.

**Our Government will**

- Pursue policies to allow women to have flexible working hours in recognition of the dual burden of women at home and at the workplace.

**Our Government will**

- Enact specific legislation to combat sexual harassment in the workplace, enforced by a Sexual Harassment Commission attached to the Ministry of Labour. Public and private corporations will be held responsible for failure to take adequate steps to protect employees from sexual harassment.

**Our Government will**

- Provide required resources to the Labour Inspectorate of the Ministry of Labour to eliminate exploitation of women in the workplace and to promote decent work and work conditions with appropriate pay.

**Our Government will**

Strengthen legislation relating to domestic abuse and other forms of violence against women and children; health and safety issues; access to premium health care; antenatal care; and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

**We will**

- Promote legislative and cultural reform to ensure that men are protected from abuse as effectively as women.

**We will**

- Implementation of a comprehensive programme of services to protect victims of domestic violence including:

- o Resurrection and revitalization of the Community Policing Section.
- o Maintenance of homes for battered and abused women and children in a similar manner to assistance provided to drug prevention and rehabilitation matters.
- o Revamping the Domestic Violence Unit within the Gender Affairs Division.
- o Increase the number of domestic violence safe houses and apartments to house victims of domestic violence.
- o Create a special department in the Legal Aid Services to attend to domestic violence victims seeking protection.

**We will**

- Establish Maternal Health and Support Units at every public health facility in a decentralized health system to provide information and education on the causes, symptoms, treatment and prevention of all diseases and illnesses that affect women. Services will include screening, treatment, medication and counselling for gender specific physical and mental illnesses.

**We will**

- Review of the curriculum to provide education, awareness, support and guidance to young persons, particularly girls, on reproductive health and life decisions.

**We will**

- Develop male-specific training and employment programmes especially in at-risk communities.

**We will**

- Revise the mandate of the Gender Affairs Division to serve also as a monitoring unit for the implementation of gender-specific initiatives, conduct gender research and to develop measures to address emerging challenges.

**And we will**

- Day care centres will be made an essential element of all Government work places and tax incentives shall be provided to the private sector to achieve same.

And we will not forget the men.

We will promote legislative and cultural reform to ensure that men are protected from abuse as effectively as women.

These are some of the things that we will do to bring women into the mainstream of society.

Mothers and fathers from the hills of Laventille and from the plains of Caroni and Central Trinidad can unite and move away from tears of grief that no parent should have to endure to the tears of pride and joy that all parents have every expectation to shed.

Rather than crying wet tears of sorrow for our family members victimized by crime, silent tears of humiliation over poverty, or slow tears of stress caused by the increased difficulty of putting food on the table, parents in Charlottesville in Tobago and parents in Toco can look forward to a better future not only for themselves, but, more importantly, for their children.

We can look forward to that future if we choose a government that will remove the property tax; provide professional training, recruiting and salaries for a service-oriented police force; reduce food prices by better land-use and port access policies; and reduce poverty by creating well-paying jobs for the under-employed.

We can look forward to a future where law and order are restored and the people of the land can feel safe again in the streets and in their homes.

We can look forward to a future where we recognize that all are equal in Trinidad – where there is no longer a black TT or a brown TT or a white TT. Where men and women stand equal. Where we all come together as brothers and sisters in one great nation that builds strength from its diversity.

We can look forward to a future where there is no longer a North or a South; no longer an East nor a West corridor. A future with no geographic divisions but a future where all of TT comes together on one open Savannah of common purpose to meet as a national congregation of interests.

We can look forward to that future by voting for change.

We can look forward to that future by voting to take a single new road – a single new road of unity which leaves behind the many roads of bitter division.

We can travel up that one road together.

Travel up this road together may not always be as easy as we like, not as comfortable as we want it to be at first, not as comfortable at first as it will eventually become.

But the road is there; open and waiting for us if we are willing to make the change, willing to put the strife and differences behind us.

The road is open and waiting for us if we are willing to move forward up the road together; united; for change.

Brothers and sisters, please join me and help us all to move up that road together; united; for change.

Welcome to all who embark on the journey. And thank you to all for sharing the hope.

HAPPY MOTHER'S DAY

## **15. Piccadilly on the Greens, East Dry River, Port of Spain – 10 May 2010**

Goodnight Laventille! Goodnight Port of Spain! Goodnight Trinidad and Tobago!

My brothers and my sisters, I am so happy to be here tonight, together with my partners from the People's Partnership... I pay respect to the Chief Servant, Bro Makandal Daaga, Bro Errol McLeod of the Movement for Social Justice, the Chairman of the UNC, Mr Jack Warner, Sis Verna St. Rose and all of our candidates here tonight, who have presented themselves for national service.

I am happy to working side by side with the Chief Servant to bring justice and a better quality of life to the people of Laventille, and indeed to all of Trinidad and Tobago. More than 40 years ago, the Chief Servant led a movement with the slogan 'African and Indians Unite'. But there were those who thought it best to keep us divided.

But the truth cannot be denied. The truth cannot be suppressed. What God has put together, no man can keep apart. And so 40 long years later, we are all united under the People's Partnership committed to working together for the common good of all of our citizens.

And we have only two weeks left.

Only two weeks.

If I had it my way, we'd have the election tomorrow because even two more weeks of Manning and the PNM is too many.

As Patrick Manning tries to get re-elected he's saying just about anything he can.

Something here, something over there. Before May 24, no telling what he'll say.

Recently, he said vote for me and the PNM because you "know what you're getting."

Really?

He thinks that's a reason to vote for him?

Because we know what we're getting?

Yes, we do, and while he might think that's a reason to vote for him, it's just the opposite.

Does he really think we want five more years?

And that's what a vote for the PNM is – let's be very clear.

A vote for Manning and his PNM is vote for us to keep doing what we're doing.

A vote for Manning and his PNM sends the sign that we're satisfied...

That we don't want a new course.

That we're satisfied with the crime rate, that we're satisfied with our health care, that we're satisfied with our educational system, that we're satisfied with having a government we can't trust...

That's the bottom line.

Think about this. Think about the morning after.

Imagine yourself at home on the morning of May 25<sup>th</sup>. What would you feel like if we didn't grasp this moment?

What would you feel like if you saw Patrick Manning on your television saying...

"I want to thank the nation for confirming they want me to keep doing what I've been doing. And that's what I'm going to keep doing."

That's a nightmare I know.

The worst possible nightmare.

And we can't let that happen.

And it's most basic, this is what this election is about – no matter what Patrick says this election is about,

It's a simple choice between two competing visions.

And on the morning after – we can either wake up to hope or change or to the nightmare of more Patrick Manning.

That's not what we want.

This community, the community of Laventille has always been loyal to the PNM. If there is one constituency in the country that can be described as a 'PNM stronghold', it is Laventille.

And if there is one constituency in the whole of Trinidad and Tobago that should have benefitted from the so called 'love and care' of the PNM, it should have been Laventille.

And yet what do we find after almost 60 years of PNM control of Laventille? What do we find? Laventille is one of the most troubled areas in all of Trinidad and Tobago. Crime is out of control, social ills abound, the youth have lost hope, there are no programmes for development...that is the legacy of the PNM towards its most loyal constituency.

Think my brothers and sisters...think tonight...look at your condition...and compare it with the billions of dollars that have been given to the Prime Minister's friends and favourites...you heard me on Saturday count some \$4.0 billion in cost overruns, not cost you know, but overruns...

While you, who have supported Mr Manning, live in these abject conditions, he lives in an Emperor's Palace and sleeps on sheets of silk...while you scrimp to make a dollar, Calder Hart of UDECOTT, Andre Monteil of the Home Mortgage Bank, Malcolm Jones of Petrotrin and Ken Julien of UTT, all of Manning's close personal friends have been very well taken care of...

Can you imagine this my brothers and sisters...all of these people, Manning has personally described as his very close friends, and all of them, all of them have been associated with multi-million and billion dollar allegations of corruption...and Manning has the gall to talk about love, and performance...rubbish...utter and total rubbish...

That is what Manning has done for the people of Laventille and La Brea, another traditional PNM stronghold, that is now seeing the light, and looking to the People's Partnership for deliverance from the blight of the PNM.

Make no mistake about it, my brothers and sisters...the PNM has never cared for you, they do not care for you now, and they never will...they only care for themselves, and their money hungry friends!

Manning has declared that he is not interested in unity. He wants to stay by himself.

He does not care to talk with and listen to Sis Verna St Rose, a dedicated and passionate Social Activist, who brought tears to the eyes of all listening during her maiden's speech in the Senate.



Manning does not want to talk to nor listen to Bro Errol McLeod, a man first worked at Petrotrin as an employee, and who has risen through the ranks of the Caribbean's leading people's organization in the most important economic sector of Trinidad and Tobago.

Manning does not want to listen to Bro Makandal Daaga, the person who is probably most familiar with the dilemma of Laventille, and La Brea.

Manning does not want to talk to or listen to Winston Dookeran, an economist of international stature, who courageously put his life on the line, during one of the country's darkest moments, while Manning ran away and hid like a big coward! Winston is strong and brave...Manning is a weak, coward...

The Congress of the People is a people's organization, as depicted by the circle of circles.

And the United National Congress was born out of the people's struggle for bread, equality and justice. The UNC is people's organization – of the people, for the people and by the people!

And why have we come together?

Yes, we have come together to get rid of Patrick's corrupt and incompetent National Movement, who has neglected you, used and abused you for the last 60 years, but there is a far greater reason that we have come together, my brothers and sisters here tonight, and listening on the television...

The problems of Laventille and by extension the problems of Trinidad and Tobago, cannot, and I stress cannot be solved by any one man! We need to bring people together, people who care, people who are committed, and people who are competent, who have ideas to work together to solve these problems.

The damage that the PNM has done over the last 60 years will not and cannot be eliminated easily or quickly, but I give you my word here tonight, that with the support of the People's Partnership and your partnership – the people of Laventille, we can and we will solve the problem of Laventille, once and for all.

Successive PNM administrations have taken the loyalty and support of the people of Laventille for granted. The philosophy of the PNM is to create a culture of dependency where Laventillians are beholden to the party to receive small handouts and menial work here and there. One just has to take a look at the area and see the lack of infrastructural development. Even the area's only medical center was closed due to fear of criminal activity. Laventille is overrun by crime, fear and a sense of hopelessness. There are no meaningful attempts at implementing social programmes to address the long-standing issues affecting generations of residents of Laventille. Most people would say that the problems facing Laventille are crime and unemployment but the issue facing the people of Laventille goes deeper than that and may best be summarised as the absence of any social policy initiative that is forward thinking and youth driven, formulated not by so called experts but by those who have lived and studied the experience and truly understand the needs of the people and the area.

What has Laventille gained over the years? Have the lives of these people improved or has it deteriorated even further? These are the pertinent questions to ask when one speaks about whether the PNM has neglected Laventille. The answers are obvious. Laventille today is in crisis. Criminals have taken control, young men who see no other way out of their poverty, who have no chance of bettering themselves are joining gangs to gain some form of identity, to feel some kind of empowerment and to survive. Many of them will tell you that they know their lives will be short but believe that during that period they would have gained some respect that they don't otherwise possess. It is a frightening state of affairs that has been allowed to fester. It begins in the home and the absence of a family structure. As Gerry Pantin, founder of Servol, pointed out in the book *Behind the Bridge* written by Selwyn Ryan, Roy McCree and Godfrey St. Bernard, it is about stress that leads to violence. Father Pantin made note of the fact that most of these homes have no father figure while the mother has to beg, borrow and steal for survival. The children, he said, then become victims to the wrong kind of entrepreneurship and are tempted into the cocaine trade which is sometimes the only means of survival in this brutal world of neglect, hunger and abuse. It is sad

that while all of this is going on the people faithfully support the PNM who accept their deep loyalty and peddle empty promises at election time while at heart there is neither political will nor genuine interest in seeing any meaningful, lasting change. Sometimes I wonder whether the PNM wants it to stay this way confident that it is what has worked politically for them, people so desperate in need who would cling to anything for just a little help no matter how temporary in trade for their votes for they have nothing else to give. It hurts me deeply to know that a father is going to come home frustrated by his inability to provide adequately and beat his wife who in turn takes out her own frustration on the children. And it doesn't have to be that way. We are country so rich yet the PNM is so poor on ideas or intent to socially transform these areas. The NGO's try their best but get little or no support from the state and there is only so much they can do.

As the Political Leader of the National Joint Action Committee, NJAC, Mackandal Daaga, noted once Laventille never had a representative in Parliament who was in touch with the heart and soul of the community. NJAC once developed a 10 Point Plan for Laventille which addressed unemployment as a key factor to the area's problems pointing out that 70% of Laventille at the time was unemployed while the other 30% depended on project work. As he put it, "ten days is not work, it is victimisation." I would rely on the expert contributions of those who have lived the solutions, whose hearts are truly in the right place for Laventille and whose understanding of the complexities can deliver the best solutions for real change. But from my perspective, Laventille requires a social rather than a political solution and by that I mean in the past so called initiatives have all been developed from what political gain would be derived rather than being people driven. In short, Laventille has been a political bleeding ground exploited by politician after politician for their own selfish gain. It is perhaps the best example in rich Trinidad of how poor the political agenda has been. So once and for all, let us get it right. Real employment that equips young people with a future, real education that inspires, not just academia, but motivational and mentoring programmes conducting by the best local and global resources possible, counselling initiatives to address the daily trauma that comes from merely living and growing up in Laventille, an analysis of what must be done to restore law and order both from within and without Laventille, restoration of law and order imposed by groups that must somehow are immunised themselves from corruption and law breaking practices. Corrupt law enforcement officers do more harm than good in these areas if only by perpetuating the belief that this is the only way the world works.

The following is a speech sent by Curtis to which I added the Laventille bit.

Under my leadership, Sis Verna St Rose, a grass roots social workers, Bro Errol McLeod, a labour leader, Winston Dookeran, an economist, and Bro Makandal, born and bred in the bowels of Laventille – we will put our hearts and minds, our hands and our backs together to a new Laventille, where there is bread, justice, employment and peace for all.

Like Dr Martin Luther King, I have a dream tonight, that Laventille will no longer be associated with crime, poverty and social ills, but I have a dream that Laventille will be transformed into one of our most prosperous and pleasant communities in all of Trinidad and Tobago.

To do that, you must vote for Makandal Daaga and Kwesi Mutema on May 24<sup>th</sup>...put your x by the Circle of Circles...put us into government, so that together we can re-create Laventille...Laventille! You will Rise!...You will rise! As together we will rise!!

We will rise!

## **16. Gasparillo, Tabaquite - 11 May 2010**

Good evening...

I know we're all counting down...thirteen days now...thirteen days till this country is ours again...

Thirteen days till we unite, all of us together...one country, one people...

This government has sought to divide us, turn one group against another...

In thirteen days that ends...

In thirteen days we all move forward together.

### **Youth**

And let me take a quick minute to talk to our nation's young people. I know you have the most at risk in this election. This election is about your future. No one needs change more than our young people.

And this election is very much about you...

I wake up every morning thinking about you...

The People's Partnership is here to work for you...

Young people have been flocking to our campaign, talking with us on facebook...

And I encourage every young person here tonight and listening at home – This election is too important for you to not participate, for you not to make your voice and vote heard...

And hear me tonight...

I have two very clear priorities for our nation's young people...

First, we must strengthen and expand our educational opportunities. The People's Partnership will not be taking away any of the current programs – but we will be making our educational system better.

We know our future, your future, depends on a good education. We need world-class schools that prepare our young people for the competitive world marketplace. We need to make sure every young person has a marketable skill and the chance to live out and realize their dreams...

And Second, our young people must feel safe and secure. Crime is a plague that rests heavy on our young people and we must take all necessary steps to protect everyone in our country.

What good is everything else if we are not safe in our homes, if we are not safe walking in our neighborhoods...if we are not safe in our schools.

So to our young people, I say join me...join me...

If anyone cannot afford five more years of Manning and PNM...it is our young people...

And it will take all of us to build the future...do not sit on the sidelines...do not give up on hope...this is too important and I need you, the People's Partnership needs you...our nation needs you...

### **Coalition**

We are a nation that derives its strength from its diversity.

We are one nation, comprised of people whose ancestors came from different continents, whose skins have different tones, and who pray to different gods.

And the result is a beautiful culture that has produced music, dance, food and festival known throughout the world.

We are not merely tolerant of our differences; we EMBRACE our differences. We combine, share and exchange; and the result is that we are all better for it. We are stronger for it.

And now the People's Partnership finally presents for the people of Trinidad and Tobago a political choice that mirrors the strength of the nation.

For the first time, our politics is not confined to a contest of race against race; region against region; interest against interest.

For the first time, our politics now embrace our differences, and creates strength from what was once divisive in the past.

Yet Patrick Manning says "beware."

Manning says diversity does not lead to strength, but to weakness. Manning says diversity and coalition is a threat.

Well, it is a threat. Diversity and coalition are a threat to Patrick Manning and the old way.

The People's Partnership is the new way.

Look across the water to Britain.

Britain is working now to establish their coalition government in their parliamentary democracy. We got the idea of parliamentary democracy from Britain.

But ain't it nice to know we got a head start on them on coalition – we have been building ours these past many (months/weeks/years). And now they are trying to build their coalition just these past two days.

Ain't no one saying coalition is a threat to Britain – that the United Kingdom will fall because they are going to form a coalition government.

Instead, they say the ability to form a coalition government is a tribute to the strength of the system of parliamentary democracy.

And here, in Trinidad and Tobago, our People's Partnership is not just a sign of the strength of our democracy, it is a sign of the strength of our people.

A people willing and eager to reach their hands across to their brothers and sisters, to join forces, are a people who are confident, strong, and becoming stronger.

A people who spread fear about joining hands with others are a people who are themselves weak and fearful.

Right now, Britain is following our lead down the road of unity and coalition. Let us set forward down that road with confidence and strength.

When we become able to govern from and for a broad base of our people, we find we have a future without limits.

When we erase the boundaries between the people of Trinidad and Tobago, we find there are no boundaries to what Trinidad and Tobago can do.

**MuSt Program**

My brothers and sisters tonight we are at the doorsteps of the Pointe-a-Pierre Constituency and I want to refer to a statement made by Christine Kangaloo - the PNM Candidate for Pointe-a-Pierre - at a Multi-sector Skills Training Programme (MuST) Graduation ceremony last Saturday at UTT.

She said that this programme was the “centrepiece of this nation’s development”.

2,267 trainees graduated in construction skills. To those trainees and their hard working instructors I say congratulations.

But it was brought to my attention that not a single certificate was given out at that ceremony.

While the Prime Minister was proudly boasting that 989 of them acquired a Caribbean Vocational Qualification - the C.V.Q. - Mr. Manning seemed unaware that not a single C.V.Q. certificate was given out.

The graduating trainees left with only a paper statement (a transcript) in their hands.

He was once again found distorting the truth in this haste of electioneering - just using our young people.

I ask is this the centrepiece that Christine Kangaloo was talking about.

Now I ask why would you want to do that.

Is it because it is election time and you can use the occasion to get mileage? Mr. Manning these are trainees who would have worked hard in successfully completing this programme. They would have also gone all out to make their graduation day one to remember.

But what does Mr. Manning and his Minister do – give them a piece of paper which means nothing to them.

No employer in Trinidad and Tobago will even accept it.

Mr. Manning I ask on behalf of the hundreds of graduates please give them their certificates...

I assure that within one week of assuming Government we will investigate this and ensure that all our MuST graduates receives their certificates so that you can go into the labour market seek employment – not remain in a state of dependence on the PNM.

Is Mr. Manning waiting to have their vote before he gives them their certificates?

We will also investigate a report brought to my attention where instructors of the MuST Programme have been mandated by Ministry officials to spend their “Transport allowance of \$1800” on entertaining the trainees every month – some of them even have to show their bills on how they spent their hard earned money.

I ask again is this the centrepiece of the nation that Christine Kangaloo was talking about?

### **PNM Manifesto**

And before I start our discussion about better managing our natural resources, let me add just one thing, I know the PNM unveiled its manifesto today.

And I’m sure you and the rest of country had the same reaction that I did – it’s just more promises for Patrick Manning and the PNM to break.

Nothing but empty promises

We know of their massive waste, mismanagement, corruption and lack of accountability.

And so Manifesto or not, let me tell you Patrick, it won't change the fact that the people of Trinidad and Tobago do not believe you anymore.

### **Our Resources and Energy**

And before I begin to speak about the energy sector please allow me to tell you what happened to the well advertised debate between the UNC's representative of the People's Partnership, Rudy Moonilal and the PNM. The energy debate was the initiative of the Energy Chamber of Trinidad and Tobago and was scheduled to occur at the Institute of Business at the University of the West Indies. The time of the much anticipated debate was 6:00 p.m. Rudy Moonilal arrived and took his seat and waited but as you would expect, no one from the PNM arrived to take part. So Rudy sat there with an empty chair beside him for the PNM representative and Rudy spoke for about half an hour and then fielded questions for another half hour after that and the audience was well pleased with the presentation. So much for the PNM's policy on energy. Nothing.

But tonight, I want to continue to outline our plans for the nation –and tonight I want to talk about how we to ensure that the resource wealth of Trinidad and Tobago, is used for the benefit of all citizens.

On day one, the People's Partnership will institute a Commission of Enquiry into the entire operations of Petrotrin, paying special attention to procurement practices and we will follow up on any recommendations for legal recourse.

We will undertake a forensic inquiry into the operations of Petrotrin, with a special focus on two areas (1) the refinery upgrade project and the massive cost overruns and (2) the Gas to Liquid (GTL) plant which has led to multi-billion litigation in New York.

- Our approach to policy formulation for the energy sector will be consultative and will utilize the talents of the technocrats at the Ministry of Energy and Energy Industries, the NGC, the NEC, the Energy Chamber (formerly the South Trinidad Chamber of Industry and Commerce), local oil and gas companies, the NGO's, the trade union movement, the UWI, the UTT and the Arthur Lok Jack Graduate School of Business.

Within the first 120 days in office, we will appoint a National Energy Commission from among the aforementioned stakeholders the aim of which would be to come up with a comprehensive policy document on the way the energy sector should be managed and grown in the future.

- We will make sure more of our citizens enjoy ownership of energy projects and service sector jobs linked to energy.

- We will focus on diversifying our economy making sure our country grows related industries expanding our industrial base and our labor forces of skilled workers. And there is a link between energy and education and training and development.

- We will make sure our workforce is trained to take advantage of diversification.

### **Energy Security**

One of our first steps in Energy security will be to address exploration and proving up of new resources in order to maintain a healthy "reserves to production" ratio.

This is what I mean by MANAGING our energy assets. We will not be carried away by potential and possibilities.

We will be guided by reality and we will manage risk and on that basis as we facilitate further exploration by constructive engagement of investors in the sector.

Energy security will inform our management strategy for our energy assets and we will take that further in two important ways.

(1) We will proactively move to develop alternative sources of energy with a view to establishing an alternative energy industry.

Research work is on-going at the University of the West Indies in solar, wind, wave and thermal energy alternatives. We will support research in such areas and provide incentives for more intensive research involving larger research groups.

(2) We will also proactively seek investment and partnership opportunities in third and fourth generation energy alternatives.

This will link with our research support strategy and link energy policy with research as well as development initiatives.

Such initiatives will improve our potential for research and innovation; create new, high value jobs for our people, while simultaneously contributing to our nation's energy security.

So this is part of our plan for managing our energy assets....

- Reserves to production ratio...
- A review of the existing regime...
- Stimulation of exploration...
- Professional assessment of energy investment proposals...
- Alternative energy research as well as investment...
- Energy security...
- More local businesses linked to the sector...
- More and better paying jobs...
- Smarter use of income flows from energy to support a sustainable development Strategy....
- And prosperity for all.

This is how we will manage our resources.

This is how we will make our nation stronger and make sure that all of our people benefit from our nation's wealth.

Not just the few, not just the connected.

But all of us

### **Conclusion**

And that's what this election is about.

It's about all of us doing better together.

All of us uniting to make sure our government works for us.

Most of us have been locked out. Looking in from the outside.

Watching Manning and the PNM enjoy the fruits of our nation...while we suffer.

That changes May 24. Join me

Thirteen days my friends...just thirteen days.

If we roll up our sleeves and work hard, in just thirteen days we can begin to rebuild our nation.

We are all in this together.

Our future in our own hands.

Our destiny – ours to make.

God Bless you, my friends and God Bless Trinidad and Tobago.

## **17. Princes Town – 12 May 2010**

Good evening...

Twelve days and counting...

Twelve days till we renew our country.

Twelve days till we can dream and have hope to fulfill those days.

Twelve days till we together roll up our sleeves and get to work repairing the damage of the last eight years.

Together we're going to retake our country, together we're going to change our country.

Just twelve days.

And in those twelve days, I'm going to keep talking about our future.

I'm going to keep talking about what a People Partnership government means for you.

### **Debate**

I'm sure you have all seen that Patrick Manning has refused to debate me – and that this week the PNM also refused to participate in a debate about our nation's energy policy.

Can you believe that?

Actually, I'm sure you can...

On platform after platform, Patrick and the PNM have been saying let's talk issues, let's talk about plans...

That's all for show.

That's just all politics.

They have no interest in talking about ideas and a vision for our country – because they don't have any ideas and they don't have a vision.

They've had eight years to show us their ideas and their vision and they never have.



And every night I speak about the issues and discuss the People's Partnership and our plans – a couple nights later, they're talking about the same thing.

Not only do they not have any ideas – they want to steal ours. But it's not just about having great ideas but doing great things because you have the ability to implement them. And that's something Manning's administration has demonstrated they are incapable of doing.

The PNM is intellectually bankrupt.

And we don't need to hear them tell us what they would do with five more years – we already know.

Just what they've done the past eight years.

Nothing.

So no wonder Patrick doesn't want to debate me

No wonder the PNM can't be bothered to send a representative to talk about energy.

You can't debate when you have nothing to say.

You can't debate when you have no record of accomplishment.

That tells us all we need to know about them.

### **Manifesto**

And as for their manifesto... it's just more promises for Patrick Manning and the PNM to break.

Nothing but empty promises

For eight years, their approach to government has been massive waste, mismanagement, corruption and lack of accountability.

So what good is a manifesto from them?

If Patrick had any idea how to govern, he would have done it already.

If he had any ideas, he would have shared those already.

It's time for change.

Time for a fresh start for all of us.

And that's just what we'll get on May 24.

### **Crime**

And did you notice the PNM Manifesto had nothing to say about stopping crime...and how could it ... since Manning and Martin Joseph had never had any idea what to do about crime.

Manning certainly didn't notice that our nation passed a significant milestone today.

In the midst of this intense campaign, it is important that we remember the pressures of day-to-day life under the PNM.

And what is this significant milestone?

Today, our murder rate surged ahead of last year's tally.

Last year, as at May 11, 2009, the murder tool stood at 193.

As of yesterday, it passed this figure and stood at 195 for 2010.

This month, we also passed another significant milestone.

The total number of murders under the PNM crossed the 3000 mark.

It now stands at 3063!

The blood of over 3000 of our sons and daughters, our brothers and sisters has indelibly stained the hands of the PNM.

Over 3000 families have been deprived of a father, a son, a mother, a daughter, a BREADWINNER! The pain and suffering of those that have to survive after the crime is an unexplored social problem. They are left to fend for themselves.

This unprecedented murder rate gives new meaning to the blind chant of a few that "Ah is PNM 'till ah dead" Under the PNM your casket might come true a lot sooner than you think!

CRIME is the number one problem in this country.

The PNM launched its manifesto yesterday and it is a case of "same ole, same ole!" The manifesto promises new mega-projects galore, but fails to tell us how the government intends to make your home a safer place for you to live in; how they are going to reclaim the streets and lift the self-imposed national curfew for law-abiding citizens; how they intend to stop the blood from flowing.

The absence of a coherent crime policy in the PNM's manifesto is evidence that Manning will continue his merry way along the very path that has caused so much destruction and damage.

I ask the question: Of what use is a US\$1.2 billion petrochemical facility to Bernadette Romaine?

When gunmen struck in 2006, Bernadette Romaine lost her 14-year-old granddaughter, Aneisha Simon. Last Sunday night, she lost a brother, Israel Hutchins, 41, a National Maintenance Training and Security Company officer, who was killed when bandits attempted to hijack and rob the maxi taxi in which he was travelling.

Of what use is Manning's Billion Dollar Rapid Rail system to twenty-year old Jamilla Des Vignes who was shot dead last week in a new round of gang warfare in Laventille.

How would the aluminium smelter help the grieving family of the late Peter Titus get justice?

He was murdered in cold blood because he looked like a police officer. Titus, 31, a quality control inspector, was gunned down as he lay cowering on the floor of Mike's Bar, at the corner of Lothians Road and Cemetery Street, Princes Town. Titus and a few of his friends were playing pool at the bar when the three men stormed in. Right here in Princess Town!!

Whilst mothers clutched their dying sons and daughters and screamed from their wombs, Manning has continued to trivialise crime.

Why is Martin Joseph not a frontline speaker on the PNM platform? I understand Manning's consultant's told him to keep Joseph off the platform because his mere presence would remind people of the PNM's failure to control runaway crime.

That is why Martin only riding blimp and helicopter snapping pictures of our crowds!

Manning's response to crime was to launch an ad campaign. He tried to convince us that there was no crime problem. If anything, we were the problem. The public was subjected to a relentless avalanche of advertisements that admonished the public.

Remember the slogan, "Fix the 'me' in criME first?" Tonight, I want to tell Manning: Why didn't you take your own advice and fix the "ME" in criME first by locking up Calder Hart?

As crime engulfs and consumes us, many of us have nowhere to run to.

PM Manning is too busy spending our money to build skyscrapers and furnishing his palace to be bothered with the cries of our young people dying on our streets and in our neighborhoods.

Blood and tears are flowing like water, and the soul of our nation has been ruptured.

But the PNM tells its supporters "You must not jump ship! You must demonstrate your loyalty by staying on the SS PNM, sink or float".

Tonight, I want to ask you, will you stay on a sinking ship? Will you let Manning and his cronies sink our beloved Tand T? Why should you shut your mouth and simply "hold strain," until you die in silence so that Manning and Calder Hart can rape our treasury?

The PNM's attitude towards us is full of contempt and arrogance.

Imagine Peter Taylor, Min of Legal Affairs scolding hardworking citizens, saying they were living off the fat of the land! (Mind you eh, ah see Marlene Mc Donald watch him 'cut-eye' when he say this eh...Marlene reach fuh she mike in Parliament and was going to object until she realized it was her own colleague who was chastising us for living off the fat of the land!)

Incompetence is rewarded under the PNM! Thus, Finance Minister Tesheira remains immovable, despite the Clico cloud of doubt and suspicion hanging over her head, and Martin Joseph's abysmal failure as Minister of National Security appears to have impressed Prime Minister Manning so much, that he has never once hinted at his removal or demotion, despite a recent Cabinet reshuffle.

In the Westminster tradition, both these ministers would have had to resign. In our system, they flourish.

Tonight, I want to ask Patrick Manning: Where are your proposals on crime? Why are you so silent on crime? Why is your manifesto so silent on the No 1 issue that affects our people?

I want to remind you of the plight of the victims of crime! The young daughter who is kidnapped and repeatedly raped while her mother pleads with her husband not to listen to the police and pay the ransom, feels robbed of her humanity.

The single mother who struggled to bring up a son without a father, only to see his life snuffed out by senseless gang violence at 18, feels no dignity.

The PNM and Manning have abdicated their responsibility to the nation and the constitution. Your fundamental right to peace and security of the person has no value under a PNM administration! The first and most important fundamental human right guaranteed by the State to its citizens in this country is the right to peace and security of the person.

Our future will only be bright if we understand that these rights are owed to us by the State. We must cherish and jealously guard them.

These rights are not, however, worth fighting for, unless you understand that we must all join hands and fight, because we realise that when the Government tramples on your rights, it tramples on mine, too, because we are both human and all we're all one people.

Today for you, tomorrow for me.

We are at a most critical juncture as the State has abdicated its responsibility to protect us, so that we can enjoy the basic right to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property.

Self-interest must yield to the public interest. Personal pride, ego and power must give way to what is right and to the greater good.

The decline and disintegration will continue, unless we unite for the sake of our children and their future, because it is either we swim together or drown alone."

It is not just who, but WHAT, will rule the next generation as the dictator-like tendencies of Emperor Manning takes full flight.

Our constitution will be altered and the erosion of fundamental human rights entrenched in the constitution will continue at a greater pace.

## **ROWLEY and CORRUPTION**

Apart from crime, the PNM's manifesto says nothing about transparency and prevention of corruption!

We have moved from the good ole days of the Francis Prevat and John O' Halloran to Calder Hart and Andre Monteil! Nothing has changed!

Tonight, I want to tell my friend Dr Keith Rowley: Keith, you were right, this will be a UDECOTT election!

And Manning's corruption will be the issue. You want to be a sailor on the PNM ship and say "It doesn't matter what state the ship is in?" You say leave Manning alone? Well keith, when you say leave Manning alone, you are also saying leave Calder Hart alone!

What will you do when Manning make you walk the plank and throw you overboard so that he can continue his corrupt ways?

Keith, yuh say it eh have no court martial! Well, ah want tuh tell yuh dat there is a court martial!

The date for de court martial is May 24th and the people will be the jury.

Our nation is at a critical juncture. If the PNM is not removed, there will be a repeat of 1956-1986, when it ruled this country for 30 years without interruption.

Manning will analyse the election results. He will know where the PNM has lost votes, and calculate with surgical precision where the PNM has to build new housing settlements.

They will plunder the treasury and nothing will change.

And we will keep living the same nightmare, night after night, day after day for the next five years...

We'll enough is enough.

It's time for real change.

And so tonight, I want to share with you some of our proposals as to how we intend to tackle the crime problem...

Because unlike Patrick Manning and PNM, the People's Partnership will.

It's the nation's top priority and it's our as well.

And when we unveil the Peoples Partnership Manifesto on Friday, you'll see a manifesto that addresses crime.

Here's just a few of the points in that plan -

- We will hold the police accountable for the effective delivery of their services, establishing clear and measurable benchmarks for crime reduction and containment.
- We will establish a National Security Operational Center involving the use of technology to set up a real time centralized system for tracking crime. This will include GPS technology in every police vehicle.
- We will use GPS bracelets on offenders who are on probation.
- We will better control and patrol our coast line through 360 degree radar linked to all branches of our security services.
- We will establish the National Security Protective Services Training Academy to improve the training provided to police officers.
- We will also prioritize community policing so put police presence in all of our neighborhoods.
- We'll also overhaul the criminal justice system. Rebalancing the system in favor of victims and ensuring that criminal and civil matters are separately addressed.
- We'll also expand and implement community service for certain categories of crime as well as facilitate the further establishment of half-way houses to help the reintegration of past offenders.

These are just a few of the concrete steps we'll take.

### **Close**

This election is about all of us doing better together. All of us uniting to make sure our government works for us.

Most of us have been locked out.

Looking in from the outside.

Watching Manning and the PNM enjoy the fruits of our nation...while we suffer.

That changes May 24

Join me

Join me on line at Kamla.tt

Twelve days my friends...just twelve days.

We are all in this together.

Our future in our own hands.

Our destiny – ours to make.

God Bless you, my friends and God Bless Trinidad and Tobago.

## **18. Montrose Junction, Chaguanas – 13 May 2010**

Good evening...

Eleven days and counting...

Just eleven days... and our beautiful Trinidad and Tobago will begin on the path to prosperity, hope, justice and freedom.

Imagine for a moment --- no more Calder Hart, no more Prophetess Pena, no more property tax, no more Revenue Authority, no more wasteful expenditures on blimps, tall buildings and useless conferences, no more taking our people for granted, no more pompous ministers who parade like monarchs of all they survey.

It's not often that a nation can see a problem and know exactly how to solve that problem.

The problem is a government that has ignored, abused and done nothing for our nation.

The solution is our vote in eleven days.

Together we will solve our problem.

Together we will take our futures in our own hands.

Eleven days.

And tonight, just for a moment I want to talk that PNM voter out there who is for the first time considering voting against the PNM.

I can tell you, you are not alone.

I hear from others like you every day.

Folks from all around this country, brothers and sisters who have always voted PNM but say --- Not this time.

Not this time.

They say the ship is sinking and while Manning and Rowley may say man your posts, go down with the ship...

They have no intention of going down with the ship – they've already suffered enough.

Patrick Manning has already put them through enough.

This time they're boarding a new ship...

So I say, come on board.

This election is about all of us, about all of us coming together.

We don't play favorites on our ship.

We don't pit one group against another on our ship.

That's Patrick Manning politics...that's not how the People's Partnership works.

And while Manning and the PNM try to keep those PNM voters moving to change...

I have to admit...I'm confused by the PNM's new slogan...

Manning now says – He loves us.

That the PNM is about love...

I'll tell you tonight what one woman told me in Princess town last night...

Talk is cheap...

Love is something you have...not just something you say.

Love is not just a word...it is an action based upon a character value.

It is the evidence of the way you feel about someone. What is the evidence of Manning's new found love of the people? Was the billion dollar wastage on the Summits an expression of his love? Is the absence of hospital beds and patients lying on the floor evidence of Manning's PNM care and love? Are the deaths of thousands of crime victims under Manning's Martin Joseph a sign of this loving care? Is the bid rigging at UDeCOTT and his stout defense of Calder Hart further evidence of his love for the people of this country? Are the desperate cries of people for basic needs to be filled such as water and roads proof of the Manning administration's love for them? Is the fact that not a single home for children was built during his term in office a sign that he loves the young innocent ones? When Minister Dick Forde told the nation they should be ashamed for hounding Calder Hart and that the nation had lost its soul, was that love Manning PNM style? And when he fired and ill treated his very own loyal PNM members so contemptuously was that Manning's PNM way of showing love and care?

Manning and the PNM think our country is so naïve that if they stand up here and there and say – love, love, love...

That the people will forget, forget, forget..

That's what he hopes...

But it's not going to happen.

Patrick we all remember.

If you really loved us, you would have done something about crime, you would have taken our security seriously and gotten rid of Martin Joseph

If you really loved us, you would have made sure our sick had access to health care

If you really loved us, you wouldn't have squandered billions of dollars while many in our country don't even have clean water...

Patrick – love isn't something you can just roll out to try to win an election...

People see through that...and they see through you.

As it becomes more and more clear, that Patrick's usual tricks are not going to work this time...

That we are coming together, that we do want to be one nation...

Last night, Patrick (in another election ploy and in a vain attempt to look as though he cared at all) he said that he had made mistakes...

Mistakes?

A mistake is when you forget a friend's birthday. It's when a student misplaces their homework.

That's a mistake.

Calder Hart?!

UdeCOTT?!

Hundreds of our brothers and sisters slain in our streets?!

Thousands of our families still dreaming of the most basic of public services?!

Those are not mistakes...those are decisions...decisions which ruined the lives of so many, decisions which have created a crisis in the country and caused the collapse of his administration!

And Patrick...it's an insult to all of us that you would attempt to sweep all your corruption under a rug

And call it merely – a mistake.

Mistakes are honest errors...mistakes are unintentional oversights...

What you have done to this country over the past eight years...

What you have allowed to happen to our families...

The fact that such a rich country should have so little to show for it...

That's not a mistake, Patrick –

That's why you're not going back!

That's why we're voting for change.

These are not mistakes, this is how you govern.

This is how little you thought about the needs of the people.

We heard it loud and clear, Patrick, when asked why he would not debate me he said:

"What's in it for me?" That is the way he governs, always thinking about what is in it for HIM.

These are not mistakes...this is arrogance and greed.

And we've had enough.

So to those thousands of PNM voters looking for a new Trinidad...I say join us.

This is not about party or race or gender...



This is about the future

This is about our country...

So join us...

If you go to bed every night and wake up every morning and whisper to yourself – there has to be something better...

There has to be a better way...

There is...

Join us.

We're not checking party cards at the door to our ship...

Everyone's welcome...

And for those who want to join – the good news is – our ship isn't sinking.

### **Debate**

Just look at the Captains of the two ships.

Which one is not afraid to show up and debate... which one accepted the TnT Debate Commissions invitation and which one didn't

Manning talks a good game. He says he wants to talk about issues and policies

But give him a real chance...and he walks away.

And to that PNM voter who's no longer satisfied with the course of our nation...

I say - do you want a captain who isn't even willing to stand up in a public debate and defend his record?

And Manning has the nerve to suggest he's the strong one...

Really?

Patrick, I know you're advisers are telling you not to stand up and discuss your record – because it can't be defended.

And I know that people in your own party are calling for you to be court-martialed when the PNM ship reaches dry dock.

But let's agree the people come first. Let's agree the people deserve to hear the issues.

Eric Eustace Williams would have agreed.

I had challenged Eric Williams – the true father of the nation- we would have already debated twice or three times.

He would have never asked, "What's in it for me?"

Remember how more than half a century ago Eric stood up like a man and debated Dom Basil Matthews.

But Manning is no Eric Williams. The PNM of yesterday is not the PNM of today.

The People's National Movement is a far cry from Patrick's National Movement.

The late Muriel Donowa Mc Davidson, a great stalwart of the PNM and one who ought to know, said years ago at Harris Promenade that Manning was destroying the PNM.

Today he has destroyed it completely.

Think about it... Patrick Manning's National Movement is not the PNM of Eric Williams that so many still hold so dear:

1. Patrick's National Movement lacks the confidence, intellect and vision. Eric Williams surrounded himself with the likes of William Demas, Lionel Seemungal, Eugenio Moore, and Mrs. Patricia Robinson –all intellectual giants in their respective fields.

They provided him with ideas. By contrast –and as an example –Manning's Cabinet is replete with ministers who are mere OJTs -- on the job trainees who are taught that blind loyalty to him first is the way to remain on the job. They don't serve the people they serve His Majesty, Emperor Manning.

2. Unlike Patrick who is harden and listens to no one, Eric Williams listened to those around him and as a result his decisions were well thought out. Not Patrick. He demands absolute obedience to his wishes.

I am sorry Patrick listens to one person –the prophetess. It was Benny Hinn who, on viewing the interaction between Manning and his prophetess, described our prime minister as a “very foolish man”.

Williams would have welcomed a debate with me and the nation would have benefitted from the clash of policies and ideas.

Not Patrick, he knows that his ideas and policies cannot stand scrutiny. He can function only in situations where no questions are allowed.

While eleven days seems too long to wait to get rid of Manning, we live in hope.

For we are told in the good book after the night commeth day.

After the darkness commeth light. And after despair hope. And we shall rise.

So again, to my PNM brothers and sisters, who know we can do better.

Who know in their hearts that the PNM, in its present form and under the leadership of Manning, cannot take Trinidad and Tobago into the 21<sup>st</sup> century...

Let's work together to make our country the home we want, the home our children need.

And it's time for change...

So join us where your ideas will count, join us in making our United Force Of Change.

## **Manifesto**

Sound policies and ideas and a clear vision for the future are what drive the People's Partnership.

And just one look at the recently announced PNM manifesto confirms that is not the case with Patrick Manning.

The PNM manifesto is nothing more than a boldface attempt to recycle old ideas

There is nothing new. Promises Never Materialise that's the acronym for the manifesto. Not worth the paper it is printed on. What is the point of all the words and pictures if it does not represent anything that will be fulfilled?

There are no answers to our problems – to the problems Manning and Rowley created, the problems they have spent years ignoring.

It renews the call for the controversial Trinidad and Tobago Revenue Authority.

I have already indicated that under a People's Partnership government there will be no Revenue Authority.

The people do not want it. The workers do not want it. It has failed in countries that tried it. It is recycled nonsense.

The PNM's manifesto also calls for the institution of the Property Tax.

The same property tax that has created such a revolt in the country across all boundaries. Even Rowley railed against it recognizing that it was his chance to win some points while the news on his own corruption charges were being advanced. You see Rowley only grew into this whistle blower on corruption AFTER Manning fired him you know. But that is another story for another time.

Back to the property tax promised by the PNM. The People's Partnership wishes to state that we will get rid of the property tax.....right after we get rid of Manning on the 24<sup>th</sup> May.

The PNM manifesto which was launched on Tuesday promised 200,000 direct and indirect jobs. You hear lie.....that is lie. What Manning counting jobs or crimes?

That's what you call empty political promises...

Their manifesto features two images of NAPA, the showpiece of Calder Hart, a testimony to PNM's waste and corruption, and a hallmark of government's preference for foreign workers.

NAPA is an insult to all our hardworking construction workers. And the artistic community have rejected it out of turn.

Manning pledges 10,000 houses a year, even though this year the PNM has constructed much less and even those are plagued with poor workmanship and lack of proper sewerage systems.

The PNM manifesto also tries to take us for fools by announcing new hospitals in Arima, Sangre Grande and Point Fortin and the rebuilding of the Port of Spain and San Fernando General Hospitals yet not a single new one was built in his entire term in office! So why should we believe him now?!

My brothers and sisters, if you don't believe me- just ask the people of Point Fortin and Arima how many times they have been promised new hospitals by Patrick.

Just ask them.

But thanks to Jack Warner we now know that they are better at constructing health centers in Montserrat than in building hospitals in Trinidad and Tobago.

They place the interest of Chinese workers and Montserratians before that of our citizens.

Petrotrin has incurred huge debts in cost overruns for its upgrade projects, yet the PNM manifesto calls for a new US \$12 billion refinery off Otaheite.

This in spite of the fact that our oil and gas reserves are dwindling.

Manning has to be crazy. Is this another prompt from the prophetess?

Enough.

No wonder Manning won't debate...

If that's the manifesto he has to defend...I could understand why he dodged the debate.

Tomorrow the People's Partnership will unveil the people's manifesto...

A document that comprehensively addresses the concerns of our nation.

It is people centered.

It will provide for the safety needs of our citizens. It will make our government accountable to the people.

Together, it will show how we build a place where every creed and race will find an equal place.

I want each and every one of us to be the owners of Trinidad and Tobago and our manifesto will speak to that.

This is our country.

As citizens of this country we are entitled to the best education possible.

We are entitled to a well paying job.

We must demand that our communities are safe.

These are not gifts to be given to us by our government.

It is our entitlement.

We must all see ourselves as children of God, created in his image and likeness.

We must be empowered to walk tall.

We must be freed of the yoke of the PNM and of Patrick Manning.

We of the Peoples' Partnership for Change pledge to be your servants.

You will hear of the specific steps in our 120 day plan that the collective team of the People's Partnership under my leadership will deliver.

We will tell you in clear terms how you will be safer, how you will receive better medical care, how our children will be better cared for, how the government will be more accountable and transparent than it ever was in the history of our nation, the People's manifesto released tomorrow will identify how our aged will be treated, it will address workers rights, water distribution and the ways in which assistance will be given to NGO's, the Manifesto of the People will show you how we will develop a coherent export strategy and address the developmental plans for our neglected sister isle of Tobago and it will provide a clear answer to the problems faced by so many new home owners and home seekers.

That is just an overview of SOME of the areas covered by the people's manifesto of the People's Partnership. It is the result of the consultations held with you the people across the length and breadth of Trinidad and Tobago. Our manifesto is a representation of what you spoke to us about. we then put the finest minds together with our collective leadership to determine what was the best and fastest way to deliver on these areas. So, unlike the empty promises of Manning's PNM ours is a solid plan, a commitment in real concrete terms of how we deliver on the needs of the people.

I will not repeat the details given by Jack of how the PNM once again used state resources to withdraw the use of the pre-approved and pre-paid location of NALIS for the launch of our manifesto. But I have to ask how could NALIS one day approve our launch there and then write us on the evening before to say we can't use a government building during an election period? Did they not know this before this afternoon. The location was visited by our team yesterday with NALIS officials and the entire event was discussed. Yet they would wait until late this afternoon to send a letter withdrawing their approval. And this from the center of learning of Trinidad and Tobago? What are we to learn from this? What is the lesson for our young people? How do they expect people to react when they hear this? But this disgrace will be read about in that very library one day as citizens learn about the lengths to which the Manning administration and his loyalists went to frustrate the democratic process of the nation. It seems there is no sacred ground anymore from the judiciary to the library the PNM wants to control it all. But the people will not be denied the victory on May 24<sup>th</sup>.

The people will prevail. So to those in authority at NALIS I wish to express on behalf of the people our disappointment in the way you sought to frustrate this expression of democracy. Any policy which you may or may not have had should not have created the situation in which you give our party approval one day and then withdraw it at the last moment the afternoon before the event. That smacks of politics and you should be no part of that!

Hopefully, one day there will be a book in the library on this subject that recounts this sad experience.

But the presentation of the people's manifesto will go on at the Centre of Excellence tomorrow morning at 10:30. We made sure we chose a location where Jack Warner was in control so that the long arm of the PNM could not interfere yet again.

And through this manifesto we will change Trinidad and Tobago for the better whether afro-trini, indo-trini, Chinese-trini, white-trini, rich-trini, poor-trini, rural- trini, urban-trini, sick-trini, educated-trini, physically challenged-trini-----all of us will work together- and we will rise and live up to our manifest destiny. We will not care whether you are PNM or UNC or COP or TOP on May 25<sup>th</sup>. There will be no party ties on the suits of members of parliament with political symbols in the people's partnership government. We will represent the interests of all! Proud Trinis walking hand in hand to the promise land of hope, of caring, of sharing, of being each other's keeper.

This is my dream tonight for us.

This is my dream for us tomorrow. This is my dream for us on May 25.

God Bless you, my friends and God Bless Trinidad and Tobago.

## **19. Centre of Excellence, Macoya, Tunapuna (Manifesto Launch) – 14 May 2010**

We come together this morning at time when our nation is in crisis.

We are at a most critical juncture in our social and economic development.

The PNM has governed this nation for nearly 40 years since 1956. And their model of governance is now outmoded and outdated.

It is ill-suited to confront the myriad challenges that now threaten the very foundation of our economy and way of life.

The oil and gas based economic model of development is now on shaky ground. The recent volatility in the markets and consequential strong fluctuations has revealed the vulnerability of our economy. This lopsided approach to economic development is fundamentally flawed and is in urgent need of revision.

A new template for development is needed and I am therefore proud to present the manifesto of the People's Partnership.

It represents the collective vision, hopes and policy intention of a unique coalition of forces that seek to build a new economy based on not one, but SEVEN pillars.

### **THE SEVEN PILLARS OF INTERCONNECTED DEVELOPMENT**

The philosophical underpinning of our manifesto expressed in our first pillar is the desire to provide "PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT". Under the PNM, we have seen an inverse relationship between economic prosperity and the development of our people.

They presided over an oil and gas boom but have failed to create a society that has prospered and developed alongside the government and private sector.

The investment in our human and intellectual capital did not bring the anticipated returns because some of the skills that were being developed did not match our needs. We intend to create a knowledge-driven, technologically proficient society that will be the core and engine for a competitive and sustainable economy.

Our manifesto will build a new society from the bottom up because we have seen the damage inflicted by the PNM's top-to-bottom approach to economic development.

The billions spent on empty skyscrapers and mega-projects while the quality of life on the ground degenerated bears testimony to the colossal failure of the PNM's trickle down model of development.

This is why our second pillar for sustainable development focuses on "POVERTY ERADICATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE"

Our manifesto seeks to correct this by going back to basics and focusing on the needs of the people first.

It is a fallacy to measure society's standard of living by reference to grandiose buildings while citizens live under a self-imposed curfew due to high crime.

The standard of living is judged by the ability of the government to provide for its citizen's basic needs such as:

- § a quality education that is relevant to the needs of the 21st century
- § a safe society based on law and order where people do not have to live in fear of criminals but can enjoy the fruits of their hard work and sacrifice
- § good healthcare , with a dedicated focus on the elderly and children
- § a proper network of roads that minimizes the amount of time needlessly spent in traffic
- § and basic amenities such as electricity and water

There is no point in creating economic wealth if citizens cannot enjoy it (at least that's what the People's Partnership believes).

Under the PNM, wealth did not trickle down because too much money was being wasted on mega-projects and summits that brought no relief to the plight of the people.

Our plans and policies therefore aim to better the quality of life and raise the standard of living for all.

They aim to reduce poverty and crime and deliver services to the people in an efficient and professional manner.

When a government cannot deliver needed service to the people, it has failed and that is what we have witnessed over the past eight years. And to ensure the People's Partnership corrects this situation and can provide more efficient , more user-friendly service, we will create a Ministry of the People that will be dedicated to ensuring a free flow of government services to the people. Most services should, for example, be accessible on-line, from the comfort of your own home.

#### MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

There is also no point in creating economic wealth if people are afraid and unable to enjoy it.

The terrifying crime crisis that has engulfed our nation has virtually prevented citizens from enjoying the fruits of their labour.

This is why our third pillar for sustainable development is “NATIONAL AND PERSONAL SECURITY”.

We shall overhaul the criminal justice system to make it efficient and effective. This will be a major deterrent and weapon in the fight against crime. Criminals must respect the law. I would like to see a trial finish within 3-6 months of a person being charged so that criminals cannot make a mockery of our justice system and law-abiding citizens can feel the system is working.

Given the state of lawlessness and the extent of the backlog in our criminal courts, I think the criminal justice system is need of special and separate attention.

To this end, I propose to create a Ministry of Justice that will be responsible for criminal justice, with the Ministry of the Attorney General being responsible for civil matters.

The Minister of Justice shall be responsible for inter alia:

- Criminal Litigation and Legislation
- Reform and Transformation of Criminal Justice System
- Quicker Justice Initiative Programme (Specialised Courts)
- Prison Service Reform
- Forensic Sciences Services
- Community Service Department
- Legal Aid Reform ( Legal Aid and Advisory Authority)
- Youth Re-Offender Programme
- Sentencing Commission
- Compensation for Victims of Crime
- Victims Charter and counselling
- Technology in the Criminal Courts
- DNA Lab
- Witness Protection Programme

## THE ECONOMY

Trinidad and Tobago should be the information technology capital of the Caribbean and South America.

Our fourth pillar is the construction of a new area of economic development based on “INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES”.

Affordable internet access for every citizen will be a priority as we seek to create an educated society that is poised to compete with the rest of the world in the 21st century.

IT will be infused into every sector of our economy. We will thus encourage and develop strong linkages among our creative sectors, technological sectors, design sectors and our education and academic sectors.

And continuing the focus on our critical need for economic planning and development, our dependence on oil and gas and the unhealthy imbalance this has created makes our economy very fragile. These finite resources shall remain an integral part of our economy but we cannot put all our eggs in one basket and we must plan now to diversify our economy.

And that is why our fifth pillar is to create a “MORE DIVERSIFIED, KNOWLEDGE INTENSIVE ECONOMY.”

We have immense untapped potential in agriculture and we intend to place the accent on food production and food security.

We should be aiming to export food, instead of importing it!

And our Industrial Policy will identify the areas into which we will diversify the Economy including : knowledge based Industries, Cultural and Entertainment Industries, Ethnic Products, Food Processing, the Maritime Industry, Services Industries, biotechnology, information technology, high-tech manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, food production, processing and alternative energy and third and fourth generation renewable energy industries.

The diversification of our economy for sustainable development will be a top priority of the People's Partnership government. Tobago's economy will be given special treatment because the fundamentals are different. A major initiative will however, be the regularization of land titles for Tobagonians so that they can own their land and gain individual economic independence.

### CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

It has been widely recognised that our present constitution needs to be re-visited.

We have, as our sixth pillar of our manifesto, "PEOPLE PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE".

We aim to be a user-friendly, responsible and responsive government.

We believe the government must not be aloof and removed from the people, but rather, part of the people, reflecting the will and consciousness of the people.

To this end, we will promote a climate of national dialogue within a framework of civility and consensus building.

We will initiate a process of consultation to rewrite the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The objective of Constitution Reform will be to establish a framework for good, responsive governance and to nurture and build a participatory culture and to strengthen democracy.

This will move us away from the culture of maximum leadership and develop a politics of inclusion rather than the present system of winner takes all.

Some of the revolutionary ideas we propose to introduce are:

- A right of recall for non-performing parliamentary representatives
- Fixed election dates for national and local elections
- Mechanisms for a referendum process
- Limiting the Prime Minister to two successive terms as head of Government
- Rules governing the conduct of the Government and political parties during an election period.
- A stronger Integrity Commission
- Local government reform



## FOREIGN POLICY

Our seventh pillar is that of “A STRONG FOREIGN POLICY” that is rooted in a realisation that our voice must be heard as part of a wider Peoples Partnership that is based on mutual interests and objectives to advance common cause.

We see the international arena and the world system as an opportunity to build diplomatic partnerships that can lead to trade and cultural exchanges.

We are part of the global village that has been made smaller by the development of technology.

We are mindful of our size and resource constraints and would structure our foreign policy to advance our goals and aspirations as part of a geo-political block.

Our approach will be realistic and pragmatic and based on partnership with our CARICOM neighbours.

## CONCLUSION

These seven interconnected pillars for sustainable development will hold the cradle of the new Trinidad and Tobago that we intend to create together with the people of our great nation.

They represent strong, uncompromising pillars that will deliver a better, safer, more prosperous and equitable society for all of us.

I know that my brief overview has inspired you to delve into the details of our programmes but I welcome questions that would allow me to elaborate on any matter.

## **20. Siparia, Penal/Siparia - 14 MAY 2010**

Siparia! It's good to be here! It feels so good!

And after a day like I had today it feels even better to end it like this among you.

As many of you are now aware my niece was traveling with my driver in my official vehicle, a midnight blue Prado licence plate PCJ 3 when it was intercepted by a group of armed men in a silver Almera bearing the licence plate PCH 8663. My niece and the driver were robbed, thrown out and my vehicle hijacked. My niece and the driver as you would expect were traumatized by the incident. The Prado vehicle was later found with all of my confidential documents missing. What is particularly disturbing to me is the interpretation one can place upon the removal of the documents. If this were a mere random robbery, why would they take my documents? Of what purpose would those documents serve them? The prospect of this being a deliberate and planned event is an implication which is too dangerous to consider. And when taken in the context of the PNM Leader and Prime Minister's casual dismissal of the recent threat on my life as being just a hoax even before the police had conducted an investigation I believe we all have cause to be concerned. Patrick Manning's attitude on matters of this kind are however all too familiar to us as we can remember well his reaction to being given the statistics on crime when he heartlessly commented “that is collateral damage.” But I do not wish to simply personalize the hijacking of my official vehicle because that would be to belittle the experience that so many of my fellow citizens endure every day. What happened to me is no different. It is just receiving more attention but it is no less important or critical than that which innocent men, women and children encounter or fear happening to them all across our twin island state. If this could happen to me with all the protection around what does it say to the less protected in the nation?

To put the traumatic encounter in context, this is just another reason why this country can't take another five years of Manning's best performing Minister Martin Joseph or of Manning himself.

But anyway, It's good to be home.

It's good to be home.

Ten days and counting, and it's good to be home.

And I thank you my brothers and sisters in Penal and the constituency of Siparia –

I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve you for so many years and for supporting me and nurturing me and comforting me for all of these years.

I have learned from you.

The values that I have taken with me...they were forged here.

Hard work to achieve your goals.

To put the interests of others ahead of my own.

To bring people together, to be a unifier, not a divider.

To focus on solutions, not finger pointing.

I learned those values here with you.

And those are the same values our People's Partnership government will bring to the people.

After eight years of a Prime Minister who modeled arrogance, greed and corruption.

It's time our government model a new set of values.

Can we expect our children to do better when they look to the top leadership of our nation and see what they see?

Every day they see stories of corruption being accepted by this government.

Every day they see crime in their neighborhoods and a government doing nothing.

Every day when our children wake and try to do the right thing and see their government doing the wrong thing – how can we expect them to do better.

It's time for change.

It's time for us, all of us together, to unite and on May 24 bring the change our families and children need.

Sisters and brothers, let me tell you, we are building unity from Penal to Cedros to Diego Martin, from Laventille to Castara to Toco, from Couva to Chaguanas to Tunapuna.

We are building unity throughout the country because without unity we will never achieve our potential as a people.

The People's Partnership is only the beginning of the unity process.

It's a process that we will continue as a country and one people.

And the fact is...the People's Partnership is already ahead of what just happened in the UK. We're ready to lead. We're ready to start governing on day 1.

In the UK, they had to figure out things after the election...we've already done that.

And that's what has Manning and the PNM so worried.

They know we have a stable, unwavering force for change – and that their days are numbered.

Ten days and counting.

And as many of you already know, the People's Partnership unveiled our manifesto today.

A real manifesto...not a rehashed, recycled collection of ineffective and out-of-dated ideas like the PNM rolled out earlier this week.

Did you see they didn't say anything about crime?

Did you see they didn't say anything about corruption?

There was nothing new.

There were no answers to our problems – to the very problems Manning and Rowley created, the problems they have spent years ignoring.

And while they didn't say anything about crime, their manifesto did renew their call for the institution of the Property Tax.

Let me be clear with you tonight. The People's Partnership will get rid of the property tax.....right after we get rid of Manning on the 24<sup>th</sup> May.

### **Manifesto**

Tonight, as we come together here in Penal our nation is in crisis.

We're at a most critical juncture in our social and economic development.

And at the launch of our manifesto this morning, we discussed the People Partnership's vision for how our nation should move forward.

It's a new template for our future...one which allows us all to rise.

It represents the collective vision, hopes and policy intention of a unique partnership of forces that seek to build a new economy based on not one, but SEVEN pillars.

And I want to share some of that plan with you tonight...

### **Seven Pillars**

The philosophical underpinning of our manifesto expressed in our first pillar is the desire to provide "PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT".

Under the PNM, we have seen an inverse relationship between economic prosperity and the development of our people.

They presided over an oil and gas boom but have failed to create a society that has prospered and developed alongside the government and the private sector.

Our manifesto will build a new society from the bottom up because we have seen the damage inflicted by the PNM's top-to-bottom approach to economic development.

The billions spent on empty skyscrapers and mega-projects while the quality of life on the ground

degenerated bears testimony to the colossal failure of the PNM's trickle down model of development.

This is why our second pillar for sustainable development focuses on "POVERTY ERADICATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE"

Our manifesto seeks to correct this by going back to basics and focusing on the needs of the people first.

It is a fallacy to measure society's standard of living by reference to grandiose buildings while citizens live under a self-imposed curfew due to high crime.

The standard of living is judged by the ability of the government to provide for its citizen's basic needs such as:

- a quality education that is relevant to the needs of the 21st century
- a safe society based on law and order where people do not have to live in fear of criminals but can enjoy the fruits of their hard work and sacrifice
- good healthcare , with a dedicated focus on the elderly and children
- a proper network of roads that minimizes the amount of time needlessly spent in traffic
- and basic amenities such as electricity and water

There is no point in creating economic wealth if citizens cannot enjoy it (at least that's what the People's Partnership believes).

Our plans and policies aim to better the quality of life and raise the standard of living for all.

They aim to reduce poverty and crime and deliver services to the people in an efficient and professional manner.

When a government cannot deliver needed service to the people, it has failed and that is what we have witnessed over the past eight years.

And to ensure the People's Partnership corrects this situation and can provide more efficient and more user-friendly service, we will create a Ministry of the People that will be dedicated to ensuring a free flow of government services to the people.

Most services should, for example, be accessible on-line, from the comfort of your own home.

And there is also no point in creating economic wealth if people are afraid and unable to enjoy it.

The terrifying crime crisis that has engulfed our nation has virtually prevented citizens from enjoying the fruits of their labour.

This is why our third pillar for sustainable development is "NATIONAL AND PERSONAL SECURITY".

We shall overhaul the criminal justice system to make it efficient and effective. This will be a major deterrent and weapon in the fight against crime. Criminals must respect the law. I would like to see a trial finish within 3-6 months of a person being charged so that criminals cannot make a mockery of our justice system and law-abiding citizens can feel the system is working.

Given the state of lawlessness and the extent of the backlog in our criminal courts, I think the criminal justice system is need of special and separate attention.

To this end, I propose to create a Ministry of Justice that will be responsible for criminal justice, with the Ministry of the Attorney General being responsible for civil matters.

And Trinidad and Tobago should be the information technology capital of the Caribbean and South America.

Our fourth pillar is the construction of a new area of economic development based on “INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES”.

Affordable internet access for every citizen will be a priority as we seek to create an educated society that is poised to compete with the rest of the world in the 21st century.

IT will be infused into every sector of our economy, developing strong linkages among our creative sectors, technological sectors, design sectors and our education and academic sectors.

And continuing the focus on our critical need for economic planning and development, our dependence on oil and gas and the unhealthy imbalance this has created makes our economy very fragile. These finite resources shall remain an integral part of our economy but we cannot put all our eggs in one basket and we must plan now to diversify our economy.

And that is why our fifth pillar is to create a “MORE DIVERSIFIED, KNOWLEDGE INTENSIVE ECONOMY.”

We have immense untapped potential in agriculture and we intend to place the accent on food production and food security.

We should be aiming to export food, instead of importing it!

And our Industrial Policy will identify the areas into which we will diversify the Economy including: knowledge based Industries, Cultural and Entertainment Industries, Ethnic Products, Food Processing, the Maritime Industry, Services Industries, biotechnology, information technology, high-tech manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, food production, processing and alternative energy and third and fourth generation renewable energy industries.

The diversification of our economy for sustainable development will be a top priority of the People’s Partnership government.

It has been widely recognised that our present constitution needs to be re-visited.

We have, as our sixth pillar of our manifesto, “PEOPLE PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE”.

We aim to be a user-friendly, responsible and responsive government.

We believe the government must not be aloof and removed from the people, but rather, part of the people, reflecting the will and consciousness of the people.

To this end, we will promote a climate of national dialogue within a framework of civility and consensus building.

We will initiate a process of consultation to rewrite the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and

Tobago. The objective of Constitution Reform will be to establish a framework for good, responsive governance and to nurture and build a participatory culture and to strengthen democracy.

This will move us away from the culture of maximum leadership and develop a politics of inclusion rather than the present system of winner takes all.

Some of the revolutionary ideas we propose to introduce are:

- A right of recall for non-performing parliamentary representatives
- Fixed election dates for national and local elections
- Mechanisms for a referendum process
- Limiting the Prime Minister to two successive terms as head of Government
- Rules governing the conduct of the Government and political parties during an election period.
- A stronger Integrity Commission
- Local government reform

And our seventh pillar is that of “A STRONG FOREIGN POLICY” that is rooted in a realisation that our voice must be heard as part of a wider Peoples Partnership that is based on mutual interests and objectives to advance common cause.

We see the international arena and the world system as an opportunity to build diplomatic partnerships that can lead to trade and cultural exchanges.

We are part of the global village that has been made smaller by the development of technology.

We are mindful of our size and resource constraints and would structure our foreign policy to advance our goals and aspirations as part of a geo-political block.

Our approach will be realistic and pragmatic and based on partnership with our CARICOM neighbours.

### **Close**

This is manifesto for building our future.

This is a guideline for putting us on a new path to prosperity and opportunity.

We have ten days and counting my friends.

And in ten days – we can begin to build a new Trinidad and Tobago.

And tonight, as I did last night, I want to speak to those who are not yet sure who they are voting for...

To those who may have always voted PNM but now want change as we do.

I say join us.

You’ve heard our manifesto.

We’re the ones ready to lead.

We're the one with the ideas. The ones with the vision for our future.

Join us.

This is about all of us.

There's a place for everyone who wants a new future and new Trinidad.

God Bless you and God bless Trinidad and Tobago.

## **21. La Brea – 17 May 2010**

La Brea, Are you ready?

Trinidad and Tobago are you ready!

Seven days and Counting...

We're just a week away from what we have been waiting for --- for eight years.

Change...

This is the las' lap in our march to rid this country of the Manning plague and restore good governance to our country...

So I ask you tonight ... are you ready?

ARE you READY?

My friends, I have never felt better.

I have never felt more confident...

As I travel our country and talk with our brothers and sisters, what is undeniable, is that we are coming together.

Decades and generations of division are crumbling...

History is not just to be studied – it's to be made.

And all of you here tonight and everyone joining us from their homes are not just watching history but making history.

And in one week – that is EXACTLY what we are going to do!

When you vote them out on May 24th, you will be pioneers charting a new way forward, building a future for ourselves, our children and grandchildren. So I tell you tonight you have nothing to lose and everything to gain – on May 24th VOTE THEM OUT!

You know, I have so many supporters who come up to me and tell me to be careful – that in the final week, Manning's going to use every possible dirty trick to steal this election.

I have heard of the paying for votes, the exchange of stamped ballots, the smear campaign, use of intimidation, the outright threats and so on.

And I know all of that – but I must tell you, I'm not worried.

No matter what he does, no matter what untruth or smear campaign he rolls out – He can't stop these winds of change.

He can't stop the united will of a nation.

A nation that has grown tired of his arrogance and corruption.

A nation anxious to free itself from the shackles of poverty and crime.

A nation that is ready to vote its hopes and not its fears.

There is nothing Manning can do when we all come out on May 24 and together vote for change.

And so if there are those out there, still undecided, still wondering how they should vote.

Especially those who have supported the PNM in the past but now can't imagine five more years like the past eight... I say join us. So many of your brothers and sisters already have and we want your support too...

Rebuilding this nation is a responsibility we must all embrace.

It's going to take all us.

And those who want to help, those who join us in building our new future... I say to you...we're not checking party cards.

It's time all of us come together and lift our nation.

It's time we all rise...

We must be one nation, one people with a common destiny.

In a People's Partnership government, Your voices, your concerns will always be heard ... and they will guide us in making policy.

We will make sure that we are true to our national anthem that promises an equal place for every creed and race.

That is what our coalition represents.

We are not a bloc or a tribe ... we are Trinidad and Tobago – from east to west, north to south... Trinidad to Tobago ... we stand side by side, not one behind another and everyone is equal.

When you elect a People's Partnership government one week from today you will be making a decision to protect this nation for our families ... and for future generations.

You will be removing Manning and his clique so that they can no longer plunder the treasury ....



They boast of what they have done; they shout lies across the land, but there is not a whisper about their crimes against you and the corruption which they have developed into a fine art.

My sisters and brothers, there is so much corruption to talk about it will take us the rest of the week and we would not be done.

But tonight, I want to raise just two issues... one of them very close and dear to you here in La Brea ... and the other, which has demonstrated that Patrick was in collusion with Calder Hart all along and has misused state funds – OUR MONEY – to finance a church for his spiritual adviser and special envoy, Reverend Juliana Pena.

But first, let me take a few minutes to talk about the embarrassment that passed for a media interview last night on all the radio and television stations in the country.

For one full hour, in front of the country, Manning could not give a straight answer to any question.

No wonder they called the show The Prime Minister Unplugged ... because he is unplugged from reality ... and on May 24 we will unplug him for good.

You will be unplugged Patrick, no more power.

You know, Manning so afraid to face me in a debate he had to get his own tv show!

And you know what is worst? He had a whole hour of free advertising to tell the people why they should put him back and he didn't tell them why...

You know what he said instead? He said that UDeCOTT cut a few corners to get things done.

Cut a few corners, Patrick?

You call more than three billion in cost overruns cutting a few corners?

Well the poor people in this country would like you to cut a few corners and fix the health care system and deal with crime. Cut a few more corners and bring clean water to everybody.

Cut some corners for the poor people Patrick.

Imagine he told the nation that he now discovered a problem in Laventille that has been there since the days of slavery. Slavery ended in 1834 Patrick.

Cut a few corners? 2 million for a flag...that is a corner? Calder Hart is a corner too? How many more corners have you cut Patrick? Imagine 300 billion dollars pass through this man hands, the biggest corruption in this country's history and all that he could tell us, is he made mistakes, he cut a few corners . This man really thinks the people of this country are foolish!

Tonight I tell you here in La Brea and throughout this Nation: On May 24th 2010, CUT HIM OUT! Cut Manning OUT once and for all!

Read the history books that Dr. Eric Williams wrote.

You know this man Patrick has a real inferiority complex eh. But what make it bad is that the man he inferior to, died 30 years ago! Everything the man do Patrick trying to outdo, and everytime he tries he FAILS!

Just listen to this and judge for yourself:

The late Dr. Eric Williams built the national stadium. So Manning rushed to build the bigger and more expensive Tarouba Stadium.

Williams built the Pt Lisas estate. So Manning grade the site down the road to build an even bigger industrial estate, and then for good measure he trying to build another one in Pranz Gardens too!

Williams got a doctorate..... well Manning managed to get one of his Ministers' family to give him a doctorate too!

Williams built the waterfront and the twin towers in Port of Spain. Manning built the education towers and one set of other buildings taller than the twin towers!

Williams was called father of the nation, you know Manning called HIMSELF Father of the Nation?

Williams used to wear dark glasses all the time, you know Manning wearing shades even in the night too!

Williams used to wear a hearing aid – well, Manning not wearing a hearing aid yet – but he certainly DEAF!

So you see, Manning has an inferiority complex!

My friends , the PNM has been in power for 43 of the past 54 years and people in Laventille still have nothing... you ignore them except at election time and now you boldface enough to say that you have 300 million dollars to fix their problems.

Well you not fooling we no more, Patrick! The people in Laventille done make up their minds. They don't need you Patrick... they have their own saviour in brother Makandal Daaga... and on May 24 liberation day coming for them and this whole country.

One whole hour and when he was finished, he was FINISHED! He done! The writing is clear on the wall my friends. When Manning closes his eyes he is seeing it too..... LIBERATION Day! May 24th 2010. The day when you will VOTE him OUT!

You know, my sisters and brother, Mr. Manning has been saying that he is a religious man and trying to tell our evangelical Christian brothers and sisters that we don't want the church because we are persecuting them.

That's a lie. Plain and simple! A blatant low down dutty rotten LIE! And I am not taking that so!

That is mischief and a boldface attempt to divide this country.

This matter has nothing to do with religion, so don't let Patrick try to fool you.

This is a matter of corruption at the highest levels; this is about abuse of state funds and state agencies. Manning say Calder Hart was involved in the church as a private citizen.

Don't try to fool the people, Patrick. Stop the lies!

On Saturday we provided clear evidence that both Manning and Calder Hart were involved in the church and that the correspondence relating to the church was sent to Hart, the executive chairman of

UDeCOTT, not citizen HART.

We also showed that the builder for the church is the Shanghai Construction Group and that the client is listed as UDeCOTT.

The drawings were for the “Outdoor stage project of Prime Minister’s House” to be built by the Shanghai Construction Group as part of the larger plan for the PM’s residence.

But they never build it. Instead, the same Shanghai Construction Group, constructed another outdoor stage building there in 2009 at a cost of 10 million dollars.

And the original outdoor stage project of the Prime Minister’s house was not abandoned; it became one of the buildings on the site at of the Church of the Light House of the Lord Jesus Christ. Manning say it just happen to look the same.

We asked Manning to answer some questions about that church project and we didn’t hear the answer yet. So tonight I am asking them again:

Was the building identified in the plans as the “Outdoor stage project of Prime Minister’s House” designed as part of the original design for the Prime Minister’s house?

Who paid Tongii University to undertake these designs and how much was paid?

How did the “Outdoor stage project of Prime Minister’s House” end up being a private Church built in Guanapo by the Prime Minister’s personal spiritual adviser?

Was the cost of this project built into the cost of the Prime Minister’s residence as it now stands?

Mr. Manning is the Prime Minister of this country and he has a responsibility and an obligation to answer these questions because this is a matter of urgent national concern. It is the smoking gun that connects him to Calder Hart in what is clearly a breach of the country’s Integrity in Public Life laws.

We have asked for an investigation by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), the acting Police commissioner and the Integrity commission and tonight I call on these agencies to act with great dispatch on our concerns.

We want answers, Patrick, and we want them now.

But let me get back to Manning and UDeCOTT.

When the opposition was about to bring down the Manning government in a no confidence vote Mr Patrick run to the president and asked him to dissolve the Parliament.

FEAR. Fear of defeat by his own people, fear of what the opposition would reveal.... And mind you I have already said that some of Manning’s own MPS were going to vote AGAINST him!

So he shut down the Parliament saying he did it because he wanted to prevent the opposition from using parliamentary privilege to spread lies about him and his government.

But wait... didn’t he also say that since October last year he had agreed on the date to dissolve Parliament and that he knew that May 24 would be the election date? He said it again last night.

You hear lie! THAT is lie!

Now Manning cannot even keep track of his own lies. Which lie is the real lie Patrick! Now you have no HART yuh cyar even tell a good LIE!

But you see my sisters and brothers Manning believes that he could hide the truth. But he was wrong! You could shut down Parliament, Patrick, but you cannot hide the truth.

And that is why Saturday we revealed the truth about one of the more corrupt episodes in Manning's corrupt UDeCOTT portfolio ... and we showed why he had to ship out his friend, Calder Hart when the mark buss about the UDeCOTT corruption.

The Corruption under Calder Hart was not just the billions revealed by the Uff commission but with just about EVERY CONTRACT AWARDED BY UDECOTT under the PNM!

So if you want to get rid of corruption what do you have to do? VOTE THEM OUT!

My friends, since we are in la Brea, I want to also raise an issue that Manning has swept under the carpet and doesn't want to discuss.

So let me tell you about LABIDCO.

Eight years ago investigations were called for and eight years later there have been none.

Patrick shoved LABIDCO under the carpet.

I want to tell you why.

An independent committee comprising UWI lecturers, private sector representatives and government officials found that Manning and his clique pursued the LABIDCO project for blatant political mileage. And they ignored the expert advice that the project would fail.

They didn't care that about the lives that would be endangered. They didn't care that they were pouring our money down a hole. They didn't care that the project would fail. They only cared about one thing – how they could make political gain.

There was no justification for it except politics.

Manning and his cronies chose to put an industrial estate in your backyard rather than in an established modern industrial estate at Point Lisas ... he did it only to fool voters in the La Brea/Point Fortin constituencies and to spite the Couva South constituency for voting for the opposition.

That is how Manning has always operated.

Remember why he said he wouldn't debate me – What's in it for him?

That's all he and his government has ever cared about – What is in it for them...

So what did they do? In 1994 the Manning cabinet decided to invest TT \$435.7 million into the LABIDCO project .... \$435 million... you know how many schools that could build, how many hospital beds that could purchase?

Just another example of Manning's priorities...

And those priorities do not include us...the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

LABIDCO was just one of Manning's crime against the people. We will tell more another time...

My sisters and brothers what good is your government if it lacks integrity.

Last night, Mr. Manning told us that he gave Calder Hart six directorships because he could not find people to serve.

What rubbish! We have more than a million people over the age of 18 in this country and you cannot find a director or a chairman for a state board? But you see that is what is wrong with the PNM.

To serve on a state board, to be a director you must have a party card. You must be PNM. So Manning look around the small inner circle of PNM faithful and couldn't find anyone to serve because they afraid to declare their assets to the Integrity Commission. You only have to afraid rain when you have cocoa in the sun!

He even say the Integrity Commission is a hindrance and say he would interfere with that institution too. Remember the fiasco when the president appointed the first commission?

Well, my sisters and brother, we in the People's Partnership propose to establish a special court to deal with crimes committed against the people by public officials.

Manning and his cronies who raped the treasury to pursue their selfish little partisan agendas have breached the Integrity in Public Life Act over and over again. They have violated the code of conduct which governs public officials.

We have been reporting all these matters to the Integrity Commission.

And I promise you tonight that when your People's Partnership government takes office on May 25 we will make sure that the Commission doesn't drag its feet on these matters.

And so I tell Manning and his pardners: WATCH OUT! If you do the crime, get ready to do the time...

I have said over and over in this campaign you can trust the People's partnership government to fix the crime problem. We will fix it. You will be safe again. You will be able to walk the streets without fear.

My sisters and brothers, we are one of the wealthiest countries in this hemisphere .... And when I look around I see poverty everywhere.

Manning could quote all kinds of fancy statistics to tell you there are fewer poor people today but statistics don't feed hungry children and cure those who are sick and cannot get medicine and services at our health centres and hospitals.

In a small country like Trinidad and Tobago, with such wealth, poverty should be eradicated ...

That is why in our People's partnership manifesto our emphasis is on people and poverty eradication.

Tonight I want to tell Mr. Manning you don't measure poverty by fiddling with statistics

Poverty is when you cannot have the most basic needs met.

Poverty is when you don't know where your next meal is coming from,

Poverty is when you trade your dignity for a party card and a ten day work ...

Poverty is when you have to sell your body to keep your job or get one  
Poverty is when your child can't get school supplies, no uniform, because you just don't have enough money to provide it...  
Poverty is when you have lost all hope of being able to do any better for yourself and family in life...

And I want to say to Manning when you measure poverty based on what is really happening among our families, in communities across this nation from Laventille to Barrackpore, from Cedros to Parlatuvier ... and everywhere else, including right here in La Brea you will find poverty.

Mr. Manning made paupers of an entire community of more than 100,000 sugar workers, cane farmers and their dependents when he shut down our sugar industry.

So don't believe him about his poverty figures ... poverty is everywhere and you know it... that is why you must end it ... And you start by ending Manning's reign.

This is not how it must be in a nation that can spend a half a million dollars for a state dinner and lavish parties for friends and supporters while most in the nation struggle to survive ... facing the daily dilemma of choosing between putting food on the table or buying medicine.

My sisters and brothers, I am sure every one of us here wants a better life. I am sure everybody here knows someone who lives in poverty and who has been a victim of crime.

You see, the two go hand in hand ... poverty breeds crime because people lose HOPE.

It is a vicious cycle ... it is like standing in quicksand ...and it affects every family in Trinidad and Tobago.

That is why your People's Partnership government will find an overall solution. We can't solve any one of these problems without solving them all.

Each might seem like a massive problem on its own, but each one is an individual link in the chain of poverty...so when we attack poverty, we attack crime.

Ent that is common sense? Well if you know that and I know that, how come Manning and them doh know that?

That is why, first of all we will kill the property tax which is a burden to families across this nation. That's a number one priority. And we will manage our finances carefully with transparency and accountability.

And with fiscal discipline we will be able to do more for you without trying to pick your pockets. So you can count on us ... no new taxes.

And no property tax!

Unlike their manifesto which clearly states that taxes are on the way. They have not given up on the introduction of new taxes. We say, that is not the way to encourage investment and savings. Having squandered 300 billion of your tax payer dollars they now want to tax you to pay back for the errors and bid rigging wastage. Under the People's Partnership government we ax the tax. NO PROPERTY TAX.

And here in this area where the Manning administration is proposing not one but three smelters. We, the People's Partnership government, says NO TO THE SMELTERS. And while we are at it let us make the Environmental Management Authority, the EMA- do the job it was intended to do!

Someone told me today that the EMA stands for Everything Manning Asks for...it is merely a rubber stamp of the Manning administration.

But we will not have our people, our children and the environment subjected to the poison of smelter plants on our island.

And when we eliminate the reckless waste of our money we will have more to invest in creating a better life for each and every citizen...

That includes better services, educational opportunities, safety and security and much, much more.

That's what's in it for all of us.

THAT too is common sense – and if you know that and I know that , how come Manning doh know that?

That's what a People's Partnership government will bring –

Ø A review of the minimum wage

Ø The reintroduction of pension and an increase to \$3000

Ø A \$100 million LIFE fund to provide for life saving surgeries for children

Ø Improved water distribution especially to communities that suffer most

Ø More police in our neighborhoods, improvements to police stations across the country, the introduction of state of the art technology that would assist police, improved terms and conditions for police officers attracting the best recruits to the Service, re-engineering the justice system to ensure that justice is swift, the introduction of a Crime Task Force that would bring together the finest minds locally and internationally to develop systems that are tried and proven.

Ø Laptops for every child sitting the SEA.

Ø An expansion of programmes such as GATE and other social programmes so that the greatest benefit is derived to everyone.

These are just some of the ways we demonstrate the political will held by the People's Partnership government in tackling crime in the short term. Of course, another attack would be at the heart of the social issues that cause the problem. Poverty eradication lies at the root of the issue and it is here that long term solutions will be found and work in tandem with strong law enforcement policies.

These are just a few of the things that a People's Partnership government will bring.

Just a few of things that come with the winds of change...

So on May 24 ... let us take matters in our own hands.

In La Brea I ask you to give yourself a chance...give your children a future, give your grandchildren hope! Vote for the rising sun of the UNC with Ernesto Kesar.

In Point Fortin vote for the circle of circles of the COP Nyahuma Obika.

In Fyzabad vote for the rising sun of the UNC, vote for Chandresh Sharma!

My friends, I can see a future for our country ... where all our people will live like one ... no race, no religion, no class will separate us.

It is possible.

It will happen.

So my sisters and brothers, we know what we have to do.

We have to march together, we have to march as one ... and when we march as one, there is no force on this earth that can stop us.

We are one people under God and we are all family ...

Let us unite and work together for the benefit of our country and for future generations...  
let us unite and banish crime and end poverty ...  
let us unite and rebuild the paradise that is Trinidad and Tobago.

## **22. Mason Hall, Tobago - 21 May 2010**

Three days...

Three days, my friends ....three, two ONE .... LIBERATION DAY!

And here tonight, among you wonderful citizens of our blessed nation. I can feel it. The winds of change! CAN YOU FEEL IT?

It's great to be in Tobago tonight and with the TOP – a vital partner in the People's Partnership.

Just three days...and for the Manning government that will be an ending, But for the rest of us, for the nation and the people of Tobago... it's a beginning.

A beginning of a New Trinidad and Tobago.

A Trinidad and Tobago where equality and justice will have new meaning.

A Trinidad and Tobago where prosperity and opportunity are the rule, not the exception, A Trinidad and Tobago where crime is just a memory, where all families have access to clean water and where hospitals actually get built and then have doctors and beds.

THAT will be our New Trinidad and Tobago.

THAT is the country we can make together on May 24...when we go to the polls and elect the People's Partnership.

When Tobago goes to the polls and marks their X for the TOP.

THAT is how we together elect a People's Partnership government...

THAT is how we ensure change...



THAT is how we put our country back on the right track and put our people in charge of their own destiny.

You might have seen that earlier this week that we received the endorsement of two very important religious organizations – The Central Ministries Fellowship and the Muslims of Trinidad and Tobago. We have been receiving endorsements from a wide variety of Non Government Organisations, community groups, sports clubs, business houses, Chambers, and an even wider range of individuals and groups,

Everyday our movement grows, everyday the People's Partnership grows stronger, and stronger and stronger!

Everyday, we as a nation, become more united...

And now with our future only three days away... We need to talk about that future.

We need to talk about Trinidad and Tobago.

Side by side and together, not one behind the other.

THAT is the future before us, THAT is the future we can have, THAT is the future offered by the TOP with the People's Partnership.

Tonight, I want to assure you that the People of Tobago will have a major role in determining their present and future development.

And in matters which particularly affect Tobago, the Government will partner with the Tobago House of Assembly.

THAT is the People's Partnership's pledge to you.

But that is only the start.

The reason we have the People's Partnership is because ALL OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO MUST HAVE A VOICE...

All of Trinidad and Tobago must have a role in rebuilding our nation...

Tobago may feel that it has been ignored, that its concerns are not heard, that its talents are not valued...

Well, no longer!

We cannot move forward as a nation unless all our people move forward.

There is no progress if some prosper but others still struggle.

We cannot be satisfied when hope is rekindled for some but despair remains for others.

And we cannot call ourselves successful when the door of opportunity opens for some but remains closed for others.

We are two islands but ONE NATION.

We are two islands but ONE NATION.

And while both islands share many common concerns, there are also special considerations...special concerns..... and the People's Partnership recognizes those concerns.

And that is why the Partnership with TOP at the table is our best way forward.

The one party government of the last eight years has left Tobago behind.

There have been promises, sure, but no results, no answers.

The promises have all been empty...you know that!

They've all been dangled for political gain... you know that too!

And now, it is time that changes.

No more election-eve promises from politicians just stumping for votes...  
That's what the other side does...

NOT US...

You have been IN Government for the past eight years, but have NEVER been PART of the Government. They have taken you and your support or granted.

"What Tobago wants Tobago gets" they say..... but it is five years that a hospital is being built and you have no idea when you will eventually be able to get health care there. You want a safer community...and that has not been addressed. You want titles for your land....and five years now they are sitting on that. Doing nothing. You want RESPECT but that will never be forthcoming from THAT Government.

They have taken Tobago for granted.

NOT US!

Tobago is already a partner in the People's Partnership...

Tobago already has a seat at the table...the TOP is already informing policy

And that is why our manifesto speaks specifically about Tobago!

And that is why our manifesto speaks specifically about what a People's Partnership government would mean to the future of Tobago...

So enough with the promises!

Tonight, Tobago, let us talk about our plan.

- The People's Partnership will revisit the provision of the Tobago House of Assembly Act, in particular the Fifth schedule, with a view to granting greater autonomy and responsibility to the people of Tobago

- We will define the Housing and Land Settlements Programme while taking into account the cultural preferences of the people of Tobago

- We will implement measures to regularize land titles in Tobago

And let me just spend a minute on this situation, because it must be corrected.

Many of your families run the risk of losing property owned and occupied by your families for generations because a lot of the evidence of ownership has been lost over time by hurricanes, fires etc. Because of this you cannot transfer land to your children and your parents cannot transfer property to you!

You cannot even go to the bank and get a loan to fix your house, to open a business, or to do anything else because you cannot prove the land is yours to start with.

You cannot even apply for the grants and subsidies offered by the Government to upgrade your homes

Since 2006 the THA received a copy of a report of a Special Committee appointed to deal with the land titles issue ... and up to today nothing has been done.

My friends, this has to change. IT MUST CHANGE..... AND WE WILL CHANGE IT!

- We will also complete all currently planned but uncompleted infrastructure projects – and may I add, and :I am SURE you agree, that it is a disgrace that the Scarborough hospital is five years overdue and counting and is now running millions over budget, and counting! All I can say is - if you can build a palace in record time, you should be able to build a hospital. IT is a matter of priorities.....but then I have already said that they have taken you here in Tobago for granted. You rank very low in THEIR priority list. So what do you have to do in three days? Let them know how you feel about being taken for granted! VOTE THEM OUT!

- We will strengthen air and sea transport between Trinidad and Tobago.

- We will ensure that all government public services will be accessible in Tobago and that means fixing the Registrar General's office so it can better serve the people of Tobago.

- We will take steps to mitigate the higher cost of living in Tobago

- We will strengthen the inclusion of the people of Tobago in local and national affairs

- And we will implement a sustainable development plan that will all Tobago to achieve its full potential

That's just a few of things we will do...

That's how we move forward as two islands, one nation.

How we stand side by side together, not one behind the other.

These are some of the concrete elements of the People Partnership's plan for Tobago.

Now I know, these are NOT simple issues. They are things we will need to work on TOGETHER

But the big difference, in the TOP and the People's Partnership is that Tobago finally has a partner who will make sure that Tobago's interests are heard.

In the Prime Minister's recently staged primetime question and answer, he responded to one question by

answering...

"If it were easy to solve the problem it would have been solved a long time ago."

Well, let's think about that answer for a second because it's telling.

It tells us a lot about how this government thinks and how it operates but more than anything, it explains why this government hasn't gotten anything done the past eight years.

It explains why all the promises they made to Tobago are still just promises.

As we all know, there are a number of significant problems facing our nation, a number of significant problems facing Tobago and quite frankly – none of them are easy to solve...

I guess that's why this government hasn't solved any of them...because they're only interested in things that are easy to solve.

The difficult problems...don't ask them about that – Crime, health care, clean water, economic development and jobs...that's for someone else...

And that's why it's time for the People's Partnership

We are ready for the tough problems.

That's why in our manifesto, we laid out plans, Real, concrete plans for how we will solve the most pressing issues confronting our country...

And we are ready to hit the ground running on day one when you elect us.

And what you'll never hear from us is "If it were easy to solve the problem, it would have been solved a long time ago."

We want to serve exactly because our nation faces difficult challenges.  
And with your help, together, we'll confront and solve those challenges.

Take the issue of crime.

Crime in Tobago is at an all time high.

But the only time this government pays attention is when a foreigner becomes the victim ... and even then policing resources are so deficient he has to send police from Trinidad.

Crime is destroying this island's tourism because countries like England, the United States, Canada, and far away Australia are all telling their citizens to stay away because of crime.

And they are not just saying that crime is a problem. They are saying that the local authorities are not solving the crimes... and even worse, they are telling their citizens if they do go to Tobago, stay in groups and hire private security.

That's not why you go on holiday. You go on holiday to be free, to have some privacy and enjoy your leisure time ... to enjoy the moment with your loved ones without fear of being attacked.

So we will fix the crime problem and work on reviving tourism, which is the lifeblood of this island.

For the People's Partnership, that will be a priority because crime is causing significant foreign exchange revenue loss... and many working in the tourism industry are losing your jobs.

During the past eight years, this government has not focused on the tourist industry in Tobago and because of that tourism is in intensive care ... but we will nurse it back to health and we will spread the word again that Tobago is open for business as the most beautiful, most hospitable and friendly place on earth.

You see, you end crime by understanding and addressing its root causes.

You end crime by giving the police the best possible resources, establishing clear benchmarks for their performance and then showing leadership by holding the police accountable to those benchmarks. In other words, you end crime by having a plan ...

And the People's Partnership has one.

- We will improve policing and establish clear measurable guidelines for crime reduction.
- We will make sure every Police vehicle has a Global Positioning System (GPS) to link vehicles to one another and to police stations across the country.
- We will invest heavily in police training and modernize physical infrastructure and amenities.
- We will get police out from behind desks and on the streets.

But that alone won't stop crime ... we have to get at the root causes ...

And that is why we have to eradicate poverty and only when we do that will we be on the true road to ending crime.

That means a greater emphasis on education and skills for the young, special programs for women and skills programs for the unskilled.

It means investing in economic development and economic opportunity – something critical to our families here in Tobago.

Our government will understand that we need a multi-dimensional approach to addressing our crime problem...

And tonight I pledge to you, my sisters and brothers...we will fix our crime problem, and you will be safe again.

**YOU WILL BE SAFE AGAIN.**

And that's why this final week, in these last few days, as I travel our country and talk to our nation, I've invited everyone...whether you're UNC, COP, TOP or PNM to join our effort...to support the People's Partnership...

We don't check party cards at our door...

To us, we're all just one nation and for our nation to prosper, we must all prosper...

It is THAT simple.

And that is why we have plans to help all our brothers and sisters struggling to survive...because what happens to one of us, can happen to any of us...

- § We understand what it feels like to be hungry;
- § We know how a parent feels when she loses her job and cannot buy milk;
- § We understand the pain of failing health with no proper health care;
- § We empathize with our seniors who struggle to survive on a meager pension that can barely buy food;
- § And we feel the stress of not having a home and not having any HOPE of acquiring one.

If it happens to one of us, it should be important to all of us.

THAT is how our People's Partnership government will lead our country

And that means, no one looks the other way when another needs help, that means no person, not any single person, can be lost, no one will be left behind.

Our government will hold all our brothers and sisters as sacred and our commitment extends to each and every one of us.

So, I ask you tonight to vote for the People's Partnership so that we can build a better, fairer, more prosperous Trinidad and Tobago.

I ask you here in Tobago to vote for the TOP.

And together...we'll move forward.

We will invest in infrastructure for health care, education and social services; we will harmonize pensions and guarantee that seniors get \$3,000 a month.

And we will do it without raising your taxes. Let me repeat we will do it without raising your taxes

We will keep our pledge to end the property tax.

We will make sure that there will be no Revenue Authority.

We will make sure every single SEA student receives a FREE laptop so that they can prepare for the new world of Information Technology.

We will establish a life-fund of \$100M for children in need of emergency surgery

We will establish a Ministry of the People.

These are the kind of policies that will put our country back on the track.

These are just a few of things we will do to rebuild our nation.

I tell you tonight, that if we allow ourselves to believe, then we will make Trinidad and Tobago the best it can become.

We will make Trinidad and Tobago safe and secure, prosperous and productive.

So join me in this journey of equality and faith... and let us rise to the challenge before us.

We are one nation... and no one will ever divide us again.

Now is the time to put hopelessness aside and join together in a common purpose from the hills of Laventille to the plains of Caroni ... from Barrackpore to Maraval and across the seas to Tobago.

Let us rise.

Let us unite and rebuild ...

We have been divided for too long; our people are tired.

Political tribalism must give way to rationality; animosity must change to love.

Let us banish despair and replace it with HOPE ...

Tonight, I want to remind you that to make a difference you have to show up.

And to ensure change in our country, on Monday, you must show up at the polls and vote.

We have had reports that the post office is not delivering poll cards to everyone...but don't worry...

YOU DON'T HAVE TO HAVE A POLL CARD TO VOTE...

So even if you don't have one, you can still vote. If you don't know where your polling place is, check it on the internet at the EBC website.

The EBC has made it easy. If you don't have internet access you must know someone who has. Get them to check

And on election day, get to the polling station early to ensure that if there are difficulties, they can be overcome, make the sacrifice and get to the voting booth in the morning .

It is for our country .

And every vote counts...we're going to need every single one.

And to those of you who have not yet decided, all I ask is that when you mark the X, vote your hopes, not your fears and think of your children and grandchildren...

They can't vote yet but they will inherit this country one day and it's up to us what they inherit...

A nation of crime and poverty or a nation secure and prosperous.

My friends, my sisters and brothers...

We have come a long way ... and we have a long journey yet to travel TOGETHER.

Let us join hands for the sake of our country. Our struggle is bigger than any one person or any one party.

And be aware, over the next five days, a whole lot is going to be said...a whole lot of finger pointing is going to be done...

But I want to stay focused on the positive.

I want to stay focused on what needs to be done.

I want to stay focused on what we can do together.

I am not interested in the politics of divide and conquer.

I am only interested in the politics of unity.

If the politics of divide and conquer is the only way to win, I tell you right here and right now...I am not interested.

I am not interested in the politics of race and ethnicity.

And I don't think our nation is either.

I think we've had enough of that.

I think we're ready to move ahead together.

We've seen where we've gotten separated...Isn't it time we tried it together?

I believe in you...

I hope you believe in me..

I believe in US, you, and you and you....all of US

And together we can do great things.

Your future is in your hands. Your future and the future of your children are at your fingertips. You now have the power to make things better for yourself, your children and their children.

On May 24th 2010, vote for the TOP.

In Tobago East vote for the TOP.

In Tobago West vote for the TOP.

May God bless you

And May God bless our great country of Trinidad and Tobago.



## **23. Aranguez Savannah, San Juan (Final Rally) – 22 May 2010**

### **GREETINGS**

Thank you to all around – thank you to those who are here – thank you to those watching at home.

Two days...

We've been counting it down together...

And now it's just two days until we together begin to forge a new Trinidad and Tobago...

As I think of thousands who are here and the thousands watching and listening all across our great nation...on the eve of this historic moment...

I can sense that we are all ready for change.

Are you ready?

Are you ready to come together?

Are you ready to change our country?

"Change" it is said, is only possible when the people are ready for it.

When the people initiate it.

When the people decide to participate.

**When the people decide to RISE.**

And that day will be Monday – just two days my friends...

### **CAMPAIGN END**

As we reach the end of this campaign, I want to thank everyone in and out of Trinidad and Tobago who has contributed to our efforts.

You have earned my thanks and the congratulations of all of us who care about making a change for a stronger, better government that works in unity with and for the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

Your efforts have been historic because, for the first time in our nation's history, you have put aside the divisions of our past in order to reach across and unite for a better future and a better way.

And it is not just talk.

Anyone who has followed this campaign; anyone who has walked with us through Laventille; anyone who has come to a public meeting with us in San Fernando; anyone who has watched us rally voters in Couva and in St Joseph and San Juan; anyone who has followed our efforts in the newspapers, on TV, or online, can see the dedication and enthusiasm of the diverse interests who have come together for change in Trinidad and Tobago.

I remember thinking more than a month ago, when this campaign began, there is so much to be done; how can we possibly do it all by May 24?

And then I realized that this partnership marked, for the first time ever, all of the people of Trinidad and Tobago coming together as ONE people.

And I thought, with all of us together, all of us pulling in the same direction, we can get anything done.

As I stand here now, I look out and see all of the different faces, think of all of the different people we have met and talked to during this campaign, and I am so proud of what you have come together to accomplish.

If we are able to come together and do this – pull out this victory on Monday – what a good omen that is for what we can do in a government united for all of Trinidad and Tobago as ONE people.

This campaign will prove to be just a start.

If we can come together and win victory on Monday, then I am confident we can come together to govern for all of the people.

We can come together to address the problem of crime, which is now making our people prisoners in their own homes.

We can come together to address the problem of rising food prices, which is making it harder and harder for families to manage their budgets and feed their children.

We can come together to address the problem of ongoing and widespread poverty, which robs our people of dignity and respect.

We can come together and address these problems not because these problems are easily solved.

They aren't.

They are huge problems that all relate to one another in significant ways.

But we can come together and address these problems because by coming together – as we know we can do; as we have shown we can do – we bring new strength and dedication to solving them.

And so today...during our few moments together...

I want to talk about the future.

So from me today, no talk of Patrick Manning –

This is his final chapter and it's about to close – once and for all...

And our nation is about to write a new chapter...

And that's my focus.

That's what I'm thinking about today...

Not the past...but what's ahead.

What we can and will do together...

And I tell you, I have not doubt, not doubt at all, that Trinidad and Tobago's best days are ahead of us...

So today, in our conversation, here, this afternoon, I want to talk about what we can do as a nation, united.

One of the things I'm most proud about in our campaign – is that it's been a vehicle for unity.

We haven't just spoken about bringing people together, we've already been doing it. We already have this nation believing that as one nation, our future is boundless.

And that's why you heard me say...I'm not interested in the politics of race and exclusion. the politics of divide and conquer.

This next chapter in our country has to close the book on that kind of politics.

Too much time has been wasted keeping our nation divided – and that hasn't gotten anywhere.

We need to spend our time working together because if there is one thing we've learned, it's that we move ahead together, or not at all.

And so far, it's been not at all.

But that's about to change.

And that's why the People's Partnership is creating a new politics, a new way forward.

In this new way forward, strangers of the past have become cherished friends and a new family.

It's taken work but we've done it and it's something our nation can believe in.

As my brother Winston would put it, "we must get our politics right."

And we must...

And on Monday, that's what we're going to do.

We're going to make history.

We're going to design our own destiny.

We're going to rise...

Together, We will rise.

And so on Monday, when you go to your polling place .look for the UNC, COP or TOP candidate, that will be the People's Partnership candidate, that will be who you vote for to bring change.

### **And what of this new Trinidad and Tobago...**

What will it look like?

What will it mean for you and your family?

### **Crime**

First of all, it will mean security – safe streets, safe neighborhoods, safe homes, safe schools.

A safe and secure country.

Economic prosperity without security is pointless.

What good is wealth if it cannot be enjoyed; If you always have to watch over your shoulder, if you're still anxious sitting in your own home.

I know there have been those who have said crime is not a top priority in this campaign. That it is not one of your top concerns.

I beg to differ. I believe it's not just on the list of priorities but that it tops the list.

A highway to Mayaro is no use if you will be robbed and raped in your beach house!

An educated man who is unsafe will never fully reap the benefit of his education!

I believe a government has a sacred legal duty to PROTECT its citizens so that they can enjoy their liberty and property. Your safety is not a privilege you enjoy it is a right which you are entitled to enshrined in our constitution.

And it is a right which the People's Partnership government I will lead shall return to you.

Some have asked what will we do differently to ensure the population is safer.

And while we have measured out specific plans some of which I will provide later in this address, just let me share with you some of the differences in our approach to national and personal security.

And the first is, political will.

Ours will be a government that has the political will to ensure its citizens are protected. The second difference you will find, is that a People's Partnership government will have its priorities right.

Developing effective means of protecting you will always be more important than developing a piece of real estate.

We have all seen what crime has done to undermine our society and we the People's Partnership pledge to attack this problem at the root and solve the crime problem.

We cannot develop a secure future unless law and order, and security of the person and of property is addressed in a context in which all citizens can feel that justice can and will be done.

*The easy approach* to the crime problem is to say we will just spend more money and buy more police cars and a blimp. *But that ignores the fundamental* causes of crime and the fundamental needs of a modern police department to have the forensic tools necessary to solve crimes once they are committed.

*If we come together and approach the problem with a broader view, we have the vision* to understand we must address the social causes of crime – economic degradation, poor social services, and ongoing poverty all of which force people into a life of crime. *If we come together and approach the problem with a broader view, we have the strength* to make the social changes necessary to prevent crime – improving our schools and health care system, and creating the jobs that break the cycle of poverty.

And that's why our plans are clear:

§ Establishing benchmarks on crime reduction for our police...benchmarks that we will hold them accountable to.

§ Community policing. We can't have police behind desks pushing paper. We need help on our streets and I'm going to make sure our streets are safe.

§ A National Security Protective Services Training Academy to train our police officers

§ Improved terms and conditions for our police officers in tandem with an aggressive recruitment drive.

§ The introduction of tried and tested innovative technology and techniques used the world over in the most troubled crime spots.

§ Greater border protection to keep drug traffickers and drugs from entering our country in the first place.

§ Criminal justice reform so that the justice system works for victims and cases don't go on for months and months.

We have concrete plans that will make a difference and we share your urgency.

The People's Partnership will be prepared take action on our first day. And it won't be a day too early when you finally have a government in place that demonstrates that it cares not by the songs it sings but by measurable results.

That sounds a lot better than a blimp?

### *FOOD PRICES*

*The easy approach* to the problem of rising food prices is simply to say the market will work it all out and stand by to watch as our families put less and less food on their plates.

*But that ignores the fundamental* problems in our system of food production and supply here in Trinidad and Tobago.

*If we come together and approach the problem with a broader view, we have the vision* to understand we must have a food production and distribution system in place that is guaranteed to provide adequate food to feed our population at a reasonable cost no matter what happens to the price of oil or global markets.

*If we come together and approach the problem with a broader view, we have the strength* to make the changes necessary to our land use and commercial structures to be sure we grow enough food to feed all of the people of Trinidad and Tobago, and what we don't grow we can readily get from off our shores.

### *POVERTY*

*The easy approach* to the problem of ongoing poverty is to watch while the population grows more depressed and degraded as it learns to rely on handouts. *But that ignores the fundamental* need to put the productive and resourceful people of our nation to work, re-establishing our economy as the proudest and most productive in the CARICOM region.

*If we come together and approach the problem with a broader view, we have the vision* to understand how job creation, better education, and a social structure that encourages people to follow their natural desires to be productive reduces poverty, reduces crime, restores dignity, and inspires hope in future generations.

*If we come together and approach the problem with a broader view, we have the strength* to bring all of the government ministries together to channel their efforts in one direction, with one unified purpose, so that the ministry of health, the ministry of education, the ministry of housing, and the law enforcement system all work together to break the cycle of poverty, which further grows the economy, creates jobs, reduces crime, and makes a better Trinidad and Tobago for all of the people – for the ONE people of Trinidad and Tobago.

## **Development and Opportunity**

And as we get crime and rising food prices and poverty under control, we'll also be moving forward on our policies for development and creating opportunity.

The philosophical underpinning of our manifesto is the desire to provide "PEOPLE CENTRED DEVELOPMENT".

A large part of the problem our families have faced is that few if any have been able to share in our nation's potential wealth.

Economic prosperity has been hoarded by an elite and now even our middle class is no longer in the middle but sliding toward the bottom.

While our nation has seen an oil boom and a gas boom producing huge revenues for the government, that wealth has not been shared.

Think of it, \$300 billion has been spent over the past few years. \$300 billion dollars in an twin island state of just 1.3 million people. How could any government have spent \$300 billion dollars supposedly to help just 1.3 million people and yet we find ourselves in the state we are in today.

Has any of that oil and gas money made it to your home? Do you feel safer for it? Are there new hospitals or even hospital beds? Did any of the \$300 billion go towards poverty eradication? Where did all this money go? Who benefited from it? This is YOUR money we are talking about here. YOUR \$300 billion dollars. Are you happy with the way it was squandered? Do you want to put the very people who blew it all away back?

The necessary investment in our human and intellectual capital to provide the skills to a wide range of our nation to participate in this wealth has not occurred. The investment in developing necessary infrastructure to ensure there is adequate water distribution or proper drainage and irrigation or an efficient road network and transportation system, none of that is there.

By contrast, the People's Partnership intends to create a knowledge-driven, technologically proficient society that will be the core and engine for a competitive and sustainable economy.

And the People's Partnership knows that education is the most potent weapon in the battle against ignorance and the most effective tool in creating sustainable development.

As minister of education in the UNC government, I ended the common entrance examination that condemned thousands of children every year as failures ....

And I introduced for the first time in Trinidad and Tobago full universal secondary education ... we pledged that no child would be left behind ... and we kept our promise.

We introduced dollar-for-dollar to help educate our children at the tertiary level.

It was the forerunner to the GATE program ... and we pledge to you tonight that we will keep the GATE program and we will expand and improve it.

We are committed to education and training and we want to tell you to spread the word that your GATE will remain open ... and we will open it wider so that our youth will have access to the best opportunities available to realize their full potential.

A knowledge-driven society is a society that has the skills to benefit from and participate in development.

At the moment, our dependence on oil and gas and the unhealthy imbalance this has created makes our economy very fragile.

These finite resources shall remain an integral part of our economy but we cannot put all our eggs in one basket. We have immense untapped potential in agriculture and we intend to focus on food production and food security.

Our nation should be exporting food, not importing it!

And that's why our manifesto outlines concrete plans for building a new society from the bottom up.

One in which every worker and family has opportunity.

I have to tell you...I shake my head every time I hear that PNM song...

"We take good care of you..."

And not just because it's not true...The last eight years have proven that...

But because that song shows how little the other party understands our country, how little they understand us...

The young man in Laventille, the young mother in Moruga, the family in San Fernando West, the pensioner in Tunapuna or the young girl dreaming of college in Tobago...

We don't need anyone to take care of us...we can do that ourselves...we want to do that ourselves...we don't want to be kept dependent on a party card for little handouts, we don't want to trade our dignity for a little ten day work, we just need opportunity... we just need a government that will work with us and not against us.

And that's what the People's Partnership will do.

And that's why our economic development plans concentrate on creating opportunity and building a skills base to take advantage of those opportunities.

- Our economic planning will focus on diversification, sustainable development and competitiveness
- We will establish an Economic Development Board to advise on national economic policies
- We will foster research and innovation by investing in development programs particularly in the non-energy and services sector
- And we will institute a fiscal zero-tolerance policy regarding corruption and waste

That's a just a few of things we have planned.

If we come together, working united, as ONE people of Trinidad and Tobago, there is no limit to what we can do. It is a lesson we all learned as children.

You remember – going to school and being teased or bullied for the way you looked, or the way you dressed. It hurt, and left you feeling all alone, without a friend in the world.

But at some point, we all grew up.

And as we grew up, we realized we weren't the only ones being bullied. We realized other people felt the way we did.

And when we learned we weren't alone, we felt a little stronger.

And when we got a little older and a little smarter, we realized not just that there were others who felt as we did; we got together with those others and shared our problems and our experiences.

By sharing our hopes and our wants and our dreams, we became stronger still.

Suddenly the bully didn't seem so tough anymore, because when we came together, each of us with others who felt as we did, we became stronger than the bully.

We learned as children, that if we came together, united, as one, we could beat the bully.

Let us remember that lesson now, as adults.

If we come together now, united, as one, we can beat the bully.

Teams, playing together, united as one, are better than any one player. Let us come together as a team, united, as ONE people, working to solve the problems of Trinidad and Tobago.

Because the coalition presents a new way, a way of unity and strength instead of division, the coalition represents change in the way things are done in Trinidad and Tobago.

And now, with election day just around the corner, we stand on the eve of great change in Trinidad and Tobago.

And as promising a future this change may bring; as exciting an opportunity this may be; we know for many change is not easy.

Many voters have to decide in the next two days whether they want to leave what has felt comfortable in the past for what they know will be better for their future.

For many voters, voting for the UNC, the COP or the TOP candidate just doesn't feel right.

It doesn't sit well.

We all must understand that and we must respect that.

It is a hard thing to break the habit of a lifetime.

On the other hand, if, as a nation, we all keep voting the way we have always voted, we will get the same result we have gotten – a government in the hands of one man; one man who listens to no one else; one man who seeks no one's counsel; one man who has taken the country to where it is today – crime out of control, food prices rising out of sight, and the cycle of poverty growing stronger and stronger.

If we are afraid to try even just once to change an old habit, we will never have a different outcome; we will never have a new beginning.

### **120 days**

It is also important that our nation know that the People's Partnership is ready to lead from day one.

That we won't be just writing a plan on May 25 but that we already have one and that on May 25 we'll be putting that plan in place.

That's why we have an Immediate 120-Day Action Plan.

Our country cannot lose a day and the People's Partnership will be ready to hit the ground running and start working from day one.

And everywhere I go, I hear people talking about the innovative ideas we have announced – and they can't wait for the Partnership to take action on them. Here are just a few...

- Abolishing the Property Tax.
- Increasing the Old Age Pension to \$3000 and making it available to all.
- Making sure every single SEA student receives a FREE laptop so that they can prepare for the new world of Information Technology.



- Reviewing the minimum wage.
- Establishing a Ministry of Justice which will be dedicated to criminal justice.
- Implementing our crime and justice plan.
- Establishing a life-fund of \$100M for children in need of emergency surgery.

And part of the contribution towards this will be made by a cut in the salaries of all Ministers of Government by five percent and a ten per cent reduction in the Prime Minister's salary if you deem me worthy to hold that office.

But there will be no cut in the salaries of public servants and others. You have had too much a burden to bear already.

And that's why we have to do more, such as...

- Establishing our Ministry of the People
- No Trinidad and Tobago Revenue Authority Bill
- Providing rent subsidies for UWI Students

These are concrete policies that will put our country back on the right track.

These are the kind of ideas that will change our nation, create opportunity and ensure prosperity.

These are the ideas and policies that have so many joining the Partnership.

UNC, COP, TOP.

The Partnership is bringing together all groups.

And everyday, People tell me...

It's time we put all our fears aside, time we put our differences aside.

It's time we vote our hopes...time we vote for a future we can believe in.

Vox populi, vox dei, If it is the will of God as expressed by the will of the people that I am privileged to become your Prime Minister, I pledge to you that we will end the long night of terror, abuse and arrogance characteristic of the Manning era and Manning errors!!

As we return to a state of humility, decency and respect for our state institutions, I pledge that under my administration the Red House will remain the seat of the nation's parliament

I pledge that the coat of arms will revert to the exclusive use of HE the president of the republic of Trinidad and Tobago, no Prime Minister must behave as if he or she is both Head of Government and Head of State!!!

NO more abuse of freedoms and no more state arrogance

### **Where do we want to go?**

Brothers and sisters, I think we're all ready to expect more from our government.

And that we're all ready to participate to make sure that when we build our new Trinidad that we build it together...

That it reflects all of us.

- We can no longer wait four and five years for criminals to be tried and convicted.
- We can no longer be afraid in our own homes and on the streets day or night.
- We can no longer beg WASA for water.
- We can longer have be forced lie on the benches and floors of a hospital because there are no beds.
- We can no longer waste hours in traffic every day.
- We can no longer allow smelters to pollute our environment.
- We can no longer lose our youth to gangs and drugs.

It's time for a new direction and a new way.

We are the children of yesterday and the parents of tomorrow.

The question to us is what kind of tomorrow do we want for our children?

The history of the world is written and re-written by the sheer force of will by ordinary people who desire change.

We can't keep doing the same things and expect different results.

For different results, there must be change.

And that change must start on Monday.

We've seen change occurring across the world and now it's our turn.

- Who would have thought that the UNC would have a woman as its leader?
- Who would have thought we would see Brother Errol McLeod and Citizen Herbert Volney and Makandal Daaga running on a People's Partnership ticket?
- Who would have thought the current government would collapse in mid-term and we will get another chance to vote so soon?
- Who would have thought that we could forge an alliance so strong and so committed to a common future?

But such events reaffirm our believe that anything is possible once you believe.

And we believe the time for change is NOW, my brothers and sisters.

Now is the time for us to put people before party; principle before politics and country before self.

Change might seem difficult, but we have nothing to fear.

I pledge to you that I will be a leader of a government for ALL our people and we shall govern honestly and competently, with compassion and love for everyone.

When you vote on Monday, think of what is most important to you. Think about the state of affairs in your nation today. Ask yourself whether you are happier today.

Think about the future of your future generations.

Because years from now a generation is going to look back and thank us for the choices that we've made.

They are going to express the gratitude they feel that we were here today for them. That the decisions we made now helped to save them.

History will show that we rescued our nation.

That our action prevented a collapse of the nation.

Years from now generations will thank us for establishing a strong platform from which they were able to build.

But it's up to us.

It's in our hands.

Let's not regret this lost opportunity.

And over the next two days think hard about this election, look into your hearts, and vote your hopes.

Believe in yourself...and in what we can do together...

From Laventille to San Fernando West, from Moruga to Princess Town from Port of Spain to Aranguez to Tobago...

If we believe in ourselves...there is nothing we can't achieve..when we're together...

The chance to change the things you are so frustrated about and scared about and worried about is here. Now. Grasp it with both hands. Take hold of your future.

If you are a voter who has always voted PNM, I understand the difficulty you may be having in deciding how to vote on Monday, or even the difficulty you may be having in deciding to vote at all. Consider whether this is the time to try, just once, a new experiment. Consider casting your vote for the coalition candidate in your constituency. I promise you, if you do, we will never take your vote for granted.

It is an easy thing for our opponents to do – to take your vote for granted. They have always felt they could count on your vote no matter what they did; no matter how the country was run.

And look what that attitude has done to them; look what that attitude has done to us. They spend your money on blimps, flagpoles, and luxury homes for themselves.

And they spends it till it is all gone, so now they need to reach into your pocket with a property tax and want to take more money out of your pocket by making you pay a toll when you get in your car and drive down the road.

These are the actions of a politician who takes too much for granted.

## COALITION

The coalition, on the other hand, can never take your vote for granted. We have to earn your trust.

The coalition includes people from across the wide spectrum that is Trinidad and Tobago – African, East Indian, Syrian, Lebanese, Chinese, Mixed and white. The coalition includes people from every part of Trinidad and Tobago – from Scarborough to Port of Spain; from Laventille to Couva.

The coalition includes people of all faiths, people of both genders, and people who have supported PNM their entire lives until now.

And the coalition cannot and will not take for granted any voice in the tapestry of Trinidad and Tobago.

With so many people from so many places and so many backgrounds as part of the coalition, there will always be someone watching; someone whispering; someone reminding us of what we need to do.

If we don't listen, if we lose the art of listening, as my opponent has done, we lose the strength that comes from the unity of our coalition.

The coalition cannot take your vote for granted because, frankly, we want your vote on Monday to be the beginning of a new habit.

So I have a contract I want to enter with you: make the break this one time.

Difficult as it is, make the break from my opponent this one time.

And keep a very close eye on what we do.

If we govern in a way that shows we listen; if we govern in a way that shows we are serious about being a government for ALL of Trinidad and Tobago; then all I ask is one thing:

Give us a chance five years from now and think about voting for us again.

But if we fail you – if we break your trust; if we do not govern in unity; if we ignore you and take you for granted – go back to the old way.

Remember, you have the power to control whether Trinidad gets the chance for change.

The power is in your hands – where it should be, in the hands of the voters – to decide if Trinidad and Tobago will make the change for a greater, better tomorrow.

Expectations for a better future would be a good habit to have.

But it requires breaking an old habit you have had.

And you have the chance on Monday to break the old habit and try the new way.

No matter what you decide, I promise you we will always work hard for you.

I promise as hard as the problems are that we face; as difficult as it will be to break the cycle of crime, poverty and rising prices that grip this nation by the throat; our efforts will always be guided by what will work best for all the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

We have a proud tradition of free and democratic elections in Trinidad and Tobago. We can add to that tradition on Monday, by electing a government that is also a fully REPRESENTATIVE government.

Not a government that represents a fraction of the people, but a government that represents ALL of the people.

We ask all of you, all of our brothers and sisters, to be part of the new way for this coming new day.

We welcome all, we thank all, and we desire to serve all.

Our nation is not a nation of many different people.

We are united as one people from many different origins and backgrounds. Yet we are still ONE people.

We are the Tapestry of Trinidad and Tobago.

Each piece is a valuable part of the whole.

Each piece is a slightly different shape; a slightly different color.

Yet each piece joins with the others to make a beautiful, complete whole.

We have a chance, my brothers and sisters, to complete our tapestry.

We have a chance, brothers and sisters, to come together as a beautiful whole.

Join us. Support us.

Whether you do or not, we promise we will always support you.

Because we represent the ONE people, the whole tapestry that is Trinidad and Tobago.

It is now all up to you.

Together, let us rise to the occasion.

Let us, in one voice chant:

We will rise!

We will rise!

We will rise!

Trinidad and Tobago is about embark upon a new journey.

We are about to embrace a new day, a new way forward but

it all begins when you make that choice on Monday, May 24<sup>th</sup>.

May God guide and bless you all.

And may God bless our beloved nation, Trinidad and Tobago.

## **24. Election Eve Online Message – 23 May 2010**

Fellow Citizens, it is my pleasure to address you on behalf of the People's Partnership on the eve of our general election.

Tomorrow, our nation has a chance to make history.

Ours is a proud and peaceful democracy.

We have a history of peaceful change in government via the ballot.

Respect for the rule of law and for each other has been a hallmark of our electoral politics. And it is my hope that this enviable record will be enhanced as we go to the polls tomorrow.

I am confident that this proud tradition of peaceful change and transition will continue.

My brothers and sisters, we live in challenging times. The world around us is changing. To survive and prosper, we must respond to this changing world order with new ideas, new attitudes, new philosophies, and new models and systems of governance.

We cannot solve today's problems with yesterday's thinking. We cannot keep doing the same things and expect different results.

A new vision is required to take us forward and to discover new solutions to age old problems that beset us all.

Trinidad and Tobago is in crisis. Law and order has broken down. Essential and basic services are sadly lacking. Too many still live below the poverty line. Our constitution has been undermined as several key institutions and positions have not been filled.

We are at the crossroads now. This is the night before the most momentous event perhaps in our nation's history. What each of us decides to do tomorrow in the polling booth will determine what becomes of Trinidad and Tobago. The sad state of affairs in our nation is all too familiar to us and over the past few weeks our party has shared these issues with you and identified a new way forward from what keeps this nation back.

The cancer of corruption is developing rapidly. And there is a growing disconnect between the people and its government.

There is a sense of growing apathy as people feel they have no say in the governance of their country. That their government no longer looks after or even considers their concerns and needs.

The people feel their government has been taken away from them.

Tomorrow is your chance to change that and reclaim your government.

In the People's Partnership, I have put together a formidable team that will initiate a rescue mission with your support, to put our beloved country back on track and move forward again.

Should you give us the opportunity to serve, I will install a new government with the right mix of people and talents. This talented team will reflect the diversity of our society.

In the People's Partnership government, there will be a place for everyone.

In breaking with the politics of the past and voting for change, our approach to governance will be different.

Once elected, we shall serve ALL our people without exception.

It is time we end the racial and ethnic politics of division and separation. We must unite for the common good of all and in particular, a better future for all of our children.

People should not be excluded from participating in governance based upon political affiliation, race, religion or gender. All persons must, to the extent of their capacity, contribute to the institutions of national life with opportunity for advancement on the basis of recognition of merit, ability and integrity.

I promise a transparent, equitable and people-centred government in which each of you can participate.

We will ensure an equitable distribution of state resources.

We shall retain and improve existing social programmes.

As a government of the people we will look to expand these social initiatives, contributing more to them by simply getting the government's priorities right and placing the nation's finances where it helps citizens most.

Special attention will be given to crime reduction. Personal and national security is not a privilege, it is your right, enshrined in our constitution.

We have the political will, compassion and capability of making Trinidad and Tobago safe again. Nothing can be of greater importance and your new government will ensure that creating a safe nation is our number one priority.

We will place particular emphasis on criminal justice, health care reform and protection of the poor and vulnerable in our society.

There will be new laws to protect women, the elderly and children.

Recognising that there are so many groups doing their best in assisting with the social problems of our nation, a People's Partnership government will provide greater assistance to NGO's so that they can better fulfil their noble missions of service. This partnership will fast track the changes we all yearn for in our society.

Our forefathers who came to Trinidad and Tobago toiled and endured, but in the process bonded with this new land.

That is why I love the opening line from our anthem, which reminds us that our nation was "FORGED FROM THE LOVE OF LIBERTY."

For as a people, it was our love for liberty and freedom that united us.

Once we were free, we could build a paradise in our new home, mother Trinidad and Tobago.

Tomorrow, the hope of an entire nation must rise and as one people we must stand together for change.

We must vote our hopes, not our fears.

We must vote with our future squarely in sight – the future of our children and their children.

We must choose the Trinidad and Tobago we want them to live in – the Trinidad and Tobago we want them to inherit.

As a people, we have already realized that our needs and wants, our dreams and hopes are not that different from each other.

We have realized that our current politics is creating division, resentment and discrimination, instead of healing, our nation's pressing social wounds.

As strangers of the past, we became part of our cherished friends and family today, and so our search for a new politics begun.

And with your vote tomorrow, we can start fresh. As my brother Winston Dookeran would put it, "it's time to get our politics right"

Tomorrow, we can vote to either change the course of our political history or preserve the failing status quo.

Over these past months, we have walked together, talked together, and shared our stories of struggles and hardships.

We have talked about our hopes and dreams for ourselves, for our families and for our beloved nation.

The time has come to put an end to the politics that would divide us as a nation just to win an election.

We deserve better.

But we must choose better.

And that's the opportunity we have tomorrow.

When voting, put the X by the UNC, COP or TOP candidate. That's how we elect the People's Partnership.

That's how we vote for change.

TOGETHER, there is no obstacle that we can't overcome.

TOGETHER, there is no destiny that we cannot fulfill.

TOGETHER, there is no dream that we cannot realize. The time for change is NOW, my brothers and sisters.

I ask you to TRUST me, take my hand, and let us complete this journey together for a better nation. Now is the time for us to put people before party; principle before politics and country before self.

Change is difficult, but I promise you that I will be a leader of a government for ALL our people, and that we shall govern honestly and competently, with compassion and love for everyone.

The decline and disintegration of our nation will continue unless we unite for the sake of our children and their future.

When you vote on Monday, think of the safety and security of your family.

And someday, when they talk about this election, they will say that a group of courageous men and women came together and grasped the reins of this country to steer it back on track.

History will show that we rescued our nation and pulled it back from the edge.  
That our action prevented a monumental collapse.

Years from now generations will thank us for establishing a strong platform from which they were able to build.

A platform that showed us how to build a safer, more caring, more productive, cleaner, happier, world class Trinidad and Tobago.

But it's up to us.

It's in our hands.

We must not wake up Tuesday morning having seen this opportunity slip through our fingers.

So believe with me

Believe in yourself...and in what we can do together...

As the sun rises tomorrow morning, so must the hopes and dreams of all our citizens.

And as you place your ballot remember yours is the responsibility to answer the inspiring and hopeful prayer of our nation to greet the dawn of a new day, a new way forward.

As a party, we have done all we possibly can, the rest is left in the hands of God and the people of our great nation.

On behalf of the People's Partnership, may I humbly thank you for your support and inspiration.

God bless all of you

And God bless our beloved Trinidad and Tobago.



## **25. Rienzi Complex, Couva (Victory Speech)- 24 May 2010**

I am overwhelmed by your love!

I am humbled by your devotion!

I am honoured by your trust!

As Prime Minister-elect...As Prime Minister-elect of the Trinidad and Tobago...May I say how grateful I am by your overwhelming response to the People's Partnership. And may I thank God for the guidance that has brought us here to this victory.

Over the past month, I have asked for your hand, today you gave me your hand in trust; you gave me your love, support and confidence. I am so deeply humbled.

The honour which you now accord me is without parallel. I accept it with deep gratitude and affection.

My brothers and sisters, your confidence today illuminates the theme of unity of all our peoples, to which we in the People's Partnership have devoted our lives.

THIS is a Victory of the People. You, the people, have won.

The bells of freedom have rung resoundingly across our great nation. You have freely chosen the government you want to lead you. And the voice of the people is the voice of God.

The changing of the guard is an indicator that our democracy is still preserved and there can be nothing of greater importance for this nation. And tonight you have good cause to celebrate albeit in moderation. You have earned the right to feel good about what you have achieved.

But let this not be a night we say Kamla or the People's Partnership won, let it be said that the Trinidad and Tobago won. Let history record that each of you took part in a process that ensured the will of the people was carried out.

Congratulations to the people of Trinidad and Tobago. And I wish to make special mention of Tobago. No longer will you have to feel like the ones left out. Tobagonians, welcome to your future equal participation in the affairs of our twin island state!

This victory only occurred because we listened to people from all walks of life.

I pledge tonight that I will never stop paying attention to your needs. I will ensure that the leadership of the People's Partnership responds accordingly. No-one will be left out.

Tonight I offer my hand to all those who did not feel assured to give us their confidence today. I want to assure you that we will work for all of Trinidad and Tobago. We will work twice as hard to gain your faith and trust!

As a nation WE WILL ALL RISE!...The unbelievers said that they were mere words, a slogan and a flamboyant phase. Even when our opponents tried to downgrade our clarion call to unity, we built our collective strength and character around our belief that WE WILL RISE!

Tonight I want to thank the chairman of the UNC Jack Warner...Jack Warner, thank you!

We were brave enough to face our challenges. To each of you, I offer a hand of genuine partnership in the important task of rebuilding our nation. Party loyalty to me after an election is of no more significance than the colour of your eyes or the texture of your hair or the colour of your skin.

To the supporters of the People's Partnership I cannot begin to express how much your words of encouragement have inspired me.

This has been quite a journey for me and one which has brought so many people by my side along the way. So it would be difficult to individually thank them all but it would be remiss of me if I failed to mention the dedication and support of my husband Gregory and my children.

It is never easy on a family when your wife and mother juggles her roles with her political life and so tonight I pay tribute to them for the way they have endured these years with love and selflessness...

And to my niece, my special daughter, Lisa thank you my love for being there for me. Lisa endured and sufficed so much during this difficult time, she bore the greatest trauma that can face us, that of a victim of criminals. Lisa I thank you and love you.

To Usha, Roopchand, Arlene, Vishnu, Karen, Silvy and Reesa all the ladies and gentlemen at Siparia Constituency office and here at the Rienzi Complex...for the late nights and the long hours, for the dedication and the resolve, I thank you, and I love you all!

May I also say a special thanks to the members, supporters and well wishers of my party the glorious United National Congress!

January 24 seems so long ago. It was 120 days ago that you gave me your sacred trust to lead our great party. Now I am so humbled to have delivered to you the Government of the Trinidad and Tobago.

May I also thank all our UNC soldiers who laboured in the vineyards for the past decade during our most difficult days in opposition, all our members and officers who worked tirelessly to keep our party alive and keep our flag flying high and proud.

I am so grateful for your work and sacrifice that has brought to this historic moment. I love you all and thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I express my gratitude as well, to the founder and former leader of the UNC the Hon. Basdeo Panday for his years of service and dedication to the cause of justice, equality and national unity.

As Mr. Panday celebrates his 77 birthday (on May 25) from Rienzi Complex- Happy Birthday, Mr. Panday - we wish you a most pleasant and joyful day in the glory of the rising sun!...

But there can be no greater gratitude tonight than that which I express to all those who believed in themselves and this great nation of ours. Because of you we now stand on the cusp of a great moment in our history, one in which we begin the task of bringing people together to rebuild Trinidad and Tobago to make it safer, cleaner, more truly progressive than it has ever been before.

It will not be easy but the process is going to be as rewarding as it is challenging. And I begin that process from this very moment...

In fact, I can admit to you now that I had started working on what needed to be done before Day One. Tonight, not tomorrow, tonight, I begin the task of selecting the most capable, competent, committed patriots to be a part of the leadership in the country's various Ministries...And I will do so without fear or favour...I will do it for the common good of all the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

There will be continuity in all sectors of governance with a greater emphasis on consultation, accountability and retention of all critical policies that will be needed to ensure administrative and economic stability in transition.

There will not be the old politics of dismantling programmes and projects and plastering of new names just to stake a political claim, rather, there will be responsible, collaborative and proactive governance to provide the equitable representation and administration that every citizen, regardless of race or creed, deserves in this land.

Obviously, the process will require a level of consultation with the members of the People's Partnership and your representatives, and I am confident that we will share the same perspectives on what is required to get the job done effectively and immediately.

I look ahead to the next few years with enthusiasm and great expectation. And I can assure you that I will lead a government filled with compassion and concern and with love about all.

The campaign promises must now become government policies. I can guarantee you a government that is accountable and transparent. You can hold me to the promise of the change which you so positively voted for tonight.

As I heard the results coming in and saw the trend I knew the time had come. A new page had been turned in our nation's history and the responsibility to each of you is now on my shoulders. I will not let you down...I will not let you down.

I bring to my leadership not just political experience and government experience but I also carry into the office of the Prime Ministership the nurturing nature of a mother and grandmother and I will look after each of you all as my own.

And when someone asked me what was the first thing I would do as Prime Minister I instinctively replied "To visit a few Children's Homes and Schools." And having said that, it is what I intend to do...And I guess I said that because this is where the change must all begin...I want to say special thanks to the Congress of the People and our brother, Winston dookeran...there will be no UNC, there will be no COP, there will be no PNM...we are one nation, we are one people and together we will rise...

In closing I wish at this juncture to pay special tribute to the Hon. Patrick Manning, Political Leader of the Peoples National Movement (PNM) who has been a most worthy and formidable opponent...

Whatever are our differences in ideology and policy Mr. Manning has given over 30 years of his life to public service. While we may not agree on approaches and programs, we reserve and defend the right to disagree...Tonight, however, I quite understand that for all of you that it begins with a nationwide celebration. But please, let us not lose a single of you tonight through recklessness and carelessness.

Be responsible. Don't drink and drive. Call the Arrive Alive team. May God bless you. May God bless our nation.