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A comparative study of the Rhetoric used by the three Political Leaders in their Campaign speeches during the 2007 General Elections of Trinidad and Tobago

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE RHETORIC USED BY THE THREE  
POLITICAL LEADERS IN THEIR CAMPAIGN SPEECHES DURING THE  
2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS OF  
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

A Research Paper

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## **ABSTRACT.**

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This thesis proposes to study the rhetoric used by the three political leaders in Trinidad and Tobago's 2007 general elections. Over the years, the role of rhetoric in politics has typically been examined from the standpoint of voters with little emphasis on how rhetoric is employed by the differing political leaders to convey their respective messages. This study focuses exclusively on the political leaders and explores their use of rhetoric through the areas of nature, style and direction. Nature explores the issues discussed by the political leaders on the campaign trail; style explains the manner in which political leaders present their messages to the public, while direction refers the nature of the political leader's attacks on their competitor. The evidence unearthed showed that among all party leaders there was a general trend of attacks that were directed to both the parties in general and individuals within the parties. Each political leader also has his individual style.

Chapter one of the papers introduces the topic, outlines the objectives and provides a detailed background of rhetoric, politics and its correlation in the local political landscape. Chapter two discusses in detail the existing knowledge\literature on politics and rhetoric. Chapter three documents the application of the selected methodology (content analysis), where twenty seven independent coders were used to identify the features of the speeches to determine the reliability of the data. The results are shown in chapter four and

a thorough analysis of the findings can be found in chapter five. Chapter 6 gives the limitations, conclusion and recommendations for future study.

# **CHAPTER 1:**

## **BACKGROUND OF STUDY.**

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This study focus will be on the use of rhetoric in the politics of Trinidad and Tobago. This topic was chosen because over the years, rhetoric has become an increasingly important element in modern politics which is evident in the relatively new area of study known as political communication. However, no real reference has been made to the local political landscape and in the wake of Trinidad and Tobago's eleventh general election in 2007. Therefore, we found it both imperative and interesting to examine the use of rhetoric in the political speeches of the 2007 general parliamentary elections. More specifically, it seeks to examine how rhetoric was used by the three major political leaders; Patrick Manning, Basdeo Panday and Winston Dookeran and the differences if any in their persuasive devices and communication styles.

Few elections in Trinidad and Tobago's history have generated the '*picong*', excitement and drama that the 2007 general elections did. There was an emergence of a viable third party contender, the increase of the traditional parliamentary seats from thirty-six to forty-one, a slew of '*mudslinging*' and over-the-top campaign rallies, a colossal bolstering of advertising budgets the likes of which Trinidad and Tobago had never seen, a sizeable increase in voter turnout and a landslide victory for the winning party. Therefore it was imperative to study the 2007 elections because of its aforementioned

characteristics and historical value.

However, to understand the significance of the recent elections, Trinidad and Tobago's past political landscape must be remembered. The twin island republic is governed under the constitution of August 1976 which gives sole legislative power to a bi-cameral parliament which consists previously of thirty-six members in the House of Representatives and thirty-one members in the Senate and is presided over by the Prime Minister. The thirty-six constituencies in the House of Representatives are contested every five years by individuals representing varying political parties and interests in the general elections. The populace votes for the candidate of their choice via a first-past-the-poll system, which gives the political party with the majority of the thirty-six House of Representatives seats, the authority to establish the Government, with their leader assuming the office of the Prime Minister.<sup>1</sup>

The highly contested quest for Government in Trinidad and Tobago has traditionally been categorised by two elements; the political parties and the political rallies.<sup>2</sup> From the inception of elections in 1956, politics has been dominated by two relatively equal parties competing for office. From 1956-1981, the two dominant parties were the People's National Movement (P.N.M) and the Democratic Labour Party (D.L.P). Elections from 1986

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<sup>1</sup> Coggins, John and Lewis, D S. Political Parties of the Americas and the Caribbean. ( United Kingdom: Longman Group, 1992), p 275-76

<sup>2</sup> La Guerre, John. Consensus and Conflict in the Commonwealth Caribbean. (St. Augustine: School of Continuing Studies, 2001), p 78-81

through to 1991 were led by the P.N.M and National Alliance for Reconstruction (N.A.R), while the P.N.M and the United National Congress (U.N.C) prevailed from 1995-2002.<sup>3</sup> Even though minor parties existed such as Tapia House and National Joint Action Committee (N.J.A.C) amongst others, there was little meaningful party activity outside the veteran parties, that is, until the emergence of the Congress of the People (COP) in the 2007 elections or so it was believed.

To have a meaningful election campaign, the respective candidates of yester-year would take their political rallies (mass political meetings) from city to city, borough to borough and village to village throughout the country highlighting the key problems and areas of concern they planned to remedy if elected to Government. It was based on these rallies that candidates conventionally attempted to win votes by using speeches and sophisticated policy statements to present their ideas. It is a trend that has forced politicians of the modern era to use rhetoric and public appeal as an indispensable tool on the campaign trail.

While researchers and many pollsters such as the North American Teachers Association (N.A.C.T.A) and Professor Selwyn Ryan's SARA polls, as well as the programs on the local television station such as Caribbean Communications Network (CCNTV6) and Caribbean New Media Group

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<sup>3</sup> Coggins 276

(CNMG) have spent a considerable amount of time investigating the 2007 elections. However it was approached from the standpoint of voters. In addition, they focused on many features of public opinion and voting behaviour to find out if the public voted on issues, whether they voted on the basis of race, the extent of voters' loyalty and their attitudes and perception on the coalition shifts. The study is therefore centred on the preoccupation with the party's political leaders as people do not vote in a vacuum but rather they make choices within the options that the political leaders present to them through the spoken word on the campaign trail.<sup>4</sup>

The average person assumes that many of the political messages coined on the campaign trail are cleverly crafted with coded messages aimed at trying to influence or sway their vote for or against a particular party. This is evident in our informal interviews with students between the ages of 18- 25 at the University of the West Indies (UWI):

*“There is a lot of politricks in the politics in Trinidad and Tobago. I am not a lit (literature) major but it is evident that they (politicians) use fanciful messages to win votes. Personally I don't know what they are but it would be interesting to find out what they are and how much of an impact it really has”.*

*Anisha Cepahs*

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<sup>4</sup> Dunn, Charles. The Seven Laws of Presidential Leadership. ( New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2007) p41

*“The content of the rhetorical speeches is what I find fascinating. I find over the years the messages have less to do with what they (the parties) can do for me but rather on what the other party cannot do for me”*

*Suelyn Parris*

*“One over used rhetorical technique is the bandwagon appeal. For e.g. Congress of the People’s (C.O.P) Move with us and the People’s National Movement’s (P.N.M) Winners Vote PNM...they think that by forcing me to identify with them, I will be swayed their way but they are wrong”.*

*Amara Felix*

It is clear that voters (the receivers) of the messages in political speeches recognise that rhetoric and persuasive techniques are encoded in speeches and are aware that on some level these messages are a deciding factor when choosing one’s party of choice. The study of rhetoric on the campaign trail is fundamental as it provides the building block for a successful campaign.<sup>5</sup>

It can be assumed that rhetoric has an effect on lives which in itself is worth exploring as a lot of money, intelligence and time are spent on campaigning and rhetoric. Additionally because politicians can ultimately change the quality of lives through the power of their words, it is necessary to conduct this study to assess and better understand the extent to which rhetoric is used in political speeches to form attitudes or to persuade actions. But what exactly

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<sup>5</sup> West, Darrell. Making Campaigns Count (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), p71

is rhetoric and why is it an important area of study? Simply it is the art of speaking well, but communication theorist Kenneth Burke eloquently defines it as the manipulation of men's beliefs for political ends. He contends that the basic function of rhetoric is the use of words by human agents to shape opinions and to induce actions in other human agents.<sup>6</sup> Because rhetoric often examines the how of language and the means of communication, it has sometimes been discounted as something only concerned with style or appearances, and not with the quality or content of communication. However, it is a comprehensive art concerned with what one could say as how one might say it, which is what this study is hoping to explore.<sup>7</sup>

This research is important because it can serve to advance the study of communications. It can help us understand that communications is complex and involves the exchange of more than one message at a time, that it can be both overt and covert as well as that it can encompass different types such as political and public communication. It is also significant to the study of language because it seeks to find out what are the literary techniques used in the speeches and how politicians rely heavily on this use of language to persuade and achieve their goal.

The goal of this study is to analyse the rhetorical content and style of the

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<sup>6</sup> Griffin, Em. A First Look at Communication Theory. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2006) p 329.

<sup>7</sup> Burton, G. What is Rhetoric? (Brigham Young University, 2005) p 21

political leaders so to lay the foundation for future studies that examine the consequences and or effectiveness of political rhetoric.

# **RESEARCH QUESTION**

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What are the nature, direction and style of rhetoric used by three political leaders in Trinidad and Tobago's 2007 general elections?

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW:**

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The study focuses on a comparison of the use of rhetorical devices in the political speeches during the 2007 general parliamentary elections, of the three major parties; People's National Movement (P.N.M.), the United National Congress Alliance (U.N.C.A) and the Congress of the People (C.O.P.). The supporting literature was organised along two schools of thought in communication; rhetoricians and political communication theorists. Rhetoricians believed that certain key components must be present for a speech to be an effective one. However, political communication theorists are of the belief that rhetoric serves a distinct purpose and its effectiveness is contextual. The further literature highlights the major theorists and authors that have guided the study.

The study of rhetoric owed its origin to the ancient Greek society. Formulated by Greek philosopher, Aristotle and developed by numerous rhetoricians and communication scholars, rhetoric plays an integral role in our daily lives. Aristotle defined Rhetoric as the art or study of using language effectively and persuasively. He also believed that speech can produce persuasion either through the character of the speaker, the emotional state of the listener, or the argument. Aristotle's study highlighted the deliberative aspect of rhetoric,

which refers to speeches done by politicians in a public place. Em Griffin's "*First Look at Communication Theory*" suggested that effective and persuasive speakers employ Aristotle's three means of persuasion; the logos, the ethos and the pathos. The logos are the logical proof or line of argument, the ethos refers to how the speaker's character is revealed through the message and the pathos appeals to the emotions in the audience.<sup>8</sup>

Many authors and communication scholars, after Aristotle have put forward various interpretations of the term "rhetoric". Iain Mc Clean defined it as the art of verbal persuasion. He suggested that all politicians use rhetoric to praise their own side and denounce another. He further states that "*at a deeper level, rhetoric consists of persuading everybody that the world is the way you say it is*".<sup>9</sup> Cleanth Brooks defined rhetoric as simply "*the art of using language effectively*".<sup>10</sup> Another view came from Anthony Winkler in his text, "*Rhetoric Made Plain*", where he described rhetoric as "*the art of putting one's case in the strongest and best possible way*".<sup>11</sup>

Brooks simplified Aristotle's ideas so that it can be related to Trinidad and Tobago's political landscape. He made specific reference to identification,

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<sup>8</sup> Griffin 320.

<sup>9</sup> Mc Lean, Iain. *Rational Choice and British Politics* ( Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2001) p.10-

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<sup>10</sup> Brooks, Cleanth. *Modern Rhetoric*. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.) p. 108

<sup>11</sup> Winkler, Anthony C. *Rhetoric Made Plain*. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984). p4

emotion and logic, as key aspects in a politician's delivery.<sup>12</sup> Identification is seen through party's policies as they attempt to include the majority of the populace. Also politicians identify with their audience through allegories and experiences that may arouse similar sentiments and connections with the audience. One example was the political leader of the U.N.C.A, Basdeo Panday's address at Caroni East, where he stated;

*"Now that I have to do battle with him I feel the way Arjuna must have felt when on the battlefield of Kurukshetra he faced his friends and family as he is about to commence a most fierce battle and a decisive war".<sup>13</sup>*

Mr. Panday achieved identification, as his audience, the constituents of Caroni East, are predominantly Hindus and will be familiar with Arjuna's journey.<sup>14</sup>

The second means of persuasion highlighted is that of emotion. Cicero, a Greek philosopher stated that all emotions

*"must be intimately known by the orator, for the all the force and art of speaking as a persuader must be employed in allaying or exciting the feelings of those who listen"<sup>15</sup>.*

With proper use of emotive language in speeches, politicians are able to evoke

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<sup>12</sup> Brooks 108

<sup>13</sup> Political Address in Caroni East. Basdeo Panday. 18 June 2007, 13 Feb. 2008.

<<http://www.unc.org.tt/modules/news/article.php?storyid=499>>

<sup>14</sup> Indian Hindu Dictionary. 20 April 2008.

<<http://www.experiencefestival.com/a/Arjuna/id/58467>> Arjuna is a hero of the Mahabharata which is an epic poem of ancient India detailing the history of the evolution of mankind. He is also a central figure of the Bhagavad-Gita, Hinduism holy book.

<sup>15</sup> Brooks 113

deep sentiments and even action in their audiences. At a political rally in Tunapuna in 2007, Prime Minister, Patrick Manning, the leader of the P.N.M displayed how emotions can be conveyed on the platform. He said

*“...and it is love. True love endured forever. That is why the P.N.M. is great and will always prevail. We were born out of love for this country and its people; and it is love that drives our every action...”*<sup>16</sup>

Logic, according to Brooks, is proving the truth or apparent truth.<sup>17</sup> Logic can therefore be the justification of certain policies or a rationale for most things the politician does. In 2007, Prime Minister Patrick Manning made reference to the situation of rising food prices. His rationale was that the world is experiencing adverse weather conditions. He went on to say that in the midst of the turbulent situation globally, Trinidad and Tobago has pursued development in the field of agriculture.

Kenneth Burke stated that rhetoricians also placed great emphasis on the context of the message, with the main contextual concerns being the purpose of the message and the place in which it was to be heard or seen.<sup>18</sup> He went on to say that

*“The most characteristic concern of rhetoric is the manipulation of men's beliefs for political ends....the basic function of rhetoric the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human*

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<sup>16</sup> Address at P.N.M. Sports and Family Day 2007. Patrick Manning. 6 June 2007, 10 Feb. 2008. <[http://www.pnm.org.tt/content/speeches/articles\\_id=2532.shtml](http://www.pnm.org.tt/content/speeches/articles_id=2532.shtml)>

<sup>17</sup> Brooks 115

<sup>18</sup> Griffin 329

*agents*".<sup>19</sup>

The statement echoed similar sentiment from Aristotle, who stated that

*"A good prose should never be excessively ornamental; it should consist either of plain and proper terms or metaphors, or almost never of strange, novel, or astonishing words."*<sup>20</sup>

He further stated that metaphors must neither be far-fetched, for they will be difficult to grasp, nor obvious, for they will have no effect". Many speakers are of the belief that "big" words give the impression that the speaker is credible and intelligent. However, according to Aristotle, simplicity is effective therefore, the audience will relate to the terms "hate" or "confuse" rather than "repugnance" or "discombobulate".

Rhetoric plays a pervasive role in politics. History has shown that the most successful and influential politicians were those who understood that and mastered the art. Matthew Eshbough-Soha believed that the candidate's speech plays a significant role in their success. He went on to say that speeches are central to the power of modern presidency because presidents of the modern era have at their disposal a tool (speeches) and their appeal to public sentiments that has become inseparable from their ability to govern.<sup>21</sup> Similar views were shared by Charles Dunn who postulated that successful leadership requires the merger of good campaigning with effective governing

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<sup>19</sup> Griffin 329

<sup>20</sup> Brooks 117

<sup>21</sup> Eshbough-Soha, Matthew. The President's Speech- Beyond Going Public. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2006)

and the recognition that candidate's rhetoric is much more than the spoken word.<sup>22</sup>

"*Saving Persuasion*" by Bryan Garsten, endorsed that democracies are ruled more often by speech than by force and a democratic politician is one who knows how to use speech as a means of influence and a technique of rule. The quintessential democratic politician is a smooth talker, winning and inspirational in front of crowds and irresistibly persuasive behind closed doors. They are good storytellers, adept with compliments and able to charm even some of their critics'.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, James Kouzes agreed that a leader in any sphere has to possess a certain level of credibility in order for the masses to trust him/ her to guide them. A leader is one who gets involved with their public as opposed to establishing distinct superior and subordinate relationships. It is about linking leadership to relationship. In this regard, politicians can and often use public speeches to establish and build relationships with their audiences because it is a critical aspect of their credibility.<sup>24</sup>

Chiam Perelman, Polish born philosopher of law, emphasises the importance of epideictic rhetoric, that is, rhetoric where the speaker engages the values and the spirit of the audience by simply emphasising issues. In his article,

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<sup>22</sup> Dunn 42

<sup>23</sup> Garsten, Bryan. *Saving Persuasion: A Defense of Rhetoric and Judgment*. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006) p 5

<sup>24</sup> Kouzes, James and M. Barry Z. Posner. *Credibility: How Leaders Gain and Lose It, Why People Demand It*. (San Francisco, CA : Jossey-Bass, 2003) p 7

“*Rhetoric and Politics*”, he states:

*“In order for a democratic regime to function, that is, in order for a minority to accept the decision of the majority, after deliberation, the values common to all members of the community must be considered more fundamental than those which tend to separate it. Without these values, without the spiritual unity which epideictic discourse properly reinforces, there is neither a majority nor a minority, rather two antagonistic groups which clash, where the strongest group dominates the weakest and nothing counts except the power struggle”.*<sup>25</sup>

According to Perelman, the role of the audience is crucial when determining the style an orator wishes to use and the political platform is no different. He notes that speakers who use language to antagonize each other undermine their chances of gaining support because their focus is diverted from their supporters toward their opposition.<sup>26</sup> Epideictic speaking according to Griffin is where the speaker heaps praise or blame on another for the benefit of the spectators.<sup>27</sup> Epideictic speeches are synonymous with Trinidad and Tobago’s political culture, where mudslinging, name calling and blaming are accepted political norms. This form of speech serves to highlight the deficiencies and ineffectiveness of the opposition, in an attempt to sway the voter’s opinions. This was evident by the headlines in the Wednesday 24 October 2007 edition of the Daily Express, where the two opposing parties blamed the current government for the destruction of Caroni (1975), a sugar production company

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<sup>25</sup> Perelman, Chiam. *Rhetoric and Politics: Philosophy and Rhetoric*. p 534-40

<sup>26</sup> Perelman 534-40

<sup>27</sup> Griffin p 320.

and displacement of over ten thousand workers.

Richard J Ellis examined the role of rhetoric in politics in his book "*The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective*", in which he explored the former president Ronald Reagan's rise to the presidency through an examination of his public speech prior to the 1980 US presidential election. His study focused on Reagan's revolution over the years and proved that rhetoric in fact supported, impeded, and affected Reagan's policy goals and political success.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, case studies were documented by Jonathan Charteris-Black in his research "*Politicians and Rhetoric: the Persuasive power of metaphor*". He looked at the role of rhetoric in politics and critically examined the rhetorical strategies employed in major speeches from former American Presidents; Winston Churchill, Bill Clinton, black power leader, Martin Luther King and former Great Britain Prime Ministers; Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair. There, he highlighted particular patterns of metaphors used in the speeches and their significance. Charteris Black saw that Winston Churchill used metaphors to raise the morale of the American People. Also King used metaphors to generate a messianic discourse, whereas Bush used it to imply deep rooted cultural values.<sup>29</sup>

The fact about rhetoric being deeply rooted in culture was also the outcome of

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<sup>28</sup> Ellis, Richard J. *Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective*. p 16

<sup>29</sup> Charteris-Black, Jonathan. *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 p144

a local study conducted by Chairmaine Nickson in 1995. Nickson's study focused on the rhetoric employed in sermons of the Divine Encounter church of Trinidad and Tobago. Nickson's research project concluded that rhetoric was employed effectively as a tool of persuasion and that there was a strong relationship between the vision (a product of the church's culture) and the rhetoric used.<sup>30</sup>

A third group of information was gathered through personal interviews with Dr. Bishnu Ragoonath and Dr. Paula Morgan, two local political analysts. Ragoonath believed that the local political landscape is characterised by propaganda and places relatively little importance on policies. However, he asserted that the C.O.P. are in a unique position as it is the first time they are contesting the elections and therefore will have to rely on policies and programs . He also stated that the content of the speeches should have a mix of direction of where the party is going and where they ought not to go (which is the direction of the opposing parties). He added that the more effective the blending of the two, the more persuasive the speech becomes. He also made reference to the political leaders being examined. He believed that Mr. Basdeo Panday has the most charisma of the three leaders, Mr. Patrick Manning encompasses in mix of different style whereas Mr. Winston Dookeran lacks a distinct style.

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<sup>30</sup> Nickson, Charmaine. Thesis on the Rhetoric used in the sermons of the Divine encounter Church

Another aspect was shared by Dr. Morgan who postulated the speeches are intended to impact the undecided voter. In addition, they provide entertainment, verbal dexterity and say what happens in the country. Dr. Morgan also attempted to characterise the three political leaders. She believed that Dookeran appealed to the sincerity and moral authority in the audience. Manning on the hand she described as staunch and solid and that the content of his speeches focused on ideas of grandeur. Morgan believed that Panday was the most eloquent speaker of the three. In addition, he used language, drama and personality to capture the moment. She further stated that the C.O.P. branded itself as the party of new politics and refused to align itself with local politics which is characterised with "*picong*" and scandal, and thus focused on more holistic ideals as well as on women and children.

Taken together, it can be assumed from the preliminary literature review that there are extensive documents on rhetoric and its role in politics as well as readings that provide a history of the local political landscape.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

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This study focuses on the rhetoric used by the three political leaders in the campaign speeches of the 2007 general elections in Trinidad and Tobago. To examine such, content analysis was seen as the method of assessment best able to answer the research question. Content Analysis, according to Frey et al is “*a systematic step by step procedure used to describe and count the characteristics of messages embedded in public and mediated texts*”.<sup>31</sup>

Content analysis was chosen for two reasons; firstly it is the most effective method to fit the objectives of the study. While rhetorical criticism would have studied how the words and phrases were built within the texts to drive home the leaders intended point, content analysis provided the ability not just to quantify and tally the presence of the areas identified but to extrapolate the data as far as it would to identify possible trends. Secondly, the same methodology was used innumerable by other researchers seeking to analyse both political and non-political messages. For example, it was the methodology of choice for researcher Darrell West during his comparative study into the rhetoric used in the 1960 and 1980 US Presidential elections.<sup>32</sup> It was also used in a very recent and public study about prominent voices on

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<sup>31</sup> Frey, Lawrence. Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000) p229

<sup>32</sup> West, Darrell. Making Campaigns Count . (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984) p 71

US television such as Bill O'Reilly conducted by Indiana University media researchers.<sup>33</sup> The results revealed that the Fox News personality consistently paints certain people and groups as villains and others as victims to present the world, as he sees it, through political rhetoric.

To conduct the study, a non-random sampling method was used to select the speeches for analysis. The sampling frame was obtained from the political parties' website, personal archives, libraries of the local media houses and footage from visual production houses. The speeches were chosen from the three major contenders in the 2007 general elections; P.N.M, U.N.C.A and C.O.P. The speeches of interest for this study were the ones presented by the respective political leaders at the last rally (political meeting) on the campaign trail as well as another delivered one week before the actual election date. The last speech in particular was chosen as it was thought to employ a wide use of rhetoric by the politicians in a final attempt to persuade the populace. While the second speech was selected from a marginal constituency as it was believed to be a speech in which the leaders evoked a lot of detailed rhetoric as the constituencies are notoriously hard wins. One example is the constituency of Ortoire/ Mayaro which has changed power in the last four elections. It is important to note that that the candidates communicated through a number of channels such as conferences, ads and even directly,

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<sup>33</sup> Conway, Mike et al, *Journalism Studies* Vol. 8, No 2, 2007. May 16, 2007

however only the analysis of speeches was considered for this study.

The 2007 general election was selected as the time frame for analysis because of its historical relevance. Not only was it the most recent elections in Trinidad and Tobago but it represented a coming of age in local politics. The society witnessed the emergence of strong third party which goes against the theoretical underpinning of the Whitehall Westminster model as well as political theorists who believed that a third party could not exist in the local political landscape. In addition, notable factors such as the increase in parliamentary seats from thirty-six to forty-one, which directly affected the number of marginal constituencies as well as the mass media coverage internationally and locally, made this election, a notable and important one in the annals of Trinidad and Tobago's political history.

The six speeches selected for analysis cannot be considered representative of the entire number of speeches made during the 2007 elections; however it is important to note that generalisation was not a primary goal of this research. The major purpose of this study is to determine the nature, direction and style of local politicians and whether differences if any in there messages were evident.

In examining the speeches, three areas of interest were selected: nature, direction and style. These areas were further divided into various categories

and defined. It is noteworthy to consider that the categories for analysis used in this study were adaptations of previous work conducted by well-known rhetorical researchers.

For the purposes of this study, **Nature** is defined as the issues discussed by the political leaders on the campaign trail. Authors have argued that today, people are more likely to vote based on policy issues as compared to the early 1950s/1960s. In addition, political scientists Martin Harrop and Lawrence Miller identified through the rational choice model that issues and the remedying of these issues have become increasingly important in determining the government.<sup>34</sup> The nature of the political speeches were measured based on six categories adapted from works of researchers Benjamin Page (1960) and Darrell West's (1980) on political rhetoric.<sup>35</sup>

They are:

1. ***Personal qualities***- the candidate's personal background or characteristics, such as honesty, competence or principles. During a speech, candidates highlight if not stress positive characteristics, that will make them a credible person. One example comes from Simbhoonath Capildeo address in 1966, where he stated "*....I have been a true and dedicated representative from the last ten years*".<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Harrop, Martin and Lawrence Miller. Elections and Voters: A Comparative Study. (London: Macmillan, 1987) p 145-148.

<sup>35</sup> West 71

<sup>36</sup> Siewah, Samaroo. Lotus and the Dagger: The Capildeo Speeches (Trinidad: Chakra Publishing, 1994) p 72

2. ***Specific policy statements***- policy discussions involving promises or concrete policy actions such as the provision of free tertiary level education.
3. ***General goals***- reference to abstract concepts or a central theme such as freedom, justice, unity that were highlighted in a speech. It is distinct from policy statements as it does not refer to any recommendations or remedies. Basdeo Panday's address "Time to Dream Again" in 1995 at Aranguez focused primarily on national unity.
4. ***Party appeals***- references to another party.
5. ***General problems***- discussion of an issue or problems without specific recommendations.
6. ***Past Performances***- discussion of parties past achievements or accolades

**Direction** refers to the way in which the appeals made by the political leaders about their opponents were executed. In Trinidad and Tobago, verbal attacks also known as '*picong*' and '*mudslinging*' have become synonymous with local political landscape. The directions of these appeals are placed in three categories;

1. ***Attack on individuals-*** politicians have attacked the credibility and to some extent the competency of their opponent. What has become increasingly vivid is that many of these attacks have digressed from their opponent's ability to govern and have included issues such as the opponent's financial records, vices, family life and even sexuality. One of more memorable personal attacks came from Basdeo Panday who referred to Ramesh Lawrence Maraj and Trevor Sudama as '*nimakharams*' and '*jackasses*', when they left the U.N.C.A to form the now defunct political party, Team Unity.
  
2. ***Attack on party-*** refers to the statements that make the other party less appealing to the public. Mr. Panday spoke against the P.N.M. in a campaign speech in 1991, where he said "...*we have no nimakharams and none of us thief. We have no racists Indians and Africans*".<sup>37</sup>
  
3. ***Attack on policies-*** highlight the inefficiencies of the incumbents and their inability to deliver what was said on the platform or manifesto. Senator Surendrath Capildeo's speech in local government elections in 1994 "Are we a Nation of Dunces" stated that "*In the last nine years from 1985 to 1994, the People National movement sent millions of dollars in education. I ask you in conscience. To look around at the system of education in*

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<sup>37</sup> Siewah, Samaroo and Sattie Arjoonsingh. Basdeo Panday: The Making of a Prime Minister. (Trinidad: Chakra Publishing, 1998) p87

*Trinidad and Tobago and analyze what has happened”*.<sup>38</sup>

**Style** is defined as the manner in which political leaders present their messages to the public. To measure style, the following three categories were used. It is important to note that while the areas and categories for analysis were based on adaptations of researchers Benjamin Page (1960) and Darrell West's (1980) work, the area of style in particular was re-drafted to fit the local political landscape based on the feedback from political analyst, Dr Ragoonath, who felt that the following categories better represented Trinidad and Tobago's context of political style. These categories are:

1. **Humour-** is the use of jokes, wits and anecdotes to convey a message.
2. **Emotion-** is the speaker's use of language with the effect to evoke some sort of emotion in the audience.
3. **Reasoning-** refers to the speaker's use of logic and rationality in the speech. With this the speaker tends to use credible source or give justifications for certain occurrences.
4. **Allegory-** is the speaker's ability to convey a desired message with the use of stories and tales. Example, “When I was young man.....”

In considering campaign rhetoric particularly in the area of style, the study

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<sup>38</sup> Siewah 463

concentrates on the written verbal words. An introduction must start somewhere and while non-verbal cues are a key component to rhetoric, the words are too apparent and too important to omit. Furthermore an analysis of the verbal usually presupposes any understanding of the non-verbal.

Using the measures selected, the six speeches were coded by twenty-seven independent coders between March 1<sup>st</sup> and March 10<sup>th</sup> 2008. Nine coders measured nature, nine measured style and nine measured direction. Each coder was given a letter which thanked them for their participation and detailed the research/coding instructions. This letter accompanied two assigned speeches along with a coding manual which defined the categories for analysis and provided a table for tabulation. Coders were asked to comb their assigned speeches and dole out one scale of measurement each time a statement matched the categories identified. The coders, who were randomly selected from the University of the West Indies based on their availability and willingness to assist with the research, were informed of the study's purpose before committing to the process.

Once the coding was completed, the results were evaluated based on the respective areas of analysis. The coders were assigned as follows:

- Coder 1, 2, 3 examined nature in the two P.N.M speeches
- Coder 4 ,5, 6 examined nature in the two U.N.C.A speeches
- Coder 7,8 ,9 examined nature in the two C.O.P speeches
- Coder 10, 11, 12 examined direction in the two P.N.M speeches

- Coder 13 ,14, 15 examined direction in the two U.N.C.A speeches
- Coder 16 ,17 ,18 examined direction in the two C.O.P speeches
- Coder 19, 20, 21 examined style in the two P.N.M speeches
- Coder 22 ,23, 24 examined style in the two U.N.C.A speeches
- Coder 25, 26 ,27 examined style in the two C.O.P speeches

The results gathered from these twenty-seven coders however were very inconsistent; there were clear discrepancies in that more than 50% of the results differed. The coding categories were subsequently revised (see appendix 1) and twenty-seven new coders were asked to decipher the speeches again, this time altogether in a controlled environment (free from outside distraction) on March 19<sup>th</sup> 2008.

# **CHAPTER 4**

## **RESULTS**

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The results unearthed during this research were classified under three main areas of study; nature, style and direction. A summary of the results are presented below followed by tables and charts (numbered 1-12) which shows a breakdown of each area and its categories.

### **Summary of Findings**

#### **Nature:**

- The three leaders referenced specific policy statements for more than 30% of their campaign rhetoric.
- Specific policy statements represented the highest area of rhetoric for U.N.C.A.'s leader Basdeo Panday and C.O.P.'s leader Winston Dookeran.
- All three leaders focussed more than 25% of their overall rhetoric on their competitors.
- The three leaders' references to general goals and personal qualities were fairly consistent throughout the campaign.

- The three leaders spent over 5% of their campaign rhetoric discussing general problems.
- With the exception of Winston Dookeran, Basdeo Panday and Patrick Manning spent between 4-8% respectively referencing their past achievements.

**Direction:**

- The directions of the party appeals employed by the three leaders were predominantly negative.
- C.O.P'S leader, Winston Dookeran, attacks on the campaign trail was predominately directed towards individuals of the opposing parties.
- U.N.C.A's leader, Basdeo Panday, attacks on the campaign trail was mainly directed to the collective opposing parties.
- P.N.M's leader, Patrick Manning, attacks on the campaign trial was equally directed towards the individuals of the opposing parties as well as the collective body.
- Basdeo Panday was the only leader of the three who attacked his

competitors' policies.

**Style:**

- Winston Dookeran was seen as the most humorous and also most reasonable of the three political leaders.
- Basdeo Panday was judged the most emotive of the three political leaders.

**TABLE 1: The Nature of Campaign Appeals used by the three Political Leaders.**

<u>Campaign Appeals</u>	<u>Manning</u>	<u>Panday</u>	<u>Dookeran</u>
Past performances	3	2	0
Personal qualities	2	1	2
Policy statements	13	17	30
General goals	5	5	7
General problems	2	5	3
Party appeals	15	17	30

**Bar graph illustrating the nature of campaign rhetoric used by the 3 political leaders**

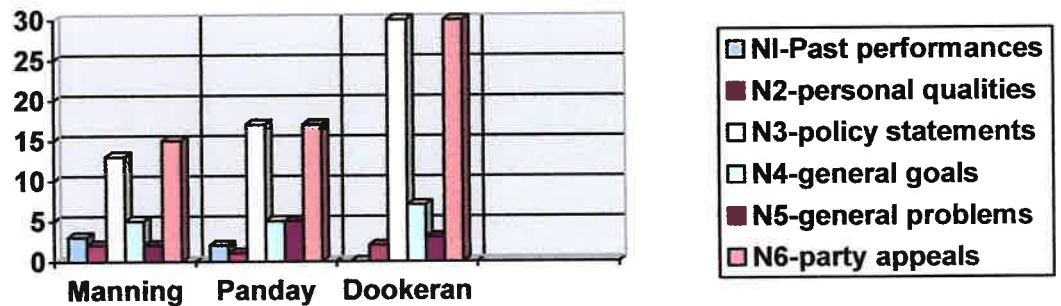


Table 1 illustrates that Mr. Dookeran used policy statements and party appeal the most of the three leaders, followed by Mr. Panday then Mr. Manning. All three leaders spoke about general goals, general problems, past performances and personal qualities with approximately the same low frequency.

**TABLE 2: The Direction of Campaign Appeals used by the three Political Leaders**

<u>Direction</u>	<u>Manning</u>	<u>Panday</u>	<u>Dookeran</u>
Individual attacks	5	5	11
Party attacks	5	8	6
Policy attacks	0	2	0

**Bar graph illustrating the direction of campaign rhetoric used by the 3 political leaders**

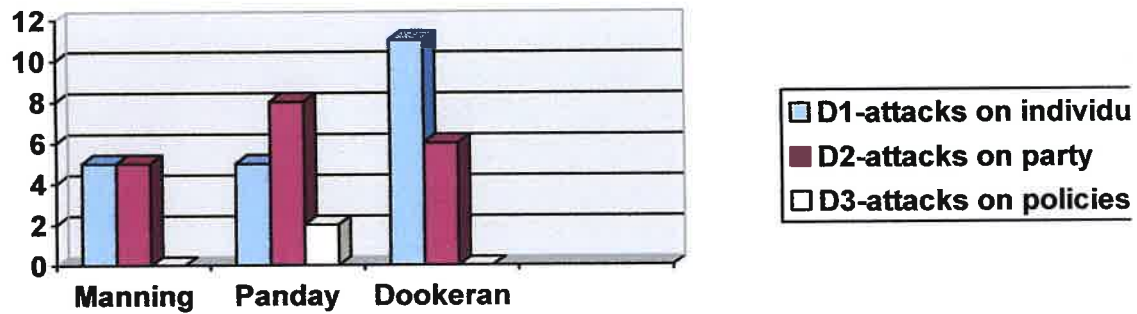


Table 2 shows that Mr. Dookeran employed the tactic of attacking individuals the most of the three leaders. Mr. Panday however attacked other parties the most. All three leaders scarcely attacked policies.

**TABLE 3: The Style of Campaign Appeals used by the three Political**

**Leaders**

<b><u>Style</u></b>	<b><u>Manning</u></b>	<b><u>Panday</u></b>	<b><u>Dookeran</u></b>
Humour	7	3	12
Emotion	16	16	39
Reasoning	5	4	3
Allegory	4	4	1

**Bar graph illustrating the style of rhetoric used by the 3 political leaders**

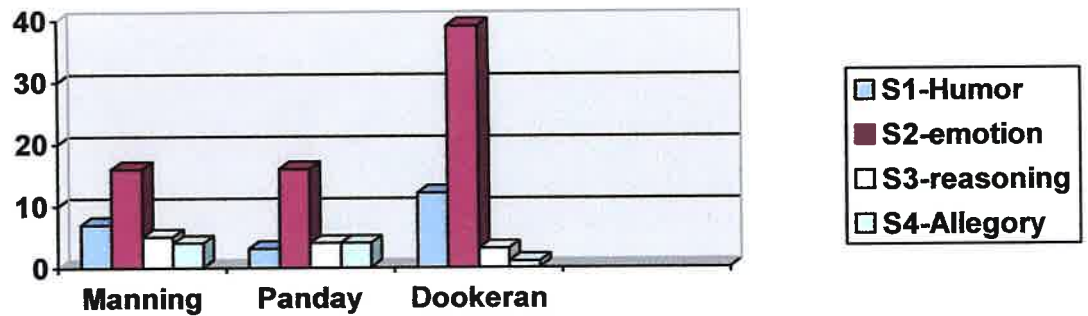


Table 3 illustrates that Mr. Dookeran was the most humorous of the three leaders followed by Mr. Manning then Mr. Panday. It also shows that Mr. Panday and Mr. Manning who used emotional appeal equally.

**TABLE 4: The Nature of Patrick Manning’s Campaign Appeals.**

<u>Manning</u>	<u>Campaign Appeals</u>
3	Past Performances
2	Personal Qualities
13	Policy statements
5	General goals
2	General problems
15	Party Appeals

**Pie chart breaking down the nature of rhetoric employed by PNM's leader**

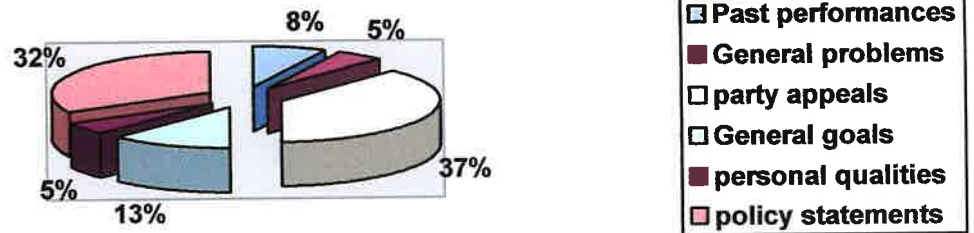


Table 4 shows that the most used tactic under nature by Mr. Manning was party appeals. This was closely followed by policy statements. All other categories occupied less than a third of the nature of the speeches.

**TABLE 5: The Style of Patrick Manning's Campaign Rhetoric**

<u>Manning</u>	<u>Style</u>
7	Humour
16	Emotion
5	Reasoning
4	Allegory

**Pie chart breaking down the style of rhetoric used by PNM's political leader**

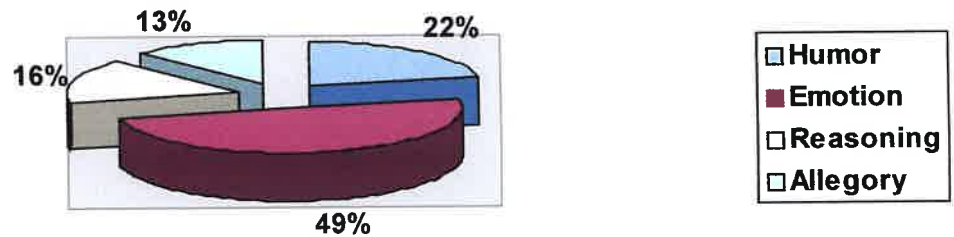


Table 5 illustrates that Mr. Manning used much emotion in his speeches which was followed by the use of humour then reasoning and allegory.

**TABLE 6: The Direction of Patrick Manning's Campaign Appeals**

<b><u>Manning</u></b>	<b><u>Direction</u></b>
5	Individual attacks
5	Party attacks
0	Policy attacks

**Pie chart breaking down the direction of rhetoric used by the PNM's political leader**

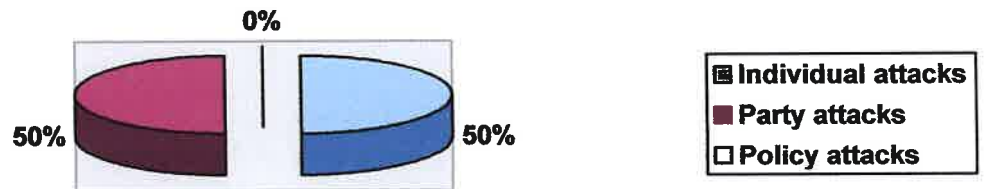


Table 6 shows that Mr. Manning's attacks were equally distributed between other parties and individuals. None of his attacks were on policies

**TABLE 7: The Nature of Basdeo Panday's Campaign Appeals**

<u>Panday</u>	<u>Campaign Appeals</u>
2	Past Performances
1	Personal Qualities
17	Policy statements
5	General goals
5	General problems
17	Party Appeals

**Pie chart breaking down the nature of rhetoric used by UNCA's political leader**

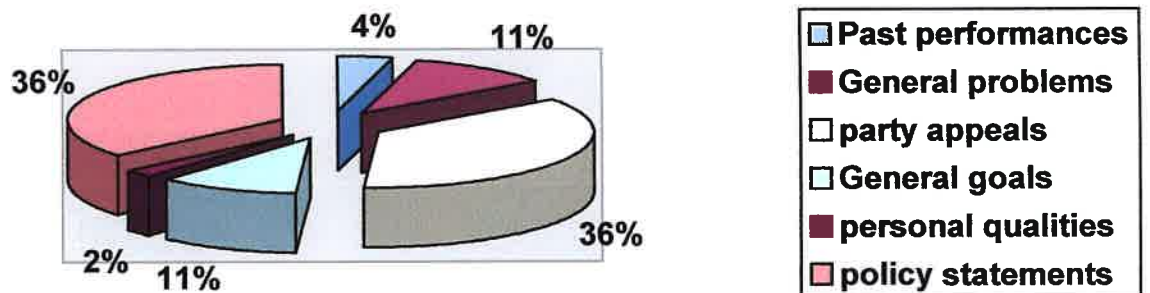


Table 7 illustrates that Mr. Panday endorsed the U.N.C.A as much as he made policy statements, as party appeals and policy statements occupied an equal amount of the nature of the speeches.

**TABLE 8: The Style of Basdeo Panday's Campaign Rhetoric**

<u>Panday</u>	<u>Style</u>
3	Humour
16	Emotion
4	Reasoning
4	Allegory

**Pie chart breaking down the style of rhetoric employed by UNCA's political leader**

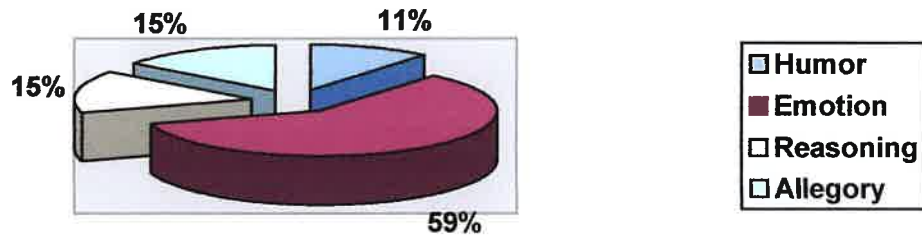


Table 8 highlights that Of the three leaders it was clear that Mr. Panday was the most emotional, using it more than half the time in his speeches. Humour, reasoning and allegory were all together used less than half of the time.

**TABLE 9: The Direction of Basdeo Panday's Campaign Appeals**

<u>Panday</u>	<u>Direction</u>
5	Individual attacks
8	Party attacks
2	Policy attacks

**Pie chart breaking down the direction of rhetoric employed by UNCA's political leader**

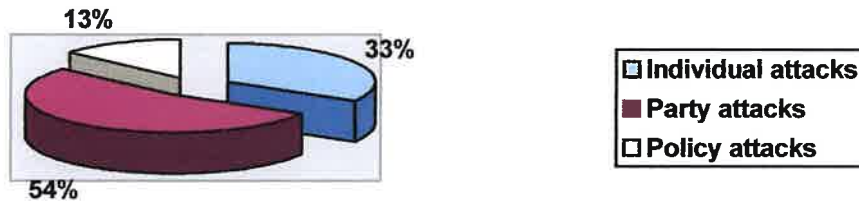


Table 9 illustrates that Mr. Panday attacked the other parties the most in the direction of his speeches followed by individual attacks then attacks on policies.

**TABLE 10: The Nature of Winston Dookeran’s Campaign Appeals**

<u>Dookeran</u>	<u>Campaign Appeals</u>
0	Past Performances
2	Personal Qualities
30	Policy statements
7	General goals
3	General problems
30	Party Appeals

**Pie chart breaking down the nature of rhetoric employed by COP's political leader**

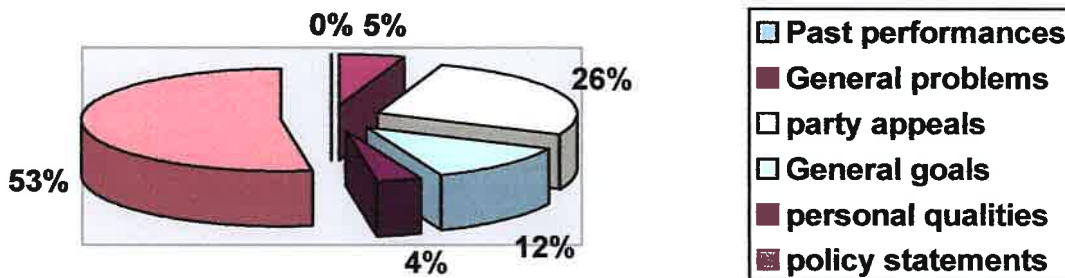


Table 10 shows that policy statements ruled which was followed by party appeals. General goals, general problems and personal qualities were hardly used. Past performances were not used at all.

**TABLE 11: The Style of Winston Dookeran's Campaign Rhetoric**

<u>Dookeran</u>	<u>Style</u>
12	Humour
6	Emotion
4	Reasoning
1	Allegory

**Pie chart breaking down the style of rhetoric used by COP's political leader**

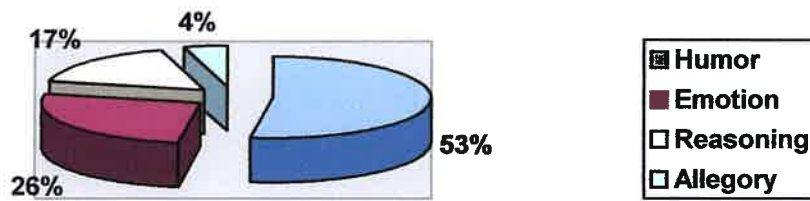


Table 11 illustrates that the majority of Mr. Dookeran's style was the use of humour followed by the use of emotion and then the use of reasoning and allegory.

**TABLE 12: The Direction of Winston Dookeran's Campaign Appeals**

<u>Dookeran</u>	<u>Direction</u>
11	Individual attacks
6	Party attacks
0	Policy attacks

**Pie chart breaking down the direction of rhetoric used by COP's political leader**

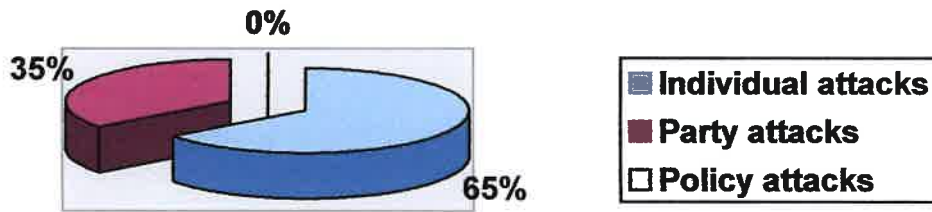


Table 12 shows that Mr. Dookeran's attacks were directed towards the other parties and other individuals. None of his attacks were directed toward policies.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION:**

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#### **NATURE**

Political theorists and observers have persistently found that candidates do not discuss “issues” in detail on the campaign trail.<sup>39</sup> It is a view compounded by independent analyst, Dr. Bishnu Ragoonath who maintains that politics generally is not a priority in the daily lives of many citizens and so specific policy statements are not prevalent. In analysing the nature of Trinidad and Tobago’s 2007 campaign rhetoric however, references to specific policies represented more than one third of the content on the campaign trail by all three parties and was altogether the most discussed factor on the campaign trail by the U.N.C.A. and C.O.P. The U.N.C.A. referenced statements of policy 36% of their overall content, the C.O.P. 53% times and the P.N.M 32% times. While it is beyond the scope of this research to explain why these results did not correlate to the theorists’ view about the non-predominance of policy discussions on the platform, one may attribute the fact that Dookeran and Panday referenced policy the most as they were behind the P.N.M. in the election race (according to SARA and NACTA polls) and consequently emphasised their plans for governance as a campaign tactic. Another reason why Dookeran may have referenced policy as much as he did can be linked to

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<sup>39</sup> West 71

his party's endorsement of a new era of local politics and their belief that people were in fact interested in the notion of serious, intellectual politics. Manning on the other hand, according to Dr. Ragoonath, saw the effect of the U.N.C.A / C.O.P. split and shifted his focus mid-campaign from winning new votes to concretising his support base.

Despite the popularity of policy statements on the trail, there were only two common issues which all three candidates discussed. These were the issues of the rising food prices and drainage/flooding. On the subject of food shortages, each leader had the following to say:

*"We will tackle the cost of living and particularly the rise in food prices, by immediately slashing the Value Added Tax rate from the current 15 % to 10 %, across the board and remove it all together for foodstuff and construction material in Tobago, where the cost of living is 30-50% higher than that in Trinidad."*

**Winston Dookeran, C.O.P.**

*"In terms of food...we now have to grow more food in Trinidad and Tobago...We are putting out 15 parcels of land, 100 acres and above for the development of large farms, including a 200 acres farm in Chaguramas that is going to be developed in collaboration with the Cuban government and Cuban technical assistance. It is going to be a demonstration farm for farmers in this country....As we grow short crops; tomatoes, lettuce, cabbage, bodi, baigan and so on we can increase supply and control the price...."*

***Patrick Manning, P.N.M.***

*“We shall establish a partnership with the local farming community to begin the immediate implementation of certain incentives for the farmers aimed at reduction of food prices in the country.”*

***Basdeo Panday, U.N.C.A***

On the issue of flooding and drainage, the parties offered:

*“To tackle the problem of flooding, I will, as Prime Minister, focus immediate remedial attention to the drainage system across the country.”*

***Winston Dookeran, C.O.P.***

*“Priority number 3 is going to be a drainage system. ...It is going to be done by the way of a 10 year drainage plan. We will bring in the experts...they will design that new system and over a period of 10 years, we are going to implement it. ...We should have a considerable ease of the drainage, flooding problem that exist in Trinidad and Tobago today.”*

***Patrick Manning, P.N.M.***

*“...the new UNC Alliance will immediately clean and clear all the drains, canals, the ravines, the rivers, the waterways as the first step to dealing with the perennial problem of flooding.”*

***Basdeo Panday, U.N.C.A***

Other policies discussed were the development of the energy and industrial sectors in Trinidad and Tobago by the P.N.M., education by the C.O.P. and the ratification of the Caroni issue as well as health by the U.N.C.A. Other areas of policy discussion tackled simultaneously by the C.O.P. and the U.N.C.A, with the exception of the P.N.M. were crime, labour, poverty and legislature reform.

The second area of focus that garnered the most attention on the campaign trail was that of party appeals. This finding epitomises the 'picong and bacchanal' which has long characterised Trinidad and Tobago politics. All three parties discussed the other parties more than 25% of the time and as expected most times in an unfavourable manner. The C.O.P discussed the other political party 26% of the times, while the P.N.M and U.N.C.A discussed their competitors 36% and 37% respectively.

In addition to spending an average of 25% of their time talking about the other party and another 30% of there time talking about specific policies, the three leaders were fairly consistent in their references on the podium about their general goals and aspirations for Trinidad and Tobago as well as their strong conviction in their own personal characteristics. 13%, 11% and 12% were the number of times the P.N.M, U.N.C.A. and C.O.P made references to general goals while 2%, 4% and 5% represented the mentions to personal characteristics. The goals discussed were universal across parties and focused

on abstract concepts, themes or calls to action for national unity, freedom, peace. Likewise characteristics such as honesty, integrity, competence and vigour were all personality qualities the three leaders touted to possess.

For the C.O.P and U.N.C.A., the majority of their discussion shifted thereafter on identifying the general problems in Trinidad and Tobago caused by the then administration (P.N.M). The U.N.C.A was successful at doing this 11% of the times, followed by the C.O.P with 5%. One notable problem area highlighted by both parties as evident in the quotations highlighted below was that of crime.

*The emperor will fall because the most notable feature of his six-year reign has been seen as most tellingly as Crime Minister, instead of Prime Minister. This has made Trinidad and Tobago an unsafe place. Countless, hundreds, most of them young men, have been victims of the culture of criminality that has been bred and fed by the Manning regime.*

**Winston Dookeran, C.O.P.**

*...Six more days to go and you shall be free...free from the murders and the kidnappings and the rapes and the robberies. We can't take another 5 years of the P.N.M. Seven days and you will be free to walk the streets, knowing that when your wife and children go out, they are sure to come back home alive.*

**Basdeo Panday, U.N.C.A**

The P.N.M also identified problems in the country 5% of the time but it was not centred on their own failures but rather the failings of their predecessors, the U.N.C.

With the exception of the C.O.P., the P.N.M. and U.N.C.A also focused the content of their rhetoric on highlighting their parties past achievements and accolades. The P.N.M. did so 8% and the U.N.C.A 4%.

## **DIRECTION**

Not only do parties and leaders make decisions about the content of their rhetoric, they also choose the direction of their appeals which accounted for over 25% of the discussion on the campaign trail. According to Dr Ragoonath party attacks especially negative ones are a mainstay of any political campaign and Trinidad and Tobago is certainly not immune to it.

According to Perelman, the role of the audience is crucial when determining the style an orator wishes to use and the political platform is no different. He notes that speakers who use language to antagonize each other undermine their chances of gaining support because their focus is diverted from their

supporters toward their opposition.<sup>40</sup> Epideictic speaking according to Griffin is where the speaker heaps praise or blame on another for the benefit for the spectators.<sup>41</sup> Epideictic speeches are synonymous with Trinidad and Tobago's political culture, where mudslinging, name calling and blaming are accepted political norms. This form of speech serves to highlight the deficiencies and ineffectiveness of the opposition, in an attempt to sway the voter's opinions

A breakdown of the attacks of Trinidad and Tobago's political leaders revealed that while not all the leaders' attacks were downright brutal, they were predominately negative with a few exceptions in which the comments were neutral or used to tell a story. Although Perelman suggests that a leader's use of negative language can adversely affect his chances to gain support, the local leaders openly attacked their competitors. Not only did they attack them but their appeals focused more on the personal characteristics of the opposing candidates and or the overall party rather than attacks on the flaws of the opposing parties' policies or plans for governance. For example the P.N.M. attacked their competition (i.e. collective party and or individual traits) 100% of the times when compared to the 0% of attacks on their policies.

Further analysis also found that with the exception of the C.O.P, collective attacks on the party far outnumbered attacks on party individuals. This was particularly interesting given the C.O.P's policy mandated by their official

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<sup>40</sup> Perelman 534-40

<sup>41</sup> Griffin 320.

speaker's guidelines which emphatically stated that while 'picong' was indeed permissible, the language should not be defamatory or inflammatory nor were the speakers allowed to engage in personal attacks on anyone in any party (see appendix 3).

By and large the U.N.C.A received the most number of personal attacks, while the P.N.M. received the most number of party and policy attacks. Two other general findings about the three parties were that they each took turns at attacking both their competitors and that there were considerably less attacks in the final speech than there was in the speech on the campaign trail.

## **STYLE**

Political leaders must make choices, not only about the nature and direction of their rhetorical content but also about their style of communications. Quite simply the manner in which they present their messages to the public is crucial as the delivery influences the way audiences interpret the campaign.<sup>42</sup>

In the analysis of the speeches, humour was a re-occurring component. The

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<sup>42</sup> West 71

definition of humour was expanded from the simple use of jokes and statements to include aspects such as picong, sarcasm, ice breakers and witty remarks. These categories were based on the information gathered from Dr. Ragoonath, who believed that these elements are an integral part of the communication styles of Trinidad and Tobago's politicians and should not be excluded.

The findings show that 53% of Dookeran's style was presented through the use of humour, while Panday and Manning relied on it 11% and 22% respectively. Further analysis reveal that most of the leaders did not use humour to relax their audiences or to make them appear more appealing but rather to say things about their opponents that otherwise would sound too harsh. Because of this fact, humour contributed to the high level of negative rhetoric on the campaign trail.

Dookeran's humour was predominantly categorised by the use of wit, Panday's through the use of sarcasm while Manning's jokes were a mix of wit and 'picong'. Examples of the leaders humour were:

*"The politicians in this country never fail to amaze me. I got up on a platform in San Fernando and I advised the national community, that I had friends in the U.N.C. I have two. The first one Mr. Basdeo Panday, very good friend of mine, because you see, whenever I want political support, I just standby and watch him do something that is foolish to ensure that I get support".*

***Patrick Manning, P.N.M***

*“If you want to know what to do with flooding, God damn it clean the drain first and see where the water blocking. That is all. Then you are able to build outlets and so on to the sea or you are able to build very large dams where that water when the rain falls goes and collects into a very, very big pond and where the farmers can use ...to run their crops. It’s called irrigation”*

***Basdeo Panday, U.N.C.A***

*For the last two days we have been seeing some headlines on the newspapers. We have been seeing Prime Minister Manning saying something like 'over his dead body'. Whatever he said was immaterial, because he will not be there to do anything about that!*

***Winston Dookeran, C.O.P***

Although humour played a pervasive role in the style of all three leaders, the use of emotion however was the most widely employed style tactic used to connect and persuade potential voters. This finding is not surprising as the use of emotion remains an important part of any politician’s delivery. Most theorists contend that people act on emotion and a good politician is one who can use it effectively to his advantage. For the purpose of the study, emotion was divided into fixed categories: they included positive emotions such as happiness, hope and feelings of belonging and negative emotions like anger, guilt and sorrow.

The study shows that Panday was the most emotive speaker, having used it 59% percent of the times when compared to Manning's 49% use and Dookeran's 26% use. A further breakdown of the results reveal that Panday's emotional appeals were mainly negative in nature as he attempted to evoke the feelings of sorrow and guilt in his audience. Evidence of this is seen particularly in his first speech in which he pleads for the forgiveness and redemption of the audience. By so doing he achieves the second means of persuasion highlighted by philosopher Cicero in that he was able to successfully employ his own feelings to evoke deep sentiments in his audience which may have propelled them to action. Two such statements that conveyed these emotions were:

*"I have made many mistakes, I did things I've regretted, and I made faulty judgments. I ask you to me forgive me as I have tried to forgive them that have trespassed against me".*

*"You will never get this opportunity again because by dividing your votes, you will ensure that the PNM forms the next government, and how will you live with yourself next Tuesday"*

Manning's emotional appeal on the other hand was more optimistic and positive. His address contained terms that created a familial aspect such "we", *my dear friends* and *my brothers and sisters*". Some examples included: *"We are one big party my dear friends"* and *"great is the P.N.M. and we shall*

*prevail on Monday November the 5<sup>th</sup>, with your help.”*

Like Manning, Dookeran’s style also contained mostly positive emotions; however his focus laid mainly with freedom, belonging, unity and optimism about the future. Some elements identified were: *“United we are standing together”* and *“I know that the gods are on our side, November 5<sup>th</sup> is election, and we the C.O.P. will win the elections”*.

In analyzing the use of emotion, it is important to note that all three leaders rhetoric contained evidence of both negative and positive emotional appeals, however the predominant trend found that Panday’s use of emotion were mainly negative while Dookeran and Manning’s speeches were mainly positive.

The term reasoning was taken from Aristotle’s tenets of rhetoric which includes the use of evidence such as facts and figures as well as credible sources to justify certain policies and or the apparent truth of leaders’ rationale.

Analysis of the data shows that Dookeran employed the art of reasoning the most with 17% and was mainly supported by the use of literary quotations from Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi. Dookeran’s use of reasoning also referred to as logos or logic served as a tactic to bolster his level of credibility with the masses. According to Morgan, while the other leaders

were well known to the country, Dookeran was relatively unknown and so he used reasoning more than the others to not only win the voters trust but to establish and build relationships with them.

Trailing Dookeran with regards to the use of reasoning was Manning with 16%. Notably while Dookeran's approach was to connect to his audience, Manning employed reasoning mainly to justify many of his policy statements. This is evident in Manning's reference to the Cuban government for the development of the local agricultural industry and the United States of America for the country's proposed highway system. By linking his party to Cuba, who is seen as an authority in food production and the U.S.A who has successfully used the highway model, Manning was able to rationally appear credible.

Panday's speeches contained 15% of reasoning. Unlike Manning his use of rhetoric was used to sell his own self rather than to justify a policy. In both speeches Panday likened himself to men such as Makandal Daaga, Kafra Kambon, CLR James, Steven Maharaj, George Weekes and former Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. Eric Williams. These men were considered strong, vocal and charismatic people who were instrumental in shaping Trinidad and Tobago's history. By so doing, Panday conveyed to his audience that he too possessed similar qualities as these great men and if given the chance he too has the capacity to further shape and develop the

country.

Allegory was defined as the use of stories and tales in the speech. The findings revealed that Manning and Panday were the stronger storytellers of the three leaders with the use of 13% and 15% allegory respectively while it represented just 4% of Dookeran's overall style.

Based on further analysis of the results it is reasonable to offer that the use of allegories can be considered a staple of Manning style as it was consistently used in both speeches which were vastly different in content and was delivered at different periods throughout the campaign trail. Conversely, Panday's utilisation of allegory and experiences much like his use of emotion was used to arouse similar sentiments and connect with his audience while Dookeran's use of stories depended on the audience, time, message and the feelings intended to convey.

# CHAPTER 6

## LIMITATIONS

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1. The lack of consistency regarding the acquisition of the speeches used for analysis. Because most leaders do not often speak verbatim from prepared speeches, it would have been preferred to study speeches directly, that is through video footages and not from speech texts (which was done for 4 out of the 6 speeches). However, the lack of available footage did not make this feasible.
2. The lack of relevant literature and research that focuses on the local political landscape with special reference to rhetoric and speeches.
3. There were many uncooperative and unreliable persons. Of the thirteen local political analysts from whom information was requested, just three responded and only two were available to be interviewed.
4. The study concentrates on the written verbal words and not the non-verbal cues. While non-verbal communication is a key component to the area of rhetorical style, time or resources did not permit this.

## **CONCLUSION and**

## **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

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It was evident from the study that the nature, style and direction of the rhetoric used by the political leaders the use of attacks on opposing parties as well as individuals was heavily employed. In addition, one realized that each political leader has their distinct and individual style. Although it appeared a significant amount of times, the rhetoric used generally carried less instances of attacks on policy statements and general goals. Therefore one can make the judgment that the general trend of the rhetoric used by the political leaders of the Trinidad & Tobago general election in 2007 is characterized by mudslinging, humor and attacks.

In closing, as much as the study answered some the pertinent questions of Trinidad and Tobago's political landscape such as the nature style and direction of the political leaders, it was impossible to determine their persuasive impact on the voters. Therefore various avenues and suggestions are put forward to develop and solve the enigma of Trinidad and Tobago's politics. Some important areas that require investigation are:

- Rhetoric and women politicians- a study into the use of rhetoric by women in local politics as compared to their male counterparts.

- The effect of speeches on voting patterns and behavior.
- A comparative study of rhetoric before, during and after the election campaigns.
- A longitudinal study of the rhetoric used by a named politician over a series of elections.
- A comparative study of rhetoric on the same politician platform

Whatever the area of choice it is hoped that this study would provide a strong foundation and a portal for further research of rhetoric in Trinidad & Tobago politics.

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# **APPENDICES**

## **Appendix 1- Coding Manual**

### **COMS 3099**

#### **Language and Communication Seminar.**

I thank you for your willingness and availability to participate in this research project. As a reminder, the purpose of the study is to identify the nature, style and direction of the rhetoric used in Trinidad and Tobago's 2007 general elections.

Attached you will find 2 speeches along with a coding manual. This coding manual is organized into two sections; the first details the areas of interest and the respective categories to be analyzed and indexed, while the second section provides a table in which the findings are to be tabulated.

The instructions for coding are as follows:

- 1 Thoroughly read both speeches **twice**
- 2 Read and re-read the areas of interest being studied along with the categories and definitions for analysis.
- 3 Before coding, ensure that you understand what is being asked of you. If you have any doubts please refer questions to the researchers.
- 4 Once you fully understand the instructions and have read the speeches, you may now begin coding
- 5 For every reference/ statements within the speeches that matches the categories identified, do assign once scale of measurement in the table provided.
- 6 Once completed, double check the results to make sure your tabled answers are correct
- 7 Once you are satisfied that your results are correct, submit your completed coding manual to the researcher.

To guarantee the validity and consistency of our research data, please ensure that the guidelines as prescribed above are adhered to.

Thank you again for your co-operation.

### **DEFINITION OF TERMS AND CATEGORIES**

#### **NATURE**

Defined as the issues discussed by the political leaders on the campaign trail.

**Past Performances-** are any specific reference of the parties past

achievements, policies or accolades. This statement **must directly** and categorically state what the party successfully achieved.

*Correct example:- We have decreased unemployment by 10%.*

*Incorrect example:- Last year we help curb unemployment*

**Personal qualities**- direct statements of the candidate's personal background or characteristics, such as honesty, competence or principle.

*Correct example:- "I am hard working and diligent".*

*Incorrect example:- Unlike them, I did not steal your money*

**Policy statements**- focus on policy discussions involving promises, remedies, actions or concrete strategies for governance. The statement must answer how they plan to do something. Please note that there may be more than one policy statement per issue. For e.g. on the issue of unemployment, one can create 10,000 new jobs by starting a new training programme for youths as well as offer incentives to entrepreneurs

*Correct example:- We will decrease unemployment by offering free education*

*Incorrect example:- I will decrease unemployment if elected*

**General goals**- are **direct** abstract concepts, central themes or even calls to action for e.g. calls for freedom, justice, unity, love, peace et al. These references must be direct and not implied.

*Correct example:- Stand for unity or we want a country that is united or our message is one of love*

*Incorrect example:- my hope is that Arabs and Chinese live together as one*

**General problems** - are references\ discussion about an issue and or problem without identifying any specific recommendations.

*Correct example:- Drugs, Crime are destroying our country*

**Party appeals**- are any indirect (*the former prime minister*) or direct references (*John James and the P.L.P.*) to another political party or members of that party. Please note that we are looking specifically for the number of times the opponent (party or individual) is referenced, even though it may be repeated within the same statement\ sentence.

*Correct example:- They in the other party are thieves (indirect)*

*PLP is not the party for you*

*John James is a liar*

## **STYLE**

Defined as the manner in which political leaders present their messages to the public.

**Humour**- is the use of jokes to convey their message in a "non-political way". Humour can fall under any of the following categories:

- 1 Picong/mudslinging- witty references\statements that attacks the opposition (individual or party)
- 2 Icebreakers- light statements to relax the audience and break the tension

3 Sarcasm- witty statements to make a point

**NB: Please note that in the space provided on coding manual, you are required to list those statements you identified as humorous.**

**Emotion-** is the speaker's use of language with the effect to evoke some sort of emotion in the audience. The speaker may evoke either positive or negative emotions in the audience. Emotion can fall under any of the following categories:

- 1 Anger
- 2 Happiness
- 3 Sorrow
- 4 Guilt
- 5 Feeling of belonging
- 6 Hope

**NB: Please note that in the space provided on coding manual, you are required to list those statements you identified as emotional.**

**Reasoning-** refers to the speaker's use of logic and rationality through the use of supporting evidence in the speech. This can fall under any of the following category:

- 1 Facts and figures
- 2 Quotations

**Allegory-** is the speaker's ability to convey a desired message through the use of stories, told in the past tense

*Correct example: yesterday while walking through the park with my wife, I saw many things but what stood out to me was a bird in a tree which reminded me that we should all soar to our dreams*

*Incorrect example: I saw a bird yesterday in the park which reminded me that we should all soar to our dreams*

**DIRECTION**

Refers to the negative party appeals made by political leaders about their opponents and the manner in which they were executed. In the local parlance it is known as 'picong' and 'mudslinging'.

**Attack on individuals** - are direct (John James) or indirect (Member of Parliament for UWI North) verbal assaults on individuals of the opposing parties i.e. one member of a political party berating the character or actions of someone on the opposing party.

**Attacks on party-** are hits directly (*the PLP and dem*) or indirectly (*Dat party*)

associated with x symbol) towards a collective party making them appear less appealing or less trustworthy. Attacks towards a collective group of people from a party will be considered as attacks on party.

*An attack on policies- highlights* the inefficiencies and the fallacies of another party's action or plans for governance.

*Correct example: The PLP's crime fighting plan did nothing to stop crime.*

**NB:** This area correlates to the category of party appeals in nature. Please note that there may be references to one's competitor that is not negative in any manner; it is simply a reference. Such statements should be omitted.

**CODING  
MANUAL**

Codes		PNM		UNCA		COP	
		Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 1	Speech 2
<b>NATURE</b>							
n1	Past Performance						
n2	Personal Qualities						
n3	Policy Statement						
n4	General Goals						
n5	General Problems						
n6	Party Appeals						
<b>DIRECTION</b>							
d1	Attack on Individuals						
d2	Attack on party						
d3	Attack on policies.						
<b>STYLE</b>							
s1	Humour						
s2	Emotion						

s3	Reasoning	
s4	Allegory	

**NB: Write examples of Humour and Emotion of other side of page**

## Appendix 2-Speeches

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**Speech: Congress of People 1**

**Date: October 26, 2007**

**Place: Gasparillo**

Thank you, thank you my friends.

This is the unity of Trinidad and Tobago!

The old talk is over, united we are now standing together!

Anand is the man! Youthful, powerful and the most courageous fighter we have seen in modern times in our country.

Today here in Gasparillo, this is but the rainbow of the blaze that is taking place throughout our country. A new energy is here, a new excitement is here and a new political fire is now in hearts as we move forward in the next 10 days.

This morning I was in Belmont walking with our candidate Daniel Solomon and I can say here with confidence that the capital city is now on fire with the Congress of the People.

Change is here and change is everywhere in the air. Here in Gasparillo there could not have been a fuller expression of the change that our nations wants and will have.

So my friends, are you prepared for change?

Are you ready for a new Congress of the People Government?

And will you elect a new Prime Minister for Trinidad and Tobago on November 5th?

For the first time, I say it on November 5th 2007; we in the Congress of the People shall win the next general elections.

I will tell you why. For the last two days we have been seeing some headlines on the newspapers. We have been seeing Prime Minister Manning saying something like 'over his dead body'.

Whatever he said was immaterial, because he will not be there to do anything about that! But, the phrase struck me.

And then the next day, I saw him saying that he must confess, it is not the people of Trinidad and Tobago who made him Prime Minister, it was Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj who 'killed' Basdeo Panday and made him (Manning) Prime Minister.

So two confessions in one week the only time you confess is when you moving towards the gates of hell or the gates of heaven and that is what Mr. Manning has found himself doing today.

I tell him that we are happy that he has come to confess and he must not be worried because we are here to carry on the fight for Trinidad and Tobago.

So whether he ends up in the political hell of his own party's implosion, or he ends up in the political heaven of the palace he has built, it doesn't matter, he is now confessing to us that the end is near, let us be compassionate towards the man.

He served his time twice and now he has decided that he must confess for all he has done.

But what is significant is that he said it is not the people that made him Prime Minister, it was Ramesh Maharaj 'killing' Panday. And that is why I wondered when he said that he wanted to be an Executive President, but not at the will of the people, but at the will of his own party.

So he shall be the commander in chief, the chief executive, the man with total power, but he will not ask the people to give it to him because he is accustomed to getting power by other means.

Our nation cannot sit back and allow our popular will to be taken away from us. We must elect the head of our Government and we must never give that up.

So while he is confessing, the other leader, the former Prime Minister is traveling to the other world, all the way to South Africa.

He has gone to South Africa to meet Nelson Mandela, that great international statesman to find out whether he can be inspired to reunite a fragmented country of which he was head.

But what did he learn when he went to South Africa? If only he would have learnt from Nelson Mandela that the greatest gift you can give to your country is when you decide that you shall depart in dignity and you shall let the battle go on.

So I hope that he will learn the lesson of Mandela because he is one of the

many great statesmen who departed gracefully and are now living their retirement with dignity.

So as he travels to the other world, just as I assured the Prime Minister, the country will be in good hands, the country ready to move on.

But there is a third person in this who believes his time has not yet come to go to the other world, or to join those in the gates of heaven and hell. He decided, before he reached there, he would buy up everything party, country, people because he wants to be and in his heart, he is already, the Prime Minister.

So he is rushing to buy up everything. And in so doing, he is undermining the sovereignty of our nation and the popular will of people.

No international sporting organisation will ever have the right to come and interfere in the politics of our country and have money flowing wild to put one of their leaders into the Prime Minister's office.

We are not for sale in Trinidad and Tobago, I say to this imposter!

And while our people will enjoy his music, and while our people will understand that he has converted his party into an entertainment club, we say enjoy yourselves but when it comes to politics and electing a Government, get serious and put people you can trust.

That is why as I see our Prime Minister confessing and a former Prime Minister travelling, I know that the Gods are now on our side and we shall win the next election.

But we shall win because we have today presented another part of our contract with the people.

Last Friday, in Marabella, we presented the first part of that contract with the people Changing Directions in Trinidad and Tobago.

It explains our thinking, our political philosophy. It explains what we value high and what we shall reject. It explains what we want to create and what we want to destroy.

It tells you the commitment of the members and people of the Congress of the People to honour the dignity and respect of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

And then yesterday morning, we announced to the entire nation the second and more comprehensive document on how we shall honour the contract.

The People's Platform is a contract of how we shall work. There are many provisions, some of which have been introduced today by this powerful team.

And next Thursday we shall answer the third question. We have answered what we shall do; we answered the question of how we shall do it.

Next Thursday, we shall answer when we shall do it with the 100-day plan of action for the new Government. And you can hold us to the proposals because we are not making wild proposals. Everything in this manifesto is doable and will be done for the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

I say to you here tonight that no party in the history of this country has been bold enough to have won the confidence of the people to the extent that we can put to you three chapters in our contract with the people and have it open for scrutiny and for your decision on November 5th.

But what are the pillars underlying?

The first pillar is that we shall give especially to those who have not benefited those from the oil riches of our country.

What we intend to do is to bring to the drivers seat, not people who use political power for the accumulation of private gain, but we shall bring to the forefront, the people who will have a stake in our land.

We shall bring to the forefront the vendors in our country, the doubles vendors, those renting property from Government at great cost to themselves.

We shall bring to the forefront, the farmers, the CEPEP workers and not the contractors, the taxi drivers, the fishermen, the factory workers. In other words we shall give the citizens and equal share in the wealth.

So that my friends is one of the pillars of the people's platform!

For too long this country has given away its sovereignty to those in charge. For too long the people have been complacent about those who govern for their own interests.

The time has come for a political party to govern in the interest of the ordinary people of Trinidad and Tobago.

We will ensure that all the problems Anand spoke about that he is facing here in Tab quite, and the people of Beet ham are facing with flooding, that they be given the highest priority in the spending.

That is what we call the coming into governance system. And you know it's

all outlined here.

And I saw on the newspaper the Prime Minister saying that when we talk about community governance, he was quoted as saying that we want to introduce 14 Prime Ministers because we want to devolve power to the people.

The second pillar is for the young people. Look at the audience I have been seeing recently. Look at what I saw in St Helena and in Point Fortin.

I see that the young people are taking over this party and they shall take over this country.

Your party will not crack, will not divide, will stand firm and will be a stable party for all of Trinidad and Tobago.

And then you have Mr. Manning and the PNM. Every time the price of oil drops, they crumble. Selby Wilson and myself knew it; when they crumbled after 1986, they crumbled as an organisation.

They can only govern if you give them money, they do not know how to create money.

And when you have to create money to save our nation, to provide security of tenure for the landless, to provide opportunities for workers, I can tell you here today as night follows day, they shall crumble again.

So on the one hand your choice is to accept a party that will crack. And another party that has already begun their decent!

The only party that stands today, firm, strong, with sincerity of purpose and is committed to Trinidad and Tobago is we in the Congress of the People.

In 10 days' time, you will have to exercise your right to bring this country into a new era in politics, to accept those who confess and those who travel and to put the most powerful team that any country has ever put forward.

November 5th is freedom day! I thank you.

**Speech: Congress of the People 2**  
**Date: November 03, 2007**  
**Place: Woodford Square**

We have done it—this is a new awakening.

You have done it --- this is a new freedom for our people.

The Congress of the People has done it; this is the birth of the New Democracy for Trinidad and Tobago.

Patrick Manning has left us with a nation divided.

He has left us with a society in deep despair.

The Emperor will fall because the most notable feature of his six-year reign has been seen as most tellingly as Crime Minister, instead of Prime Minister.

This has made Trinidad and Tobago an unsafe place.

Countless hundreds, most of them young men, have been victims of the culture of criminality that has been bred and fed by the Manning regime.

Our candidate for Laventille West David St. Clair is a victim of that culture.

David St. Clair has dedicated his life to serving his community, Laventille.

In his campaign to represent his people in Parliament, David was confronted with demands for protection money.

David St. Clair is a man of character and courage.

He is a quiet hero.

David refused to bend to extortion.

Today, he is lying in his bed recovering from the savage beating that was inflicted upon him.

This is how it's done in PNM country.

Let us tell David that we love him.

Lets us win this election for David.

At this moment, my friends, let us reach out to our brother David St. Clair.

Let us bring home Laventille West for our brother David.

The Prime Minister, faced with his responsibility to ensure a crime free election, blames it on the feud between opposition parties and calls on his police and army to deal with it as if it is a family feud--- when it is a national concern.

This is how it is done in PNM country.

Do you want to live in PNM Country?

Prime Minister Manning is this PNM country?

You have done it---- this is a new awakening.

We have done it--- this is a new freedom for our people.

The Congress of the People has done it--- this is a birth of a new Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

This is not PNM country.

This “our” country!

This country belongs to all of us including the PNM.

This country belongs to all of us in Trinidad and Tobago.

The Manning regime’s culture of criminality is blatantly exposed in the brazen use of public funds in advertising electioneering.

In one newspaper this week 16 full page, full colour advertisements could be counted.

A million dollars a day of advertising power will not stop us.

For every million dollars of your money spent, we in the Congress of the People have won the hearts of our people with our sincerity, our plans, our policies and our people.

I trust that the CARICOM observer group is monitoring how the Government of Trinidad and Tobago is subverting fairness and freedom in the electoral process, and abuse of the use of public funds for this advertising binge.

This is a betrayal of public trust, it is misbehaviour in public office, and it

renders those involved in the conspiracy to plunder the treasury for election advertising as unfit to hold public office in the future. An expensive cover-up, for all they know is the use of the politics of fear.

On the other side, they use the spurious NACTA poll as a tool for promoting confusion and to feed falsehood, --- all they know is the politics of deception.

The Congress of the People is built on a continuing conversation with the people; this has led to our three part contract with the people.

#### · Framework for Governance—Changing Direction

- The People's Platform
- The Action Plan--- the First Hundred Days

As we continue this new politics, we start a new era in government with the politics of engagement – a politics built on consensus not division, a politics that draws on a wide range of the people's talents and expertise; not the narrow circles of power.

As Prime Minister, I will make myself available for participation in working sessions of the local government councils and the Tobago House of Assembly.

I intend to listen, first-hand, to the concerns of our communities from their elected representatives; as well as directly from the people, in their communities.

This will be the new politics of engagement.

To tackle the problem of flooding, I will, as Prime Minister, focus immediate remedial attention to the drainage system across the country.

Friends and Workers of Trinidad and Tobago,

The record of the outgoing PNM regime in treating with workers, and particularly those in the public sector, is a very dismal one indeed.

Thousands of workers have been put out of jobs from Caroni Ltd, BWIA and elsewhere. Today the threat of further job losses looms even over the oilfields.

Many public sector employees remain without a collective agreement, even in vital services like air traffic control and bus transport.

They have been shrinking the public service itself. Major functions have been handed over to the so-called Special Purpose Enterprises. One third of the public service is being removed as health workers and are sent into the

Regional Health Authorities.

The CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE has a clear labour policy: The COP will restore free collective bargaining in the public service and the public sector generally by: · Reducing the interference of the PSNC and Freeing up the hands of the negotiators · Ensuring that collective agreements are made current and not for periods ended years ago.

The Congress of the People will: · modernise all labour legislation · enforce OSHA to protect the lives of workers · review the minimum wage every 2 years and ensure that it is paid · include labour representatives on state boards · support the operations of the trade union collectives.

As in all other sectors, in labour, the Congress of the People puts the workers at the centre.

If appointed Prime Minister, I will immediately instruct government's negotiating team that all overdue negotiations be settled by the end of November.

If that is not achievable, I will direct that an interim payment, in line with the CPO's latest proposal be negotiated and implemented no later than December 10, 2007

If appointed Prime Minister, I shall call for a conference with the leadership of all public sector trade unions to construct a platform for progress for future negotiations; which will commit the employer and the workers to an orderly bargaining time line for future collective agreements.

On the question of Constitutional Change,

I state now that I shall reveal to the nation and consign to the shredding machines, all versions of the Patrick Manning Constitution.

I will, establish a Speaker's conference to propose and coordinate the process by which the people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago shall jointly and severally determine the content and intent of a new constitution to replace the existing Republican Constitution.

I shall propose to the new Speaker of the House of Representatives that he bring together all parties to look at the issues that can only be dealt with on a cross party basis.

The people shall make that law, not the Prime Minister.

On the matter of Constitution Reform, the Congress of the People's position is

that a Prime Minister shall be limited to two terms.

I seek one term; if I perform, I may seek the nation's mandate for a second term.

When I look at the talent and the character assembled on this platform, I have no doubt that I am not indispensable.

When I look at the most powerful woman's platform ever assembled in the Caribbean, I feel that I must make haste to make way for Trinidad and Tobago's first woman Prime Minister, sooner rather than later.

When I look at the battery of young leaders who have been chosen to represent the Congress of the People, I am confident that I will have no problem with succession planning.

I shall not be pre-occupied with personal power.

In PNM, the leader has an inward hunger and an obsession with power.

In the UNC there is in a power struggle at the top, one leader is addicted to power, the other is bent on buying power, yet another is ready to grab power; and a fourth leader, a woman, already reduced to powerlessness and nothingness is waiting in the wings for someone to loan her power.

Political power comes from the people, the Congress of the People knows that well, and seeks political power from the permission and will of the people.

As a matter of urgency I call on the President to release immediately the Mustill report on the Tribunal investigating the charges against the Chief Justice by the Prime Minister; which was delivered to his office on Thursday 30th October, 2007.

In the first 100 days of a Congress of the People government, we will take action on a number of measures to bring prompt relief to the population from the most pressing problems we face.

— We will tackle the cost of living and particularly the rise in food prices, by immediately slashing the Value Added Tax rate from the current 15 percent to 10 percent, across the board and remove it all together for foodstuff and construction material in Tobago, where the cost of living is 30-50% higher than that in Trinidad.

— We will abolish the Value Added Tax on T&TEC and WASA bills for households.

— We will establish a Commission on Poverty, a COP, to devise the methods and coordinate the measures that will lift from poverty the 60,000 households estimated to be living below the poverty line.

— The Commission on Poverty, the COP, will be given the remit to bring every household now living below the poverty line to a minimum monthly income of \$3000, initially.

— We will, within the first 100 days of a COP Government, supply every student and every teacher in every secondary and vocational school with a Laptop computer, at no cost to students, parents or teachers.

— We will transform CEPEP and other special works programmes by replacing the 10-day cycle with extended employment, training, job placement, pro rated vacation and maternity leave, gratuity on the completion of each job cycle, and personal dignity for these workers.

— If elected to government, the COP will launch work on a Universal Pension Plan.

— Under the Universal Pension Plan, every citizen, upon reaching the age of sixty, will be entitled to a minimum pension of \$2000, initially.

— This Universal Pension Plan will include enhanced benefits for Public Servants.

— We will reenergize the sugarcane industry which will be based on allowing the farmers to share in the ownership of St. Madeline Sugar Factory, the development of a paper based industry and other related clusters.

— As an immediate measure to curb crime, we will, within forty five days, introduce legislation to provide for the automatic suspension or cancellation of driving permits held by persons charged for crimes involving kidnapping, rape and robbery, firearms, bladed weapons and held by persons using motor vehicles in committing crimes.

— We will outlaw membership of gangs who are engaged planning, organizing and or carrying out criminal activities.

— We will immediately put a programme in place to tackle the urgent needs of schools and students, including an increase in school security, school emergency repair and maintenance, medical-first-aid, and access to emergency services.

— We will widen the GATE Programme by funding post graduate study programmes and to include persons outside of the academic stream who are

gifted with multiple intelligences as we create new training opportunities in sports, culture, music, recreation and leisure industries.

— I am committed to engaging the leadership of our religious communities in an Education Alliance that will provide a framework and oversee a working partnership to place family and faith at the centre of education for all of our nation's children.

I will move immediately to engage our religious leaders in this Education Alliance.

— We will establish a Special Commission to implement the Equal Opportunity Act

— We will implement a programme that will transform tenants of government housing to owners of the housing units they currently occupy by converting rent they have already paid to equity for the purchase of those homes.

— We will develop a programme to provide clear title to tenants on government land and will move swiftly to transfer title to such land to those who qualify. Their property deeds will enable them to use their land as collateral to borrow from the banks.

We have the plans, we have the people, we have the policies and we have the political will to make it happen.

The Congress of the People is ready to govern.

Much of the credit for this goes to the young people of Trinidad and Tobago.

This is your campaign, young T&T.

I thank you for it.

In return, I pledge the character and the calibre of governance that you desire, and that you have inspired in the Congress of the People.

You have changed the politics of our country. I thank you for this.

I pledge, in return, we will continue to listen to the voices of our youth.

I further pledge that young people will be at the centre of a COP government.

I further pledge that I will respect the words of Nelson Mandela, whose name I call with reverence:

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.”

You have changed our country and shaken up the politics of our land.

I remind you of Mahatma Gandhi’s inspirational words: “You must be the change you want to see in the world.”

I pledge that every day I spend in public office and in my private sphere I will do all I can to provide you with an education of such quality that you can use it as a powerful weapon to change our politics, to change our society, and to change our world.

When you elect the Congress of the People to Government, we will move, next Sunday, in numbers even mightier than these at Woodford Square today, to the Haseley Crawford Stadium to begin the healing and to unify the nation in a multi-faith, all embracing offering of Prayer and Thanksgiving.

I start the Thanksgiving now, by thanking God for you.

May God grant our nation a peaceful transition to a new Government of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

And now, I ask:-

Are you ready for change?

Are you ready to reclaim your freedom?

Are you ready to stand up for Trinidad and Tobago?

Are you ready for a new government in Trinidad and Tobago?

Are you ready to elect a new Prime Minister in Trinidad and Tobago?

Thank you!

**Speech: People National Movement 1**

**Date: 31<sup>st</sup> October 2007**

**Place: St. Joseph**

One big party my dear friends, all PNM meetings. Whether you go to Sangre Grande, whether you come to Barataria, whether you go to Barrackpore, whether you go to San Fernando, it is always a happy event when you come to a PNM meeting. Great is the PNM. Great is the PNM. Great is the PNM and it shall prevail. Madame Chairman, Cabinet Colleagues, the Honorable Mustapha Abdul Hamid, candidate for the Chaguanas East. The Very distinguished minister of health, Mr. John Rahael, our youth speaker Ms. Aben Phillip, our candidates. The PNM's standard bearer for the constituency of Barartaria/San Juan and the next parliamentary representative for Barataria/San Juan Mr. Joseph Ross, and our flag bearer our standard bearer for the constituency of St. Joseph...you know him...Mr. Kennedy Swaratsingh.

PNM candidates on the platform, members of the party's leadership, members of the media, my friends here, gathered in such large numbers here in Barataria San/Juan this evening in the Croissee, this historical place where the PNM gathers in all general elections to discuss matters of interest to you and to the people of Trinidad & Tobago. You will permit me my dear friends to make a further comment on our very distinguished candidate for St. Joseph. I was present at the funeral of Lieutenant Commander Penco, the homily at that funeral was delivered by, one father Kennedy Swaratsingh, at that time a Roman Catholic priest and I sat in the audience and I listened to that homily and I observed father Swaratsingh very closely and I am sure that at some time our paths would have crossed on the political campaign trail. And I knew all I had to do was sit and wait. I sat and wait my dear friends and tonight I am very pleased indeed to be associated with him, as a candidate of the People's National Movement.

The Bible says that righteousness exalts a nation and sin is a reproach to any people. In selecting our candidates my dear friends, one of the things we looked for was righteousness as far as it was in our position to determine that. We believe that in our two candidates, our candidate for Barataria San/Juan and our candidate for St. Joseph, that largely, that criterion has been met. We have been very scrupulous in our determination of who will be a PNM candidate in this election, and we considered very carefully, those who came before us. I can tell you, a lot of good people did not make it on this occasion. A lot of good people did not make it. But the groups of people who made it., the forty one people, who today are the standard bearers for the PNM in this general election represent the best crop of people available to the People's National Movement, at this time. There people my dear friends, who see politics, not as the pursuit of fame and power and fortune, but that politics is service to those who elect us to hold the reins for them in the parliament of

## Trinidad & Tobago.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have held meetings in Sangre Grange in the east. We've held meetings in Diego Martin in the west. We've held meetings in the East/ West corridor in the north. We've held meetings in San Fernando and Point Fortin in the south, Barrackpore. And wherever we have gone, one thing emerges very clearly, that the PNM is the only true national party in Trinidad & Tobago drawing support from all segments of the national community. We have had such great responses wherever we have gone, that we are in a position to say tonight, that on Monday November the 5<sup>th</sup>, we are going to flog them in the east, we will flog them in west, we will flog them in the north, we will flog them in the south, we will flog them in central, we will flog them, we will flog, we will flog them in Tobago. We will flog them my dear friends. Great is the PNM. On Monday November the 5<sup>th</sup> it is going to be licks like fire as we flog them wherever they surface. East, West, North or South or Central, my dear friends. Great in the PNM and we shall prevail on Monday November the 5<sup>th</sup> with your help.

The politicians in this country never fail to amaze me. I got up on a platform in San Fernando and I advised the national community, that I had friends in the UNC. I have two. The first, is one Mr. Basdeo Panday, very good friend of mine, because you see, whenever I want political support, I just standby and watch him do something that is foolish to ensure that I get support. In fact....in fact, I am in a position to say, as long as he is there, I am going to be here. A very good friend he is indeed, very faithful. But I have a second friend, one who has recently rejoined him. And I told a very large audience of PNM people gathered in San Fernando, that when we met in the parliament in the year 2001, and I was able to get up before the parliament and in talking about the transgressions of a former Prime Minister of Trinidad & Tobago, I was able to show a photograph of an apartment of Kensington in London. I advised my friends in San Fernando. That I got that photograph from my next friend in the UNC, one Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj. I didn't expect that my friend would react to that because it's the truth. That's all we had, was the truth. If I didn't get the photograph from him, how could I come and say that I did. I got it from my good friend Mr. Ramesh Maharaj.

In fact more that, it was a pleasure to work with him as we sat down and I watched him pluck the demise of the UNC government. I watched it, I saw it. Ladies and gentlemen I saw the inner workings of his brain, I saw how he thinks, and I saw...I saw my dear friends; I was the beneficiary of a plan, diabolical plan that emerged in his own mind, to bring down the government of which he was a part. And if today, Mr. Panday finds himself in opposition, I think in giving credit, much of it must go to one man...one man my dear friends, my second friend in the UNC Mr. Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj, and people in the PNM and PNM supporters, much as we would have thought otherwise, much of the credit being in government today has to go to our

friend Mr. Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj. He's a good friend to the PNM. Ah don't want to see him in parliament eh, ah don't want to see him there at all...know him too well.

I understand that on a platform last evening, he got up and he said, that I own a house together with my son in Arken in Germany and that he was referring the matter to the integrity commission. Well I welcome that let me tell you, I have been investigated by the integrity commission on five occasions in the past. I have been weighed in the balances my friends and i have come out with trump on every occasion, with meh bat in meh hand ready to swipe at any loosed ball that them fellas ready to bowl. They accuse me...they accuse me of improper action in flying on an aircraft owned by bombard air. It was demonstration flight of an executive aircraft. They accused me of improper activities. It went to the integrity commission, it came back and they said "no case". No case ladies and gentlemen and on the other...3 other...4 other occasions I can't even remember the foolishness that they talked and sent it to the Integrity Commission. On this occasion, not only do I invite him to refer that matter to the Integrity Commission, but I am also inviting him to refer it to the commissioner of police and to the director of public prosecutions. Let him refer it to all of them. And if there is an agency that I forgot, refer it to that one too. I have nothing to hide my dear friends; my life is on open book. I have no bank account with no 10 million dollars in it.

Whether it is in England, in Trinidad and Tobago, in Nassau, nowhere my dear friends. I am not a beneficiary of corruption in the airport scandal, where a six hundred million dollar airport, was built for eighteen hundred million dollars and about five of them facing the courts in the United Sates of America at this time. But let them talk now, because who not in jail my dear friends, lining up to go in. Let them talk. They have....you see they cannot win the PNM; they cannot defeat the PNM on the basis of vision or on the basis of performance, or on the basis on of our plan for the future. They can't tackle us on that at all.

So what they trying to do, trying to say, that I own house where...in Germany? Ladies and gentlemen I went to Germany once in my life in the year nineteen hundred and ninety three. I was in Germany in 1993 on government business I didn't' spend enough time in Germany to know anything in any house. But let them investigate...let them investigate my dear friends. I have nothing to hide, absolutely nothing; they are free to investigate whatever they wish. I hope as they investigate that they don't stumble on more money that another Prime minister may have elsewhere in the world. In the history of Trinidad & Tobago, there has been no political party like the People's National Movement.

We are the only party my dear friends... we are the only party that has consistently presented a vision for the people of Trinidad and Tobago and

consistently presented a plan of action to give effect for that vision. We are the only political party, ladies and gentlemen, that has monitored what is taking place in the international community and has looked for the opportunities that have been presented to our country for the upliftment of our people on the basis of the new realities emerging in the international environment. It is on that basis an examination of the new environment in the world that the PNM has identified globalization as a new philosophy that presents unique opportunities for the people of Trinidad and Tobago, and it is on that basis we have identified developed country status as a target that is achievable by us in a realistic timeframe, by the year 2020 we expect my dear friends, we expect Trinidad and Tobago to join the ranks of developed countries of the world.

I ask you what other political party has a vision like that. None. None. One of those candidates from another party has said that when they come into government they are going to follow the vision of the PNM. Well my dear friends, if you have a choice to implement the vision of the PNM, between the PNM and some other political party. Who are you going to ask to implement the PNM's vision? Not the People's National Movement. They are reduced, ladies and gentlemen, to trying to copy everything the PNM says, trying to copy everything the PNM does except they don't know how to do it. They lack the experience my dear friends, they are political neophytes, they are political neophytes and therefore if you put God out of your thought and put the authority in their hands not only are you going to get corruption and thieving that you had in the past, you are going to get mismanagement on a scale the likes of which are unprecedented in this country.

I want to remind you when the PNM came into office how it was in the 20s. You know what is the price of oil today? The price of oil today has stopped at \$92 a barrel. And the projections are that it will continue to rise, it is likely to shatter the \$100 a barrel barrier and some informed observers say it could reach a spike of \$110 a barrel. From \$9 a barrel in 1986, when I took over leadership of the PNM, my dear friends, oil prices have just hit \$9 a barrel and the PNM has gone into opposition for the first time in its history and I have watched that oil price change. I have watched the fortunes of Trinidad and Tobago grow. I have been part of some of the decisions that were taken that have put us in a position today to benefit from oil prices.

I remind you that Trinidad and Tobago today is not a major oil exporting country. Our oil production today is 130 000 barrels a day. In 1978, it was 240 000 barrels a day. We get our revenue today not so much from oil my dear friends but we get it from natural gas. Whereas our oil production is about 130 000 barrels per day our oil production equivalent in oil barrels is 700 000 barrels oil equivalent a day, so that the revenues come not so much from oil, but from natural gas. I make this point, you will remember when we say we were going in LNG, they condemned it, they did not agree with it. If we did

not go into LNG, oil prices and gas prices could have gone as high as they wish. Trinidad and Tobago would have been in no position to benefit from it. We are able benefit from it today only because there was a fundamental change in PNM policy and we took the decision, that we would export gas in liquefied form for the first time putting ourselves in a position to reap the bonanza that Trinidad and Tobago is reaping today. That is what we saw in the globalization environment.

Nobody else has those visions so we different from them. Only party launch they manifesto, one launched theirs this morning. The PNM presented its manifesto to the national community this afternoon. I don't know, ours was televised live. I don't know whether theirs was televised or not. But I guarantee you, I was present today, I will put our launch and the thing we have to say, I will put it against any political party in this country and I will guarantee you, none of those political party, no political party in the opposition to the PNM today, could of match the launch of the manifesto that we presented to the national community this afternoon. None. They don't share the vision of the upliftment our people. They don't share the vision, my dear friends, of giving the people of Trinidad and Tobago the highest standard of living and the best quality of life of which the country is capable. The vision that they share is enriching themselves. Politics for them is self aggrandizement. Is what yuh could get out of it, how rich you could get and how many millionaires you could make between you friends and family. It has nothing to do with the people of Trinidad and Tobago who are incidental in the governance process as far as many of them are concern. You just don't know better.

And so my dear friends, and so ladies and gentlemen, when you go to the polls on Monday Nov 5<sup>th</sup> you really have an important decision to take. The decision is this, are you going to support the PNM? A party with a track record of performance, a party that has been associated with almost every significant decision that has been taken in this country for the upliftment of its people. Are you going to be associated with people who do not talk the truth, who squabble publicly? My dear friend, 6 ministers from that government are before the courts, 6 of them are before the court, including the former Prime Minister. Is that the choice you are going to make? My dear or are you prepared to stay within the caring, benevolent hands of the People National Movement. It is your decision.

Over the part few weeks, we have talking to you about what we have done for the 6 years we have been in government. Tonight my dear friends, I want us to explore what is to come. What does the future looks like, what does the future holds as we move to developed country status, what will it mean, what will it mean for you and your children .what will; it mean for your standard of living. What can you expect from the government of the PNM, my dear friends, in terms of your own prosperity and your own progress as we serve yet another 5 year term? What can you expect?

First of all, I remind that following that Great depression in The United States in 1929, the president of the US in 1930s, took the decision to embark on a major program of Highway construction in the United States. That program resulted in the road system that exists in the United States today. That program was responsible for opening up the United States and that program was responsible for bringing development to every nook and cranny of America, which contributed in no small measure to the great nation the US is today, In the next 5 years, we are going to embark on an 8 year program, an 8 year program of highway construction, an 8 year program of highway construction similar to what was done in the United States in the 30s following the Great depression. A program that will have the effect of opening all parts of Trinidad and Tobago and bringing development to every nook and cranny of this country that we call home and this country that we love so much.

We going to extent Solomon Hochoy highway to Debe, Penal, to La Brea and to Point Fortin, so we would have access top the south. We are going to construct a new highway from San Fernando to Princess Town, to Rio Claro, to Mayaro. And extend the Churchill Roosevelt highway to Sangre Grande and then it will go all the way into MANzanilla. We are going to build a new highway from Sangre Grande to Toco. We are going to build a highway or causeway, we still studying it from Port of Spain to Chagaramus. We are going to connect Blanchiesue and Matelot on the North Coast. And we are going to build a connecting highway from the east west corridor to the North Coast and by those arrangements. There is one more; we are going to build my dear friends, a six lane highway, initially four, eventually six lane highway from Curepe to Princes Town. Another North South Veda parallel to the Solomon Hochoy highway that we have now splitting the traffic and easing the congestion that exist on the roads of Trinidad and Tobago today.

It will take 8 year we believe to do all that. It will take us 8 years it will take us to do all that but in the next five years a significant amount of that will be done. The design criterion will be that no where in Trinidad will be will be more than 2 ½ hours away from another part of Trinidad. If you live Cedros, 2 ½ hours later you must be in Toco. That will be the design criteria. Is it not exciting my dear friends? Do not find it exciting? Have you heard any such proposal from any other political parties that oppose us today? The answer is no. and therefore what choice you have on Election Day, you going sand vote for the PNM.

Tell you something else there is a way you can do it, without incurring significant expenditure. The way to do that is what you call the concessionaire method and that is to say, you invite a developer to design the highway, to build the highway at his cost, to operate the highway, to maintain the highway, to toll the highway, which is going to be a toll road, has to be a toll

road. And after a certain a period of time, normally 15 to 20 years, when they have recover the expenditure they have put in constructing and operation the highway during that period, the highway is turn back over to the authorities in Trinidad and Tobago and becomes own by the people of Trinidad and Tobago. And by that method we can build highways, without any expenditure.

In reality what is likely to happen is the government would put money in it because by doing that you are able to control the level of the toll that will be charge and to keep the toll at affordable levels. So we have a variation. My dear friends, so many other countries have done that and Trinidad and Tobago, for us in Trinidad and Tobago the time has come to do that. An 8 year program of highway construction that will open up that will open up every part of Trinidad and Tobago and bring development to every nook and cranny of our country.

Secondly, my dear friends, in the field of transportation, we will build the rapid rail system, we will build the rapid rail system. It is a light rail system from Sangre Grande to Diego Martin and from Port of Spain to San Fernando. The traffic counts, we are doing that right now, may well tell us that in the initially phase it will go to Debe and Penal, it is entirely possible. If the traffic counts tell us that what we have to year do, we will do that. But, my dear friend, that highway should be complete, sorry that rapid rail system should be complete by early 2014, early 2014 but by the time we go back to the polls in 2012, much of that highway will be in place and operational and we will have a supplemental mode of transport, not available to us today and we are to go by that method ease considerable the pressure we experience on the roads of Trinidad and Tobago at this time.

Do you like it or you don't? You like it? Only the PNM can think about that. What are the others saying, they saying no light rail, feasibility study and a lot of dotish talk. While they studying the problem to death, you spending two and three hours on the road trying to get to work on the morning an two and three hours trying to get home on the afternoon. The PNM say us we don't need all ah dat. Build it, we will build the light rail system, we will build the highway, my dear friends and we will transform the face of Trinidad and Tobago, in the shortest possible time.

Priority, number 3 is going to be a drainage system. There have been climate changes around the world and climate changes have begun to affect the Caribbean and Trinidad and Tobago Are you all aware that the rain has stopped fall in East Trinidad, where the catchment area have water and has started to fall in the West, with an infrastructure that was not design for the level of rainfall that we have. So that every time that we have rainfall heavily in the West, we getting flooding. Are you all aware of that? That's the reality and therefore what the PNM is saying that we now have to do a major system

of drainage. It is going to be done by the way of a 10 year drainage plan. We will bring in experts from where ever they have to come. They will design that new system and over a period of 10 years, we are going to implement it. We believe much of it will be implemented after 5 years, by the time we gone to the polls in 2012, we should have a considerable ease of the drainage, um, flooding problem that exist in Trinidad and Tobago today. That is another area for priority consideration.

Thirdly, ladies and gentlemen we will move to secure the industrial base of Trinidad and Tobago. In other words, we will move to secure the country's revenue situation in the next 5 years. How you do that? How you do that? You do it by securing the industrial base. Those oppose us say they don't want no aluminum smelter. It started of with aluminum, now they say they don't want any steel smelter. They not against smelter my dear friends, is not that they against aluminum smelter or against a steel smelter. What they are against is the PNM's policy of industrialization. And therefore when they come to you, they must tell you what they propose instead. And don't accept the nonsense that they going to sell toollum. Doh accept dat nah. You can make them revenues on toollum and sugar cake my dear friends. It is industry; it is the construction of aluminum smelter giving us new metal, one that has strategic importance particularly to the aerospace industry. It is the construction of a steel plant, under construction at this time, making a different product not rounds but flats. Which means that we are in a position to look at the manufacturing of automobile parts. Iron and Steel.

We will continue and within the next 5 years, we will convert some of you natural gas for the manufacture of two products propylene and polypropylene. These are the basics of a plastic industry it makes light plastics and we will move in the other direction ethylene and polyethylene which makes heavy plastics so we will have a complete plastic industry. Out of one you get packaging industry and out of the next you get the manufacturing of plastic products which are more substantial in weight and density.

New industries. New industries using the natural gas that our mighty God gave us! Converting that natural gas to products that will give us and opportunity 4 new industries, for the creation of jobs that are high paying jobs and for making these high paying jobs accessible to the people of Trinidad and Tobago. So we will secure our industrial base. I am just skimming it; I can go into much more detail... I need not to go more into detail. We will secure the industrial base and we will secure by that means the revenue position of T&T, which will give us the money that we will spend on social program, on the construction of hospitals, on the construction of schools and on the construction of the development of social services. All the services you now get requiring money, you will get that money as a result of the securing of our industrial base, which means the securing of our revenue position.

In terms of food, because food has emerged as an issue. Food. "now do not get too hungry". Politics is not for blind men or deaf men, so we hear it all. In terms of food my dear friends, I am very pleased, remember in October of last year inflation had hit 10 %, they had every imaginable thing to say about the PNM. "It was the slippery slope, we about to slide off the slope, it was abyss we about to fall into. My reaction was that the sky was not about to fall in and we told them by the end of 2007, we are going to bring inflation down to 7%. My dear friends, it has fallen steadily, steadily, steadily, to the point that last month the month of September inflation has hit 7.3% and within striking distance the target of 7 % which we will achieve, I assure you before the end December 2007. Once again the PNM committed itself to a development and the PNM will deliver.

Food Security. Change world climate, drought in some parts of the world. We now have to grow more food in Trinidad and Tobago. The initial steps have been taken to do that. We are putting out 15 parcels of land, 100acres and above for the development of large farms as oppose to the small farms that have been traditional viewed, large farms, including a 200acres farm in Chagaramus that is going to be develop in collaboration with the Cuban government and Cuban technical assistance. It is going to be a demonstration farm for farmers in this country. And we believe my dear friends, that by that mechanism especially as we grow short crops: tomatoes, lettuce, cabbage, bodi, baigan and so on as we grow those items and we increase the supply, we are able to control the price and we will have to take one step to prevent the collapse of the price, we will have to go into an agro-processing industry, which will mean a new industry fro Trinidad and Tobago.

At the same time, at the same time, my dear friends, we have committed ourselves to partnering of Guyana where large tracks of arable land are available. The government of Trinidad and Tobago will partner with the government of Guyana and with large companies in the agro sector to grow food in Guyana, not only for supplying Trinidad and Tobago, but supplying the entire Caribbean area and reducing our dependence on outside sources which as you know is influence by decisions that are taken not necessarily in the interest of developing countries but generally work against our interest and not beneficial to us at all.

The Cabinet has already taken the decision and we are in touch with the government of Guyana where we are partnering with Guyana to bring large tracks of land in Guyana under agriculture production, so we can feed the people of Trinidad and Tobago and ensure that the Caribbean does not starve. May I remind you that if thing goes off in any Caribbean country it affects us in Trinidad and Tobago, because in the year 2005, the figures are now in, 85%n of all trade in Caricom involves Trinidad and Tobago, 85%, and therefore if any thing that goes off in one Caribbean country it affects us in

Trinidad and Tobago and manifest itself by way of unemployment so that in this instance we have to be our brother's keeper and we can just look at what happen in our own country we have to look at what happen in the rest of the Caribbean because whether we like it or not we depend on the Caribbean, our second largest market outside of the United States for the output of domestic industry.

We are also looking to import food from new sources to try to keep the prices down. There are some sources that we have been debarred from importing for all kinds of reasons, we now reviewing all of that and we are pressing 2 of our domestic companies into service. One is NAMDEVCO and the other is National Flour Mills. We are pressing these two companies into service to source food all over the world at cheaper prices and in the case of NAMDEVCO, to enter into contracts for the growing of food in Trinidad with local farmers so we could keep the prices down in Trinidad and Tobago. And my dear friends, at the same time, we would continue to policy of constructing farmers markets. Where farmers can come and sell directly to population and cut out the middle man, who we have come to realize, is the man who takes lion's share of the cost build up on food. And much of the money that you spend on food that you consider exorbitant arises because there is middle man present who continue to wring everything he or she could get of it. So we are trying to remove the middle man with farmers market. And those of you have begun to use the farmer's market will realize that it give you a significant price advantage and it is something that will now form formally part of the policy of the government of Trinidad and Tobago.

My dear friends I could go on and on, you're going to get a new system of local government. You are going to get a new system of local government in the next 5 years and in fact when we go to local government elections in the year 2008, we will be going to local government elections under a new system. This system my dear friends is one in which we will decentralize the execution of the decision that a taken by the central level as oppose to what another political party has said. We are not devolving decision making to the local government bodies; we are decentralizing the execution function. If you give to local government bodies the power to make policy decisions, then you are going to end up with 14 independent states in Trinidad and Tobago. You are going to end up with the fragmentation of the unitary state. You are going to end up effectively with 14 mini prime ministers and Trinidad and Tobago as we know it, will cease to exist. For the PNM is it not that, it is the decentralization, while the decision making stays at the level of the central government.

It is an opportunity for power sharing as between the different races in the country; the two major races based my dear friends on historical voting patterns. And I could on and on, but I don't what to give you too much tonight because we have a whole week to go for the campaign again. I am enjoying

this thing. I hope however, that I have said enough to you tonight to convince to that the PNM knows what it is about. I hope my dear friends that I have been able to say enough to you tonight to give you a peek into the future so that you can see that ahead of us, lies a newer and brighter and better day. I hope ladies and gentle men, that by what we have said tonight on a PNM platform it could recommit to support the PNM, to supporting our vision of developed country status and of casting your vote for us on Monday November 5.

So whether you come from Barataria/ San Juan, whether you come from St. Joseph, whether you come from S. Anns East or whether you come from Diego Martin West or whether you come from Toco/ Manzanilla, Caroni East, Chaguanas West, San Fernando, Pointe-A-Pierre, wherever you come from, my dear friends. On Monday November 5, cast your ballot solidly for the PNM. Remember no election is won, until the last ballot is cast and counted. And we count all the votes, by the results we will get; all of us, in one accord we will say great is the PNM. Great is the PNM. Great is the PNM.

**Speech: People National Movement 2**

**Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2007**

**Place: Tunapuna**

Ms. Laurel Lezama, our party Vice-chairman, Ambassador John Donaldson, members of the political leadership of the People's National Movement, our candidates, all forty-one of them, forty of my colleagues who form part of team victory in the general elections of 2007, my dear friends. Friends, well wishers, party members, members of the media, other distinguished ladies and gentlemen. My dear friends, when I walked into this mammoth meeting this evening and I began to hear the infectious music. Ah suddenly felt a pain right here. Right here. I felt it here. And it started to move up and it moved up to my shoulder. And it move up to my arm. And my arm started to move and it go to my back pocket. And I pull out something, my dear friends. Let me see what it says. It says. P.N.M. P.N.M. P.N.M. P.N.M. P.N.M. P.N.M. P.N.M. P.N.M. Victory in the elections.( pause)

My dear friends, over the last five weeks, ever since the announcement of Election Day, we have continued our public meetings all over Trinidad and Tobago. And we have gone out and we have as far as possible trying to put forward to the national community, the achievements of our political party. We have stayed away from much of the invective, much of the ram goat politics that seemed to have characterized the public platforms of other political parties, choosing instead, my dear friends, to talk to you about what we have done since 2001 and what we propose to do as and when you choose to elect us to serve you once again in government. May I also say, my dear friends, that we have run a platform of love. It is love between the P.N.M. and the people of Trinidad and Tobago. An attendance at our meetings has been a very happy event.

It has been a pleasure night after night to go to public meetings, to go to P.N.M. meetings and to see members of the audience just enjoying themselves to P.N.M. music. The music has been very, very infectious, my dear friends. And even now, when I hear some of it, it gets to me. It gets to me. I want you to listen to this tune. (An Indian tune is played lasting 30 seconds). My dear friends, that tune gets to your heart as so much more of the P.N.M. music does. And in fact, it has done something to me. Never before have I seen in any P.N.M. meeting so much East Indian music being played. But more than that, I have watched meeting after meeting where people of African descent have begun to enjoy the Indian music to such an extent that they have begun to sing it. And in one election campaign, my dear friends, we have been able to bring about among the African community, a greater appreciation of the culture, the East Indian culture of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

We are a political party of unity. We believe, my dear friends, that Trinidad and Tobago is a society of all and for all. We do not share the view that this

society belongs to this group or that group or that group. All groups came from some where else. The African groups came from West Africa largely. The East Indians came from India and Pakistan. The Syrian/ Lebanese came from the Middle East and the Chinese came from China but all of today citizens of Trinidad and Tobago with and equal call on all that our society and our country has to offer. The P.N.M., the P.N.M. my dear friends, is satisfied that unity and a proper appreciation of each for the other is the way forward for the people of Trinidad and Tobago. Our slate of candidates reflects our commitment to that.

Our slate of candidates, my dear friends, reflects our commitment to equity. It reflects our commitment to involving all groups in our society, in the main stream of political activity and our commitment to unifying the people of Trinidad and Tobago. And when we commend our team, we commend our team not only because we are P.N.M. but we commend our team to you because we believe that the team the P.N.M. has put forward in this election represents the best team of any political party that is facing the electorate in the general elections of 2007. Let me return to our music for a short while. The road march, "Patrick we stepping up with you" is the P.N.M.'s road march, ladies and gentlemen. Road march. ("Patrick, we stepping up with you" is played for 38 seconds). My dear friends, my dear friends, that tune has become so infectious that school children are singing it all over the country.

The story is told of a certain opposition candidate. I will not mention his name to you. But it is a gentleman who has difficulty getting off the mark when to a school in Marabella to distribute copybooks and pencils to the students, a primary school. And when he went to the first class, he handed out some books and the children looked at the books, looked at him and they started to sing in that class "Patrick we stepping up with you" and the next thing you know, the whole school was singing that tune. The P.N.M. national anthem of 2007, my dear friends. The P.N.M. road march. ("Patrick we stepping up with you" is played for another 10 seconds.)

But may I also say. May I also say that there is another story that I'll like to tell you that in San Fernando two music trucks, one from the P.N.M. and one from the C.O.P., were passing each other and they stopped when they met side by side. They stopped the music and the fellas from the P.N.M. truck asked the fellas from the C.O.P. truck way you all have to drink. The fella say we have a little something here they shared a drink with them and then they said listen we have something here. They shared a drink and they said now listen: after this election is over, all of this comes to an end. We are members of the same society. Okay. We agree on that? They agreed. And then they started back the music and they tell them: "We will beat you in the east. We will beat you in the west. We will beat you in the north. We will beat you in the south. We will flog you in central, in Tobago, in San Fernando, in Piarco, in Tobago again, my dear friends. We will beat them. But let me say this to you. We

will beat them on Monday. But, my dear friends do not allow. Do not allow any animosities that we have developed over this election campaign to carry on beyond Monday night. After Monday, we all remain citizens of Trinidad and Tobago. Somebody will win and somebody will lose.

There will be one government of Trinidad and Tobago at that time to which everybody must subscribe. And therefore, and therefore, my dear friends, we do not want animosities to continue beyond Monday November the 5<sup>th</sup>. But between now and then, we giving no quarter, we are asking for none. We only have one plan and our plan my dear friends is to beat them. We will flog them in the east. Flog them in the west. Flog them in the north. Flog them in the south. Flog them my dear friends. Licks. ("Patrick we stepping up with you" is played briefly).

I am celebrating this year my 37 seventh year as a member of parliament and I will like to thank all of you for your support over the years, my dear friends. I was elected not to serve me but to serve you. In all my years, and this is my tenth general election, I have addressed audiences all over this country, I have never, my dear friends, addressed an audience as large as this mammoth audience gathered here today in the Eddie Hart grounds.

We have pollsters. Fellas doing all kinds of things with polls. I have one comment to make that after the results are in on Monday; all the pollsters are going to be proved to be wrong. Just remember that. When the results are in on Monday, all the pollsters are going to be proved to be wrong. Just remember that. So mean while between now and then, we have work to do. Today is only Saturday. As you know an election is not won or lost until the last ballot is cast and counted. All right. All right. Okay. Okay. Wait. Hold on. Okay. Okay. Okay. You want a holiday, is it? ("Patrick, we stepping up with you" is played briefly.) All right, if you want a holiday, I now declare Monday night a holiday in Trinidad and Tobago. We partying whole night on Monday night and we getting up Tuesday morning to go to work. All right, friends.

**Speech: United National Congress Alliance1.**

**Date: 30<sup>th</sup> October 2007.**

**Place: Penal**

Colleagues at the head table, sisters and brothers of Penal and the South, stand tall. Bow before no man. Hold your fist in the air. Hold it. Hold it. Punch it. Stand tall. Don't bow to no man. Stand tall. Hold your fist in the air and punch the air. Stand tall. Six more days to go and you shall be free. Free from Manning. Free from the oppressors in the P.N.M. Free from all the lies and false promises. Free from the discrimination and the oppression. You have had to endure over the past six and a half years. Free from the flooding and the bad roads. Free from the murders and the kidnappings and the rapes and the robberies. We can't take another five years of the P.N.M. Seven days and you will be free to walk the streets, knowing that when your wife and children go out, they are sure to come back home alive. My brother six more days and you will be confident that when you turn on your taps, there will be water. Six more days and you will be confident that your electricity will not go off when you are in the middle of watching Saregamapa or some other television show that you have. Seven more days, that is all it takes and in that seven more days, I want you to stand tall, stand tall, stand tall. Since we launched our manifesto about a week or so ago, about what the U.N.C. government had done for our people between 1995 and 2001 when Robinson robbed us and robbed the people of Trinidad and Tobago of the best government that they had ever had. Last night in Bona Venture, I told you what we were going to do when you put us back into office on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November. Tonight I want again to refer to the manifesto and I know that many of you have not seen the manifesto so let me show it to you, this beautiful manifesto. That's the manifesto of the U.N.C. It's called the people's manifesto. My brothers and sisters, I told you in Gasparillo that when you put the U.N.C. into office on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November, we shall keep inflation below five percent. Inflation has to do with prices and the higher prices go, the lower your standard of living because the less money you have to spend on other things. We will keep interest rates low so that the businessmen can borrow money from the bank and elsewhere in order to invest so that they'll create jobs. We intend to follow sound financial practices. What we're going to do is we're going to deal with crime. And one of the first thing we are going to do is to we are going to appoint 3000 more police officers in the first term of the U.N.C. Alliance government. We are going to create 2000 hospital beds, creating new spaces by building new hospitals and upgrading existing ones so as to cut waiting time for medical operations. We will invest in farming at home and we shall have a land tenure policy where farmers will be given adequate land to cultivate and to do farming on a mechanized basis having regard to the fact that labour is so scarce to get. We will provide running water and electricity for this entire country within the five years that we are there. We will build new interchanges as we started the overpasses to keep the Churchill Roosevelt and

Butler Solomon Hochoy Highway flowing free and the Solomon Hochoy Highway will go all the way down passing through Penal and the South and all the way down to Cedros. We want more of our children to share in the prosperity, more of our citizens. My brothers and sisters, this government spent over 200 billion dollars in six and half years and yet 30 percent of the people are still living below the poverty line. That is because the money from the top never reaches the bottom. It stayed with them P.N.M corrupt hacks at the top. We will change the economy to prevent that. The U.N.C. Alliance promises here tonight that the U.N.C. Alliance government will not build an aluminum smelter plant in the Cedros peninsula. And we are going to reduce the pensionable age from 65 to and raise old age pension to three thousand dollars a month. I told you that last night. Tonight I want to tell you what we shall do in the first hundred days that the U.N.C. Alliance government is in office. We shall take steps to increase the strength of the police service from 7245 to 10521 as recommended by the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Crime and Management Report 2004. We shall take the appropriate steps to establish an Independent Central Vigilance Commission to advise and guide agencies in the field of vigilance in order to combat against corruption particularly in the government agencies. We shall integrate the Special Reserve Police Officers into the police service of Trinidad and Tobago. That's long overdue. We shall prepare a plan for the repair and refurbishment and upgrade of police stations to be completed in the first year of office. We shall commission a team to computerize and introduce modern technology into the operations of the police force and the prison service. We shall conduct a complete needs assessment and design of a programme of retraining police and prison officers so that they are better able to deliver their motto of protecting and serving the people. We shall reestablish the community policing unit. We shall introduce an intervention programme to end the gang wars. It will involve among other things a peace initiative in high risks communities involving NGO's, the community police, professional social workers and influential members of the community. We shall introduce in parliament, legislation to establish a young people's court. There is no point in taking a young man who commit some offence. How many of you standing here can tell me that in his life time he never thief the neighbour mango? How many are you could tell me that? Well yet that is larceny. You don't take a boy like that and send him to prison with hardened criminals. Not at all. We intend to treat him differently so that he doesn't go into prison and come back out a hardened criminal. We will introduce a young offenders court where he where he can be treated with sympathy and understanding. We shall establish a partnership with the local farming community to begin the immediate implementation of certain incentives for the farmers aimed at reduction of food prices in the country. We shall instruct the land settlement agency to cease immediately the demolition of house built on state lands and to resume the programme of regularization of unplanned settlements in according with the provisions of the Regularization of the Land Tenure Act 25 of 1998. We shall instruct state enterprises to implement a

comprehensive apprenticeship and on the job training programme to start to fill the gap in the expertise required to compete in a knowledge-based economy. We shall reorganize the U.R.P. and CPEP work force in the country to support new comprehensive programmes, to build access roads, drainage and other infrastructure to support agriculture and to establish and upgrade local markets community centres, recreational facilities and centres for cottage industries in all communities. We shall commence payment of pension to all former Caroni employees. And we shall honour the commitment to a minimum pension for all Caroni pensioners of not less than 1000 dollars a month but I'd want to say that whereas before when they got a pension from Caroni, if it reach 5000 dollars a year or something. They never used to get old age pension because there was a ceiling of 10000 which said if your income is 10000 or more for the year and income mean that you plant two bagii trees in the back you know. That is income? And if your income is what 10,000 dollars, you never get the old age pension. When the U.N.C. gets in power, it will raise that ceiling to 40000 dollars. So Caroni workers will be able to get both their pensions. And we shall commence the rehabilitation of Caroni's abandoned lands. Now, my brothers, tonight I want to tell you what the manifesto says we in the U.N.C. Alliance, as I have just shown you, will do in the first hundred days. You know, my brothers and sisters, over the past few years I have been taking part in several U.N.C. Alliance motorcades standing on the height of the back of a truck, sometimes in the rain. This has given me an opportunity to see why there is so much flooding in Trinidad and Tobago. I went through Caroni East. I went through Chaguanas East. I went through Chaguanas West. Yesterday I went with my daughter in her constituency and so on. And the basic reason for flooding is that they wouldn't clean the dam drains. The drains are clogged everywhere with grass and debris and other junk. If you want to know what to do with flooding, God dam it. Clean the drain first and see where the water blocking. That is all. Then you are able to build outlets and so on to the sea or you are able to build very large dams where that water when the rain falls goes and collects into a very, very big pond and where the farmers can use that water in the crop time in order to run their crops. It's called irrigation. In addition to what I have just read to you, the new U.N.C. Alliance will immediately clean and clear all the drains, canals, the ravines, the rivers, the waterways as a first step to dealing with the perennial problem of flooding. We shall then be able to see where the blockages are and take the necessary measures to remove these blockages. We shall embark upon a comprehensive programme to repair and refurbish all secondary roads and all tertiary roads, all agricultural access roads especially in the rural areas. You know what the P.N.M did. They paved the highway and then they pave over the highway. They paving roads that done pave already when people living in the country can't go home because their roads are in a bad condition. While driving with my daughter yesterday, I saw several potholes in the road. When the U.N.C. was in office, there were none. You know why? We instructed the Ministry of Works to form a pothole squad, to form a pothole unit and go with they truck with mix

and a little thing to ram it and so on and their job was to go all over the country filling the pothole when it so small before it get so big. It so simple but these fellas has absolutely no intelligence. My brothers and sisters that is some of the things we shall do for you. On Monday the 5<sup>th</sup> however, however on Monday the 5<sup>th</sup> is Judgment Day. Judgment Day for the P.N.M. It is payback time. Payback time for all the lies, all the false promises, all the corruption. Payback time for all the discrimination. It is payback time for lies that Manning told the country in the last budget, when he said that the U.R.P. and CPEP workers will get a 15 percent increase. Have any of you who work with CPEP or U.R.P. got that increase yet?

**Speech: United National Congress Alliance 2**

**Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2007**

**Place: Aranguez**

Colleagues, colleagues on the platform, soldiers of the UNC, colleagues at the head table, colleagues on the platform, soldiers of the UNC Alliance, sisters and brothers of Trinidad & Tobago, stand tall!! We have come a long way. We have come to end of a brilliant campaign. You have done well my brothers and you deserve to stand tall. I thank you with all my heart for your unflinching support in this campaign, but I thank you even more, for the support...and the support of your fathers, grandfathers, your mothers and grandmothers. In my 40 year struggle to make this land a better place for you to live in that constitutes nearly all of my adult life. During my years of struggle, I have made many mistakes; I did things which I later regretted; I made faulty judgments. I ask you to forgive as I have tried to forgive them that have trespassed against me. My only excuse, my only explanation is that when I made those mistakes I genuinely believed that I was genuinely doing the right thing. Please forgive me. Many are the plans in a man's heart, but it is the Lord's purpose, that will prevail in the end. That was from Proverbs 19:21, chapter 19, verse 21. My sisters and brothers, despite all the errors and pitfalls, those have been good years. I have enjoyed being part of the struggle, against racism, against political racism. When I joined with CLR James and Steven Maraj to form the workers and farmers party in 1966. I am proud of the struggle when I marched, with Geddes Granger, now Makandal Daaga and Dave Dabeau, now Kafra Kambon in the Black power movement of the 1970's. I treasure my meeting with the great Tubal Uriah Buzz Butler. I also treasure the days when I struggled, with Steven Maraj and Jack Keshall. I recall with reverence and awe the struggles of George Weekes and myself to unite the African oil workers with the Indian sugar workers. And I also remember the times we spent in jail for leading a march from San Fernando destined to Port of Spain. I can still smell the tear gas and see the fleeing workers as Eric Williams unleashed his wrath on them inflicting injury on many of them. I stand before you here today and my eyes have witnessed the power and the glory of this coloured multitude. And as I remember, as I witness this great sea of humanity I remember my struggle to unite this nation with the ULF in 1975. The alliance with Robinson and Best in 1981, the NAR in 1986, club 88 in 1988 and the UNC in 1989.

I have no regrets of being part of these struggles. I do not regard them as failures, because every time we fell and got up, we were one step nearer to our goal of national unity. And my brothers and sisters when I look around and see this vast audience before me my mind goes back to the book of Psalms in which it says, "Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to live together in unity." Stand tall, stand tall my brothers and sisters, stand tall. I was at this same spot...this same spot right here, this blessed piece of earth, it was at this same spot 18 years ago that thousands of people gathered at this historic and holy ground of the Aranguez Savannah and gave birth to the

UNC. Today 18 years later, we return to the place of our birth as the UNC Alliance to seek your approval and your blessing. We seek your approval and blessing in order to continue the work which we began in 1995 and which was so cruelly interrupted by a name that I do not want to mention for fear that it will dirty my mouth. My brothers and sisters, one other reason that we came to the Aranguez Savannah was because Woodford Square could not hold so much people. I...I am now 74 years old and my brothers and sisters I do not believe that I will have the strength to fight another election at the age of 79. This therefore my very well be my last hoorah...so stand tall. During my years...during my years of struggle I have made a lot of political enemies and received a lot of battle scars. My political enemies have tried to make me ride off into the sunset, some have called on me to just , "get to hell and go." Others have prayed for my death, the all wanted me to abandon you and the political scene and to leave ignominiously, in shame and in disgrace. It is your love and your devotion that has kept me safe and kept me alive to fight to this day...stand tall, stand tall, stand tall. As I come to what may be the end of a long journey, I ask you to send me off in a blaze of glory, send me off with my head held high, my fist in the air, my soldiers boots on my feet and my red beret on my head. Stand tall, stand tall my brothers, stand tall. I ask you to give me that last chance that I may have to take you to the promise land. God intended Trinidad & Tobago to be a paradise, let us make it so. My brothers and sisters let my dream come true. I dream of a land...I dream of a land in which all are free, where there is peace and harmony among the various races, colours and creeds. I dream if a land where there is no discrimination, no hate no bitterness, no acrimony, no injustice. A land in which there is only love. I dream of a land where no man woman or child go hungry and without shelter. I dream of a land where people are free to worship their in the manner and likeness of their choice. I dream of a land in which everyone has a share of the wealth that God and our labour gave us and have given us. I ask you my brothers and sisters for one last chance to fulfill that dream by voting for the UNC Alliance on Monday. Stand tall, stand tall. AS I go...as I go in glory...as I go in glory my brothers and sisters , let me walk tall. But even more important, give yourself a chance; give your children and grandchildren a chance you may never have an opportunity to give them again. If you allow Manning and the PNM to remain on your backs again for another 5 years by not going out and vote on Monday or by dividing your vote, you will have only yourself to blame for that tragedy. My brothers and sisters think of it. How will you live with you self? How will you live with your conscience? How will you be able to look your loved ones in the face if by your negligence or faint-heartedness you impose the yoke of Manning and the PNM on their necks for another 5 years? How will you be able to look in the mirror when your son and daughter have been kidnapped, murdered, robbed and raped? If you do not do your duty on Monday, only you will have to be blamed. You will not be able to look in the mirror if the PNM is there and you say to myself "Oh God, why did not I go out and vote? " Only you can change your life. I beg you to do so on Monday. Go out and vote for the UNC Alliance and

stand tall. Take your friends and family with you and as you go walk with your head high and stand tall. And help to free your brothers who are unfree. Because it is said "none of us is free until all of us are free." Free yourself from Manning and the PNM. The sun will rise about the same time that the polling booths are opening. That shall be the sign of where you shall put your "X" on the ballot paper, next to the rising sun; God's sun, your sun, the sun of the world. Stand tall, stand tall because I love you as you have loved me. Vote for the UNC Alliance and you shall always live on the sunny side of the street. Vote UNC Alliance. Stand tall I love you. God bless you.

## Appendix 3

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### C.O.P's Speaker's guidelines



## CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

### ***Speaking guidelines for the frontline***

*Whether you are on a public platform, or simply responding to 'impromptu' media questions, you must remember you are speaking on behalf of the Congress of the People.*

*Your actions, insinuations, antics and anything you say will ultimately be deemed to be the Congress position.*

*Your statements and tone must therefore demonstrate Congress principles and codes of conduct, and must reflect our vision, mission, policy and position.*

*These guidelines are intended to provide all of us with clear boundaries. It is imperative that speakers observe these guidelines in order to appropriately represent the party.*

### ***Speaker DO's***

***DO*** Keep the party informed! If you have had any interactions, discussions, exchanges or correspondence to and from:

- 1 the Government
- 2 the Opposition
- 3 Diplomats, foreign agencies, foreign Government officials or
- 4 NGOs or any other organizations which can potentially create news interest then it is your duty to advise the Communications Unit so that we and other members can be prepared to answer questions that may result.

***DO*** Dress appropriately. An approved Congress t-shirt or polo shirt is preferred.

***DO*** Control the language and tone of speeches and comments. Remember the principles of the new politics. 'Picong' is permissible but in language which is not defamatory or inflammatory.

**DO** Use language which is sensitive in relation to race, class, gender, sexual orientation, culture, religion and socio-economic status. The mission of public speakers is to continue to define new politics by their statements. Remember “one vision, one people, one direction”.

**DO** Adhere to the time allotted. For public broadcasts, we are given strict time limits. Moreover your audience needs to get home in good time. Time yourself and plan to wrap up within your time limit.

**DO Give** the media clear responses to questions, and base your answers on a stated party position. Stick to the issue being questioned and try as far as possible to not allow personal opinions to cloud your response. The COP Platform must reflect unity and cohesion.

**DO** Respect your audience. Arrive on time when you are expected to speak. Also, be aware of the community in which you are speaking, and be aware of issues affecting the people in those communities.

**DO** show confidence, energy and determination on the platform. However, do not let confidence become arrogance in your exchanges with others on the platform.

**DO** Plan your speech in advance and get advice or help from the Communications Unit by sending a brief on the topics you intend to raise on the platform, at least 24 hours before a meeting.

This is to ensure speakers do not duplicate issues and also for the party to be prepared for planned media coverage.

***Speaker DON'Ts:***

**DO NOT** attack or make negative insinuations about any person or arm of the national media.

Do not engage in personal attacks on anyone, in any party.

Criticisms of Government policy positions and criticisms of the Opposition are allowed, but try to avoid using their names on our platforms. For example, when criticizing the PNM, references should be “the party in government” or the “Manning Administration”.

Our party position is that we will not engage in propaganda, sensationalizing issues or character assassination. E.g., statements on issues of corruption should focus on the allegations and not an assumption of guilt.

**DO NOT** Use a public platform (whether at a meeting or when asked by any

media on the street) to put forward personal views that are not party policy.

**DO NOT** Create a perception of over-confidence. This can appear as arrogance and should be avoided.

**DO NOT** Create conflict with your audience. In situations where an audience or group is not supportive of your statements, do not engage in any antagonistic verbal exchanges.

**DO NOT** Approach the podium/ platform before it is your turn to speak. Wait until the current speaker is finished; or after you are acknowledged from the podium/ platform

**DO NOT** USE profanities and insensitive language in relation to:

- 1 Race: coolie, nigger, honkie
- 2 Gender : bitch (referring to women), biatch,
- 3 Sexual Orientation: faggot, dyke, butch, panty man, tantie man
- 4 Class: Avoid "low class". Better use "no class" instead.
- 5 Avoid the US vs THEM binary; use specific terms: gang members, delinquents, etc.
- 6 Refrain from comments like these old folks need to...

***How to check your position against party policies or positions.***

When planning what you will say in public, it is a good idea to re-read the Congress of the People Vision and Mission statements, and to re-visit the political leader's comments about the new politics. Think carefully about whether your tone, approach, or words make you a good representative of COP values.

Contact the Communications Unit if you need a copy of any of these publications.

***How to reach the Communications Unit***

You may need to contact the Communications Unit for several reasons:

- 1 To advise of any event or interaction for which the party may need to be prepared to make a statement or answer questions
- 2 To request information to help prepare you for giving a public speech or statement
- 3 To suggest updates to this pamphlet to help us continue improving our support to you