SYMBOLISM, RHETORIC AND REALITY IN POLITICAL PERFORMANCE:

AN EXAMINATION OF A KEY SPEECH-EVENT

BY PREMIER WILLIAM N. VANDER ZALM AND THE BRITISH COLUMBIA

SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY

by

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Symbolism, Rhetoric and Reality in Political Performance: An Examination

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ABSTRACT

<u>SYMBOLISM, RHETORIC AND REALITY IN POLITICAL PERFORMANCE:</u>
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<u>BY PREMIER WILLIAM N. VANDER ZALM AND THE BRITISH COLUMBIA</u>
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The focus of this thesis is a political event that occurred in the province of British Columbia on January 17, 1990. When seen as a 'cultural performance', this event -- a major speech by the Premier -- provides insights into the beliefs and ideology of the dominant political organization in the province, the Social Credit Party of British Columbia. The thesis also discusses some relevant social and historical factors and provides examples of how these elements, beliefs and ideas are linked to the political process in the province.

Following the lead of Clifford Geertz, the speech-event can be seen to be part of a social process involving the symbolic construction and sharing of meanings in people's daily lives. These meanings delineate sets of ideas about reality which, in turn, yield programs, plans for actions, and actual legislation. In other words, the ideas and meanings presented in public performance indicate both a 'model of' and a 'model for' social experience, as understood by prominent Social Credit proponents.

This thesis examines a number of analytical and empirical questions including: how Social Credit actors use rhetorical statements and dramaturgy in order to maintain political power and economic

privilege; how Social Credit's historical, sociological and political background provides a context for understanding and making sense of the Premier's speech; and, what is revealed about the ideological nature of the Social Credit symbolic domain, given insights suggested by this particular performance.

Essentially, the thesis offers both an explanation for and an understanding of Social Credit rhetoric, actions, and behaviour, based upon the method of combining social history and participant-observation, with a theory of symbols and meanings treated as a dynamic cultural system with identifiable ideological patterns. The study provides an interpretation of the central elements and processes which underpin the way Social Credit deals with the social, economic and political world, and, as the governing party, sustains relations of domination. The findings are cause for concern in a legitimate democracy.

DEDICATION

To Sherri, Brendan and Garrett:

It has been difficult for all of us,

but I could not have done it without you.

QUOTATION

Illusions created within anyone's house-on-the-hill

need not constrain

the most precious aspects

of

humanistic, spiritual, physical, social and intellectual life

01/04/91

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

A KEY POLITICAL SPEECH AS CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

This thesis is a study of a contemporary political event which emanated from its distinctive social history and occurred on January 17, 1990 in the province of British Columbia, Canada. This event, a televised speech by the current Premier of the province, the Hon. William N. Vander Zalm, can be seen as a 'cultural performance'. When analyzed, the Premier's speech provides insights into the ideology and myths of the official governing party, Social Credit. The thesis uses this event as an heuristic device which allows for a focused exploration of both Social Credit socio-political beliefs and an explication of how these ideas are linked to political process in British Columbia.

Political performances, mass spectacles, festivals and other public events are laden with symbols and meanings. As such they have long been of interest to anthropologists (cf. Gluckman 1940; Warner 1959; Turner 1957, 1974, 1982; Geertz 1973, 1980; Manning 1983). From the literature it is clear that political performances are at once symbolic and cultural activities which allow for the use of a particular methodological approach -- situational analysis -- and provide insights into the history, politics, economic and social relationships, and belief systems of the actor-group in question.

This thesis, then, takes a particular situation, the Premier's speech, and analyzes the event and the public statements surrounding it in an attempt to understand why and how they took this particular form. In doing so, I will examine the historical, sociological, political and ideational factors which provide the background for the speech performance and indicate the nuances through which we can understand its form and meanings. The aim of this thesis is not to provide positive knowledge formulated by laws, hypothesis or generalizations based on the language of quantification. Rather, as the text of the speech provides a rich vocabulary of prejudices and perceptions and/or rhetoric devoted to persuasion, the event can be assessed in terms of its meaning and analyzed interpretively through knowledge gained by prolonged study and anthropologically informed observation of contemporary British Columbian political-culture.

A cultural approach, by definition, is designed to suggest that there is a system in operation. Culture refers to learned, accumulated experience which form socially transmitted patterns or codes consisting of shared rules and common meanings. People interpret one another's actions and meanings and communicate in ways that require shared understandings. Publicly communicated statements about what is and what ought to be (see Therborn 1980, 18) provide definitions of the situation, political and social ideas, and common meanings which are shared in everyday life. The

culture concept, then, is an anthropological abstraction which lets us describe what is shared by a community or group. In this thesis I attempt to capture these shared and exchanged meanings, values, beliefs, morals and other similar elements of Social Credit ideology as articulated by a leading actor in a particular political performance.

Importantly, then, these meanings are not ultimately the isolated products of individual minds or the psychological systems of particular people. Cultural meanings are at once public and individual in terms of largely unconscious convention and behaviour characteristic of a social group as well as personal style and perception. As a public system of shared codes and meanings, however, the culture concept draws our attention to relationships with other elements of the socially distributed knowledge in communities or groups. This social knowledge is not merely private, but socially constructed through the activities of everyday life and experience. The shared meanings are "between people, not simply in their thought worlds" (Keesing 1981, 73).

It is this notion of the social construction of shared meanings that allows the culture concept to be strategically used in this thesis. In this light, the concept suggests that the sharedness of meanings is part of a social process of publicly exchanged and communicated statements, utterances and understandings, which can be described in terms of a system. Furthermore, the system can be

seen as comprising a network of meanings organized around certain identifiable codes, core concepts and particular symbols. Essentially, in political communication the patterns which people can understand and share as members of a community are "social constructions of symbolic worlds" (Ibid.). As analysts, our task is to become conscious of the central codes normally hidden beneath the statements and the rhetoric. These codes can be illuminated when explicated as patterns of symbols clustered around a number of central or core symbols which are more-or-less historically consistent. The codes or symbols which all people in a community or group implicitly and unconsciously share and understand, albeit in different ways and varying degrees, operate through processes involving public communication.

Through actual life activities people construct their experience in a manner that ranges from an intimate sharing of particular meanings with perhaps a few chosen others through to larger exchanges involving mass communication. In any socio-cultural system, this sharing of meanings offers in essence a sense of identity, continuity and comprehension of complex events to a large segment of the population. As well, however, a given community or groups' commonalities are also ontologically-connected with differences; many beliefs, ideas, perceptions and the like do not always fit neatly. Therefore it is important to also perceive cultural knowledge as being distributed differentially within in communities. In turn, this dialectical,

less-harmonious aspect of culture enables us, as analysts, to conceptualize change as operating through real people and it allows us to relate the processes of transmission of cultural knowledge to political and economic realities (Keesing, 71-73). Indeed, it is situations of crisis which are most revealing as the social construction of meanings is more actively precipitated in times of conflict than in times of relative harmony.

In this thesis, therefore, it is perceived commonality and associations of meanings organized around identifiable core symbols that are central to the social processes involved in the construction of meaning -- but within their historical context and involving various situations of conflict and crisis for the Social Credit government. Cultural information is drawn upon by the skillful politician who uses his/her knowledge of both commonalities and differences to evoke metaphors, metonyms, images and reactions appropriate to the intent of his or her persuasion.

In British Columbia, Social Crediters (Socreds) are currently facing the empirical phenomenon of wide-spread provincial discontent with the Premier and, to a lesser extent, the party itself. Further, they will soon be facing a general election (Fall 1991, at the very latest). Through the Vander Zalm speech, which was a direct appeal to the public, the Premier offered his and his party's version and understanding of recent events which led to the Premier's extreme unpopularity with the voters-at-

large. In essence, the speech was a vehicle used to control public images, provide a suitable revision of history, and thereby nudge public perceptions towards a more favorable view of Social Credit, its policies and its leadership.

It is the public aspect of the Premier's speech that turns this symbolic form into a kind of official public myth. The myth, and its presentation, becomes a key dramatic performance in that the very creation and recreation of what it means to be a Socred is involved. Through the development and articulation of political myth, the symbolic order and the power order can be, and is, interpreted by party supporters and insiders as well as by non-Socreds and outsiders (Abner Cohen 1974, 138). This suggests the communication involves a joint goal, one of reviving the Premier's image within the party and the other involving the marketing of that imagery. Indeed, in our as-lived situation of continuity and change, meanings are perpetually generated, related, contrasted and compared with the ideational understandings and perceptions publicly held to be true.

As political legitimation itself is at stake (Anthony Cohen 1975), all meanings in a socio-historical context are social meanings to be reckoned with in the public arena. This speech-event, then, offers a rendition of history which is part of a process of constant revision by actors accomplished in oratory techniques and

competent with the range of symbolic meanings which affirm, re-affirm or at times even deny the prevailing authoritative order.

Very little has been written about the political culture of British Columbia from an anthropological perspective. This thesis attempts to offer a contribution to the literature. The following is an interpretation of the largely unexplored features of political/cultural life in British Columbia as presented by a local political party and its key articulators.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION:

SYMBOLISM, INTERPRETATION, AND POLITICAL PERFORMANCE

An analysis of what Premier Vander Zalm had to say during the January 17th speech will reveal certain fundamental elements of Social Credit discourse which are indispensable to both the maintenance and the transformation of their particular collective representations. When systematically examined, these elements reveal a particular symbolically-ordered world-view. In turn, the speech performance analyzed in this thesis itself becomes meaningful and can be understood in terms of that world-view.

As Geertz (1973) argued, any symbolic form may be said to be a response to two other sets of factors: First, the social, historical and psychological (and I would add, political) realities present in the society, and second, the conscious or unconscious strategic and ideological orientations which render these realities in a particular light (see Ortner 1975, 134). A strategic orientation is essentially a predisposition to favour particular kinds of choices over others, or to advocate certain policy directions vis-a-vis others (as in the case of government decision-making processes). In other words, the strategic orientations of the Socreds indicate their ideas about reality which, in turn, yield programs or plans for actions. Simply put, in this thesis, these orientations are ideology.

Geertz (1973) and Ortner (1975) suggest that ideologies are also symbolically constructed. There is an interplay between the symbols and realities within society as a whole on the one hand, and the symbols and orientations of the Socreds on the other. Ideology can therefore be seen as an ongoing interactive process which has to be explained in relation to historical, political and economic factors. The subject of this thesis, then, is an inquiry into beliefs of British Columbia's Socreds and an explication of the form these ideational understandings assumed during a key dramatic performance, the Premier's speech.

As an empirical problem the study will examine, through the example of the Premier's speech-event, how Socreds use rhetorical and ideological statements in order to maintain political and economic privilege; why those particular utterances were used; and how the Socred leadership's socio-historical and political background provides the context for understanding and making sense of the Premier's speech.

It is recognized throughout the thesis that Social Credit and its ideational understandings have a publicly displayed relationship with perceived opponents, such as the New Democratic Party, the unions, the teachers and various community groups. As well, media and public perception influence the form and content that public utterances take. It is precisely situations entailing disagreement which are most revealing. When confronting

opponents, Socreds are forced to draw from their understanding of what is and what ought to be (Therborn, op.cit.) These situations of conflict and disagreements, as they were referred to during the Premier's speech, offer some of the artifacts that I will examine.

Furthermore, this thesis will demonstrate that the Social Credit ideational system revealed in the speech can be examined as the outcome of a process involving the symbolic construction of ideology. My emphasis in this thesis is primarily upon the application of theories which suggest that while symbols are fundamental to social life, they are best envisioned as manipulable and flexible, cultural creations. This theoretical position, involving situational dependency, is notably different from other symbolic approaches which stress the function of symbols within fixed systems (cf. Douglas 1966; Schneider 1968: 1980).

The process of ongoing ideological construction consists primarily of symbolically-mediated behaviour patterns of historically situated social actors; people operate within certain parameters delineated by a discourse intimately tied to relationships of political and economic power. In this thesis, symbolic processes are seen as intrinsic to social reality and central to understanding the world. The assumption is that symbols occur in patterns that are variable, given different situations. Nevertheless, symbols are fundamental vehicles of the meanings

that we attach to the problems of our past and present society, and of our everyday lives. In short, this study examines Social Credit in terms of its ability to convince people that their understandings and beliefs are an accurate rendering of reality, what reality was, and what reality should be.

It follows from the outline of the research problem that Social Credit ideology can be seen as a 'model of' the social, psychological and historical realities present in British Columbia. Ideology, however, is not a representation of a fixed situation of the complex realities present in a society. Rather, it is also a 'model for' society which represents various situations and events in society to the group itself and to the outside world (i.e. the voters) in such a way that it provides a meaningful and apparently reasonable way to deal with human complexities and problems (see Ortner 1975, interpreting Geertz). The immediate dilemmas inherent in the economy, the family, the law, the environment, the workplace, the church and even in the leisure aspect of our material lives -- as well as the existential problematic of hunger, suffering, despair, poverty and discrimination -- are rendered intelligible by the symbolic 'model of' the Social Credit belief system. Importantly, Social Credit also offers a 'model for' dealing with these complex dilemmas. Importantly, both the 'model of' and 'model for' society are two aspects of a single process, in which actors select very

particular terms and images and distort or ignore others (Ibid.).
The Vander Zalm speech-event exemplifies this process.

Competing political groups require flexibility in their
ideological understandings, if for no other reason than for the
continuous appeal, and ultimately, the survival of their party.
This means that a particular symbolic pattern must continually
change in response to wider realities and alternative definitions
of situations. In turn ideology, as a model for society, provides
a strategic orientation for action. Of course, experience itself
then becomes understood primarily in terms of that model.

The types of program developed by the Socreds through this process
of dialectical interplay take a wide variety of diverse forms
including: legislation; public policies; institutional
reorganizations; rewards for the party and the 'faithful';
budgetary decisions; and other funding 'thrusts'. Essentially,
then, the specific conduct and practices of the Socreds have to be
explained in terms of the dialectic between their activism and the
realities of the wider society (Kapferer 1976, 16).

These programs and practices, which derive from a distinct Socred
orientation, are referred to by David Parkin (1975) as the "plan"
underpinned by the ideology of the dominant power-holders. In
B.C. many conflicts regularly arise through the Socreds plan to
enforce their beliefs through legislation. Today, we have the

intervening complexity of what appears to be the instigation of William Vander Zalm's own personal agenda.

It should be noted that it is through the behaviour of influential actors like Premier Vander Zalm that cultural forms are actually articulated. To understand the elements of Socred ideology involves an analysis of the publicly displayed social actions of their key leaders. Geertz suggests that the analysis of ideology should not be sealed off from the informal logic of actual life. Indeed, he goes a step further and argues that political theatre constitutes 'reality' and allows not only the evaluation of a society by its people, but, importantly, the symbolic construction of the particular polity itself. Geertz's metaphor of the theatre-like activities of the state in Bali offers a representation of how reality is generally arranged and based on social drama; a "poetics of power" informs both the passions of people and the culture, given that culture is a social construction evident in public dramatical performances (1980, 123-4). In this respect, what may be Vander Zalm's personal idiosyncracies are not merely personal and passionate, but essential to the articulation of the cultural form and the reality of the present Social Credit government and its supporters.

The Geertzian approach to ideology as cultural system, then, supports the premises of this thesis. His work **Negara** (1980) is heuristicly useful in understanding what is meant by the term

'reality'. It is his view that ideologies can be seen as symbolically-oriented belief systems which, in the activities of everyday life, allow actors to make certain kinds of claims as to the directions society 'is and ought to be taking'. In turn, these expressions give rise to other truth statements, rituals, ceremonials and other events. For example, the Expo-86 event both says something and does something. Who we are and our perceptions of ourselves as a collectivity has changed considerably. For example, the symbolic 'pacific-rim' and our relation to international economic competition has, in effect, come alive (Anderson and Wachtel 1986). The notion, argues Geertz, that symbolism is qualitatively different from 'reality' must be set aside. For Geertz, "the real is as imagined as the imaginary" (Ibid., 136). It would appear that beliefs and symbolic-systems 'are knowledge' and allow reality to be defined and understood in particular culturally-prescribed ways.

Importantly, Geertz has built a case for going beyond the usual limitations of the western ideological debate about the state: the populist/liberal-democratic conceptions which see, among other common characteristics, politics as the endless jockeying for special interest advantages; or the orthodox Marxist theories which stress the mystification of material interests and hidden, exploitative class relations. As Geertz argues vividly about the rhetorical forms deployed by these ideological discourses: "Whatever intelligence it [the above theories of state] may have

to offer us about the nature of politics, it can hardly be that big fish eat little fish, or that rags of virtue mask the engines of privilege." (Geertz 1980, 123). While not denying these well-worn concepts of the state, Geertz's work enhances our understanding. He does this through directing our analytic attention to the capacity of the state to draw its force "from its imaginative energies, its semiotic capacity to make inequality enchant." (Ibid.). Situated events can be seen and interpreted in new and informative ways when seen analytically and conceptually as symbolically-laden sources of information about a culture's ideology and its construction.

For Geertz the analytic task, therefore, is one of hermeneutic interpretation. Reality, as it is symbolically ordered and used by actors, is what needs to be described. This does not, however, mean that the actors are necessarily conscious of all the symbolic-loading going on as they play out their everyday lives. For example, in Geertz's seminal essay, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (1973), it is not purely the Balinese actors' understanding we receive. Rather, Geertz translates the emic Balinese understandings into metaphors from our Western cultural heritage, i.e. references to Platonic concepts of hate (1973, 422) and comparisons with Lear and Crime and Punishment (Ibid. 443). Geertz, then, becomes convincing not because he serves up the emic descriptively or is absolutely true to indigenous discourse, but because his hermeneutics is exemplary (Crapanzano 1986). I, like

Geertz, also attempt to stand behind and above my tribe, the fly on the wall as it were.

For analytical purposes this study assumes that symbols come in sets. In general terms these sets comprise the salient elements of a given political culture. This thesis maintains that all political forms select, through identifiable processes which are historically situated, a specific and particular 'subset' of the available possible symbols. In this case, Social Credit, from its roots as a 'western protest movement', later adapted the philosophy, ideas and rhetoric of neo-conservatism in order to explain what the realities in B.C. are.[1] As a politically-oriented symbolic system, ideology, considered as the historic outcome of socio-cultural processes, sets certain limitations upon the range of cognitive possibilities available to people. Furthermore, 'plans' for action are derived from this ideological system, as Parkin (1975) points out.

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[1] The term neo-conservatism came to rise by the middle of the 1970's when the feasibility for expanding national social security systems and the ideological basis for the welfare state was being openly challenged. The search for an appropriate replacement ideology led to a reaffirmation of the faith in capitalism and a way of life organized around the 'free-market' coupled with a determination to lower the burden of state welfare (cf. Carnoy 1980; McNiven 1987). The term tends to be used as a rather imprecise folk-category. Neo-conservatism loosely describes both those who accept a limited degree of government intervention for social purposes (corporate-liberals wanting a collapse to the 'centre') and those who would move towards the elimination of state-sponsored social security altogether (the 'far right').

This thesis begins with the wider picture of the social history of Social Credit, moves towards the raw data of everyday life, especially public political conflict, draws fundamental iconographical and symbolic meanings from the very particular, people 'speaking' to one another within a particular context -- the Premier's speech, and it finally moves towards a theoretical construction with a focus on power, relations of domination, legitimation, and social control. The study is an examination of the substantive symbolic elements of the broader ideological belief system that is used by the Social Credit Party and current government of British Columbia.

In this thesis, I will focus upon the present Social Credit government's central ideas. These ideas will be extrapolated through an anthropological account of its particular ideological model of, and for, society. Such conceptual demands implicitly recognize that abstractions such as ideology are best seen as continually in change. Ultimately change comes from behaviour and action, therefore ideology should be analytically derived from actual human agency.

The articulation of Social Credit ideology, then, comes from the main players themselves. This suggests that the Socreds' use of political rhetoric as a means of persuasion can be fruitfully examined in a given performance or situation. Rhetoric offers the anthropologist one of the best and easily accessible symbolic

forms of expression which indicate, or signify, the main elements or core symbols of the collectively-shared ideology. Speech acts and public utterances are therefore meaningful, both empirically and analytically, as illustrations of Social Credit political beliefs, their use and their transformation, as well as the articulation of the leading members' existential and experiential understandings.

METHODOLOGY:

POLITICAL PERFORMANCE AND SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

As indicated in my outline of the research problem and theoretical orientation, this thesis' primary methodological approach employs a form of situational analysis. In this case, the thesis offers an interpretation of an event conceived in terms of its social construction of meaning. The Premier Vander Zalm speech-event, of and surrounding the January 17, 1990 provincially-televised broadcast, is the 'situation' in this case. The methodological grounding of this thesis, therefore, is within a well-established area of anthropological inquiry.

In the recent past, B.C. Socreds have orchestrated a number of events of major significance. Among them were the staging of a 'world's fair', a multi-million dollar highway, a rapid-transit project, a natural-gas pipeline to Vancouver Island which was routed through the Coquitlam watershed, and the replacement of their party leader, Bill Bennett (referred to as the "founder's son" by party executives). Furthermore, against the wisdom of political pundits, Social Credit survived a crisis of voter confidence and handily won yet another provincial election (in 1986). Controversy and conflict dominated the political arena during this period both before and after the 1986 provincial election. Indeed, the Vander Zalm government subsequently lost six consecutive by-elections and faced several cabinet and caucus

resignations. The research data, collected from a variety of sources, focuses upon public utterances concerning the first-term performances of the William Vander Zalm government, which continues the dominance of Social Credit to the time of this writing.

Background information for this study was drawn from sources covering Social Credit from its early years through to the present B.C. regime. Fieldwork data came from a number of sources obtained through participant-observation, primarily from the years 1986 to the present. Data was acquired from written sources, such as publicly distributed pamphlets, from third-party interviews conducted and reported by television and print sources, while some information was directly obtained through conversations, interviews, and other verbal exchanges with people involved with Social Credit.

The extensive data provides the necessary prerequisite familiarity with the political culture of British Columbia. Without a review of the literature combined with an examination of current Social Credit activity, a qualitative analysis, a judgement or an assessment of a persuasive political activity would be virtually impossible. Analytically, this information about Social Credit forms a complimentary interwoven set of publicly communicated statements about the nature of Social Credit.

THE DATA

Based on the data, the thesis will analyze Social Credit in terms of its history and apply this knowledge to reach a new understanding of the speech-event. The method yields an outline of the symbolic and ideological elements of the current Social Credit government and an understanding of how this cultural and ideological knowledge was used in maintaining political and economic privilege. Data was collected from the following sources:

1. Historical sources:

A selection of secondary materials written by academics, journalists and others who conducted substantive research on Social Credit was reviewed.

2. Academic sources:

Relevant studies on Socreds in B.C., such as theses, academic publications or conference papers, were examined.

3. Print media:

Assorted newspaper articles and columns were clipped and collected, primarily from the Vancouver Sun, the Toronto Globe and Mail, and various community weeklies. Selected periodical and journal articles are also included.[2] My collection covers primarily the

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[2] I would like to acknowledge the work done by Eve Szabo, SFU social science librarian, for her invaluable bibliography of

years 1986 to 1989 inclusive, although some references go back to 1982 and others include early 1990.

4. Video excerpts:

These were personally taped from television coverage. This collection covers the period from May 1986 to the present. This consists of television news reports, interviews, editorials, documentary programs and the like. These were taped from both Canadian networks, the CBC and CTV (BCTV). Some local community cable broadcasts are also included.

5. Party publications:

An assortment of print materials from Social Credit party headquarters, riding associations, Young Socred groups and election campaign literature was collected. All material was publicly distributed. A written transcript of the speech itself was obtained through the Social Credit Head Office in Richmond, although it was originally centrally distributed from the Premier's Office in Victoria. (The official transcript is included in Appendix I).

6. Field notes:

Participant-observation was conducted in several guises, as it were. The majority was done prior to the development of a firm

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writings on B.C., appearing in the journal <u>B.C. Studies</u>.

thesis subject. However, notes surrounding main events such as the 1986 leadership convention, Expo-86, the 1986 fall election, and the 1987 and 1989 annual conventions, were used. Much of this material illustrates the beliefs and understandings held by Social Credit members.

Conversations, interviews, public utterances, speeches, actions, responses of party activists and the like, in the above variety of settings, were interpreted for the most salient aspects of Social Credit's ideational system. In other words, the behavioral activities of prominent Social Credit actors as exhibited and noted through participant-observation are essentially like cultural artifacts, forming a corpus of data that I will draw upon in my analysis of the speech-event and its particular form and meanings. Such a procedure triangulates the data and effectively supports the analytical results.

ON THE ORGANIZATION AND HANDLING OF THE DATA

The collection of materials indicated above was systematically scrutinized for relevancy to the Vander Zalm speech. This examination of the history, politics, sociology and beliefs of Socreds and later, an explication of the part these aspects played in the Vander Zalm performance, comprised the main project of this thesis.

This qualitatively oriented study examines the socio-political history of the province and provides the background and context for the Vander Zalm performance. Methodologically, therefore, the research establishes a sound background understanding of the contemporary dominant political-culture in British Columbia. Next, in a subsequent chapter, this account of social history is related to an interpretive analysis of the speech-event of January 17, 1990. Indeed, the symbolic order of Socred realities can only be understood when the representations are studied within the social history and cultural traditions of this political party. In other words, the speech itself, as a key artifact of that symbolic order, is laden with meanings which can only be explicated when a researcher has acquired a firm grounding and a sound understanding of the socio-political background.

Another methodological requirement is that the speech must be representative of Socred practices and beliefs generally and that

it is recurrent in form and symbolic content. In effect, the thesis meets Geertz's assertion that the polity is dependent upon the construction of cultural information and that its exchange is optimal in situations of public and socially recurrent events (Bakker 1989, 39). Clearly, this speech, received by an audience of over one million people, qualifies as significant and representative, given: its large audience, its import due to political crisis, and the symbolic commonalities which are therefore required for the purposes of popular appeal. As well, the historical continuities observed through my research yield an understanding of the common socio-historic characteristics of the Social Credit symbolic order which can be compared and contrasted to those codes used in the speech.

The question that remains then is: precisely how will the speech itself be treated in order to reveal its hermeneutically-accessible wealth? In other words, how does textual analysis relate to discursive analysis generally and what particular technique is necessary in dissecting text and its meanings?

It should be noted that many of the problems of bias and other kinds of inadvertant contamination associated with textual analysis and translation by the anthropologist have been negated simply by focusing on an actual speech-performance given by a principal player, the Premier himself. Problems with the interpreter's biases in translating the actual words of the group in question are

minimized as the speech is essentially a direct verbatim account. As such, an analysis does not become contaminated with the researcher's version of the speech-act. The research task of the deciphering of text and making sense of its complex yield of cultural and ideological information, is simpler and more accurately conducted through using the heuristically powerful medium of an actual major speech and its text. The speech delivered to the public by the leader of a provincial government occurred during a time of political crisis for both the Social Credit party and the Premier personally. These circumstances mark this performance as a particularly important and politically-significant event.

To be sure, the text itself, as rhetoric, offers one of the most easily accessible symbolic forms of expression. It indicates, or signifies the central elements of the particular collectively-shared ideology. The symbols evoked within the speech themselves are vehicles which allow people to understand their own situatedness and, consequently, act as knowledgeable agents (Giddens 1984, 281-285). Therefore, in this thesis I identify the symbolic content, which makes sense in terms of the earlier socio-political explication, by specifically looking for the actor's definitions of the situation and the symbols drawn from in the attempt to persuade the audience of the legitimacy of that definition.

In this strategy, attention to the use of metaphor and metonym in the text itself provides important indications of symbols-in-use. Essentially, metaphor and metonym are tropes (figures of speech) which are used as tactical devices; they either 'highlight' what is known and accepted within the particular symbolic order, or contrast and break down old boundaries of ideas or understandings that the orator wishes to change. This use of tropes in persuasion empowers symbols, from the more mundane and least potent to the 'core' or 'dominant symbol' (Turner 1964, 1968). Conceptually, symbols do not occur randomly but are clustered around a number of central or core elements and become part of the larger framework of the ideology, or world-view, as explained in the theoretical orientation section. As such, the symbolic order and its meanings can be derived through this strategy of combining a historical, socio-political and textual discourse analysis.

The thesis continues in chapter two with an outline of the socio-historical background of Social Credit through the 1980's. This will provide a comparison between the early development of Social Credit and their opponents, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) which later became the New Democratic Party (NDP). This discussion points out not only differences between the Socreds and the CCF/NDP, but the discontinuity between the Alberta movement and the British Columbian version. What I refer to as the 'ideology of management' began with the necessary pragmatism of W.A.C. Bennett vis-a-vis the Albertan manifestation of Social

credit. Also, I include a brief overview of the situation leading up to the election of the Vander Zalm government, thereby effectively providing the broader context and setting the stage for the Premier's current term of office.

The third chapter deals with both the speech itself and the events surrounding it. An event such as this does not take place merely over the period of the twenty-two minutes of the speech, rather, following the theoretical approach of this thesis, the event is part of a symbolic construction in which meanings are understood, by actors and analysts alike, through experience and interpretation of social interaction and behaviour. For the purpose of understanding, Socreds draw from a common body of symbols, developed over time which they more-or-less share. Publicly shared representations are used in order to 'make sense' of events and experiences like the January 17th speech-event.

My interpretations of the event, therefore, are based on the analysis of the symbolic content of the key speech-event as understood in terms of both its social history, and the meanings chosen by Vander Zalm and his advisors to clarify what are ultimately questions of legitimacy (as informed by the theory previously outlined). This type of symbolic perspective allows an analytical juxtaposition; a comparative framework can be offered in which Premier Vander Zalm's words, definitions of the situation, and his interpretation of past events (at least those that he chose

to address) can be related to a condensed and relatively standard account of the historical realities that he talks about. In other words, this chapter offers a discursive and textual analysis which brings out characteristic features or patterns in light of the earlier historical/social groundwork presented in chapter two. Some examples of these features as they are internalized by individual Socreds will be offered as illustration.

Essentially, then, the public statements of Socreds indicate their ultimate values through their use of symbols. These elements, in essence, are an ideological template or 'map' for understanding the meaning of reality for Socreds. This map was examined and described in this thesis which, in turn, led to certain conclusions, addressed in the fourth and final chapter, concerning the nature of power and dominance in the province of British Columbia. It is this transcending character inherent in Social Credit ideology which must be understood, as it reveals certain important social and political trends in this part of Canada.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND:

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE

CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION MOVEMENTS

It can be argued that the Social Credit (Socred) movement and the Co-operative Commonwealth federation (CCF) are both the result of the economic and social climate which prevailed in western Canada earlier this century. Westerners, during the First World War until the height of the Great Depression, were becoming increasingly involved in protest movements. They shared several common grievances while successive Federal governments remained insensitive to their needs (Young 1978, xi). Out of the many socialist and labour groups there arose two dominant political parties, the CCF and the Social Credit. While the socio-political roots of these two dominant parties were common, profound differences became obvious -- especially after political office was achieved. In 1952, the British Columbia Social Credit League formed the government under the leadership of William Andrew Cecil Bennett, an ex-conservative MLA. The opposition CCF had only one less seat and Social Credit managed to form a minority government (Sherman 1966, 119).

The development of viable political parties from roots of protest movements appears typically slow in western Canada. It took people

approximately twenty years to realize formidable political parties
out of their common grievances. It was not until many farmers,
workers, laborers and socialist groups banded together that
political control was gained in several western provinces. The
desired result was economic control over both their own regional
situation and land-based resources. The twenty years referred to
is roughly the period from just prior to World War I to 1932, when
the CCF is said to have officially formed at a Calgary convention.
This gathering brought together a number of labour, farmer,
socialist groups and trade unions under one leader, J.S.Woodsworth
(Scott 1975).

I begin this chapter by describing the main factors contributing
to the scene prior to the formation of these movements into
political parties. It is within this climate of protest that the
essence of their similarities can be found. Later, through the
course of social and political/economic developments, each party
evolved in their own distinct directions and clearly identifiable
ideological differences were manifested within their respective
symbolically-mediated domains. Similarities and differences are
important as Social Credit cannot be properly understood without
reference to its dialectic opposite, the CCF, which became the New
Democratic Party (NDP) in 1961 (Young, 77).

During the period of 1913 - 1920, the prairie farmer discovered
that the frontier was a land of many hardships. Geographical

difficulties and climatic problems were the rule. Frost, heavy rain and drought were always a threat and support in times of need never assured (Gray 1966: 1976). Furthermore, isolation from other land-workers, great distances from marketing centres, isolation from political strong-holds and little or no influence over the policy-making centres in eastern Canada, added to the general dissatisfaction. The results of the farmers' labour were wholly dependant on outside criteria. The price of wheat, for example, varied a great deal on world markets. The business tactics of bankers were simply ruthless. When prices for wheat were high farmers were pushed to extend their use of credit. When prices fell, as they inevitably would, farmers were squeezed beyond their means (Lipset 1950).

Earlier on, the federal government had given the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) huge grants of land (10 miles on both sides of the tracks) in exchange for pushing the railway into the western frontier. The CPR sold this land through subsidiaries and in effect held the majority of mortgages. The CPR also controlled the grain elevators and the transportation system.

Farmers saw themselves as subservient to the seemingly insatiable greed of capitalistic banks, land companies, the railway, an assortment of speculators and the pro-railway governments. It made little difference between which of the two established parties (Liberals or Conservatives) was in power; they both responded only

to the demands and wishes of the banks, the CPR, corporations and other eastern profiteers. Farmers began to view politics as devious and dishonest, and consider the two-party system as degenerate (Young, 3-4; Glazebrook 1966, 218-219).

This mistrust for both Conservatives and Liberals existed for years to come. Many minor incidents playing on this mistrust were exploited by the newly emerging parties. For example, during the general election of 1935, the CCF in British Columbia inferred that both Liberals and Conservatives had been taking illegal liquor money from the border customs ("CCF's Final Big Rally", Oct.8, 1935).

The party system was increasingly viewed as representing only the interests of the financial and industrial leaders of the East (Glazebrook, 219). The two established parties did not represent the interests of the nation as a whole. A major sore point was the tariff wall originated by John A. McDonald. The question of who benefits from 'free trade' seemed much clearer to farmers then than to farmers of today; they had to pay three to five times the amount for equipment purchased from the East as compared to buying it across the American border (Young, 3).

Laborers and trade unionists saw the system as exploitation of the West and the working class. In British Columbia the lumber and mining companies were the principal employers. It was obvious

that the companies had enormous influence with the government. Large profits were realized at the expense of wages and working conditions (Ibid, 9). Trade unionism was growing rapidly partly because of discontent, exploitation and the influence from labour leaders who had previous experience with unionism and labour parties in England or the United States. It has been argued that the struggle for unionism helped fuel the abortive Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 which cost several lives (Gray, 3).

Many skilled and unskilled workers also took the viewpoint against 'eastern control'. One reason was that the Federal government was simply unable to cope given the huge influx of people. Between 1896 and 1913 over one million people settled on the prairies (Lipset, 22). It was virtually impossible to provide the new and massive western population with social and economic assistance (Ibid, 67). Another reason for unrest was the extremely unstable agricultural economy that existed on the prairies. Most of these laborers were urban workers employed in retail outlets or small shops. The success or failure of these businesses was at the mercy of unstable economic conditions (Ibid, 30-32). As with the farmers, most of these small businesses were financed by the seemingly ruthless eastern banks.

The most serious factor to steer westerners toward alternatives such as the CCF or Social Credit was the Great Depression of 1929 which basically carried on until the Second World War. The

Canadian economy was very dependent upon the American economy and the world market situation. Much of the production of goods for foreign markets was financed by multi-national corporations. As long as the demand for Canadian goods and raw materials was high the economy prospered.

When the foreign markets slumped and the New York Stock Exchange collapsed, the effects were disastrous for Canadians. Industries and businesses closed and people were laid-off. Laborers, farmers, and small businesses were hard hit. The per capita income of Albertans, for example, dropped by 61% between 1929 and 1933. In Saskatchewan the drop was 71% and in Manitoba 49%. British Columbia experienced the next largest drop in income of 47% which was closest to the 43% average drop experienced by Easterners. Unemployment rose between these years from 107,000 to 646,000 people (Young, 41-48).

As well as the stock market crash, the situation was worsened by post war inflation, the high cost of mechanization, exorbitant interest rates and wildly fluctuating grain prices. In sum, James Gray said: that "The prices-debts-interest depression was the worst in Alberta, where it gave rise to the Social Credit victory of 1935" (Gray, 1-2).

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation brought together several splinter groups representing labour and socialist parties as well

as several trade unions.. The leader became J.S.Woodsworth, a
Member of Parliament (MP) from an independent labour party in
Manitoba. In 1929, delegates met in Regina to "correlate the
activities of the several labour parties in western Canada" (Young,
51). Several annual meetings took place until in 1932 the CCF was
formed. Their first convention was held in 1933 wherein the
earlier "Regina Manifesto", a comprehensive outline of their
policies and programs, was adopted (Scott 1975).

The Social Credit party was the result of a movement in Alberta
led by William Aberhart, a school principal and radio evangelist
(Irving 1975). By 1932 Aberhart adopted some of the policies and
ideas of an Anglo-Scottish engineer, Major C.H. Douglas.

Douglas' ideas appealed to a peculiar collection of people
including moderate socialists, right-wing liberals, avant-garde
poets and artists (Osborne and Osborne 1986, 26). Indeed part of
the explanation for this broad base could be because he believed
that social credit could be instigated by any political party; it
was argued that it was simply an efficient set of monetary
reformist policies (Ibid, 79). It was more, however, more than
just that. Douglas' own personal convictions and prejudices crept
into the scheme.

Examining his writing, I discovered some personal beliefs,
perspectives and convictions, that Douglas used to justify the

need for the monetary reform that would 'release' people from
hardships. Consider the following samples from his book:

> "It is probable that in the less fortunately situated strata of
> society, a theory of economic Determinism would be a sound and
> accurate explanation for the actions of 98% of the persons to
> whom it might be applied; that they are, in fact, obliged to
> act and think in accordance with limitations which are imposed
> upon them by their environment. In short, that their
> environment is more powerful in shaping them, then they are in
> shaping their environment. But this is not true of their more
> fortunate contemporaries. There are, without a doubt,
> circumstances in the world, in which the personal convictions
> of individuals can have powerful and far-reaching consequences
> on their immediate and even national and continental
> environment. ... All this is sufficiently obvious, but the
> important idea to be drawn from it is that before human ideals
> (including Classical and religious ideals) can be brought into
> any effective relationship with and control by the great mass
> of the population, that population must be released from the
> undue pressure of economic forces." (Douglas 1924: rev.1933, 6-
> 7)..

Douglas goes on to be more specific as to the cause of and who and
what is behind the forces which shaped and pressured people:

> "... it is quite incontestable that every condition tending to
> subordinate the individual to the group (Collectivism to
> Douglas) is, at the moment fostered. ... Jews are the
> protagonists of collectivism in all its forms whether it is
> camouflaged under the name of Socialism, Fabianism, or "big
> business" and that the opponents of collectivism must look to
> the Jews for an answer to the indictment of the theory itself.
> It should in any case be emphasized that it is the Jews as a
> group, and not as individuals, who are on trial, and that the
> remedy, if one is required, is to break up the group activity."
> (Ibid, 29-30).

The point should be emphasized that it is not entirely clear
whether or not Douglas was prejudiced against people of Jewish
faith per se but what is clear is that he was critical of what he
perceived to be their tight form of corporate and business linkages
which, as a system, are seen to unduly constrain and subordinate
individuals. He even referred to this situation of financial

control as a 'Jewish world plot' involving as well, freemasonry, finance, communism and nazism (McPherson 1953, 183-184). It was not, according to Douglas, really the problem of the system of capitalism generally that is at fault; rather collectivity -- that of big business --imposes itself on 98% of the population, thereby interfering with a proper and morally just distribution of wealth and resources.

Although Aberhart differed with Douglas on several points, he began what can only be described as a crusade explaining economic problems with social credit doctrine. In the beginning Aberhart had no intention to create a political party, but eventually it did happen and Social Credit gained power in Alberta by 1935. They defeated the ineffectual United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) (Glazebrook, 236).

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE CCF

Fundamentally, both the CCF and the Socreds offered social reform. Both parties were geared toward improving the plight of the working class, the farmers and the lower middle class generally. Both sprang out of the 'western frontier climate' of social, economic and political discontent; their roots were similar.

Under the leadership of William Aberhart, 'social credit' was a plan to redistribute wealth back to the people. Adopting the principles developed by Major H.C.Douglas, Aberhart maintained that three fundamental changes were necessary. Firstly, the state must assume control over the monetary system; secondly, it must issue social credit in the form of a national dividend to every person; and finally, to prevent the possibility of inflation, the state must establish a just price for all goods (Irving 1975).

The dividend could be mathematically calculated and this appealed to Aberhart. His legendary "A + B Theorem", or 'funny money' as critics would have it, worked in a simplistic fashion. The "A" represents all wages, salaries and dividends paid to individuals while the "B" represents raw materials, bank charges, and other external expenses paid to organizations. The price of all goods and services, then, is the sum of "A" + "B", but the purchasing power created by these goods and services consists only of "A". Therefore, the country obviously could not generate enough income

to buy all the things, goods and services, produced in the country.
So where would the "B" payments come from? Credit of course;
social credit.

Similarly, except in scheme, the CCF under J.S.Woodsworth adopted
socialist principles in order to meet the peoples' needs. The
Regina Manifesto of 1929 (later adopted at the Calgary convention
of 1933) called for socialization of banks and financial
institutions; progressive taxation; the financing of public works
through the issuance of public credit; and the stabilization of
prices through import and export boards (Scott 1975). The CCF
adopted, in all, fourteen major principles along similar socialist
lines. The methodology and detail of social planning differs from
the Socreds, but the three quoted principles are nearly identical.

Handing out 'social credit' was to become the central issue of
Aberhart's platform. The CCF proposals differed considerably,
since they had no intention to give monetary kickbacks to the
people. The press and intellectuals, particularly economists,
attempted to show the fallacies of the overly simplified theorem
of social credit proposed by Aberhart ("Social Credit Like Bridging
the Atlantic", Oct.21, 1935). Most people did not understand the
relatively complicated explanations of the economists, nor did they
wish to believe that social credit was impossible (Irving 1963, 88;
Young, 85). Premier Pattullo of British Columbia decided that
social credit was unworkable, after he had a chartered accountant

attempt to work out the details of the scheme. It was also pointed out that Aberhart himself did not know how his system would work ("Pattullo Decides", Oct.11, 1935). Once in power, Aberhart believed that this could be worked out by the 'experts' in the civil service (Young, 91).

Criticism of the capitalistic banking and financial system was a basic fundamental similarity of both the CCF and Social Credit. From the early days of the various farmer's associations right through the depression there was conflict. John Irving writes:

> "...the provincial government (in Alberta) grown conservative through long years of office offered no solution of the peoples' economic problems. Further ...the representatives of the Eastern financial interests were insistent that the obligations of the hard pressed farmers must be met in full: the lowering of interest rates was unthinkable; there would be no adjustment whatever of principal indebtedness." (Irving 1963, 86).

Much of the debate, then, centered around monetary reform as the key to solving the social and economic problems.

Aberhart, in espousing his social credit version of monetary reformism was clear in identifying with whom the fault lay. He was fond of pointing out, whenever the opportunity arose, that the existing parties were led by men guilty of "fornication, graft and hypocrisy who were merely henchmen of high finance." (Osborne and Osborne, 114). Similarly, Leo Zakuta writes about the CCF's solidarity: "Its central bond was a common hatred of capitalism allegedly responsible for the depression and its accompanying hardships." (Zakuta 1963, 96). The CCF and Social Credit solution

was state control of the financial and monetary system combined with fixing prices which would become necessary in order to control inflation. The answer to the problems had strikingly socialistic overtones, from both parties. Indeed both parties had believable explanations for the depression which wracked Canada (Stein 1973, 36-37; Lipset, 103).

An interesting comparison can also be drawn between the two party leaders, Aberhart and Woodsworth. Both men were teachers and both were heavily involved in religion. Their fundamental philosophies included a deep concern for humanity and equality, as well as the defense of the individual against the big interests (Young, 116).

James Shaver Woodsworth was the son of a reverend who was the superintendent of Methodist missions in western Canada. J.S. Woodsworth was educated for the ministry and eventually took charge of the All People's Mission in North Winnipeg. He resigned from the church, in conflict with its dogma. He was elected as a labour candidate in Winnipeg North-Centre entering parliament in 1921 (Eggleston 1975). About J.S.'s pacifist compulsions, Walter Young said the following:

> "...it was decided that Woodsworth would stand alone, stating his opposition to the war while M.J. Coldwell would speak for the party and support Canada's entry at Britain's side. In his speech to parliament Woodsworth said: "I have every respect for the man who, with a sincere conviction, goes out to give his life if necessary in a cause which he believes to be right; but I have just as much respect for the man who refuses to enlist to kill women and children as well..." The point was that brute force was being allowed to overcome moral force. During the debate Prime Minister Mackenzie-King said: "There are few men

in this parliament for whom, in some particulars, I have greater
respect than the leader of the CCF. I admire him in my heart
because time again he has had the courage to say what lay on his
conscience regardless of what the world may think of him. A man
of that calibre is an ornament to any parliament."..." (Young,
66-67).

Similar in strength of character, moral conviction and sympathy

for humanity was the evangelist, William Aberhart. He adopted and

preached social credit with a strong desire to help Albertans.

Using the radio media and his Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute,

Aberhart was able to turn his large religious following into a

strong political force. It was his appeal in identifying Social

Credit with Christian fundamentalism, as well as his monetary

schemes that explains the movement's success (Long and Quo 1978).

It has also been said that a major factor in the appeal of

Aberhart's doctrine was the promise to satisfy primary needs such

as food, clothing and shelter (Irving 1963, 87). It was a world

of high unemployment and low value for labour. These need-

satisfaction principles were also clearly evident in Woodsworth's

political philosophy.

Woodsworth and Aberhart differed not in their strength of

leadership per se, but in its style. Aberhart was almost fanatical

in presentation. He believed in a "divine destiny for the

salvation of people" which his followers built into a political

cause as a means of achieving this "Divine Plan" (Irving 1963, 88).

Woodsworth was not a great orator on the hustings, although he did

prove himself in parliament. His appeal was a consistent image of

high principles. Walter Young comments: "It would be fair to say that Woodsworth attracted a following while Aberhart built one." (Young, 115-116).

A contrast between the CCF and Socreds hinged on Aberhart's convictions. It is doubtful that Aberhart would have been successful with or, importantly, even accepted socialism, which the CCF advocated. Aberhart was a conservative in education, religion and his politics. Social Credit was designed as a reform movement, not a revolutionary force. The differences appeared primarily around Aberhart's determination to transform the monetary and financial systems, in order to make capitalism work, rather than push for direct large scale state control. In effect, he wished to establish a new moral order over the existing institutions which emphasized their respectability and social obligations towards all classes in society. Socialism was a foreign ideology to Aberhart (Irving 1963, 94). Both he and Major Douglas believed that people should not interfere in matters they did not understand. On the other hand the CCF believed people were given too little power and wanted to 'socialize' the control of the government by the people. In Alberta, however, people were happy to allow someone like Aberhart to solve their problems (Young, 86).

The populist social credit movement gained provincial office in 1935. As the only alternative to this new Social Credit party was

the old and spent United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), which was affiliated with the socialist CCF, many of the financial backers of the UFA switched support to the new regime. Aberhart found that the majority of his social credit schemes were in violation of the Canadian constitution (B.N.A. Act) and were therefore disallowed by the Federal government and the supreme court (Young, 98-99). Once Aberhart gained power he could not pass out the dividends that he had promised. The new government did not have the experience in office nor the money required to cope with the limitations and constraints imposed on them ("Social Credit Theory and Practice", Nov.21, 1935). Ottawa maintained that the Governor-General has the right to disallow provincial legislation while the Alberta Socreds claimed this right had ceased to exist. Three Bills were deemed illegal under the constitution and one, an effort to control the press, was said to be outside of provincial jurisdiction ("Social Credit Plan Illegal: Ottawa", Jan.5, 1938). By 1939, the courts and the Federal government had disallowed eight Social Credit Bills (Young, 99).

It was clear that social credit practice would need more than the sheer determination of Aberhart. By 1940 the Socreds were beginning to lose popularity and a replacement conviction became a political necessity. In the 1944 election campaign, with Ernest C. Manning at the helm, the Social Credit party successfully used anti-communist fears to defeat the CCF. Socialists and communists were symbolized as the enemies of the 'free world'. 'Free

individual enterprise' became the adopted tune while the Socreds increasingly depended upon their administrative record as a good government for the people. Almost overnight the old enemies of banks and financiers were replaced and Social Credit became the friend of "individualism and sound business practice." (Osborne and Osborne, 136). Although the party still scorned greedy politicians and monopoly business, most of the doctrines of the early movement faded into the background (Long and Quo, 6-7).

This adaptation by the Albertan Socreds was, by in large, the same campaign language used by W.A.C. Bennett to lead Social Credit to an election victory in British Columbia by 1952. Some argued that the B.C. party gained office because the doctrinal issues had been thrashed out in Alberta. Indeed, W.A.C. Bennett was quoted as referring to social credit rhetorically as "progress not politics" and called it "a genuine free-enterprise movement" (Glazebrook, 237). Importantly, when asked to define social credit, Bennett said simply that "It is the opposite of socialism." (Robin 1966, 686).

The transformation of social credit from a somewhat radical movement in its early years, with intentions of social reform, to a party which represented the interests of business seemed complete. E.C. Manning purged the party of socreds who became disillusioned with the lack of fulfillment of earlier promises. These dissenters accused Manning and Aberhart of ignoring their

original promises and running a dictatorship once in office. Aberhart made only one speech in the legislature from 1935-1939 and maintained the power of government within a tight cabinet (Young, 99). Further, it was implied that elected Socreds were in no way to interfere with the cabinet or social credit experts commissioned by the government to implement reforms (Stein, 38).

C.B.McPherson (1953, 2nd.Ed. 1962, esp. 215-250) offers an interesting analysis that still has relevance, it could be argued, to British Columbian Social Credit today. McPherson points to this deterioration in Albertan democracy and refers to the political situation as a "quasi-party" system. The petite bourgeoisie, he argues, noted the failure of the UFA to represent their interests but did not wish to submit and return to the old orthodoxies nor did they hold any visions of socialist transformation. Therefore, they turned to another form of delegate democracy - plebiscitarianism - in which the people give up their right of decision, criticism, and proposal in exchange for the promise that everything possible will be done to implement the 'general will'.

These kinds of general characteristics have to be of concern, however, to those who follow or study petite-bourgeoisie - based populism. As Mcpherson has it:

> "From the example of Alberta, it appears that a quasi-party system tends to become plebiscitarian when it can no longer satisfy the economic demands of the electorate within the framework of a mature capitalist economy. It appears also that a quasi-

party system can continue to maintain some of the substance of democracy if the economy enters an expansive phase. ... There is, however, no mechanical correspondence between the degree of economic expansiveness and the democratic quality of the quasi-party system. Once it has entered a plebiscitarian phase, no expansion is likely to restore it to a more fully democratic level, for the effects of prosperity will ordinarily be to strengthen the existing party's attractiveness without requiring it to change its ways." (Ibid, 248).

Social Credit's form of plebiscary democracy, among other characteristics: covered over class tension; emphasized 'business government'; focused on management and administration rather than policy; and suggested that their solutions will benefit all people regardless of their class location. This was the general will, as they understood it. McPherson warns that such a system may produce an arbitrary government that may descend into overly centralized rule, ignore the seeking of consensus and otherwise neglect its democratic responsibilities. Meanwhile, the illusion of democracy is maintained.

The CCF also made significant departures from its roots. They were, however, to remain the party 'to the left of centre' despite the changes. Often they were equated rhetorically with communism, which after the defeat of fascism now became 'the greatest evil over freedom'. By 1944, the CCF gained power in Saskatchewan under Tommy C. Douglas. In order to broaden their electoral appeal a number of their policies were modified. Socialized health and welfare were introduced and a number of provincially owned companies were formed but all within the framework of the existing economic order (Courtney and Smith 1978, 302). Importantly, the

CCF's changed attitudes, especially towards private enterprise, prompted Prime Minister St. Laurent to call them "Liberals in a Hurry." (Zakuta, 100). It was apparent that the old CCF doctrine needed revision and through a major policy statement, the Winnipeg Declaration of 1956, the CCF abandoned the vision of a classless society (Zakuta, 99). The CCF proposals, designed to appeal to urban workers, farmers and small business, indicate that the party grew culturally conservative and more moderate as it moved closer to power (Lipset, 139).

A curious feature common to both the CCF/NDP and Social Credit has been the stigma of a lost third party vote to federal voters. The CCF was originally developed with national goals. Yet it has only been very recently (Feb. 1990) that the NDP finally elected an MP in Quebec. The social credit movement has remained provincial probably due to its highly independent provincial origins and frontier development (McNaught 1971, 43-49).

THE ENTRENCHMENT OF THE IDEOLOGY OF MANAGEMENT

W.A.C. Bennett's 1952 election campaign in British Columbia was accompanied by new slogans, many similar to those used by Ernest Manning's purged Social Credit Party of Alberta. As Martin Robin (1973) has it, Bennett recognized that funny-money and the A + B Theorem were "exotic relics in Alberta" and he told reporters after the victory to "Go easy on the monetary stuff... it doesn't concern us now." (Ibid, 172). In its place, Bennett touted sound government, a new world for small business and individual enterprise all within a 'non-partisan' movement.

The candidates for Social Credit consisted mainly of disaffected middle-class people including ministers, retailers, wholesalers, notary publics and naturopaths (Osborne and Osborne, 164). They appealed primarily to religious sectarians, shop-keepers, farmers, independent contractors and unorganized workers. Bennett himself once chose between politics and the priesthood (Presbyterian) (Sherman, ix). Social Credit and its support was indeed a classic mixture of political christianity (evangelical moral christianity premised on the primacy of the individual), anti-monopolism and business pragmatism.

The fledgling Socred government lasted only seven weeks before the opposition combined to defeat it. Bennett's next election slogan was simple: "Social Credit or Chaos" (Osborne and Osborne, 174).

The Socred's appeal was for stable government. Stability meant a working majority with an end to minority parties choking the Premier's goals and continued capital flow into the province which, in turn, mostly meant new business and payrolls (Robin 1973, 183). After the 1953 election, Social Credit had the majority it needed.

The Socreds had promised to pay 'dividends' in the form of reductions in sales tax and car licence fees, and hospital insurance (which was a major issue of contention) premium reductions, and slashing the public debt. What they delivered in the first Parliamentary session included: the elimination or reduction of taxes on children's clothing, liquor and amusements; reduced car registration fees; increased bonuses to pensioners; and they solved the hospital insurance problem by adding 2% to the sales tax in order to pay for the program.

The city newspapers were still confused and somewhat frighteningly referred to this legislation as "socialism" (Osborne and Osborne, 174-175). Although this session buttressed the Socreds popular appeal, they still did not appease 'big business', especially the logging and mining companies who were upset at some new resource taxes and were prompting the press with predictions about inevitable 'capital flights' from the province (Ibid. 172), clearly an irony today.

Bennett saw his main task as solving the problem of how to bring confidence to the province and not alarm the financial community (Sherman, 116). He turned to his friend and former accountant for his hardware stores, Einar Gunderson. Gunderson did not belong to any party, but did help with occasional Liberal campaigns in Edmonton. Bennett wanted him as his finance minister. For a time Gunderson, influential with the Board of Trade and the Chartered Accountants of B.C., was the new government's only connection to established financial and business communities. Another key player was a young conservative lawyer, Robert Bonner, who was asked to become Bennett's attorney-general (Ibid. 116-117). In fact Bennett was happily welcoming droves of ex-tories and ex-liberals into the Socred fold. It was the start of a new liberal-conservative coalition and signalled the end of the old-line parties.

By now, British Columbia was well into an economic upswing. Political conditions were superb -- Social Credit had come into power during the early years of a boom (another important distinction between the early Albertan party with its roots of despair and Bennett's new coalition party). What becomes noteworthy is that Bennett was quick to seize the opportunities that such fortunate timing provided his fledgling government. Martin Robin points out that:

> "Overnight, Social Credit became the opportunity party, dispensing favours through orders-in-council to notables, big and small, who swarmed to the new party like bees to clover. ... Cabinet ministers fanned out across the province, addressed Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, enquired of their local needs and promised to rectify through the provision of

jobs, roads, bridges and contracts, the wrongs and neglects of their niggardly predecessors. ...the Premier was prepared to trade favours --jobs, status, contracts, concessions of every sort -- for loyalty and support." (Robin 1973, 175-176).

Once in office, the consolidation of power seems to have taken the form of spending the previous government's (Boss Johnson's Liberal-Conservative coalition) harvest, and taking the credit for the excellent fiscal situation. Importantly, Social Credit was garnishing new previously untapped 'loyalty and support' outside of the south-west corner of B.C. by exploiting the political potential of the interior and northern regions of the province with gifts and rewards (Ibid.).

It is important to note the role of the party organization in solidifying and maintaining support. Bennett's man, the then-recently elected party President, John Perdue summed it up nicely when he said to a CBC radio audience:

"If a group finds in its area need for government assistance for a road or if a small logger wants to get a piece of timber, they make representations to the local Social Credit unit. This is passed through the constituency association to the head office of the league, there checked and presented to the Cabinet minister. Then, you see, how any individual can voice his desires and they can be almost immediately passed to the government." (Ibid, 176).

This system, it should be understood, is more than a mere rhetorical attempt to address previous neglect; there is evidence that 'helping' address people's needs through riding offices is still prevalent in today's organization. Furthermore, this method has actually helped the party convert people and support Social Credit, as well as to maintain the idea and belief that individual

needs are indeed being directly addressed.[3] The main difference, however, would be that MLA's today, particularly cabinet members, are not as inclined to become directly involved with every problem that comes from the constituents.

A point must be raised concerning W.A.C. Bennett's attitude towards and understanding of democracy. As Bennett had it:

> "True direct democracy is that the elected must govern, and must not be governed by the electors. Unless the elected govern, you have a dictatorship. If the electors govern, you have anarchy. In other words, people in a democratic way select people to do a job. Then they must have authority to do a job and they must boldly do that job, and they must not ask questions and have royal commissions all the time. They should take responsibility and bold action. Then when election time comes, the people should kick them out if they are not doing the job. In other words, the elected must govern. I believe democracy is the best system." (Sherman, ix).

C.B. McPherson's warning (see p. 47-48) certainly comes to mind.

Given this personal propensity for governing by direct political control, (indeed this is expected of an elected leader according to Bennett) it is not surprising that Bennett was unwilling to delegate decisions over policy formation to either civil servants

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[3] For example, 'Roger' (not his actual name; pseudonyms are used to protect the confidentiality of informants) is a man in his fifties who worked for the Ministry of Parks in a job that was privatized. He has a working class background and a prole (proletariat) body to suit. He had always voted NDP. When it was certain that Roger would lose his job, he worriedly phoned the local MLA's office where he was encouraged to submit a bid on his old job. They helped him with the process and supplied the background information which ensured that his bid would be seen as reasonable. Roger got his job back and, although somewhat out of place, he now volunteers for the Socreds and attends riding functions.

or to the legislature. The policy process was centralized in the Premier's Office and in Cabinet (Sherman, 122; Robin 1973, 188). As a consequence, the traditional role of the party, caucus and the legislature was significantly reduced, at least as far as policy decisions and development were concerned (Young, 104). Bennett quickly became known to his colleagues as "The Chief" (Sherman, 125).

It must be acknowledged that Social Credit is a multi-faceted historical phenomenon. Bennett also operated in this centralized fashion within a context which required political pragmatism. By providing an increased investment 'climate' through the development of infrastructure, the province's political and social demographics were changing. As the economic base shifted from resource extraction and related activities, a large civil service, a public-sector working class dependent on government employment developed. Meanwhile, the traditional middle-class (defined in terms of their status locations) as well as small capital (petite bourgeois) also shifted towards an economic base consisting of contracting, speculation, and services associated with government expenditures, primarily in the areas of energy, transportation, and social-services.

These people, middle-class if you will, were still uncertain about the effects of monopoly capital on their economic survival and occasional schisms resulted. This uncertainty meant shifts

developed in the electoral alliances of both small capital and the middle-class. It became, therefore, increasingly difficult to maintain the volatile coalition of small capital, large capital and the middle-class. Bennett was able to deal with the potential schisms by promoting the interests of all factions and reassuring his coalition that all will benefit through his economic policy direction of using state expenditures on the development of the economic infrastructure needed for accumulation by large capital; Bennett was convinced that investment, attracted by an infrastructure provided by the government, combined with a generally favorable financial climate, would create wealth for all people in the province. Rowstowian notions of 'Progress and Development' certainly prevailed. The centralization tendency, therefore, can be seen to be a reaction to the necessity to respond quickly to the short-term interests and fears of the various factions (Howlett and Brownsey 1988, 144-145).

By the late 1960's, the wage and benefit demands of these new public-sector workers intensified and restricted the ability of the Socred government to subsidize capital. Therefore, the government initiated programs aimed at reducing this sector and lowering compensation levels (a process begun as early as 1957 when Bennett announced his "economy with efficiency" drive (Robin 1973, 206). During this period, the public subsidization of private capital shifted from providing infrastructure to tax-incentives and quasi-judicial regulation (Howlett and Brownsey,

146). New ogres of organized labour, welfare recipients, godless socialists and the Federal government replaced the old ogres of monopoly capitalism and big business (Osborne and Osborne, 194).

These attacks and the policy changes in the subsidization of capital were perceived as threatening to many people involved in the previous strategy of a government-led development of infrastructure and services. The new sector of a state-dependent middle-class and the public-sector working class shifted their support to the New Democratic Party thereby polarizing province politics and clarifying the class nature of the Socreds, at least to academics (cf. Howlett and Brownsey, 146).

Bennett, however, believed that Social Credit had always resisted becoming a class government and that he himself "... wanted to lead the development of our country, so that better social conditions and more benefits could come to the ordinary people." (Keene and Humphreys 1980, 140). In his own words, Bennett also points to his pragmatic attitude:

> "Only we in British Columbia managed to balance our budget every
> year. And all the time I was premier and minister of finance,
> my critics would say, "Look at that Bennett, he's an ultra-
> conservative." Then, when I brought in social reforms, such as
> home-ownership grants, they would say, "Look, he's a Liberal."
> And when I had more public ownership than the socialists had
> advocated (which benefitted capital - ed.), such as B.C. Hydro
> and the provincial ferry service, they would say, That Bennett,
> what a socialist he is!" I wasn't trying to be all things to
> all men. I was only trying to do the job that was absolutely
> necessary at that time, and I wasn't going to be tied hand and
> foot by a bunch of unworkable theories." (Keene and Humphreys,
> 98-99).

Robin (1973), in contrast, provides a summary which is somewhat less flattering than the former Premier's understanding of the situation:

> "The Bennett regime was activist, interventionist, state capitalist ... (and) assumed many of the forms and trappings of an independent capitalist state ... Bennett aspired to high statesmanship, but he remained a common doorkeeper, guardian of a strutting mini-state which thumbed its nose at the federal authority as it greedily sucked up foreign capital. ... (The regime mistook) ... short-term full employment for the reality of insecurity guaranteed by a skewed resource based-economy, the form of growth for the reality of under-development. ... It was a mini-state which colonized the northern sector, balkanized the province into regional spheres of company monopolies, submitted workingmen to the iron discipline of industrial labour for foreign capitalists, handsomely rewarded the faceless companies and local nabobs, the rude flowers of a business civilization which subordinated the human values of community and equality to the restless urge for dominion and exploitation." (Ibid, 257-258).

By 1972, the Social Credit coalition between the various factions of capital and the middle-class was falling apart. W.A.C. Bennett's attacks on the public sector had driven many civil servants to the NDP and divided the small business sector, many of whom supported the Conservative party in the 1972 election. The NDP support rose from 33.9 percent in the 1969 election to 39.6 percent in 1972 while the Conservative support went from less than one percent to 12.7 percent in 1972. The Socreds' popular vote, meanwhile, dropped from 49 percent in 1969 to 31 percent in 1972 (Howlett and Brownsey, 154).

The NDP government was led by Dave Barrett, a social worker who was dismissed from his job as a personnel officer at the Haney Correctional Institute in 1959 when he revealed his intentions to run for MLA as a CCF'er (Robin 1973, 220). His government was short-lived, lasting only from August 30, 1972 to December 11, 1975. During this period, the Barrett government believed that it had a mandate to change the system of social welfare policies. The NDP introduced more major pieces of legislation than the Socreds had in the previous ten years. Most notably the NDP government legislation: set up community resource boards which emphasized local citizen and municipal participation in handling welfare and brought about massive decentralization of services; introduced public car insurance; created crown corporations to revive dying industries, control profits, and capture economic rents particularly through monopolizing the marketing of gas and oil (BC Petroleum Corp.); awarded collective bargaining rights to government employees; antagonized large capital with a mineral royalty tax; and frightened small capital with the establishment of the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) (Osborne and Osborne, 221; Howlett and Brownsey, 155). The ALR was intended to preserve farm lands but became perceived as a "dictatorial land grab", rhetoric which played on the fears of the middle-class losing their property rights under the "socialists" (Howlett and Brownsey, 155).

This NDP interlude did temporarily halt the trend towards control and restraint of the public-sector and away from welfare and

social-support, but its short duration makes its impact difficult to assess. Shortly after legislating striking ferry, pulp and paper, and lumber unions back to work, the NDP called an election. They were criticized by their own supporters for their lack of committment to socialist principles and by their opposition for their lack of managerial skills. The social service ministry was singled out for not being able to account for over 100 million dollars. This fiscal confusion, at least partly the result of the massive decentralization of services, is still today being cited as an example of 'Socialist mismanagement'. The NDP never fully recovered from the general public perception of 'incompetence' (Blake 1984, 29-43).

Decentralization and the failure to stop the formation of a new coalition of capital had its political costs. The NDP were soon defeated by a new revised coalition led by the son of W.A.C. Bennett, William Richards Bennett (Bill as he was known) and which was financed by large capital (Howlett and Brownsey, 155). As the elder Bennett declared on the night of his son's by-election victory in 1973: "This means the death knell of the NDP government ... Social Credit is on a great holy crusade to get rid of these socialists. We'll never allow Premier Barrett to split the private enterprise parties again." (Nichols and Krieger 1986, 7).

By 1975, Bill Bennett, under the tutelage of the puritanical populist, Grace McCarthy, had managed to attract Peter Hyndman,

the leader of the B.C. Conservative Party into crossing the floor
of the legislature and joining the Socreds.   Shortly thereafter
came Bill Vander Zalm, a former Liberal leadership candidate and
mayor of Surrey, and Conservative MLA Hugh Curtis.   Then three
months before the election, three more Liberals came in from the
cold: Pat McGeer, Garde Gardom and Allan Williams (Ibid, 8-9).
A coalition was once again intact -- and in power.

NEW TECHNIQUES AND OLD ATTITUDES

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, the problems of economic stagnation and decline in resource-based industries and the situation of maintaining social development in the welfare state of the post-war period, once again became problematic (McNiven 1987). Bill Bennett and the Socred government were faced with a decline in the demand for resource commodities, rising unemployment and a consequent increased strain on government support programs (Persky and Beckman 1984). Essentially, a global economic crisis was having a severe impact upon B.C.'s resource dependent economy (Marchak 1984).

The resolution of this crisis assumed a form generally referred to as neo-conservatism. Given the economic situation and associated problems of slow growth, rising inflation and unemployment, the feasibility and wisdom of expanding social security and welfare programs was being openly challenged. The ideology developed by the Socreds was contrary to both the ideological and theoretical bases of the welfare state. It focused upon the capitalist system and 'free enterprise' to provide solutions (McNiven, 300-301). In B.C., the Bill Bennett Socreds paralleled a global trend towards right-wing governments in countries such as West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States.

If the example of Thatcherism can be instructive, we can see that in B.C. the strategy was similar to that of Great Britain, with

its faith in doing everything possible to facilitate capital and subordinate labour, thereby benefitting primarily large and international capital interests (cf. Hall and Jacques 1983). Essentially, neo-conservatism subtlely replaced a 'corporatist' strategy which was central to Labourism (Hall 1985, 117, 123). The subservience of labour through cooperation in the pursuit of profit and an ideological disposition to see corporate interests as also being in their own best interests, are the kind of features which characterize corporatism. In Canada, this strategy was particularly evident in the Trudeau era; the Liberals of today still tend to adhere to corporatism despite its inherent inequalities of power and other undemocratic features. It remains a little debated concept which nevertheless marks Liberals apart (albeit largely unconsciously) from their rivals, federally the Progressive Conservatives, and provincially, Social Credit.

The Socreds, like the Thatcherites, replaced the corporatist strategy with an ideologically anti-statist one. This strategy of the 'new right' perceives a more limited role for the state (i.e. dismantling the welfare state) while in actuality becoming highly centralized in its control and operations. This contradiction of representing itself as anti-statist while being highly state-centralist, according to Hall (1985, 117) works well for the purposes of populist mobilization.

In British Columbia, the Socreds under Bill Bennett attacked organized labour as part of their 'Restraint' strategy. The relatively high cost of labour here was of grave concern to an economic strategy which required international 'competitiveness'. Ministers were dispatched around the world "... to carry the message that B.C. has been turned into a 'lean machine' ripe for foreign investment." (Dobell 1983, 37). It appears that, at least in part, the Restraint program was a new strategy which caters to international and large investors who will not risk labour-problems, taxes supporting social programs, and demanding consumers (Ibid, 38). Nor politically will they risk even 'liberalism' (which in the diminutive American sense has become a liability for those partaking in the debate) let alone risk the 'evils of Socialism', which the province was thought to have had in British Columbia under the NDP from 1972 to 1975.

Howlett and Brownsey (1988), in looking at the political-economic facet in B.C., suggest that given the Social Credit government's history, the 1983 restraint program "...cannot be seen as the result of a sudden conversion of the government to the ideology of neo-conservatism..." (Ibid, 147). The ideas that became manifested as public policy (cf. Parkins, the 'plan') had their roots in the previous era, however, there are notable differences and important elements to both the situation facing the Bill Bennett government and its subsequent approach to governing.

The central factors of faith in the capitalist system, belief in the moral superiority and value of 'free enterprise' -- along with the ideology that says the government's mission is to be primarily a tool used in the creation of wealth and that 'good management' is synonymous with balanced budgets and control over expenditures on social development -- were indeed inherited as the final legacy of the elder Bennett. What was different was the style, methods and depth of the implementation of the program cuts. It was an attempt at restructuring not only the economy but the human community and social contract because, notably, community, society, culture and so on, are both morally and pragmatically perceived by Socreds to be little more than a function of the former, the economy (see Chapter IV).

Another difference was that those employed by Bill Bennett to handle the restructuring and still maintain the Socreds in office, came from a group of quasi-Tory political mercenaries who cut their teeth working on U.S. Republican political campaigns, and more recently, working for (now-former Premier) William Davis' long-time Conservative government in Ontario. In order to add academic clout, Bennett also enlisted professional economic consultants, such as Michael Walker of the 'right-wing think-tank', the Fraser Institute. Bennett junior essentially cut his dependency upon his legendary father's people and their methods, choosing to replace them with hired professionals who offered a state-of-the-art election, polling and marketing technology (Nichols and Krieger,

16-19). Essentially, they were ready to 'stomp socialists' whenever the new chief required that of them.

It worked. Bill Bennett was transformed from a scandal-tainted, inar⁻iculate, reclusive leader who had committed the sin of running the province into a budgetary deficit with his various mega-projects (Ibid, 15). The Premier had been spin-doctored (as it is referred to by pundits in political circles) into the image of a necessary, albeit unfortunate, "tough guy" who needed to make hard decisions in everyone's interests (Garr 1985). The Socreds were portrayed as the only avenue of escape from impending financial disaster.

There were 'no free-lunches', as Socred rhetoric had it, and only the private-sector was scripted as the creating force behind 'meaningful' work. The NDP, who advocated modest keynesian-type solutions, such as public-works and spending, were scoffed at by the Socreds as government jobs were not 'real' jobs (Nichols and Krieger, 21). The NDP then made the strategic error of failing to provide an easily understandable alternative explanation for the crisis which would allow them to denounce the need for restraint. During the last days of the 1983 election campaign Barrett may have blown the election when he said that an NDP government would eliminate the Socreds' restraint program. The electors were nervous about the deficit and the economic slowdown and tended to believe Bill Bennett's simplistic homilies, such as comparing the

government to a family needing to 'tighten the belt' when things get tough. Barrett appeared to be saying that British Columbians could spend money that the people were told was simply not available in the 'provincial/familial purse' (Ibid). Socialist 'mismanagement' once again seemed to be looming and would head the province down the path towards impending disaster, if the NDP were elected. Perceptions count!

After the final ballots were counted on May 10, 1983, the Socreds had won 35 out of the 57 legislative seats (Ibid, 22). The Bill Bennett Socreds interpreted their mandate to mean that their 'tough and courageous' image was to be continued. A new set of even stronger restraint legislation was introduced. This package signalled the enactment of a social-Darwinian type of philosophy in which those who were not 'producing' were seen as a liability, one that the economy could no longer afford to support. "Who is going to pay", and "A Socialist is one who will give you the shirt off someone else's back", became commonplace sayings (fieldnotes). To the new-breed econo-philosophers, such heady platitudes rung mightily of proper, just and moral indignation. Particularly to the young, active and partially university-educated, these formations and similar rhetorical comments spoke the 'real truth' and pointed out what is to be done in the 'new reality', as Bennett had it. To the older, long-time members, it was simply common-sense to control spending, except on health and services for the sick and elderly (Blake et al 1987, 5; fieldnotes). The net

outcome meant that the previous social contracts of the welfare state would be radically (and, I would note, coercively) altered in British Columbia.

The social reaction to this even harsher program was swift and furious. Never before had so many people protested against the government when 'Operation Solidarity' was formed, a loose coalition of many community groups and organized labour. Furthermore, business was wavering in its support as restraint meant that during the three-years business was hit with 1.5 billion dollars worth of new direct taxes. Bill Bennett further alienated business by increasing the public debt of 5 billion dollars (inherited from the NDP) to 19 billion dollars (Nichols and Krieger, 25). The class alliance of business and traditional middle-class support was shaky, and may have dissolved had Bill Bennett remained as leader and Premier.

The NDP recognized the Premier was the perceived problem and targeted him personally in their attempts to take office (Scott 1986). Targeting the credibility of the leader and not Social Credit generally with their restraint program, quickly became another strategic error for the NDP, as Bennett surprised everyone and resigned as leader and Premier. By the end of July, 1986, the Socreds had a new charismatic leader in Bill Vander Zalm, who would go on to defeat the NDP once again in the elections later that year.

For sociological purposes, it is important to look at the general characteristics of the people who actively supported the Social Credit party through to the Vander Zalm period. As described in chapter one, with his speech-event Premier Vander Zalm was providing a 'model for' the populace, but this rendition of reality necessarily needs to conform -- or at least strategically correlate -- to the 'model of' society which was prevalent in social credit ideology during this period. A study of the delegates to the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention by Blake, Carty and Erickson (1987) shows a revealing profile and ideological orientation.

Summarizing the delegate profile, Blake et al (1987) found that: most of the delegates had been long-standing members, half of whom joined prior to 1975; they were middle aged; relatively affluent (average family income over $50,000 per year); two-thirds had some university education; one-half listed their employment status as self-employed; half said that they were not involved in religious groups, although of those that were, two-thirds were active within a denomination other than one of the main-stream Canadian Christian churches; ninety percent of those holding any Federal political memberships (61%) were Progressive Conservative (P.C.) and only 6.5% thought the Socreds should affiliate with the Federal P.C. party.

The sharpest divisions found indicated that half thought the restraint program was not well implemented, while 42% believed that the problems were simply due to the fact that opponents of the program could not accept the 1983 election loss (Blake et al, 5). They differed somewhat on the belief that the unemployed were responsible for their own plight and whether the social policy role of government should be supported. Less regulation particularly in land use and agricultural marketing was favoured. Large numbers indicate an endorsement, however, for using tax revenues for medical emergencies. Delegates favoured free trade and, not surprisingly, spending linked to economic development and support for the 'private-sector'. The delegates' priorities on government spending indicated that spending on reforestation, highways, tourism, and health care should continue. They favoured cuts, however, in daycare, social welfare, and government salaries. Blake et al suggest that "Bill Bennett was in touch with party opinion on the economic question but less so on the social side" (5-6).

After the convention, Blake et al had the following comment:

> "Bill Vander Zalm promised a different style of leadership, but while different it probably was not new for many of the delegates. In appealing to populists, suspicious of bureaucracy and impatient with delay, and long-time party activists, many of whom were attracted to Social Credit during the W.A.C. Bennett era, Vander Zalm was offering a style with which they were familiar" (12).

Not all Socreds would accept this style, however, and Bill Vander Zalm was left with a relatively divided party. Vander Zalm's

populist support as Blake et al have it, was pitted against the non-populist, professional and neo-conservative Tory remnants of the Bill Bennett program. My fieldwork points out this contradiction in terms of what the Vander Zalm win meant to the non-populists; intense emotions were displayed by both groups with the Smith supporters visibly in tears and wailing spontaneous and somewhat derogatory comments about "those kinds of people" who "won" with their pink-shirts, 'Bill' buttons, straw barber shop quartet-like hats, polyester trousers with large waists, short-sleeved shirts and other symbology which tipped-off their relative class/status locations. This strained association of people is what Vander Zalm had to contend with while he went about "managing the business of government", as he saw the task of Premier (fieldnotes).

CHAPTER III

THE SPEECH-EVENT OF JANUARY 17, 1990:

INTRODUCTION AND INTENT OF CHAPTER

The intent of this chapter, firstly, is to relate the background developed in chapter two to the more immediate dilemmas facing the Vander Zalm regime. This attention to Social Credit history provides both an effective context as well as a basis for understanding and making sense of the Premier's speech. Secondly, the speech itself, when analyzed in light of the background of Social Credit and the particular political problems of the present regime, will reveal a number of indications about the nature of Social Credit ideology and beliefs as they are currently articulated.

The chapter begins by examining the immediate incidents leading up to the speech. Some of these involved: the then falling popularity of the Premier, his attempt to distance himself from the past woes of his party and cabinet colleagues; his voluntary banishment to the 'political wilderness' following the party's sixth consecutive by-election loss; and his subsequent (albeit short-lived) resurrection via strategies such as the dramaturgy of, and the persuasive elements inherent, in the speech performance. Indeed, the dramaturgy and the rhetoric of the speech are especially revealing in showing how political and economic privilege is

maintained. The chapter will explore a number of the techniques and tactics as they were displayed in the performance.

Finally, this chapter offers a translation of the speech which demonstrates the fundamental characteristics of the current government's ideology as it is articulated by key Social Credit actors themselves. The translation is methodologically possible through juxtaposing Vander Zalm's rendering of reality (via his speech) to the social history and incidents described earlier. Indeed, it is our understanding of history, reached through the variety of data explored, which permits us to write this sort of translation. In other words, the Premier's attempt to provide both party and the public audiences with his definitions of events and their meanings through the vehicle of the speech can be dissected for its symbolic and ideological content when compared and contrasted to a generalized account of reality condensed from a variety of commentators, political analysts, partisans, public utterances and other sources. As Geertz suggests, the tracing of political development is a fundamental task for anyone concerned to understand the pattern of politics as seen in terms of its culture (1980, 4-6).

The findings of this translation are further enlivened through illustration. From fieldnotes, examples are given indicating how the symbolic content of Social Credit ideology works itself out through at least a few people. Each example was selected for its

appropriateness in generally representing Socred actors, illustrating central points in their ideology and showing how this symbolic construction affects people, ideas, beliefs and, ultimately, their actions.

In this chapter, then, the speech-event of January 17th will be seen within its own more specific context; that is in terms of the more immediate processes and related activities which led Premier Vander Zalm to perceive a political need to do something at this time about his and his party's current woes and unpopularity. Such a focus, it has been argued, gives us a social frame which borders a sequence of events and life around them. This should not be confused with an exercise in historical 'explaining about' or sociological 'explaining away'. Rather, it is a way for an interpreter to enter that form of life itself (Geertz 1983, 46-47).

Importantly, such a social frame, supported with fieldwork data, allows a comparison to be developed by which to make analytical sense of the symbols and their meanings as used by the Premier. The rhetoric, when translated in terms of the social frame of which it is a part, reveals certain patterns or clusters of themes inherent in the ideology of the Social Credit government, which will be discussed and illustrated from fieldwork material.

The key processes within such a social frame tend to be involved with conflict, contradiction and, importantly, a clash of the moral imaginations of groups of political actors (Ibid; Bechhofer and Elliott 1981). This implies that reality for Socreds and their opponents is based on sets of ideas, imaginations and understandings which support, justify and underlie their respective worldviews or ideologies. This set can be traced broadly through social history, and then understood in particulars when we focus on situations of conflict which necessitate and precipitate a battle of symbolism over the meanings of uncomfortable or critical incidents.

VANDER ZALM AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT

In the present political world of modern social communication technologies, the iconography -- symbols which stand for or represent a particular Party in a particular way -- is intimately tied to imagery emanating from sources such as television, advertising, opinion polls and appearances however managed. If, for example, BCTV said Vander Zalm imposed his particular Christianity upon the public when he attempted to undermine a Supreme court ruling on abortion clinics by refusing to cover their costs through the province's medical plan, then symbolically, his action meant something; it revealed an aspect about Vander Zalm's regime that, due to its largely negative symbolic loading, narrowed his popular appeal.

Vander Zalm, of course, did not want such events to mean anything at all. To acknowledge that such events meant anything leads to decisions about him and his regime that may go against him, as many of the incidents described below certainly did. This battle over imagery -- indeed the imagery itself -- is comprised of constantly shifting meanings. What is assumed as factual is rarely permanent, given the strategies and conduct of modern politics primed, as they are, with the powerful technologies available today. The following incidents, therefore, come to possess a symbolic order which engenders rather differing reflections about what events and Vander Zalm's problems mean.

In the months immediately preceding the speech of January 17, the media focused on a number of events which tended to portray the Vander Zalm government unfavorably (and unfairly in the minds of many supporters). Although some of these images of the Premier dated back to the spring of 1988, when Vander Zalm was widely perceived as beginning to impose his personal religious and moral beliefs upon the people of the province, these previous images and much of the commentary were repetitively brought back for the radio, print and television audiences to ponder. In the manner which the media creates news, this process of selection is inescapably value-laden, highly edited and editorialized. Such is the nature of today's public form of background information; this is the working media's version of NFB filmmakers' 'historical vignettes'.

For example, selected imagery portraying past problems was usually repeated by the media when Vander Zalm was interviewed or talking about past events and his record. This repetition occurred particularly after each of the subsequent by-election losses that were blamed on the Premier's unpopularity by commentators and analysts. It is difficult to establish whether the Premier's questionable and often controversial past was in itself at fault or whether the media's preoccupation with the Vander Zalm record 'manufactured' discontent, as his supporters would have it. In any case, the point was that Vander Zalm was 'losing' the dialectic

at play.   The polls showed the Premier trailing his party in popularity and setting an all-time low for a provincial leader. The Premier was the focus and he remained the main issue.

By the Fall of 1989, the portrait of the Vander Zalm government was not at all the kind of public-imagery that the Premier had enjoyed during his earlier 'honeymoon' period prior to and immediately following the 1986 election.   Given this situation, the Premier had no choice but to react and respond to the public perceptions that were haunting his performance as "the boss" or "CEO" (Chief Executive Officer), to use the metaphors of party members in describing the office of Premier (field-notes).   The following is a summary of the key issues that the media, critics, commentators and Vander Zalm dueled over.

In the spring of 1987, the Vander Zalm government introduced Bills 19 and 20.   Bill 19 was a labour law that concentrated authority over disputes in the hands of one un-elected official, Ed Peck, the Commissioner of Industrial Relations.   The Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU) stated that "... it is worse than Bill Bennett's restraint which led to Operation Solidarity in 1983 ... (and Bill 19) amounts to the introduction of so-called right-to-work." (CCU, 1987 analysis pamphlet, 1).   The CCU and labour claimed that the new law would limit the right to strike, erode collective bargaining rights, attack union security, wipe out gains made in bargaining, encourage anti-union activity, interfere with

internal union affairs, all on Peck's orders with no provision or right to appeal (CUPE 2396 pamphlet). Bill 20 concerned education, particularly aimed at forcing the B.C. Teachers' Federation (BCTF) to reaffirm its right to represent teachers. The Bill meant that the teachers in each school district had to vote on whether they wished to have an 'open shop' or join the BCTF. Labour called for a one-day general strike and a boycott of Bill 19. But eventually and without fanfare disputes had begun to trickle into the Industrial Relations Council (IRC) office. Labour's outrage had faded, for the moment.

Newspapers ran headlines which read for example, "Premier puts B.C. back on boil: Vander Zalm sees 'good dividends' after 'suffering'" (May 9. 1987, D2). These labour laws were in timing with 'Privatization' efforts. This prompted some syndicated columnists to refer to Vander Zalm's agenda as "Shades of restraint II" (Pifer, Surrey Leader, July 12, 1987). Indeed, Pifer suggested that:

> "Vander Zalm and his henchpersons have only just begun to realign things in the province, and they want to get all of the agenda out as quickly as possible, and then use the following three years to sell it to the public and to potential investors ... much like a lady named Margaret Thatcher did when first elected in 1977 in Britain." (Ibid.).

The interesting point here is that it appears that the Bill Bennett program was more-or-less continued. I would argue that this indicates two main features: the basic underlying ideology and its program, its management, and its implementation into the life of

the province has not significantly changed under Vander Zalm and secondly, the continuation of this approach demonstrates a consistency in the Social Credit ideational system which goes beyond the individual, and arguably idiosyncratic, viewpoint of the Premier himself.[4]

This phase of the restraint program never really became a serious long-term political problem for Vander Zalm as it did for Bennett junior. The party had learnt something from the early problems and as many people attending the 1986 convention had felt, it could and would be handled better (Blake et al 1987, 5). Importantly, Vander Zalm was not a liability in his salesmanship as Bill Bennett had been. The print media in particular, running columns questioning the possible impact and effects of privatization, clearly fell far short of associating Vander Zalm as an outlandish and radical Premier with highly questionable ideologically-driven policies. Interestingly, however, what was developing was a sense of Vander Zalm as a 'one-man-band' in his approach; the media was

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[4] The continuation of restraint as a necessary, viable and important 'need' for the province was verified by many of Vander Zalm's key supporters, especially Elwood Veitch, presently the Minister for International Trade and Immigration. Veitch was commenting at length on the Roger's Cable channel Surrey/Delta program "Money Matters" (June 15, 1990) when he defended the restraint program of 1983 by rhetorical questions like "Where would we be now without restraint? ... (it was) good management ... enabled us to balance our budget." He stated that balancing the budget was Vander Zalm's first instruction to cabinet on becoming Premier.

still focusing upon his 'style' rather than associating him directly with his 'substance'.[5]

Co-incidently, in 1987 the Premier was faced with the untimely resignations of three of his ministers. Jack Kempf, the forest minister quit in light of problems with his office finances (travel expenses); Steven Rogers, the environment minister was forced out when boundary changes to Strathcona Provincial Park allowed a mining company that he had financial interest in to explore for mineral deposits; and Cliff Michael, the highways minister resigned after allegations that, while conducting official government business in his office, Michael had suggested to the owner of a company seeking a highways contract that he consider buying some land on Shuswap Lake that he, Michael, was selling. Vander Zalm's 'new' conflict of interest guidelines, were not legally enforceable and basically a conflict was one only if he decided it was (Mason and Baldrey 1989, 91).

The next major issue, however, ended the somewhat amiable relationship with the media rather abruptly. In January of 1988, Vander Zalm announced that his government intended to pay for abortions only in life-threatening situations. According to Keith Baldrey and Gary Mason, two Vancouver Sun writers, this was clearly

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[5] The centralization and expansion of the Premier's Office signified this fairly autocratic style. Mason and Baldrey point out that Bill Bennett budgeted for thirteen people in his office; by 1987, Vander Zalm's staff totalled forty-six, at a cost of about $1.5 million per year (1989, 102).

the point when the media turned on the Premier, although without
slanting the coverage.   Vander Zalm, however, felt that he had
"... lost the reporters. It was a real turning point." (Mason and
Baldrey 1989, 183).

Later, the situation escalated when the Premier stood firmly and
rigidly behind his conviction. For example, Vander Zalm: refused
to allow the release of a government sponsored A.I.D.S. video;
balked on paying for expensive and controversial new A.I.D.S.
drugs; tried to curtail abortions by writing a provision into the
health-care regulations of B.C. which would eliminate payment for
abortions (a regulation later struck down by the Court of Appeals
after Vander Zalm had an earlier attempt to curtail abortions go
against him by a Supreme Court of Canada decision); stated that
he was opposed to condom dispensers in schools; and that the safe
sex 'protect yourself' ads promote promiscuity. It was clear to
many that Vander Zalm was imposing his personal beliefs on the
majority of the people of British Columbia.

Then came more scandals. The Expo-lands controversy flared when
it was revealed in April 1988 that the Premier had attempted to
insert a late-bid from his friend and financial sponsor, Peter
Toiga, into the process.[6] This led to a major falling out between

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[6] This was not the only intervention by Vander Zalm on behalf
of friends, rather the most public. Another example was when the
Premier had instructed his assistant, Poole, to help a developer
that Bill Langas was working for deal with the BCEC on a bid for
some prime property in Burnaby. Langas was a close supporter of

Grace McCarthy, the minister responsible, and Vander Zalm. Mrs. McCarthy claimed interference by the Premier on behalf of a friend was a clear breach of trust and obvious conflict of interest and publicly 'scolded' the Premier. In any case, the Expo-lands were sold to Hong-Kong billionaire, Li Ka-shing's interests for a price that did not reflect the costs of the deal nor their potential market value ("Expo Land Deal Fails To Add Up: Auditor says gov't omitted $150m in costs", May 2, 1990, 1,4). This controversy continues and likely more on the Expo deal is yet to come.

It should be noted that land rezoning controversies involving apparent and potential 'inside connections' have been common in the past and the Vander Zalm tenure has not been an exception. The Vander Zalm's Fantasy Gardens and an Art Knapp's outlet on King George Highway in Surrey were both built on agricultural land reserve (ALR) prior to acquiring proper exemptions and rezoning permits. Another example involved some properties in Richmond which were rezoned from the ALR by developer Milan Illich, a close friend of Vander Zalm's and a supporter for his leadership bid. Illich also had close relatives serving on municipal committees overseeing rezoning. Another case involved the Municipality of Delta and Socred developers who included the brother-in-law of Vander Zalm supporter, Minister John Savage. Further, Savage

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Elwood Veitch. It has been argued for example that "Friends of government got preferential treatment." (Mason and Baldrey, 271).

himself and his seat-mate Walter Davidson were also involved. The political contacts helped arrange for the construction of a water reservoir in a municipal park which services their Point Roberts, USA holdings. Their rather lavish development plans were only possible due to the GVRD water ("The Delta Boys", Oct. 1988).[7] Yet another embarrassment occurred when the government sold off a prime strip of New Westminster waterfront for one/fifth of its appraised value. It was instantly flipped for an unusually high profit ("Instant $8.3m Profit", April 21, 1989).

In April 1988, there was the Knight Street Pub scandal. The Premier's executive assistant, David Poole, phoned Bert Hicks, the Liquor Control Branch (LCB) officer in charge of licencing, and asked him to place Charles Giordano's company on the LCB's list for approved pollsters in pub plebiscites. Giordano was formerly a campaign manager for Bill Vander Zalm's leadership run. It appeared that Giordano tampered with the results of the plebescite in order for the requisite neighborhood approval to go through, subsequently, the story became front page news. Once again the Premier was implicated in scandal allegedly interfering on behalf of friends, and not altogether honest ones at that. His right-hand 'fixer', executive assistant David Poole, was eventually

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[7] It could be further noted that Savage and his family have again been involved in a questionable land development, this time involving golf-courses (cf. "Man with history of bad debts, lawsuits touts Delta golf course", July 27 1990, A1, A12, B8).

forced out and given a contentious amount of severance pay. (Poole went to work for Toiga as a manager for his Ontario interests.)

Then in the fall of 1989, the first MLA to support Bill Vander Zalm's leadership bid and long-time friend, Bill Reid, the tourism minister, arranged an unusual procedure to distribute Go-BC funds (from lottery revenues under Reid's control) to a company controlled by both his former campaign manager and a long-time family friend. The deal involved a $277,000 contract to supply re-cycling containers. The process did not involve public tender and questions about distribution were raised. RCMP charges were pending at the time and Reid resigned from cabinet. GO-BC appeared to be simply another Socred political slush fund which just happened to be larger than the annual operating budgets of several ministries and distributed seemingly at the sole behest of the minister responsible.

Socred in-fighting also hurt Vander Zalm. In June and July 1988, Brian Smith (the Attorney-General) and Grace McCarthy (the runner-up in the 1986 leadership race) respectively resigned citing interference by non-elected officials from the Premier's Office and his centralized, non-consultive leadership 'style' as part of the problem. Then in October 1989, after the fifth by-election defeat in a row, four back-benchers, Dave Mercier, Doug Mowat, Duanne Crandall and Graham Bruce resigned from caucus and spoke openly of forming a new free-enterprise coalition.

Over-all, the Vander Zalm government's first-term in office appeared to be one of continual crisis management. Something drastic needed to be done as the coalition itself was falling apart. The situation for Vander Zalm, then, was a political nightmare. Bad media relations, unfavorable polls, bad public perceptions, and the tainting of the Premier with the same brush of scandals by his cabinet colleagues, close friends, and supporters made it imperative for Vander Zalm to try and change failing political fortunes.

What followed, and in the months that led-up to the January 17th speech-event, can be neatly illustrated in terms of three main phases. Applied to Premier Vander Zalm's actions, such a schemata offers an heuristic description of the pattern that his symbolic-behaviour seemed to form. This tripartite pattern took place during the period from the fall of 1989 to the speech-event of the spring of 1990.[8]

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[8] I wish to acknowledge the influence of the seminal work of Arnold Van Gennep (1909, trans. 1960). I do not, however, over-emphasize his discovery of passage structure, as he was concerned primarily with more formalized ritual movements than my application of his ideas in this thesis. Interestingly, however, Victor Turner (1974) suggests that:
> "... human culture had become cognizant of a tri-partitite movement in space-time. His (Van Gennep's) focus was restricted to ritual, but his paradigm covers many extra-ritual processes. He insisted that in all ritualized movement there was at least a moment when those being moved in accordance with a cultural script were liberated from normative demands, when they were, indeed, betwixt and between successive lodgements in jural political systems. ... In this interim of 'liminality' the possibility exists of standing

The first phase was marked by an attempted separation from past problems and crises. Vander Zalm's behaviour symbolically expressed a desire for discontinuity or detachment from certain elements of his reference group, especially those associated with the earlier problematic set of social and cultural conditions which identified his government in a negative way. During the second phase Vander Zalm became ambiguous and liminal, neither of the old position nor of the new. Through his disassociation from the Socreds who got his government into past troubles, a new set of relations was needed; he was on a threshold of the Social Credit's ideational imagination.[9] In this liminal phase the Premier was divested of structural position and temporarily treated as a non-incumbent with an unsure future. In the third phase, Vander Zalm was reincorporated into a new status with symbolic expressions reflecting subtle changes in norms and principles. This phase, marked by the speech itself, was essentially Vander Zalm's political re-incorporation. According to Turner (1974), such a situation of coming back from the marginality of a social wilderness involves human social integration that not only reflects structure but creates relations, sharing and bonding between

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aside not only from one's own social position but from all social positions and of formulating a potentially unlimited series of alternative social arrangements." (13-14)

[9] Turner refers to the type of "new bonding" or the altered patterns and social arrangements that the liminality prepares the individual for as "communitas" or social interrelatedness that follows the cultural ideal (cf. Turner 1974).

members of the group, on which changes in that structure itself is based, as its net outcome.[10]

Turning now to details, during that Fall of 1989 the Premier made several media appearances on television, radio and in print wherein he denied any involvement in the various scandals of his friends and colleagues. He claimed that he had no personal knowledge of issues like the Knight Street Pub and the other problems haunting his tenure. According to Vander Zalm the media was creating impressions that were unfair; the Premier could not be held responsible for "the actions of others", he argued to BCTV's Tony Parsons (aired Sept. 26, 1989). Vander Zalm was clearly attempting 'separation'.[11]

The next phase occurred scarcely two months later, with the sixth by-election defeat in Oak Bay, a staunchly conservative riding previously held by Brian Smith. Although in 1966 and 1968, the

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[10] I would further argue Turner's point that even informal relations are to be considered structural; this innovation dissolves a misleading dichotomy between individuals as subjects and society as objects, a premise that has been with us at least as long as Max Weber's classic distinction between informal and formal systems (cf. Gerth and Mills (1946), esp. Weber on bureaucracy).

[11] It was clear in this interview with Parsons that the Premier was employing a fundamental symbol, that of the "individual". As biological individuals we are not and cannot be held responsible for the actions, morality and consequences of others' behaviour. Therefore, there was no "community of involvement", as Vander Zalm put it, and the media was unfair in creating this impression. ("Premier says media to blame for stirring resignations issue", Oct.3, 1989, B2.)

riding had been Liberal, it had never before gone NDP and was generally considered a safe Socred seat (Boyle 1982, 117).

On the eve of the December 12th by-election loss, Vander Zalm said that he would "confer with workers and colleagues in the days ahead ... (and) in early January I will share my thoughts with British Columbians through a province-wide television broadcast which I've asked my staff to arrange" (CBC News Final). Immediately (and under the circumstances, not unexpectantly) a reporter asked the Premier if he was going to step down, to which Vander Zalm replied, "I told you I will confer ... and think long and hard." (Ibid.).

During the next thirty-five liminal days, when asked about his future Vander Zalm consistently reiterated a similar line used during the first phase of separation. Consider a sample of his statements:

> "can't speculate ... people are critical of the Premier, leadership and what's happening to the party ... (the problems are due to) element(s) of the 1986 Leadership Convention ... (and scandals like the Knight Street Pub being) blown out of proportion ... business is not always perfect, there's bound to be improprieties from time to time ... (I am) not responsible for those around me ... (my critics) can't be specific ... attempting to impose my morality and religion is furthest from the truth ... (and lastly, echoing W.A.C. Bennett) I just want people to be happy and live good lives in this province" (BCTV, Dec.16, 1989).

Another example of Vander Zalm's rhetorical strategy during this liminal phase can be seen in an interview by BCTV's Harvey Overfeld on January 16, 1990, the day before his broadcast. When Overfeld asked which single issue he would have handled differently, Vander

Zalm replied, "... the **perception** that somehow I have expressed my morals or my views on moral issues too forcefully, that's the most common announcement by people... but it's the **bottom-line** that counts after all", (my emphasis).

The latter statement is noteworthy as it illustrates a rhetorical technique often employed by Vander Zalm and other Socred politicians (field-notes). The technique involves using a key metaphor (in this case, 'the bottom-line') to organize an image in which a new meaning or understanding of the situation is learnt. In this example, metaphor operates as a device of cognitive representation which develops a hierarchical relation between two separate domains and which diminishes the import of the first domain (the speaking-about perceptions) by creating a new definition of the situation in which the second domain (financial management) is 'what counts'. In other words, what has occurred is that the 'bottom-line' metaphor of the second domain says that financial management is the reality that counts and that this is of far greater importance than mere 'perceptions'.[12]

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[12] This example is not meant to imply that use of this metaphor (the bottom-line) is drawn independently by a particular actor whose rhetorical practices and personal motivation affects ideational system. Rather the opposite is implied; precisely because the impact of system and political culture is emphasized in this thesis, I would argue that this metaphor both points to and is derived from a key symbol, that of economic and financial management (cf. Ortner 1984, 152; Bakker 1989, 43).

The second, or new definition of Socred reality itself takes a form of argument, enthymeme, which is "a hallmark of rhetoric since Aristotle, in which one or more of the propositions are suppressed, that is, left implicit or assumed." (Paine 1981, 13-14).[13] To complete the enthymeme, then, the assumed and implied part is that 'Socreds, of course, are good managers'.[14]

In the liminal phase, there was much speculation and secrecy as to the future of the Premier, the party and the coalition in its present form. Uncertainty prevailed in almost all public discussions, as is to be expected in situations of liminality. Tony Parsons, an anchor-man for BCTV illustrated this when he opened his January 17th noon news broadcast with: "It started as a romance and now has become a complete mystery. Even Cabinet Ministers are left in the dark...". The literary metaphor used by Parsons certainly describes the elements of 'drama' that was felt. Clearly expectations had been raised. Major changes were predicted by almost all public commentators and speculative scenarios about the future of the province and the Socred party were developed throughout the liminal period.

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[13] For a detailed explanation of rhetorical strategy, see: Robert Paine's (1981) own chapter, "When Saying is Doing" (9-23); Sapir (1977), "Anatomy of Metaphor".

[14] In the next section, which deals with the speech itself, it will become apparent that 'good management' is one part of the key symbolic attributions characteristic of what it means to be a Socred.

It was left to Jack Webster, however, a long-time prominent west-coast journalist who received an Honorary Doctorate from Simon Fraser University in 1985, to perhaps best summarize this phase for the general public on the day of the January 17 speech:

> "Government is right now in a state of suspended animation. Nothing being done. This is a crisis. For a month now he's been leading the media around by the nose ... he's a wonderful con-man. I've known him for so many years I can tell you what he'd like to be is President Vander Zalm; he might be quite good without a cabinet... Give him a little bit of credit too. He's cleaned up his act a great deal; he's got rid of these people around him and he's got a few pieces of partly good legislation coming up." (BCTV, Noon News, Jan.17, 1990).[15]

As stated previously, nobody knew with any degree of certainty during the liminal stage whether Vander Zalm would stay on as Premier, but it was obvious that there were changes and more had to come. The dissidents and break-away Socreds would have to be dealt with one way or another, the throne speech and provincial budget needed immediate attention and then there was, of course, the imminent election which at the moment held exceedingly bleak prospects for the Socred regime.

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[15] Interestingly, Vander Zalm's 'new' team includes one-time nemesis and political fixer, Jerry Lampert, who worked for Brian Smith in the 1986 leadership race and was once a Bill Bennett 'hired gun', who Vander Zalm scorned as a back-room operative who wields too much un-elected power. Rounding the team is former BCTV reporter, Eli Sopow, who was originally hired by the Socreds as a long-term planner but was likely involved up to his yang in this performance.

A major change was indeed on the horizon, however, it would not be a change of leader.[16] A re-incorporation phase, signalled by the long-awaited announcement to be contained in the speech, meant that a new ordered world of relationships would soon begin to emerge for the still-Premier, Bill Vander Zalm. The speech itself became an important symbol not only for the political survival of the Premier. The speech, it could be argued, also facilitated changes for all the people of British Columbia, whose expectations had been raised and for whom their socio-psychological reality had been altered due the uncertainty of liminality being strategically nurtured, either consciously or unconsciously. Indeed, this last point would be fascinating to pursue but goes beyond the scope of this thesis; one can only speculate that Vander Zalm's team of professional advisors had some influence in this behaviour as conscious strategy.

In any case, Vander Zalm's problematic reality was symbolically altered. The speech itself indicates that Bill Vander Zalm did his best to separate himself from the actions of his colleagues

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[16] This renewed life for the Premier, however, was not easy for the media to accept, particularly because many felt misled and manipulated by Vander Zalm. One striking reaction was by the national columnist, Robert Sheppard who wrote "Vander Zalm does a Sniffy the Rat" (Jan.19, 1990), a metaphorical reference to the show by a 'performance artist' who threatened to publicly squash a pet-shop rat with a granite block as an artistic social statement, but backed down at the last moment. (see also: "Sniffy the Premier was pure Television Art", Jan.18, 1990; "Vander Zalm Stretched the Truth", Jan.20, 1990; "All self-aggrandizing Prattle" and "Vander Zalm's TV Special is right up there with Geraldo" (Jan. 18, 1990).

and supporters, explain away controversy and even offer quasi-apologies for some of the problems of the past. Essentially, he was able to redefine reality and alleviate many of the problems plaguing his first-term in office. Support for the Premier had apparently increased. Polls indicated that his re-incorporation, for a time, was quite 'successful'.[17]

The prominent pollster, Angus Reid, was quoted as analyzing the apparently 'positive' effects of the speech as follows:

> "Premier Vander Zalm brought a brilliant political manoeuver to a recent climax with his provincial address ... it was a stroke of genius ... it was masterful the way he was able to control the public agenda in B.C. for five weeks ... By creating an atmosphere of expectation in the province about whether he would quit or stay, Vander Zalm silenced his critics for more than a month. At the same time he created a bridge that allowed him to distance himself from the political taint of six straight by-election losses." ("Poll expert applauds selling of T.V. appeal, Jan.18, 1990).

At this point, I would like to examine some of the consequences of the speech by showing some examples of its 'political reception' among both friendly and hostile people. The meanings that are

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[17] For example, an Angus Reid Group poll taken the two days immediately after the speech indicated that support for Social Credit rose significantly, closing the gap between the NDP to 6% from the early fall of 1989 which was at 20%. The Premier's personal rating was stated to be a reversal of an Angus Reid poll published Jan. 6, 1990, in which the majority of 54% thought he should resign. After the speech, 48% said he had a right to stay on while only 42% felt he should resign ("Speech a Winner, Poll Shows", Jan.20, 1990). Confirming this six weeks later, the Angus Reid firm stated that there was a "... dramatic recovery in the political fortunes of B.C.'s governing party" ("Socreds closing on NDP: Poll puts them near even", Mar.2, 1990).

constitutive of Social Credit reality lie not only in the speech itself but in its reiteration, as well as in the consequent behaviours and actions of the people involved. The following examples cannot be exhaustive, as that could require another thesis and is a potential area for future complimentary historical research.

Always supportive of the leader -- whoever "he" may be -- the influential party President, Mrs. Hope Rust reacted by saying that she had "found the Premier's speech terrific". She added that she was glad Vander Zalm is apparently willing to get tough with his caucus critics: " ... it's time to take off the velvet gloves ... if we don't stop all this backstabbing we're not going to win the next general election." ("Vander Zalm tells caucus to toe line", Jan.18, 1990).

Rust sees her role in the position of President as primarily someone who works for party unity, supports the Premier and his policies, works to win elections for free-enterprise, and works to keep the 'socialists' out of office (fieldnotes). Other key people concurred; the riding executives called for unity ("Riding Chiefs call", Jan.18, 1990), and the caucus extended their invitation to the dissidents to return to the fold "as long as they promised to refrain from publicly criticizing Vander Zalm or the party" ("Crandall rejoins caucus", Jan.25, 1990).

Noteworthy subsequent occurrences involved the return of the four dissident MLA's who resigned from caucus in October of 1989. The first back was Duane Crandall (MLA for Columbia River) after only one week. Crandall cited the need to be in government in order to fight for his constituents, due to the threat of the Sullivan mine shutdown in Kimberley. Also he referred to Vander Zalm as a 'hard-working individual' who is 'optimistic' about the future of B.C., and that he believes the Social Credit party always has, and will continue to remain the best hope for a 'free-enterprise' government ("Crandall rejoins caucus to address mine closure", Jan.25, 1990).

Approximately one month later, Graham Bruce (Cowichan-Malahat), Dave Mercier (Burnaby-Edmonds), and Doug Mowat (Vancouver-Little Mountain) rejoined the caucus. In separate news releases, Bruce emphasized the urgings of his constituents to return and voiced his faith in Social Credit as the only electable free-enterprise government, while Mercier said that most of his concerns have been addressed, and Mowat hinted that he might retire at the end of the current term (Palmer, Feb.15, 1990).

Grace McCarthy, also a critic of the Premier, was conveniently vacationing in Hawaii during the speech. Interestingly, Vaughn Palmer (currently out-of-favour with the Vander Zalm socreds) wrote that McCarthy, for one, would not unleash the revolt, and as a consequence of its lack of leadership, it ran out of steam. Palmer quotes McCarthy as previously stating that: "I must not be seen

as the one holding the knife" ("McCarthy jumps back on bandwagon",
Mar.14, 1990).

Support for the party was short-lived, however, due to yet another
serious scandal. This one involved Attorney-General Bud Smith, an
heir apparent, over gross democratic impropriety and interference
with justice in the Bill Reid affair. Bill Vander Zalm was once
again at the bottom of a poll conducted by the Angus Reid Group.
(cf. "Vander Zalm still hampering Socred popularity, poll finds",
July 28, 1990).

THE DRAMATURGY OF THE SPEECH

Prior to this section, I had developed the background for the analysis of the Social Credit symbolic system. This included a general socio-political history. Then I elaborated on the speech as an event, which in more specific terms, began with the 1986 emergence of Vander Zalm as leader. Eventually the speech-event involved the latest phase of a process intimately related to the controversies of the Premier's tenure. I shall now focus upon the specific situation in question, the Premier's televised speech-act and performance of January 17, 1990.[18]

The approach advocated in this thesis essentially argues that political performance can be seen as a cultural activity which draws from the groups' shared symbolic ideational system. Further, the activity uses this set of representations or imaginations dialectically in a process which bestows meanings through symbols on the minds of an audience. As such, the object of political communication is not to increase votes or redress waning support -- at least not directly. Rather, the object of the performance is to imbue the exchange with meaning and in such a way that votes and support are sure to follow (Lee 1989, 44).

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[18] For this section it may be helpful to refer to a video of the speech-performance, if available.

Previously, I argued that these meanings are not wholly independent symbols created through what would otherwise be socially-detached transactions. Rather, the meanings are drawn from ideational constraints which evolve within Social Credit social history as reiterated and understood by the actors and maintained through their more-or-less consistent collective representations -- in other words, as filtered through the "constellations of enshrined ideas" of their respective groups and associates (Geertz 1980, 135). I suggest that this impact of system on practices as evidenced by the speech performance is a major component of the "text to be read" (Ibid.). But first, a few key background comments about, and descriptions of, the practices which create and use iconography in both subconscious and all-too-conscious strategic support of the Vander Zalm performance.

The 'exchange of meaning' in this case took place in what may be the most carefully controlled and contrived communicative setting possible in modern politics. The prime-time televised speech was a state-of-the-art pre-recorded, scripted, directed, edited and professionally produced video-tape. The technology in effect created a one-way message transmitted to B.C.'ers within an hermetically-sealed broadcast environment. This format curtailed any possibility of interruption and minimized the potential risk involved in entering into dialogue with a media interviewer, commentator or member of the NDP opposition. In other words, the structure of the production framed the event into a deliberate and

restricted dyadic interaction between the speaker, Bill Vander Zalm, and the audience, the citizenry of British Columbia.[19]

The video, as dramaturgy, begins with the multivalent elements of background set composition. Using the example of the taped video as aired by the CBC, the first image seen was a 'still' frame frequently used by the network on such an occasion. It consisted of a provincial flag in one inset opposite a photo of the legislative building in Victoria. A voice-over stated, "From time to time, a special free time broadcast by the Premier of British Columbia is given to the citizens of that province on provincial issues of exceptional importance". This was followed by another set-piece, the British Columbia Government Coat-of-Arms, shown with both a voice-over and lettering that labelled the event, "An address by Premier William N. Vander Zalm". This was the Social Credit production's title shot.[20]

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[19] cf. Robert Paine's (1983) elaboration on various dyads used in political communication via the medium of television (esp. 94-95).

[20] Apparently Social Credit owns the Coat-of-Arms de facto through usufruct rights. The design surrounds a shield which displays on its top portion the Union Jack standing over a series of blue and white horizontal waves with a sun at the bottom end. The setting sun stands for the furthest end of the most western province in Confederation, while the blue (sea) and the white (snow-capped mountains) show the physical limits of the province herself. Other than the shield, the rest of the coat-of-arms has never been fully sanctioned by the Queen; this is due, at least in part, the shield being capped with a crown stylized as a replica of the one used by the Royal Family itself. Framing the shield are two animals, both bolting upright. On one side is a deer, representing the former colony of Vancouver Island, and on the other, a big-horned sheep, representing the mainland, the other

Having been subjected to imagery which establishes the import of what follows -- through stylized presentation, symbols of state and status, title legitimation and formal definition -- the viewer is further drawn into identification[21] with the event through the stage props that are discreetly but purposefully positioned around the Premier, who is speaking from his 'office'. The camera begins with a wide-view presentation and slowly closes the angle on the centre-piece, the Premier, while he is speaking. This panning is synchronized with the building intensity of his words.

At the outset, we are exposed to the requisite provincial flag. Now the flag, and its baggage of meanings such as legitimation, authority, historic continuity and societal unity, is combined symbolically with other normally neutral objects that gain a special contingent meaning. Offered to the viewer is a collage of representations. Some are general and to be expected in most North American political performances of this sort; others are specific to the situation of crisis and its management.

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former colony of the province during the time of its first governor, James Douglas, Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[21] Kenneth Burke points to identification as a vital and indispensible element of rhetoric. The audience, viewers or general target population invariably has to identify themselves with the symbols deployed in order for persuasion to be fundamentally possible (cf. 1962: 1969, esp. 20-23).

The former general set of props, for example, included a backdrop consisting of book-shelves, complete with an orderly arrangement of black and red legal-looking hardcovers.[22] In front of the Premier, on a highly polished and neatly arranged desk, was an ink-blotter, used as an armrest for the Premier clutching what appears to be his speech. This was touched up with a two-pen accessory stand, the pens lying on the blotter giving the illusion just having been used by the Premier in penning his speech. A delicate but stately elegant desk-top lamp giving-off a warm glow sat on the one corner of the desk. The lamp had a connotation of warmth, ease and comfort, and what viewer would have trouble with that.

Completing the general and somewhat to be expected visuals, was a relatively new accessory, the Ben Franklin specs, first effectively pioneered in Canada by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. This prop clearly displays wisdom, dignity with maturity and rounds the illusion with the wearer giving the appearance of a well-read and thoughtful leader.

Summarizing, the set of symbolic associations drawn for the viewers involve: the state that we share; historical continuity; the legitimacy of office; unity; social binding through legality;

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[22] One should note that it is not clear whether the hardcovers are the jackets containing actual legal papers or whether they simply skirt wooden blocks, props often used in television production. In any case, we are dealing with imagery, not substance in any 'real' sense.

authority; wisdom; thoughtfulness; and warmth with comfortable association.

This communion of symbols and meanings, however, is also drawn into an alignment with very specific elements that are relatively unique to the situation in British Columbia. Here the competency of the viewer in picking-up visual-perceptual codes, is required. The audience has to see itself and hear itself at the source of what the rhetorician says through imagery; the meaning of the pre-speech hype and speculation, the stage-set, and the actual words used also affect people on specifically local and even very personal levels. In other words, the symbols specifically displayed for B.C.'ers can be interpreted by that audience in very loose generalizable terms, while on the personal level, the symbols are critical elements which intimately translate to identifying one's self with Vander Zalm's own essence or his apparent persona; some degree of cognition by each viewer occurs at some point, but along this identifiable range of degrees of identification, association and meaning.

Consider this illustration; Vander Zalm prominently displayed his wedding band on the traditional finger (for North Americans). To some viewers, less competent in following the controversies of his tenure, their own identification may simply be on the level of say, 'yes, the man has married and is living within a traditional union'. To others better versed, the gold-band represents Vander

Zalm's deep and heart-felt committment to family and the principle of supporting and advocating the family as a fundamental social unit. To others still, the ring is a symbol of Vander Zalm's personal moral crusade to extend this support for 'family' into what is for many, the moral high-ground of 'right-to-life' or anti-abortion. As one can see, symbols skillfully used by the rhetorician must be general enough in appeal to a majority of people who occupy a vast range of understandings, awareness and other competencies beyond literal meanings.

Also illustrative of provincial specificity, the desk-lamp just mentioned was juxtaposed in one bottom corner to what looked to be a rather large, and black, accountant's ledger, sitting on the other fore-ground corner of the desk. It is a statement with a very specific implication; The book-keeping prop figures prominently in Social Credit's essential and historic fall-back position of 'providing good financial management'. The prop, therefore, employs a key-symbol.[23]

An interesting and noteworthy comment concerns the overall stage placement of the props. In visual impact the results mimic, on the screen, the classic X-cross composition technique used by a number of western European masters. The carefully manipulated X-

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[23] Here and in the previous paragraphs, I would like to acknowledge the influence of Roland Barthes, semiologist of mass culture and master of aesthetic critique (cf. Mythologies 1957, trans. 1972, 1985).

cross pattern composition is particularly reminiscent of an oil on canvas by Jules-Claude Ziegler entitled **The Republic**, 1848, displayed in the Musee des Beaux Arts, Lille France. The painting is about the 'New France' and its post-revolutionary bourgeois ideals. In essence, a comparison would place the Socreds' ledger in the same fore-ground position of prominence as the head of Ziegler's tentatively passive lion, always an ever-present threat to order in the new French republic. Notably the lion -- representing nature always ready to spring up and tear the people and culture back into chaos -- is held in place by celestial and iconographical sanctioned symbols of the new state.[24]

Another normally neutral object acquiring particular meaning in this setting was the multi-buttoned desk telephone. Here the range of potential codes include: being in touch; appearing business-like; networking important contacts; and effectively conducting the affairs of the office. To round off the scene, the Premier wore a dark-blue business-suit, which is usually considered a 'power-uniform' of the private/entrepreneurial sector's rather ambitious fashion buffs.

Extrapolating from these examples, it becomes evident that through linking incongruous objects, symbolic-loading occurs and

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[24] The comparison is of interest especially in light of C.B. McPherson's insights on the danger of democracy in Alberta slipping into a form of 'Bonapartism' (see McPherson, 235-236), an era of dictatorship that Ziegler symbolically portrays in this painting.

identification is created by way of seeing things in different and often startling new ways. The meanings are reached through a process involving symbolic action. In a televised performance such as this, actual behaviours and perceptions of the behaviour of the Vander Zalm Socreds are transformed into images and thus translated from social reality into the symbolic. As well, the symbolic action becomes communication and the event becomes a story when broadcast (Paine 1983, 93). We shall now examine and translate the story itself. For the next section, it would be helpful to refer to Appendix I, the official transcript of the speech.

THE TEXT AND ITS MEANINGS

In political speech, the orator has to establish his or her
authority at the outset for a number of central reasons: in order
to communicate with the audience; to persuade them effectively;
and to weave new patterns out of the past material. What should
be noticed first, therefore, is how that identity with the audience
is established and what elements of reputation are chosen to
accomplish that task (Lloyd-Jones 1981, 88-89).

The speech's text (Vander Zalm's story) begins quickly with a recap
of the past situation when Vander Zalm decide to enter the
leadership race at Whistler. Vander Zalm starts the speech with:

> "Three years ago when I decided to get back into politics, the
> economy was bad. Unemployment was high. We had a big deficit.
> A big accumulated deficit. There was not enough money for
> education. There was not enough money for health care and
> little money for the environment. The forest industry was
> cutting back. Mining was at a standstill. Secondary
> manufacturing was still only a wish and labour unrest was
> prevalent in all sectors. My platform three years ago was to
> change all that."

As noted earlier, the requisite authority and his legitimacy to
deal with issues of state and provincial affairs had been
established through the title stills and the stage props. This
allowed Vander Zalm to enter directly into the speech as a
professional politician. Further, he begins the speech with a
redefinition of history, fermenting an account of an unpalatable
recent political-economic past. Thereby an enthymeme was
developed. Unstated, it was never-the-less apparent that the

listeners would see that a new politician was needed who could correct the disastrous situation of three years ago, hence the return of Vander Zalm as the person who decided 'to change all that'. These opening remarks served to cast Vander Zalm in a rather heroic role, that of saviour.

Underlying the opening technique is a centrally important metaphor crucial to the Socreds and their ideational beliefs -- the 'economy'-- pointed to in the first sentence. That was the element chosen to establish an identity with the audience and filter their rendition of reality through. From a good economy flows 'good' industrial and manufacturing activity and the money to pay for health care, education and social services. The converse situation of a bad economy was placed to be the root of the problems three years ago. From the economy flows all forms of life, good and bad. This is Socred reification at its best.

At this point it should be apparent that this central element of 'the economy' is conceptually a core-symbol. Such central symbols are revealed partly analytically, through their actual presence and their historical continuity, and partly dialectically through their direct or implicit contrast to an opposite. As stated earlier, the theoretical stance of this thesis assumes the position that meanings are socially constructed and can be conceptualized in terms of core-symbols. These central elements form sets of relationships with other elements of the cultural system. In

essence, core-symbols reveal codes to a map or an ideological template for understanding the meaning of reality for Socreds.[25]

Figure I provides a sketch of the meanings which flow from the economic determinant, as envisioned by Vander Zalm. The indented items are seen as flowing from those symbols listed directly above them. It reveals a pattern which many people familiar with B.C. would find not too surprising, one in which the economy is seen as absolutely vital for all 'good' things to occur. From an analytical perspective, the pattern neatly illustrates the common dialectical relationships used by the Socreds in characterizing their NDP opponents.[26]

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[25] See also my introductory chapter, especially the sections on pages 8-18 and 24-28.

[26] It will become apparent in the thesis that the economic determinant serves to marginalize the NDP's ideas and policy alternatives. At a cognitive level, the symbol 'good economy' is controlled by the Socreds and establishes a set of linkages which ideologically relate 'what is socially possible' in such a way as to cast the NDP's position -- which emphasizes primarily social reform/justice/class fairness and the like -- as impossible without a strong corresponding economic program. Given the NDP's seemingly weak (or at least generally not well-known) economic platform, as well as their low appeal to capital historically and an unproven ability to 'manage' the 'public purse', the symbolic associations related to the 'good economy' makes the NDP position appear quite untenable -- and even risky to social security.

FIGURE I

Meanings contained in symbol "economy"
(as per opening remarks of speech,
refer to page 1 - top of 2)

POSITIVE POLE   NEGATIVE POLE

greater security   instability

changes for better future   problematic past

                           "Economy"

good economy   bad economy

employment   unemployment

intact families   split families

no deficit   big deficit
  reduced size of gov't   expensive gov't
  privatization   gov't ownership
  regionalization   centralization
  new investment   no new investment
  new economic activity   no new activity
  no tax increases   more tax increases
  more productivity   low productivity

enough money   not enough money
  best education   poor education
  finest health care   limited health care
  clean environment   poor environment
  good social programs   bad social programs

increased production   low production
  forest industry growth   forestry decline
  mining industry growth   mining standstill
  potential secondary   no secondary
            manufacturing   manufacturing

increased investment   no new investment
  needed mega-projects   assets not used
  required revised laws   old laws

labour peace   labour unrest

It should be noted that alternative economies are never mentioned let alone discussed. The provincial version of the right-wing agenda of the Socreds' heroes, Thatcher and Reagan (fieldnotes; Carroll and Ratner 1989) and their assumptions about providing a better way of life are simply incorporated into the meaning of a 'good economy' (via the syllogistic form, enthymeme). As we see, a 'free-enterprise' market-driven economy of their particular ideological variety is simply the only one assumed to offer the best and most viable path from which money will flow and to pay for social services and the like.

From my fieldnotes, it is evident that the predominant belief is that the creation of wealth is paramount to improving the plight of disadvantaged people. 'Arthur' is a small/medium business-man, a franchise co-partner involving a number of fast-food outlets. He believes that making money should be enhanced through reducing taxation and regulation. Importantly, an improved profit is not only for his personal benefit, as he sees it. Arthur argued that:

> "Sure that's good for me but it's good for everybody. ... I employ people and the number of people I hire and my suppliers will grow as I grow. Rules and government regulations stop my growth and less people will benefit ... Minimum wage [ie. laws] means I can't hire as many people as I could, and we all [taxpayers] end up having to support them."

In a curious mixture, of what is generally assumed to be a major contradiction between class or competing interests, Arthur also believes that, among other such elements of the 'good economy',

"deregulation would help us compete better internationally, which everyone also benefits from". Indeed, participant-observation indicates ample evidence that the degree of self-interest of the petite-bourgeoisie of Social Credit is shifting towards a more integrated, homogeneous understanding of economic relationships as an interdependency with large corporate and international business.

Arthur has heard several Chamber of Commerce luncheon speakers.[27] He remembers those from the Fraser Institute and tends to echo some of their premises. For example, he believes that without regulation 'natural market forces' will operate to improve the plight of the poor and disadvantaged as they, like others, would enter 'freely' into relations of exchange based on each person's 'true market value'. The price of goods and services would be lower as they would reflect the lower wages component of production costs and therefore the poor would better be able to afford necessities and pay for themselves. Furthermore, new businesses

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[27] It should be noted that Vander Zalm was President of the B.C. Chamber of Commerce prior to his 1986 leadership bid. The Chamber is pivotal to Social Credit for a number of reasons. It is a well-organized and influential network of pro-business oriented people to whom the rhetoric, homilies and slogans of 'free-enterprise' appeals. In specific terms, this and similar organizations and community clubs are important to Social Credit for soliciting donations, and volunteer recruitment. Individual Chamber members have an opportunity to get to know both other business people and their MLA's over luncheons and other events; they make contacts, business connections and participate in order to 'be in the loop', as network information is called. An important implication is that this organization is also a good vehicle to disseminate pro-government information, perspectives from the point of view of 'their free-enterprise party', and, as in Arthur's case, continuing right-wing education.

would spring up as labour costs would no longer prohibit development.

Arthur, an approachable non-abrasive middle-aged man, believes he is a moral, caring person (he does attend church, although he states that his business takes away from regular attendance). He believes that:

> "It is wrong for government to pay for the poor because it is better for the [free-enterprise] system to support them. Besides higher taxes on all of us, people take advantage of their dependency on government ... No more free-lunches! ... I own a business and talk to a lot of people trying to survive on low subsidized incomes. They say they want to earn a good income but they don't get out of their comfort zone and work for it. I'm not interested in people who only want to complain."

In essence, the maximization of private wealth at any level of business via policies such as de-regulation, privatization and tax-reductions for the private sector, has an implicitly moral justification. Such policies are understood by people like Arthur to create a 'trickle down' effect to the benefit of the lower classes. Furthermore, it is argued that the less fortunate tend to siphon off wealth and become dependent on the taxpayers. This presents a 'moral hazard' that has a negative impact on our 'ability to compete'. Reduced state services must become part of such policies; only then can the "wide-spread ripping off the system" be reduced, it is argued (cf. Grubel 1984; Block 1988).

Conversations with Arthur indicate a fairly strong belief that this econometric Socred-thinking is a morally justifiable and

'true' way of looking at society. Arthur takes this even further. A moral economy needs a moral leader and, for him, Bill Vander Zalm is such a person:

> "He tells it the way it is ... Men of the soil are basically an honest, hard-working, persevering lot ... and a successful nurseryman has to have a nurturing passion and focus on every last detail ... He is a moral, caring man who stands by his principles even when it's popular not to. ... We are all free because of his Christian principles."

Arthur's statements demonstrate a common symbolic linkage often encountered in Socred circles: 1) freedom for the individual (as the most important factor for a free economy), 2) the moral economy (consisting primarily of supporting the wealthy as the best way to benefit all by providing a better way of life for those in need and helping people to help themselves; the latter aspect would include for example, volunteerism, reaffirmation of the family as the basic unit of society, and state policies aimed at getting 'employables' off the welfare rolls), and 3) Christian principles (which advocate, according to one suburban riding association's handout, "the individual as a divinely-created being with both spiritual and physical potentials and needs, has certain inalienable rights which must be protected and preserved.").

Expressed in terms of a dialectical set of symbolic associations, the Arthur illustration can be sketched as follows in Figure II.

FIGURE II

Some elements of "Arthur's" symbolic associations

SOCIAL CREDIT/ POSITIVE POLE   vs.   OPPONENTS/ NEGATIVE POLE

SOCIAL CREDIT/ POSITIVE POLE	OPPONENTS/ NEGATIVE POLE
the Individual	big government
freedom	oppression
self-help	state subsidization
initiative	enervative
private wealth	intolerable dependency

free-enterprise has
  - a natural common cause
  - proven itself the best
	state-run business has
	   - been oppressively aligned
	   - proven itself a failure

deregulation	state control
volunteerism	state dependency
family	state
christian principles	godless
populist democracy	socialism

As both the above illustration and Figure I indicate, the elements of the economy which are seen by Socreds as essential, fundamental and particularly vital are drawn into symbolic sets of metonymic relations, or attributes which are seen to belong together with the 'good economy' and the 'individual'. These core-elements function on a continuum of symbolic associations ranging from the personal level of attributes, such as beliefs and prejudices through to the more general level of social, economic, political and strategic assumptions. In turn, these elements are tautologically used to justify the policies and actions taken.

To explain; the Socreds' plans for action, in terms of the goals which they set and the desired accomplishments they foresee, not surprisingly, are created and revolve around economic indicators. These and similar economic signs are used to 'measure' levels of 'success'. Such econometric preoccupation is strengthened by a number of ideational notions: that social life flows from and is provided through economic life, i.e. money, investment, greater productivity and so on; the primacy of the profit motive; and the Fraser Institute-like assumptions about human nature as 'economic man'. Essentially, on the ground this means that no distinction between the economic and social aspects of the actions to be undertaken is conceptually drawn at the outset of policy

creation. Therefore the social implications commonly tend to be dealt with in an ad hoc fashion.[28]

In particular, the process works as follows. For Socreds, the deficit is identified as one main problem which stifles their desired economy. Then goals are established and plans are drawn up to address the problem. The results as implemented are the kinds of strategies we have seen, such as reducing the size of government, cut-back of services, user fees, deregulation, selling public lands, privatization, regionalization, enticing new investment and so on. These are symbolically 'the answers'; they represent the much desired and often illusive panaceas.

These ideological strategies however, are implemented with only a singular purpose -- to control and reduce the deficit. Not surprisingly then, the goal of deficit reduction as the end takes precedent over the means, which become someone else's problem, usually lower-ranking government managers. Therefore, problems of implementation have in the past and will likely continue to plague the Socreds with a great deal more bad publicity and notoriety. As long as social concerns are in effect subjugated to econometric

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[28] Many examples could be given. The downtown east-side is an underprivileged urban Vancouver neighborhood which is continually under pressure to redevelop and to serve as an area to attract new investment. The concern for the existing community, support services and the provision of alternatives for the present residents of mostly poor, no-longer employed people, is always an outstanding conflict. (cf. Jeff Sommers' thesis (1989) for an inside look at one neighborhood centre and its people.)

goals and reduced to a particular 'free-market' ideological vision of how to provide a better way of life, mixed results can be expected to be the norm, as we have indeed witnessed.

Returning to the body of the Vander Zalm speech, Social Credit ideational orientations can be well described through sketching out an equivalent diction to the symbolically-loaded words used by the Premier. The general outline of the social history of the Socreds, combined with the analysis of the series of critical incidents related the current problems facing the government, permit a basis for comparison with the speech-act. The net results, of what is an heuristic juxtaposition, can then be scrutinized for patterns which reveal fundamental and re-occurring symbolic themes or clusters of ideas about government, and its role in society. In particular, the meanings that are articulated through the Premier's rhetoric, his particular choice of words and expressions, his appeal and ability to render his version of realty acceptable using representative collective symbols as developed over time, can be analyzed and clarified through the translation made possible by the background material presented earlier.

With situations of political performance, such as this speech or political campaigning in general, I have argued that the object is not votes or political support, at least not directly. Rather, the object is to imbue the issues with meanings -- the orator's meanings. Where these meanings go, the votes and support are sure

to follow (cf. Lee 1989, 44). Premier Vander Zalm, therefore, communicated his own meanings which reflect his definition of the situation and the crises involved. These meanings are generally anchored, as previously noted, to a system of historically-rooted Socred ideational orientations. This imaginative configuration, for our purposes, is an actor induced description of the present Social Credit symbolic system. Vander Zalm drew from and used this system in his attempt to alter and otherwise influence the audience's understandings of the meaning of events.

In rendering one's version of reality viable, the crucial step is to load one's meanings onto events that thereby become symbols for something else (Ibid.). Appendix II illustrates this step.[29] The first line of each of the statements starts with their respective page and line numbers, referenced to the text of the official written version of the speech. This continues with a socio-historically derived diction meant to clarify Vander Zalm's statements by using an alternative non-rhetorical but equivalent set of meanings that 'speak about' his utterances.[30] This first

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[29] I would like to acknowledge Paul Fussell's book, **The Great War and Modern Memory** (1976). The inspiration to create such a metaphoric table of symbolic juxtapositions came through Clifford Geertz' comments applauding Fussell's work as a literary example of an analysis which parallels his anthropological one (1983, 44-45). Fussell does indeed offer an instructive method for understanding the clash of moral imaginations and perceptions framed both from and for our social experiences.

[30] Not all communicative activity can be considered rhetorical. According to Robert Paine (1981, 5), 'speaking about', propaganda, and non-symbolic activity are not rhetoric.

line, in other words, offers a more-or-less neutral translation of the Premier's rhetorical version or display of his ideational imagination. In turn, juxtaposed and linked to this diction are the Premier's own statements -- the actual rhetoric he used or summarized renditions of the rhetoric. This procedure is applied virtually on a line-by-line basis.[31] In this manner we can compare and contrast dictions and then explicate the circulation of symbolic statements about the social political order in B.C. from the point of view of Social Credit, and as it was given to us through the vehicle of the speech.

Comparing the two dictions, it at once becomes apparent that Vander Zalm's loading of meanings on the situation is a highly imaginative exercise. Beliefs, however, are fundamental to understanding the world around us, and in doing so form an ideational set or come to possess a shared symbolic structure. Indeed, it must be recalled that one of the premises of this thesis is based on Geertz's assertion that the imagined is indeed 'real', insofar as everyday social life and behaviour is concerned (op. cit.). Consequently, in political persuasion, it is the viability

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[31] I would note that this procedure essentially offers a metaphor for understandings, and this appears to be fairly rigorous. That is a consequence that frankly, I do not wish to over-emphasize; for this thesis, this line-by-line procedure is simply a heuristic device for translating the symbolic content from one domain into another created through the application of one kind of anthropological perspective and historical method.

of one's imagination as reality that is at test. Success in this task of experience with meaning depends upon both the speaker's competency, as argued elsewhere, and on the influence of cultural system for the ideational delineation of the discourse at hand. Any perceptions and acceptance of Vander Zalm's meanings as viable must necessarily relate to that system both as a 'model of' and a 'model for' actual social experience.

A closer look at that system as revealed in Appendix II is the task at hand. The system, as it is uncovered through the material translated, reveals well-over one hundred statements. In this thesis, these statements are considered indicators of and for the general Social Credit belief system. As a set, they form a basis of, and for, group representations.

These statements are in effect social and cognitive markers which indicate the general ideational boundaries or frontiers of Social Credit imaginative thought. Further, these markers are symbolic insofar as they both induce people to conform and affect actors, participants and audiences by reorganizing the values by which people live and understand their experience. As symbols, these statements communicate notions of reality about what is good, what is democratic, what is needed, what ought to be, and general social values, morals and the like (Therborn, 18).

The translation of the speech material only begins from the meanings which come from the Socreds. When analytically organized, the material then unfolds other meanings revealed in a new light, that of the interpreter. The results are mostly quite unintended by the producers of a political performance. Nevertheless, the findings are, of course, a translation which is intimately related to the cultural data on Socreds themselves and articulated through the vehicle of the speech.

From the translation revealed in Appendix II, six main themes suggest themselves. These include the prevailing Socred view towards: democratic institutions and the opposition; democracy and leadership; what the ideal government is; explanations for the problems and issues; the ideology of management and its econometric path; and lastly, how the ideology relates to things-social and Socred orientations towards such a category.

First, several statements give the general picture on democratic institutions and the opposition: democratic opposition is negative opposition (as with most political parties) (P2 L12); pluralist groups are pressure groups (P2 L13); widespread democratic discontent is from single issue groups with too much power (P9 L1-4); the official opposition is massive opposition (P2 L10-11); the NDP opposition, institutions including big business, big unions, big media and single issue-groups create negative perceptions (P4 L6-9).

The opposition party is as a matter of course painted unfavorably in democratic politics, but what is noteworthy is how this is done. Massive implies monstrous. This dehumanized existence is extended with Vander Zalm's reference to the NDP's moral values as hidden and reptilian (P4 L18-20).[32] This imagery is further drawn into metonymic relation to Socred 'facts' about the NDP as standing against the good of the province and being the same socialists as in 1972-1975 (P9 L21-22). This period is still frequently touted as an example of the bad negative effects the opposition party had on the province.

As well, the NDP are liars. The proof is that the by-election defeats were due to NDP lies about Vander Zalm's imposition of Christian values (P4 L11-14). Given the central symbolic significance of the economy to the Socreds, the attack includes the belief that the NDP have no economic alternative (P8 L17-18) and therefore are symbolically empty at the core. Such imagery is

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[32] This symbol of the NDP as reptilian was further capitalized on, through a series of television commercials portraying the NDP as chameleons capable of deception by changing their stories and contradicting themselves on whether they would raise taxes and whether their leader is a socialist. Unfortunately, the tactic had an unintended effect when the chameleon used to film the commercial died and the handlers were accused of treating the animal callously (cf. "New Democrats' true colors become dead issue in B.C.", Sept.1, 1990, A4).

in keeping with the categorization held by many Socreds that Socialists are simply disguised Godless Communists.[33]

The senior government in Ottawa, constitutionally-speaking, is a check and balance on the provinces. It is capable of exercising a division of powers that have an important impact on provincial issues, policies and programs, largely through fiscal means. In Socred symbolism, the other structural political level, the Federal, becomes both a target and a scapegoat (P7 L2-5,14-17).[34]

The Senate, another feature of parliamentary democracy, is seen as an institution of the 'eastern dominated federal government' and needing reform (P7 L26-29). The omission of elements of the actual degree of pluralism that exists in Ottawa, such as a Liberal-controlled senate and a Progressive Conservative house, makes the

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[33] This metonymic alignment: socialism - communism - social democrat, is a very frequently conjured up set. I offer but two examples: Last year the Hon. Rita Johnston gave her best "Churchillian" rendition of the B.C. NDP, "the dark night of socialism, dictatorship and despair is retreating around the globe ... tanks and machine-guns couldn't make socialism work." (cf. Clarke, "Social Credit scare tactics too incredible", Dec.7, 1989). Also interesting was the story, "Commie Bob label libellous: Mayor" (Mar.28, 1990), which referred to a story by Vancouver Sun columnist Jamie Lamb which quoted the frequent references by the Surrey Chamber of Commerce members about the NDP-oriented mayor of Surrey, Bob Bose.

[34] As pointed out in chapter two, Historically Federal government-bashing has been a plank used by Socreds to deflect attention and gain more power. Perhaps though, such activity is more important today than it has ever been, given the Mulroney government's induced crisis over the constitution and the resulting potential separation of Quebec.

distinction an east-west issue rather than a problem complicated by party lines and less contrived due to appointments being subject to and institutionalized along lines of geographical representation.[35]

The constitutional quagmire produced by the Mulroney government through the Meech Lake Accord, is seen as unacceptable because "all Canadians must be equal" (P7 L18-21). This is another piece of sophistry, premised on historic ignorance and prejudice. The position lacks any acknowledgment of the Quebec fact. The new innovations Vander Zalm refers to (P7 L22-25) are ideologically buttressed with ahistorical, econometric, classic liberal notions of individualism and equality combined with a perceived western sense of distinctiveness from other regions, particularly from the East.[36]

A ramification of Vander Zalm's negative portrayal of both the media and intra-party strife involves how these institutional arrangements are ideationally-structured within Social Credit.

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[35] Albeit the non-elected patronage appointment system largely negates geography as the fundamental concern. Also the Liberal senate majority has recently been overturned by increasing the number of Senators and appointing Tories.

[36] Vander Zalm suggested shortly after the Speech, that B.C. is also distinct and we should have the same powers as Quebec. This is an irreconcilable proposal given Quebec's historic veto which was set up in contradistinction with the only other major category, English Canada. By giving all the current provinces 'equal' powers, we would de facto weaken Quebec's and Canada's historic status quo.

Vander Zalm blames these two factors for his crisis (P8 L33-36). In doing so, he sets them up to be purged and/or marginalized. In effect, the party and the government have little or low tolerance for people speaking on alternative meanings.[37] All opponents are foes, spread false labels by calling Vander Zalm "the enemy" and are against the provincial good (P2 L22-24). The last point is fundamentally a motherhood symbol for Socreds. You will recall throughout Social Credit history in British Columbia that the provincial good is seen as synonymous with a good economy.

Another illustration of Social Credit understandings about democratic institutions is that any dissent expressing itself in the form of an alternative political vehicle, is actively discouraged (P8 L15-16, P9 L14-22). This is not surprising with party and self-interest obvious. But consequently, this does leave little room on the conservative and liberal side of the political landscape for institutionalizing legitimate dissenting expressions. This is an internal paradox for the party, as the Social Credit coalition requires an accommodation of wide-spread beliefs and opinions in order to remain intact.

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[37] An example of this was evident at the 1989 Social Credit annual convention, when David Levy, of Jewish faith, became angered at the closure of debate on the Christianity clause in the party constitution. Furthermore, a debate on Vander Zalm's leadership was effectively curtailed before it could begin. (cf. "Socred walks out of convention", Oct.28, 1989, A5; "Socred convention 89", Nov.2, 1989, 3).

Finally, it should be noted that Vander Zalm promised to unveil a system of referenda which is claimed to be a democratic process that gives the people a direct say on certain issues (P7 L30-34). With this proposal, the Premier appears to be responding to pressures that label him a 'one-man band' who goes against the popular desires; he reduces incidents where he has gone against popular opinion to the status of mere accusations (P5 L5-6). The actual legislation on referenda that was subsequently introduced, however, gives the inner Cabinet total control over every aspect and contingency of the referendum process.[38]

The question arises that given the ideational pressures indicated within the institutional settings, where do Socred understandings of leadership and the Premier take us? Here the speech reveals an autocratic pattern. It should be noted that Vander Zalm's utterances in reflecting his role, indicate that the ideas of leadership which prevail are not significantly different from the patterns of his fore-runners, the Bennetts, when aligned with the Socreds' social political history.

Leadership to Socreds, amongst many things, means that personal impact, even when it runs against the wishes, desires and aspirations of others, can be justified; others will always differ

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[38] Cf. "Referendums: Bill the antithesis of true democracy", July 8, 1990, 30; Vaughn Palmer, "Good democracy or a blank cheque", July 6, 1990, A14; Barbara McLintock, "New bills a grab for power", July 8, 1990, 31.

(P6 L33-36). Reflecting typical empathy with this last line -- a truism which becomes a questionable and possibly dangerous exercise of undemocratic will when used to dismiss the rights and opinions of others in this fashion -- are the following sample of statements voiced by Social Credit delegates at the 1989 party convention:

> "When you're in charge, you're in charge, simple as that"; "People need strong, moral leadership that comes from their conscience"; "Vander Zalm's an ethical independent thinker ... a free spirit who doesn't always think the same things like the socialists"; "We make impossible demands on our politicians ... there's only so much money ... then we make life miserable because they didn't live up to our expectations"; and "It's the followers that are the big disappointment".

These kinds of empathetic interpretations of what the Premier means allow Vander Zalm to build from the truism that others will always differ, and entrench the legitimacy of imposing his ideas and programs. Indeed, Bill Vander Zalm's definition of our needs are to be perceived (via his use of metonym) as the same as the general needs of the people (P6 L38-39).

This vision of what kind of leadership is needed, derived out of what are perceived to be practical problems with pluralism, requires public reinforcement. It becomes necessary to speak out about what is best for the people. Of course, telling people what is best for them has often enough become reduced to an exercise in moral suasion, and therefore an imposition to many. In the Socred system, however, such political impropriety is simply a free-speech entitlement (P5 L1-4,28-31). It matters not that any such entitlement was intended by-in-large for protection when the people

speak freely and critically about the state, which is by definition already powerful enough. Demands for free speech by the state to justify their criticisms of the people is a sophistical twist which could act in de facto support of widely institutionalized state-controlled intolerance and prejudice.

Quite frightening in a legitimate democracy is Vander Zalm's point that a leader undergoing the intense pressures of wide-spread discontent should not be allowed to resign under such circumstances (P9 L5-6); and that act is even argued as being morally wrong for the majority of people, as pluralistic pressures from many fronts have each been reduced, in Socred understanding, to single issue groups with too much power (P9 L1-4).

'Mary' is a Young Socred and university student. She consciously and actively networks both on and off campus with an eye to a future in politics for herself. She neatly illustrates this point on leadership and pluralism; "Bill has to deal with countless me-first groups springing up daily ... in my opinion he's not hard-nosed enough". As an example of pressure groups she lists unions as "a prime example of groups getting carried away with too much power".

Indeed, how this belief can work itself through to the level of behaviour can be neatly illustrated. While Mary was an elected officer representing students, she became a member of a hiring

committee which was charged with selecting a candidate for a paid on-campus position sponsored by students. Over fifty people had applied. When asked about her main criterion for short-listing the large number of applicants, Mary replied:

> "First I weeded out anybody that had any union background or even mentioned unions on their applications." [When asked why, she said] ... "It's not that I am prejudiced against those people, but unions have too much power; they get into stuff beyond union and labour concerns and they're not good for business ... the economy suffers. ... free markets are the future and that means the individual and his [sic] rights should come first over the state and groups like unions -- which aren't democratic."

Mary's comments show the prevailing view among many Socreds about the relationship between the symbols of 'good' economy, business, the individual, democracy, the state vis-a-vis organizations such as unions, community groups, as well as social activists generally. In the Socred ideational system, all such groups tend to be seen as merely more "negative" pressure groups.[39]

Furthermore, the twisted symbolic logic of this part of the speech -- particularly that a leader under pressure and involved in controversy should not resign as an option -- is an element that is heavily fortified through metaphoric association; any wide-spread pressures, even non-violent ones, which have an effect of leading towards the Premier's unwanted option of resignation, are rhetorically aligned to mean that others [also] will be persecuted

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[39] I am compelled to add a comment made by a colleague of mine about Mary-like positions which advocate the primacy of the mythical individual. As Lloyd poignantly points out, "She's talking about the freedom to individually negotiate with MacMillan Bloedel".

by such single issue groups (P9 L5-6). The enthymeme invoking the image of the World War II persecution of Jews, communists, non-Aryans and other opponents is unfortunate but effective rhetoric. Reducing democratic pressures to persecution is curious indeed.

Then consider the language Vander Zalm uses to support his decision not to resign. Regardless of context, affiliation and the validity of the democratic right to expression, those who contribute to the pressures for resignation are seen as whimsically and wrongfully wielding the power "to depose a leader" (P9 L1-6). Furthermore, refusing to resign is justified by the spectre of socialists waiting to return (P8 L20-23). The serious political implications of this sort of belief are generally not recognized.

Particularly convoluted is Vander Zalm's position that his monopoly on the right to retain sole power over calling an election is "fair" (P(L23-24). Best capping this set of ideas about leadership is a Vander Zalm utterance which shows a common material/utilitarian bias; clinging onto power despite widespread discontent is morally justified with, "I've got a job to finish" (P9 L25).

Next we turn to the third theme which is suggested from the speech: the prevailing view of government. What it is, and ought to be, resembles the expectations in a charismatic leadership cult. For example, loyalty and service for the leader is expected as the

norm. The ideal government is one of total committment to the leader (P9 L10-11). Other Socreds, elected as representatives by the people of their respective ridings, are the 'government'. A good government is one wherein dissent is replaced by discipline and caucus unity (P9 L7-10). Indeed, intra-party debate is also referred to as massive opposition in the same breath as the NDP (P2 L10-11). The rhetorical impact of this metonymic alignment is that no 'respectable free-enterprise' Socred MLA would venture to be associated with the same stigma carried by the NDP -- as a 'negative' opposition.

Conceptions about the nature of our civil-service are noteworthy and important to the B.C. polity. The public service is referred to in the possessive as, "the government and its' staff" (P9 L10) which needless to say, must also be totally committed to the leader. Government ideological policies are an agenda, which is a common political euphemism (P7 L30). Any resident of B.C. is aware of the vast amount of propaganda sent directly to homes and through the public airways. This material is seen as 'positive information' about the agenda and it is sent to residents, ideally by the committed and loyal staff.

The Premier's reflections on democratic processes are also interesting. The Whistler leadership contest and the other annual party conventions are touted as democratic processes with democratic results, a "grassroots" majority choice of leader and

his (and possibly her, one day) reaffirmation (P8 L20-22). Such processes, however, are extremely problematic. Manipulation is often the rule, albeit most political parties would likely have similar as well as other processual glitches.[40] Vander Zalm, instead of facing formal democratic ratification, either through a general election or via a flawed leadership convention (but one which would be somewhat more adequate than the annual convention show of hands), chose instead to refer to his mail and other correspondence he received in support, as an "extraordinary exercise in democracy" (P8 L23-29). The Premier then adds backing from wife Lillian and the family as proof of his support (P8 L20-30). Vander Zalm frequently exhibits the family as important and fundamental. The symbol 'family' used this way is quite novel, but not for B.C.

Vander Zalm suggests that the nature of government is that it is not perfect (P9 L12). This draws a new meaning to the crisis of

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[40] The most common of manipulations occur prior to the conventions during the delegate selection process; fieldnotes from one riding indicate that the people who controlled the executive phoned mainly those members who were sure to support the leadership candidate of their choice. They arranged a slate for these people to support, even though many of the nominated delegates were not normally active in riding affairs. Another example shows the potential seriousness of manipulation. The ballot-counting procedure at Whistler had an unnoticed flaw. The Party hired a group of consultants to manage the balloting. After votes were cast, they were moved by only two people in a car to a location several blocks away where they would be counted. Security curtailing the movement of delegates in the voting hall and the sequestering of scrutineers at the other location meant that the car and its two hired staff were left unobserved. This aspect of democratic process is an area ripe for future research.

confidence and the seemingly endless problems. They are trivialized when aligned in this manner with the category -- perfect -- which no person or any group can possibly be. This 'straw-man' form creates a misleading relationship by setting up an argument that does not exist and is then further capitalized upon. Remarkably, it is further used to justify another astonishingly insensitive attitude for any social system to bear; governments should only be judged on the basis of the end results (P9 L12-13), which for Socreds are economic. In other words, in Socred understandings it is entirely 'natural' that the means of policy implementation will be problematic and even controversial as governments are simply never perfect.[41]

The fourth major theme suggested by the speech data concerns the Premier's understandings, explanations and handling of the problems that led to this performance. The rhetoric has to be convincing, and to do so it must draw from and address any inconsistencies in the meanings that are pre-established in the general Socred ideational system. Here, more than elsewhere in the thematic clusters, techniques of persuasion, skilful and believable performance, and audience competencies are of import. This could be an area for further investigation as the thesis will continue to tangentially point to the techniques, while concentrating on

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[41] This truism of nobody is perfect demonstrates that the Socreds' failure to symbolically and clearly distinguish between economic and social factors, other than as trickle-down economies, has a very deep impact upon the way government is conducted in this province; social problems become 'natural'.

the explication of the fundamental elements of the Socred ideational and ideological realm.

Basic to handling any political problem would be an aptitude towards moving one's position or compromising with the other parties especially when circumstances warrant adjustment. According to his rhetoric, Vander Zalm shows little propensity to move. To remain inflexible with his ideological program is: to be the best in Canada (P2 L17-19); to avoid suffering and being worse than other provinces (P2 L12-16); to be optimistic (P2 L20); to be a good man or woman (P6 L31-33); to be for things, not against (Ibid.). Indeed, to remain stubbornly undaunted is simply being positive (P6 L35-36), and who could argue with that?[42] Those who accept Vander Zalm's meanings and deny the validity of others' opinions about the problems, are fair-minded people who know the Premier (P4 L28-29).[43]

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[42] My fieldwork shows an interesting relationship between positive-thinking, self-help pop-type psychology, and friends of Vander Zalm (Vanderfans!). These people are a form of true believers who have curiously mixed radical individualism with the power of positive thinking. The main idea is that anyone can 'make it' if only his or her thinking is positive.

[43] My field data indicates a number of cases where this positive-thought belief ideal has reduced any and all criticism to its logical corollary, negative thinking. In effect, problems are deflected away from those in powerful positions -- like the Premier -- and placed squarely upon the critics themselves, the negative thinkers! Such reductionistic logic has the tendency to place the Socred government in a position where it simply cannot do any wrong, as that would be the exclusive domain of negative thinkers.

Further, this "taking a stand and sticking by it" (commendable according to 'Arthur') is symbolically-sanctioned by the founding father, W.A.C. Bennett himself (P4 L21-24). Such a position is 'firmness, conviction, forthrightness, calling it as it is, and standing-tall type leadership' as many Socreds have it, and these characteristics should be admired. Analytically, however, such a position shows political inflexibility that is justified through iconography, little more. Particularly important to recognize is that given the dimension of power, and its use in the hands of Socreds, this stance 'stands' in contradiction to respect for other's values and differences. This respect, therefore, can only be spoken about and not acted upon, should others' values actually differ (P4 L24-28; P7 L37-40).

Generally, the problems are placed at the feet of 'negative thinkers', like the NDP and the media (P2 L12). Mistakes become honest mistakes (P3 L23), strongly-held personal beliefs are honest (P4 L35-38), and personal offenses can be apologized for and explained (P3 L26-30). It follows that to be an unpopular Premier in B.C. is unfair, especially because opinions in the rest of Canada are (supposedly) supportive (P3 L20).

In specific incidents, the Premier deflected the situation by straight-forward denials, by calling impositions of his personal views merely accusations (P4 L33-34), and by numerous allegations of political favoritism becoming lies (P4 L1-5). Furthermore,

incidents when religious moral standards were imposed on others became deceitful suggestions (P4 L26-29), and his working against the law on abortion was a wrong accusation (P4 L26-29). Somewhat contradicting the last "wrong accusation", the Premier explained that his anti-abortion stand is a passion for the preservation of life (P4 L35-38). Furthermore, specifically Christian values in politics are acceptable anywhere and in every way (P4 L15-17).

On his reasons for denying the circulation of the government funded AIDS video, Vander Zalm used anecdotal evidence of the kind that is often used by marketers in soliciting donations for solving human misery which are defined and pictured specifically for that purpose (P5 L13-15). The AIDS controversy is simply understood by Socreds as political opportunism by ideological others, and apparently not much more (P5 L18-22).[44]

Of the many scandals, the Knight Street pub affair was singled out for special illustration. Again the messenger -- the 'negative' media -- was blamed for the perceptions of scandal and for implications that the Premier was involved (P5 L32-36) in the pub

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[44] A recent example of this health concern being reduced in its definition can be found in Surrey where local Socreds have treated the AIDS concern as mere political opportunism; they tried to stop and discredit the Young New Democrats from handing out Aids information and possibly condoms on the three Kwantlen College campuses (cf. "AIDS pamphlet slammed: School trustee labels YND info as manipulative", Oct. 24, 1990, A1).

affair.[45]   As well, and as earlier pointed out, the Premier's
separation from his other scandalous colleagues began in earnest
a number of months before this speech.   His argument is based on
the notion that the people around him were doing things that he is
not responsible for as a separate individual.   In social terms,
however, the behaviour, ideas and morality of our close associates
is not so easily dismissed as completely different and separate.

The separation argument becomes more feasible because it is not
only based on the use of the symbol 'individualism'.   Another
symbolic analogy fundamental to Socreds occurs in the speech data;
pub licencing is seen as an imperfect business needing improvement
(P6 L1-3).   Indeed, within Socred circles there is a rather common
myopic belief that government activity is 'doing business' and it
should be treated as a business.   Consider the following samples
of this symbolic analogy, collected from various 'Letters to the
Editor' written by Socreds:

> "In reality, council is a management board responsible to the
> shareholders [taxpayers] for a corporation with a budget of
> ...";   "... the authority of the [school] board is as a
> corporate body ... Elections are for the purpose of ensuring
> trustees represent the people on that corporate board ...";
> and "...conducting the business of doing government in a fair
> and equitable manner ... " (cf. Surrey Leader, Surrey/North
> Delta Now).

Indeed, 'business' is essentially a core symbol.   Aligned with
'good economy' and left conceptually unrefined -- in terms of size,

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[45]   It is implicitly understood that the messages are not pure
in any Archimedean sense of independent truth.

influence, national characteristics, differentials in power and such -- the symbol acts as symbols do; business means different things to different people. The net effects, for example, include a conceptual alleviation of the traditional tension between the petite bourgeoisie and the big Bourgeoisie within the Social Credit symbol system.[46]

Turning back to the theme of the Premier's understanding and handling of the 'problems', the only other scandal case that he mentions was about Expo 86. The Premier reduces the Toigo affair to simply another accusation (P6 L9-10) and completely ignores the actual give-away deal to interests in Hong Kong, other than to say that his interference was justifiable in order to get the best deal for B.C. (P6 L11-17,24-27). And once again, the information the public received about the Expo deal(s) was said to be manufactured misinformation from opponents (P6 L19-23). The Premier may have hoped that his interpretation would stick and that the other scandals would also become associated with the manufactured work of opponents.

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[46] It should be noted that while this alleviation of class distinctions operates at the level of core symbols (esp. the all business = good economy alignment), this functions primarily for the purpose of achieving policy consensus among groups with differing interests. For practical purposes the government has created separate Ministries, concerning the general management of small business affairs, dispensing pro-business propaganda and the administration of support programs and subsidization.

Expo 86 was symbolically evoked as a sales success. As well, this "success" was touted as being accomplished despite the negative NDP opposition (P6 L4-6). Whatever else Expo may have been and, still is to many others, Expo was a business venture and its success means that the general interest was served. In other words, the event and the give-away were both symbolized as meaning they were 'good' for all the people of the province, due to their contribution to facilitating new capital investment (P6 L7-9). This kind of 'success', given its critical position in supporting the general interest vis-a-vis all other less important interests (which are merely diminutive special or single issues, you will recall), therefore, takes symbolic precedence over any mere scandal caused by such other groups; this ideological redefinition and its believability shows the power of symbolic realities.

This leads to the fifth theme clustered around what can aptly be called the ideology of management and its econometrically engineered construction. The approach to dealing with the problems of society is referred to as a platform, in standard political usage (P1 L13). In sociological terms, it may be more fittingly described as the ideological plan or program. From the pattern indicated in the speech, the following illustrates a few characteristics of the human processes which are involved.

As in most Socred public utterances, it becomes clear early on that their ideological plan is centered on efforts to establish

the best economy (P1 L14). Attention to this economic focus is translated into promises to be the provider for the environment, education, health care and social programs (P1 L25-28). This is the illusive answer to social problems sought since the early study sessions and other humble beginnings of the Social Credit and the other western Canadian socio-political movements. The best economy means greater security, a better future and it keeps families together (P1 L16-18).

Good management is the requisite to establishing the best economy. The job of providing society with 'the good life', as Bennett senior had it, means special attention must focus on managing the budget, the deficit, and interest payments (P3 L4-19). Management, administration and civil-service is predominantly concerned with the function of fiscal bean-counting and not policy, and is therefore easily seen as a rational, non-ideological activity which simply tries to serve the general interest through handling the public account.[47] As well, management 'success' can be measured by comparing favorably to the rest of Canada insofar as promises,

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[47] Earlier in 1990, Mel Couvelier, the finance minister criticized his auditor-general when it was found that the provinces finances were not as perfect as political imagery would have us believe; Couvelier said "Someone who's got his snout in the public trough should have the wit to deal with issues he's mandated to deal with ... I have to question the propriety of Mr. Morfitt - who's basically a bean-counter - dealing with policy issues." ("Bean-counter Blasted", May 2, 1990).

service and economic indicators are concerned (Ibid.).[48] When
appropriate, i.e. during times of recession, circumstances are seen
as largely beyond direct control and dictated by the external
economy, and conversely, when times are booming, 'good' management
is touted as the main reason and the politicians usually take the
credit.

This view of public administration as a neutral body of servants
carrying out policy decided by elected representatives, ties
together notions of the civil services' role as primarily being
neutral and objective task-managers possessing the Socred
requirements of loyalty and committment, referred to earlier. In
combination, these basic requirements of neutrality, loyalty and
committment, means to managers (and to many Ministers) that public
affairs are best managed through a non-partisan service which
responds to the wishes of the people as articulated by 'their'
political representatives through their policy decisions. The
actual impact of the political and ideological orientations held
by a highly centralized governing party is reduced or hidden by
the 'understanding' that political decisions are merely a series
of discreet neutral choices which are based on the pragmatic
necessities given by the particular time-space situation. Indeed,

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[48] It should be noted that such comparisons are fallacious as
the context is ignored. In Canada generally, over the last decade,
we have seen a predominance of neo-conservative governments which
have all instigated 'restraint' programs to some extent. Social
austerity, therefore, is fairly wide-spread which means that the
numbers concerning social services are all falling in unison and
serious intrusions into programs can be more readily hidden.

such ideational 'non-partisanship' is believed to be possible and desirable among many extremely ideologically biased people who wish to enter -- and indeed are entering -- into public and political service at all levels.[49]

I consider this characteristic, of perceiving the management of public affairs as a pragmatic, non-partisan activity, to carry a number of distressing and even potentially insidious implications to the function of managing public institutions within a democratic context.   The Socred ideology is characteristically techno-rational in its general orientation, and the effects of this should be noted.

My first illustration comes from observations acquired during the mid nineteen-eighties when I served on various political boards in a university, notably their Senate and its budgetary and planning committees. I recall a Professor 'Kent'. Although I specifically point to Kent, I should note that Kent-like ideological positions did not vary a great deal from several other faculty members insofar as their commonalities are concerned; any differences were

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[49]   This ideology of non-partisan management, described in this thesis, bears a strong resemblance intellectually to the more formal sociological ideology inherent in Daniel Bell's 'end of ideology' thesis, scholarly irony at its finest. Many local- level political campaigns, interestingly, still tend to focus on this social myth of non-partisanship in city hall, such as the NPA (Non-Partisan Association) in Vancouver, and the newly formed coalition of previously splintered Socreds, Tories, Christian Heritage members, libertarians and Liberals calling themselves SET, the Surrey Electors Team.

mostly in degrees of passion and in varying competencies, especially in the presentation of their arguments. In fact, faculty members have a voting majority that, at least theoretically, could have altered the negative social impact of many of the political decisions made at the university during the restraint years.

Kent refers to himself as a 'scientist' who understands 'facts'. As well as research and teaching, Kent has been a long-time prominent figure on a number of university boards, committees and governing bodies. His presence is welcomed by the senior administrators as Kent has an unwavering pragmatic attitude which manifests itself as an impressive record of support for the administration's plans, which are politically directed through: both tacit understandings of, and direct Socred policies; partisan appointments to key governing boards; and budgetary controls. During the restraint years, Kent consistently voted for service cut-backs, quotas, differential fees, tuition and other user fee increases. His main justification was centered around pragmatic truisms such as, 'we have a budget to balance' and 'there is no more money'.

Questions of under-funding, in Kent's estimation, were decisions best made elsewhere which the university can not (and should not) have any control over. Indeed, Kent has argued worriedly that: "if we badger Victoria, things may even get worse". Kent believes

that he is more-than-less neutral, rational, objective, fair and task-oriented. The reality of non-econometrically defined problems -- such as lack of social fairness in accessibility, questionable ideological changes in the role of universities in B.C. society, resource-allocations which shift funds to more 'marketable' departments (defined operationally as the potential to aid businesses and corporations), and the setting of program and budget priorities which often have inequitable social consequences and negative impacts on less privileged people are according to Kent: "mostly hypothetical problems ... and not facts ... besides, under-funding goes in identifiable [business] cycles and the economy will get better". Kent, for all his brilliance as a scientist, could not appreciate nor recognize the irony here.

The second example comes through an acquaintance that I have known over many years. Here, I wish to illustrate the powerful influence that ideas can have over human agency. The kind of ideational controls that occurs within a political-institutional setting are more than merely limitations on the range of cognitive possibilities available to people. The ideological ideas of the Socreds tend to structurate the allowable activities within the management process, especially the placement of people in certain positions and senior-levels in the organization (Giddens 1984).

'Brian' is a local-level civil servant. He is a deputy department head in a suburban Vancouver municipality that I shall call

Riverside. Having once been fired from a similar position with another city (let's call it Mountainview), he has learned much about the meaning of task-management, loyalty and committment to his political masters (most of whom were and still are Socreds). Brian recalls his unfortunate experience in Mountainview:

> "I had the attitude that [as the professional] I knew best. At my level [senior management] that's O.K. if you're talking about the details of their plan and not questioning the philosophical aspects or the implications of their policy directions ... First you need to be seen as an on-board kinda guy ... Now my job is to make the politicians look good. They love-me and will do anything for me. My department is the only one that has consistently got bigger budgets over the last seven or eight years, in fact I got the highest increases ... that's because I do what I can for them and they appreciate that."

Brian's firing and subsequent re-incorporation into Riverside demonstrates the fallacious reasoning behind the idea of a senior civil servant being politically neutral; one does not get to those levels nor can one nurture one's own administrative domain unless you are seen to be supportive and not critical, task rather than policy oriented and, as Brian has correctly assessed it, 'an on board kinda guy'.

This raises an interesting question about the recent Ombudsman's report referred to by the media as Owen Inquiry into the Bill Reid affair and the Bud Smith tape scandal. The report cleared the 'reputation' of the top civil servants in the Attorney-General's department accused of not laying charges against Reid because of political pressure, despite the RCMP's recommendation. The decision not to lay charges was argued as being made purely on legal grounds, not political ones. Bud Smith apparently did not

join in that decision, however, in light of the Social Credit ideational view of 'its staff' and in terms of the system as it operates through people and selects public executives, Smith would not have to give 'direct' orders to achieve the desired results of stopping the criminal charges against Reid from being laid.[50]

The plan used by Social Credit 'to establish the best economy' indicates a few key features of what is to be done (my apologies to Lenin) from their point of view. Legislation altering the social balance of power is necessary in order to obtain commitments for lasting massive investments (P2 L7-9). State sponsored mega-projects are ways to attract lasting investment and are cures for unemployment, in keeping with the historic promises to alleviate social problems (P1 L32-P2 L4). Further, the plan means that tax-breaks and other fiscal incentives for business are economic measures like "fair taxes" (P8 L11). This particular ideological form of capital accumulation is symbolically aligned with the culturally-fundamental holy grail of freedom and labelled free-enterprise (P9 L15-16); this is a powerful cooptation by Socreds of the multitude of meanings encapsulated within this widely-shared symbol.

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[50] The Smith tapes scandal came soon after the first draft of this thesis was completed. For more details see for example: "New tapes fuel Smith controversy", "Reid role aired in tale of tapes", July 14 1990, A1; "The Tapes", ibid, B1; "Speaker blocks NDP questions about Bud Smith taping affair", July 20 1990, B1; "Telefury", July 23 1990, A7; "Tapes erode public confidence, party members say", ibid, B1; "Under the gun", Sept.1 1990, B2; "Politics in the legal system", Sept.2 1990, 37.

The importance of properly managing such ideological plans is underscored by references to the plan as a fragile balance (P8 L8). In a symbolic reversal, the inherent instabilities of the plan -- some of which were manifested as massive protests, marches, strikes, labour disputes, disobedience and the like -- becomes a path of balance (P8 L10). To the Premier, these and other battles over the meanings of the Socreds attempts to implement their ideology on society is "paying a great price" (P8 L31-32).

Apparently, however, it sounds worth it to the Premier. The ideological plan is touted to be for the good of the province (P9 L20). Any distinction between who exactly will benefit and who is least likely to, is left unconceptualized, other than by a de facto, trickle-down type of image (cf. 'Arthur'). In any case, we are told that the plans are an unfinished program (P8 L6-7).

In what could be described as a bit of salesmanship, we are told that this unfinished program is possible without tax increases, an important sign of the best economy. The alternative to higher taxation according to Socreds is, therefore, massive investment and de facto massive private ownership which is "the future" (P1 L31-32). Social Credit promises to be the party of prosperity.

The shape of this future, in social terms, takes us to the sixth and final theme suggested by the speech's text. What does the

speech show us about the kind of ties social concerns have with Socred ideology -- in the broader sense given their orientations towards democracy, leadership, management, and political and civil institutions?

The message that comes from the speech, concerning people and in light of the Socreds' ideological world, assumes a notably quasi-mythical form. First, there is the 'positive be-happy' message. The current situation in B.C. is said to be enjoyable, the best quality of life and the best economy in Canada (P7 L1-5). Proof that things are good in the province are the Socred 'facts' that people are moving here from Alberta and Ontario (P3 L18-19), and that an increase of development, resource sector growth and industrial expansion has occurred (P2 L25-P3 L3).

Then there is the big scare; this situation is fickle and could easily be lost. Further, it must be fought for (Ibid.). There is a frightening future possibility lurking in the shadows. Economic indicators (what else?) point to this ominous future, not material reality in any more concrete, empirical or directly visible sense. We may get problems of higher inflation, growing unemployment, higher taxes (P8 L12-14). To these are added more elements from economic rationality. Higher interest rates will cut exports, kill jobs, cripple small business, deny the young home ownership and not produce cheaper goods (P7 L7-13).

At this point, the story then needs a guiding force to negotiate such uncertainty. This force is no less than a restructuring of the economy (P1 L15), an esoteric abstraction with its own language that is understood by only the few initiated making it a very potent force indeed. To use such a powerful force is only for saviour/hero types, and in the more autocratically-inclined Socred metaphor, it is said the captain-leader will chart a course and stand by it (P6 L31-32).

Not directly part of the surface-level of the myth, but present implicitly, is the point that this econo-political activity is intimately tied to and conducted in relation with the other thematic patterns already described: autocratic leadership; committment and loyalty of the people's MLA's to the leader; tightly-controlled civil service; questionable notions about democratic institutions and processes; and the prevalence and primacy of econometric indicators over empirical social factors. As part of a system, these and other such Socred ideas and practices have a major and very real impact on the fundamental social contract in B.C..

Some of these ideas and their social impact, can be teased out of the speech. To begin, all of societies' non-business groups -- women, environmentalists, natives, teachers, children, ethnics, disabled, students, workers, artists and on and on -- which are as groups a greater majority of people, are reductionistically seen

as single or special interest groups (P4 L8). Business groups, on the other hand are seen as the provincial (and national) interest.[51]

Given this privileged position in society, it becomes less surprising that the demands, desires, needs and wishes of business-interests are generally well served, or at least taken seriously.[52] The ideational backing for Socred programs which heavily favour business-interests as they are perceived, is apparent in some of the comments made by Vander Zalm, such as public properties are "economic assets" (P1 L30) and the use of public properties and monies has "stimulated economic growth" (P8 L11-12).

An ideological orientation must by definition stand in an opposed relationship to other interests. Here the rhetorical symbols will dialectically inhere in the contradictions they embody (Wallman 1981, 133). For example, Vander Zalm refers to the lack of responsiveness in serving and funding the numerous demands of social needs as economically-necessary "controlled spending" (P8 L11). The ideological orientation towards supporting questionable, and often badly-managed, expenditures on mega-projects (i.e. the

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[51] Noam Chomsky made this observation on several occasions, one being a Bill Moyers' interview on his program, "The World of Ideas", repeated on the American Public Broadcast System.

[52] This is stated with reservation purposely. During the Bill Bennett restraint years, business-interests were divided and focused in favour of 'big' international corporate groups. The small-business sector was burdened with higher taxes, as their contribution to the perceived need for austerity (Nichols and Krieger, op.cit.).

Coquilhalla Hwy., North-east coal project and the Expo lands) while reducing expenditures on social services is to "chop costs" (P7 L16).

Further examples of this ideological orientation towards things-social are illustrated in the speech. Fiscal and budgetary manipulations will provide affordable housing (P8 L3-5). Tax-breaks for developers and construction companies are initiatives (P8 L4). A construction mega-project will establish a university of the north (P8 L1-2). Reducing one specific tax for homeowners is relief (P7 L35-36). And in an interesting 'sign' to those less fortunate, less healthy, less monied and requiring social services, a sign of government work is tax reduction (Ibid).

Somewhat predictably, serious public concerns such as food shortages for welfare recipients, poverty, abuse, racism, lack of affordable housing, under-funded services and other inequalities of condition and opportunity, are seen as merely special interests and managed accordingly -- to what the public purse is said to be able to afford ('Kent' is typical of Socreds holding this view about affordable and controlled spending).

This technical-econometric approach to social concerns can be further illustrated in the specific situations and problems recalled by Vander Zalm. His actions against preventative health care, when connotations of teen-sex and homo-sexuality are involved, are justifiable as the responsible management of tax-

payers' money (P5 L8-12). Also, abortions (special interests) funded through general revenues are abortions paid by all tax- payers (and therefore wrong) (P5 L1-2). In fact, it is common to find Socreds blaming the victims for their own plight; this arises at least partly as a consequence of the heavy symbolic emphasis on the individual and individual initiative (cf. 108). For example, in a recent letter to the editor of a community paper, a local Socred says: "We still have a balanced budget and good employment. Funding gays is like aiding and abetting a liability. People who self-destruct can only blame themselves."

Managing the purse, however, is not an ideologically neutral act, contrary to Socred beliefs. As such, deciding on what is to be done by fiscal means, is intertwined with social prejudices.[53] Such combinations were apparent in many of the Premier's statements throughout the speech, but the following have not yet been addressed.   Clearly patronizing certain groups, Vander Zalm suggests that Socreds see seniors, children, working poor and disabled as loveable, defenseless, struggling people (P3 L30-33). The fact that there would be an opposition to the Premier's stand against abortion was astonishing (P4 L35-36). The stand against condom-vending machines in schools upsets only the NDP who have

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[53]   To be sure, ontologically-speaking, we all carry prejudices of one sort or another; that knowledge is not and cannot be absolute given the nature of our species, is an underlying assumption to this thesis statement. This, however, does not mean some prejudices are on the same moral high-ground as others.

hidden reptilian morals (P5 L23-24). In any case, the issue of condoms in schools is not a social concern because it is better justified as a parent and community responsibility (P5 L25-27). Once again, the symbolic mating of social problems with the 'family' as the solution, and not the state per se, is clear. According to Socred beliefs, the family, being the fundamental unit responsible for things-social, should live up to its primary responsibilities.

Socred ideological orientations towards the accumulation of wealth, without embodying an equally-significant symbolic status with understanding a state-level responsibility towards things-social and concerns for the human condition of our world, does perhaps speed economic development and create wealth. But their orientations do not result in providing an effective solution to resolving social concerns and inequalities. It is dramatic irony that serious public problems -- of the wide variety experienced in the province, from personal improprieties to scandals to social neglect -- are simply and succinctly labelled "flack" (P6 L34). The future of B.C. does indeed appear to be "what's in store" (P6 L37-39).

Essentially, then, these six clusters of symbolic themes represent the present state of the 'substance' that is talked about but lost

in lieu of Vander Zalm's very successful use of 'style'.[54] This
predominance of style/imagery over substance and such as a more-
grounded policy debate has become the usual way politics is
conducted, in the Vander Zalm era. Watching and listening to a
political performance via an electronic display is indeed "being
with Vander Zalm" (P9 L26). The 'double-think' of his message is
problematic to the people in B.C. as it does not allow a
comprehensive understanding of social, economic, historical and
political realities. The gulf among the ideas and passions of
people -- especially between wide-spread resentment vs.
fascination, political cynicism vs. acceptance, and a general
debilitating feeling of powerlessness vs. power in the personal
ability to understand and therefore utilize the new socio-
political technologies -- can be expected to become even greater
as a result.

But this does not mean politics today, particularly in B.C., should
be denigrated or exposed as merely techno-wizardry, fraudulent
manipulations and/or hypocrisy. Questions of power and its
exercise in a validly democratic state are far too important to be
left alone to fester. It is imperative, then, that we view, expose
and discuss any manifestations of politics, in all their forms of

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[54] I acknowledge the point that in our as-lived reality of
today, style is substance (a variation of McLuhan's (1967) medium
is the message, I suppose). But the difference that I am alluding
to is that in the exercise of interpretation, it often becomes
illuminating, useful and even critically necessary to reintroduce
culturally-muted distinctions.

public display and performance, as critical vehicles "for the circulation of symbolic statements about the social order" (Paine 1981, 5). It is this relationship between symbolic expression, power, and Social Credit political culture as a local example of the New Right, that I address in my closing comments, the final chapter.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS:

SOCIAL CREDIT AS BELIEFS, RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY

It is not my intent to end this thesis by reiterating the numerous highlights of Social Credit ideology, as expressed in the speech-event, enlivened through illustrations and interpreted through translation. I believe that I have fulfilled my obligations as articulated in the introductory chapter: I have examined how Socreds use rhetorical statements and dramaturgy in order to maintain political power and economic privilege; I have explored the symbolic form of public utterances and offered an explanation for Social Credit rhetoric, actions and behaviour based upon the method of combining social history with a theory of symbols and meanings treated as a cultural system with identifiable ideological patterns; and I have shown how the Social Credit historical, sociological and political background provides a context for understanding and making sense of the Premier's speech.

Therefore, the intent of this section will focus on a final purpose: to point out as a future area of study, the need to understand Social Credit in its more complete, holistic sense, that is as an historically-situated cultural phenomenon exhibiting -- as our theory guides us -- a system of distinguishable

ideological characteristics that can be seen as a local example of the global movement referred to as the 'New Right'.

In this thesis Social Credit beliefs, arising within the historical circumstances of western Canada, developed and redeveloped as a 'model of' the meaning of social experience and a 'model for' dealing with life in British Columbia (Geertz, op. cit.). These beliefs, as a set of ideational understandings, must be continuously displayed, shared and adjusted, as in any cultural system. Social Credit's "behaviour becomes symbolic action which becomes communication, and so the event becomes -- must become -- a story when televised" (Paine 1983, 93). In looking at the details of this story as displayed in the events of and around a specific political performance, a number of patterns and themes emerge. The Vander Zalm performance-event, with its general and specific context as outlined, reveals through a kind of translation, certain meanings, systematic ideational themes and symbolically-laden statements about what the social order is, and what it ought to be.

The interpretive understandings gained in this thesis, however, reveal more than merely an interesting anthropologically-derived set of ideational beliefs which are used and rhetorically manipulated by Socreds, and drawn from and incorporated into communications and political messages about themselves and the social order in British Columbia. The work also draws attention

towards the power of this set of ideational meanings and understandings as a basis for social action by this dominant Social Credit group.

As such, Socred symbolism is not merely an abstraction seen as fundamental to a world-view geared primarily towards persuasion in its rhetorical manifestations. As well, symbolism provides us conceptual access to an ideological process and the exercise of power. Symbolic statements and events represent the group's moral imaginations. Held by actors engaged in politics and governing, this ideational construction of a system of meanings, becomes institutionalized into relations of power, dominance and control over others.

These elements of symbolism, ideology and power are clarified by Goran Therborn (1980). As outlined in the introductory chapter, Therborn suggests a metaphor consisting of a three-part template which describes the ideological process of the transformation of Socred beliefs into practice. In order to be effective, argues Therborn, the ideology must address certain fundamental questions about what exists, what is good and what is possible. To the analyst or interpreter, these three aspects can be used to clarify our understanding of a particular ideology and its application.

On the west coast of Canada, since their early inception as socially-concerned study groups, the present day Socreds

demonstrably have lost touch with the primary -- and morally necessary I would argue -- concern with the social aspects of 'what exists' in any comprehensive sociological or empirical way. Rather, 'what ought to exist' has become central to the Socreds and is addressed reductionistically in an econometric fashion. Consequently, 'what is possible' becomes implemented in forms like the various restraint programs and policies handed down through a small committee of loyal cabinet appointees. In short, their ideology -- reified, with things-social lacking a status of symbolic equivalence with things-economic -- is managed primarily using technological tools of economic rationality, discriminatorily applied through the power of a highly-centralized state apparatus.

To clarify, centralized planning, goal-creation and strategies for actions occurs between the Socred cabinet and top officials. The Deputy and Assistant Deputies, however, are often placed in the position of making mere recommendations even when they, and not cabinet, are delegated by law to have the power to make certain decisions.[55] The top senior people in the civil-service are placed in the direct service of Social Credit, wherein loyalty and econorational 'recommendations' are expected, not independent decisions about policy per se (as the data shows).

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[55] cf. Vaughn Palmer, July 23 1990, A6; "Add Forestry award to Socred Scandal List". The Deputy chief forester, delegated by law to award licenses was over-ruled by cabinet.

Decision-making as we have seen, aside from this institutional form that its actual management process assumes, is based on the symbolic significance of the Socred's notion of economy and their understanding of which of several economic indicators are problematic at any given time. Such technical preoccupation with the tools of economic rationality can at least partly explain some of the fall-out over the Expo deals, the mega-projects, the scandals, the resignations, labour unrest, welfare and social program cut-backs and civil unrest. Social aspects are simply secondary concerns and human problems are seen as tentative by-products that Socreds believe markets can and will correct. Faith in the creation of prosperity for all is based upon the primacy of so-called free-markets and their apparent capability to distribute the wealth in a morally acceptable fashion. Combined with the promises inherent in attracting massive financial investment, such faith becomes the paramount factor for the social policies, goals and any redistribution of wealth.

As well, class tensions among business factions with competing interests are minimized by the ideological appeal to the primacy of the creation of wealth and linking this symbolically with the international economy - the pacific rim - the future - everyone's future. We are given a powerful metonymic alignment which makes all business-people, capitalists and professional supporters (such as business administrators, stock-brokers, bankers, academics such as 'Prof. Kent', lawyers, politicians and the like) feel good about

Social Credit's 'economic results' and believe they are all working together towards a shared end.

The salient factors, then, include the ideological beliefs that: 'pure' market forces create wealth; the individual capitalist (subsidized through economic incentives from the public purse), will tend to reinvest his or her fortunes in the province rather than spending excessively on personal and mostly imported consumer goods -- or simply investing elsewhere. The moral redistribution of the societies' produce involves, necessarily, a denigration of pluralist pressures, and that in turn allows three things to occur: proper management comes to means that a cap on spending on things-social must be rigorously maintained; Vander Zalm's own agenda is substituted for the public need; and the interests of business become the national interest while the interests of others are reduced in priority and simply explained away, by being labelled categorically as just more of the usual pressure groups developed during the 'bad' days of the welfare state (Chomsky, op. cit.).

The Socred's focus on the economy, importantly, has another symbolic consequence, one which works towards the party's strategic advantage. The core-symbol and its meaning, the 'best economy', is as they define it to be. This ability to define the 'best', gives a kind of symbolic monopoly to the Socreds which, in turn, limits the NDP position to being the de facto perennial ideologues of opposition. Rather than holding up an ideology of

alternative prosperity and regaining political momentum, the NDP hold few promises or avenues to create greater wealth more quickly than the Socreds, with their path of stimulated economic investments, the subsidization of private capital, and their successful rhetorical use of the emotive and powerful symbol of 'free-enterprise'.

The Socred way holds out to people a simply understood potential for wealth to at least 'trickle-down'. Within Social Credit discourse, it becomes obvious that wealth first needs to be created prior to any scheme for its moral distribution to occur, whatever form that may be, collective, individual or otherwise. The NDP are -- in terms of Socred facts -- would-be spenders opposed to the best plans for capital accumulation. This translates, essentially, into the NDP's primary strategical weakness. Symbolically-seen, they simply are not the party of prosperity; the dialectic over that crucial key symbol of prosperity and therefore future security, is being won by the Socreds.

Indeed, this monopoly over the meaning of the best economy appears to be a fundamental strength of the New Right throughout the English-speaking western world. This leads me to my closing remarks.

Now that we have reached the 1990's, and can form a retrospective on the growth of the New Right, Social Credit can be seen in ethnographical terms as a local account of that movement. Anthropologically-informed approaches, so far, are virtually absent from the available literature on the New Right. Further study would tie together the type of detailed, empirical research presented in this thesis with the newly emerging material on this global socio-political movement (cf. Himmelstein 1990; Hall 1985; Hall and Jacques 1983; Jessop et al 1988).

It was pointed out by Himmelstein (1990) that past observers have taken for granted the primacy of the liberal-capitalist symbiosis and assumed that the old ideologies of laissez-faire and socialist revolution/planning had ended. This 'end of ideology' imagery was the predominant intellectual belief of the 1960-70's (Himmelstein, 1-2), and, based upon our local example of Social Credit, it could be argued that this intellectually controversial position is expressed within the political beliefs and actions of the New Right today.

Today, however, it is apparent that the New Right cannot viably be considered merely peripheral to the dominant directions of social and political transformations. As Himmelstein states:

> "The elements of the radical Right studied by [Daniel] Bell and his colleagues were not episodic eruptions of mindless anger and pain. They were part of a sustained growth of a continuous social movement with a clear, systematic ideology that led ultimately to the New right and New Religious Right. Nor was big business so wedded to a corporate liberalism, or ...

> capitalism so tied to a growing state, that conservative leaders and ideas hostile to much of big government could not come to power." (Ibid., 5).

This thesis, then, examined some of the detail of that sustained ideology, as represented by British Columbia Social Credit in a local Canadian manifestation of the New Right.

From this high-road of studying a specific example of what can be considered a global movement, our anthropological vantage point reveals that it is not only the government intervention of a centrally-planned socialist utopia that leads towards a possible extreme of social totalitarianism; a regime symbolically-aligned with the New Right can also exhibit anti-democratic qualities of extremes. Despite their anti-statist rhetoric, the Socreds and their crew of radical ideologues intervene deeply in social life with an econometric rationally-planned utopia that also points towards at least the potential for political totalitarianism behind its' rhetorical veil.

Viewed as Social Credit's implementation of 'what is possible', the policy situation in B.C. is a de facto attempt at social engineering. The Canadian past reveals such attempts have occurred primarily on a much smaller scale, such as the early Social Credit movement in Alberta, the Antigonish movement in the province of Nova Scotia, and other less known attempts such as the Protestant Social Gospel movement in Western Canada (McPherson 1953; Crysdale 1961; McGivern 1990). The difference, however, is not only the

scale, but the level of consciousness about their actions, as these movements understood social concerns and focused more directly on alleviating social conditions, as opposed to the Social Credit ideology with its technological rationality.[56]

In other words, the Socreds, as the data show, exhibit a less comprehensive understanding of sociological factors than these other movements. To Social Credit, the 'what is' is defined in the language of econometrics and therefore an abstraction removed from the empirical social situation. Their key symbols, stressing individual initiative and the family as the basic unit of society, result in an important ideological distanciation from the desires, wishes, aspirations, needs and wants of the populations' general social conditions. In cognitive terms, with their particular world-view emphasizing the power of abstract market forces to correct social problems, Socreds are systematically distant from

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[56] This level of social consciousness can be compared. For example, the Catholic leaders of Antigonish were very aware of the social and intellectual basis for their implementation of Therborn's 'what is possible' (McGivern 1990). The basis for the implementation of their consequent social technologies, as McGivern has it, rested on an examination and a distinct interpretation of 'what is'. This should not be understood as implying that the Social Gospel (SG) and Antigonish movements (AM) had a non-ideological vision of social circumstances. Rather, these movements interpreted social circumstances through different vehicle than the Socreds and their techno-rational economic orientation: The AM through the Catholic social ideals of theological corporatism; and the SG. through the perspective of the Old Testament social prophesy and the New Testament demands to focus upon the 'weak and suffering' (cf. Crysdale; see also Timothy and Paul in the New Testament).

many other peoples' social realities.   The social tension in
British Columbia will likely continue.

Unlike the Nova Scotian Antigonish movement, for example, where a
sense of direct-accomplishment was nurtured through tangibly
beneficial means -- such as developing the peoples' own
institutional vehicles of self-help, such as the credit unions and
the producer and consumer co-operatives -- the Socreds'
ideologically-directed social distance require other ways for
control and popular support. In Socred heaven, social control is
largely accomplished through centrally-managed legislation,
funding, staffing appointments, budgetary policies, social
networking through business and service groups, powerful new
political marketing expertise and technologies (through highly-
skilled mercenaries), and 'be-happy' rhetoric (appealing to the
'good life'). Meanwhile, they rather bullishly implement their
vision of 'what is possible'.

In this light, social protests and their political management must
be of major concern by all parties and observers. We must closely
consider the ramifications of events like 'Operation Solidarity'
and its apparent failure to significantly alter the social and
political direction in British Columbia. Other than a short period
of temperance after 1986 -- albeit consisting primarily of
improved marketing strategies rather than substantive change --
the Social Credit version of the New Right's social austerity

programs, continues in British Columbia with the Bill Vander Zalm regime.

The actual exercise of power under New Right regimes, such as the Social Credit government, urgently need the utmost scrutiny and an ongoing continuous analysis sensitive to the state of our democracy. This thesis is a step in that direction.

APPENDIX I

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Province of British Columbia
OFFICE OF THE PREMIER

TRANSCRIPT

OF AN ADDRESS

BY

PREMIER WILLIAM N. VANDER ZALM

JANUARY 17, 1990

THREE YEARS AGO WHEN I DECIDED TO GET BACK INTO POLITICS, THE ECONOMY WAS BAD.

UNEMPLOYMENT WAS HIGH.

WE HAD A BIG DEFICIT.

A BIG ACCUMULATED DEFICIT.

THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH MONEY FOR EDUCATION. THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH MONEY FOR HEALTH CARE AND LITTLE MONEY FOR THE ENVIRONMENT.

THE FOREST INDUSTRY WAS CUTTING BACK.

MINING WAS AT A STANDSTILL.

SECONDARY MANUFACTURING WAS STILL ONLY A WISH AND LABOUR UNREST WAS PREVALENT IN ALL SECTORS.

MY PLATFORM 3 YEARS AGO WAS TO CHANGE ALL THAT.

I PROMISED NOT ONLY TO ESTABLISH THE BEST ECONOMY IN THE COUNTRY BUT ALSO TO RESTRUCTURE THE ECONOMY SO ALL MIGHT HAVE GREATER SECURITY.

I PROMISED A BETTER FUTURE FOR OUR CHILDREN AND TO PREVENT FAMILIES FROM BEING SPLIT BETWEEN HERE AND TORONTO OR EVEN QUESNEL AND VANCOUVER.

I PROMISED TO GET US OUT OF DEBT AND TO DO SO THROUGH A REDUCTION IN GOVERNMENT, MORE PRODUCTIVITY, PRIVATIZATION, REGIONALIZATION AND MORE REVENUE THROUGH NEW INVESTMENT AND NEW ECONOMIC ACTIVITY .... NOT THROUGH INCREASED TAXES.

I ARGUED THEN - AS I DO TODAY - THAT TO HAVE A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT, THE COUNTRY'S BEST EDUCATION, GOOD SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND THE FINEST HEALTH CARE IN CANADA, WE NEEDED A LASTING STRONG ECONOMY.

I PROMISED FAIR ELECTORAL REFORM.

I SET OUT TO USE CERTAIN ASSETS TO OBTAIN COMMITMENTS FOR LASTING MASSIVE INVESTMENTS THAT WOULD TAKE US INTO THE NEXT CENTURY. PROJECTS THAT WOULD SEE OUR FOREST WORKERS, OUR CONSTRUCTION WORKERS AND THOSE WORKING IN THE SERVICE SECTOR EMPLOYED YEAR ROUND INSTEAD OF 6 MONTHS ON AND 6 MONTHS OFF.

OUR EXPO SITE DEVELOPMENT, OUR WHISTLER PROJECT, OUR RAPID TRANSIT PROGRAM, OUR MASSIVE HIGHWAYS PROGRAM, OUR NEW FERRY BUILDING PROGRAM, OUR NEW GAS PIPELINE PROJECT, OUR NEW GAS AND OIL EXPLORATION INITIATIVES, NEW PAPER MILLS, NEW MINES, AND NEW FACTORIES, ARE ALL EXAMPLES OF THIS.

WE ALSO INTRODUCED NEW TRADE LAWS, NEW LABOUR LAWS, NEW ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS, NEW JUSTICE LAWS, AND NEW, FAIR ELECTORAL REFORMS.

THERE WAS OPPOSITION - MASSIVE OPPOSITION. POLITICAL FROM THE NDP ..... POLITICAL FROM WITHIN.

I KNEW THAT IF WE GAVE IN TO THE NEGATIVE OPPOSITION, GAVE IN TO THE VARIOUS PRESSURE GROUPS OR GAVE IN TO THOSE WHO THINK ONLY OF WHAT THE POLITICS AND POPULARITY FOR TODAY ...... WE WOULD CONTINUE TO SUFFER AND BE NO BETTER THAN OTHER PROVINCES.

IF WE WERE TO BECOME THE BEST IN CANADA WE HAD TO REMAIN ENTHUSIASTIC, POSITIVE, DETERMINED AND PERSISTENT.

ANYTHING LESS WAS NOT GOOD ENOUGH.

MY OPTIMISM LED MANY TO SUGGEST THAT I WASN'T LISTENING. I WAS STUBBORN, I WAS ARROGANT AND THOSE FRIENDS AND FOES MORE INTERESTED IN IMMEDIATE POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY THAN THE LONG-TERM GOOD OF THE PROVINCE, LABELLED ME THE ENEMY.

BUT WHERE ARE WE TODAY ONLY 3 YEARS LATER?

OUR FOREST INDUSTRY HAS EXPANDED AT RECORD RATES PRODUCING VALUE ADDED PRODUCTS.

OUR MINING INDUSTRY IS SEEING UNPRECEDENTED GROWTH IN ALL MINERAL SECTORS.

OUR TOURISM INDUSTRY IS THE BEST EVER.

WE'VE SEEN MORE EXPANSION IN SECONDARY MANUFACTURING THAN AT ANY TIME IN OUR HISTORY.

VANCOUVER, IN ONLY 3 YEARS, HAS BECOME CANADA'S LEADING INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CENTRE.

WHISTLER HAS BECOME NORTH AMERICA'S SECOND MOST POPULAR SKI RESORT AND WE'RE FAST BECOMING THE PLACE FOR HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIES.

WE HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET --- THE ONLY ONE IN CANADA.

WE REDUCED THE ACCUMULATED DEFICIT.

WE'RE PAYING LESS IN INTEREST ON DEBT TODAY THAN WE DID 3 YEARS AGO.

WE LEAD CANADA IN EDUCATION.

WE LEAD CANADA IN ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION.

THOUGH IMPERFECT, WE STILL HAVE THE BEST HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IN THE WORLD.

WE'VE ENJOYED RELATIVE LABOUR PEACE.

WE'VE ENJOYED RECORD NEW INVESTMENTS.

WE CREATED ALMOST ONE-HALF OF ALL NEW JOBS FOR THE WHOLE OF CANADA RIGHT HERE IN B.C.

WE HAVE RECORD HOUSING STARTS.

PEOPLE ARE MOVING HERE IN DROVES, ESPECIALLY FROM ALBERTA AND ONTARIO.

YET, THE POLLS SAY I'M UNPOPULAR --- NOT SO OUTSIDE THE PROVINCE BUT APPARENTLY SO IN B.C.

AT THE INAUGURATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT 3 YEARS AGO I SAID WE'D MAKE MISTAKES BUT THEY'D BE HONEST MISTAKES. WELL, WE'VE MADE MISTAKES AND I TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THAT.

I'VE ALSO PERSONALLY MADE MISTAKES AND I APOLOGIZE FOR THAT AND I APOLOGIZE ESPECIALLY TO THOSE WHO FEEL I'VE OFFENDED THEM ..... AND THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO EXPLAIN FURTHER.

I LOVE PEOPLE -- ESPECIALLY OUR SENIORS AND THOSE MOST DEFENSELESS ..... LITTLE CHILDREN, STRUGGLING SINGLE PARENTS, THE WORKING POOR AND DISABLED.

CONTRARY TO THE LIES TOLD, I'VE NOT CATERED TO SPECIAL PEOPLE, FRIENDS, THE ESTABLISHMENT, THE RICH OR BIG COMPANIES ...... AND MAYBE THAT'S WHY MY POLITICAL PARTY NOW DEPENDS SO MUCH ON SMALL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ITS FINANCES.

IT'S TRUE HOWEVER, AND THE LEADER OF THE NDP SHOULD KNOW THAT BIG BUSINESS, BIG UNIONS, BIG MEDIA OR SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS CAN INFLUENCE ENORMOUSLY THE PERCEPTION CREATED ABOUT A POLITICAL LEADER ..... WHICH IS ANOTHER REASON I WANTED TO SPEAK TO YOU DIRECTLY TONIGHT.

THE NDP OPPOSITION RAN EVERY ONE OF THEIR BYELECTION CAMPAIGNS SUCCESSFULLY ON THE LIE THAT PREMIER BILL VANDER ZALM WAS WANTING TO IMPOSE HIS MORAL VIEWS AND CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES ON THE ELECTORATE OF B.C.

IT'S TRUE THAT I BELIEVE THERE'S ROOM FOR MORALS AND PRINCIPLES EVEN IN POLITICS. JUST AS I BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE SUCH IN FAMILIES, IN LABOUR AND IN BUSINESS.

YOU WON'T HAVE TO TIE A HIDDEN MICROPHONE TO ME TO SEE WHERE I STAND. POLITICIANS MUST NOT BE MORAL CHAMELEONS. YOU DESERVE TO KNOW THEIR COLOR ..... YOU'LL ALWAYS KNOW MINE.

W.A.C. BENNETT SAID: "IF YOU DON'T STAND FOR SOMETHING, YOU'LL FALL FOR ANYTHING."

I ALSO KNOW THAT VALUES DIFFER AND WE MUST RECOGNIZE THESE DIFFERENCES.

IT'S DECEITFUL TO SUGGEST I'M TRYING TO IMPOSE MY RELIGION AND STANDARDS ON OTHERS ..... I RESPECT ALL RELIGIONS AND PEOPLE OF GOODWILL, FAIR MINDED PEOPLE WHO KNOW ME KNOW THIS.

NO ONE PERSON CAN EMBRACE THE VIEWS OF EVERYONE WHICH IS WHY WE HAVE POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLICY CONVENTIONS.

BUT I CAN BE ACCUSED OF HAVING ASSERTED MY PERSONAL VIEWS TOO FORCEFULLY ON SOME ISSUES.

THE ABORTION ISSUE WAS ONE OF THOSE. IT WAS VERY AGONIZING FOR ME BECAUSE OF MY HONEST AND STRONGLY HELD PERSONAL BELIEFS. IT'S NOT SO MUCH A RELIGIOUS VIEW AS A PASSION I HAVE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF LIFE.

MY VIEW ON THE TAXPAYERS PAYING FOR ABORTIONS WAS MET WITH RIGOROUS OPPOSITION.

BUT ON AN ISSUE SUCH AS THIS EVERYONE MUST BE ENTITLED TO HIS OR HER VIEW AND TO EXPRESS SUCH FREELY.

I MAY BE ACCUSED OF HAVING GONE AGAINST POPULAR OPINION ..... BUT I CANNOT BE ACCUSED OF HAVING GONE AGAINST THE LAW OF THE LAND.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION HAS ACCUSED ME OF BEING "HOMOPHOBIC" BECAUSE I AGREED WITH THE MINISTER OF HEALTH NOT TO RELEASE THE AIDS VIDEO AT A COST TO THE TAXPAYERS OF $35,000 PER WEEK ..... FOR A FEW SELECT VANCOUVER THEATRES.

THIS THREE MINUTE VIDEO WHEN VIEWED BY APPROXIMATELY 50 YOUNG PEOPLE FROM VICTORIA, INCLUDING STREET KIDS, WAS ALSO CONSIDERED BY THEM TO BE THE WRONG MESSAGE. THEY SUGGESTED A MUCH BETTER JOB COULD BE DONE.

I AGREE ..... AND A BETTER JOB WILL BE DONE.

WE MUST DO MORE THAN OUR SHARE TO ATTEMPT TO PREVENT AND FIND A CURE FOR AIDS. THERE COULD BE NO GREATER ACHIEVEMENT FOR THIS OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT.

THE REAL AND CONTINUING TRAGEDY HOWEVER, IS THOSE WHO WOULD MAKE THIS A POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY.

THE NDP WAS TERRIBLY UPSET BECAUSE I DID NOT SUPPORT CONDOM VENDING MACHINES IN SCHOOLS.

THIS WAS NOT A JUDGEMENT OF CONDOMS OR NO CONDOMS BUT RATHER A RECOGNITION THAT THE FORM OF A PRECAUTIONARY PROGRAM SHOULD BE DECIDED BY PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY.

BY NOW, SOME OF YOU VIEWERS MUST ALSO BE WONDERING WHY IT IS THAT WHEN THE NDP PUSH THEIR POSITION IT IS NOT "AN IMPOSITION" ..... BUT WHEN I EXPRESS MINE THEY SAY IT IS.

ON ANOTHER MATTER ..... I'VE OFTEN WONDERED HOW MANY PEOPLE WATCHING THE NIGHT AFTER NIGHT NEWS COVERAGE OF THE KNIGHT STREET PUB WERE AWARE THAT I HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THIS PUB, ITS EXISTENCE, ITS LOCATION, WHO WAS INVOLVED OR THE STRUGGLES SURROUNDING IT ..... UNTIL I WATCHED IT SHOWN ON TV.

IT'S TRUE THAT GRANTING AND POLICING PUB LICENCES HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN IMPERFECT BUSINESS BUT WE'VE WORKED HARD TO IMPROVE IT.

EXPO --- TO WHICH THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION WAS ALSO OPPOSED .... WAS AN ENORMOUS SUCCESS IN TELLING THE WORLD ABOUT BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA.

EXPO AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE EXPO LANDS HAVE CONTRIBUTED ENORMOUSLY TO NEW CAPITAL INVESTMENTS IN OUR PROVINCE. I WAS ALSO ACCUSED OF INTERFERING IN THE DISPOSITION OF THE EXPO LANDS.

MY PROBLEM WAS WITH THE PROCESS. I WANTED ONLY THE BEST DEAL FOR B.C. MY PREFERENCE WAS A SALE THAT MIGHT INVOLVE A NUMBER OF PURCHASERS -- INCLUDING B.C. PURCHASERS.

BUT AT ONE TIME WE FACED THE PROSPECTS OF ONE ONLY INADEQUATE BID FOR THE WHOLE PARCEL ..... HARDLY A HEALTHY, COMPETITIVE, GOOD BUSINESS SITUATION.

I WAS NOT THE ONLY ONE HOPING OTHERS WOULD COME FORTH. BUT VERY QUICKLY MISINFORMATION OR PART INFORMATION GETTING OUT MYSTERIOUSLY TO CERTAIN MEDIA PEOPLE AND CERTAIN MEDIA PLAYING IT LIKE A SERIAL .... PLUS A SECRET RCMP INVESTIGATION THROWN IN FOR GOOD MEASURE ...... MADE IT ALL APPEAR AS THOUGH IT WAS SINISTER.

I ONLY EVER SOUGHT THE BEST DOLLAR RETURN FOR THE PROVINCE AND COMMIT AGAIN TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO REAP AS MANY DIRECT AND INDIRECT BENEFITS FROM THE EXPO LAND SALE AS POSSIBLE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE.

WHEN I CAME TO THIS JOB 3 YEARS AGO I WAS PROBABLY 20 YEARS YOUNGER. I JOKINGLY ONCE USED A COMMON EXPRESSION: "IT'S A PIECE OF CAKE."

WELL, I ADMIT IT TAKES A GOOD MAN OR WOMAN TO GET THINGS DONE TO CHART A COURSE AND STAND BY IT. TO BE FOR THINGS RATHER THAN AGAINST. TO REALIZE YOU CAN'T BE ALL THINGS TO ALL PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME. TO TAKE SOME FLACK BUT REMAIN POSITIVE AND KEEP A SMILE.

I CAN STILL SMILE

BUT BEFORE I TELL YOU WHAT'S IN STORE FOR BILL VANDER ZALM LET ME TELL YOU WHAT STILL NEEDS DOING AS PART OF OUR GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM.

EVEN THOUGH OUR PROVINCE NOW ENJOYS THE BEST QUALITY OF LIFE AND THE BEST ECONOMY IN CANADA .... ALL OF THIS COULD BE QUICKLY LOST IF WE DO NOT VIGOROUSLY FIGHT OTTAWA'S CRIPPLING HIGH INTEREST RATES ..... MUCH DUE TO THEIR ENORMOUS DEBT.

THEY TELL US IT'S FOR OUR OWN GOOD .... IT STOPS INFLATION. HOW DOES PAYING THE BANK HIGHER INTEREST RATES PRODUCE CHEAPER GOODS?

THESE HIGH INTEREST RATES WILL DENY OUR YOUNG PEOPLE THE PURCHASE OF A HOME, CRIPPLE SMALL BUSINESS AND SINCE THESE RATES CAUSE THE CANADIAN DOLLAR TO RISE UNFAIRLY AGAINST THE AMERICAN DOLLAR .... CUT EXPORTS AND KILL JOBS.

ANOTHER KILLER OF THE ECONOMY IS OTTAWA'S STUBBORN INSISTENCE TO BRING IN AN UNREASONABLE 7% GOODS AND SERVICES TAX INSTEAD OF CHOPPING COSTS AND CUTTING BUREAUCRACY.

THE MEECH LAKE ACCORD IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. THEY INSIST IT MUST BE CHANGED. WE ALL WANT NATIONAL UNITY BUT ALL CANADIANS MUST BE EQUAL.

I PROPOSE TO PRESENT OTTAWA AND OUR SISTER PROVINCES WITH A SET OF NEW AND INNOVATIVE CHANGES REFLECTING THE WISHES OF OUR PEOPLE AND CONTRIBUTING TO NATIONAL UNITY.

ALSO, WE MUST HAVE SENATE REFORM NOW. ONLY AN ELECTED, EFFECTIVE AND EQUITABLE SENATE WILL PROVIDE FOR FAIR REPRESENTATION IN AN OTHERWISE EASTERN DOMINATED FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

AS PART OF MY GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA, I WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE A SYSTEM OF REFERENDA FOR B.C. WHAT BETTER A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS THAN TO ALLOW OUR PEOPLE A DIRECT SAY IN ISSUES A GOVERNMENT MAY WISH TO ADVANCE AT TIME OF ELECTION.

OUR GOVERNMENT WILL ALSO WORK TOWARDS RELIEF OF SCHOOL TAXES FOR HOMEOWNERS NO LATER THAN NEXT YEAR.

OUR SUCCESS THROUGH THE PREMIER'S NATIVE INDIAN ADVISORY COUNDIL IN ADDRESSING IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF OUR NATIVE PEOPLE ..... HAS ENCOURAGED US TO TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN EFFECTIVELY DEALING WITH NATIVE LAND CLAIMS.

WE WILL ESTABLISH A UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH AT AS EARLY A DATE AS POSSIBLE.

FURTHER, THOUGH NOT FINAL, WE WILL ADOPT ADDITIONAL INITIATIVES TO PROVIDE AND ENCOURAGE AFFORDABLE HOUSING..

THIS IS ONLY A PART OF OUR UNFINISHED PROGRAM.

AND WE CAN DO IT WITHOUT TAX INCREASES.

THAT IS THE FRAGILE BALANCE ..... PARTICULARLY WHEN WE ARE FACED WITH THE PROSPECT OF AN ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN. IF BRITISH COLUMBIA LEAVES THAT PATH OF BALANCE BETWEEN FAIR TAXES, CONTROLLED SPENDING AND STIMULATED ECONOMIC GROWTH WE WILL RETURN TO HIGHER RATES OF INFLATION, HIGHER INTEREST RATES, GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT AND HIGHER TAXES.

THERE ARE OTHER POLITICIANS IN THIS PROVINCE WHO WOULD GUARANTEE THAT AS YOUR FUTURE.

THE OPPOSITION HAS RUN FROM THESE ISSUES ..... BUT THEY CAN'T HIDE FROM THE TAXPAYERS.

NOW, WHAT ABOUT BILL VANDER ZALM?

I WAS DEMOCRATICALLY CHOSEN LEADER IN 1986. I WAS ELECTED PREMIER IN 1986. I WAS RE-AFFIRMED THE LEADER IN 1987, 1988 AND 1989.

OVER THE PAST MONTH, I'VE RECEIVED THOUSANDS OF LETTERS, CALLS AND MESSAGES .... MOST EXTREMELY SUPPORTIVE, SOME LESS AND OTHERS CRITICAL.

I THANK ALL THOSE WHO TOOK THE TROUBLE TO BE INVOLVED. IT HAS BEEN AN EXTRAORDINARY EXERCISE IN DEMOCRACY.

I ALSO WANT TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUPPORT OF MY WONDERFUL WIFE LILLIAN AND OUR FAMILY. THEY PERHAPS HAVE PAID A GREATER PRICE THAN I FOR MY BELIEF IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND OUR SOCIAL CREDIT GOVERNMENT.

IN THE LAST MONTH, MOST OF MY CONTACTS TENDED TO BLAME THE DISSENTERS OR THE MEDIA. I'M NOT FINGERPOINTING BUT I DO KNOW THAT MY SUPPORTERS WOULD BLAME AND CASTIGATE THEM WHILE MY DETRACTORS WOULD HAIL AND CREDIT THEM.

BUT WHAT ABOUT DEMOCRACY?

SHOULD ANY SINGLE GROUP HAVE THE INFLUENCE OR POWER TO DEPOSE A LEADER FOR GOOD OR BAD OR FOR NOT BENDING TO THEIR BIDDING?

IF WE ALLOWED SUCH ..... WHO WOULD BE NEXT AND WHY?

HOWEVER, IN ORDER FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT TO FUNCTION MOST EFFECTIVELY THE CAUCUS MUST STAND UNITED THROUGH GOOD AND BAD. THERE'S NO ROOM FOR DISSENTERS.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS STAFF MUST BE TOTALLY COMMITTED TO THE LEADER AND HELP HIM OR HER IN THAT ROLE.

NO GOVERNMENT WILL EVER BE PERFECT BUT WE MUST BE JUDGED ON THE END RESULTS.

QUITE POSSIBLY AS A RESULT OF MY STATEMENT TODAY A NEW SO-CALLED "FREE ENTERPRISE" PARTY MAY RESULT. THIS OBVIOUSLY WILL NOT BE TO FURTHER FREE ENTERPRISE OR IN ANY WAY BENEFIT THIS PROVINCE. IT WILL BE ONLY TO FURTHER THE POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF A FEW.

WE MUST RESIST SUCH A MOVE.

FOR ME, THE GOOD OF THE PROVINCE COMES FIRST AND I WILL NOT KNOWINGLY ALLOW, THROUGH MY PART, THE RETURN OF AN NDP SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT AS WE HAD IN 1972-'75.

WHEN I STEP ASIDE IT WILL BE MY CALL .... FAIRLY CONSIDERED AND FAIRLY MADE.

RIGHT NOW, I'VE GOT A JOB TO FINISH.

THANK YOU ALL FOR BEING WITH ME TONIGHT.

-30-

APPENDIX II

Table of equivalent diction
to the enunciations contained in the speech

Page Line: equivalent diction ...
       ... expressions used in the speech

P1 L13:   a particular ideological approach is a ...
            ... platform

P1 L14:   to entrench the Socred ideological plan is to ...
            ... establish the best economy

P1 L15:   to change the social contract is to ...
            ... restructure the economy

P1 L16-18: ideological changes in the economy are to ...
            ... provide greater security
            ... provide a better future
            ... keep families together

P1 L25-28: an ideologically-based changed economy is a ...
            ... provider for environment, education, social
                programs and health care

P1 L30:   public properties are...
            ... economic assets

P1 L31-32: massive private ownership is ...
            ... massive investment
            ... the future

P1 L32-P2 L4: state-sponsored mega-projects are...
            ... projects for work and year-round employment
            ... ways to attract lasting investment

P2 L7-9:   to enact ideological social legislation is for ...
            ... obtaining commitments for lasting massive
                investments

P2 L10-11: the official opposition is ...
            ... massive opposition

P2 L10-11: inter-party and intra-party debate is ...
            ... massive opposition

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P2 L12:      democratic opposition is ...
             ... negative opposition

P2 L13:      pluralist groups are ...
             ... pressure groups

P2 L12-16:   to deal with problems and compromise is to ...
             ... suffer and be worse than other provinces

P2 L17-19:   to remain inflexible is to ...
             ... become the best in Canada

P2 L20:      to be inflexible is to be ...
             ... optimistic

P2 L22-24:   opponents are ...
             ... foes
             ... against the provincial good
             ... spreading false labels

P2 L25-P3 L3: Proof of an improved situation is ...
             ... more development, resource sector growth and
                 industrial expansion

P3 L4-19:    to manage change and development is to ...
             ... balance the budget
             ... reduce the deficit
             ... pay less in interest
             ... compare favorably to Canada in service and
                 economic indicators

P3 L18-19:   proof that things are now good is ...
             ... people moving here from Alberta and Ontario

P3 L20:      to be an unpopular Premier in B.C. is ...
             ... unfair according to opinions in the rest of Canada

P3 L23:      mistakes are ...
             ... honest mistakes

P3 L26-30:   personal offenses can be ...
             ... apologized for and explained

P3 L30-33:   seniors, children, working poor, single parents and
             the disabled are ...
             ... loveable, defenseless, struggling people

P4 L1-3:     numerous incidents of political favoritism are ...
             ... lies

P4 L3-5:     proof that no favoritism took place is ...
             ... the fact of small contributions to the party
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P4 L6-9:   NDP opposition, big institutions, and single issue
           groups created ...
           ... perceptions

P4 L8:   all non-business groups are ...
           ... special or single issue groups

P4 L11-14: by-election losses were due to ...
           ... NDP lies about Vander Zalm's imposition of
           moral Christian values

P4 L15-17: specifically Christian values in politics are ...
           ... acceptable in every way and anywhere

P4 L18-20: NDP's moral values are ...
           ... hidden and reptilian

P4 L21-24: proof that an inflexible stand is right is ...
           ... a homily from W.A.C. Bennett: "If you don't
           stand for something, you'll fall for anything"

P4 L24-28: an inflexible stand is right when ...
           ... differences and other's values are recognized and
           respected

P4 L26-29: incidents when religion and standards were imposed on
           others was ...
           ... a deceitful suggestion

P4 L28-29: those who deny the problems are ...
           ... fair-minded people who know the Premier

P4 L33-34: imposing personal views on issues are...
           ... merely accusations

P4 L35-36: that fact of opposition to the Premier's stand on
           abortion was ...
           ... astonishing

P4 L35-38: the Premier's anti-abortion stand is a ...
           ... passion for the preservation of life

P4 L35-38: strongly held personal beliefs are ...
           ... honest

P5 L1-2:   abortions funded through general revenues are ...
           ... abortions paid by all tax-payers

P5 L1-4:   the Premier's anti-abortion stand is a ...
           ... free-speech entitlement

P5 L5-6:   the Premier going against popular opinion is ...
            ... an accusation

P5 L6-7:   the Premier going against the law on abortion is ...
            ... a wrong accusation

P5 L8-12:   being against preventative health care due to
            connotations of teen-sex and homo-sexuality is ...
            ... justifiable as responsible management of tax-
            payers' money

P5 L13-17: Proof that the AIDS video was not effective is ...
            ... one group of 50 street kids agreed

P5 L18-20: a prevention and cure for AIDS would be a ...
            ... great government achievement

P5 L21-22: the real tragedy of AIDS is ...
            ... political opportunism

P5 L23-24: stand against condom vending machines in schools ...
            ... upsets only the NDP (who have hidden reptilian
            morals)

P5 L25-27: being against condoms in schools is justified as ...
            ... a parent/community responsibility

P5 L28-31: the Premier's impositions are ...
            ... a right to express a position

P5 L32-36: the Premier's connection to Knight St. pub scandal ...
            ... was a media creation and only a T.V. show

P6 L1-3:   government pub licencing scandals are ...
            ... an imperfect business needing improvement

P6 L4-6:   Expo 86 was ...
            ... a sales success
            ... successful despite NDP opposition

P6 L7-9:   Expo lands give-away is justified due to ...
            ... new capital investment

P6 L9-10:   the Premier's interference in Expo lands sale was ...
            ... only another accusation

P6 L11-17: interference in sales process was justified by ...
            ... a desire for the best deal for B.C.

P6 L19-23: information about land sales and interference was ...
            ... made to appear sinister
            ... fueled by misinformation and the media

P6 L24-27: the "real" reason for Premier's interference was ...
... to get the best return and benefits to B.C.

P6 L28-30: showing his inexperience and lack of understanding the
office of the Premier was ...
... only a joke

P6 L31-32: to change a social situation is to ...
... chart a course and to stand by it

P6 L31-33: to be inflexible with one's plans is ...
... to be a good man or woman
... to be for things not against them

P6 L33-36: to follow personal plans against the wishes of others
is justified when ...
... one realizes that there are always others that
will differ

P6 L34:   serious public problems are ...
... flack

P6 L35-36: to remain stubbornly undaunted is ...
... to remain positive and smile

P6 L37-39: the future of the Premier is ...
... what's in store

P6 L38-39: Bill Vander Zalm's definition of needs are ...
... our unfulfilled needs

P6 L38-39: Bill Vander Zalm's program is ...
... our government's program

P7 L1-5:   the current situation in B.C. is ...
... enjoyable
... the best quality of life
... the best economy in Canada
... fickle and could be quickly lost
... must be fought for

P7 L2-5:   if the situation is lost then it is ...
... Ottawa's fault
... due to their crippling interest rates
... due to their enormous debt

P7 L7-13:   high interest rates will ...
... not produce cheaper goods
... deny young people the purchase of a home
... cripple small business
... cut exports
... kill jobs

P7 L14-17: a threat to the Socreds' economy is ...
          ... Ottawa's Goods and Services tax
          ... Ottawa's refusal to cut costs and bureaucracy

P7 L16:   to cut expenditures on social services is to ...
          ... chop costs

P7 L18-21: Meech Lake Accord is unacceptable because ...
          ... all Canadians must be equal

P7 L22-25: an ideological contribution to the constitutional
          debate is ...
          ... a set of new innovative changes

P7 L26-29: senate reform is needed to ...
          ... provide fair representation against eastern
              dominated Federal government

P7 L30:   government propaganda is ...
          ... a government agenda

P7 L30-34: a system of referenda is ...
          ... a democratic process
          ... a way of direct say in issues

P7 L35-36: a sign of government work is ...
          ... tax reduction

P7 L35-36: reducing one specific tax for homeowners only is ...
          ... relief

P7 L37-40: talking about native peoples in committee is ...
          ... success
          ... encouragement to deal with land claims

P8 L1-2: a construction mega-project will ...
          ... establish a university of the north

P8 L3-5: fiscal and budgetary manipulations will ...
          ... provide affordable housing

P8 L4:   tax-breaks for developers and construction are ...
          ... initiatives

P8 L6-7: a set of ideological plans is ...
          ... an unfinished program
          ... possible without tax increases

P8 L8:   the ideological plan is ...
          ... a fragile balance

P8 L10:   the instability of the ideological plan is ...
            ... a path of balance

P8 L11:   tax-breaks and fiscal incentives for business are ...
            ... fair taxes

P8 L11:   the lack of responsiveness in serving and funding the
            numerous demands of social needs is ...
            ... controlled spending

P8 L11-12: the use of public properties and monies as economic
            assets is called ...
            ... stimulated economic growth

P8 L12-14: the frightening possible social future would be ...
            ... higher inflation
            ... growing unemployment
            ... higher taxes

P8 L15-16: other political vehicles would bring about ...
            ... the above future

P8 L17-18: the NDP, failing to address the perception that it
            has no economic alternative has ...
            ... run from these issues

P8 L20-22: a highly manipulated leadership contest and similar
            affirmations of Bill Vander Zalm is ...
            ... a democratic process
            ... a democratic choice

P8 L23-29: receiving correspondence from an undefined sub-set of
            scientifically meaningless self-selected people is ...
            ... an extraordinary exercise in democracy

P8 L20-30: proof of support for the Premier are ...
            ... party conventions
            ... thousands of letters, calls and messages
            ... support from Lillian and the family

P8 L31-32: the Premier's metaphor for battle over symbolic
            meaning is ...
            ... paying a great price

P8 L33-36: at blame for Vander Zalm's crisis over meanings are...
            ... party dissidents
            ... the media

P9 L1-4:   widespread democratic discontent forcing Vander Zalm's
resignation is ...
... any single group with too much power (and
therefore undemocratic)

P9 L2-4:   to contribute to symbolic influences which may force
the resignation of a controversial elected politician
is to ...
... depose a leader

P9 L5-6:   a resignation under such circumstances ...
... should not be allowed
... means others will be persecuted

P9 L7-9:   when dissent is replaced by discipline we have ...
... good government

P9 L10:   the elected representatives of people and the civil-
service are ...
... the government and its staff

P9 L10-11: the ideal government situation is one of ...
... total committment to the leader

P9 L12:   the nature of governments is ...
... they are not perfect

P9 L12-13: governments should only be judged on the bases of ...
... the end results (economic)

P9 L14-22: an alternative business party arising out of
democratic discontent...
... will not further free-enterprise
... will not benefit the province
... only furthers ambitions of a few
... is a move to be resisted
... will return a socialist government

P9 L15-16: the moral act of capital accumulation as the Socreds'
ideological plan has it is ...
... free-enterprise

P9 L20:   the Socred ideological plan is ...
... for the good of the province

P9 L21-22: the NDP opposition is ...
... against the good of the province
... socialist
... the same as the party of 1972-75

P8 L20-23: refusing to resign is justified by ...
... socialists waiting to return

P9 L23-24: Vander Zalm retaining the sole power to call an
           election it is ...
           ... fair

P9 L25:   clinging on to power in the face of wide-spread
           discontent is ...
           ... finishing a job

P9 L26:   listening/watching a political performance via an
           electronic display is ...
           ... being with Vander Zalm

***** END OF APPENDIX II *****

APPENDIX III

BASIC CHRONOLOGY:

1924
  Major C.H. Douglas authors first edition of book, **Social Credit**

1932
  CCF officially formed as national party in Calgary, under J.S. Woodsworth

1935
  Social Credit (SC) form government in Alberta, under William Aberhart

1939
  By now, a total of 8 SC Bills disallowed by the courts and Federal government

1944
  CCF in Saskatchewan become first socialist government in Canada, under Tommy Douglas

1944
  SC re-elected in Alberta under Ernest Manning, on platform of fear of communism/socialism and appeal for 'free individual enterprise'

1952
  First SC government elected in B.C. under W.A.C. Bennett

1961
  CCF dissolved and the NDP formed

1964
  Liberals defeat CCF in Saskatchewan

1968
  Ernest Manning retires as Premier in Alberta

1969
  NDP forms government in Manitoba

Dec. 1969
  Bill Vander Zalm elected Mayor in Surrey

1971
  Conservatives end 36 years of SC government in Alberta;   NDP re-elected government in Saskatchewan

1972
   Vander Zalm runs for leadership of provincial Liberal Party

Aug. 1972
   NDP elected in B.C. under Dave Barrett

1973
   W.A.C. Bennett resigns and son William R. Bennett wins by-election in father's riding

May 1974
   Vander Zalm joins SC

Dec. 1975
   SC, strengthened with Liberals and Conservatives, form government in B.C. under Bill Bennett as leader

1977
   Bennett announces a 'privatized' provincial resources investment corporation (BCRIC)

1979
   SC re-elected government in B.C.

1980
   Bennett jr. announces mega-projects, i.e. B.C. Place, rapid transit, trade and convention centre, North-east coal

1982
   Vander Zalm calls cabinet colleagues 'gutless' over plans for 'decentralization' (quits in 1983)

May 1983
   SC again re-elected, on platform of 'restraint', i.e. need for good management, fiscal controls, and fear of 'Socialist spending'

May - July 1983
   Budget and legislative package of 26 new Bills signal 'restraint program' on all but non-corporate sectors of society

July - August 1983
   A popular opposition of community groups and labour form an extra-parliamentary opposition called the 'Solidarity Coalition'

1984
   Vander Zalm loses Vancouver mayoralty race to Mike Harcourt

May - Oct. 1986
   Expo-86 World's Fair held during a recession

May 22 1986
   Bill Bennett resigns forcing leadership convention

July 30 1986
   William N. Vander Zalm chosen leader at Whistler Convention

Oct. 22 1986
   SC re-elected with majority, on a platform of a 'Fresh Start',
   under Bill Vander Zalm

Nov. 1986
   Bank of B.C. sold to 'pacific rim' group, Hong Kong Bank of
   Canada

Nov. 1986
   Speaker of the House, Walter Davidson charged with campaign
   expense crimes (replaced as speaker, later convicted but stayed
   on as backbencher)

Feb. 1987
   Fletcher Challenge, already owner of Crown Forest Industries in
   B.C. acquires B.C. Forest Products

Feb. 1987
   Steven Rogers, the environment minister removed from cabinet in
   1985 over undisclosed stocks, found to hold shares in company
   that benefits from favorable rulings such as parks boundary
   changes; switched to Intergovernmental Affairs

March 1987
   Jack Kempf, the forests minister, resigns from caucus due to
   accusations of improprieties in his office accounts

March 1987
   Fundamentalist Christian group given 'prayer room' in
   legislature building

April 1987
   Premier's principal secretary, David Poole, assigned to head
   Deputy Ministers;   Deputies shuffled without traditional
   consultations with the Ministers responsible

April 1987
   Legislative package aimed at organized labour introduced; i.e.
   Bills 19 and 20

April 1987
   Mike Harcourt replaces Bob Skelly as leader of the NDP

Sept. 1987
   Vander Zalm publicly pushes plan for 'decentralization', without
   first briefing caucus

Oct. 1987
   Hearings on the Coquihalla highway reveal political pressures
   led to massive cost over-runs and cover-up

Nov. 1987
   Emergency debate over 'privatization' occurs in legislature

Nov. 1987
   Cliff Michael, the highways minister, tries to sell private land
   on Shuswap Lake to potential bidder on government contract

Feb. 1988
   Vander Zalm announces medical coverage limited to abortions only
   in life-threatening situations

March 1988
   B.C. Supreme Court strikes down Vander Zalm's abortion policy

April 1988
   Accusations against Premier and Poole, of interference in Expo-
   land sales on behalf of friend and major financial supporter,
   Peter Toigo

April 1988
   Vander Zalm duels with Harcourt over not funding the AIDS drug
   ATZ, and accusations of homo-phobia

April 1988
   Vander Zalm gives 'turn to Christ not B.C.' speech

April - July 1988
   Knight St. Pub licencing improprieties questioned

June 8 1988
   NDP win by-election in Boundary-Similkameen, SC since electoral
   district formed in 1966

June 1988
   Dutch papers slam Vander Zalm over protocol improprieties during
   royal visit

June 14 1988
   Vander Zalm tells media "honeymoon's over"

June 28 1988
   Brian Smith resigns from cabinet

July 5 1988
   Grace McCarthy resigns from cabinet

July 1988
   Vander Zalm's use of numerologist questioned

July 1988
   Poole found helping developers buy crown land in Burnaby through
   Veitch supporter, Bill Langas

July 1988
   Socreds use detectives to infiltrate pro-abortion group

July 1988
   RCMP probe Vander Zalm's affairs (later cleared)

Aug. 1988
   Poole resigns after Ombudsman's report on Knight St. Pub cites
   improprieties in referendum process, and personal interference
   with administrative decision-making

Sept. 1988
   Electronic feeds found in legislative news theatre accessing
   personal and off-the-record conversations

Oct. 1988
   "Delta Boys" story cites alleged conflicts-of-interest for
   Delta SC's including agriculture minister, John Savage and ex-
   speaker Davidson

Oct. 1988
   Secret ballot amendment at SC annual convention fails; Vander
   Zalm wins vote of confidence by show of hands

Oct. 1988
   Ombudsman's report clears Vander Zalm of interference in parole
   board decision re: Judy Belmas

Nov. 1988
   Poole's severance pay questioned

Nov. 19 1988
   NDP win by-election in Alberni (safe NDP seat)

Dec. 1988
   Vander Zalm defends speech admitting he sets Christian goals,
   denies comparing himself to the persecution of Christ

Dec.31 1988
   Vander Zalm picked 'Newsmaker of the Year' by Vancouver Sun

Jan. 1989
   Ex-Premier Bill Bennett, brother Russell and friend Herb Doman
   charged with illegal insider-trading of Doman Industries stock

Jan. 1989
   Vander Zalm announces intention to reopen Expo-land contracts

Feb. 1989
   Principals in Knight St. Pub plead guilty to forgery

March 15 1989
   NDP win by-elections in Nanaimo (fairly safe NDP seat), and
   Vancouver-Point Grey (fairly safe SC seat)

April 1989
   New Westminister waterfront land-flip occurs

June 1989
   Vander Zalm announces government pulling its sponsorship of
   anti-AIDS video, referring to it as 'one long condom ad'

Sept. 1989
   Bill Reid, tourism minister, resigns from cabinet over alleged
   improprieties in giving GO-BC funds to close friends and former
   campaign manager without public tender

Sept. 20 1989
   NDP win by-election in Cariboo (considered safe SC seat)

Oct. 1989
   four MLA's quit caucus (Bruce, Crandall, Mercier, Mowat)

Oct. 1989
   Brian Smith resigns seat to become chairman of CN Rail

Oct. 1989
   Clause over Christian principles in party constitution and
   racial jokes embarrass annual SC convention

Dec. 12 1989
   NDP win 6th straight by-election in Oak Bay (safe SC seat)

Dec.13 1989 - Jan. 16 1990
   Vander Zalm says he will confer with people; later says he will
   announce his future plans in January; speculation as to Vander
   Zalm's future and his January announcement abounds;   critics
   silent

Jan. 17 1990
   The televised address by Premier William N. Vander Zalm

Jan. 18 1990
   Riding chiefs and caucus call for unity

Jan. 20 1990
   Polls show favorable reception to speech

Jan. 25 1990
   Crandall returns to caucus

Feb. 15 1990
   Bruce, Mercier and Mowat return to caucus

Mar. 2 1990
   Polls confirm SC and NDP near even

July 1990
   Bud Smith scandal occurs over allegations of interference with
   justice in the Bill Reid investigation

Sept. 1990
   Vander Zalm uses Lieutenant-Governor David Lam and the Premier's
   office privileges to entertain buyer for Fantasy Gardens

Sept. 1990
   Vander Zalm found to be major owner of Fantasy Gardens, recently
   sold to Taiwan interests (who are also seeking to open a bank
   in B.C.), despite years of denials and impressions of
   disassociation

             ***** END OF APPENDIX III *****

Late addendum:

Mar. 29 1991
   On Good Friday, the most solemn of Christian holidays, Vander
   Zalm announces a leadership convention to be held as soon as
   possible; plans to stay on as Premier until a replacement is
   chosen

Apr. 2 1991
   William N. Vander Zalm resigns immediately following the
   conflict of interest commissioner's (Ted Hughes) report on
   Fantasy Gardens. (Rita M. Johnston named Acting Premier)

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