THE 1986 ELECTION OF
W.N. VANDER ZALM AS LEADER OF THE
B.C. SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a review and analysis of the selection of William N. Vander Zalm as the third leader of the British Columbia Social Credit party on July 30, 1986. It examines in detail the events and circumstances which allowed the last candidate to enter the most contested leadership race in Canadian history to win the convention.

This thesis incorporates an overview of the British Columbia Social Credit party, its traditions, leaders, and criteria for selecting its leaders. The sixty-nine day campaign is chronicled and the other eleven candidates and their campaigns are examined. In addition to reviewing the public and private record on these matters, several interviews were conducted. This thesis also benefits greatly from the analysis and articles on the Social Credit leadership contests produced by the University of British Columbia's Political Science department. Personal observations are also incorporated into this paper, as the writer was a voting delegate. (I have been a Social Credit party member since 1981. At the leadership convention I supported Vander Zalm on all four ballots. While I readily acknowledge my political biases, I nevertheless have endeavoured to write a balanced academic account of this event).

The Vander Zalm victory contradicts much of the conventional wisdom on the organization and conduct of successful leadership campaigns. The Vander Zalm campaign effort was poorly organized with no real strategic planning. The campaign finances were modest. The candidate had little caucus support and no endorsements from the party elites. Furthermore, the candidate did not enter the contest until it was half over and eleven other candidates were already in the race. How then did he win?

In this thesis, I argue that the Vander Zalm victory was the result of four factors, all linked and all essential to his success. First, Vander Zalm himself offered a populist style and persona many delegates found attractive. Second, the party's antiquated constitution provided only one delegate category, those selected directly by the membership. This not only prevented manipulation or control of delegate categories (as seen in other party contests), but ensured that several long-time party activists who were predisposed to the Vander Zalm candidacy would emerge as delegates. Third, Vander Zalm's candidacy was boosted greatly by polls during the campaign showing him to be the party's best hope to lead them to victory in the upcoming provincial election. And finally, many delegates saw a vote for Vander Zalm as a means to repudiate the modernization and isolation of the party and government seen during the last years of outgoing Premier W.R. Bennett, and return the party to its populist origins.

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Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank my friend, the late Elwood Veitch, who was the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Burnaby-Willingdon for twelve years and a cabinet minister for most of this time. Elwood is the finest person I have known in politics, and I respectfully dedicate this thesis to him.

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1986, following the most contested party leadership selection in Canadian history [1], the British Columbia Social Credit party, the governing party in the province for all but three of the previous thirty-four years, met in convention for only the second time in its history to select their leader. On July 30, 1986, at Whistler, British Columbia, convention delegates elected William N. Vander Zalm on the fourth ballot to become their party's third leader.

"No decision is more important to a Canadian political party than the choice of its leader." [2] Our parliamentary system allows the leader of the governing party tremendous power and authority. The leader symbolizes the party and what it stands for. The success or failure of a party is largely dependent on the public's perception of the leader, and the confidence he or she inspires.

> "Our platform is our leader, and our leader is our platform" is sometimes openly avowed, and it is a maxim that is almost always accepted in practice. It follows, therefore that the leader is the master of the platform, and tends to accept it as a general indication of the way in which the party would like him to move when and if he finds it desirable to do so. [3]

The election of Vander Zalm as their party's leader was also a result of many Social Credit party activists effectively using the party's open delegate selection process to cast their ballots for the candidate they perceived as most likely to win the next general election while also repudiating the modern political style of William R. Bennett and return the party to its populist beginnings.

The 1986 Social Credit leadership race began on May 22, 1986 when William R. Bennett, party leader since November 24, 1973 and premier since December 22, 1975, surprised the province when he announced that in order to give his party an opportunity to renew itself and win re-election, he would resign as party leader once a successor had been selected.

Despite his failing popularity and that of his government, the pending resignation of

Bennett caught the Social Credit party and the province by surprise. Many could not readily imagine the party lead by anyone other than a Bennett. (The party's first leader, and premier from 1952 - 1972 was W.R. Bennett's father, William Andrew Cecil Bennett).

With the pending retirement of W.R. Bennett, the B.C. Social Credit party found itself choosing between candidates aligned with the populist membership-oriented feel of the W.A.C. Bennett era, or with the increasingly centralized and elite driven party of W.R. Bennett. In addition to this fundamental decision on the party's direction, the exactly 1,300 delegates would also have to select at the same time a candidate capable of winning the next provincial election - something quite uncertain at the time of W.R. Bennett's resignation announcement.

Therefore, in such a crowded field, with such a brief campaign, and with minimal campaign organization, how could Vander Zalm, the last man to enter the race (a full month after Bennett's resignation announcement), and who was an anathema to much of the then thirty-five member Social Credit caucus, win the convention?

There are four basic and fundamental reasons for the Vander Zalm victory. First, the man himself had long been considered by the rank and file Social Credit membership as most representative of the party's populist traditions and policies embodied by the image and action of W.A.C. Bennett.

Second, the leader would be chosen by delegates who would be selected at the constituency level through a very basic and democratic process outlined in the party's seldom referred to constitution. Combined with such a short campaign period (which restricted the signing up of new members), this process favoured Vander Zalm who was extremely popular and respected by those most likely to be chosen delegates - the long time activist party members.

Third, the Social Credit Party was well down in the polls at the time of Bennett's resignation announcement. Re-election, the primary goal of any governing party was far from certain, and indeed unlikely if a leadership change did not occur. When subsequent polls throughout the leadership campaign, especially one published on the eve of the convention, repeatedly and consistently pointed to Vander Zalm as the one to lead the party to victory in a general election, his election prospects were further enhanced.

Fourth, many of the Social Credit delegates saw the 1986 leadership campaign as perhaps their final opportunity to halt W.R. Bennett and his political inner circle's efforts to transform the grass roots Social Credit party into a modern political organization, at the expense of its populist traditions and direction.

In their detailed and ground-breaking analysis of the 1986 contest [4], University of British Columbia Political Scientists Donald Blake, R.K Carty, and Lynda Erickson state that the race to succeed an increasing unpopular Premier W.R. Bennett was:

> (A) battle for succession in the party involved subtle and sometimes not so subtle efforts by candidates to distance themselves from Bennett and the record of his government. But observers of the contest also saw a struggle for control of the party between advocates of closer ties to the Progressive Conservative party and those wishing to preserve the tradition of federal neutrality; between the inheritors of the party's populist tradition and modern organization men and women; and between neo-conservatives and centrists. The selection of William Vander Zalm appeared to represent, in part at least, a repudiation of the Bennett style, aspects of his political agenda, and some of his attempts to modernize the party organization. [5]

Without all of these four factors present, there is no way William Vander Zalm could have emerged victorious. Indeed, a review and analysis of his campaign structure and strategy will show that had Vander Zalm relied on his campaign organization and efforts alone, as is so often the case in leadership contests, he would have lost, and lost decisively.

Therefore, the William Vander Zalm victory at the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention defies much of the traditional logic and wisdom of Canadian political leadership change. Vander Zalm won the campaign because of who he was and what he had done years in advance of the actual contest, and due to factors well out of his control, such as the timing of the campaign, the delegate selection process, and the state of the party at the start of the succession process. In this case, prevailing wisdom that a strong leadership organization and campaign can make the difference during a campaign and on voting day is irrelevant. It is unlikely that any other successful candidate elected to lead a major governing political party in Canada had ever run a worse campaign and still won.

In terms of democratic theory the Vander Zalm victory can be called a victory by those advocating participatory democracy over the elite theory of democracy:

> The struggle apparently became on of ins versus outs, between party professionals and grassroots, between non-populists and populists, and the latter won. [6]

Out of a field of twelve, Vander Zalm had not only been the last to declare his candidacy, but his entire campaign organization and strategy was an "amateurish-looking populist campaign promising simple government, few experts, more consultation with people and basic values". [7] The Vander Zalm effort stood in stark contrast to those of the other leading candidates to succeed W.R. Bennett, and to the expensive and high-tech campaigns seen elsewhere in Canada in recent years.

The first chapter of this thesis will review the British Columbia Social Credit party and its leadership selection. By providing a brief overview of the party's history and its first two previous leadership selections, the stage can be set to review the party's constitution and how this brief document outlined in a few seldom read paragraphs the process by which delegates would be selected to a Social Credit leadership convention. It is by analyzing the actual delegates themselves one can readily see how predisposed they were towards the Vander Zalm candidacy and message.

The second chapter focuses first on the unique political style and record of William Vander Zalm, and then on his 1986 leadership organization and campaign. This chapter shows that Vander Zalm's standing with the Social Credit party prior to the actual 1986 leadership convention was more important than his performance during of the actual leadership contest. Clearly, had Vander Zalm's political fate been left in the hands of his leadership campaign organization and structure - he would have lost. The fact that Vander Zalm ran a campaign more often associated with an also-ran or fringe candidate and still won, made the four elements of his victory all the more crucial and essential.

The third chapter reviews and analyzes the actual leadership contest and convention. This chapter opens with a review of the competition Vander Zalm faced, the largest field of candidates to contest a leadership in Canadian history. "With no obvious successor, or

agreement on the direction the party ought to take a record twelve candidates emerged to fight the short two month campaign." [8] It appears that rather than hinder Vander Zalm, the large number of participants in fact helped, as they provided the delegates a wide personal and political contrast between these candidates and Vander Zalm. This final chapter also analyzes the events during both the sixty-nine day campaign and the three day convention. Again, unlike several other previous leadership selections, it will be shown that the convention itself mattered little to the eventual outcome, as the foundation of the Vander Zalm victory was laid well in advance of the actual voting day.

The final chapter provides final analyses and conclusions on the events reasons for the Vander Zalm victory. The epilogue concluding this paper discusses the eventual fate of the twelve leadership candidates, and in particular the consequences of the Vander Zalm victory to both himself and the Social Credit party.

To complement the narrative of this thesis, extensive appendices are also provided. These include a detailed chronology of the political career of William Vander Zalm, Vander Zalm's political career, Social Credit leadership vote summaries, the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention delegate selection process, convention literature, Vander Zalm's campaign literature, and provincial election results during the Social Credit era.

This thesis is based upon four major sources of information and data. First, the writer was a Burnaby-Willingdon constituency association delegate at the leadership convention. (While a Vander Zalm supporter throughout the four ballots, much effort has been given to ensure that this account is both analytical and balanced in its presentation). [9] Second, several interviews were conducted with assorted participants at the campaign, including William Vander Zalm and five other leadership candidates. Third, assorted books, academic papers, magazines, and newspapers were read and analyzed. And finally, the University of British Columbia's Department of Political Science has produced invaluable data on leadership campaigns in general and this Social Credit campaign in particular. Their work has provided an essential point of departure for this thesis, which attempts to shed some light on the fascinating subject of leadership selection in Canada, a revealing and integral part of our democracy. Any shortcomings with this work are of course the sole responsibility of the writer.

Introduction Footnotes

[1]Donald Blake, R.K. Carty and Lynda Erickson, Grassroots Politicians, Vancouver, U.B.C. Press, 1991, page 92-93.

[2]George Perlin (ed.), Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions, Scarborough, Prentice Hall Inc. 1987, page 1.

[3]R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada (4th Edition), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963, page 472.

[4]The University of British Columbia political scientists (Drs. Blake, Carty and Erickson) analysis is based upon the results of a detailed survey mailed to the delegates from all provincial constituencies (except Delta) during the weeks following the Social Credit convention. The department received 340 completed forms (27%), and this sample of delegates "appears to be representative of the convention". (More returned surveys may have been received had not Social Credit party president Hope Wotherspoon sent a letter to all 1,300 delegates on August 15, 1986 stating "the party board feels it would be serving the party's best interest if we ignored the questionnaire.") This survey and its results formed the basis of the academic paper Ratification or Repudiation, as well as sections of their book Grassroots Politicians.

[5]Donald E. Blake, R.K. Carty and Lynda Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation: Social Credit Leadership Selection in British Columbia", Canadian Journal of Political Science, September 1988, volume XXI:3, pages 513-514.

[6]Ibid., page 534.

[7]Ibid., page 526.

[8]Ibid., page 524.

[9]The writer has been on the board of directors of the Burnaby-Willingdon Social Credit Constituency Association since 1984. At the time of the convention he served as vice-president, and is the current president. He also served from 1989 - 1991 on the Social Credit party board of directors as the elected representative from the Burnaby and North Shore region. The writer has chronicled the entire group of Burnaby-Willingdon delegates during the leadership campaign in the following paper "A Constituency in Convention: An Account and Analysis of the Burnaby-Willingdon Delegates to the 1986 Social Credit Party Leadership Convention." This paper was for the University of British Columbia Political Science 503 course, May 1987.

CHAPTER I

To review and analyze a political leadership campaign and convention in Canada, one must first understand the political party itself. While there are often similarities between political parties, all have their own distinct traditions, personalities, policy focus and electoral record.

This opening chapter provides a brief overview of the British Columbia Social Credit party from the time of its first election as government in 1952, to the 1986 convention.

The British Columbia Social Credit party has many distinctions. First, since 1952 and until a new leader would be elected on July 30, 1986, the party had been led by members of one family - the Bennetts from the city of Kelowna. The father, William Andrew Cecil Bennett, had been party leader from 1952 - 1973 and premier from 1952 - 1972. His son, William Richards, who succeeded him as party leader, had been Premier since the end of 1975.

Second, the party had enjoyed tremendous electoral success in the province, winning ten of eleven general elections between 1952 - 1986 and being out of power only three years (1972 - 1975) during this period (see appendices).

Third, and perhaps most importantly to the party members, the British Columbia Social Credit party was as much as a centre-right coalition of members and supporters as it was a party. One of the party's cornerstones was that it was not in any real sense affiliated to a federal party. Accordingly, the party played up this independence, running and winning

elections on a B.C. first and only platform.

Included in this introductory section is a review of the British Columbia Social Credit party's previous two leadership selections. In 1952 W.A.C. Bennett, the de facto leader of the party in the preceding general election, was elected following a vote of the newly elected nineteen member caucus. In 1973, in more a coronation than a contest, Bennett's son and favoured successor won the party's first leadership contest on the first ballot.

The second and third sections deal with the party's antiquated constitution, which outlined the process by which the actual Social Credit delegates would be selected to the 1986 leadership convention itself. It would be this delegate selection process, with its single track election process, that provided access to the convention for supporters of William Vander Zalm.

The final section, which is based largely on the University of British Columbia political science department survey of the 1986 leadership delegates, shows how closely aligned many of the delegates were to Vander Zalm politically, and how intent they were to repudiate the modernization of their party during the last years of William R. Bennett. These delegates instead wished to return their Social Credit party to its populist form and appearance as seen during the W.A.C. Bennett era.

The British Columbia Social Credit Party and the Bennetts of Kelowna

The British Columbia Social Credit party's initial electoral victory and subsequent emergence as the province's governing party for almost forty years was largely the result of one man, William Andrew Cecil Bennett. [1]

Born in New Brunswick in 1900, Bennett moved to Edmonton, Alberta, at age

nineteen where he began a successful career in the hardware business. When the depression began, Bennett moved his young family to the city of Kelowna, which is situated in the fertile Okanagan Valley of British Columbia.

As his business ventures flourished, Bennett also became increasingly active in political affairs, eventually being elected in 1941 as the Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) for South Okanagan (a seat he would hold for thirty-two years).

Bennett was a populist, who lived by and championed free enterprise. He was also an ambitious man, who ran unsuccessfully as a Member of Parliament, and twice lost attempts to become the leader of the provincial Conservative party.

Bennett also had sharp political instincts. In 1951 he left the governing Conservative-Liberal coalition to sit as an independent. By the time of the 1952 election, Bennett who had just joined the fledgling British Columbia Social Credit league [2], was regarded as the group's de-facto leader. An effective speaker, who brought a measure of credibility to his new party, Bennett was able to lead his group to victory in one of the most unusual and controversial elections in provincial history. [3]

Despite this inauspicious beginning, W.A.C. Bennett would govern the province for twenty consecutive years, winning seven general elections, while averaging 42% of the popular vote and 62% of the seats in the legislature. [4]

W.A.C. Bennett's formal election as the Social Credit party's leader took place in a room at the Hotel Vancouver on July 15, 1952 - two weeks before the final provincial election results were known.

By previous arrangement, the eighteen presumed elected Social Credit MLAs as well

as member from the Alberta Social Credit party were entitled to vote for leader (Social Credit had been in power in Alberta since 1936 and had assisted with the British Columbia party's campaign). The winner would have to achieve 50% plus one of the votes cast to win.

In addition to Bennett, who with his electoral experience and abilities was the obvious choice for leader, three other MLAs were also nominated, as well as the candidate of the Alberta party. The three other new MLAs, Thomas Irwin, Philip Gaglardi, and J.A. Reid, received one vote each (likely their own), while the Alberta choice, Peer Paynter, received two. W.A.C. Bennett received the other fourteen. [5]

TABLE 1
Results of the 1952 B.C. Social Credit Party
Caucus Vote for Leader

W.A.C. Bennett	14 (74%)
Philip Gaglardi	1 (5%)
Thomas Irwin	1 (5%)
Peer Paynter	2 (11%)
J.A. Reid	1 (5%)
	19

SOURCE: Mitchell, David, W.A.C. Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia, Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1983, page 165.

The political leadership Bennett so coveted was now his. Power was consolidated in his hands and outside influences eliminated. The British Columbia Social Credit party became Bennett's alone.

The W.A.C. Bennett years were ones of growth and development for the province. A populist who was fiercely supportive of the free enterprise ethic and system, Bennett

would say that his version of Social Credit "means just one thing: that which is physically possible, desirable, and morally right must be made financially possible."[6] On other occasions, even though he had nationalized aspects of the province's resource and transportation section, Bennett would remark that Social Credit simply was the "opposite of socialism." [7] (This was a sentiment that attracted supporters and voters to the party throughout its years in power. [8]) The Bennett era remains the period of British Columbia's greatest development and growth:

> Bennett was a seminal force in the modern development of
> the Province; second only to the ice age, he was the force
> that did the most to sculpt the face of B.C. He left his
> record not so much in the statute books, but in the miles
> and tons of asphalt, concrete and steel. [9]

But in the summer of 1972, the 72 year old Bennett lost the government to the socialist New Democratic party who won a massive majority of the seats with just 39.2% of the popular vote. [10] Bennett had stayed one election too many. Just three years earlier, voters had given him his highest popular vote ever (46. 8%) in what many thought would be his retirement victory.

Following his defeat, Bennett made it clear to his party that his youngest son, William Richards Bennett, was his favoured successor. On September 7, 1973, three months after his father resigned his seat, William R. Bennett won the by-election to succeed him as the member for South Okanagan. Shortly thereafter, he announced to the surprise of no one, that he would seek the party's leadership. The party's first leadership convention was held at the same Hotel Vancouver where twenty-one years before his father was elected party leader.

The campaign, which ended with the voting on November 24, 1983 saw "no suspense in the father-to-son succession." [11] To ensure this, W.A.C. Bennett had worked behind the scenes on his son's behalf. Taking no chances, the W.R. Bennett campaign was "the best organized, the best financed, the most sophisticated and least populist." [12] By comparison, MLA Jim Chabot, who estimates he spent $500.00 on his effort "had no slogan, no band, no button, no son." [13] The results were a decisive first ballot victory for Bennett, who won 56% of the vote.

TABLE 2
Results of the 1973 Social Credit Leadership Race

W.R. Bennett	833	(56%)
Bob McClelland	269	(18.1%)
Harvey Schroeder	204	(13.72%)
Jim Chabot	97	(6.52%)
Ed Smith	74	(4.98%)
James Mason	10	(.67%)
	1,487	

Source: Official Social Credit Party Records

Within 172 days of W.A.C. Bennett's resignation, his son William R. had run for and been elected in the by-election to succeed his father, served a session in the legislature, and been elected the party's leader. In just over two years he would be premier.

Unlike his father, William Richards Bennett, was determined to retire, not be retired from public life. On May 22, 1986, when the younger Bennett stunned the

province with his decision to leave politics, he commented on his father's loss and the difficulties involved in rebuilding a defeated political party. Premier W.R. Bennett whose almost 4,000 days as premier were only exceeded by Richard McBride and his father, left the premiership, "convinced there must be political renewal, there must be political change within parties. [14]

W.R. Bennett had come reluctantly to public life, and had never been comfortable under the spotlight of media attention. Nevertheless, he was a firm leader, who performed best under pressure. While, like his father, he was a builder, perhaps Bill Bennett's two greatest moments occurred when he faced the greatest odds. First would be his revitalizing of his father's free enterprise coalition, when the neophyte politician was able to convince the non-socialist majority that only a revised Social Credit party under his (still unproven) leadership, could stop the New Democrats from forming government. Second would be his come from behind victory in the 1983 provincial general election.[15] While history will ultimately judge both Bennetts achievements, it is likely that the often maligned Bill Bennett will emerge as a forceful leader of both his party and the province:

> Bill Bennett governed during the most tumultuous decade
> of B.C.'s history. His accomplishments in 10 years are
> arguably greater than his fathers in 20. [16]

Commenting about William R. Bennett, he officially turned the premiership over to William Vander Zalm, <u>Vancouver Sun</u>, Victoria columnist Vaughan Palmer would comment that, "I have never met a politician less interested in the ego gratification" [17]

The Social Credit Party Constitution

The most important feature of the 1986 Social Credit leadership campaign were the rules and regulations governing the race in general, and the selection of delegates in particular. As a result, the campaign and convention became "democracy run amok."[18]

With only one leadership change in thirty-four years, and that one being father to son, the party simply did not have either a detailed or expansive set of leadership campaign regulations, nor any practice in staging such events. Instead, following premier Bennett's May 22 announcement of his intent to relinquish the Social Credit leadership, the party's board of directors had to scramble to expand the criteria for the selection of their party leader outlined in their "band aid constitution."[19] (A constitution seldom amended since the days of W.A.C. Bennett).

The British Columbia Social Credit party affairs were governed by a twenty-one page, fourteen section constitution.[20] These fourteen sections included by-law 11 "Party Leadership", which contained five sub-sections. These sections deal with how a convention can be called (vote of the provincial convention, death or resignation of the elected leader) and who is eligible to run for the leadership (party members who are eligible to vote under the British Columbia Provincial Elections Act.) The actual regulations for selecting delegates and the convention balloting are contained in two other by-law sections. (See Appendix 3 for Delegate Selection Criteria).

It is in Section 10 "The Provincial Convention", subsection C, that the delegate selection procedure is outlined. No complicated procedures, nor ex officio delegate status categories, nor quota systems are used:

> The Provincial Convention shall be open to all members of the Party. Voting delegates shall be twenty-five (25) voting delegates for the first one thousand (1,000) members or fraction thereof in a Constituency and one (1) additional voting delegate, for each one hundred (100) members thereafter, as of record, thirty (30) days prior to the date of the Annual Provincial Convention.[21]

(Nine of the fifty constituencies would have extra delegates due to their membership

exceeding 1,000 by varying degrees). [22]

The following tables show that despite the province's population being concentrated in the Lower Mainland region, the distribution of convention delegates was based geographically, according to the electoral map, and not according to census data. This fact would ultimately benefit the Vander Zalm campaign, the only major candidate to have significant delegate support province wide. This same format would also hurt the candidacy of Grace McCarthy, whose power base was the city of Vancouver and its surrounding suburbs, many of which received only 25 delegates despite being two member constituencies. This was pivotal, as McCarthy would not only be trying to attract similar delegates as Vander Zalm, she was the only candidate close to Vander Zalm in terms of party popularity.

TABLE 3
Delegates by Region

Lower Mainland (12 ridings)	306 (23.54%)
Vancouver City (5 ridings)	125 (9.62%)
Vancouver Island (9 ridings)	225 (17.3%)
Fraser Valley (4 ridings)	117 (9.0%)
Southern B.C. (11 ridings)	292 (22.5%)
Central-Northern B.C. (9 ridings)	235 (18.0%)
	1,300 (100%)

Source: Based upon Social Credit Party records.

The following table shows the contrast in the delegates by regions (including Vancouver city). If each of the Province's dual member ridings were apportioned twenty-five delegates for each MLA position, not just for the constituency itself. Based upon this

revised delegate system, the 1986 Social Credit leadership would have had a minimum of an additional 125 delegates in attendance (plus additional delegates based upon those constituencies with over 1,000 members).

TABLE 4
Revised Delegates by Region
(Based upon a Minimum 25 Delegates per M.L.A.)

Lower Mainland (12 Ridings)	300	(21.5%) (1)
Vancouver City (10 Ridings)	250	(17.5%) (2)
Vancouver Island (10 Ridings)	250	(17.5%)
Fraser Valley (5 Ridings)	125	(8.8%)
Southern B.C. (11 Ridings)	275	(19.3%)
Central-Northern B.C. (9 Ridings)	225	(15.8%)
	1425	(100%)

NOTES:

(1).   The Lower Mainland consists of all suburban ridings, less Vancouver city, and the Fraser Valley, in southwest British Columbia.

(2).   All of Vancouver's five constituencies were dual member ridings, Victoria (Vancouver Island) and Surrey (Fraser Valley).

Source: Based upon 1986 provincial election boundaries.

The results of adding an additional twenty-five delegates for each dual member riding would have most likely benefited Grace McCarthy, as a further 125 delegates would have been added to her Vancouver city power base. The other main beneficiary would probably have been William Vander Zalm as further delegates would have been added in his own Fraser Valley power base and in central and northern British Columbia, where his support was also strong. [23]

Would these extra delegates have changed the eventual outcome of this leadership race? Most likely not, as subsequent surveys of the actual regional strengths of the candidates shows that not only did William Vander Zalm have the broadest range of support of any candidate throughout the province, he was also well positioned as the second choice of many of the other candidates.

However, if on the all important first ballot, where Vander Zalm received 367 votes to McCarthy's 244, if McCarthy had the benefit of extra Vancouver delegates and was as a consequence much closer to Vander Zalm, she may well may have replaced Brian Smith as Vander Zalm's opponent on the final ballot, something that greatly worried Vander Zalm and his supporters. The fact that the dual member constituencies had actually only fifty percent delegate representation at the convention was the most obvious and significant flaw of the party's constitution and delegate selection process.

The Party's 1986 Leadership Campaign Guidelines and Delegate Selection Process

The Social Credit party's simple democratic system was in sharp contrast to either the federal Conservatives, Liberals, or NDP, whose entrenched elites had created 23, 18 and 5 delegate categories respectively. Many of these were largely self-serving and status quo preserving delegate categories for the parties elites. While not as blatant as their federal counterparts, the following table shows the contrast in the delegate categories at recent leadership conventions in British Columbia between Social Credit and the New Democrats and Liberals:

TABLE 5
Structure of Delegate Representation
at B.C. Leadership Conventions (Vertical Percentages)

	Social Credit	NDP	Liberal
Constituency delegates	100.0*	87.7	83.0*
Party executives/officials		2.5	11.4
Affiliated members		7.5	
Others		1.4*	5.7

NOTE: Categories marked with an asterisk include MLAs. The Liberal constituency delegate category consists of 45.5% from provincial and 37.5% from federal constituency associations.

SOURCE: Blake, D.E., Carty, R.K. and Erickson, L., Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, page 89.

With constituency delegate status being the only route to voting at the convention, [24] the only possible way for candidates and their organizers to even try to "stack" constituency slates with their supporters was to move very quickly and identify possible supporters already within the riding, and sign up new party members. This, however, proved difficult to do. Two weeks after Premier Bennett's May 22nd resignation announcement, the party executive issued the following verdicts: July 7th was the final day for candidates to declare and that June 27th would be the cut-off date for new members to join the party to be eligible for delegate status, or to vote at delegate selection meetings (this was 30 days prior to the convention). Furthermore, all delegates would be selected between June 30th and July 9th.[25]

As the campaign progressed, and candidates entered the race, the party's executive was charged with writing the guidelines and planning the convention virtually from scratch. Eventually the seventeen member leadership convention committees chaired by W.A.C. Bennett's former Attorney General Les Peterson, [26] established eight special committees. [27] The campaign theme selected was "Choosing the Future", and the party's proposed campaign budget was priced at $430,500.00, which after revenues (registration fees) were extracted, would still leave the party with a net loss of $230,500.00. [28] Throughout the campaign, the leadership committee and the party's executive met frequently. Special meetings, to resolve possible disputes and clarify regulations, were also held with the official agents of the candidates. At one of the first of these meetings with the candidate agents, the party presented them with a thirty-one page eighteen section campaign guideline, which also included procedural matters for at the convention itself. [29]

As a result of the simple and democratic nature of the delegate selection process, the final voting results would be largely determined in advance during the ten day period when rank and file party members selected from amongst themselves, the delegates to choose their new leader and the province's new premier. As a subsequent survey would show, 49.4% of the delegates made their decision on who to support when that particular candidate entered the race. [30] These results show how little importance the actual convention was. They also show that Vander Zalm did not unduly harm his prospects by being the last candidate to enter the race.

The 1986 Social Credit Leadership Convention Delegates

The most important phase of a leadership campaign is the delegate selection process. During the 1986 Social Credit campaign, this phase was both short and intense. Neither candidates or delegates fully knew what to expect or how the process would unfold, and other than the expected partisan activity the selection of delegates went relatively smooth, with few complaints about the procedure. [31]

Not surprisingly, with their party's future at stake, delegates chosen by the rank and file membership had been long standing, active members, whose commitment to their local constituency was extensive. [32] Fully 77% of the delegates considered themselves part of the "party's central group in (their) constituency." [33] The following table shows the partisan activity of the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention delegate. This table also shows similar levels of involvement and partisan activity of the delegates was also present at recent provincial New Democrat and Liberal conventions:

TABLE 6
Partisan Activity Among B.C. Leadership Convention Delegates
(Percentages)

	Social Credit	NDP	Liberal
Joined before 1975	51.7	45.8	48.9
Constituency executive member (past or present)	60.0	72.1	63.3
Helped raise funds for party	66.8	87.4	73.3
Attended an annual party convention	66.8	70.2	
Worked in campaign for party candidate	83.5	98.9	84.4
Part of central group in constituency	77.1	75.1	
Actively involved in local politics	65.0	68.4	42.7

SOURCE: Blake, D.E., Carty, R.K. and Erickson, L., Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, page 92.

The delegates were also politically active federally, with 61% of the surveyed delegates reporting membership in a federal party. [34] While the Social Credit party was considered a free-enterprise coalition, 90% of those indicating membership in a federal party were Progressive Conservatives. [35] Most importantly though, only 6.5% [36] thought formal association with the federal conservatives was desirable. Vander Zalm would repeatedly emphasize his commitment to keep the B.C. Social Credit part separate and distinct from any federal affiliation. This strategy was obviously in tune with the party membership.

While there were many women delegates at this Social Credit convention, (32% compared with the 23% at the 1983 Progressive Conservative convention, [37]), this trend was reversed dramatically with regards to youth delegates (those under thirty years of age). Only 5% of these delegates emerged from the constituency selection process to become Social Credit delegates. [38] In 1983, for example, Young Tories used a multiple of delegate categories available to them to account for 30% of the delegate total. [39] (A key confidant of Brian Mulroney, (himself a former Young Tory activist), would comment that at the 1983 convention, their well-trained young tories "saved our ass.") [40] An average composite of those who would emerge from the Social Credit delegate selection process would be:

> The average delegate was the sort of middle aged, well educated, relatively affluent individual normally seen at party conventions in Canada. Half were 46 or older, two-thirds had some post secondary education, and over forty per cent had a family income of greater than $50,000.00. Further, full half reported their employment status as self-employed. More than anything this latter characteristic marks the party off as a collection of aggressive individualists, suspicious of most government activity and bureaucratic organization. [41]

When all delegates were finally selected, there were exactly 1,300 of which 886 were

men (68%) and 414 were women (32%). [42] The following table provides and contrasts the

delegates to both the 1973 and 1986 Social Credit leadership conventions:

TABLE 7
Demographic Profile of Social Credit Party
Delegates to the 1973 and 1986 Leadership Conventions

	1973	1986
Male	64.2	69.3
Over 55 years	33.1	35.7
BC-born	33.3	42.6
> 15 years resident		87.7
RELIGION - none	6.7	18.5
Catholic	10.0	12.4
United/Anglican	48.5	31.6
other	34.8	37.5
University-educated	17.3	28.7
Self-employed		50.6
High income	23.0	42.3
MEMBERSHIP/INVOLVEMENT		
trade union	17.0	8.7
professional assoc.	11.6	56.2
ethnic group	14.1	

NOTE: Figures are in percentages. The 'high income' category in 1973 was over $20,000; in 1986 it was over $50,000.

SOURCE: Blake, D.E., Carty, R.K. and Erickson, L., Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, page 26.

In terms of political beliefs, the 1986 Social Credit delegates were opinionated and

conservative in their outlooks. Veteran campaign organizer, John Laschinger, who describes

himself as Canada's "only full time campaign manager" [43] (and was serving as Bud Smith's

in 1986), would later be quoted as observing that:

> The (Social Credit) party out here is further to the right than any place I've seen." Laschinger measured conservatives on a one-to-ten ideological spectrum (one being left, ten the extreme right). Whereas the average federal Tory could be found just to the right of centre, at about 5.5 on the scale, in B.C., Laschinger discovered that the average Socred saw himself as a 6.6. In their perception of particular candidates, these same Socreds saw Vander Zalm and McCarthy to the right of themselves (at 7.5 and 6.9 respectively), and the Smith tandem just a hair to the other side (at 6.4). Contrasted to national figures like Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (at 5.7) and the moderate External Affairs Minister Joe Clark (at 5.0), the Socred frontrunners were perceived as solid right-wingers by people who saw themselves as firmly in a similar ideological position. [44]

Laschinger's analysis was further supported by subsequent surveys conducted by members of the University of British Columbia political science department. This information would indicate that delegates viewed Vander Zalm as the candidate most in tune and with their own opinions.

The following Table 8 shows the policy opinions and consensus of those delegates who would be selecting the next Social Credit party leader - and premier of the province:

TABLE 8
Policy Consensus Among Social Credit Activists

	Per cent agree	Consensus index
Don't spend tax dollars on sick	6.0	44.0
Should have freer trade with U.S.	92.9	42.9
Unions are too powerful	91.7	41.7
People should rely on selves not government	91.2	41.7
Cut red tape in government	90.2	40.2
Government should help women	13.8	36.2
Government should negotiate native land claims	14.2	35.8
Foreign ownership threatens independence	17.3	32.7
Government should guarantee standard of living	24.6	25.4
Reduce size of government	72.0	22.0
The community should support seniors	28.1	21.9
Many welfare programs are unnecessary	68.0	18.0
Government should favour BC companies for contracts	34.3	15.7
Government regulation stifles initiative	64.1	14.1
Should trust down-to-earth thinking	61.0	11.0
Grassroots could solve problems better	57.2	7.2
Preserve independence even at cost of cut in standard of living	44.4	5.6
There should be a law requiring balanced budget	44.5	5.5
Unemployed could find jobs if they really wanted to	54.9	4.9
Restraint program was not well implemented	51.2	1.2

NOTE: The consensus index can range from 50 (completely united) to 0 (completely split). For exact question wording see the Appendix.

SOURCE: Blake, D.E., Carty, R.K. and Erickson, L., Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, page 39.

If delegates were looking to return the party to its populist and moralistic origins, they would be disappointed with the attitudes and performance of several leadership candidates and caucus members. During a leadership race, a candidate's personality and personal life receives more scrutiny than their policies. On several moral questions the many candidates were perceived to have strayed from the tone set by W.A.C. Bennett.

Of those questioned on abortion, candidates Campbell, Couvelier, McCarthy, Nielsen, Rogers, and Brian Smith ducked the political hot potato by stating abortion is "not a provincial issue". [45] Bill Ritchie would consider it "only when there is a life at stake" [46] while Reynolds, Wenman and Vander Zalm were opposed. [47] Vander Zalm was the most direct, stating, "I'm pro-life and I make no bones about it." [48]

The candidates were equally mixed in their views on gambling. McCarthy would tighten up the regulations, while Reynolds wanted to form a provincial gaming commission. Also wanting some form of regulation were Campbell, Couvelier, Nielsen, Reynolds, Ritchie and Rogers. Bob Wenman opposed gambling, while Vander Zalm, who does not gamble, "doesn't personally object to others doing so". [49]

On Sunday drinking, the party of fiercely anti-alcohol W.A.C. Bennett, who toasted the swearing in of the first Social Credit cabinet with "ovaltine", [50] had become considerably more tolerant. Only Ritchie, Vander Zalm and Wenman opposed Sunday drinking. John Reynolds said the opening of bars was okay, while Campbell and Couvelier wanted individual communities to decide. The other candidates wanted to see the results of the Expo 86 "experiment" which allowed limited Sunday drinking in public houses.

With regards to religion, while Social Crediters are sometimes portrayed as religious zealots, that image seems overdrawn. [51] The party's constitution continues to state as a principle and objective of the society, "to foster and encourage the universally recognized principles of Christianity in human relationships".[52] While belonging to an organized religious body was not crucial, visible adherence to Christian principles is still regarded as important by the party grassroots. Of the candidates, Campbell would not discuss her religion. McCarthy is an Anglican and "strong believer" but "rarely goes." Nielsen called himself a "Christian" and believed actions are more powerful than words, Ritchie consider the topic "personal", Reynolds attended the United Church "occasionally". Rogers was an Anglican but "not a church goer" although he was "interested" in the subject. Bob Wenman repeated his adherence to "Judo-Christian" (sic) principles, and attended a fundamentalist congregation. [53] William Vander Zalm is a devout Catholic [54] who could not remember missing a Sunday Mass in his life, and summed up his life's blessings as:

> I have a wonderful wife and family. Through my church I
> have spiritual peace. Together they give me strength. Because
> of this support, and faith I am content in all I do. [55]

A stable marriage and home life is politically advantageous. Both W.A.C. Bennett and W.R. Bennett had strong and supportive wives who never caused embarrassment or concern to their husband or his party. Of the twelve candidates, only half, Couvelier, McCarthy, Nielsen (whose adultery became province wide news), Bud Smith, Wenman and Vander Zalm were with their original spouses. Three candidates were separated: Ritchie, Rogers and Brian Smith. Those divorced and remarried were Michael and Reynolds (for the

third time). Kim Campbell was divorced but engaged to be married. Some of the new era

of Social Credit leadership candidates would likely not have been invited into the cabinet of

W.A.C. Bennett, who upon meeting with his inaugural cabinet for the first time cautioned

them:

> That if he were walking out at night with a woman, to make
> sure it was his wife - and to walk under the street lamps so
> that everyone could see she was his wife. [56]

At Whistler, almost a quarter of delegates were married to one another.[57] Many of these,

long term party activists, and much of the party's general membership wanted the new leader

to have a stable homelife and to be able to project a positive upstanding image to the voters

in the next general election. Indeed, so critical was a candidate's personal character and

integrity to the voting delegates, that as the following table shows, no factor other than a

candidate's ability to win the next election was considered as important:

TABLE 9
Factors Influencing a Delegate's Vote

Answer	Very Important	Important	Not Important	No
Candidate's ability to lead the party to victory in the next election	84.1	13.5	1.2	1.2
Candidate's personal character and integrity	83.5	13.8	0.9	1.8
Candidate's ability to keep the party united	72.6	23.5	2.1	1.8
Candidate's policy positions	70.6	25.0	1.5	2.9
Candidate's experience in elected office	54.7	30.3	12.6	2.4
Candidate's understanding of my region of the province	51.2	32.9	13.2	2.6
Candidate's past service to the party	43.8	40.9	13.2	2.1
Personal charisma of the candidate	30.3	48.2	19.1	2.4
Personal friendship for the candidate or someone working for him/her	16.2	15.9	65.6	2.4

The delegates were asked to rate how important the following were in determining your first choice? (1 = very important, 2 = somewhat important, 3 = not important). The question results have been placed in the order of which the delegates rated a factor as being "very important".

SOURCE: University of British Columbia, British Columbia Leadership Study 1986, Summary Results, Section E, Question 7.

And so, the political events and timing of the 1986 Social Credit party leadership could not really have been more advantageous for Vander Zalm. And the party's constitution ensured party members predisposed to him would have excellent opportunities to gain delegate status, something many actively pursued.

Subsequently, these activists-delegates cast their ballots in increasing numbers for Vander Zalm, the candidate they felt most representative of the party's populist roots and traditions and who was most closely aligned to their own political and philosophical beliefs.

Chapter I Footnotes

[1]See Bibliography for selected books on the British Columbia Social Credit party and its leaders.

[2]The Social Credit name was derived from economic theories devised by Major C.H. Douglas, a British soldier and engineer. These theories argued that while capitalism remained the best economic system, citizens need a financial bonus, or Social Credit to offset the discrepancies between purchasing power and expense charges. As monetary matters are the responsibility of the federal government, such theories were never implemented by an elected Social Credit government, and remain a forgotten component of a generally conservative philosophy.

[3]For the only time in provincial history, a single transferable ballot was used. This ballot allowed the voter to mark in order of preference their choice for MLA. The election would be held on 12 June 1952, but final results were not official until July 31st. Social Credit won 19 seats and 30.18% of the vote. The CCF 18 and 34.3%. The former conservative and liberal coalition partners were reduced to minor roles in the province's political process for most of the next forty years.

[4]Averages taken from official provincial statements of votes. Best Social Credit figures in this period were: 39 seats in 1956, and 46.8% popular vote in 1969. Other than the 1952 results, the party's poorest showing was: 28 seats in 1953, and 38.3% popular vote in 1960.

[5]David Mitchell, W.A.C. Bennett And the Rise of British Columbia, Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1983, page 165.

[6]David Humphreys and Roger Keene, Conversations with W.A.C. Bennett, Toronto, Methuen Press 1980, page 40.

[7]Paddy Sherman, Bennett, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1966, page 306.

[8]"There is ample evidence that many Social Credit voters support the party simply because of their opposition to socialism and the NDP, not because they are attracted to Social Credit ideology in any positive fashion or because they share any other common political attitudes." Blake, D.E., Carty, R.K., and Erickson, L., "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, page 519.

[9]"The father's determined son", Western Report, 2 June 1986, page 11. This quote is by David Mitchell, W.A.C. Bennett's biographer.

[10]The NDP won 39.2% of the popular vote and 38 seats. Social Credit was reduced to 31.8% and only 10 seats. The Liberals won 5 seats, the Conservatives 2, but together they polled 28.8% of the vote.

[11]"I'm my own man - Bennett", Vancouver Sun, 25 November 1973.

[12]Ibid.

[13]"Bennett faced do - or die situation in 1973", Vancouver Sun, 26 July 1986.

[14]"I'm stepping down, Bennett declares", Vancouver Sun, 22 May 1986, page 1

[15]Bennett campaigned on the need for 'restraint', beginning with the provincial government. Barrett in turn said his NDP government would abolish any such plans. As a result, many voters already wary of Barrett's financial acumen abandoned any thought of supporting him. Bennett described his entry into public life and his subsequent service during a speech in Vernon shortly after the Barrett comments. It became known as "The Debt I Owe" speech and this was used as the title of a British Columbia Television special on the Bill Bennett era. Social Credit won 49.7% of the popular vote and 35 seats. The NDP won 49.94% and 22 seats. After three straight losses to Bill Bennett, Dave Barrett announced his resignation.

[16]"End of the Bennett Era", Western Report, 2 June 1986, page 4. This comment was made by David Mitchell, W.A.C. Bennett's biographer.

[17]"Being Premier was simply duty", Vancouver Sun, 6 August 1986.

[18]Comments of David Mitchell on the CBC during balloting at the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention, 30 July 1986. The writer video-taped the candidate speeches (July 29), and the voting (July 30).

[19]Comments by former party executive Lorne Valensky, 22 September 1987.

[20]Constitution and Bylaws of British Columbia Social Credit Party effective 25 October 1985.

[21]Ibid.

[22]The nine constituencies and their bonus delegates (in addition to the automatic 25) were: Central Fraser Valley 15, South Okanagan 12, South Peace River 6, Surrey and Cariboo each with 4, Boundary-Similkameen 3, Dewdney, Okanagan North, and West Vancouver-Howe Sound each with 2 additional delegates.

[23]In one of the subsequent ironies of the 1986 leadership convention results, then premier Vander Zalm carried out on his campaign promise to eliminate double-member ridings. To this end premier Vander Zalm initiated the Judge Thomas Fisher Royal Commission, whose report at the end of 1988 would lead to the drawing of new and more democratic electoral boundaries for the province, the increasing of the constituency's from 69 to 75, and the final elimination of the dual-member ridings.

[24]Concerned that some MLAs might not have been elected delegates by their own constituency members, the Social Credit party board did pass a motion granting automatic delegate status to all government M.L.A.s.

[25]The fifty Social Credit constituency associations held their delegate selection meetings within a brief ten day period between June 30 - July 9, 1986. (Due to registration irregularities the Delta constituency would have their initial meeting rescheduled to July 16, 1986). The delegate selection meetings schedule is as follows:

Day One: Monday, June 30, 1986

1. Atlin
2. Columbia River
3. Langley
4. North Vancouver Capilano
5. Vancouver Point Grey
6. Vancouver South

Day Two: Tuesday, July 1, 1986

7. Central Fraser Valley
8. Okanagan South

Day Three: Wednesday, July 2, 1986

9. Delta *
10. Kootenay
11. Nanaimo
12. North Peace River
13. North Vancouver Seymour
14. West Vancouver Howe Sound

Day Four: Thursday, July 3, 1986

15. Alberni
16. Burnaby Edmonds
17. Burnaby Willingdon
18. Cowichan Malahat
19. Vancouver Little Mountain

Day Five: Friday, July 4, 1986

20. Chilliwack
21. Comox

Day Six: Saturday, July 5, 1986

22. MacKenzie
23. Saanich and the Islands
24. Skeena
25. Vancouver Centre

* Meeting was postponed until July 16, 1986.

Day Seven: Sunday, July 6, 1986

26.   Burnaby North
27.   Cariboo
28.   North Island
29.   Yale Lilloet

Day Eight: Monday, July 7, 1986

30.   Boundary Similkameen
31.   New Westminster
32.   Oak Bay Gordon Head
33.   Omineca
34.   Richmond
35.   Rossland Trail
36.   Surrey

Day Nine: Tuesday, July 8, 1986

37.   Coquitlam Moody
38.   Esquimalt Port Renfrew
39.   Nelson Creston
40.   Prince George North
41.   Prince George South
42.   South Peace River
43.   Vancouver East

Day Ten: Wednesday, July 9, 1986

44.   Dewdney
45.   Kamloops
46.   Maillardville Coquitlam
47.   Okanagan North
48.   Prince Rupert
49.   Shuswap Revelstoke
50.   Victoria

Source: B.C. Social Credit party 1986 Leadership Campaign Guidelines.

Having so many meetings, in such a short period of time and throughout the province strained the resources and efforts of all twelve campaigns. As a result, the process neutralized much of the efforts of the major campaigns. Thus Vander Zalm's simple strategy to attend and be seen at as many delegate selection meetings as possible was not only practical, but proved to be productive as well.

[26]Peterson had once been W.A.C. Bennett's choice to succeed him as leader following the defeat of the Social Credit government in 1972. Peterson however had lost his own seat and was at the time in poor health. He would retire from elective politics and return to his legal practice.

[27]The 1986 Social Credit leadership committee structure and chairs, were:

CHAIRMAN   Les Peterson
PARTY PRESIDENT   Hope Wotherspoon
PARTY VICE-PRESIDENT   Ed Kisling
PARTY TREASURER   David Stone
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE PREMIER   Jerry Lampert
CONVENTION MANAGER   Bill Aughey
SECRETARY TO THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE   Ken Tolmie
MEDIA RELATIONS   Craig Aspinall

CHAIRMAN, ELECTION RULES	Allan Williams
CHAIRMAN, CREDENTIALS	Bill Esselmont
CHAIRMAN, CANDIDATE LIAISON	Bruce Strachen, MLA
CHAIRMAN, STAGING	Lynne Upton
CHAIRMAN, MEDIA	Stuart Henderson
CHAIRMAN, FINANCE	Michael Burns
CHAIRMAN, ACCOMMODATION & TRAVEL	Gary Huston
CHAIRMAN, SPECIAL EVENTS	Bruce Rozenhart
RECORDING SECRETARY	Karen Ward

Source: B.C. Social Credit party 1986 Leadership Campaign Guidelines.

[28]The net loss of $230,500.00 for staging the leadership campaign is based upon a proposed "Leadership 86" budget, which was included in a fund raising letter sent to all Social Credit party members on 10 June 1986.

[29]The election rules committee was chaired by the respected former attorney general Allan Williams. The official candidates package included nomination procedures, signage, regulations, speech format, and various balloting procedures.

[30]University of British Columbia, British Columbia Leadership Study 1986, Summary Results, Section E, Question 8.

[31]The Delta constituency delegate selection meeting, was postponed and rescheduled following complaints about the release of the notice of the meeting, the membership list, and other procedural matters. (Other candidate organizations were rightfully concerned that the constituency's president, Charles Giordano, did not take a leave of absence from his position, as he was also at the time a co-chairman of the Vander Zalm campaign). Other complaints about the delegate selection meetings included some campaigns trying to impose slates of declared supporters of a candidate on the membership, as well as several members themselves being upset about either being left off a slate list, or included on one without any knowledge of or their consent to be on it.

[32]Donald Blake, R.K. Carty and Lynda Erickson, Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

This book reviews and analyzes the party activists and their attitudes, and the leadership selection process of the Social Credit party, New Democratic Party and Liberal party of British Columbia.

[33]University of British Columbia, British Columbia Leadership Study 1986, Summary Results, Section C, Question 5.

[34]Ibid., question 9.

[35]Ibid., question 9

[36]Ibid., question 13.

[37]Ibid., Section F, Question 1.

[38]See Blake, Carty and Erickson's, Grassroot Politicians, to review the 1986 Social Credit delegates and Martin, Greg and Perlin's Contenders, to review the 1983 Progressive Conservative delegates.

[39]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, page 517.

[40]Comment made by a former president of the federal young tories who in the 1986 Social Credit contest was an organizer for Bob Wenman's campaign.

[41]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, page 517.

[42]Official Social Credit party records.

[43]John Laschinger and Geoffrey Stevens, Leaders and Lesser Mortals: Backroom Politics in Canada, Toronto, Key Porter Books Limited, 1992, page viii.

[44]Stan Persky, Fantasy Government, Vancouver, New Star Books, 1989, page 44.

[45]"Socreds speak on Moral Issues", Vancouver Sun, 18 July 1986.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid.

[48]"Vander Zalm", Vancouver Sun, 18 July 1986.

[49]Stan Persky, Fantasy Government, Vancouver, New Star Books, 1989, page 44.

[50]David Mitchell, W.A.C. Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia, Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1983, page 174.

[51]Blake, Carty, Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>, page 517.

[52]British Columbia Social Credit Party Constitution (1985).

[53]"Religion Low Key in this Campaign", <u>Vancouver Sun</u>, 18 July 1986.

[54]Prior to announcing his decision to run, Vander Zalm requested and then had a meeting with James Carney, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Greater Vancouver. "I just wanted to let the Archbishop know I was seriously considering entering the race. Archbishop Carney wished me well". (Interview with William Vander Zalm, 27 September 1987).

[55]William Vander Zalm interview, 27 September 1987, Richmond, B.C.

[56]Sherman, <u>Bennett</u>, page 123.

[57]Blake, Carty, Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>, page 517.

CHAPTER II

This Chapter begins by chronicling and examining the personal and political background and accomplishments of William Vander Zalm. This review is essential, as it would be Vander Zalm's status within the Social Credit party that was a key factor in his eventual success in the leadership contest.

Much of the Vander Zalm mystique and populist appeal is based upon his rise from an immigrant child to first a successful businessman then a populist politician. The first section provides an overview of Vander Zalm's personal, professional, and political career.

Vander Zalm's political career began in 1964 when he contested and lost a race for municipal office. Despite this initial setback, Vander Zalm became intrigued by the campaigning, power and prestige of politics. Between 1964 - 1984 Vander Zalm ran in twelve elections, including six municipal campaigns, three provincial campaigns, a federal election. In 1972, fourteen years before contesting for the leadership of the Social Credit party he ran for the leadership of the provincial liberal party.

While Vander Zalm would lose four of these twelve contests, he would show over the years a resiliency and style which saw him become a favourite with much of the Social Credit party membership - many who would be delegates at their party's 1986 leadership convention.

The second section, entitled "The Broadest Appeal", is about the three year period between 1983 - 1986 when Vander Zalm was out of elected politics and involved in

private business and various organizations and events that caught his attention, (including several Social Credit party functions). This period, which he called his sabbatical, provided Vander Zalm with both the opportunity to distance himself from the increasingly unpopular Bennett government, but still remain in the eye of the public and the Social Credit party members. As a result, when the unexpected leadership race was called, rather than have faded from view, Vander Zalm still had the broadest appeal and support within a party not eager to endorse as their new leader any member of a government they felt was increasingly isolated from the membership.

The final sections in this chapter review and critique the leadership campaign of William Vander Zalm. This analysis clearly shows how little his campaign contributed to his victory. Indeed, in an era when political campaigns are increasingly reliant on high-technology, big money, and paid consultants, Vander Zalm's victory without any of this is remarkable.

William N. Vander Zalm: Background and Politics

Much of the 1986 Social Credit leadership campaign was about a truly unique politician, William Vander Zalm. In the province, regardless of where people stood politically, most had an opinion of Vander Zalm. Even opponents grudgingly admired his conviction and determination. The Vander Zalm persona, together with the open delegate selection process would prove an insurmountable combination his opponents would face in the leadership campaign.

Wilhelmus Nicholaas Theordoros Maria Vander Zalm was born 29 May 1934 in the town of Noordwykerhout in the Zuid Province of The Netherlands. The fifth of seven children, Vander Zalm's father was a nurseryman and bulb salesman. When the Second World War broke out, the senior Vander Zalm was stranded in Canada while his family endured the German occupation, often relying on tulip bulbs for nourishment.

In 1947 the family rejoined their father in Canada, settling in the fertile Fraser valley of British Columbia. It was after attending high school, when his father suffered a heart attack, that William Vander Zalm, equipped with a drivers licence and his father's gardening and salesmanship skills, and his mother's work ethic, took over the family accounts and became a travelling nursery product salesman. From early on, Vander Zalm had impressed upon him the value of individual enterprise:

> "It isn't the specific experiences you have that dictate your life style, but the attitude you adopt to them. I was brought up to work hard, not out. I'm tied in, like it or not, with the old work ethic." [1]

While in Kelowna on a sales trip, Vander Zalm would gaze at a photo of a pretty young girl in a photography studio and tell himself he would marry her. He did so three years later when he married eighteen year old Lillian. Their obviously strong marriage and devotion to one another, and Lillian's love of campaigning would prove to be a tremendous political asset for Vander Zalm throughout his career.

A year before his marriage, Vander Zalm had formed Art Knapp's Nurseries Ltd. (Vander Zalm had bought the original business from Art Knapp, who was a well known nurseryman in B.C. and Alberta, for $3,200.00). Vander Zalm, who had sold bulbs and plants with Knapp throughout the province from the back of a pickup truck or trailer, retained the name to ensure customer loyalty for a thriving chain of nurseries.

In the 1960s the Vander Zalm family, now consisting of four young children settled in the Port Kells district of the municipality of Surrey. Vander Zalm's daily routine consisted of working from 7:00 a.m. to midnight, the entire week, a regime that kept his 5'11" frame at 175 pounds for 25 years without the benefit of a formal exercise routine. He would go decades of without seeing a movie and his only indulgences would be a glass of

wine with dinner and his pipe. Work, talking to his customers, and politics were his hobbies. Lillian would usually be at his side as well, cheerfully helping customers. The children too began to participate in the family's growing business. As babies, their mother would often put them in a wheel barrow so she could watch over them while she worked. As they grew, they continued to work in the nursery business, something they all do this day. [2]

The political career of William Vander Zalm began in 1964, when he was encouraged by his neighbours to run for Surrey council. [3] Vander Zalm had been instrumental in the neighbourhood's unsuccessful attempt to prevent the municipality from converting a local park (beautified with donated Art Knapp plants and trees) into a gravel pit. Vander Zalm ran and polled 2,522 votes, 87 short of election. [4] On December 11, 1965, a year after failing in his first electoral contest by only a few votes, the quick learning and energetic candidate polled 4,702 votes, the second highest total that year, to win a two year term on council. Two years later Vander Zalm would be re-elected for another two years, this time topping the polls with 78% of all votes cast.

After completing four years on council, the 34 year old Vander Zalm set his sights on the mayor's chair, which he won in December 1969, polling 62% of the vote and defeating the incumbent. Vander Zalm would be re-elected mayor in 1971 and 1973 by huge margins. While suffering defeats outside the municipal arena, Vander Zalm's ten years on Surrey council became the foundation on which his future political triumphs would be based.

Municipal politics are the most difficult to contest. Voter apathy is high, public

and media interest low. If elected, the responsibilities are wide-ranging and affect the day to day lives of the citizenry. The hours are long, while the remuneration is poor. Despite this, municipal politics is the perfect training ground for a politician, especially a populist like Vander Zalm. His garden shop customers became his supporters and campaign volunteers, the Surrey people and electorate his power base.

William Vander Zalm's run for the Social Credit leadership was his second bid at gaining control of a provincial political party. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, William Vander Zalm, usually painted as an extreme conservative was an active Liberal. In explaining his membership and candidacies in and for the Liberals, Vander Zalm would explain the involvement by stating this family, in particular his father, had been Liberal supporters, and as a dutiful son, "you go with who you know. No doubt my politics were more suited for Social Credit." [5]

In the 1968 Federal general election, despite "Trudeaumania", Vander Zalm ran and lost as the Liberal candidate in Surrey.[6] In May of 1972, still as a Liberal, Vander Zalm lost the leadership of the provincial Liberal party. Three months later he lost again as a Liberal candidate in the provincial general election.[7]

While these defeats did not diminish his popularity or credibility with the Surrey voters, political observers speculated that Vander Zalm's political ability and future began and ended with Surrey council. Such talk intensified when Vander Zalm added to his ambitious, maverick reputation by seeking the leadership of the provincial Liberal party.

During the weekend of 20 - 22 May 1972, William Vander Zalm, the 38 year old nurseryman and mayor of Surrey challenged David Anderson for his party's leadership.

Many Liberals and media observers thought he should not have been in the race, that he would embarrass himself and the party, and thereby lose the opportunity at seriously challenging the NDP and the aging Social Credit government of W.A.C. Bennett. Outgoing leader Pat McGeer and the four other Liberal MLA's had endorsed the 34 year old Anderson for leader. Anderson, the Member of Parliament for Esquimalt-Saanich, spoke French and Mandarin, had a law degree, an Olympic silver medal won for rowing, had been in the foreign service. He had recently made headlines for opposing super oil tankers travelling down the pacific coast. Despite the credentials of his opponent Vander Zalm went to Penticton and "provided the only real colour to an otherwise lacklustre convention," [8] in his "appeal to the party's right wing". [9] Vander Zalm out-hustled Anderson, and in his first leadership race, Vander Zalm "waged a campaign reminiscent of those staged in 1968 by candidates for the national leadership of the Liberal party." [10]

In this speech Vander Zalm, who had already made national headlines with his crackdown of welfare abuse in Surrey, furthered his right-wing reputation by calling for the return of the lash for drug traffickers, and warning that the:

> continued use of band-aid approach to solving society's problems, will destroy us morally, socially, physically, mentally, economically and lead us to certain rebellion or communism. [11]

Not expected to get 100 votes, Vander Zalm polled 171 to Anderson's 388. Explaining Vander Zalm's loss, then Liberal party president and future Social Credit leadership candidate Mel Couvelier stated:

He was unsuccessful in that quest primarily as a result of the intensive lobbying done for the eventual winner, David Anderson by Federal M.P.'s, Cabinet Ministers and influential members of the B.C. Liberal Establishment. [12]

Vander Zalm's better than expected showing revealed his populist attraction while raising his political profile. He also had the opportunity to meet several then Liberal, soon to be Social Credit colleagues, including Jack Davis. Davis, another maverick sort, defied the party establishment to vote for Vander Zalm, who in his learned opinion showed "bounce, energy, and definite leadership qualities." [13]

On May 31, 1974, while the New Democratic Party floundered in their first ever term as government, William Vander Zalm joined the rejuvenated British Columbia Social Credit party. On December 11, 1975, Social Credit won the provincial general election. Vander Zalm was elected in the Surrey constituency with 53.4% of the vote. [14] Eleven days later he would be sworn in as the province's Human Resources Minister. Vander Zalm immediately gained headlines when he stated, "if anybody is able to work but refuses to pick up the shovel, we will find ways of dealing with him." [15] And thus the shovel became the Vander Zalm trademark. (Over the years, Vander Zalm would have silver shovel lapel pins made, and Social Credit gatherings would auction off signed shovels, bringing in an estimated $65,000.00 to party coffers).[16]

Vander Zalm's NDP predecessor in the ministry had greatly over-run his budget [17], and Vander Zalm's disgust with welfare abusers and those lacking his work ethic fuelled his desire to halt such waste of tax payer's money. The NDP leader Dave Barrett may have believed that "money is the only known cure for poverty", [18] but William Vander Zalm

believed that the money should come from your own sweat, not government largesse. In his two years in office, Vander Zalm's ministry had a $108 million surplus the first year, and $25 million the second. Opponents claimed these cuts accentuated suffering for societies' most needy, and were overly vindictive. The target of violent protests, editorials, and political cartoons, [19] Vander Zalm stood firm, convinced his tough action was correct for the province, and those individuals directly affected. To his critics Vander Zalm replied "it's better to be a red-neck than a yellow belly." [20] William Vander Zalm, the man who often said what the grassroots was thinking saw his steadfastness increase his stature among the Social Credit leadership.

On 4 December 1978 Vander Zalm was moved to the Ministry Municipal Affairs. Here he continued his attack on bureaucratic red tape, and together with another former Liberal Jack Davis (who had recently been dropped in disgrace from cabinet) began to develop the plans for Advanced Light Rapid Transit, now known as Skytrain. (Finished after he left office, Vander Zalm would proudly state that "I planted the seed and someone else nurtured it to fruition.") [21] It was, however, his controversial 165 Section Land Use Act that his tenure in the ministry is remembered for. A bill to centralize several planning and developing functions with the minister, Vander Zalm called his act "a one stop development shopping concept." [22] First tabled in December 1981, the bill died on the order session on July 27, 1982. An outraged Vander Zalm who, after seeing his perceived attack on local bureaucracy killed by his cabinet colleagues' lack of support, called them "gutless". [23]

When Vander Zalm was appointed to his final ministry, education, on 20 August

1982 many thought premier Bennett was punishing both the militant B.C. Teachers' Federation and Vander Zalm at the same time. Relations between Vander Zalm and the Federation's hierarchy were strained from the beginning. Vander Zalm, who had once called Quebec Premier Rene Levesque a frog [24], received a "welcome" letter from the Federation written in French. He responded in Dutch.

Vander Zalm again went to work in his new ministry. He reduced his budget and demanded school districts "become more cost effective". He discussed the possibility of replacing school boards with appointed governing bodies, and he requested that province wide exams be implemented. Again politically active teachers responded, sending him dead flowers and a bottle of Tylenol (when tampered bottles of the drug had caused several deaths in the United States) and finally with bumper stickers reading "stop Vanderlism in the schools." Despite such personal abuse, Vander Zalm never failed to attend a meeting or a chance to debate or defend his actions:

> My number one beef about society today is its phoniness and lack of truthfulness. Politicians and leaders have become like plastic products that surround us. They can be molded to fit whatever, right or wrong. They will respond on the basis of what people would like to hear rather than what they themselves believe. [25]

Through his actions and attitude, William Vander Zalm had become the most popular member of the Social Credit caucus. Not only was he the most sought after speaker for party fundraisers or at annual meetings throughout the province, he won thousands of converts and supporters by attending hundreds of such meetings, regardless of how busy he was.

At Social Credit annual conventions, while Premier Bennett always received warm and respectful applause, William Vander Zalm's response was prolonged. Many cabinet and caucus members were openly jealous of Vander Zalm and the attention he received. Others considered Vander Zalm a poor team player. Vander Zalm simply had too much going for him - and they were constantly reminded on it. <u>Vancouver Magazine</u> reported:

> Aside from being the best-looking and possibly the wealthiest member of the cabinet, Bill Vander Zalm works the longest hours. [26]

Eventually many would avoid their headline gathering seat mate. Even a strong individual like premier Bennett was reported threatened by Vander Zalm's popularity, and "many of his cabinet colleagues avert their eyes when they pass his door and pray-sometimes out loud that he would go back to growing shrubs full time". [27] Unbeknownst to them, Vander Zalm himself was tiring of his current role in government.

On April 1, 1983, William Vander Zalm appeared on radio station CKNW's Gary Bannerman show for their traditional Good Friday gardening show. He opened the show by telling the listeners that after eight straight years, he would be taking a "sabbatical" from politics. While not totally unexpected, it was a surprise move nonetheless. Social Credit members pleaded with him to stay, expecting a difficult fight with the NDP in the upcoming election. Many former caucus members called him a "deserter", while his opponents said he was jumping from a sinking ship. The media was vindictive:

> With his loose tongue and knee-jerk responses, Mr. Vander Zalm has for 7 1/2 years been the symbol of all that has been arrogant, overbearing, and uncaring about the Social Credit government. [28]

Many believed Vander Zalm left because he thought that if Social Credit lost the upcoming provincial election, he would be in the position to either lead the Socreds after Bennett, or a new coalition party. However when Bill Bennett led his party to victory on May 5, 1983, Vander Zalm was forced to remain on sabbatical.

Rather than being a time for relaxation and refreshment, Vander Zalm's 1,216 day sabbatical saw the now ex-politician busier than ever:

> One of the problems with a person that has my personality ...
> my approach to things ... is that it is difficult to turn down a
> challenge. Everything is measured in challenges. [29]

Vander Zalm wrote the best selling Northwest Gardeners' Almanac, a garden column in various papers and hosted a gardening program on radio CKNW. He set a target of forty Art Knapp Garden Centres operating by 1986. When the Catholic Archbishop of Vancouver, James Carney (who Vander Zalm once served as an alter boy), asked Vander Zalm to help organize the Papal Mass of 12 September 1984, the devout Vander Zalm quickly accepted and began preparing the 1,200 acre Abbotsford Airport site for the crowd of 200,000. During this period Vander Zalm also renewed his traditional small business community connections. He allowed his name to be used to assist citizens against no fault automobile insurance. Just weeks before his entry into the leadership race, Vander Zalm was elected the president of the B.C. Chamber of Commerce, an association many of whose members were also Social Credit members, and staunch Vander Zalm supporters.

There are two highlights to the three year and three month Vander Zalm sabbatical. First, he disposed of most of his assets to acquire and develop a 21 acre botanical garden

situated on Number 5 Road in Richmond. Renamed Fantasy Gardens, the Vander Zalm's threw both their considerable efforts and $7 million into creating a display garden and a tourist attraction. The site soon acquired an European village motif, complete with ethnic restaurants and specialty gift shops, a major Art Knapp's nursery, a children's petting zoo, a miniature railway, and a biblical garden, complete with a replica of Noah's Ark, life size statues of Christ, and all 232 flowers and plants mentioned in the Bible. The garden would become the controversial [30] passion of Bill and Lillian Vander Zalm.

Throughout 1984, speculation grew that despite his other commitments, Vander Zalm had decided to re-enter politics. The apparent focus of this speculation was the mayoralty of Vancouver, a city the prospective candidate did not even reside in. The lure that the mayor elected in late 1984 would host Expo '86 and the city's centennial enticed Vander Zalm, who remarked, "I think it's a good opportunity for a good profile, and I think I can do that". [31]

Immediately the press, his political opponents and even some supporters attacked what they considered nothing more than political opportunism. Still, from January until the November election, Vander Zalm stories filled the newspapers. Finally, after seeing Papal Mass through, Vander Zalm announced on 3 October, from Fantasy Gardens, that he would seek the office of mayor of Vancouver. The campaign was a disaster. Fighting a veteran alliance of social democrats and communists, Vander Zalm's six week instant campaign never got focused, something Vander Zalm realized too late:

> I knew what the odds were. That's why I waited until the last
> minute, hoping someone else would step forward . . . to carry
> the free enterprise banner. But nobody did, and somebody had
> to. [32]

While he was trounced by the incumbent mayor Michael Harcourt, who gathered 62% of the vote, the Vander Zalm personality and candidacy did raise the city's voter turnout to 55%, the highest in half a century. [33]

While such a haphazard and presumptuous campaign would have hurt the credibility of most politicians, Vander Zalm was able to rebound. He would later defend his run a virtuous crusade for free enterprise against the entrenched forces of socialism. Some, including Jack Davis, would see his big city defeat as ultimately being beneficial, especially in the yes of the small town and rural delegates to the Social Credit leadership convention who viewed Vancouver and its affairs with suspicion. [34]

A review of Vander Zalm's sabbatical reveals how active he had been during his three year absence from elected politics. He had written a book and hosted garden shows. He had consolidated his business activities into one massive venture. He had helped organize a Papal Mass. He had participated in the no fault insurance debate. He had been elected the president of the province's chamber of commerce. He had run for mayor of Vancouver. It was though Vander Zalm had never left the scene. His words were in papers his voice on radio, and his face on television. As before he was a topic of discussion at the dinner table, the bar, and the political backrooms of the left and right. He had retained the highest political profile in the province, without holding an elected office. (Unlike, for example, federal Liberal leader John Turner, who stated that during his political sabbatical, he, "made maybe eight real speeches in the last eight years.")[35] When Vander Zalm re-entered active politics, he was as smooth as ever and he was the Vander Zalm the party membership remembered.

The Broadest Appeal: Vander Zalm Enters the Race

As shown, William Vander Zalm used the period between his departure from provincial politics in May 1983 and W.R. Bennett's resignation announcement in May 1986 to concentrate on his business ventures and other activities that temporarily gained his interest, while at the same time keeping both his name and face before the public.

It was also during this period that Vander Zalm, free from the constraints of being part of the governing party and cabinet, spoke often and spoke out at various Social Credit events. Usually the first choice for speaker at constituency events (even while out of office), Vander Zalm seldom turned down a speaking engagement, thus retaining his strong links with the core groups of Social Credit activists throughout the province.

Between the time of W.R. Bennett's highwater mark, the May 5, 1983 election, and his resignation announcement three years later, much of the Social Credit party (especially older members), who while retaining their loyalty and respect for W.R. Bennett, also rejected his efforts to modernize the party. They also resented his growing isolation from the grassroots. To this group, W.A.C. Bennett's approach to politics and party organization was the preferred way and William Vander Zalm best reflected this link to the past. This nostalgia would grow as Bennett and his government's popularity plummeted.

While Bill Bennett was both W.A.C. Bennett's son and logical successor in the bleak days of 1973, William Vander Zalm was the senior Bennett's natural political heir. The similarities between the original Bennett and Vander Zalm are numerous. Both were "outsiders, loners, . . . and their own advisers not easily influenced by other people." [36] Both were hardworking, self made men, (Bennett with hardware, Vander Zalm is gardening).

Both not only preached free enterprise, but lived it. Both were moralistic and religious men, who saw public service as a duty to both their fellow man and maker. Once committed to a cause or course of action, they stood firm. They despised the politically weak. Both adhered to W.A.C. Bennett's favourite expression that "you've got to stand for something, or you'll fall for anything." [37] Both were steadfast and wanted to create opinion not follow it.

Above all, W.A.C. Bennett and W.N. Vander Zalm had tremendous political resiliency. Without it, neither would have become premier. Each had suffered five defeats: Bennett had lost nominations to be a federal and provincial Conservative candidate, a federal by-election as a Conservative candidate and two attempts (1946 and 1950) to unseat Herbert Anscomb as the provincial Conservative leader. In the thirteen years since he had first sought political office, Bennett had won three terms as a provincial MLA, but he had also suffered five political setbacks.

William Vander Zalm too had perseverance. While unbeatable since 1965 as a Surrey municipal politician, in the eight years, since his first political campaign, Vander Zalm had lost four times. Besides defeat in his first bid for elected office, Vander Zalm had lost as a federal Liberal in 1968, a provincial Liberal in 1972, and in his attempt to win the leadership of the provincial Liberals in 1972. Within a few years, Vander Zalm had the dubious distinction of losing at all three levels of our political system. He would lose a fifth time in 1984 when he ran for Mayor of Vancouver - his last contest before the 1986 Social Credit leadership contest. However, the Vander Zalm image of success, both personally and politically endured. Clearly W.A.C. Bennett and W.N. Vander Zalm were driven men.

Defeat might have deterred them, but it did not stop them. They set high goals for themselves, and achieved many of them.

During the 1986 leadership campaign, several candidates attempted to present themselves as the natural successor to W.A.C. Bennett. Grace McCarthy had natural links, but delegates decided she was too much Little Mountain, and not enough Okanagan, and could not win the province. Bud Smith had much of the senior Bennett's charm, and was a son of the province's interior. Bud Smith, however, was tagged as a machine candidate, and one who would possibly merge the party with the Progressive Conservatives [38] Another, Robert Wenman who once sat in W.A.C. Bennett's caucus as a 26 year old, referred to Bennett the elder so often, one delegate commented, "He speaks about the old man so much you'd think he was his third son." [39] Only Vander Zalm emerged as the political heir to W.A.C. Bennett. A third of the delegates [40] at Whistler joined that party during the W.A.C. Bennett years, and if they and others interpreted party renewal as party rebirth, then Vander Zalm was their candidate. W.A.C. Bennett himself had also considered Vander Zalm as a possible successor. When they met after the 1975 election, he would tell his fellow populist:

> Bill, I got a piece of advice for you. Please (whispering), stay
> in the middle. Don't go too far to the right. Stay in the
> middle. Bill, you're going to go places. But stay in the
> middle. [41]

It would be this link to W.A.C. Bennett, and with it the belief held by many delegates that Vander Zalm would repudiate the actions and direction the party had been on during the last half of the W.R. Bennett's premiership that proved crucial to the Vander Zalm victory.

The Vander Zalm Organization: Personnel, Structure and Finances

At the time of the 1986 Social Credit leadership campaign, the consensus among party members, other leadership contestants, the media and scholars was that the leadership campaign of William Vander Zalm was very rudimentary, unstructured, and not what one would expect of an acknowledged leading candidate. The succeeding years have not brought forward any information to dispute these initial assessments.

If, as is proposed by this thesis, that the events and circumstances that led to Vander Zalm's victory were already in place before he entered the actual race, then it is indeed fortunate for his supporters that Vander Zalm needed "only one asset worth speaking of: himself" [42]

With his aversion to structure and belief in his ability to sway the delegates, Vander Zalm would show little care on what form his campaign would eventually take. As a result:

> Vander Zalm, who only entered the race five weeks before the convention ran an amateurish looking, populist campaign promising simple government, fewer experts, more consultation with the people and basic values. The Vander Zalm campaign centred on his personality. [43]

Led by dedicated followers and supporters, most notably the three MLAs who supported him, Rita Johnston, Bill Reid and especially Jack Davis, on very short notice, a minimal organizational framework was established and a campaign began that was, in the words of Rita Johnston, "sincere but amateurish". [44]

On June 20, 1986, only ten days before the first delegates were to be selected, Bill Vander Zalm announced that he was entering the Social Credit leadership race. At his press

conference, held at Fantasy Gardens, the twelfth and final candidate indicated that he would bring to government high moral standards based on "true Christian principles." [45] The 52 year old nurseryman and tourist attraction owner expressed his belief that despite his late entry, he could still win over the delegates and the province:

> I've been very up front with the people of this province," he said. "I have great philosophies. In short, I have the broadest appeal". [46]

Since premier Bennett's resignation, Vander Zalm, who was "once considered a shoo-in to succeed Bennett." [47] was torn between a desire to govern the province and his demanding financial and time commitments to his Fantasy Gardens development. With it publicly known that his energies and capital were invested in the project, Vander Zalm would comment to a key supporter "it's like they (party establishment) don't expect me to run." [48] As a result, during the near month that the reluctant candidate took to enter the race, both his possible candidacy and Fantasy Gardens received tremendous amounts of free publicity as the media, and the other candidates waited for Vander Zalm's decision. [49]

Other than his family, the person who was most responsible for Vander Zalm finally entering the leadership race, and the one who then provided much of the semblance of a campaign structure was MLA Jack Davis. The friendship and political alliance of Jack Davis the intellectual engineer and Bill Vander Zalm the populist horticulturist seems an unlikely one, with the men sharing little more than a passion for politics and its process. The contrast between the two men are striking. Davis was a Rhodes Scholar with five university degrees, including a doctorate from McGill University. He was an economist-engineer by profession, though politics was his passion. First elected to the House of Commons by

citizens from the north shore in 1962, Davis served until his defeat in 1974. In this time he had become federal Minister of Fisheries and Forestry (26 April 1968), and Canada's first environment minister (27 November 1970). Following his federal defeat, Davis joined the rapidly growing Social Credit movement in July 1975 (before the defection of the provincial Liberal caucus to Social Credit). Running in the riding of North Vancouver - Seymour, Jack Davis was easily elected in the December 11, 1975 Social Credit sweep. Davis became first the Minister of Transport and Communications, then less than a year later he had Energy added to his portfolios. Then, on April 3, 1978, Jack Davis' political world fell apart. Charged for converting first class airline tickets to economy and pocketing the difference, Davis was dropped from cabinet. [50] Despite seeing other Ministers returned to cabinet or retain their posts for worse indiscretions, Davis would never return to the cabinet of W.R. Bennett. Instead, Davis would remain an outspoken maverick backbencher for eight years, until the rise of Vander Zalm.

The Bill Vander Zalm and Jack Davis friendship went back to the 1972 provincial Liberal leadership convention, where Davis supported the outsider. Both men adhered to the brand of Liberalism originated in past centuries, when, as Davis outlined in his book, Popular Politics, the philosophy:

> emphasized freedom of the individual as its prime purpose in society. It supported competitive enterprise at home and free trade abroad. It endorsed representative government as a means of reducing the arbitrary power of the State. It put the person ahead of organizations of every kind . . . Due to the modern corruption of the term "liberalism", the philosophy which formerly bore that name is now seen as conservatism.[51]

Jack Davis had long been impressed by Vander Zalm, and by 1979 he would "see

him as the next premier, and I told him this, and that he could count on my future effort and support." [52] Nor did David forget Vander Zalm's kindness or consideration during Davis' difficulties. Davis, who worked with Vander Zalm on the Skytrain project said:

> At first Bill said he was too involved with the (Fantasy) Gardens. He couldn't see how he could run. But I kept phoning. And about half a dozen times on my way to the Victoria ferry, I would stop in and see him. We discussed the leadership developments, and I kept telling him he was the one to beat, that we could put together an organization and win. [53]

Vander Zalm was also getting hundreds of other visitors at the gardens, and a similar number of telephone calls. While many were influential politically and financially, most were party members and other citizens who believed in and supported the Vander Zalm approach to politics.

During the course of the subsequent campaign Davis would serve as Vander Zalm's adviser and confidant. The two would discuss the progress of the campaign and the unfolding leadership contest at least every second day. However, Vander Zalm proved impossible to keep focused on any type of timetable or schedule, and did not place much reliance on his leadership campaign. As Davis recalled:

As a student of politics, I had analyzed the recent leadership campaigns. I fully expected the day to come when Bill would run, so I wanted to utilize and implement some thoughts and formats I thought would be appropriate. Obviously due to the short notice given by Bennett of his resignation, and Bill's late entry into the race, I thought it critical to modify some of my ideas to at least provide the campaign with a basic structure. Bill would of course listen, and I am sure even try to follow some direction, but as the race progressed he pretty much did his own thing. Despite this, I was never worried about the other three major campaigns (Grace McCarthy, Brian Smith, and Bud Smith), even when we saw the money they were spending. While I though they might try to gang up on Bill, I was reassured when then constituencies began selecting their delegates. We (Vander Zalm campaign) recognized many as long time members - Bill's natural supporters. [54]

Davis would also contribute in two other key ways. First, he would supply numerous contacts around the province who could assist the Vander Zalm candidacy, especially in the organizing of supporters onto slates of delegates to contest the constituency delegate selection meetings. As well, Davis would place members of his energetic and capable North Vancouver-Seymour constituency association into key roles within the Vander Zalm campaign structure. With the possible exception of Elwood Veitch, who supported Grace McCarthy, no other caucus member contributed more to their candidates' success than Jack Davis. [55]

Besides Davis, Bill Vander Zalm received caucus support from only two other MLAs, Rita Johnston and Bill Reid. Both had succeeded Vander Zalm as members for the Surrey constituency, and were committed Vander Zalm friends and supporters for almost a generation. All three backbenchers had made independent decisions to support Vander Zalm,[56] and until they all arrived at Fantasy Gardens for Vander Zalm's press conference

did not fully know what to expect from their candidate. As Rita Johnston recalled:

> Up until the night before, we still weren't sure if Bill would
> run. He contacted me by phone and indicated he would run
> and asked me to meet him the next morning at the Gardens.
> I was on my way there with Bill (Reid), who hadn't been
> contacted by Bill (Vander Zalm) the night before and was
> unsure what Vander Zalm's decision would be. Regardless of
> his statement we would be there to support him, either way.
> We were delayed in traffic at the Deas Tunnel when we heard
> from a report on the car radio that Bill's press conference was
> indeed to announce he was running. A few minutes later we
> arrived and saw Jack Davis. Within moments of the
> announcement, hundreds of people who had heard the news on
> the car radio were arriving at Fantasy Gardens. It was
> incredible, and it showed the remarkable popularity and
> support of the man by the public. [57]

The personnel involved in the Vander Zalm campaign came from four distinct groups. First was his Surrey connection, led by Johnston, Reid and Larry Fisher, (a mobile home operator who had managed previous Vander Zalm campaigns), and businessman Charles Steacy. The Surrey contingent, which included hundreds of formal and informal volunteers, many who were Vander Zalm's oldest and most devoted backers who spoke in almost revered tones about their friend and political hero. These grassroots workers were supplemented by a second group of supporters, those who simply wanted Vander Zalm to be premier and volunteered literally right off the street.

The third group was the North Vancouver-Seymour constituency association, in particular the riding's executive (most of whom were delegates and Vander Zalm supporters) provided organizational skills. [58] The association's past and current president, contractor John Leyland and consultant, Roberta Kelly were given the crucial roles of delegate tracking and office manager. While this group initially followed Jack Davis to the Vander Zalm

campaign many also became personally committed to Vander Zalm's winning the leadership of the party. As John Leyland said:

> We knew Jack (Davis) admired Vander Zalm, and listed his reasons why. When the leadership campaign began he never pressured us to follow him. But most of us did on our own. North Van Seymour had always been a Vander Zalm constituency. [59]

The fourth group can be described as personal acquaintances of Bill Vander Zalm. These included a management consultant Bill Goldie (who had no political experience but served as the official agent), journalism instructor Charles Giordano (his press agent), and Peter Toigo owner of (amongst other things) The White Spot restaurant chain, who helped raise funds.

However, as the campaign progressed, it became apparent that the organization lacked focus and was hurt by the absence of one all powerful campaign chairman, someone who had both the political instincts and the ability to command the respect of the four campaign factions. It would not be until three days after their candidate declared, Monday, June 23, at a morning session held at the Abercorn Inn, on Bridgeport Road in Richmond, that the leaders of the campaign would meet for the first time. While most of the eventual chairmen of the seven Vander Zalm committees (delegate tracking, convention, signs, office, finance, strategy and social events) were at this meeting, so were "some weird hangers on." [60] Many present were visibly worried at this point that it had taken the early campaign leadership three days out of an already short campaign to organize an initial strategy meeting, then to find half those present of dubious value to the campaign. With such organization, it is not surprising that the Vander Zalm campaign "virtually limped off the starting blocks." [61] In

hindsight, Vander Zalm would concede that the lack of a confidant, or group to meet informally with was a problem, not only during the campaign, but throughout his political career:

> I was naive not to have a person or trusted group of advisors all these years. It would have certainly helped. During the campaign I was perhaps too accessible and open to people giving me advice and suggestions - many who I really didn't know. When the campaign began, I didn't have a group of people all set to go. Instead people just showed up. Many I knew, many I didn't. [62]

Nor had Vander Zalm taken more than a passing interest in the results only of recent leadership contests in Canada. He had not watched on television, nor read anything other than some newspaper accounts of the 1983 federal Progressive Conservative campaign, the 1984 federal Liberal campaign, and the 1984 British Columbia New Democratic Party campaign. [63] Unlike his main rivals, Grace McCarthy, Brian Smith and Bud Smith, all of whom were veteran political operators in their own right, Vander Zalm was neither interested or overly concerned about campaign organization or strategy.

Concerning his own run in 1986, Vander Zalm, claimed that he had "not thought much about it, and obviously did not plan for it." [64] Vander Zalm further stated:

> Bill (Bennett's) resignation really caught me and everyone else by surprise. He's (Bennett) a fighter and I thought despite his low standing (in the polls) he would hang on. That's how he won in 1983 (provincial election), and with Expo '86 going so well, I thought things would pick up (for Bennett and his government). I guess in the back of my mind I thought if I ever ran then the people who new me had worked on other campaigns would help -and that's what happened. I certainly had not given much thought before to organizing a campaign. Like when I ran in 1972 for the Liberal leadership, I knew we had to have a general organization, and then go out and meet the delegates. [65]

After trying to place the initial group of supporters and volunteers into some form of committee structure, the first major decision was to select a campaign office. Again, unlike the other leading candidates, they key consideration for the office site was not its location or how functional it was, but rather what was convenient to the candidate. "Bill wanted to be close to Fantasy Garden. Also, he wanted it in Richmond because he planned to run where he was now living",[66] commented Rita Johnston. With this criteria, the main office became the second floor of a credit union on Cambie Road in Richmond (which was just a few minutes north of Fantasy Garden). This office would be run by Roberta Kelly, president of Jack Davis' North Vancouver-Seymour constituency association. Afterwards, and to prevent a minor skirmish between Vander Zalm's original boosters from Surrey and those asserting leadership roles in the campaign, it was decided to open a second satellite office in Surrey, "not for any practical reason, but to show support and maintain the loyal Surrey base." [67]

As a result of these actions, the Vander Zalm campaign had two offices. [68] However, as a consequence of his late entry into the race, it would not be until near the end of the first week of the campaign before either office had furniture or telephones (including a toll free long distance number).

Facing this office disorganization were the main offices of Grace McCarthy, Brian Smith and Bud Smith, all of which were situated within nine blocks of one another on or near the central Vancouver street of West Broadway. (The most elaborate of these offices was McCarthy's, a four storey building with fifty parking stalls. The campaign occupied the top two floors, and provided the estimated volunteer group of 300 with thirty-eight telephone lines and catered food. The McCarthy campaign workers were organized into shifts). [69]

Despite the Vander Zalm campaign's shaky start, rather than being seen a some indication or lack of planning or incompetence, the contrast between the Vander Zalm operation would be seen by many as his "grassroots" efforts against the machine dominated style of the other front runners.

The one area of the Vander Zalm campaign that did not meet with the same difficulties as the other components was in its financing. While the Vander Zalm campaign did not solicit or raise the amount of funds received from the other leading campaigns [70], it also did not budget or spend anywhere near what these campaigns did. Commenting on the campaigns approach to its finances, Vander Zalm, who contributed "$3,000 or $4,000 of his own money to his campaign" [71] stated:

> One thing everyone on the campaign agreed with was that we would not spend a dollar until we actually had that dollar in the bank . . . not promised, but actually in the bank. While we didn't really have or follow a detailed budget, we were cost effective, and ended the campaign with a surplus (of funds). [72]

While there were no spending limits imposed on the candidates by the Social Credit party, the campaign committee included in their "General Rules for Campaign Conduct" two warnings to the candidates: [73]

> The Convention Committee strongly urges all Candidates to exercise restraint in campaign expenditures.

> and

> The B.C. Social Credit Party will not in any circumstance provide financial assistance to cover all or part of any deficit that may be incurred by any Candidate for the Leadership of the Party.

Just as important as the amount raised in the leadership campaign is its source. Most of the funds received by the campaign were from individual contributions. (While Vander Zalm did have some major corporate backers, such as Peter Toigo and developer Milan Ilich, he did not have anywhere near the large business support of the other three major candidates).

One of the most astute moves of the Vander Zalm campaign was to place a simple ad, featuring the candidate's picture in various newspapers throughout the province. These appeals provided a bonanza of funds. This advertisement, which featured a picture of Vander Zalm and a "help support Bill Vander Zalm for Premier" [74] headline, contained a personal message from Vander Zalm who stated that his campaign was "not financed by a big special interest political machine." [75] Instead, Vander Zalm asked the individual donor to make a "reasonable contribution." As campaign finance director Ernie Sarsfield stated:

> The response was incredible. We got thousands of replies, ranging all the way from $1 up. By the end we have sent out thousands of receipts for tens of thousands of dollars. That simple ad really touched the grassroots. [76]

During their forty day campaign, the Vander Zalm organization was able to raise approximately $140,000.00, [77] more than enough funds for their efforts. They had not planned to, nor were they prepared to run either a flashy or high-technology campaign. Their finances were therefore modest by this contest's standards, but adequate for the Vander Zalm campaign.

As subsequent surveys would reveal, 62.6% of the delegates felt some candidates spent too much money on their campaigns. [78] So again, without really planning it, the action of Vander Zalm and his campaign with regards to its finances and spending during the campaign was favourably received by the delegates.

The Vander Zalm Campaign: Policy, Strategy, Performance

The Vander Zalm campaign did not concentrate on or make policy statements during the brief campaign. All campaign literature focused on Vander Zalm personally, highlighting his successful business and political endeavours and his stable and loving family life. It was the candidate's well known personal beliefs not specific policies, that the Vander Zalm campaign promoted. While other candidates tried to put more focus on policies and issues, Vander Zalm's simple but sincere utterances, such as, "God gave us the earth, but it's up to us to pick up the shovel and dig it." [79] had instant appeal to the party's grassroots, especially since Vander Zalm was preaching to the converted. The aim was to win the votes of a majority of the 1,300 loyal and committed Social Credit delegates. Vander Zalm had a long and varied record in municipal and provincial government, and delegates could further use this record as an indication of how a Premier Vander Zalm would govern. And so for the duration of the campaign Vander Zalm would concentrate on his perceived political strengths of integrity, morality, business acumen, and his belief in God and the work ethic. Combined with already high standing amongst party members, many who remembered how accommodating Vander Zalm had been in attending constituency events over the years, Vander Zalm could restrict his campaign comments to the most basic comments:

> I believe in law and order. I believe in moral integrity. I believe in fairness for all people in society. I believe we must help the disadvantaged. I believe we must all work together as proud British Columbians. [80]

Commenting on Vander Zalm's campaign approach regarding policy. Jack Davis commented that:

> People knew where Bill stood, and where he was coming from. His openness is considered refreshing. Please feel that his honesty and integrity will allow him to make the right decision when needed. So we simply let Vander Zalm be Vander Zalm. [81]

This decision proved to be correct, especially when it became apparent that the bulk of delegates attending the convention would not be longstanding party members, with firm opinions and convictions, most of whom had met the candidate many times over the years and appreciated the Vander Zalm approach:

> 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 activities, 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. He may have been criticized for offering "style" rather than "substance", but policy-oriented campaign would have made the road to victory much rougher. [82]

If Vander Zalm and his campaign's approach to policy was nonchalant, their strategy during the leadership contest was non-existent.

At the first campaign meetings, initial attempts were made to provide the campaign organization and candidate with a detailed schedule. (Three days firm, the next two days tentative). These efforts were quickly ended due to the little time remaining in the actual campaign and fifty delegate selection meetings were already scheduled in a ten day period. The lack of a single firm voice in the campaign's hierarchy to reign the candidate in, (and Vander Zalm's own unwillingness to be controlled) also prevented much planning. As the campaign's delegate-tracking chair John Leyland commented:

He is both the most fascinating and frustrating candidate possible to work for. He develops his own strategy in his head as he goes along, and with his personality and skills he gets away with it. Sometimes you felt like giving him the delegate list and a pick-up truck and just let him go at it. [83]

The only stated strategy of the Vander Zalm campaign was to have their candidate meet as many delegates before, during and after their selection. To this end, Vander Zalm attended in person as many of the delegate selection meetings as possible. As Vander Zalm stated:

The delegate selection process was perfect for me. I really did not pay too much attention to the process until after I entered the race. Our campaign reviewed the party constitution, and realized that not only was the selection of delegates really fair, but that even though I waited a while to declare (as a candidate), the other candidates did not have much time to sign up new members. It would be the regular party members going to Whistler, and I knew hundreds in every constituency.[84]

This confidence coupled with a lack of organization saw the Vander Zalm campaign's effort in putting forward proposed slates of committed delegates forward at the various delegate selection meetings run well behind of those of the Grace McCarthy, Brian Smith and Bud Smith teams. Again, Vander Zalm was not as worried as one might think:

I realize that the Grace (McCarthy), Brian (Smith) and Bud (Smith) groups put a lot of effort and faith in organizing slates for the delegate (selection) meetings - much more than we did. I had my doubts about the slates because I knew most of the delegates would be long time members. Even if they were on someone's list as a committed delegate, this might not be the case by convention. Also, other delegates were on lists without even being asked to be put on. I had all kinds of delegates phoning me telling that they had been listed as a supporter of another candidate, but they were actually committed to me from the start. [85]

Despite their candidate's own doubts about delegate tracking, his campaign did try to strategically track them. John Leyland, the committee chair, did not follow any predetermined tracking model or system, instead his committee, key advisors, and Vander Zalm himself would meet to brainstorm, both on how to locate potential supports, and how to hold them.

> The key was to locate possible contacts in the constituencies and have them quietly form Vander Zalm slates to run at the delegate selection meetings. We got our contacts from people phoning or writing in, or Jack (Davis) and Bill (Vander Zalm) suggesting names. [86]

This system had several faults however. No computer was available until near the end of the campaign, and an organizer charged with preparing delegate slates in the crucial Interior constituencies was charged with being either incompetent or working for another campaign or both. Several of the leads suggested to the committee, including many of Vander Zalm himself turned out to be were supporting other candidates. And finally, when several Vander Zalm groups and slates in the constituencies were eventually organized, it was too late as the delegate selection meeting had already been held. By the end of these delegate selection meetings Leyland would estimate that:

> Maybe fifty percent of the constituencies were contacted and reasonably organized. We began to consider the "uncommitted constituencies" as bonuses. We knew though that the delegates were smart individuals and open to Bill. [87]

Not only was Vander Zalm not overly impressed or concerned with modern campaign techniques, he even had difficulty following a campaigns most basic routine, the regularly scheduled campaign meetings. The candidate would comment that:

> The campaign committee met three times a week. We basically brainstormed and I would be given various reports on our campaign efforts, what the other candidates were doing, and what the membership and press were saying about us. After a while I wanted to meet the delegates, not attend meetings". [88]

To this end, concentrating on his major strength, his populist charisma, Vander Zalm concentrated on and attended as many delegate selection meetings and all candidate functions as possible. The results were always the same:

> He enters the hall for an all-candidates meeting, the last to arrive, and all heads turn to him. No one dares protest as the agenda is shuffled to accommodate his remarks. Afterward the other candidates move through the crowd, searching for support. He stands in one place and delegates flock to meet him. [89]

While the Vander Zalm campaign had difficulties in identifying and maintaining a province wide network of supporters, their candidate was able to draw supporters to himself, perhaps unlike any other politician in British Columbia history. As campaign Co-Chairman Charles Giordano recalled in a vignette that summarizes both the strength and weakness of both Vander Zalm the candidate and his campaign:

> People just came out of the woodwork. They were phoning
> me at home. And they were driving Bill crazy. And he would
> say: "Keep all those telephone messages, Charlie! Keep all
> those cards! Keep all those message slips!" And every day he
> would hand me a great big pile of letters and messages. I
> would say: "Bill, what are going to do with them?"
> "Well, weed through them, Charlie."
> He used to mark right on them: "Will help." "Wants to make
> a donation." "Has a problem with his coffee plant." And I'd
> say, "What's this doing in here?"
> He'd come into the campaign office smoking his pipe and he'd
> have an old orange juice box, cut in half, with all his files and
> letters in it. I'd say: "Bill, haven't you got a briefcase?"
> "Oh, I like this box. It's just perfect."
> But it was just too much to see this guy all dressed up, packing
> this old orange juice box, with all his papers in it. And he'd
> give me another pile.
> So we'd go through all of his stuff and we'd separate the
> messages and phone people. But what happened was, there
> were so many, and the phones would keep ringing, and they
> would get mad because you couldn't respond to them all. We
> couldn't possibly respond to all these people. [90]

Too often the candidate's own popularity and his personal confidence in his ability to win the campaign meant that proper planning and organization of the campaign itself were lacking. As a consequence, the overall performance of the campaign was mixed. While enough support was provided to safeguard the victory, had the contest been tighter and more reliant on the candidate's campaign organization and strategy, then Vander Zalm would not have won.

While Vander Zalm would not be coached or controlled like other candidates, late in the campaign the candidate and some confidants began to worry that perhaps the campaign was indeed out of control. In a move that has been described as either an insurance policy or a panic move, the Vander Zalm campaign brought in its own local management

consultants. As the convention neared, the Vander Zalm committee heads met with then White Spot president Peter Mainse at the downtown Cambie Street offices of William F. Johnston and Associates Ltd. (who were the business and advertising consultants to White Spot). Several logistical changes in the campaign's management were made, most notably the remainder of the overall campaign would be guided by this company. Bill Goldie's role and authority would be reduced and Richmond lawyer, Al Basile, was added to the top campaign level. [91] Long time Vander Zalm friend and campaign manager Larry Fisher would be placed in charge of the crucial three day Whistler convention. Fortunately, for the campaign, these behind the scenes alterations and uncertainties did not noticeably hinder the Vander Zalm campaign nor worry the candidate. While such confusion would impede most campaigns, the Vander Zalm campaign was the candidate himself, and William Vander Zalm was not about to let campaign organizations, be they those of other candidates, or his own, prevent him from achieving victory.

In their 1992 book on political party leadership selection and conventions in Canada, political consultant John Laschinger, and newspaper columnist Geoffrey Stevens offer nine rules "for the politician who is determined to seek the prize at the end of the rainbow." [92]

> **Rule One:** A candidate should always operate on the assumption that the convention will go more than one ballot.
>
> **Rule Two:** A candidate should ensure that they have adequate caucus support.
>
> **Rule Three:** A candidate who waits until a leadership convention is called before they start to campaign is too late.
>
> **Rule Four:** Before declaring, a candidate should commission a poll of party members and delegates to establish issues and strategy.

Rule Five: A shrewd candidate will understate and over achieve claims of their delegate support.

Rule Six: A leadership campaign must have a hard-nosed S.O.B. to serve as the organization's comptroller. Inadequate financial controls will kill the candidate after the convention, if not before.

Rule Seven: A campaign must be professional, but never lavish.

Rule Eight: Candidates should identify a solid base of early financial support to begin a campaign.

Rule Nine: A candidate must know, and be able to articulate their reason for wanting to be leader.

As Bud Smith's company manager, John Laschinger had the opportunity to watch the Vander Zalm campaign violate and disregard most of these rules, and yet win convincingly.

In fact, the only rules that Vander Zalm and his organization adhered to at all were Rule One (Vander Zalm expected at least three ballots) [93] and Rule Six (as shown, financial controls were based upon not spending any more than had previously been raised and in the bank). With regards to the other rules (or similar ones), the Vander Zalm campaign not only disregarded them, they ran contrary to them.

Rule two called for strong caucus support. Vander Zalm had only three largely uninfluential back benchers supporting him. Most of the remaining caucus were either cool or outright negative to his candidacy and leadership skills. Fellow candidate Stephen Rogers even stated what many candidates were privately thinking and said he would not serve in a Vander Zalm cabinet. [94]

Not only did Vander Zalm not declare his candidacy before the leadership convention was called on May 22, 1986, (Rule Three), he let almost half the campaigning time lapse

before finally entering the race, and after even candidates had already preceded him.

Accordingly to Rule Four, prior to declaring the candidate's campaign should have commissioned a poll of party members and delegates to receive feedback on issues and how to structure their strategy. The Vander Zalm campaign did not do any polling at anytime. Nor did the candidate have much regard for their value:

> I always had my doubts about too much polling. I think the Bennett government became to reliant on it in its later years. I always preferred to meet directly with people, or talk to them by phone . . . then you really get a sense of what their thinking. [95]

Vander Zalm's own inability to refrain from speculating about his results was most evident when he discussed his possible first ballot strength (Rule Five). This caused his campaign considerable concern. As the chairman of his delegate tracking committee commented:

> With no polling or real solid data to base our predictions or projections of first ballot support, we told all campaign workers and leaders not to guess or speculate on Bill's first ballot support. Our strategy was whatever we actually received, we would say it was great, and more than what he anticipated. Of course, Bill didn't follow these instructions, and had to speculate with any one who would ask, especially the media. When he started talking about up to 500 votes with TV reporters just before the first ballot was announced, and then only got 367 . . . a lot of us on the campaign thought we were finished. [96]

Rule Seven stated that "a campaign must be professional, but not lavish". The Vander Zalm campaign was neither.

While the Vander Zalm campaign was financially stable, no sources of campaign funds were identified either before or during the candidate's entry into the race. "We just

took what people sent us . . . The only solicitation was our newspaper ad" [97] said the candidate.

Finally, Rule Nine states a candidate must be able to articulate their reason for seeking the leadership. Other than generalities, Vander Zalm offered no specifics, nor displayed any deep passion for wanting to be premier at the time.

> I was increasingly comfortable in private life when Bill (Bennett) quit. I was caught totally by surprise by his announcement. Once the race began, the pressure on me from all sorts of people was unbelievable. I could do the job, so finally I said "let's go". And if the campaign hadn't been, in 1986, I don't know if I had of returned to politics for some time, certainly not in the next election. [98]

Despite the structure and conduct of Vander Zalm and his campaign, veteran campaign manager John Laschinger knew three weeks before the convention, from the results of polls he had commissioned for the Bud Smith campaign, that Vander Zalm "would win on the third or fourth ballot, and that (Bud) Smith would finish a distant fourth." [99]

Laschinger knew that the makeup of the delegates, their attitudes towards the candidates personalities and policies, and their goals for the image and direction of their Social Credit party were key to the convention results.

The delegates were very sophisticated with regards to what they wanted, analyzed Laschinger, and they were attuned to both Vander Zalm and his perceived views and direction he would lead the party. Thus "the personalistic anti-establishment campaign run by Vander Zalm meant that he had to reach around the party's elected elite to appeal to the delegates directly". [100] Without really planning or organizing it, Vander Zalm used the only campaign strategy appropriate for his candidacy.

Chapter II Footnotes

[1]Stan Perskey, _Son of Socred_. Vancouver, New Star Books, 1979, page 173.

[2]At the time of the 1986 leadership convention, all four Vander Zalm children were involved in the nursery and garden business. The oldest child, 29 year old Jeffrey owned and operated Art Knapp stores in Kelowna and Vernon, while 24 year old son Wim had a store in Port Moody. Both daughters, 27 year old Juanita and 21 year old Lucia worked at Fantasy Gardens.

[3]Refer to Appendix 2 for a complete summary of Vander Zalm's twenty-six year, fourteen campaign political career.

[4]Surrey election results are taken from the municipality's official statements of votes.

[5]Interview with William Vander Zalm, 27 September 1987.

[6]Vander Zalm lost by 4,520 votes to the NDP's Barry Mather in the Surrey constituency. To date, the federal level of politics is the only one in which Vander Zalm has not been elected to.

[7]Vander Zalm would finish third, well back of the NDP's Ernie Hall and the Social Credit candidate. The results are Hall (NDP) 12,574 (52.49%), James Wallace (Social Credit) 5,877 (24.53%); William Vander Zalm (Liberal) 3,995 (16.68%)

[8]"Vander Zalm enlivens convention", _Vancouver Sun_, 23 May 1972, page 13.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., Vander Zalm's pre-high tech convention consisted of professionally printed placards, buttons, campaign "newspapers", a pickup truck with a public address system, an organized demonstration of support before his speech, and gallons of free coffee.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Letter from Mel Couvelier, 4 August 1987, concerning his 1986 Social Credit leadership campaign.

[13]Jack Davis interview, held 13 July 1987 in Victoria, British Columbia.

[14]All provincial election results are taken from the relevant edition of the Province of British Columbia's _Statement of Votes_.

[15]Alan Twigg, Vander Zalm: From Immigrant to Premier, Madiera Park, British Columbia, Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd., 1986, page 71.

[16]"Some hail him, some hang him", Western Report, 11 August 1986, page 71.

[17]This was made public by premier Barrett when on 18 September 1974 he revealed that "an unidentified person in the Human Resources department has made a clerical error . . . of $102.8 million in this years budget." Twigg, Vander Zalm, page 68.

[18]Twigg, Vander Zalm, page 69.

[19]Vander Zalm would sue cartoonist Bob Bierman over a 22 June 1978 cartoon showing him smiling as he pulled the wings off flies. He won $3,500 from a judge who said the cartoon was in bad taste, but lost on appeal when another judge ruled that the cartoon was "fair comment". Parodies of this cartoon concerning Vander Zalm's political career continue to this day.

[20]"Vander Zalm", MacLeans, 3 May 1976.

[21]Twigg, Vander Zalm, page 93.

[22]Ibid., page 85.

[23]Ibid., page 86.

[24]During a 1979 Social Credit regional convention in Williams Lake, Vander Zalm sang an anti-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau ditty, (to the tune of "On Top of Old Smoky"), of which the most
infamous verse was: "he needed a distraction, a political fog, and out of the East came the sound of a frog." Twigg, Vander Zalm, page 234.

[25]"Vander Zalm: A Personal Profile", Vancouver Sun, 15 October 1984.

[26]"Vander Zalm", Vancouver Magazine, April 1983, page 59.

[27]"Vander Zalm", Vancouver Sun, 15 December 1982.

[28]"Editorial", Vancouver Sun, 2 April 1983.

[29]Twigg, <u>Vander Zalm</u>, page 68.

[30]Vander Zalm had extensive, often controversial dealings with the Richmond planning department over the rapid growth of Fantasy Garden's commercial and retail space. While the various additions to the complex's "European village" were approved by Richmond council, Vander Zalm received considerable criticism for occasionally proceeding with the assorted projects without the required building permits. Vander Zalm also would make a successful application to the province's Land Commission to have the entire Fantasy Gardens site removed from the Agricultural Land Reserve. It was this possible conflict of interest (the provincial cabinet is the final voice on such decisions) that Vander Zalm would most often cite as the reason why he delayed his entry into the leadership race. During the course of the campaign, Vander Zalm would state that if a conflict of interest were to arise, he would sell the gardens. Instead, Vander Zalm said he would place control over the complex in his wife's name.

[31]"Vander Zalm ponders run for mayor's chair", <u>Vancouver Sun</u>, 27 September 1984.

[32]"Knew the odds Vander Zalm says", <u>Vancouver Sun</u>, 30 November 1984.

[33]City of Vancouver, <u>Statement of Votes</u>, 1984 election.

[34]Jack Davis interview, 13 July 1987 in Victoria, British Columbia.

[35]Jack Cahill, <u>John Turner: The Long Run</u>, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1984, page 206.

[36]Comments by David Mitchell, on CBC television, 30 July 1986. Mitchell is the biographer of W.A.C. Bennett.

[37]Twigg, <u>Vander Zalm</u>, page 204.

[38]In her 17 June 1986 column, the <u>Vancouver Sun's</u> Marjorie Nichols insinuated that Bud Smith would likely change Social Credit's name and eventually merge the party with the Progressive Conservatives. This blatant attempt to discredit Smith and assist Nichol's choice, Grace McCarthy, made Bud Smith "madder than at anytime over any thing during the entire campaign." Bud Smith, interview in Victoria 14 July 1987.

[39]Notes taken while a delegate at the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention.

[40]The University of British Columbia Survey (section C, question 6) reveals that convention delegates joined the Social Credit Party during the following periods: 1986 (6.5%), 1980-85 (24.1%), 1975-79 (17.4%), 1972-75 (22.4%), and before 1972 (28.8%).

[41]Twigg, <u>Vander Zalm</u>, page 240.

[42]"Bill Vander Zalm: The One and Only", Vancouver Sun, 14 July 1986.

[43]Blake, Carty and Erickson, Grassroots Politicians, page 102.

[44]Rita Johnston interview, 16 July 1987 in Victoria, British Columbia.

[45]"Vander Zalm in the Leadership Race", Vancouver Sun, 21 June 1986, page 1.

[46]Ibid.

[47]"I'm stepping down, Bennett declares", Vancouver Sun, 22 May 1986, page 2.

[48]John Leyland interview 11 September 1986 in North Vancouver, British Columbia. Leyland was responsible for delegate-tracking for the Vander Zalm campaign.

[49]All candidates interviewed stated that if Vander Zalm had declared earlier, far fewer candidates would have run. Mel Couvelier indicated he for one would likely have not run. John Reynolds stated that "Vander Zalm couldn't have been stopped from the time he announced". Cliff Michaels said at an all-candidates meeting in Hope, delegates went to Vander Zalm "like bees to honey. I told my wife then and there the games over".

[50]Davis was charged with theft and fraud for pocketing the $1,074 difference in ticket prices. He hoped to receive an absolute discharge, but was found guilty and fined $1,000.00 and placed on two months probation. Davis, had to contest for his Social Credit nomination for the 1979 provincial election. He would be nominated and win re-election in the 1979, 1983 and 1986 provincial elections.

[51]Jack Davis, Popular Politics, Vancouver, Friesen Printers, 1984, page 228.

[53]Jack Davis interview, 13 July 1986 in Victoria, British Columbia.

[54]Ibid.

[55]As discussed in the next chapter, the impact of the caucus was minimal during this campaign.

[56]In interviews conducted in Victoria in July 1987, Jack Davis, Rita Johnston and Bill Reid stated that they held no joint discussions about supporting a Vander Zalm leadership candidacy prior to his own declaration.

[57]Rita Johnston interview, Victoria, 16 July 1987.

[58]Despite the support of Jack Davis, it is believed that Vander Zalm did not receive all of the North Vancouver-Seymour delegates. Most accounts give Vander Zalm at least nineteen delegates, with the balance going to either neighbouring candidate John Reynolds or Grace McCarthy.

[59]John Leyland interview 11 September 1987.

[60]Ibid.

[61]"The rush for the helm", Western Report, 30 June 1986, page 4.

[62]William Vander Zalm, interview, Richmond, B.C., 25 September 1987

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Rita Johnston interview, 16 July 1987.

[67]Ibid.

[68]The main campaign office was at 210 - 3195 Cambie Road, V6X 1L6 (Tel) 270-9290, while a Surrey satellite office was at 6922 King George Highway, V3W 4Z9 (Tel) 590-1182

[69]"Candidate's Troops get HQs Humming", Vancouver Sun, 10 July 1986.

[70]The estimated costs of the twelve campaigns are as follows:

Kim Campbell	$ 40,000 - 50,000
Mel Couvelier	$ 70,000 - 100,000
Cliff Michael	$ 30,000
Grace McCarthy	$500,000 - 600,000
Jim Nielsen	$150,000
John Reynolds	$100,000 - 150,000
Bill Ritchie	$ 75,000 - 100,000
Stephen Rogers	$ 52,000
Brian Smith	$200,000 - 300,000
Bud Smith	$450,000
William Vander Zalm	$130,000 - 140,000
Bob Wenman	$ 80,000 - 125,000

The source of these estimates are from various candidate campaign sources as well as material cited in the bibliography.

[71]William Vander Zalm interview, 25 September 1993.

[72]Ibid.

[73]British Columbia Social Credit Party, <u>General Rules for Campaign Conduct</u>, 1986. These rules were included in subsequent campaign memoranda and rules and regulations sent to the candidates throughout the campaign.

[74]"Help Support Bill Vander Zalm for Premier", advertisement in the <u>Province</u>, 6 July 1986.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Discussion with Ernie Sarsfield, a member of Jack Davis' North Vancouver-Seymour constituency, who assisted with the Vander Zalm campaign finances.

[77]The estimate of $140,000.00 is from various sources who worked on the Vander Zalm campaign, including the candidate.

[78]University of British Columbia, <u>British Columbia Leadership Study 1986</u>, Summary Results, Section E, Question 10.

[79]Vander Zalm Campaign brochure.

[80]Vander Zalm campaign letter to elected Social Credit delegates.

[81]Interview with Jack Davis 13 July 1987.

[82]D. E. Blake, R.K. Carty and Lynda Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>, September 1988, pages 534-535.

[83]John Leyland interview, 11 September 1987.

[84]William Vander Zalm, interview, Richmond, B.C., 27 September 1987.

[85]Ibid.

[86]John Leyland interview, 11 September 1987.

[87]Ibid.

[88]William Vander Zalm, interview, 27 September 1987.

[89]"Bill Vander Zalm: The One and Only", <u>Vancouver Sun</u>, 14 July 1986.

[90]David Mitchell, <u>Succession</u>, Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1987, pages 104-105.

[91]Commenting on the role Al Basile played in the campaign after joining it in the last stages, Vander Zalm commented that "Al helped with a lot of the small details. You know he was supposed to be a Bud Smith supporter, although he personally told me he believed I was the best choice for the Party and the Province. You know many people in our campaign thought he was a Bud Smith spy". These comments, made during an interview on September 7, 1993, reveal much about Vander Zalm's laissez faire approach to his own campaign.

[92]John Laschinger and Geoffrey Stevens, <u>Leaders and Lesser Mortals: Backroom Politics in Canada</u>, Toronto, Key Porter Books, 1992, pages 210-213.

[93]William Vander Zalm interview, 27 September 1993.

[94]Despite his campaign comments, Rogers quickly accepted Vander Zalm's invitation to join his first cabinet. Forced to resign over a conflict of interest, Rogers was allowed to end his sixteen year political career as Speaker of the House, following his appointment by Vander Zalm.

[95]William Vander Zalm interview, 7 September 1993.

[96]John Leyland interview, 11 September 1987.

[97]William Vander Zalm interview, 7 September 1993.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Laschinger and Stevens, <u>Leaders and Lesser Mortals</u>, page 86.

[100]Blake, Carty and Erickson, <u>Grassroots Politicians</u>, page 102.

CHAPTER III

This third chapter chronicles the race to succeed outgoing Social Credit party leader William R. Bennett as Social Credit party leader and to become British Columbia' twenty-seventh premier. This leadership contest was not only brief (sixty-nine days), but had more contestants (twelve) than any other race in Canadian history.

Therefore, in an effort to understand why William Vander Zalm, and not one of the other eleven candidates won, the first three sections will profile the strengths and weaknesses of Vander Zalm's eleven opponents. The middle sections of this chapter review the actual campaign from William R. Bennett's resignation (May 22) to the actual leadership convention (July 28 - 30, 1986).

What is revealed is that the various campaigns and media allowed speculation and political "spin doctors" to dominate the coverage of the contest. It was only when the convention began, with the 1,300 delegates present together, that the likelihood of a Vander Zalm victory began, that the focus of the campaign changed.

The final half of this chapter deals with the three day leadership convention at Whistler, British Columbia, it concludes with a ballot by ballot account, ending with William Vander Zalm's July 30, 1986 victory.

The Competition

With the person elected Social Credit party leader on 30 July also becoming the premier of the province, it was not surprising that several candidates entered the race to succeed Bill Bennett. That as many as twelve candidates would eventually run, however, was a surprise. (Delegates would split evenly on their being too many candidates) [1]. Fully 29 days of the 69 day campaign had elapsed by the time all candidates were in the race. Those seeking to become the first non-Bennett to lead that party included four current cabinet ministers, two former cabinet ministers, (one of whom was no longer in politics), two backbench MLA's, two former aides to Premier Bennett, a Progressive Conservative MP, and the mayor of a Victoria suburb.

If leadership contests revolve around personalities, and not policy, then the Social Credit party and its delegates had a divergent cast to consider. The following sketches of Vander Zalm's opponents reveals some reasons why they did not capture the imagination or support of enough delegates to defeat Vander Zalm. They are profiled in the order they entered the race.

John Reynolds

First in was West Vancouver-Howe Sound MLA John Reynolds, a former twice elected Member of Parliament who left federal politics to become a radio talk show host, and then a stock promoter. Thrice married, with seven children aged 1-23, Reynolds could not shake his wheeler-dealer image. Described as being "always slick as lard on a doorknob",[2] Reynolds candidacy would make many long-time party members uncomfortable. Few would be moved by his campaign slogan of "follow John . . . you're following the leader." [3]

Jim Nielsen

Jim Nielsen, had served in cabinet since the original W.R. Bennett government of 1975. At the time of the convention he was administering half the provincial budget as both Health and Human Resources Minister. Nielsen had long been considered a very capable minister, and when he engineered the defection of disgruntled Altin NDP M.L.A. Allan Passarell to the Socreds, his political star was rising. Then in January 1986 it was disclosed that the father of nine (5 of whom were adopted, including one who was legally blind and another with Downs Syndrome) had been having an affair of "some time" [4] with a secretary who worked in the Legislature. The affair had been disclosed after Nielsen was beaten up by the woman's husband, another civil servant. Despite this, Nielsen would have support of five caucus colleagues, and many Young Socreds. [5] Nielsen would still manage to get off the best line of the campaign when he responded to questions of both his candidacy and that of Bud Smith. Replied Nielsen, who saw himself as a political Humphrey Bogart,[6] "I didn't shovel shit in the stables for ten years to have someone else come in and ride the pony." [7]

Bill Ritchie

Municipal Affairs Minister Bill Ritchie was the third into the race. The 59 year old millionaire feed and grain producer was thought to be running not to be premier, but to raise his profile enough to retain his party's nomination in the upcoming election. (His Central Fraser Valley constituency association, the largest in the province, and in the heart of the

"bible belt", was furious at Ritchie over his separation from his wife of 36 years).[8] Ritchie sent out the most literature during the campaign [9] (most paid for with his own money) as he attempted to run a policy oriented campaign.

Bob Wenman

With three uninspiring candidates so far declared, the fourth candidate in attracted the first serious scrutiny by the press and party. Conservative MP Bob Wenman however, wilted under this examination. The Wenman campaign peaked the Sunday afternoon he announced his candidacy before 300 supporters at historic Fort Langley, part of the Fraser Valley federal riding he had represented since 1974. Wenman has been a full-time politician for a generation. First elected as a Social Credit member in 1966, the 26 year old Wenman was the Province's youngest ever M.L.A.   Wenman served two terms before losing his Delta seat in the NDP sweep of 1972. Wenman then moved to municipal politics and served 22 months on Surrey council under then Mayor William Vander Zalm. Between 1974 - 1993 Wenman was a federal Member of Parliament, living in Ottawa. On paper the Wenman resume looked impressive. On closer examination, short-comings were quickly noticed. Other than politics, he had spent a brief time as a teacher, and during his time in the provincial legislature, he had become a stock broker because, as he would claim, W.A.C. Bennett insisted he have another source of income. References to W.A.C. Bennett would be frequent during Wenman's run. The press would soon comment that "what sets Wenman apart is that he's born again. Not that born again. Wenman is a born again W.A.C. Bennett." [10]

Wenman listed in his <u>Parliamentary Guide</u> [11] biography attendance at five universities, but showed no degree earned. He had switched churches from the United to the fundamentalist Langley Christian Life Assembly, because the former was "too liberal"[12]. He professed his belief in "Judeo-Christian" principles, but pronounced it "Judo-Christian".[13] He had served twenty years in politics without achieving either a cabinet post or significant record of accomplishment.

Shortly after announcing his entry into the race, Wenman and his entourage arrived in Victoria where they held court in the prestigious Empress Hotel. Several caucus members, and party elites would heed his summons for a discussion regarding his leadership efforts. All would leave unimpressed [14]. Soon Bob Wenman's campaign had little to rely on but the unenthusiastic province's branch of the Young Tories. Wenman had opened his campaign saying he would "spend cautiously" [15] and his support would be "very significant in real dollar terms," [16]. By the campaign's end, Wenman's organization would be in debt, and the M.P. the focus of some embarrassing court action. [17]

Bud Smith

The first big name candidate in the race was the former principal secretary to premier Bennett, Stuart Douglas Boland Smith, known as Bud. While Smith waged an energetic and skilful campaign, circumstances made a Bud Smith win impossible. The 40 year old lawyer had never held elected office, and during his tenure in the premier's office had been both Bennett's gate keeper and conduit of information, a thankless job involving such personal

tasks as informing a cabinet minister than they are about to return to the backbench. Also, rumours quickly spread that Smith was the choice of Bennett and the establishment, a situation made worse when Smith's departure from the premier's office was followed by Bennett's resignation announcement shortly thereafter. [18] When several loyal W.R. Bennett era cabinet ministers and party elites [19] such as past party president Meldy Harris (who was also the widow of close Bennett friend Hugh Harris, generally considered to have led the modernization of the party in the early 1980's) declared for Smith, the rumours were intensified. These rumors were furthered when then party president Hope Wotherspoon stated that renewal meant attracting "Bud Smiths" [20] as new members.

Cliff Michael

The sixth candidate was popular backbench MLA Cliff Michael, a former union official and member of the provincial New Democratic Party executive who switched parties when he moved to the management side. A former school trustee in Salmon Arm, Michael had won his Shuswap-Revelstoke seat from a respected New Democrat member Bill King in the 1983 general election. [21] He ran because "I'm a new experience, thrill type of person, who while being realistic, wanted to show my best." [22]

Mel Couvelier

The former president of the provincial Liberal party and five term Mayor of the Vancouver Island community of Saanich was the seventh candidate. Successful in several diverse businesses, happily married since he was 18, the 55 year old former accountant Mel

Couvelier had previously declared his intention to seek one of the nominations in his home constituency of Saanich and the Islands at the next general election. He had made his leadership decision after several requests from his "circle of acquaintances". [23] Couvelier was "convinced that the Social Credit party must provide a new program with new faces entirely disassociated from previous government actions." [24]

Stephen Rogers

Stephen Rogers billed himself as the "experience we need, for the future we want." [25] Unfortunately for one of the heirs of the B.C. Sugar fortune, his bright political career was detoured a few months before the campaign. Both Rogers and Forest Minister Tom Waterland resigned from cabinet when it was revealed that they had not properly disclosed shares held in a pulp company. Rogers pleaded guilty to the breach and was given an absolute discharge. Unlike Waterland, however, Rogers was not re-appointed to cabinet. When asked why, the MLA for Vancouver South since 1975 replied, "let history judge". [26]

Kim Campbell

The ninth candidate was the former chairman of the Vancouver school board, and recent policy adviser to premier Bennett. Kim Campbell ran a campaign based "on issues and imagery, a campaign that would be of value to the party." [27] With no possibility of victory, Campbell seemed to enjoy her opportunity to travel the province and present her political thoughts. She was generally well received by the party members. Then, in a disjointed profile carried in the Vancouver Sun, Campbell was quoted as saying:

> As an intellectually - oriented person, I like to socialize with
> people who read the same things as I do and have a similar
> level of education, but I genuinely like ordinary people. I
> think it's very important to realize that a lot of people that
> you're out there working for are people who may sit in their
> undershirt and watch the game on Saturday, beer in hand . . .
> I suppose they would find me as boring as I would find
> them.[28]

The story, which the 39 year old lawyer said felt like a "kick in the stomach" [29] did nothing

to endear her to many delegates already suspicious of her ambition and agenda.

Grace McCarthy

Following the 1972 election debacle Grace McCarthy's efforts revived the B.C.

Social Credit party. The defeated cabinet minister had narrowly won the party presidency,

at the same convention that chose Bill Bennett as his father's successor. Once in office she

worked tirelessly to preserve the coalition. By the 1975 election, the party's membership

had grown from 4,000 to 75,000. [30] A senior cabinet minister and one time deputy premier,

McCarthy's hard work, idealism and boosterism earned her the title "Amazing Grace" from

the party faithful.

Despite being an obvious front runner, McCarthy faced two obstacles in her bid to

be Canada's first female premier. First, if Bill Vander Zalm entered the race, the two

favorites of the party's grassroots would be competing for the same delegates - many of

whom perceived the populist Vander Zalm more electable province-wide than the stately

McCarthy. Second, premier Bennett had fixed the perimeters of the campaign around

"renewal", something the 58 year old McCarthy, who had been first elected in 1966, would

have to address. [31] Instead, her campaign focused on two themes: attack the political machines operated by the Smiths (who both used veteran Ontario organizers in their campaigns), and to call for a return of the party to its grassroots, away from the recent era of pollsters and consultants. While such a strategy had much merit, it would soon seem somewhat hypocritical when it was revealed that McCarthy too was utilizing members of Ontario's "big blue machine" while running the most expensive and lavish campaign of the race. [32]

<u>Brian Smith</u>

With the benefit of a well organized campaign, Brian Smith campaigned hard for leadership. [33] Directed by Patrick Kinsella, the self proclaimed "best political hack in the country" [34] the respected attorney general was transformed from a rumpled, frowning somewhat aloof character into a semi-polished performer. Smith had his hair cut and new suits ordered. He smiled more, learned some speaking mannerisms and gestures, and injected humour into this speeches. Within the two month campaign, the Honourable Brian R.D. Smith, Q.C., became, "Brian! . . . The best we can be!". [35] The new image coupled with his proven abilities and the demise of the other campaigns would allow Smith to be on the convention's final ballot.

While eleven candidates had now declared the media, the public, and the Social Credit party itself wondered if Vander Zalm would indeed run. One week before Vander Zalm entered the race, <u>radio station CKNW</u>'s Garry Bannerman, the top rated talk show host

in the province, (and a personal friend of Vander Zalm), commented that there were too many candidates, most with no chance of winning and who were instead making "fools of themselves by being public nuisances".[36] Bannerman further remarked:

> If Bill Vander Zalm runs . . . He has extraordinary popular appeal around this province, and has paid his dues. He's been everywhere. He has spoken at just about every kind of group imaginable in B.C. When he runs, he'll deliver something that Bud Smith is going to have to take notes. To learn what popular appeal really means, being well-liked by large numbers of people, what that means, being hated by large numbers of people too. But that's what leaders attract, real leaders, they inflame passions, positive and negative. [37]

While the eleven other candidates had varying degrees of personal, professional and political accomplishments, none would likely have Vander Zalm's first ballot strength, including his support in all regions of the province. Combined with the loyalty of his delegates and his perceived electability, the number of candidates would not harm the Vander Zalm campaign, and instead may have assisted it as it prevented an effective coalescing against his candidacy.

TABLE 10
1986 Social Credit Leadership Candidate Personal Data

Candidate and Age	Marital Status/ Children	Education	Professional Career	Political Career	B.C. Cabinet Experience
K. Campbell 39 years old	Divorced 0 children	Bachelor & Law Degrees	Lecturer, Lawyer Political Advisor	Vancouver School Board	
M. Couvelier 55 years old	Married 37 years 3 children	Cert. General Accountant	Accountant, Businessman	Mayor of Saanich	
G. McCarthy 58 years old	Married 38 years 2 children	High School	Florist Businesswoman	Parks Com. 17 yrs. MLA	(3) Human Resources, Tourism, Provincial Secretary
C. Michael 52 years old	2nd Marriage 0 children	High School	Union leader, Businessman	School Trustee 3 yrs. MLA	
J. Nielsen 47 years old	Married 25 years 9 children	High School	Broadcaster	11 yrs. MLA	(4) Environment, Consumer & Corporate, Health, & Human Resources
J. Reynolds 44 years old	3rd Marriage 7 children	High School	Salesman, Broadcaster	6 yrs. MP 3 yrs. MLA	
B. Ritchie 56 years old	Separated 4 children	High School	Businessman	7 yrs. MLA	(1) Municipal Affairs
S. Rogers 44 years old	Separated 2 children	Community College	Pilot	11 yrs. MLA	(3) Environment, Energy, Health
Brian Smith 52 years old	Separated 2 children	Bachelor, Master & Law Degree	Lawyer Lecturer	Ald. & Mayor of Oak Bay, 7 years MLA	(3). Education, Energy, Attorney General
Bud Smith 40 years old	Married 14 years 3 children	Bachelor & Law Degree	Lawyer Political Asst.		
W. Vander Zalm 52 years old	Married 30 years 4 children	High School	Businessman	Ald. & Mayor of Surrey, 8 yrs. MLA	(3) Human Resources Education, Municipal Affairs
B. Wenman 46 years old	Married 23 years 4 children	Teaching Certificate	Teacher Stockbroker Politician	6 yrs. MLA 2 yrs. Surrey Alderman, 12 yrs. MP	

Compiled by the Writer from Bibliographical Sources,

Source: Candidate Information and Canadian Parliamentary Guides

The Caucus Liability

Of the front running candidates, the so called "big four" of Grace McCarthy, Brian Smith, Bud Smith, and Bill Vander Zalm, it was Vander Zalm who had the least caucus support of his leadership. Far from being detrimental to the Vander Zalm campaign, this lack of caucus support may well have been beneficial to his campaign, for it appears that the party members and convention delegates were not only prepared to repudiate the political style of Premier W.R. Bennett, but his caucus and cabinet as well.

As in other leadership campaigns, the 34 member Social Credit caucus split amongst the candidates. Only five members did not indicate a preference. (Premier Bennett voted at the convention but refused to say how. Speaker of the House Walter Davidson was the only MLA to decline delegate status, stating the traditional impartiality of the Speaker's office. And finally, MLAs Bruce Strachan and Harvey Schroeder and Environment Minister Austin Pelton did not declare a preference due to their serving on convention organizing committees).

Half of the candidates had no caucus support. (See Table Eleven). Federal M.P. Bob Wenman, Saanich Mayor Mel Couvelier and former Bennett aide Kim Campbell could not persuade any sitting MLAs to back their candidacy, nor could Cliff Michael, John Reynolds, or Bill Ritchie convince their fellow caucus members to support them. The six candidates that obtained caucus backing ranged from Stephen Rogers, who was supported by his Vancouver South running mate and Minister of Post-Secondary Education Russ Fraser, to Grace McCarthy, who had seven members backing her. However, with less than 9% of the delegates considering a candidates endorsement by other MLAs very important,[38] caucus support had little impact on this campaign.

In terms of pure votes, it is readily apparent that once balloting began, few M.L.A.s had control over their own constituency delegates. Three examples of this stand out. Health and Human Resources Minister Jim Nielsen, who won only two additional delegates other than himself in the Richmond constituency he had represented since 1975, had the support of three fellow ministers and two backbenchers. These six caucus members ridings contained 125 delegates. Nielsen managed only 54 first ballot votes. Next, Brian Smith who eventually had half the leadership candidates and half the cabinet supporting him on the final two ballots could not convince enough delegates that real renewal could be achieved by merely replacing the outgoing premier with a current cabinet minister and the entrenched caucus.

Finally, Bill Vander Zalm won with the initial support of only three back bench MLAs; long time friends and Surrey political allies Rita Johnston and Bill Reid, (both who had succeeded Vander Zalm when he did not seek re-election in the Surrey constituency in 1983) and North Vancouver-Seymour member Jack Davis, the only one to have served in cabinet. Any other possible support, if any, was lost when Vander Zalm delayed his entry into the race. None of the cabinet ministers Vander Zalm once called "gutless" supported Vander Zalm, and only Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Elwood Veitch seriously considered it, although he realized that if he did support Vander Zalm he would be "ostracized" by his cabinet colleagues. [39] As the results would reveal, however, the delegates were independent thinkers, and not willing to allow their opportunity to re-direct the party to be lost by a brokered convention.

TABLE 11

Caucus Support and Potential Delegate Support of Candidates

Candidate	M.L.A. Endorsements	Cabinet Endorsements	Potential Delegates From M.L.A. Constituencies	Actual First Ballot Votes	Variance (+/-) Between Potential & Actual First Ballot Votes
Kim Campbell				14	
Mel Couvelier				20	
G. McCarthy	H. Curtis G. Gardom P. McGeer E. Veitch J. Kempf D. Mowat A. Ree	H. Curtis G. Gardom P. McGeer E. Veitch	150	244	+94
C. Michael			25	32	+7
J. Nielsen	A. Brummet J. Hewitt B. McLelland J. Parks A. Passarrell	A. Brummet J. Hewitt B. McLelland	125	54	-71
J. Reynolds			27	54	+27
B. Ritchie			40	28	-12
S. Rogers	Russ Fraser		25	43	+18
Bud Smith	A. Fraser T. Waterland J. Chabot D. Phillips	A. Fraser T. Waterland	110	202	+92
Brian Smith	J. Heinrich C. Richmond T. Segarty	J. Heinrich C. Richmond T. Segarty	100	196	+96
W. Vander Zalm	J. Davis R. Johnston B. Reid		54	367	+313
B. Wenman				40	

SOURCE: Compiled by author from the candidate's campaign information and material cited in the bibliography.

Howe Street Versus Main Street

The 1986 Social Credit leadership campaign contest "between the inheritors of the party's populist tradition and modern organization men and women," [40] can be symbolized by the perceived grasp for control of the party by the big monied vested interest of the downtown business community. Playing up his populist image, Bill Vander Zalm would tell a Prince George audience (before he was a declared candidate) that the "Social Credit party has become more the party of Howe Street." [41] The brunt of this criticism focused on the Sentinel Group of companies and the media's discovery of the "Top Twenty Club", a collection of senior business executives, and Social Credit supporters. [42] The roles and influence of these bodies would come under intense scrutiny by both the party members and the general public.

During the campaign, most candidates met with the "Top 20" group for thirty minutes. (One memorable television news segment would show five candidates duly waiting outside the meeting place for their own audience). Notable by their absence were Grace McCarthy and Bill Vander Zalm. Vander Zalm received no invitation (he had only recently entered the race, but would not have attended anyway), while Grace McCarthy cancelled an arranged meeting on the day it was scheduled in an apparent effort to affirm her grass-roots credentials. Instead, McCarthy attacked the Top Twenty and those candidates, especially the two Smiths, for their supposed reliance on machines funded by these business leaders. It would be the never-elected backroom aide Bud Smith who bore the brunt of McCarthy's attacks. Besides seeing his candidacy being maligned, Bud Smith called the politically expedient exposure and criticism by other candidates "of such hard working and committed party supporters as the Top Twenty members, the most disgusting event of the entire campaign." [43] When it was revealed that McCarthy herself had benefited during past campaigns from the Top Twenty had paid organizers, and that was spending huge sums of

money herself, her grassroots campaign lost much of its lustre.

The Sentinel Group revolved around three men. Michael Burns, had a consulting company known as Sentinel Strategies Ltd. and was the Social Credit party's chief fundraiser. Doug Heal, who has been involved in government advertising, ran Doug Heal Communications Ltd. The final operative was pollster and political strategist Patrick Kinsella, who operated Progressive Strategies Ltd. All three were also major shareholders in Dome Advertising. All these companies were run out of the Bentall Centre office towers, in the heart of Vancouver's business sector. Another similarity amongst the three was that:

> They were all once high ranking government insiders who now
> have lucrative private sector companies that do business with
> the Social Credit government or party, or both. [44]

The Sentinal Group came to represent that elite group of individuals who, through the use of polls and consulting reports, had gained too much influence over the party's control, direction and style of government. There was also concern that the group had too much access to the party's purse. That Patrick Kinsella was masterminding Brian Smith's campaign raised suspicions with those delegates who believed that the party was already too reliant on these pollsters and consultants that this status quo would continue were he elected. Consequently, party activists at Whistler "generally lived up to their reputation for hostility to bureaucracy, suspicion of experts and faith in grassroots opinion." [45]

By concentrating on the party's populist membership, and by courting the chamber of commerce level of the business community - his natural constituency, Bill Vander Zalm avoided the negative reaction from delegates for being either too bound to, or dependent on political or business elites. With McCarthy spearheading the attack against the "machines" Vander Zalm could follow in her wake while solidifying his small business links as well as those delegates suspicious of and antagonistic to the Howe Street crowd.

The Media: Alliances and Speculation

When William Vander Zalm spoke to the convention following his selection as party leader, he included in his brief remarks an acknowledgement of the media's participation in the leadership campaign, thanking you for "making the public more aware of the democratic process and the wonders of Social Credit." [46] Indeed it can be effectively argued that Vander Zalm and the party rode the wave of media attention, much of it very positive, all the way from the resignation of premier Bennett to their massive victory in October, a period of exactly five months.

All media forms covered the campaign in detail. As John Reynolds, the first declared candidate said, "we could get it (media coverage) anytime we wanted it." [47] The newspapers, especially the Vancouver Sun carried reports of delegate selection meetings and other significant developments, including full page profiles of all twelve candidates. Their political columnist Marjorie Nichols and Vaughan Palmer provided their perceptions on the campaign almost daily. (Palmer would produce 55 campaign columns during the 69 day race). Radio hotline shows, especially those on CKNW (the province's top rated station) had several segments on the campaign, and frequent interviews, and "open-line" sessions callers' questions), with the candidates. And throughout, television news followed the unfolding campaign daily. At the convention itself, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television station would broadcast live the tribute to Premier Bennett, the speeches, and the actual balloting. [48]

With such extensive media coverage, the question to be asked is "did the media influence the actual convention outcome?" With the exception of a pre-convention poll indicating Vander Zalm was the most electable candidate, the answer would appear to be no. The reasons for this would appear to be twofold. First the 1,300 delegates "were very smart people, who knew what they were doing and would not be easily swayed from their decision

by either the media or the candidate campaigns." [49] And secondly, "the media are more likely to reinforce delegate perceptions that create them." [50]

A review of the media coverage of the campaign reveals two general themes dominated the press. First was almost daily speculation on where the twelve candidates ranked according to momentum and actual delegate support. Second, the media created candidate alliances that they insisted would emerge at the convention. Certain members of the media also promoted their personal favorites. [51] On both accounts, the media's efforts would largely be superficial, and lacking any actual evidence.

With regards to candidates delegate totals, the reported totals would be only partially accurate, especially with regards to the big four candidates. On July 10, 1986 the Vancouver Sun published the following estimate of first ballot support. [52]

TABLE 12
Vancouver Sun First Ballot Estimates (July 10)
And Actual First Ballot Results (July 30)

DIFFERENCE*	ESTIMATE	ACTUAL	
McCarthy	250	244	-2%
Bud Smith	217	202	-7%
Vander Zalm	200	367	+84%
Brian Smith	95	196	+106%
Ritchie	35	28	-20%
Reynolds	35	54	+54%
Nielsen	25	54	+116%
Rogers	25	45	+80%
Couvelier	25	20	-25%
Michael	25	32	+28%
Wenman	20	40	+100%
Campbell	14	14	-

* The difference is the % that is + or - between the candidate's estimated and actual vote. For example, McCarthy's actual vote was 2% less than the Vancouver Sun estimate.

Source: Compiled by Author.
            From: Vancouver Sun 10 July, 1986, and compilations extracted from reports from individual delegate meetings.

The above estimates, taken twenty days before the actual leadership vote, reveal some significant discrepancies in the perceived first ballot support of the candidates. The most important figures are those of Brian Smith and Bill Vander Zalm, the two eventual final ballot contestants. While estimates of McCarthy's and Bud Smith's delegate total are fairly accurate, the media severely under estimated the strength of Brian Smith and Bill Vander Zalm. Too often accounts of these delegate selection meetings were based upon various "spins" presented by campaign members and their political consultants. As a result, little detailed analysis of the mood or preferences of the delegates was done before or during the convention.

It was however, in the creation of candidate alliances that the media performed badly. During the course of the campaign three alliances were forged by the press. None of them materialized. One included a possible joining of forces of McCarthy and Vander Zalm. This "Mc Zalm" alliance would be the vehicle for the party's grassroots. Such speculation did not fully consider that both candidates would have tremendous first ballot support (finishing one, two, with a combined 47% of the total votes) and that Vander Zalm would have a clear lead on McCarthy.

The second alliance, while not initially the creation of the media, was built up by them to significant proportions. This was the so called "caucus five" coalition, consisting of MLAs Michael, Nielsen, Reynolds, Ritchie and Rogers. The alliance had been struck primarily as a result of fear about Vander Zalm's popularity, a dislike of Bud Smith, concern that they would lose any influence or roles in the new government, and as a possible means of avoiding embarrassment if they finished poorly. The deal was consummated in a room at the Best Western Hotel in Coquitlam. The members met following an all candidates debate during the home stretch of the campaign. The conversation lasted twenty minutes, and then the group departed. No handshake cemented their deal, because they "were all friends and didn't have to." [53] The caucus five, which the members believed at times to hold a block of well over three hundred votes would end in a trailer outside the convention hall at Whistler after the first ballot, its destruction being the result of egos and animosity between some members, and only 211 votes (16.2% of those cast) between the five. [54]

The worst speculation however, was with regards to the so-called ("Smith Brothers") "coughdrops" alliance. (Smith Brothers is the name of a cough drop brand). From almost the start of the campaign, the media assumed and perpetuated the myth that at some time during the convention Brian Smith and Bud Smith would merge their campaigns. The reasoning was that both were federal Conservatives and both were guided by high profile

charter members of the Ontario Conservative party "big blue machine". While the two candidates' managers may have believed the two Smiths and their delegates would join forces and support the front runner in subsequent ballots, this was based on two false premises. First, several Bud Smith delegates considered Bill Vander Zalm their natural second choice.[55] Second, Bud Smith himself never once fuelled the rumours of a Smith-Smith alliance, and found the continued discussion of it "irritating, because every time I said there was no such deal, the press would ignore my statement and carry on talking about the 'coughdrop' thing."[56]

Whistler: The July 28-30, 1986 Convention

The original announcement that the upscale ski resort of Whistler had been chosen by the Social Credit executive to hold the leadership convention was controversial. The convention committee had been considering Duncan, Kamloops, Kelowna, Penticton, and Victoria, before narrowing their choice down to Prince George, Vancouver, and Whistler. Prince George was eliminated because of its remoteness and was impossible to book the necessary amount of rooms needed to accommodate the anticipated 3,000 delegates, alternates, party volunteers, observers, and media expected to attend the convention. With Expo '86 underway in Vancouver, there was also a shortage of rooms there. The remaining choice of the party executive was the ski village of Whistler. Situated 120 kilometres from Vancouver, Allan Fotheringham would inform eastern observers that Whistler was "the sex, drugs, and rock n' roll capital of Canada." [57] Ironically, the actual convention would be held within the Whistler convention centre. "the $13-million development rescued from bankruptcy by the government two years ago." [58]

The real controversy surrounding the selection of Whistler concerned the manner in which the party was able to obtain the required 600 rooms needed by those attending the convention. One week after premier Bennett's resignation, party president Hope

Wotherspoon announced that the party was exchanging the arrangements it had previously made with the Hotel Vancouver for the party's annual convention to be held in November, with the July 28-30 reservations made at Whistler by British Columbia Hydro, who were scheduled to hold an energy conference at the resort. The switch as approved by Hydro chairman Chester Johnson, a long time friend of the Bennett family and who had been appointed to his position by W.R. Bennett two years previously. Both the press and candidates would cite the Whistler arrangement as further evidence that others were privy to Bennett's retirement plans. Attempts to confirm or deny this with the party executive were met with a smile and "no comment". [59]

While it is unlikely that the actual amounts spent by all twelve candidates will become known, the media and assorted political observers attempted to calculate how much those seeking the premiership were able to raise and willing to spend, especially at the actual convention. Stephen Rogers who disclosed that "a low budget all volunteer, grassroots campaign costs $54,000," [60] was the only candidate to release his budget. Most estimates ranged from the $30,000 spent by Cliff Michael campaign up to the $400,000 range spent by the Smiths', to the well over half million dollars spent by the supposedly grassroots effort of Grace McCarthy. [61] Many Social Credit delegates would in turn be shocked and dismayed by the extravagance shown at Whistler. Two-thirds of those surveyed stated that some candidates had spent too much money on their campaigns and that fifty-seven percent felt that the party should place limits on campaign expenditures. [62]

During the convention, Whistler village consisted of three parts. Firstly, the village itself echoed with the candidate's songs and was covered by their signage. (Bud Smith, for example, paid the owner of his headquarters, Tapley's Hotel, which had the prime location of being beside the convention centre, $3,500 to post his signs). [63] All candidates had either rented discos, bars, restaurants, or hospitality suites in the hotels, while the major campaigns

had all of these. Here the convention population, especially delegates, identified by photo identification tags with blue trim worn around their necks, could eat and drink for free. (The cuisine ranged from chips and beer at the Nielsen provided Longhorn Pub, to French cuisine and liqueurs served by the McCarthy campaign at Chez Joel's).

While the village proper was the focal point during the evening, during the day the "tent city" erected by the candidates on the resort's golf driving range. Here the delegates could both see and compare the various campaigns side by side for the only time during the campaign. The contrast was startling. Bud Smith had the largest tent, Grace McCarthy had the best stocked, while Michael, Reynolds, Ritchie, Rogers, and Brian Smith had more than adequate accommodations. Jim Nielsen's young organizers put some Social Credit memorabilia in their tenant and erected a banner proclaiming it the "Pavilion of Pride", a title that drew some sarcasm considering Nielsen's personal difficulties. Speculation grew regarding the possible withdrawal of the Campbell and Couvelier candidacies before the actual balloting when they were seen sharing a small tent.[64] Both persevered, and Kim Campbell continued to serve homemade Rice Krispie squares cut into "K's", while the McCarthy camp served unlimited quantities of both salmon and sirloin steaks one hundred meters away. Only one candidate did not have a tent-of any size. Bob Wenman's campaign was shown to be in serious trouble, both in terms of financial and delegate support long before Whistler. By failing to have a tent and running his convention from a second story pizza restaurant isolated from any other activity, the demise of the Wenman candidacy was visible two days before the voting began. [65]

Most of the comments regarding the amateurish nature of the Vander Zalm campaign revolved around his convention tent, and those who were in it. Delegates wandering in could see hula dancers, listen to a "hillbilly" singer and accordion player, an "oomph-pa-pa" band, or the juke box which played Dean Martin and Elvis records, while enjoying popcorn

and pop. While some worried about Vander Zalm and his supporters appreciation of modern technology, others found his home-style approach refreshing. The Vander Zalm tent was beside the McCarthy one, and reinforced the belief that Vander Zalm did not have to spend money to either create or alter his image. His style and practice was clearly defined and known long before the Whistler convention.

The third part of the convention site was where the actual selection of the new leader would take place. The convention centre (seating capacity 3,200) was where the speeches and voting day activities would take place. The site was further supplemented by huge trailers parked on the south side of the centre. These were used by the major candidates as command posts. To the north stood a huge tent, where the actual voting would take place. (See appendix 5 for a site plan of the convention locale).

Monday 28 July, consisted primarily of registration and the Party's tribute to W.R. Bennett. [66] The following day, the twelve candidates moved between the convention centre atrium, the hall itself, and the tent (where the voting itself would be held), where for fifteen minutes they would have the opportunity to address and then answer questions on economy, social policy, and leadership. The format and schedule for the policy forums was as follows:

TABLE 13
Candidates' Forum
July 29, 1986

Time	Social Policy (Tent)	Leadership (Atrium)	Economy (Convention Hall)
0930-0945	Jim Nielsen	Bud Smith	Stephen Rogers
0945-1000	Grace McCarthy	John Reynolds	Bob WenMan
1000-1015	Cliff Michael	Brian Smith	Bill Ritchie
1015-1030	Kim Campbell	Mel Couvelier	Bill Vander Zalm
1030-1045	Bud Smith	Stephen Rogers	Jim Nielsen
1045-1100	John Reynolds	Bob Wenman	Grace McCarthy
1100-1115	Brian Smith	Bill Ritchie	Cliff Michael
1115-1130	Mel Couvelier	Bill Vander Zalm	Kim Campbell
1130-1145	Stephen Rogers	Jim Nielsen	Bud Smith
1145-1200	Bob Wenman	Grace McCarthy	John Reynolds
1200-1215	Bill Ritchie	Cliff Michael	Brian Smith
1215-1230	Bill Vander Zalm	Kim Campbell	Mel Couvelier

SOURCE: 1986 Social Credit Leadership Convention Guidelines

These forums provided no real insight, nor were the candidates overly specific in their remarks. With most of the delegates attention focused on the candidates speeches later that night, the major observation to be made was that where ever Vander Zalm spoke the attendance was the largest. With the forums over, the candidate's speeches that night would be their final opportunity to influence the next days voting.

On the Thursday and Friday before the convention, the Vancouver Sun phoned 402 men and women of voting age throughout the province. The respondents were asked eleven questions, eight of which were related directly to the candidates contesting the Social Credit leadership. [67] The questions concerned which candidate was best able to manage the affairs of the province and provide strong leadership. Finally, the key questions was asked, "who would have the best chance of winning the next election?" Vander Zalm won convincingly,

with 50.2% Grace McCarthy trailed badly at 23.4%, while Brian Smith gathered 7% and Bud Smith 5.2%. The remaining eight candidates managed but 13.37% between them. The results were similar for the other eight questions: Vander Zalm with a sizable lead followed by McCarthy with at least double digit responses, then well back Brian Smith and Bud Smith. The remaining candidates received usually less than 1% each.[68] While these polls measured little more than name recognition (in fact Vander Zalm "won" half the polls, "don't know, etc.", the other half), they helped foster the growing feeling that Vander Zalm was indeed the candidate to win the province. As one northern delegate said, "the man in the street wants Vander Zalm, and we'd be crazier than hell if we didn't give them him."[69]

The Vander Zalm campaign was quick to flaunt the poll results, including them in their handouts and the "premier" edition of the "Vander Zalm Leader", their four page convention tabloid. While the Vander Zalm supporters may have been critical of the proliferation and reliance on pollsters and polls by the outgoing regime, they nevertheless capitalized on this extremely beneficial Vancouver Sun poll published two days before the voting.

The Speeches

The candidates had previously determined their speaking order by the draws of lots on July 18. The order for the July 29 speeches would be:

TABLE 14
Order of Candidate Speeches
July 29, 1986

5:00 p.m. - 5:20 p.m.	Jim Nielsen
5:20 p.m. - 5:40 p.m.	Bill Ritchie
5:40 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Bob Wenman
6:00 p.m. - 6:15 p.m.	BREAK
6:15 p.m. - 6:35 p.m.	Bud Smith
6:35 p.m. - 6:55 p.m.	Cliff Michael
6:55 p.m. - 7:15 p.m.	Mel Couvelier
7:15 p.m. - 7:35 p.m.	Stephen Rogers
7:35 p.m. - 7:55 p.m.	Grace McCarthy
7:55 p.m. - 8:15 p.m.	John Reynolds
8:35 p.m. - 8:55 p.m.	Brian Smith
8:55 p.m. - 9:15 p.m.	Bill Vander Zalm

SOURCE: 1986 Social Credit Leadership Convention Guidelines

While most delegates had decided upon who to support well before the convention itself [70], the main speeches (preceding the balloting by just a few hours) presented one final attempt for the candidate to sway a delegates vote. On Tuesday night, for almost five hours, preaching before the converted, the twelve candidates would strive for the votes that would either mean a real chance at victory, or for most,a "moral victory", and enough votes so as not embarrassment when the ballots were tallied.

The rules stipulated that each candidate would have twenty minutes in which to stage a "demonstration" of candidate support, be nominated, accept nomination, and finally speak. The candidates would not only be speaking to the convention, but the province via live television. Not surprisingly, the candidates tailored their words to the ears of the party faithful:

> Common themes ran through all the speeches: a love of everything British Columbian that isn't socialist, the importance of party unity, the virtues of free enterprise, and the need for a strong B.C. voice in the free trade talks. [71]

Jim Nielsen spoke first, after being guided into the hall by the "Indiana Jones" movie theme and his loyal band of young Socreds. After explaining why he felt compelled to be in the race, an obviously bitter Nielsen attacked the front runners, saying that, "there is no big machine driving Jim Nielsen and there are no backroom boys or image makers making decisions for me, or even cutting my sideburns". [72] In his only reply to his personal problems, Nielsen quickly mentioned that there are "no perfect candidates" [73]. He spoke as if he was resigned to the fate that would be assigned to him by the delegates the next day.

Bill Ritchie entered the hall to bag pipes and girl gymnasts. He again described his pet project, P.R.I.D.E. (profit returns in developing excellence), and stated that he would serve as his own education minister if elected premier. Ritchie also had copies of his speech distributed for delegates, but few would either seriously absorb his delivery of it or bothered to re-read it before voting. He received polite applause.

Next up was Bob Wenman, desperately trying to revive a campaign that never really developed. He failed miserably. Although a professional politician for twenty years delegates and observers were shocked at his high, hard to follow speaking voice and wooden movements at the podium. When he tried to lower his voice and almost whisper for effect, many in the audience began to talk. Despite calling himself the "renewal with experience unity candidate," [74] and mentioning W.A.C. Bennett four times, Wenman's performance answered the question for those wondering why he was a permanent backbencher.

After listening to three also rans, delegates sat up when Bud Smith's enthusiastic supporters and delegates entered the hall. Introduced by Don Phillips, who reminded the delegates that he had nominated the inexperienced W.R. Bennett for the party's leadership almost thirteen years ago, and that if indeed legislative experience was all that was necessary to be a good leader "Dave Barrett would have been one hell of a premier", [75] it was Bud's turn. He performed well. His speech was well crafted, using phrases such "mainstreet, mainstream B.C.", [76] and describing the Party as being "centre-forward" [77] politically. With the television continually on a smiling Premier Bennett, Smith told the delegates and doubters that once in the premier's chair, "this only experience that really matters is the experience that you can get by only serving the office itself." [78] For those who had relied on the newspaper for their image of Bud Smith, his performance was surprising, as well as encouraging to his supporters.

After being led into the hall by the Vernon Girls Trumpet Band, Cliff Michael proudly declared his campaign to be "on target and on budget." [79] It was the first of several genuine rounds of applause for the candidate who said he had "not one enemy in the Party."[80] Michael summed up his "issues and ideas based campaign"[81] with this his pledge to adhere to W.A.C. Bennett's philosophy of "pay as you go and you'll never owe." [82]

Next up was "the town pump kinda guy" [83], Mel Couvelier, realizing he could not stage a vigorous floor demonstration he simply appeared on stage to the sounds of the Expo 86 theme, "Somethings Happening Here." Couvelier spoke well and was received politely by the delegates who realized he would be a formidable candidate for the party's next election.

The final six speakers were led by Stephen Rogers, who was heralded in by a tuxedoed brass quintet. Wearing his by then coveted "dark horse" lapel button, Rogers, usually one of the party's liveliest and wittiest speakers, was somewhat flat, as though he

was conceding any possible chance at creating an impact on tomorrow's vote. Grace McCarthy reinforced the image of her high-tech, big budgeted, "operation grassroots" campaign when she again used her speech to assail the "machines" (five such references) - after following an introductory video presentation estimated to have cost at least $25,000.00. [84] (Delegates received video tapes from McCarthy and Jim Nielsen and audio tapes from John Reynolds and Brian Smith). Her comments that the party should "continue to be party beholden to none but the people of B.C.",[85] received applause, as did her comments and efforts to accentuate her traditional role of being a "positive thinker, a possibility thinker." [86]

John Reynolds' twenty minutes failed to alleviate delegate's concerns about his image. He opened with too much family on stage with him and failed in his attempt to create the allusion that because he had ten delegates from ten regions nominate him his candidacy had he massive province wide support. He spoke too fast and over played his three election victories. (Two of the twelve candidates also had three political victories, while six had more. His frequent referrals to his electoral performance also raised two concerns: many felt he had abandoned his federal seat for a radio "hotliners" salary, and the perception that he had highjacked the safe West Vancouver-Howe Sound seat from a young candidate endorsed by the respected outgoing MLA lingered.) When Reynolds proceeded to talk about the maligned Vancouver Stock Exchange, many winced. His well-financed campaign failed to attract the established membership who feared his "wheeler dealer" image. The career salesman was unable to sell himself to his new party.

Kim Campbell also played up her ethnic roots and was piped into the hall. Her speech was well written and delivered smoothly. She created a minor stir when she addressed the front running Vander Zalm and stated "charisma without substance is a dangerous thing," [87] which would become the most controversial and lasting quote of the

entire campaign. Like Michael, Campbell would receive warm applause, and like Couvelier, delegates seemed pleased she would be a candidate in the next provincial election.

Before the eleventh speaker began, the convention hall darkened and then was quickly filled by lasers and the Brian Smith campaign song. Smith, despite appearing as though his motions and cadence were not yet comfortably rehearsed, spoke effectively, even generating the best laugh of the evening when he followed his boast about ridding the West End of Vancouver from hookers with his pledge to be a "hands on premier." [88] Smith had rehearsed his best lines that morning at the candidate's forums, including his attack on the NDP's forest policy that would leave the province's economically crucial timber supplies alone until the "year 2100 . . . where it would remain in ecological reserves for little socialists to look at." [89] His address successfully down-played his reputation of being dour and cold, enough so that following the speeches, many were anticipating a Vander Zalm versus Brian Smith showdown, with the anti-Vander Zalm forces coalescing around the attorney general.

With the unexpectedly strong performance of Brian Smith concluded, delegates anticipated a vintage performance from Vander Zalm, perhaps the best stump speaker in the province. And while still an effective presentation, Vander Zalm's somewhat flat and uneven effort surprised many. The reason for this was that unlike his usual ad-libbing, Vander Zalm delivered a prepared speech:

> The speech was the thing I regret most about my entire campaign. I should have just winged it, like normal . . . but my campaign was afraid I would say something controversial, like I did when I ran for the Liberal Leadership and called for the lash to be used on drug dealers. So to calm them down, I wrote the speech I finally delivered. I felt awkward reading it to the convention. [90]

Despite this, Vander Zalm still managed some familiar lines:

> If I had viewed the problem bureaucratically, I would still be hoeing daffodils as I did at the age of 12. Instead I was able to take a loan of $3,200.00 that I took out at the age of seventeen and build what's now the greatest, largest nursery chain in Canada, the largest lettuce greenhouse growing complex in Canada, and we're building the finest tourist attraction in western Canada. [91]

Vander Zalm then attacked the pollsters, telling the party members that "my best polling company will be you." [92] Next he reiterated his statement that he was not part of any deals, stating firmly that a cabinet post or a consulting job won't be traded, it will be earned." [93] Finally, and wisely, Vander Zalm addressed his primary fear, a "stop Vander Zalm" coalition. Reminding delegates that Premier Bennett had recently stated that if he had not won the 1973 convention on the first ballot, he may have fallen to a stop Bennett alliance, Vander Zalm told the delegates that he "could be faced with a similar problem", and that, "this Bill also needs that first ballot," because "the first ballot is the most important, it sets the trend." [94] Depending on whether or not you were a supporter, Vander Zalm's plea was either a call for unity and possible first ballot victory, or concern about his delegate strength.

First Ballot

On Wednesday, July 30, 1986, the seventy day campaign would conclude with the selection of the party's third leader. After being deluged by phone calls, candidate literature, invitations to social events, and the extravagance of Whistler, thirteen hundred delegates alone would approach a ballot box and deposit their interpretation of renewal.

William Vander Zalm began the day with several brief meetings with other candidates or their representatives. He also met for half an hour with Grace McCarthy. The two would talk in general terms, but Vander Zalm left the meeting fully expecting that the one of them who was trailing on subsequent ballots would move to support the one who was in

a higher position. "It's what Grace and I had agreed to before I entered the leadership race", commented Vander Zalm.[95]

Premier Bennett, determined to see the party leave its dynastic origins united and functioning, called the twelve candidates alone to his hotel suite for a pre-voting breakfast of bacon and eggs. While they ate, their supporters were already massing outside the convention centre, waiting to bolt into the hall when the doors were opened and stake out the most advantageous sites to hang signs and hold pickets.

Voting was scheduled to begin at 10:00 a.m., but began half an hour late. From his simple eight-foot by ten-foot stage, which was elevated two feet [96], Bill and Lillian Vander Zalm, like royalty seeing troops off to battle, shook hands and kissed the pink clad delegates as they filed past to vote. (Vander Zalm's campaign colours were pink). For one hour the delegates voted. For another one hundred minutes they waited while the chartered accountant firm of Dunwoody and Company tallied the votes.

Both the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the radio station CKNW (the province's largest) were carrying the convention live. In their efforts to fill the time between the balloting, their reporters began reporting and commenting on many developments, regardless of their relevance, with most of the focus being in the possibility of an alliance to stop the acknowledged front runner, William Vander Zalm.

About forty minutes before the first ballot results were announced, and in response to a CBC's reporter's question on who he expected to win on the first ballot, and about the possibility of an alliance against him, Vander Zalm replied:

> I think we're going to make a great showing on the first ballot, and I think we'll see some majors coming over to Bill Vander Zalm perhaps even before the second ballot. So I have no doubt that on the second ballot we'll do okay - and I'm not blowing my own horn, I'm saying I'm tremendously optimistic from the feel I get here among the crowd. My gut feeling tells me we're doing great. [97]

When the reporter again tried to focus on the alliance of the other candidates and the government caucus against him, Vander Zalm was perceptive about the actions and attitudes of the delegates.

> I don't think they can do it. I think there could be a caucus coalition perhaps among a few I'm not sure how many ... but its not really going to effect the outcome. The people know how they want to go . . These are real, independent people . . . they've done their homework and know where they want to go. They've got their minds made up and so its looking great. [98]

Following this response, Vander Zalm then showed his impulsive nature, and without being prompted offered specific predictions for his first ballot results:

> Well, I said I was going to have 438 (votes), maybe my estimate was a bit pessimistic. My optimistic was 480 . . . so if that's it I think that perhaps the next contender will be about 150 behind . . . so it's a good gap. [99]

Not only would Vander Zalm's pessimistic and optimistic predictions both be considerably off (short by 71 and 113 votes respectively), but his anticipation of being at least 150 votes ahead of the next contender (who would be Grace McCarthy) was short by 27 (367 to 244 votes). By setting his targets so high, Vander Zalm, and his organizers would temporarily be demoralized and panic-stricken following the announcement of the first ballot results. Fortunately for Vander Zalm, however, he was correct reading the independence of the delegate on subsequent ballots.

When the first ballot results were finally announced, the audience remained silent for a few moments, trying to digest and comprehend the significance of the numbers:

TABLE 15
Results of the First Ballot (Votes and Percentage Received)

Vander Zalm	367	(28.36%)
McCarthy	244	(18.86%)
Bud Smith	202	(15.61%)
Brian Smith	196	(15.15%)
Nielsen	54	(4.17%)
Reynolds	54	(4.17%)
Rogers	43	(3.32%)
Wenman	40	(3.09%)
Michael	32	(2.47%)
Ritchie	28	(2.16%)
Couvelier	20	(1.55%)
Campbell	<u>14</u>	(1.08%)
	1,294	

SOURCE: Official Social Credit party records.

One set of dynamics of a leadership race occur after the first ballot when the initial impact of the totals sink in. In this case, the first surprise was how poorly the bottom eight candidates had done. Collectively they had managed but 22%, and they would each lose their $2,500.00 deposit, and some, their reputations. Kim Campbell, who received the exact fourteen votes pledged to her by her Vancouver Centre riding was the only candidate officially eliminated. [100] She quickly moved to Brian Smith, "lawyer to lawyer," commented Jack Davis. [101] Bill Vander Zalm was able to counter this when Mel Couvelier declared for "the man who can win the next election." [102] When asked when he had decided upon supporting Vander Zalm, Couvelier responded, "two seconds ago." [103]

The Campbell and Couvelier moves were almost immediate. The attention now turned towards the other also ran. Once the first ballot results were known, Nielsen, Ritchie, Reynolds, Rogers, and Bob Wenman met in one of their trailers parked beside the

convention centre. Cliff Michael missed the meeting by a few minutes. The discussion was frank, the questions simple: "Do we support one of our own, as planned?" "If so, who?" "Do we go en masse to one of the front runners, and again if so, who?" No consensus could be reached.[104] Despite pledges of solidarity, built upon years of working together as colleagues, the "caucus five", the creation of their own allusions of importance and the media's speculation, disintegrated in a trailer at Whistler. As one delegate said, "the other candidates hated themselves more than Vander Zalm." [105] As a result, seemingly oblivious to the futility of their entire campaigns, Jim Nielsen and John Reynolds, each with but 54 votes stayed on the ballot.

John Reynolds, who expected between 125-175 first ballot votes stayed on to "prove a point" [106] although he did not elaborate on this statement. His fellow caucus mates had been stubborn in refusing to support him on the second ballot, so Reynolds would fight on to have the personal satisfaction of finishing fifth. This was assured when Cliff Michael declared his personal support for Reynolds in a move based upon a gentleman's agreement made when Reynolds offered Michael a ride in a plane he had chartered to take him from a delegate meeting in Campbell River to one in Williams Lake. (The agreement was that whoever placed higher, the other would support). Michael, who had gained at least eight votes other than his own constituency, (if all voted for him) kept his word, although he admitted that just about all of his own constituency delegates were moving to Vander Zalm.[107]

Jim Nielsen's decision to stay on for another ballot despite having but 54 votes was as difficult to understand as his decision to enter the race in the first place. Even with the support of five members of caucus (three of whom were long serving cabinet ministers), Nielsen could manage but a handful of the delegates from these constituencies. His decision to fight another ballot was foolish as was his comment that "the silly tie" [108] might still allow

"John or I to pick up the middle ground." [109] Nielsen the fighter declared that "I'm not going to give it away, (the premiership), let them earn it." [110]

The remaining members of the "caucus five" were determined to stop Vander Zalm. There was too much antagonism towards Bud Smith, and while they respected her, they did not think McCarthy could win the election. That left Brian Smith, whose momentum had built throughout the campaign, culminating with his speech the night before. To his platform went Ritchie, Rogers and Wenman. Wenman's actions surprised the convention. His delegates, especially from the Fraser Valley, were natural Vander Zalm supporters. If he was not supporting Vander Zalm, then most thought he surely would have supported McCarthy who Wenman had entered the provincial legislature with in 1966, and who was also godmother to one of his children.

Bud Smith, who knew sometime before the convention that his candidacy was stalled, finished well below his anticipated 240 votes [111].

Grace McCarthy was second, as expected, but 123 votes behind Vander Zalm, whose delegates were also her most likely supporters. Despite her constant attacks on "machines" and "backroom operators", McCarthy held a private meeting with Bud Smith after the first ballot at his suite above Tapley's Hotel. Any chance of a Bud Smith Grace McCarthy alliance ended when an angry McCarthy told Smith that it "was highly inappropriate that he was in the race in the first place." [112]

Outwardly confident, Vander Zalm supporters were devastated by the 367 vote total. While talk of a first ballot victory or 500 plus votes could be dismissed as being overly optimistic, Vander Zalm himself had said on television about an hour from the vote being announced his original guess of 438 votes was "perhaps pessimistic", and that 480 might be more realistic. Behind the scenes, Vander Zalm's organizers were horrified. Chief delegate tracker John Leyland felt "we were finished." [113] Only after returning to their own

command post trailer was Leyland again optimistic. "Our projections said that large numbers of delegates had voted with their hearts on the first ballot and that they would use their head on the second and come to us. I kept telling myself that these were smart people voting." [114] The Vander Zalm delegate trackers assumptions were well founded. As subsequently revealed by the University of British Columbia survey and analyses:

> Amongst Socred delegates one pattern stands out. Delegates freed early in the convention (after the first ballot) were more likely to flee than follow their candidate's signal, while the reverse was true for those released later in the process. [115]

Vander Zalm himself showed no signs of despair following the first ballot results:

> Even when I saw the concern of my supporters, I just did not believe I would lose, although I do remember standing on my stage looking over the entire convention and thinking even if things did not work out (and I lost), I had a wonderful and full life to go back to - unlike many of the others candidates.[116]

If there was to be no concerted post-first ballot effort to stop Vander Zalm, then trying to do so after future ballots would be impossible. Again, it was the delegate selection process that prevented such an event from happening. The independent and individualistic delegates used their own judgement in selecting their leader, eliminating the possibility of non-elected party power brokers most opposed to Vander Zalm anointing another candidate. Other leadership conventions reveal how non-elected delegates can effect the outcome:

> Ex officio delegates are especially well placed to manipulate the convention . . . if constituency delegates exhibit scattering and uncoordinated preferences, collusion in ex officio ranks will give the latter group influence far out of proportion to its numbers. [117]

If indeed Bud Smith was the choice of the outgoing party establishment, and if caucus members feared the thought of a Vander Zalm victory, there was nothing they could do, other than try to persuade enough of the 1,300 democratically elected delegates to take their

advice, something most delegates had repeatedly declined to do. The following table, which

shows the reasons behind a delegate first ballot vote show that Vander Zalm's supporters

were both impressed by his personal qualities and public appeal (including electability), the

strongest reasons to stay with him on successive ballots.

TABLE 16
Reasons for First-Ballot Vote

Reasons for vote	McCarthy	Bud Smith	Candidate Brian Smith	Vander Zalm	All candidates
Personal qualities	36.2	41.7	34.1	49.5	35.9
Personal ties	6.9	8.3	7.3	4.2	8.5
Party benefits	10.3	13.9	4.9	8.4	7.5
Personal/regional benefits	3.4	5.6	0.0	1.1	4.9
Policy/philosophy of candidate	1.7	13.9	19.5	5.2	10.5
Experience/ability	41.3	19.4	43.9	14.7	28.1
Public appeal	17.2	5.6	4.9	37.9	17.6
Negative/strategic reason	0.0	2.8	0.0	2.1	2.3
Other	1.7	11.1	2.4	15.8	9.5
(N)	(58)	(36)	(41)	(95)	(306)

NOTE: Percentages exceed 100 because as many as three reasons for vote were recorded for each respondent.

Source: D.E. Blake, R.K. Carty, L. Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, September 1988, page 531.

In retrospect, the period between the announcing of the first ballot results and the

start of the next ballot may have been the only opportunity, however slight, for those

opposed to Vander Zalm to stop his election.

While Vander Zalm was in first place, both he and his key advisers were shocked by

the results. Not only were his 367 votes almost 20% below his own guess of 438 votes, it

was well short of his campaign organizers' estimate of close to 500 first ballot votes.

However, the abysmal showing of the bottom eight candidates meant that their

influence or impact on the convention either as candidates or king makers was virtually nil.

As for Grace McCarthy (second place with 18.86% of the votes), Bud Smith (third place with 15.61% of the votes), and Brian Smith (fourth place with 15.15% of the vote), all were aware from their own polling that they would face a monumental task to overtake Vander Zalm, despite his lower than expected first ballot result. Nevertheless, none of these strong-willed individuals were open to, nor prepared to assist another become leader, even if it meant the eventual selection of Vander Zalm.

These personal factors preventing any real coalition against Vander Zalm were supplemented by physical factors. There was only thirty minutes between the first ballot results and the start of the second balloting. Also, the size and layout of the Whistler convention center was prohibitive for either any of the usual dramatic soliciting of other candidate's supporters, or endorsements where one candidate and their supporters move to other's platform. With so many delegates, observers and media in such a small structure (and with a low ceiling), the delegates had difficulty receiving any instructions from their candidates respective campaign organizers, or in viewing the actual events on the convention floor.

However, even if these delegates were able to communicate freely with their organizations, subsequent information reveals that the delegates were largely independent thinking in their voting decisions, and that Vander Zalm was also the second choice for many delegates after their initial vote. Also confirmed by an analysis of the voting results, which in turn confirmed initial speculation and analysis, was that Vander Zalm had the widest range of support throughout the province on the first ballot, making himself virtually unassailable to a coalition attack, and instead, and extremely well positioned to grow on the next ballot:

TABLE 17
First Ballot Support by Region
(Horizontal Percentages)

Candidate:	ISLAND	LOWER MAINLAND	FRASER VALLEY	KOOTENAY	INTERIOR/ OKANAGAN	NORTH/ PEACE R.
McCarthy	15.3	52.5	--	6.8	16.9	8.5
Brian Smith	47.8	10.9	--	17.4	15.2	8.7
Bud Smith	10.5	10.5	--	7.9	44.7	26.3
Vander Zalm	17.0	27.0	9.0	13.0	27.0	7.0
	22.5	31.1	4.3	10.2	21.8	10.2

SOURCE: D.E. Blake, R.K. Carty and L. Erickson, Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, page 103.

Second Ballot

At 3:45 p.m. the second ballot results were announced:

TABLE 18
Results of the Second Ballot (Votes and Percentage Received)

Vander Zalm	457	(35.70%)
McCarthy	280	(21.88%)
Brian Smith	255	(19.22%)
Bud Smith	219	(17.11%)
Reynolds	39	(3.05%)
Nielsen	30	(2.34%)
	1,280	

SOURCE: Official Social Credit party records.

Vander Zalm had gained 90 votes and grown 25%. McCarthy 36 votes (15%), Brian Smith 59 (30%), and Bud Smith 17 votes, or 8%. The figures told the story. Vander Zalm was far from dead, in fact he had moved 177 ahead of second place McCarthy, and was 183

votes from victory. McCarthy had essentially stalled, as had Bud Smith. Only Brian Smith had made a significant gain. While Brian Smith was heading towards a final ballot showdown with Vander Zalm, several delegates and most media over estimated his 30% growth and its ramifications. Former Social Credit cabinet minister turned radio "hotliner" Rafe Mair, who favoured his former campaign manager Bud Smith, declared Brian Smith as good as elected [118] despite his being 202 votes behind Vander Zalm. Such assumptions were based on the "coughdrop" coalition actually occurring and the candidates and caucus members supporting Brian Smith being able to attract and hold delegates. When Jim Nielsen was finally forced off the ballot and his remaining caucus supporters moved to Brian Smith, the attorney general's cramped stage contained half the leadership candidates and almost one-third of the government caucus. Instead of this solidarity being beneficial, the caucus liability factor again came into effect. To most, Brian Smith and his new supporters did not appear to represent renewal, especially to these delegates who in effect were seeking changes not only in premier's office, but also within caucus and cabinet, both of which contained members whose personal and political judgement had harmed the party.

In terms of delegates, it was apparent from the migration to Brian Smith after the first ballot that those candidates moving to him were coming without the bulk of their supporters, or that of their caucus supporters who were unable to control even their own ridings. The four candidates who moved to Smith on the second ballot garnered 125 first ballot votes. On the second ballot, Smith's vote total rose only 59. If the leadership candidates and their caucus supporters had been able to bring even their home constituency delegates with them, Brian Smith may have won on the third ballot.

While media commentators were electing Brian Smith, The other Smith was meeting with his "true and trusted friends" [119] in his Tapley's Hotel suite. There Bud Smith disclosed to his campaign executive what he had told his wife alone one week before:

> I knew before the convention that it was over. It was now my
> decision go to the other "outsider", Vander Zalm. I explained
> my reasons and they all agreed. The only decision was "do I
> walk the floor?" My gut instinct said yes. [120]

Smith re-entered the hall, reassembled his group around his stage, then made the trek to Vander Zalm, a fifty meter walk Smith said felt like "intense slow motion," [121] especially when he became concerned for his wife's safety as Vander Zalm delegates merged with Smith's. Once on Vander Zalm's platform Smith was greeted by a bear hug he "wasn't expecting" [122] from the candidate Smith claimed the party grassroots demanded lead them.

Vander Zalm himself was not as surprised by Bud Smith's decision as others were:

> I sensed alot of Bud's support was similar to mine. We both
> were strong in the Okanagan and North. While I didn't know
> Bud well before the campaign, we hit it off well together when
> we were at the same events. In fact, I enjoyed his company so
> much that if I had to share a parachute with any of my
> opponents, it would be Bud. [123]

Bud Smith's walk provided the big surprise of the convention. Countless media stories had conditioned observers to expect a Smith-Smith alliance. Even the two candidate's managers were openly predicting such an outcome. As Bud Smith began his move to Vander Zalm, Brenda Kinsella, the wife of Brian Smith's campaign manager Patrick Kinsella, angrily said, "that's the politics of bitterness. That f--cker!" [124] When Bud Smith spoke to the media immediately after the excitement, he said, "for fifty-two days I have been saying no deals with Brian Smith. Now I hope you guys in the media will believe me." [125]

Quickly the somewhat embarrassed media tried to explain why they had been so wrong. Some claimed Bud Smith was still upset with Patrick Kinsella over his boast that the government's restraint program of the 1980s was more a result of his personal transformation of Bill Bennett into "tough guy" out of political expediency, not economic necessity. [126] Also cited was the fact that so much of a caucus that was largely anti-Bud

Smith was now on Brian Smith's stage. Few would consider his explanation of grassroots wisdom and his decision to support Vander Zalm. Rafe Mair said either his friend had some sort of deal (including the right to run in the South Peace River by-election) in place or else "Bud Smith is a fool." [127]

Veteran New Democratic Party campaign manager Yvonne Cooke called the move and the imminent election of Vander Zalm "suicide" [128] for the party. Grace McCarthy, resigned to her fate said "who can understand it? I don't." [129] Her only possible hope, and that of Brian Smith, was that Bud Smith delegates would not go to Vander Zalm - something 72% would do.[130]

Third Ballot

With the death of any perceived Smith alliance, Bill Vander Zalm was assured victory. Bud Smith's decision to publicly declare for Vander Zalm as much a symbolic gesture as it was transferring of actual votes. Most of his delegates were already in the Vander Zalm camp. The arrival of John Reynolds and Cliff Michael at this point, regardless of their earlier professed support of Vander Zalm was seen as opportunistic, although Michael had Stated on television after the first ballot that he would eventually wind up with Vander Zalm. While Brian Smith had the bulk of the government caucus and cabinet with him, he had not convinced enough delegates that his victory would indeed be party renewal. Grace McCarthy continued to retain the support of her fiercely loyal followers, but with her natural source of delegate growth already with Vander Zalm, she knew her campaign would soon end.

TABLE 19
Results of the Third Ballot (Votes and Percentage Received)

Vander Zalm	625	(49.14%)
Smith	342	(26.89%)
McCarthy	305	(23.98%)
	1,272	

Source: Official Social Credit party records.

Vander Zalm had grown 168 votes, an increase of 37% over the last ballot. Smith had grown 34%, but had actually gained only 62 votes. McCarthy who had increased 50 votes, or 9% was forced off the ballot, a ballot made necessary by Vander Zalm being 12 votes short of victory.

After the third ballot results were announced, with Vander Zalm certain of victory, the convention and media focused on Grace McCarthy, who had just been eliminated. Would she make a political statement by moving to and endorsing either Vander Zalm or Brian Smith? While the subsequent release of her delegates seemed in keeping with public pronouncements, Vander Zalm, privy to information no others had, expected something different:

> I had told everyone that prior to my entering the leadership race, I had talked with Grace, and she had encouraged me to run. What I didn't reveal that a few days before I made my decision, Lillian and I went to Grace's (Vancouver) house and talked about the race with her and (husband) Ray. We spoke for three and a half hours. Grace was very concerned about the two Smith campaigns, especially their organizations. She was afraid that unless I ran and siphoned off votes and took some focus off the Smiths, she would be caught in the middle, and lose. She obviously thought she would beat me. I left that meeting telling Grace that if I ran, I would run to win, but that if she was ahead of me in the standings, or vice versa we would support one another. She agreed. [131]

Vander Zalm also stated he met with McCarthy for about half an hour on the morning of the vote, in advance of the candidates breakfast with Premier Bennett. "While we didn't talk about the upcoming vote, and Grace seemed down. Enough was said that I assumed our arrangement would still be in effect".[132] When the third ballot was over and McCarthy released her delegates, Vander Zalm was incredulous:

> I was very, very disappointed Grace didn't come to me as we had talked. I considered myself honour bound to move to her if the results were reversed. I don't know why she did what she did. We never discussed this matter again, but things between Grace and I were not the same after the campaign. [133]

While Vander Zalm was surprised and disappointed in McCarthy's failure to endorse him after the third ballot, then McCarthy herself must have been stunned by not only how the day's voting had gone, but the entire campaign. For if she had indeed encouraged Vander Zalm to enter the race in the first place to thwart the campaign organization and vote potential of Brian Smith and Bud Smith, then McCarthy had made the political blunder of her career.

If the media driven Smith-Smith alliance was the McCarthy campaign's greatest fear, and they thought Vander Zalm's candidacy would assist theirs, then they had made a monumental political blunder. It appears that the great sums of money expended on her campaign did not include either any polling or analysis into the political attitudes and voting intentions of the potential delegates to the leadership contest, for if they had done so, the McCarthy campaign would have known that many of their potential supporters were even more predisposed to vote for Vander Zalm. With this critical information, Grace McCarthy, who was often lauded for her own political instincts, would have wanted William Vander Zalm to have remained at Fantasy Gardens, not contesting for the leadership she so coveted.

This ballots results further confirm that "once the balloting started the candidate's endorsements had little impact". [134] The independence of the Social Credit delegates was evident throughout the four ballots, as they "knew who they wanted to win and, having cast their first vote for a host of personal and other local reasons, moved directly to their real choice". [135]

The following table shows the delegate movement between the first three ballots. It reveals how little impact a candidate's endorsement of another candidate had on the delegates actual voting pattern:

TABLE 20
Delegate Movement by Candidate
(Horizontal Percentages)

Candidate	Moved to	Supporters		
		Follow	Flee	
Ballots 1->2				
Campbell	Brian Smith	25.0	75.0	(8)
Couvelier	Vander Zalm	37.5	62.5	(8)
Michael	Reynolds		100.0	(4)
Ritchie	Brian Smith	16.7	83.3	(6)
Rogers	Brian Smith	53.8	46.2	(13)
Wenman	Brian Smith	64.3	35.7	(14)
Ballots 2->3				
Nielson	Brian Smith	80.0	20.0	(5)
Reynolds	Vander Zalm	62.5	37.5	(8)
Bud Smith	Vander Zalm	72.3	17.6	(47)

SOURCE: Blake, D.E., Carty, R.K. and Erickson, L., Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, page 106.

The fact that the bottom eight candidates only received 285 (22%) of the valid votes further reduced these candidates ability to influence events, especially as their control over

their delegates was by in large restricted to the first ballot further reduced their role in the conventions outcome.

The Fourth Ballot

With Vander Zalm's victory now inevitable, the only issue was whether Brian Smith and his followers would cross the floor prior to the fourth ballot to acclaim Vander Zalm the victor in a show of party unity. This speculation was quickly dismissed when Smith stated that his supporters deserved the opportunity to go down fighting. The additional ballot to confirm the Vander Zalm victory took two hours:

TABLE 21
Results of the Fourth Ballot (Votes and Percentage Received)

Vander Zalm	801	(63.8%)
Smith	454	(36.18%)
	1,255	

Source: Official Social Credit party records.

Vander Zalm's additional 176 votes gave him 64% of the convention delegates. (He had started with 28% on the first ballot). Despite the hopelessness of his cause, Brian Smith still gained 112 delegate votes. Forty-five delegates refused to vote, either not casting or spoiling their ballot. When the results were announced, Vander Zalm exclaimed what became his trademark comment, "Fantastic".[136]

At 8:13 p.m. on July 30, 1986, William N. Vander Zalm became the third leader of the British Columbia Social Credit party. On August 6, he would be sworn in as British Columbia's 27th premier.

Chapter III Footnotes

[1]A survey of the delegates showed 44.4% agreed that there were too many candidates, while 44.7% disagreed. University of British Columbia Department of Political Science, "British Columbia Leadership Study 1986 Summary Results", Section E, Question 10.

[2]"Speeches didn't meet the Stars", Vancouver Sun, 30 July 1986.

[3]John Reynolds campaign material.

[4]"Nielsen: He's no front runner but cabinet minister comes out swinging", Vancouver Sun, 11 July 1986.

[5]The young socreds would provide the balance of support and energy for the Nielsen campaign. Half of the twenty-five member Nielsen campaign organization were young socreds - whose vice-president was the candidate's son Darin.

[6]"His character (Humphrey Bogart) exemplified what I admire in people, he was straightforward, he was honest, he didn't smile very much but he stuck to his word", commented Nielsen in a written introduction to a Humphrey Bogart film retrospective his campaign hosted at Whistler. (Nielsen also bore a resemblance to the actor).

[7]David Mitchell, Succession, Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1987, page 95.

[8]Bill Ritchie also hoped to secure some delegates from the Vancouver Island riding of Esquimalt, for which he was the Social Credit "Buddy-MLA". (Ridings represented by the opposition were covered-off by Social Credit MLAs who were to support and assist the local Social Credit constituency association).

[9]The writer was a delegate to the convention, and retained all campaign mailouts.

[10]"MP sees himself as Living Legacy of W.A.C. Bennett Era", Vancouver Sun, 7 July 1986, page B1.

[11]Pierre Normandin (ed.), 1985 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, Ottawa, 1985.

[12]"MP sees himself as living legacy of W.A.C. Bennett Era", Vancouver Sun, 7 July 1986.

[13]"Hustler unsettles Socreds", Vancouver Sun, 4 July 1986.

[14]Discussion with Vancouver Sun Victoria bureau reporter Keith Baldry, 16 July 1987.

[15]"Wenman Jumps into Socred Race", Vancouver Sun, 28 May 1986.

[16]Ibid.

[17]An indication of how poorly his campaign had gone was a reminder issued on July 20, 1986 to Wenman from the Social Credit campaign committee that his nomination papers were not acceptable as he had yet to sign up 100 valid party members. This was only eight days prior to the start of the convention. Wenman would have to rely on assorted fund-raisers organized by his supporters, as well as the mortgaging of his home to pay off his campaign debts.

[18]Shortly before his departure as Premier Bennett's principal secretary, it was Bud Smith, not a MLA who was assigned by the Premier to meeting with younger members of local constituency associations in an effort to recruit new party members. Critics would later charge that Bennett was trying to introduce Smith to key constituency members in an effort to gain their confidence and support prior to the start of the campaign.

[19]Bud Smith's campaign was endorsed by MLAs (and Bill Bennett loyalists) Jim Chabot, Don Phillips, and Tom Waterland, as well as former party Presidents Peter Hyndman and Meldy Harris.

[20]"Remark Spurs Socred Furore", Vancouver Sun, 28 May 1986.

[21]Michael defeated the incumbent NDP MLA Bill King, who had served as labour minister in the Barrett government. King would finish third in the NDP's 1984 provincial leadership contest.

[22]Interview with Cliff Michael, 15 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[23]Letter to the author from Mel Couvelier, 4 August 1987.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Stephen Roger campaign literature.

[26]Interview with Stephen Rogers, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[27]Interview with Kim Campbell, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[28]"Intellectual lawyer sees her politics as a chance to enlighten", Vancouver Sun, 3 July 1986.

[29]Interview with Kim Campbell, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[30]Blake, Carty, Erickson, Grassroots Politicians, page 6.

[31]There would be some discussion (usually from other campaigns) that McCarthy was actually two years older, which would make her 60 at the time of the convention.

[32]While exact campaign costs are not known for all the candidates, all reviews put the McCarthy campaign first with expenditures in the $500,000.00 - $600,000 range.

[33]Considered dull and uninspiring, Brian Smith's concerted effort to liven his image and speaking style was one of the major surprises of the campaign.

[34]Patrick Kinsella was one of the group of political operatives recruited by premier Bennett from the Ontario Progressive Conservative party in the early 1980s. Kinsella would also serve as Bennett's deputy premier in 1981-82.

[35]"Brian! . . . the best we can be!" was the Brian Smith campaign slogan.

[36]"Garry Bannerman Show", Radio Station CKNW, 20 June 1987.

[37]Ibid.

[38]University of British Columbia, British Columbia Leadership Study 1986, Summary Results, Section E, Question 7.

[39]Discussion with Elwood Veitch 15 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[40]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, page 513.

[41]Twigg, Vander Zalm, page 163.

[42]Named for twenty swing ridings in British Columbia, twenty seats critical to Social Credit's ability to form government, the so-called "Top Twenty" group was formed by Premier Bennett and his new group of party operatives following the party's near defeat in the 1979 provincial election (Social Credit won 31 seats to the New Democrat's 26. There was only a 2.3% difference in the popular vote).

Approximately sixty prominent business people comprised the Top Twenty. Each member contributed at least $5,000.00 annually to the party, which met periodically for lunch and other meetings with the Premier and other cabinet ministers.

For a list of the 1986 Top Twenty group members, and their occupations, see David Mitchell's Succession.

[43]Bud Smith interview, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[44]"Power and Money Behind the Socreds", Vancouver Sun, 24 June 1986.

[45]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, page 523.

[46]"Leadership Drive Begins in Earnest", Vancouver Sun, 21 June 1986.

[47]John Reynolds interview, 15 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[48]In addition to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, radio station CKNW, the Province's largest, also provided live coverage of the convention.

[49]Comments of R.K. Carty on Radio Station CKNW, 10 July 1987.

[50]Ibid.

[51]In particular CKNW radio talk show host Rafe Mair (a former Social Credit cabinet minister), extolled the candidacy of his former campaign manager, Bud Smith, while Vancouver Sun newspaper columnist Majorie Nicholls favoured Grace McCarthy.

[52]"First Ballot Support", Vancouver Sun, 10 July 1986.

[53]This account of the Coquitlam meeting of the so-called "caucus five" was provided by Stephen Rogers during an interview on 14 July 1987. It was confirmed by members of the other involved campaigns.

[54]The meeting of the caucus five candidates and campaign, held in a trailer outside the convention centre after the first ballot, was contentious. One attendee, who asked not to be identified stated "that these former political big shots were in shock, firstly about how badly they had all done, and about how little influence they might have either over the convention - or in the party afterwards".

[55]That most of Bud Smith's delegates considered William Vander Zalm as their second choice was subsequently confirmed by the University of British Columbia survey of the delegates.

[56]Bud Smith interview, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[57]"Fundamentally Lotus Land", MacLeans, 11 August 1986.

[58]"Whistler Socred Convention site", Vancouver Sun, 26 May 1986.

[59]Lorne Valensky interview, 20 September 1986.

[60]Stephen Rogers Campaign literature distributed at Whistler.

[61]See Chapter II, Footnote 70 for estimates of the various campaign expenditures.

[62]University of British Columbia, British Columbia Leadership Study 1986, Summary Results, Section E, Question 10.

[63]Canadian Broadcasting Corporation "Social Credit Party Leadership Convention Television Coverage", 30 July 1986.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's British Columbia region carried live on their television channel much of the Social Credit party convention, including the candidates speeches on July 27, 1986, and the entire July 30, 1986 election day. The writer video taped these events. All cited quotations have been extracted from these tape recordings.

[64]Both mentioned the possibility of withdrawal to the author (Kim Campbell during her 14 July 1987 interview, and Mel Couvelier in his letter of 4 August 1987).

[65]According to the restaurant proprietor, Wenman paid $1,000 per day for the use of the restaurant as his campaign headquarters.

[66]Tickets to the two hour tribute to Premier Bennett cost $50.00. Bennett was saluted by B.C. Hydro Chairman Chester Johnson, Cabinet Minister Don Philips, businessman and Expo '86 chairman Jim Pattison, and Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed. The Social Credit party presented Bennett with a speed boat and the 1975 Chevrolet car he had used since 1975 for government business.

[67]"402 persons asked 11 questions in Marktrend Poll", Vancouver Sun, 26 July 1986, page 1.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Author's notes taken July 29, 1986 while at the convention.

[70]Only 18.5% of delegates said they made their decision on who to support once at the convention; 49.4% decided when the candidates announced; 24.9% between their selection and the convention; and 6.8% when they were selected as a delegate.

University of British Columbia, British Columbia Leadership Study 1986, Summary Results, Section E, Question 8.

[71]"A-G Smith Upstages his Rivals", Vancouver Sun, 30 July 1986, page 13.

[72]"Social Credit Leadership Convention: Candidate Speeches", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 29 July 1986.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Author's notes taken 29 July 1986 while at the convention.

[85]"Candidate Speeches", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 29 July 1986.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid.

[90]William Vander Zalm interview, 7 September 1993, Ladner, B.C.

[91]"Candidate Speeches", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 29 July 1986.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid.

[95]William Vander Zalm interview, 7 September 1993, Ladner, B.C.

[96]Other candidates had far more elaborate stage setups. Grace McCarthy's resembled a fortress, while both Brian Smith and Bud Smith's had an elevation device so that the candidate could be raised along with his subsequent vote totals.

[97]"Social Credit Leadership Convention: Election Day", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 1986.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Ibid.

[100]Section 12(C)(ii) of The Social Credit Party Constitution outlined the process where candidates are eliminated from future ballots.

[101]Jack Davis interview, 13 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[102]"Election Day", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 1986.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Stephen Rogers interview, 14 July 1986, Victoria, B.C.

[105]Author's notes 30 July 1986.

[106]John Reynolds interview, 15 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.. Reynolds did not wish to

elaborate on what point we was trying to make.

[107]Cliff Michael interview, 15 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[108]"Election Day", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 1986.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Bud Smith interview, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[112]Ibid.

[113]John Leyland interview, 11 September 1987, North Vancouver, B.C.

[114]Ibid.

[115]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, pages 528-529.

[116]William Vander Zalm interview, September 7, 1993, Ladner, B.C.

[117]George Perlin (ed.), Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Conventions, Scarborough, Prentice Hall Inc., 1987, page 207.

[118]"Election Day", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 1986.

[119]Bud Smith interview, 14 July 1987, Victoria, B.C.

[120]Ibid.

[121]Ibid.

[122]Ibid.

[123]William Vander Zalm interview, 7 September 1993, Ladner, B.C.

[124]Twigg, Vander Zalm, page 197.

[125]"Election Day", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 1986.

[126]See Allen Garr's Tough Guy.

[127]"Election Day", Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 1986.

[128]Ibid.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>, page 529.

[131]William Vander Zalm interview, 7 September 1993, Ladner, B.C.

[132]Ibid.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Blake, Carty and Erickson, <u>Grassroots Politicians</u>, page 106.

[135]Ibid.

[136]"Election Night", <u>Canadian Broadcasting Corporation</u>, 30 July 1986.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE:
ANALYSIS OF THE VANDER ZALM VICTORY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES
TO THE BRITISH COLUMBIA SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY

Conclusion

On the final ballot the delegates to the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention were

presented with a clear choice between two candidates with distinct personal and political

styles, a choice that "came down to a choice between Vander Zalm, a millionaire working

class hero, and Brian Smith, a remote Victoria lawyer, who personified a remote

government." [1] While these delegates respected and admired the personal efforts of Premier

W.R. Bennett, they wanted to halt the course he had set for their party:

> The selection of William Vander Zalm appeared to represent,
> in part at least, a repudiation of the Bennett style, aspects of
> his political agenda, and some attempts to modernize the party
> organization. [2]

More than anything, this leadership convention was about the future form and direction the

Social Credit party would take, either back to W.A.C. Bennett's populism or a continuation

of the modern machine style practiced in the last years of W.R. Bennett's tenure. There was

an obvious fear amongst delegates that once W.R. Bennett relinquished the reins of power,

and the Kelowna dynasty formally ended, the unique and politically independent nature of

the Social Credit party would be lost. For many delegates if the centralization of the party's

leadership and agenda proceeded, then the grassroots input and influence that had marked

the party's origins would be gone forever. It was this fear of downtown concrete paving over the grassroots that led the delegates away from the future and back to the more comfortable past.

In order to reassert themselves, the party's membership needed the largely open and democratic delegate selection process. While very few were aware of it at the time of W.R. Bennett's resignation, the party's existing constitution outlined rules for delegate selection provided just such a mechanism. In the party's thirty-four year history, party leadership rules were seldom considered, and the guidelines used in 1986 had never had a real test run. The party had always been led by a Bennett, and the current Premier was only 53 years old. (His father had been 73 when he finally resigned). While no one expected the son to match the father's longevity, few thought he would leave so abruptly.

When W.R. Bennett did resign, party members, scholars, the media, and potential leadership candidates and their supporters were sent scrambling to the party's seldom referred to constitution. There on page 12 Bylaw 10(c) the voting procedures stated clearly who could vote for delegates (party members deemed to be in good standing) and the total number of delegates permitted at the leadership convention itself. (Minimum 25 per constituency, one extra for each 100 members over 1,000 a riding had). Nothing more. Those wishing to become Social Credit delegates had but one route available, and this required the approval of their fellow constituency members. If the party's leadership rules had of been manipulated to include various delegate categories, then Vander Zalm, the outsider running against the bulk of the party's establishment and definitely against the wishes of the existing caucus, would have had little chance of success. While several of his

grassroots loyalists would have emerged through some of the delegate categories to be in a position to support him, this block of votes would have been countered by delegates from the other categories, especially the ex-officio ones, who would be most concerned about retaining their current positions and power. Instead, with an open convention, Vander Zalm knew that with even half the campaign over and little organization or strategy in place he could still enter the race and win:

> The delegate selection process turned out to be the key. When I attended some candidate's meetings before I declared and saw the support I was getting, and when I received hundreds of phone calls and letters from around the province also urging me to run, I knew that the grassroots were still with me. When I realized these were the people who would be voting at Whistler, not the big shots, I knew I had a very good chance. Without the delegate (selection) process, I would've been dead in the water.[4]

The 1986 Social Credit leadership campaign was largely about one man, William Vander Zalm. All of the Vander Zalm's perceived attributes, self-discipline, work ethic, morality, and populism, the most familiar adjectives used when describing the man, were usually lumped into one word, style. While this style was not easy to describe, the Social Credit delegates were comfortable enough with it that even previous blunders or concerns about the man's depth were put aside.

Since he was seventeen Vander Zalm had been a salesman. First as a nurseryman then as a politician. Whether he was selling flowers or himself, he has been very, very good. As his campaign press agent Charlie Giordano, who witnessed Vander Zalm's style and its results on delegates and voters throughout the province, stated:

> He's the ideal candidate. His charisma is sincere and when people see that face and hear that voice they believe what he says. [5]

While being often criticized by the press and other candidates for providing "charisma without substance", enough delegates felt otherwise. To them his success in the free enterprise market place and his efforts at actually implementing party policy and opinion when in office was the practical substance these voters could appreciate. Vander Zalm's charismatic approach to politics and policy was something the delegates were comfortable with:

> 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. [6]

By simply being himself Vander Zalm captured the mood of the convention and its delegates. Those candidates who tried to create the illusion of leadership and image by spending exorbitant sums of money themselves for charges of being artificial and controlled by pollsters and consultants. Far from allowing them to compete with Vander Zalm, these high-tech, high finance campaigns instead highlighted Vander Zalm's self reliance.

The delegates attending were smart people who knew what they were doing. The first priority of the Social Credit delegates was to select a leader they had confidence in and who could win the next election. The 1,300 Social Credit delegates had been given

enormous responsibility and power. They seized this chance to determine the destiny of their party. They were not about to lose this opportunity. As political commentator Dalton Camp has stated, leadership selection is one of the few remaining areas where party activists can have influence over their party:

> Now that the parties don't have any influence left in the policy area, the only power left to a party is to elect a leader and the only power left to the constituency organizations is to say who gets nominated if you take that away everyone becomes a eunuch. [7]

It is somewhat ironic that outgoing Premier W.R. Bennett coupled his resignation with a clear call for party renewal. While each of the twelve candidates claimed to be just what the Premier had in mind, it seems apparent that the W.R. Bennett era establishment equated renewal with more modernization and new faces. Their political revitalization included the political gadgetry of the computer age, constant poll taking, consulting reports, and networking. Even the party president said Social Credit was looking to attract the "Bud Smiths", of society. What happened instead is irony. Premier W.R. Bennett began to rely heavily on polls and paid organizers in the early 1980's in an attempt to keep Social Credit in power after the close call of the 1979 provincial election. Before this election, during his first term in office, the same Bennett had once remarked:

> I don't need polls to tell me what the guy in the beer parlor is thinking. I just walk down the halls and talk to Vander Zalm.[8]

Polls over populism marked the style of the last years of the W.R. Bennett

government. Without Vander Zalm in cabinet and with a premier who was never a backslapping campaigner, instead consumed by projects such as Expo 86 and northeast coal, the government grew distant from its roots. The 1983 election was a personal triumph and vindication for W.R. Bennett. He had several plans for his last term in office and with his convincing mandate he intended to govern. While party members and the general public may have agreed with many of his government's policies, they quite often had difficulty with how it was presented. [9]

In summary, the Vander Valm victory was due to four factors.

First, Vander Zalm's persona and political record earned him the loyalty of the party's grassroots and distinguished him from his eleven competitors.

Second, the simple and open delegate selection process and the short campaign prevented either any influx of new members who may have diluted Vander Zalm's core constituency, as well as the manipulation of multiple delegate categories (as witnessed in several other party conventions). [10]

Third, the delegates and party as a whole wanted to select the candidate with the best chance to change their then political fortunes and win the next provincial election. Various polls and surveys during the campaign consistently pointed to Vander Zalm as their best hope (which it turned out was true).

And finally, besides wanting to win the next election, these delegates saw the selection of Vander Zalm as their best way to repudiate and halt the modernization efforts of W.R. Bennett and in effect return the party back to its populist traditions.

For those delegates predisposed to the Vander Zalm candidacy, they would not only have the opportunity to vote for the candidate they personally admired and who they were politically aligned with, but who could also rejuvenate the party and win the upcoming provincial election:

> (But) as in other Canadian party systems, electoral competition in British Columbia focuses much on the personalities and character of the party leaders. And party members know it. When asked to indicate the importance of a series of factors in determining their choice for leader, delegates at the 1986 Social Credit leadership convention chose 'ability to win the next election' more often than any other factor; personal characteristics of the candidates were second. [11]

For Vander Zalm to have won, all of these four factors had to either occur or be in place. As they were a candidate with little organization and less strategy, with minimal caucus support, and who did not enter the campaign until eleven others had done so and after the race was almost half over, won convincingly. Politics revolve around personalities, and in British Columbia in 1986 this meant Vander Zalm:

> The grassroots of British Columbia's Social Credit reclaimed their party and their government last week, kicked out the coterie of imported Ontario bureaucrats and power pedlars who had come to surround it, lifted a defiant middle finger to the nation's media and intellectual elite, declared war on unionism, legislated biculturalism, socialism, and Ottawa-packaged patriotism, and proclaimed to the world that, in British Columbia anyway, Social Credit is once again a movement. In other words, they named as premier-designate of their province a man who in the space of a 17-year political career has figuratively mooned just about every icon on the liberal altar. His name is Bill Vander Zalm. [12]

Epilogue

The election of William Vander Zalm as the third leader of the British Columbia Social Credit party began one of the most tumultuous tenures a Canadian political leader has endured.

During the five and a half year period from the resignation announcement of W.R. Bennett until the 1991 provincial election, both Vander Zalm and his party met with significant political triumphants and ultimately great political failure.

On August 6, 1986, one week after his selection as Social Credit leader, William Vander Zalm was formally sworn in as British Columbia' twenty-seventh premier.

On October 22, 1986, and despite running a campaign as disorganized as his leadership bid, Vander Zalm led Social Credit to a decisive victory in the provincial general election. Enough voters were either enamoured with, or trusting enough of Vander Zalm to give Social Credit their second highest popular vote ever (49.7%) and their third highest percentage of seats (47 of 69 seats, or 68%).[13] What was most impressive about this victory is that exactly five months earlier when Premier W.R. Bennett announced that he was retiring, the party appeared headed for defeat at the next election. [14]

The 1986 Social Credit general election victory was waged under a campaign slogan calling for a "fresh start". For over a year after their win, it seemed that the unorthodox Vander Zalm would provide just that for both his party and the province.

This was not to be the case. Vander Zalm's inability to refrain from speaking his mind (especially on abortion), considering in advance the consequences of his comments or actions, and his poor selection of government officials and friends led to a steady erosion of his public and party support that neither would be able to recover from.

The final years of the Vander Zalm premiership were ones which saw a leader increasingly besieged by internal party strife and a public tiring of the same populism it had once found appealing.

In the end, it was Vander Zalm himself who brought about his own downfall. Despite stating throughout his leadership campaign and his subsequent term as premier that he would sell his Fantasy Garden development so as to avoid any political conflict of interest, Vander Zalm continually delayed doing so. Finally, when he did manage to sell the gardens, (at the start of his fifth year as premier), a subsequent investigation initiated by the Premier himself found him to be in conflict of interest over the actual sale events themselves. [15]

On April 2, 1991, the day the investigative report on his sale of Fantasy Gardens was released, William Vander Zalm became the first premier in Canadian history forced to resign over a conflict of interest.

On July 20, 1991, in the third and last Social Credit leadership race contested under the same rules and processes that had led to Vander Zalm's victory [16], Rita Johnston, (who had been elected by the Social Credit caucus as their interim leader on the date Vander Zalm

resigned), was elected by party members as their fourth leader, defeating Grace McCarthy on the second ballot.

Unlike 1986, this leadership change did not provide an electoral boost for the troubled party. Rather, the party was clearly divided and polarized before, during, and after the convention. On October 17, 1991, in a provincial election held only five days less than five years after the Vander Zalm triumphant, the once omnipotent party was humiliated, finishing a distant third in the standings. As of this papers submission, the future of the party remains very much in doubt.

There has been much written and said about the rise and fall of William Vander Zalm and his political career. What cannot be disputed is that on July 30, 1986, the last candidate to enter the most crowded leadership race in Canadian history, who began running only after the race was half over, and who ran perhaps the worst campaign ever conducted by the winner of a major Canadian leadership contest, took full advantage of the timing, process, and available delegates, and won the leadership of the Social Credit party, and with it the premiership of British Columbia. [17]

No matter what has been written on, or may yet be written about William Vander Zalm,[18] he cannot be denied his moment on July 30, 1986 at Whistler, British Columbia.

Chapter IV Footnotes

[1]"An electoral shock", <u>Maclean's</u>, 11 August 1986, page 2.

[2]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>, page 513.

[3]All leadership candidates interviewed expected W.R. Bennett to run again. While some indicated an electoral victory would be difficult, most thought, like the 1983 campaign where the party trailed up until the final days, the Bennett led Social Credit party would again win a majority government. William Vander Zalm was "shocked...I thought Bill (Bennett) would run once more".

[4]William Vander Zalm, interview in Richmond, 25 September 1987.

[5]"Vander Zalm: Outspoken populist says he wants to cut government red tape", <u>Vancouver Sun</u>, 18 July 1986, page B1.

[6]Blake, Carty and Erickson, "Ratification or Repudiation", <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>, page 534.

[7]Lynch, Charles, <u>Race for the Rose</u>, Toronto, Methuen, 1984, page 98.

[8]"The Coughdrops' fatal flaw", <u>The Province</u>, 3 August 1986, page 31.

[9]Perhaps the best example of the W.R. Bennett's government's poor handling of a government policy is with regards to "restraint", the issue the party campaigned on during the 1983 campaign. According to the U.B.C. delegate survey (Section A, question 2), 55% of the delegates rate the government's performance with regards to restraint "very good", while another 35.6% stated "fairly good". Section B, question 1 indicates that 51.2% of the delegates thought "the provincial restraint program was well intentioned but not well implemented".

[10]Courtney, John, "Leadership Convention and the Development of the National Political Community in Canada", in Carty, R.K., and Ward, W. Peter, <u>National Politics and Community in Canada</u>, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986. Also, Patrick, Grey, and Perlins, <u>Contenders</u>, vividly chronicles the abuses of the 1983 federal Progressive Conversation Leadership campaign delegate selection process.

[11]Blake, Carty and Erickson, <u>Grassroots Politicians</u>, page 86.

[12]"The Vander Zalm Zap", <u>Western Report</u>, 11 August 1986, page 6.

[13]The only Social Credit election victories with a higher popular vote than the 1986 Vander Zalm victory of 49.32% was the 1983 total of 49.76%.

The only victories with a higher percentage of Social Credit seats attained than the 1986 total of 68% were the 1956 (75%) and 1969 (69%) totals.

[14]David K. Stewart and R.K. Carty, "Does Changing the Party Leader Provide an Electoral Boost? A Study of Canadian Provincial Parties: 1960 - 1992", Canadian Journal of Political Science, June 1993, Volume XXVI:2, pages 313 - 330.

In this article, the authors review, analyze, and reveal several interesting trends and conclusions with regards to provincial election results following changes in party leadership. This paper shows that the mere change of leadership is far from a guarantee of succeeding electoral success nor are they a panacea for an unpopular governing party". (page 329) Furthermore, the paper shows that "of all scenarios, a competitive convention and a quick election are most conducive to electoral success. New premiers who fight hard to win their jobs, and quickly ask the public for an endorsement, have the best change of sweeping the electorate off its feet". (page 330) Vander Zalm's selection and the subsequent Social Credit party victory in the 1986 provincial election is a case in point.

[15]E.N. Hughes, Report of the Honourable E.N. Hughes, Q.C., on the Sale of Fantasy Garden World Inc., Victoria, Province of British Columbia, April 2, 1991.

[16]Many opponents of William Vander Zalm within the Social Credit party, including several failed leadership candidates, blamed the party's then leadership selection process with providing Vander Zalm with an advantage. This discontent, which was most evident at subsequent annual conventions of the party, saw Social Credit amend its constitution to implement a universal ballot procedure for future selection of their leaders. (What many of Vander Zalm's critics fail to realize, or refuse to accept, is that it is equally likely that Vander Zalm would have won in 1986 even if the universal ballot had been in place).

[17]The subsequent fate of the twelve 1986 British Columbia Social Credit leadership candidates reveals the unpredictability and surprises that are so often associated with politicians and leadership candidates.

KIM CAMPBELL - The twelve and last place finisher, who won but 1.08% of the votes at Whistler, was elected an MLA in the Vander Zalm led victory of 1986, a Member of Parliament in 1988, and leader of the federal Progressive Conservative party. Following her election as Conservative leader, she served as Prime Minister of Canada for four months before leading the party to a massive defeat in the 1993 federal election.

MEL COUVELIER - The eleventh place finisher was elected an MLA in 1986. He would subsequently resign from Vander Zalm's cabinet in 1991 and run in that year's Social Credit leadership race. Not a candidate in the 1991 general election, he would return to private enterprise as a small business consultant.

WILLIAM RITCHIE - The tenth place finisher would retire from politics in 1986. (It was unlikely he would have been re-nominated as the Social Credit candidate in his former riding).

CLIFF MICHAEL - The ninth place finisher would win re-election in 1986. He would be a member of Vander Zalm's cabinet until forced to resign over combining his political office with personal business interests. Michael did not seek re-election in 1991.

ROBERT WENMAN - The eighth place finisher did not run provincially for Social Credit as he had indicated. Instead, he would be re-elected for the Progressive Conservatives in the 1988 federal election. Wenman, who was forced to sell his home to pay off debts from his ill-fated leadership campaign would close his twenty-seven year political career when he did not run in the 1993 federal election.

STEPHEN ROGERS - The seventh place finisher would, despite his earlier statements to the contrary, serve in the Vander Zalm cabinet. He would end his sixteen year political career as Speaker of the Legislature. Not a candidate in the 1991 general election, Rogers would return to his pre-political career as an airline pilot. He would unsuccessfully run for the presidency of the Social Credit Party in 1993.

JIM NIELSEN - The sixth place finisher retired from politics in 1986. Despite nominating Vander Zalm to succeed him as the candidate in Richmond constituency, and later accepting a $200,000.00 a year appointment from him as head of the provincial Workers Compensation Board, Nielsen would become a bitter and outspoken critic of Vander Zalm. Leaving the WCB after less than two years, Nielsen works as a political commentator and consultant.

JOHN REYNOLDS - After finishing fifth, Reynolds was re-elected in 1986. Initially appointed Speaker, Reynolds would also serve as environment minister, before resigning late in the Vander Zalm mandate. Defeated in the 1991 election, Reynolds moved to Scottsdale, Arizona, and is involved in various business and stock ventures.

BUD SMITH - The fourth place finisher won a seat in the 1986 election and was appointed Attorney General in 1988. His seemingly bright political future was derailed when a relationship with a female reporter was revealed. Smith completed his only term on the backbench. He did not run in the 1991 election, and returned to private life in Kamloops.

GRACE McCARTHY - The third place finisher would be re-elected in the 1986 election, but resign from Vander Zalm's cabinet in 1988 (and henceforth be a focal point for growing dissent against the Premier). McCarthy would run in the 1991 leadership race, finishing second to Rita Johnston. She would not seek re-election in 1991. She was elected leader of the Social Credit party in November 1993.

BRIAN SMITH - The runner-up was re-elected in 1986 and served as Attorney General. Differences with Vander Zalm would see Smith resign his cabinet seat in 1988. He would later resign his seat in 1989, accepting an appointment from prime minister Mulroney to become chairman of Canadian National Railway with an annual salary in excess of $200,000.00.

WILLIAM VANDER ZALM - Elected the third leader of the B.C. Social Credit party on July 30, 1986, Vander Zalm was sworn in as the province's twenty-seventh premier one week later. Vander Zalm would lead his party to an overwhelming electoral victory on October 22, 1986. Forced to resign as premier and party leader on April 2, 1991 due to conflict of interest involving his Fantasy Garden development, Vander Zalm would remain an MLA until the October 17, 1991 provincial election, which saw the Social Credit party decimated. Following a court case concerning criminal breach of trust (again over the sale of Fantasy Garden), which was dismissed, Vander Zalm returned to various business matters. He would resign as a member of the Social Credit party in 1992. In November 1993 he joined the fledgling Family Coalition Party.

[18]The interest on and impact of William Vander Zalm on British Columbia politics can be seen in the number of books written on or about him.

W.A.C. Bennett, party leader for twenty-one years and premier for twenty, had two major biographies written about him (Paddy Sherman's Bennett, 1966 and David Mitchell's W.A.C. Bennett, 1993). There are also three other books, which are reminisces by associates. (Ronald Worley's 1971 Wonderful World of W.A.C. Bennett, photographer Jim Ryan's 1980 My Friend, and Roger Keene and David Humphrey's 1980 Conversations with W.A.C. Bennett).

William R. Bennett, party leader for thirteen years, premier for eleven, was profiled in three books (Stan Perskey's 1989 Son of Socred and 1983 Bennett II, and Allen Garr's 1985 Tough Guy). There have also been two books by academics reviewing the W.R. Bennett years (The New Reality, published in 1984, and After Bennett, which was issued in 1986).

William Vander Zalm, who was Social Credit leader and premier less than five years, has had six books written about him and his government. (Graham Leslie's Breach of Promise, 1991; Gary Mason and Keith Baldrey's Fantasyland, 1989; David Mitchell's Succession, 1987; Stan Perskey's Fantasy Government, 1989; Alan Twigg's Vander Zalm: From Immigrant to Premier, 1986; and former Vander Zalm assistant, Bill Kay's The Zalm and I, 1994). There is an autobiograpical book (written with community newspaper journalist Paul Nielsen) ready for print, if a publisher can be secured.

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NOTE: The author of this thesis has been a member of the Burnaby-Willingdon Social Credit constituency board of directors since 1983 and president since 1987. I also served on the Social Credit Party of British Columbia's board of directors (representing the Burnaby and North Shore constituencies) from October 1989 - January 1992. During this period several formal and informal discussions and interviews with Social Credit M.L.A.s, party officials and members have occurred, and many insights and perspectives contained within this thesis, are derived from these sessions.

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APPENDIX 1
Chronology of the
Political Career of William Vander Zalm
1934-1991

PART ONE: 1934 - 1985 THE RISE OF WILLIAM VANDER ZALM

1934   On May 29th, Wilhelmus Nicholaas Theordoros Maria Vander Zalm is born in Noordwijkehovit, Zvid, Holland.

1947   Vander Zalm arrives with his mother and siblings in Canada. His father, had been separated from his family during the Second World War and had spent the war in Canada. The family settled in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia, where they established a nursery and related businesses.

1952   Vander Zalm becomes a Canadian citizen.

1956   On June 27th, Vander Zalm marries Lillian. Four children are born: Jeff (1957), Juanita (1959), Wim (1962), and Lucia (1965).

1956   Vander Zalm purchases from Art Knapp a nursery, which he expands into several stores and other business ventures.

1964   In December, in his first political contest, Vander Zalm narrowly loses a Surrey aldermanic seat.

1965   In his second campaign Vander Zalm wins a seat on Surrey council, finishing second. He is re-elected two years later topping the polls.

1968   In the June 25th federal general election, Liberal candidate, Vander Zalm is defeated by the NDP candidate in the riding of Surrey.

1969   In December, at age 34, William Vander Zalm is elected mayor of Surrey. He will serve three terms until his election in 1975 to the provincial legislature.

1972   In May, Vander Zalm loses his first contest for the leadership of a B.C. provincial political party as David Anderson defeats him to become leader of the B.C. Liberal party.

1972	On August 30th, after twenty years in office and seven straight election victories, the Social Credit government of W.A.C. Bennett is defeated by the New Democratic Party, led by new leader David Barrett. In Surrey, running for the Liberals, Vander Zalm is defeated. (Provincial election results: New Democratic Party 38 seats; Social Credit 10 seats; Liberal 5 seats; Progressive Conservative 2 seats).
1973	On June 5th, after 32 years as the MLA for South Okanagan, and twenty as premier, W.A.C. Bennett resigns.
1973	On September 7th, William R. Bennett is elected in a by-election, succeeding his father as MLA for South Okanagan.
1973	On November 24th, in the Hotel Vancouver (where nineteen years earlier the first Social Credit caucus formally elected his father as leader), William R. Bennett is elected leader by delegates to the first Social Credit party leadership convention. Bennett received 56% of the vote, winning the leadership on the first ballot.
1974	On May 31st Vander Zalm joins the British Columbia Social Credit party.
1975	On December 11th, as Social Credit wins the provincial general election, Vander Zalm is elected as the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Surrey. (Provincial election results: Social Credit 35 seats; New Democratic Party 18 seats; Liberal 1 seat; Progressive Conservative 1 seat.)
1975	On December 22nd, Vander Zalm is appointed Minister of Human Resources in the first cabinet of premier William R. Bennett.
1978	On December 4th, Vander Zalm is appointed Minister of Municipal Affairs.
1979	On February 23rd, in his 79th years W.A.C. Bennett dies in Kelowna.
1979	On May 10th, the Social Credit party wins the provincial general election. Vander Zalm is re-elected MLA for Surrey. His running mate in the dual member riding is defeated. (Provincial election results: Social Credit 31 seats; New Democratic Party 26 seats).
1982	On August 10th, Vander Zalm is appointed Minister of Education.
1983	On April 1st, Vander Zalm announces he will not be a candidate in the pending provincial election and instead will take a "political sabbatical".

1983   On May 5th, despite initial forecasts indicating defeat, the Social Credit party is re-elected government following the provincial general election. Having based his campaign on the need for restraint, Premier Bennett then acts, instituting a series of related policies. (Provincial Election Results: Social Credit party 35 seats; New Democratic Party 22 seats).

1984   Out of politics less than a year, speculation abounds that Vander Zalm will be a candidate in either the pending federal election (which was held on September 4th) or in the November municipal elections. While not a resident of the city, nor with significant business interests therein, Vander Zalm and his supporters encourage speculation that he will run for mayor of Vancouver.

1984   On May 20th, Alberni MLA Robert Skelley, 41, succeeds David Barrett as the leader of the British Columbia New Democratic Party. Skelley wins on the fifth ballot, having not led on the previous four.

1984   In his most public venture since the 1983 provincial election, Vander Zalm assists with organization of the Papal visit of Pope John Paul II.

1984   On November 17th Michael Harcourt defeats Vander Zalm for the mayoralty of Vancouver.

1984   Through one of his companies, Vander Zalm purchases for $1.7 million a 8.5 hectare botanical garden in Richmond, B.C. The property is renamed "Fantasy Gardens". From the time of its purchase until his return to provincial politics in mid-1986, the gardens will become the focus of the Vander Zalm's time, attention, and capital, as the botanical garden is expanded, and additional land converted to parking lots, a retail development, a conservatory (for banquets), a miniature zoo, a railway, and a biblical theme park.

1985   With the pending openings of Expo '86, Skytrain, and the apparent wind-down of the restraint program, Vander Zalm hints he may consider a return to provincial politics.

1985   On December 11th, the tenth anniversary of his government's first election victory, Premier William Bennett officially inaugurates "Skytrain", the lower mainland's elevated rapid transit system.

PART TWO: 1986: THE HIGH WATER MARK OF WILLIAM VANDER ZALM

February   During the first weeks of the new year, premier Bennett meets individually with his cabinet ministers. During these discussions, Bennett inquires about their personal plans to seek re-election. In February he makes his final cabinet shuffle, including the removal of long term and loyal members Jim Chabot and Don Phillips (both who will not seek re-election).

May 2   At B.C. Place Stadium, premier Bennett hosts the Prince and Princess of Wales, prime minister Mulroney and 60,000 others at the opening of Expo '86.

May 16   Premier Bennett, in a yellow convertible, cruises down the first phase of the Coquihalla highway, officially opening the newest and fastest route from the lower mainland to the Okanagan. On this day, William R. Bennett most clearly followed his father's path in linking the Province's diverse regions and economies by highways. The fact that the Coquihalla's northern terminus was the Bennett's Kelowna home was all the more reason to savour the moment. On this day, the Premier stated "I can now die happily". (Mitchell, David, Succession, page 75)

THE 1986 SOCIAL CREDIT LEADERSHIP RACE:

May 22   Premier Bennett stuns the province and the Social Credit party by announcing he will step down as party leader and premier in the summer. Bennett states he is leaving because he has accomplished all he set out to do, and that the mood of the province was positive. He also states that "there must be political renewal (and) there must be political change within parties". When asked who he thought might succeed him, Bennett states he "could think of 20 candidates". (Vancouver Sun, May 22, 1986). Immediate speculation that William Vander Zalm will try to succeed Bennett begins. Other potential contenders, party members, MLAs and media agree that Vander Zalm would be a formidable candidate.

May 23   Social Credit party president Hope Wotherspoon creates the first major controversy of the campaign when she states that the renewal of the party will include attracting new members, she refers to as the "Bud Smiths". Smith the former principal secretary to premier Bennett is expected to shortly declare his candidacy and Wotherspoon's comments lead many to believe that he is the preferred choice of both Bennett and the party insiders.

May 26   The Social Credit party announces that the leadership convention will be held July 28 - 30 in the ski village of Whistler, 90 miles north of Vancouver.

May 28   Former Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament and current Social Credit, MLA John Reynolds, 44, becomes the first declared candidate to succeed Premier Bennett.

June 4   Jim Nielsen, 47, MLA for Richmond, and a cabinet minister since the inaugural William R. Bennett cabinet, becomes the second candidate to declare for the leadership.

June 6   Municipal Affairs Minister, William Ritchie, 59, becomes the second cabinet minister and third candidate to declare his leadership intention.

June 7   The Social Credit party announces that there will be no spending limits on the individual leadership campaigns.

| June 9 | Robert Wenman, 46, Member of Parliament for Fraser Valley West since 1974, and former Social Credit MLA (1966 - 1972) becomes the fourth candidate for the Social Credit party leadership. |

June 9   Robert Wenman, 46, Member of Parliament for Fraser Valley West since 1974, and former Social Credit MLA (1966 - 1972) becomes the fourth candidate for the Social Credit party leadership.

June 9   Stephen Rogers, MLA for Vancouver South, and until recently, a cabinet minister, becomes the fifth declared candidate.

June 9   Bud Smith, 40, the declared Social Credit candidate for the Kamloops constituency for the next provincial election and former principal secretary to premier Bennett, becomes the sixth candidate for the Social Credit leadership (and third this day).

June 10   Cliff Michael, 52, a former member of the New Democratic party and current MLA for Shuswap-Revelstoke becomes the eighth candidate.

June 10   Mel Couvelier, 55, the mayor of Saanich for the past ten years, and former president of the Liberal party of British Columbia, becomes the ninth contestant.

June 12   Kim Campbell, 39, a senior policy advisor in premier Bennett's office, and former chair of the Vancouver School Board, becomes the ninth candidate, and first female, to announce her leadership candidacy.

June 14   At a Social Credit leadership forum held in Prince George, attended by candidates John Reynolds, Bud Smith and Bob Wenman, non-candidate Bill Vander Zalm receives the loudest cheers.

June 13   Grace McCarthy, 58, MLA and cabinet minister for seventeen of the past twenty years, and the person most synonymous with the Social Credit Party becomes the tenth candidate for the party's leadership.

June 17   Attorney General, Brian Smith, 52, MLA since 1979 for Oak Bay - Gordon Head becomes the fourth cabinet minister and eleventh candidate for the leadership of the Social Credit party.

June 18   With mounting speculation that he will formally enter the leadership race, Bill Vander Zalm says that with the possibility of conflicts of interest, concerning his Fantasy Gardens project, he may not run. "I'm not sure my business would get a fair break if I place myself in a position where I was continually being scrutinized", Vander Zalm comments. (Vancouver Sun, June 18, 1986).

June 20   Almost a month after Premier Bennett's surprise resignation announcement, William Vander Zalm, 52, becomes the twelfth and final candidate to succeed him. With the actual vote only forty days away, Vander Zalm's entry leads fellow candidate Jim Nielsen to state, "I think its fair to say the real campaign began this week". (Vancouver Sun, June 21, 1986).

June 30	The 50 Social Credit party constituency associations officially begin the leadership convention delegate selection process. Each constituency will send at least 25 delegates to the convention, with additional constituency delegates eligible from ridings with memberships in excess of 1,000.
	In the subsequent delegate selection meetings individual campaigns will attempt to run slates of delegates, who are supposed to support their candidate. While some efforts are successful, many are not as these slates often exclude (and alienate) long-term party members, while others incorrectly include delegates who are not committed to their candidate.
July 7	On the same night Vander Zalm wins all 27 delegates from the Surrey constituency, he also wins 21 of the 25 delegates from Richmond, leaving the sitting MLA, Jim Nielsen with only one additional delegate other than himself.
July 10	The Vancouver Sun projects that after 49 of 50 delegate selection meetings, that Grace McCarthy leads the race, with Bud Smith and William Vander Zalm in "a close battle for second place, well ahead of the other nine Social Credit leadership candidates." (Vancouver Sun, July 10, 1986).
July 11	The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation announces they will cover live on television the leadership convention from Whistler, British Columbia.
July 16	With all delegate selection meetings completed, there are exactly 1,300 delegates elected to vote at the leadership convention. Of these delegates, 886 (68%) are men, while 414 (32%) are women.
July 18	The speaking order at the leadership convention is determined by drawing lots. William Vander Zalm will speak last.
July 19	In Kelowna, at the last of his annual garden parties, Premier Bennett hosts 15,000 well-wishers and nine of the leadership candidates. William Vander Zalm gathers the most attention of the candidates present.
July 22	In a meeting with the editorial board of the Vancouver Sun, William Vander Zalm states that if he is elected party leader he will likely sell Fantasy Garden World.
July 22	Jim Nielsen becomes the second leadership candidate in two days to state he would be reluctant to serve in a William Vander Zalm cabinet. (Stephen Rogers had also stated he would not serve with Vander Zalm).
July 23	The Vander Zalm campaign unveil their theme song. "The Growing Sensation" is both written and sung by Vander Zalm's 26 year old daughter, Juanita.

July 26   The <u>Vancouver Sun</u> endorse either Brian Smith or Grace McCarthy for Social Credit leader. (<u>Vancouver Sun</u>, July 26, 1986).

July 27   On the eve of the leadership convention, the <u>Vancouver Sun</u> prints the lead story, "Vander Zalm tops Sun Poll as People's Choice for Leader". Vander Zalm is the clear choice of the 402 people polled in dealing with relevant issues, and, most importantly, winning the next provincial election. Vander Zalm is the choice of 46.5% of the respondents to lead the Social Credit party (Grace McCarthy is second at 18.7%), while 50.2% state Vander Zalm has the best chance of any candidate to win the next election. The other front runners, Grace McCarthy (23.4%), Brian Smith (7%), Bud Smith (5.2%) are well back. (<u>Vancouver Sun</u>, July 27, 1986).

THE LEADERSHIP CONVENTION

<u>July 28</u>

10:00 a.m.   The leadership convention officially opens at Whistler, British Columbia.

Delegates and observers can tour the candidate's village (huge tenants set up on driving range) or other outlets set up throughout the village. Of the major candidates, the Vander Zalm tent and venue is the least extravagant.

8:00 p.m.   A formal tribute to retiring premier William Bennett is held.

<u>July 29</u>

6:00 a.m.   In its editorial, the Toronto based <u>Globe and Mail</u> newspaper endorses Bud Smith. Even Smith's supporters agree this development will not help and will add to the suspicion that their candidate is the choice of the Ontario based "big blue machine" of the Progressive Conservative party.

7:00 a.m.   A candidate's breakfast is held in the village square.

8:00 a.m.   Delegate registration opens and will go until 9:00 p.m.

9:30 a.m.   For the next three hours the candidates will rotate to three forums on the economy, social policy and leadership.

5:00 p.m.   The candidate speeches begin. Of the four leading contenders, Brian Smith and Bud Smith delivered better than expected, while Grace McCarthy and William Vander Zalm efforts are solid, but not as effective as expected.

<u>July 30</u>

6:00 a.m.   The <u>Vancouver Province</u> does not endorse a candidate, but runs beside their Editorial a cartoon of Grace McCarthy in robes stating "Madame Premier is so formal. A simple your Grace will do". (<u>Vancouver Province</u>, June 30, 1986).

7:30 a.m.   Premier Bennett and the twelve leadership candidates have breakfast together. Bennett again stresses that the unity of the party prevail after the day's voting.

0:30 a.m.   Thirty minutes late, convention chairman Les Peterson, announces the start of the voting.

1:40 p.m.   The first ballot results are announced:

W. Vander Zalm	367
Grace McCarthy	244
Bud Smith	202
Brian Smith	196
Jim Nielsen	54
John Reynolds	54
Stephen Rogers	43
Bob Wenman	40
Cliff Michael	32
Bill Ritchie	28
Mel Couvelier	20
Kim Campbell	14

The top four candidates have received 78% of the votes cast. The remaining eight lose their $2,500.00 deposits by failing to receive a minimum 100 votes.

Under the party's election rules Kim Campbell is eliminated. She endorses Brian Smith. Stephen Rogers and Bob Wenman both withdraw from the race and move to Brian Smith's box.

Mel Couvelier withdraws and endorses Vander Zalm.

Jim Nielsen and John Reynolds reject any alliance, and both stay on the Ballot.

Cliff Michael withdraws and endorses John Reynolds.

Bud Smith and Grace McCarthy hold a pre-arranged meeting. Their talk is heated and ends in five minutes.

In the most overblown event of the convention, Vander Zalm supporters Peter Toigo and Edgar Kaiser (Bank of B.C. Chairman) meet with other candidates and managers in a kitchen meeting room beneath the convention hall. During these brief talks, Toigo and Kaiser urge the other candidates to support Vander Zalm.

3:45 p.m.   The second ballot results are announced:

W. Vander Zalm	457 (+90)
Grace McCarthy	280 (+36)
Brian Smith	255 (+59)
Bud Smith	219 (+23)
John Reynolds	39 (-15)
Nielsen	30 (-24)

The top four candidates now have 97% of the votes cast. John Reynolds and Jim Nielsen are eliminated. Nielsen immediately moves to and endorses Brian Smith.

Brian Smith is now supported by half of the leadership candidates and over a third of the Social Credit caucus. Media commentator and former Social Credit MLA Rafe Mair predicts a Brian Smith victory.

John Reynolds and Cliff Michaels endorse Vander Zalm.

In the most unexpected move of the entire leadership race, Bud Smith withdraws and endorses Vander Zalm.

6:00 p.m.   The third ballot results are announced:

W. Vander Zalm	625 (+168)
Brian Smith	342 (+62)
McCarthy	305 (+50)

Vander Zalm is twelve votes short of victory.

Grace McCarthy is eliminated. She releases her delegates without endorsing either of the two remaining candidates.

8:15 p.m.   The fourth ballot results are announced:

W. Vander Zalm	801 (+176)
Brian Smith	454 (+112)

Vander Zalm takes 64% of the vote to Smith's 36%.

As runner-up Brian Smith makes the traditional motion to make the decision unanimous, he states "we will all be together, Bill," while Grace McCarthy says "the NDP must be eating its heart out right now." (Mitchell, David, Succession, page 123).

Premier of British Columbia

August 6   William Vander Zalm is sworn in as British Columbia's twenty-seventh Premier. Vander Zalm speaks of introducing "a spirit of cooperation" and states that "mistakes will be made, there will be errors, but I tell you now they will be honest errors." (Mitchell, Succession, pages 142-143).

August   Throughout the month of August, Vander Zalm (often only with his wife Lillian and a few aides), tours the province. Election speculation mounts as "Vander Zalm mania" continues to grow.

September 24 Listening to his pollsters and advisors, but mostly his own instincts, Vander Zalm calls a provincial general election for October 22nd.

             The Social Credit party's campaign slogan is "A Fresh Start".

             The Social Credit campaign is based entirely on the Vander Zalm persona. NDP leader Robert Skelley perhaps conducts the worst campaign in recent provincial history.

October 22   Seventeen minutes after the polls close, British Columbia Television declares Social Credit the election winner. Social Credit captures 49.32% of the popular vote and 47 of 69 seats, while the NDP receive 42.2% of the vote and 22 seats.

             Vander Zalm, who put his prediction of 47 Social Credit seats in a sealed envelope on election eve, says on election night, "there's just one way to describe it. Faaantastic!" (Mitchell, Succession, page 159).

December 31 As his year of triumphs end, Vander Zalm and his government retain most of their popularity.

PART THREE: 1987 - 1991 THE FALL OF WILLIAM VANDER ZALM

1987

March 2   Environment Minister Stephen Rogers, resigns over a conflict of interest concerning the ownership of shares in a pulp mill company.

March 6   Vander Zalm fires Minister of Forests, Jack Kempf, over irregularities concerning his expenses.

April 8   Businessman and close Vander Zalm friend Peter Toigo learns he is under investigation by the RCMP concerning his relationship with the Premier and whether he received preferential and confidential information concerning pending bids to purchase the former Expo '86 lands. (He will ultimately be cleared, but the perception of favouritism from Vander Zalm lingers).

April   Vander Zalm invites some reporters to his office to watch him watch a video on AIDS which is scheduled to be shown in Vancouver high schools. Vander Zalm calls the video the world's "longest condom ad" and says it should not be shown. While his religious convictions are well known to the public, Vander Zalm's mixing of religion with politics will upset many.

April 12   Former Vancouver mayor and current MLA, Michael Harcourt is acclaimed leader of the New B.C. Democratic Party, replacing Robert Skelley who had resigned.

April 15   Senior cabinet minister Grace McCarthy announces Hong Kong businessman Li Ka Shing has won the bid to purchase the Expo '86 lands. The transaction, regarded as extremely favourable to the buyer, is poorly received by the public.

June 2-3   Vander Zalm and his fellow premiers prepare their amendments to the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord. The Accord is not well received in B.C.

July 1   A one-day general strike is held by 200,000 union members in protest to Bill 19, the Vander Zalm government's new Industrial Relations Act.

July 21   Social Credit MLA and former Speaker of the House, Walter Davidson, is found guilty of unlawfully counselling the owner of a printing company to commit a forgery during the 1986 provincial election. While disgraced, Davidson completes his term as MLA (It is later disclosed that Vander Zalm authorizes the use of some Social Credit party funds to cover Davidson's legal bills).

July 24   Widely respected Advanced Education Minister, Stan Hagan, resigns when it is revealed that he has technically breached the premier's new conflict of interest guidelines when his cement company wins a provincial contract.

October 22-24   While there are noticable strains in government, Vander Zalm is warmly received at the Hotel Vancouver as the Social Credit party holds its first convention since 1985. Policy is secondary as the party celebrates the first anniversary of its election victory.

November 12   Transportation Minister Cliff Michaels resigns when it is revealed he discussed his personal business interests with members of a business delegation.

1988

February 6   Just before midnight, after returning after a vacation in Hawaii, Vander Zalm arrives at Vancouver International Airport. In an impromptu conference, and in response to the Supreme Court of Canada's January 28th decision to throw out the country's existing abortion law, the premier states, "I will recommend to cabinet tomorrow that the government no longer pay for any abortions, save those in emergency situations . . . I want to free taxpayers from abortions. Abortions diminish society's respect for human life." (Mason and Baldrey, Fantasyland, page 180).

Perhaps more than any single issue contributing to his fall, Vander Zalm's continual mixing of religion with politics, and the way (without consultation and review) in which he announced his government's abortion policy, began the slide of his support towards the point of no return.

June 8   The Social Credit party lose the Boundary-Similkameen riding in a by-election. For the first time in the riding's history the party loses as the NDP wins taking 53% of the vote to Social Credits 35%. The Social Credit vote total is down 10,000 from the 1986 election.

June 28   Attorney General Brian Smith resigns stating he can "no longer carry out my duties as I clearly do not have the support of the premier and his office, who do not appreciate the unique independence that is the cornerstone of the attorney general's responsibilities in a free parliamentary democracy." (Mason and Baldrey, Fantasyland, page 253).

June 29   The British Columbia legislature ratifies the Meech Lake Accord as both the Social Credit government and NDP opposition support it. Despite this legislative approval, the accord is not popular with the B.C. (or Canadian) public. In particular, many Social Credit members and supporters are dismayed by Premier Vander Zalm's prompt endorsement without public consultation of the accord.

July 5   Economic Development Minister Grace McCarthy resigns over the role of David Poole in the government and her dissatisfaction with Vander Zalm. She warns him that he will lead the party to defeat if he does not adopt a consultative approach to the administration of the Government. It is the first time that McCarthy will be absent from a Social Credit cabinet since her election as an M.L.A. in 1966. McCarthy's resignation is the most serious blow to the Premier as she is the only other Social Credit member capable of drawing and retaining support and loyalty similar to Vander Zalm. It will be McCarthy loyalists and patronage recipients who begin in earnest the dissent movement against Vander Zalm.

July 11 | Former Vander Zalm cabinet minister Russ Fraser becomes the first Social Credit MLA to call for a review of Vander Zalm's leadership. Fraser states that seven other MLAs (Graham Bruce, Kim Campbell, Carol Gran, Grace McCarthy, Dave Mercier, Stephen Rogers and Brian Smith) agree with him.

August 17 | Ombudsman Stephen Owen, releases his enquiry into the licensing of the Knight Street Pub. The report is extremely critical of long time Vander Zalm friend and advisor Charles Giordano, friend Peter Toigo, (who had a financial stake in the pub) and principal secretary David Poole. This report destroys Vander Zalm's previous claims that political favouritism will not occur during his tenure.

August 22 | David Poole, the beleagured principal secretary to premier Vander Zalm resigns following the negative fall-out of the ombudsman's Knight Street Pub enquiry. Outrage will occur seven months later when it is finally disclosed that Poole's severance package for two years service is worth $172,500.00. (In one of the many ironies concerning Vander Zalm aides and friends, David Poole will briefly hold a senior executive position in Ontario with a Peter Toigo business. Shortly thereafter, Toigo will fire Poole who in turn will sue for wrongful dismissal and the size of his severance package. Eventually Poole will move back to B.C., where the man previously called the most powerful civil servant in provincial history declares bankruptcy).

October 1 | Prime Minister Mulroney calls a federal election for November 21st. Social Credit MLA (Vancouver-Point Grey) Kim Campbell, who had challenged Vander Zalm for the party's leadership and had become one of his prime antagonists, resigns her seat to run for the Progressive Conservatives in Vancouver Centre. The Conservatives will win their second consecutive majority, while Campbell will win her seat by 269 votes (out of 63, 429 cast), defeating NDP president Joanna den Hertog, who had been campaigning for the past two years.

October 20 - 22 | The Social Credit party annual convention in Penticton reveals the growing opposition within the party to Vander Zalm. These opponents, most often referred to as dissidents, fail in their efforts to have the traditional vote of confidence in the leader done by secret ballot.

While not given the attention at this convention by party members or the media, the delegates do vote to establish a committee to review and amend the party's constitution and bylaws. While no one knows it at the time, this process will go on for four years, and have significant consequences.

November 19 | The Social Credit party loses its second straight by-election as the NDP retain their Alberni seat. (Former NDP leader Robert Skelley had resigned and later ran successfully for parliament).

<u>1989</u>

March 15   The Social Credit party loses by-elections in the white collar riding of Vancouver -Point Grey and the blue collar riding of Nanaimo.

July   Vander Zalm carries out his pledge to reform B.C.'s election system. Following a royal commission the entire province is redistributed into 75 new constituencies (which will be contested at the next election). Gone are all of the previous two-member seats and much of the gerrymandering (both actions will further hurt Social Credit re-election chances).

September 20 The Social Credit party loses their fifth straight by-election, this time in their previously thought to be unbeatable stronghold of the Cariboo.

September 20 Minister of Tourism and Provincial Secretary William Reid resigns over the granting of provincial lottery funds to two friends and campaign workers for the implementation of a recycling program.

October
26 - 28   For the first time the Social Credit party holds its annual convention at the Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre. While opposition to Vander Zalm grows within the party, there is not the visible animosity seen at the previous year's convention in Penticton.

December 13 The Social Credit party loses their sixth straight by-election to the NDP in Vancouver Island's most conservative riding, Oak Bay-Gordon Head. Following the election results, Vander Zalm announces he will reflect on his future, leading to speculation that he will soon resign.

<u>1990</u>

January 17   In a province-wide television address the one which many speculated he would announce his resignation, Vander Zalm outlines his government's achievements, then concludes by stating, "I ran for office to do a job, not to get a job. I'm not a quitter. I never was a quitter and I never will be a quitter. I'll quit when the job is done." (Transcript of an address by Premier William N. Vander Zalm, January 17, 1990, Province of British Columbia).

The speech is vintage Vander Zalm, whose popularity rises temporarily, halting much of the dissent within his own party. It will be the last major highlight of his premiership.

July 12	Attorney General Bud Smith resigns when his actions in the handling of potential charges in the William Reid affair is disclosed by the release of taped cellular phone calls by NDP MLA Moe Sihota. While Bud Smith is cleared of any wrong-doing, (charges against Sihota for disclosing personal conversations are recommended but not pursued), the married Smith's political career is finished when other taped phone calls indicate a personal relationship with a news reporter.
August 1	The premier and Mrs. Vander Zalm meet for the first time the proposed purchaser of Fantasy Gardens, Tan Yu. Also in attendance at the Bayshore Hotel meeting is realtor Faye Leung, who had introduced the parties.
August 2	Tan Yu and his entourage tour Fantasy Gardens.
August 3	In a meeting that lasts from 7:00 p.m. to 3:00 a.m. the following morning, the Vander Zalm's and Tan Yu conclude the basics of the sale agreement. Tan Yu has changed the deal significantly from their initial agreements, and in the process making it far less attractive for the Vander Zalms, who nevertheless accept the offer.
September 6	The Vander Zalms escort the Tan Yu party (including Faye Leung) to Victoria via ferry. While in Victoria, Vander Zalm arranges a meeting for Tan Yu with Finance Minister Mel Couvelier. He later hosts a luncheon for the Party at Government House.
September 7	Lillian Vander Zalm announces the sale of Fantasy Gardens in a public contract signing. Tan Yu is represented by his daughter. The sale will close on October 17th.
October 11 - 13	The Social Credit party holds its annual convention at the Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre. While the Vander Zalm opposition is present, the mood of the convention is low-key, as most attendees anticipate that with the party approaching the fourth anniversary of its mandate, they will have Vander Zalm again lead them in the next election.
October 25	A B.C. Supreme Court Justice rules that due to possible irregularities at the first nomination meeting held August 27, 1990, another nomination meeting must be held in the riding of Burnaby-Edmonds. While high profile candidate (and newspaper columnist) Nicole Parton again wins the second nomination meeting, she will eventually quit as a candidate.
November 21	Ombudsman Stephen Owen, releases his report concerning the decision not to prosecute William Reid for his involvement in the granting of provincial lottery funds to his friends. While no formal charges are laid, the public are appalled by this latest case of favouritism and misuse of public funds.

| November | Those Social Credit members opposed to the leadership of William Vander Zalm begin what is referred to within party circles as the dissent campaign. The objective of this group is to force Vander Zalm to resign on his own, or failing this, to use the two avenues to this end available under the party's constitution and bylaws to force a leadership convention. (A leadership convention can be called by either the party board of directors convening a leadership convention, or at least ten constituency associations an extraordinary party convention to vote on holding a leadership convention). |

1991

| January 29 | Just over a year since his last province-wide television address Premier Vander Zalm again speaks to the citizens of B.C. announcing the "taxpayer's protection plan". However, unlike the previous year's address, Vander Zalm's speech is followed by a live question and answer session with selected reporters who focus most of their attention on Fantasy Garden. While the 1990 television address recharged Vander Zalm and buoyed his supporters, his 1991 performance shows a leader in distress. |

| February 14 | Premier Vander Zalm hastily convenes a press conference where he states that E.N. Hughes, former deputy Attorney General and acting Conflict of Interest Commissioner will undertake an investigation of the sale of Fantasy Gardens. |

| February 15 | Hughes confirms he has accepted the job only after Vander Zalm gives his assurance that no general election will be called during the investigation. Hughes also consults with leader of the opposition, Michael Harcourt, who also approves of the investigation. |

| March 6 | Stating he cannot sit in cabinet while the premier is under investigation, Finance Minister Mel Couvelier resigns. |

| March 22 | While the Hughes inquiry is still in progress, Faye Leung's then attorney releases a taped telephone conversation between Vander Zalm and herself in which a $20,000.00 cash payment from the garden's purchaser, Tan Yu, is mentioned. |

| March 27 | Commissioner Hughes announces his report will be released April 2, 1992. |

| March 29 | On Good Friday, premier Vander Zalm announces he will resign as premier as soon as the Social Credit party can elect his successor. (Under the Social Credit party constitution, a minimum 60 days). |

| April 2 | At 11:15 a.m. Commissioner Hughes presents premier Vander Zalm and Mike Harcourt with the first copies of his report, which finds Vander Zalm in a conflict of interest over the sale of Fantasy Gardens. |

At 1:45 p.m., before his caucus colleagues have received the Hughes report, Vander Zalm informs them he will resign immediately.

At 2:00 p.m. copies of the report are made available to the two legislative caucuses and the media.

At 2:15 p.m. at a quickly convened press conference, Vander Zalm informs the public he will resign immediately.

That afternoon, after four ballots, the Social Credit caucus elects deputy premier Rita Johnston as interim leader. The Social Credit party board, which has also been meeting all day in Victoria confirms the decision. At 6:00 p.m. at Government House Rita Johnston is sworn in as British Columbia's 28th Premier.

April 3   The Social Credit party board of directors announces that a leadership convention will be held July 18 - 10, at the Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre.

April 6   In a futile attempt to become a free enterprise alternative to Social Credit, the British Columbia Pacific Party holds its founding convention in Vander Zalm's Richmond constituency.

April 17   After considerable review and pressure to adopt a universal ballot, the Social Credit party board of directors announced that the pending leadership convention and delegate selection procedure will be conducted under the existing format as outlined in the party's constitution and by-laws.

July 18   The third Social Credit party leadership convention opens. There are five candidates for leader, all of whom are sitting MLAs. They are interim party leader and current premier Rita Johnston, current or former cabinet ministers, Mel Couvelier, Norm Jacobsen and Grace McCarthy, and backbencher Duane Crandal.

July 20   Premier Rita Johnston comes from behind to win the party leadership on the second ballot. The voting results are as follows:

| | Ballots | |
Candidate	1	2
Rita Johnston	652	941
Grace McCarthy	659	881
Mel Couvelier	331	
Norm Jacobsen	169	
Duane Crandall	35	—
	1,846	1,822

The convention has shown the party to be badly polarized, with seemingly more antagonism directed between fellow party members than towards the NDP, who they must face within three months in a provincial election.

September 12   In a final blow, former premier William Vander Zalm is charged by the Crown pursuant to Section 122 of the Criminal Code in that he "did unlawfully commit a breach of trust in connection with the duties of his by using his public office to assist or promote his personal and financial interest in the sale of the property known as Fantasy Gardens". (Her Majesty the Queen against William Vander Zalm, Supreme Court of British Columbia, June 25, 1992, page 1).

September 13   The province launches a lawsuit against former cabinet minister William Reid and his friends in an effort to regain the money Reid had authorized released to them to start a recycling program.

September 19   With only four days left before an election must be called, Premier Rita Johnston calls a provincial general election for October 17, 1991. The campaign will be a disaster for the Social Credit party, as they go from crisis to crisis.

On this same day, William Vander Zalm makes his first court appearance. (His trial will take place in Vancouver between May 19 - June 2, 1992. He will be acquitted).

September 22   The media reveals that John Ball, the candidate selected to succeed Vander Zalm in the Richmond East riding has been associated with neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel.

This same day Social Credit's campaign polling reveals that the gap between them and the NDP has gone from 6 to 17 points within the last two weeks. Similar Social Credit polling had showed that since March 1988, the average gap between them and the NDP averaged 14 points. This had dropped to six points just before the election call, briefly giving the party insiders some optimism. (Ketchum, Jess, Election Campaign Report to the Social Credit Board of Directors, October 23, 1991).

September 25   Former cabinet minister and current Social Credit candidate Jack Kempf is charged with breach of trust and theft. In a very public series of events, Premier Johnston and the Social Credit party board revoke Kempf's Social Credit nomination, leaving the party without a candidate in Bulkley Valley - Stikine.

September 28   The media reveals that Social Credit candidate Rodney Glynn-Morris had been offered money if he did not seek re-nomination as the party's candidate in West Vancouver - Garibaldi. Despite Glynn-Morris' rejection of the offer, this incident is seen as another dubious Social Credit affair.

October 5   With the campaign half over, Social Credit polling now shows the NDP 24 points ahead.

October 8   Social Credit and New Democratic Party Leaders Rita Johnston and Michael Harcourt are joined by Liberal party leader Gordon Wilson in a televised debate. (Original debate plans do not include Wilson, as the Liberals had no seats in the legislature, and were not considered a real factor in the election).

While Johnston barely out performs Harcourt, the surprise is Wilson, whose spirited effort is the story of the evening.

October 10   Two days after the debate, Social Credit party polling shows that the Liberal party, 14 points behind them the day before the debate, are now 8 points ahead.

It is apparent that the majority of non-NDP voters who are fed up with the Social Credit Party, are quickly turning to the Liberals. For the balance of the campaign, the media will focus on the rise of the previously disregarded Liberals.

October 17   Five days short of the fifth anniversary of perhaps their greatest election victory, the discreditted Social Credit party suffers its worst election showing ever since its first victory in 1952:

	Seats	Popular Vote
New Democrats	51	41%
Liberal	17	34%
Social Credit	7	24%

Despite a virtual free ride as opposition and during the election campaign, the NDP only manages 41% of the vote (but wins 68% of seats, several as a result of vote-splitting between the Liberal and Social Credit candidates).

Based largely upon a credible performance by its leader in a television debate only nine days before the vote, the Liberal party becomes the official opposition. Much of the electorate have chosen to punish the Social Credit party, and in the process vote for the Liberals, the other free enterprise option on the ballot.

As much as anything, the 1991 provincial election is a refendum against a person who is not even a candidate, but who nevertheless haunts the campaign, William Vander Zalm.

APPENDIX 2
Summary of William Vander Zalm
Electoral Record

As of October 22, 1986, when he led the British Columbia Social Credit party to victory in the provincial general election, the electoral record of William Vander Zalm is as follows:

(A).   Municipal Politics:

(1).   Vander Zalm ran three times (1964, 1965 and 1967) for Surrey council. He won in 1965 and 1967.

(2).   Vander Zalm ran successfully three times for mayor of Surrey (1969, 1971, 1973).

(3).   Vander Zalm ran for mayor of Vancouver in 1984. He was defeated by Michael Harcourt who wins 62% of the vote to Vander Zalm's 38%.

(B).   Federal Politics:

Vander Zalm has run once for parliament, as a Liberal candidate during the "Trudeaumania" election of 1968. To date, the federal level is the only one in which Vander Zalm has not won elected office. The results of his one federal campaign are as follows:

(1).   June 25, 1968 (Surrey Electoral District)

Barry Mathers (New Democrat)	16,186	(44.6%) X
William Vander Zalm (Liberal)	11,666	(32.2%)
Ronald Harvey (Conservative)	5,986	(16.5%)
Delbert Doll (Social Credit)	2,445	(6.7%)

(C).   Provincial Politics:

Vander Zalm has run four times for the provincial legislature (1972, 1975, 1979 and 1986). He won all but his first campaign in 1972, when he ran as Liberal. (Subsequent campaigns were as a Social Credit candidate). The election results of his four provincial campaigns are as follows. (X denotes elected):

(1).   August 30, 1972 (Surrey Electoral District)

Ernie Hall (New Democrat)	12,574	(52.49%) X
James Wallace (Social Credit)	5,877	(24.53%)
William Vander Zalm (Liberal)	3,995	(16.68%)
William Reid (Conservative)	1,415	(5.91%)
Frederick Bianco (Communist)	95	(0.40%)

(2).   December 1, 1975 (Surrey Electoral District)

William Vander Zalm (Social Credit)	14,341	(53.35%) X
Ernie Hall (New Democrat)	11,214	(41.72%)
Donald Ross (Liberal)	1,257	(4.68%)
Frederick Bianco (Communist)	67	(0.25%)

(3).   May 10, 1979 (Surrey Electoral District)

William Vander Zalm (Social Credit)	29,693	(24.88%) X
Ernie Hall (New Democrat)	28,644	(24%) X
Garry Watkins (New Democrat)	28,497	(23.87%)
Dalton Jones (Social Credit)	26,306	(22.04%)
Brian Westwood (Conservative)	5,834	(4.89%)
George Gidora (Communist)	204	(0.17%)
Josephine Arland (Communist)	183	(0.15%)

NOTE: Following redistribution Surrey was now a dual-member counstituency.

(4).   October 22, 1986 (Richmond Electoral District)

William Vander Zalm (Social Credit)	29,762	(30.83%) X
Nick Loenen (Social Credit)	25,983	(26.91%) X
Douglas Sandberg (New Democrat)	16,542	(17.13%)
Arthur Kube (New Democrat)	15,580	(16.14%)
David Chambers (Liberal)	4,028	(4.17%)
Steve Mullan (Liberal)	3,803	(3.97%)
Clinton Davy (Independent)	822	(0.85%)

NOTE: Following redistribution, Richmond was a dual-member constituency.

(D). <u>British Columbia Provincial Political Party Leadership Contests</u>:

William Vander Zalm has run for the leadership of both the provincial Liberal party (1972) and the Social Credit party (1986).

(1). British Columbia Liberal Party
(May 22, 1972 at Penticton, British Columbia)

David Anderson	388 (69%) X
William Vander Zalm	171 (31%)

(2). British Columbia Social Credit Party
(July 30, 1986 at Whistler, British Columbia)

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
William Vander Zalm	367 (28%)	457 (36%)	625 (49%)	801 (64%)X
Brian Smith	196 (15%)	255 (22%)	342 (27%)	454 (36%)
Grace McCarthy	244 (19%)	280 (19%)	305 (24%)	
Bud Smith	202 (15%)	219 (17%)		
John Reynolds	54 (4%)	39 (3%)		
Jim Nielsen	54 (4%)	30 (2%)		
Stephen Rogers	43 (3%)			
Robert Wenman	40 (3%)			
Cliff Michael	32 (3%)			
William Ritchie	28 (2%)			
Mel Couvelier	20 (2%)			
Kim Campbell	14 (1%)			
	1,294	1,280	1,272	1,255

(E).   William Vander Zalm's Political Career: Summary

Year	Municipal Elections	Provincial Elections	Federal Elections	Provincial Party Leadership
1964	Surrey Aldermanic			
1965	Surrey Aldermanic X			
1967	Surrey Aldermanic X			
1968			Liberal Candidate	
1969	Surrey Mayoralty X			
1971	Surrey Mayoralty X			
1972		Liberal		Liberal Party
1973	Surrey Mayoralty X			
1975		Social Credit X		
1979		Social Credit X		
1984	Vancouver Mayoralty			
1986		Social Credit X		Social Credit PartyX

7 contests	4 contests	1 contest	2 contests
5 elections	3 elections	0 elections	1 election

X Denotes electoral victory

During the twenty-two years between William Vander Zalm's first political contest (1964 Surrey aldermanic) and his 1986 election as both Social Credit party leader and premier, he ran in fourteen political campaigns, at each of the three levels of our country's political system. Vander Zalm won nine times (65%).

APPENDIX 3
1986 Social Credit Leadership Convention
Delegate Selection Process

Each constituency was responsible for electing delegates to represent their individual ridings. These delegate selection meetings were held in each of local constituencies.

In order to stand and be elected a delegate, the individual had to meet three general criteria, as outlined in the party's constitution and bylaws:

1. MEMBERSHIP: Section 1 of the party constitution states a delegate must be at least 16 years of age. If of voting age, they must be eligible to vote in a provincial election.

2. GOOD STANDING: Members must ensure that their membership is valid and has not expired.

3. RESIDENCY: Section 2(a) of the party constitution states a delegate must qualify as a resident in the constituency they seek election from.

Each of the provinces 50 ridings were entitled to send a minimum 25 delegates to the convention. If their constituency exceeds 1,000 members, then they are permitted one extra delegate for every 100 members over this base. Nine ridings received extra delegates under this formula. The number of delegates that the constituency association sent to the 1986 leadership convention were:

Central Fraser Valley	40 delegates
South Okanagan	37
South Peace River	31
Surrey	29
Cariboo	29
Dewdney	27
Okanagan North	27
West Vancouver-Howe Sound	27
41 Constituencies (25 each)	1,025
	1,300 Total Delegates

Of these 1,300 delegates, 68% were men (886), while 32% were women (416).

The geographic breakdown of the delegates was:

Lower Mainland (17 ridings)	431 (33.2%)
Vancouver Island (9 ridings)	225 (17.3%)
Fraser Valley (4 ridings)	117 (9.0%)
Southern B.C. (11 ridings)	292 (22.5%)
Central-Northern B.C. (9 ridings)	235 (18.0%)

APPENDIX 4
Summary of Votes
1986 Social Credit Leadership Convention

Candidates Entry into the Leadership Contest

Candidate	Date Enters Campaign	Day of Campaign
Premier W.R. Bennett resigns	May 22, 1986	1
1. John Reynolds	May 28, 1986	7
2. Jim Nielsen	June 4, 1986	14
3. William Ritchie	June 6, 1986	16
4. Stephen Rogers	June 9, 1986	19
5. Bud Smith	June 9, 1986	19
6. Robert Wenman	June 9, 1986	19
7. Cliff Michael	June 10, 1986	20
8. Mel Couvelier	June 10, 1986	20
9. Kim Campbell	June 12, 1986	22
10. Grace McCarthy	June 13, 1986	23
11. Brian Smith	June 17, 1986	27
12. William Vander Zalm	June 20, 1986	30
Voting Day	July 30, 1986	70

First Ballot

	Votes	% of Votes
W. Vander Zalm	367	28.36%
G. McCarthy	244	18.86%
Bud Smith	202	15.61%
Brian Smith	196	15.15%
J. Nielsen	54	4.17%
J. Reynolds	54	4.17%
S. Rogers	43	3.32%
R. Wenman	40	3.09%
C. Michael	32	2.47%
W. Ritchie	28	2.16%
M. Couvelier	20	1.55%
K. Campbell	14	1.08%

Delegates Voting: 1,299
Spoiled Ballots: 5
Accepted Votes: 1,294

Kim Campbell is eliminated. She endorses Brian Smith.
William Ritchie, Stephen Rogers, and Robert Wenman withdraw and endorse Brian Smith.
Mel Couvelier withdraws and endorses William Vander Zalm.
Cliff Michael withdraws and endorses John Reynolds.

Second Ballot

	Votes	% of Votes	Vote Increase
W. Vander Zalm	457	35.70%	+ 90
G. McCarthy	280	21.88%	+ 36
Brian Smith	255	19.92%	+ 53
Bud Smith	219	17.11%	+ 23
J. Reynolds	39	3.05%	- 15
J. Nielsen	30	2.34%	- 24

Delegates Voting: 1,297
Spoiled Ballots: 17
Accepted Votes: 1,280

Jim Nielsen and John Reynolds are eliminated.

Reynold and Cliff Michael endorse Vander Zalm, while Nielsen endorses Brian Smith.

Bud Smith withdraws and endorses William Vander Zalm.

Third Ballot

	Votes	% of Votes	Vote Increase
W. Vander Zalm	625	49.14%	+ 168
Brian Smith	342	26.89%	+ 62
G. McCarthy	305	23.98%	+ 50

Delegates Voting: 1,294
Spoiled Ballots: 22
Accepted Votes: 1,272

Grace McCarthy is eliminated. She releases her delegates without endorsing either of the two remaining candidates.

Fourth Ballot

	Votes	% of Votes	Vote Increase
W. Vander Zalm	801	63.8%	+ 176
Brian Smith	454	36.18%	+ 112

Delegates Voting: 1,275
Spoiled Ballots: 20
Accepted Votes: 1,255

Ballot by Ballot Summary

	Ballot and Votes Cast			
Candidate	1	2	3	4
William Vander Zalm	367	457	625	801
Brian Smith	196	255	342	454
Grace McCarthy	244	280	305	
Bud Smith	202	219		
John Reynolds	54	39		
Jim Nielson	54	30		
Stephen Rogers	43			
Robert Wenman	40			
Cliff Michael	32			
William Ritchie	28			
Mel Couvelier	20			
Kim Campbell	14			
	1,294	1,280	1,272	1,255

William Vander Zalm is elected Leader of the British Columbia Social Credit party.

LEADERSHIP'86

Choosing the Future

LEADERSHIP'86

FROM THE PREMIER

Dear Friends:

Over the past twelve and a half years. I have had the honour and pleasure to serve you as Leader of the British Columbia Social Credit Party.

With the support and encouragement of so many decent and unselfish British Columbians. we were able together to return our Province to good government, and steer an optimistic and responsible course for the future.

Our dedication to our belief that a healthy, free enterprise economy is the best assurance of continued and expanded social programs has given us an enviable record of introducing and maintaining quality services for our people during good times and bad.

We have seized opportunities with vigour and faced problems with courage.

Today. I believe, we are at a turning point in our Province's history.

Increasingly. people from all walks of life in British Columbia are recognizing the signs of renewal in our economy — and appreciating that our course has been the right one.

Because we have remained steadfast to our common ideals and vision, we are today in a position to move forward rapidly into the exciting challenges of a new kind of industrial revolution.

Together, we can work to build a new British Columbia, a Province which presents our families and our communities with unparalleled opportunities through the application of new technologies and knowledge that will better the lives of all.

As we take part in this exciting convention, and move towards a challenging new era for Social Credit, let me thank you all from the bottom of my heart for your warmth and kindness.

Your loyalty and friendship are legacies I will always remember and treasure.

Bill Bennett.

Choosing the Future

LEADERSHIP'86

FROM THE PRESIDENT

For more than 30 years, the Bennett family have been dedicated to a life of public service which has benefited all British Columbians.

Now, Bill Bennett has called on us to select a new Leader, one who will value the foundation he has built and use it wisely for our future well being.

To that end, we have gathered in Convention from all parts of the province, drawn from all walks of life, representing all British Columbians dedicated to the principles of individual initiative and equal opportunity.

The person we choose as our Leader and Premier must be responsive not only to the wishes of Party members, but also to the needs and aspirations of all our citizens.

The Bennetts have shown us how to meet those responsibilities with courage, with optimism and with pride.

We thank them for that.

Hope

FROM THE CONVENTION CHAIRMAN

I am pleased to report that with the able assistance of staff and many, many volunteers, we are prepared to carry out the important agenda of this Leadership Convention.

As you know, it was the Premier's wish that we meet in Convention as soon as possible after his retirement announcement in recognition of the importance of a speedy transfer of responsibilities in the continuing operation of Government.

My congratulations to the Party staff and volunteers, to the Chairmen of the Convention Sub-Committees and their members and to the Leadership Candidates on a job well done, within very restricted time limitations.

May I also take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the honour of Chairing this, perhaps the most important Convention in our Party's history.

Finally, my thanks and very best wishes to Bill and Audrey Bennett. Their sense of duty and service stands as an inspiring example for all to emulate.

Les Peterson.

LEADERSHIP'86

B.C. SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. Bill Bennett	Premier & Party Leader
Hope Wotherspoon	President
Meldy Harris	Past President (on leave)
Ed Kisling	Vice President
David Stone	Treasurer Comptroller
Darin Nielsen	Young Socred President (on leave)
Donny Redding	Women's Auxiliary President (on leave)
Jerry Lampert	Principal Secretary to the Premier
Cliff Michael	Caucus Liaison (on leave)
Joan Dickinson	Director, Region 1
Gary Huston	Director, Region 2
George Little	Director, Region 3
Ron Stewart	Director, Region 4
Ray Feenstra	Director, Region 5
Jessica Gee	Director, Region 6
Phil Brooks	Director, Region 7
Dev Dley	Director, Region 8
Dennis Jackson	Director, Region 9
Gail Tompson	Director, Region 10
Paula Anderson	Director, Region 11 (on leave)
H.T. Galbreath	Director, Region 12
Ella Hembroff	Secretary

SOCIAL CREDIT CAUCUS

Hon. Bill Bennett	Premier	Okanagan South
Hon. Tony Brummet	Minister of Energy, Mines & Petroleum Resources	North Peace River
Jim Chabot	M.L.A.	Columbia River
Hon. Hugh Curtis	Minister of Finance	Saanich & the Islands
Hon. Walter Davidson	Speaker	Delta
Jack Davis	M.L.A.	N. Vancouver-Seymour
Hon. Alex Fraser	Minister of Transportation & Highways	Cariboo
Hon. Russ Fraser	Minister of Post-Secondary Education	Vancouver-South
Hon. Garde Gardom	Minister of Intergovernmental Relations	Vancouver-Point Grey
Hon. Jack Heinrich	Minister of Forests	Prince George-North
Hon. Jim Hewitt	Minister of Education	Boundary-Similkameen
Rita Johnston	M.L.A.	Surrey
Hon. Jack Kempf	Minister of Lands, Parks & Housing	Omineca
Hon. Grace McCarthy	Provincial Secretary & Minister of Government Services	Vancouver-Little Mountain
Hon. Bob McClelland	Minister of Industry & Small Business Development	Langley
Hon. Patrick McGeer	Minister of International Trade, Science and Investment	Vancouver-Point Grey
Cliff Michael	M.L.A.	Shuswap-Revelstoke
Doug Mowat	M.L.A.	Vancouver-Little Mountain
Hon. Jim Nielsen	Minister of Health & Human Resources	Richmond
John Parks	M.L.A.	Maillardville-Coquitlam
Al Passarell	M.L.A.	Atlin
Hon. Austin Pelton	Minister of Environment	Dewdney
Angus Ree	M.L.A.	N. Vancouver-Capilano
Bill Reid	M.L.A.	Surrey
John Reynolds	M.L.A.	W. Vancouver-Howe Sound
Hon. Claude Richmond	Minister of Tourism	Kamloops
Hon. Bill Ritchie	Minister of Municipal Affairs	Central Fraser Valley
Stephen Rogers	M.L.A.	Vancouver-South
Harvey Schroeder	M.L.A.	Chilliwack
Hon. Terry Segarty	Minister of Labour	Kootenay
Hon. Brian Smith	Attorney General	Oak Bay-Gordon Head
Bruce Strachan	Deputy Speaker	Prince George-South
Hon. Elwood Veitch	Minister of Consumer & Corporate Affairs	Burnaby-Willingdon
Hon. Tom Waterland	Minister of Agriculture	Yale-Lillooet

Choosing the Future

LEADERSHIP'86

Choosing the Future

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PARTY PRESIDENT
Hope Wotherspoon
PARTY VICE PRESIDENT
Ed Kisling
PARTY TREASURER
David Stone
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE PREMIER
Jerry Lampert
CONVENTION MANAGER
Bill Aughey
SECRETARY TO THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE
Ken Tolmie
MEDIA RELATIONS
Craig Aspinall
CHAIRMAN, ELECTION RULES
Allan Williams
CHAIRMAN, CREDENTIALS
Bill Esselmont
CHAIRMAN, CANDIDATE LIAISON
Bruce Strachan, MLA
CHAIRMAN, STAGING
Lynne Upton
CHAIRMAN, MEDIA
Stuart Henderson
CHAIRMAN, FINANCE
Michael Burns
CHAIRMAN, ACCOMMODATION & TRAVEL
Gary Huston
CHAIRMAN, SPECIAL EVENTS
Bruce Rozenhart
RECORDING SECRETARY
Karen Ward

LEADERSHIP'86

Choosing the Future

BALLOTING PROCEDURES

All Delegates to the British Columbia Social Credit Party Leadership Convention are hereby advised that the following procedures shall govern the balloting process at the Leadership Convention. It is the responsibility of each voting Delegate to be familiar with the rules and procedures governing the balloting process and to ensure they follow this process. No exceptions shall be made.

1. Delegates and Alternates are to gather at the Convention Hall not later than 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, July 30, 1986. (Please note that it may be a long day so dress comfortably.)
2. At 9:45 a.m. the Convention Chairman shall open this session and inform the Convention of the names of the Candidates eligible on the first ballot.
3. The Convention Chairman will then read the rules pertaining to "**Elimination of Candidates on the Completion of Each Ballot — Eligibility for Subsequent Ballots**" which detail the process by which Candidates will be eliminated from subsequent ballots.
4. The Convention Chairman will then instruct the Convention on the procedure Delegates must take to vote. These procedures are as follows:
   a) You are to proceed to the South Exit (Main Exit) and circle to the left of the Convention Centre until you reach the entrance to the voting tent.
   b) Only Delegates may go beyond this point and only if they exhibit the Delegate badge which was received at registration.
   c) When inside the voting tent you shall go to the voting line which corresponds to the first two digits on your Delegate badge.
   d) An Elections Official stationed at the beginning of each line will check your badge to ensure you are in the proper voting line.
   e) At the end of each line an Elections Official will again check your badge and then allow you to proceed, one at a time, to the appropriate table staffed by a Deputy Returning Officer and a Poll Clerk.
   f) At this table the DRO shall again check your badge and authorize the Poll Clerk to issue a ballot if your name is on the voters list. Each delegate must sign the poll book before receiving a ballot.
   g) You must then proceed to an empty voting booth at a table which corresponds to the line you were in.
   h) In the booth please mark a cross "X" in the square opposite the name of the Candidate for whom you wish to vote. Vote for only one Candidate.
   i) If you use any other mark than a cross "X", vote for more than one Candidate, place any mark outside the square opposite a Candidate's name or make any mark which may identify the voter, the ballot will be declared spoiled.
   j) If you spoil your ballot you may return to the DRO at the table corresponding to your voting line number, surrender the spoiled ballot paper and receive a replacement ballot after re-signing the Poll Book.
   k) After you have marked the ballot, proceed to the ballot box which corresponds to your line number and hand your folded ballot to the Auditor at that box. Before placing your ballot in the box, the Auditor shall check your badge number to ensure you are at the proper box. Please remain at the box until the ballot has been placed in the box.
   l) After completing the voting process, please leave the voting tent at the marked exits.
   m) Delegates may not carry or distribute any pamphlets, brochures, tabloids, signs or any other distributable material in support of any Candidate or promote any Candidate while in the voting tent.
   n) It is your responsibility to return to the Convention Hall in time for the beginning of the next ballot (if necessary).

STATUS UPGRADE PROCEDURE

1. The purpose of this procedure is to ensure that all constituencies exercise their full voting entitlement while at the same time respecting the order of priority of Alternates.
2. It is the responsibility of individual Alternates to apply to have their status upgraded to that of Delegate.
3. Any Alternate who wishes to request that their status be upgraded must complete an Application for Status Change and hand it in to the Credentials Committee at the Assistance Desk in the Registration building. All Applications must be received by the Committee before the close of registration on Tuesday, July 29 at 9:00 p.m.
4. The Credentials Committee will meet Tuesday night to review the Applications received and authorize those Applications which are to be upgraded.
5. On Wednesday, July 30, from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m., registered Alternates may come to the Registration building to see if their Application for Status Change was approved by the Credentials Committee. If the Application was indeed approved, the Alternate will turn in their Alternate badge, receive a Delegate badge card with the newly assigned voter number, and have a new photo taken.
6. Should the Applications approved not be picked up by the individual Alternates by 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, July 30, that Delegate position will remain empty.
7. The onus is fully on the Alternates to apply for up-grading and present themselves to complete this process.

KIM CAMPBELL

Personal: Age 39. Born in Port Alberni. Schooled in Burnaby, Vancouver and Victoria: degrees in Arts and Law. University of B.C.; Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship (1970). Engaged (Howard Eddy, lawyer).

Business/ Community: Political science teacher, University of B.C. and Vancouver Community College. Lawyer, Ladner Downs. Founding Member and Shareholder, Bridges Restaurant.

Political: Member, Vancouver School Board 1980-1983 and Chairman, 1982-1983. Social Credit candidate in Vancouver Centre, May, 1983. Executive Director, Office of the Premier, 1985-1986 with responsibilities for policy development.

MEL COUVELIER

Personal: Age 55. Born in Vancouver. Educated as a Certified General Accountant. Married (Milly), three children.

Business/ Community: Senior Cost Accountant with Crown Zellerbach. Owner of Maplewood Poultry Processors, Victoria, since 1960. Member Islands '86. Business and Industrial Development Commission of Victoria.

Political: Entered municipal politics in 1974: five terms as Mayor of Saanich. Executive member of Union of B.C. Municipalities, Greater Victoria Labour Relations Association, Association of Vancouver Island Municipalities, Federation of Canadian Municipalities, Urban Transit Authority.

GRACE McCARTHY

Personal: Age 58. Born and educated in Vancouver. Married (Ray), two children.

Business/ Community: Owner and President of Grayce Florists Ltd. until 1978. Advisory Board, Salvation Army. Director, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews.

Political: First elected as a Vancouver Parks Board Commissioner in 1961. Elected M.L.A. for Vancouver-Little Mountain in 1966. Has served as Deputy Premier, House Leader, Minister of Tourism, Minister of Human Resources. Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Economic Development. Director of the Insurance Corporation of B.C. Currently Provincial Secretary and Minister of Government Services, and Minister Responsible for B.C. Transit.
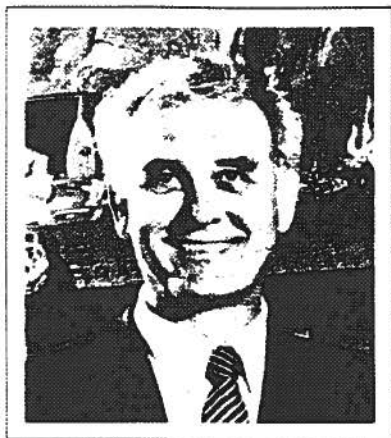
CLIFF MICHAEL

Personal: Age 52. Born in Lashburn. Saskatchewan. Raised and educated in Port Alberni, Victoria. Graduate of the Banff School of Advanced Management. Married (Dilys), four children.

Business/Community: Served as Business Agent and Financial Secretary of Local 1-417 of the International Woodworkers of America. 1959-65 before joining Federated Co-op Limited in Salmon Arm as Industrial Relations Manager. Active in Scouts. Rotary. Chamber of Commerce. Minor Hockey.

Political: First elected to the Shuswap School Board in 1978. Chairman 1980-83. Elected M.L.A. for Shuswap-Revelsoke in 1983. Serves as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Forests and Chairman of the Social Credit caucus.

JIM NIELSEN

Personal: Age 47. Born in Moose Jaw. Saskatchewan. Educated Moose Jaw and Richmond. Married (Jean), nine children.

Business/Community: Radio news director and commentator from 1960-1975.

Political: Progressive Conservative candidate in Burnaby-Seymour in 1974 Federal Election. Elected M.L.A. for Richmond in 1975. Has served as Minister of Environment. Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. Currently Minister of Health and Minister of Human Resources. Deputy House Leader and Minister Responsible for the Insurance Corporation of B.C.
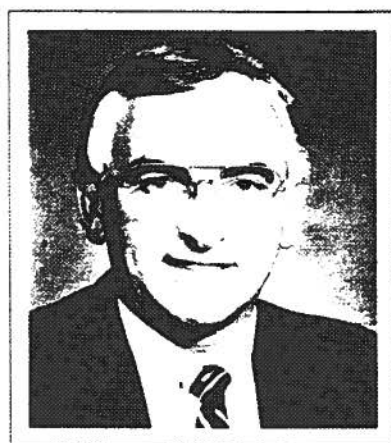
JOHN REYNOLDS

Personal: Age 44. Born in Toronto. Educated in Toronto and Montreal. Married (Yvonne), seven children.

Business/Community: Sales and marketing career in building systems. greeting card industry and medical supplies. Radio host. 1978-1983 and currently active as an investor-entrepreneur. A founding member and Chairman of the Gordie Howe Foundation for Disabled Athletes.

Political: Served as Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament for Burnaby-Richmond-Delta. 1972-78. Elected M.L.A. for West Vancouver-Howe Sound in 1983. Has served as Chairman of the Agriculture Committee and member of the Public Accounts Committee. Currently Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health.

BILL RITCHIE

Personal: Age 56. Born and educated in Glasgow, Scotland. Served with the Royal Navy in World War Two. Emigrated to Canada in 1952 and B.C. in 1957. Married (Maud), four children.

Business/Community: President of Ritchie-Smith Feeds Inc. Has been active in the Canadian Feed Industry Association, Canadian Turkey Marketing Agency, B.C. Poultry Industries Council. Active in Rotary, Chamber of Commerce and Fraser Valley College Council.

Political: Elected M.L.A. for Central Fraser Valley in 1979. Appointed Minister of Municipal Affairs in 1983. Responsible for the Provincial-Municipal Partnership Program. Serves as Minister Responsible for B.C. Buildings Corporation.
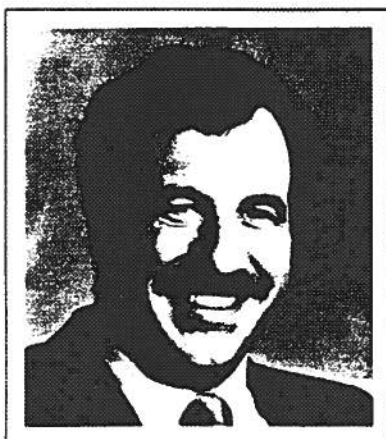
STEPHEN ROGERS

Personal: Age 44. Born and educated in Vancouver. Graduate of RCAF Central Officers' School (Flying), Ontario. Diploma in Finance and Investment from Vancouver City College. Separated (Margaret), two sons.

Business/Community: Joined Air Canada as a pilot in 1966, until his entry into politics.

Political: Elected M.L.A. for Vancouver South in 1975. Has served as Deputy Speaker, Minister of Environment, Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, Minister of Health. Has served as Minister Responsible for B.C. Place; and on the boards of B.C. Hydro, B.C. Petroleum and B.C. Utilities Commission.

BRIAN SMITH

Personal: Age 52. Born and educated in Victoria. Arts and Law degrees from University of B.C.; Masters in History from Queen's University. Two children.

Business/Community: Civil and criminal lawyer, 1964-79. Part-time lecturer at University of Victoria and a founder of the University's law school.

Political: Entered municipal politics in 1969; served as Mayor of Oak Bay 1973-79. Elected M.L.A. for Oak Bay-Gordon Head in 1979. Has served as Minister of Education and Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources. Currently serves as Attorney-General.

BUD SMITH

Personal: Age 40. Born in Kamloops. Arts degree (Political Science and Urban Geography) from University of Victoria: Law degree from University of B.C. Married (Daphne), three children aged 7. 5 and 3.

Business/ Community: Lawyer with Mair, Janowsky and Blair, Kamloops. Director, Mortgage Investment Corporation: Director and Officer, Property Management and House Construction Corporation.

Political: Campaign manager for Rafe Mair (1975) and Claude Richmond (1981). Campaign Tour Director for Premier Bennett (1983). Served as Principal Secretary to the Premier 1984-86; and a Director of B.C. Development Corporation.

BOB WENMAN

Personal: Age 46. Born in Maidstone. Saskatchewan. Teaching Certificate, Saskatoon. Married (Donna). four children.

Business/ Community: Career as a high school teacher and later. a stockbroker with Pemberton Securities before entering federal politics.

Political: Elected Social Credit M.L.A. for Delta in 1966. Elected Alderman in Surrey. 1972. Sat as Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament. 1974-1986. Served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence. 1985-1986.

BILL VANDER ZALM

Personal: Age 52. Born in Holland and educated in Holland. Bradner, Mt. Lehman and Abbotsford. Married (Lillian), four children.

Business/ Community: President of Fantasy Garden World and Secretary of Art Knapp Nurseries Ltd. President of the B.C. Chamber of Commerce. President of Western Lettuce Now Inc. and an active member of the Kinsmen. Lions Club, Kiwanis Club. Knights of Columbus and the Council of Canadian Unity.

Political: Served as an Alderman in Surrey, 1965-69. Mayor of Surrey from 1969-75. Elected M.L.A. for Surrey in 1975. Served as Minister of Human Resources. Minister of Education and Minister of Municipal Affairs. In order to devote his time to the family businesses. he did not seek re-election in 1983.
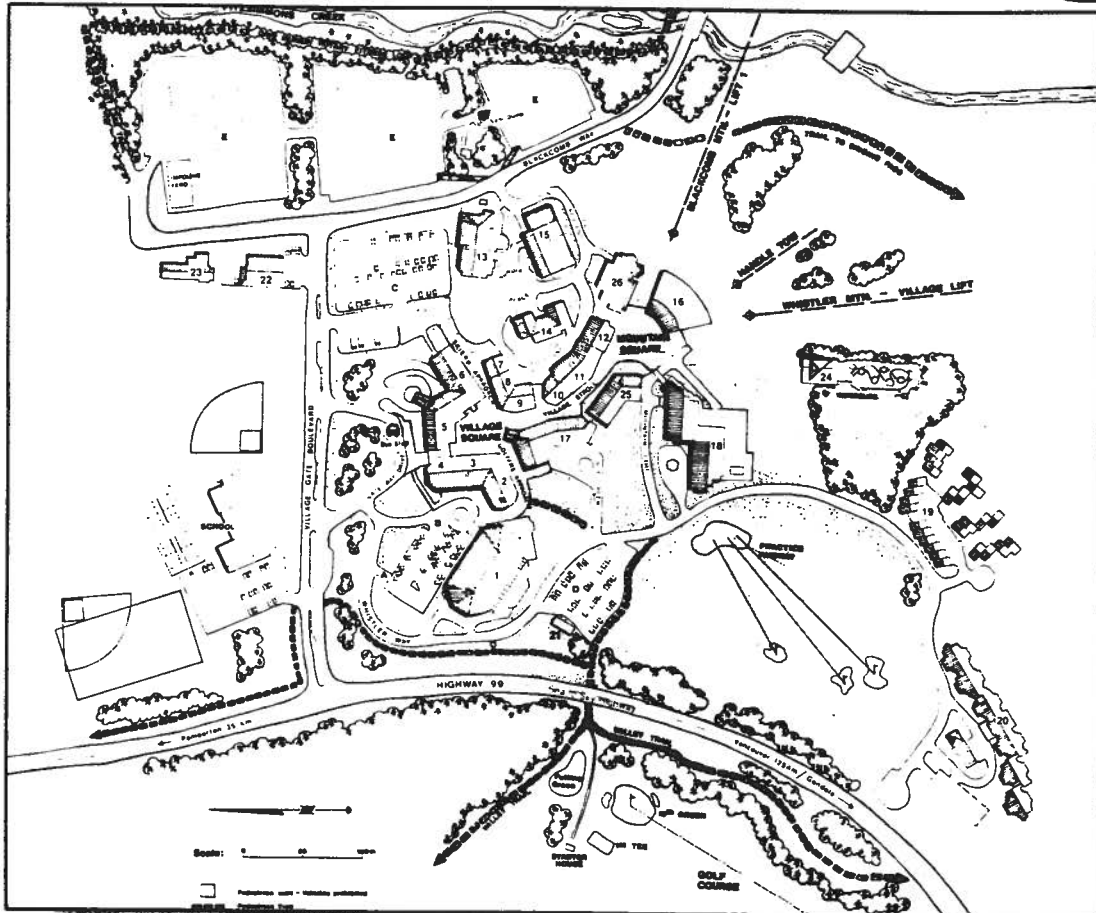
LEADERSHIP'86

UPPER FLOOR

MAIN TENT

LOWER FLOOR

Choosing the Future

LEADERSHIP'86

PROGRAM

MONDAY, JULY 28	Function	Location
10:00 a.m.-10:00 p.m.	Registration	Myrtle Philip Elementary School, across the highway west of the Convention Centre.
8:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.	Formal Tribute to Premier Bennett	Open seating in the Main Hall, Atrium and Rainbow Theatre on a first-come, first-served basis. Pre-purchased ticket required for entry. Tribute will be relayed live to video screens in the Atrium and Rainbow Theatre.
9:00 p.m.-1:00 a.m.	Tribute Party	Main Tent on parking lot adjacent to Convention Centre.

TUESDAY, JULY 29		
7:00 a.m.-9:00 a.m.	Candidates' Breakfast —sponsored by Blackcomb Mountain	Village Squares
8:00 a.m.-9:00 p.m.	Registration	Myrtle Philip Elementary School
9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Candidate Forums	Simultaneous in Main Hall, Atrium and Main Tent. See Bulletin Boards for schedule.
Afternoon	Candidates' Activities	Hospitality suites: and Candidates' Village located on driving range below Delta Hotel.
4:00 p.m.	Convention Centre opens for seating	Access to Main Hall restricted to Delegates and Media. Photo identification must be worn.
5:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.	Candidates' Nomination Speeches and Acceptance Speeches	Proceedings will be relayed live to video screens in the Atrium, Rainbow Theatre and Main Tent.
Evening	Candidates' Activities	Candidates' Village and hospitality suites.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30		
8:00 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	Status Upgrading, Alternates and Delegates	Myrtle Philip Elementary School
10:00 a.m.	Convention Chairman opens voting session	Main Hall. Access restricted to Delegates, Alternates and Media. Photo identification must be worn. Observers and spouses have access to the Atrium and Rainbow Theatre. Photo identification must be worn. Balloting will continue until a new Leader is elected.
a.m./p.m.	Candidates' activities	Candidates' Village open all day.
Evening	New Leader's Party	Main Tent, immediately following election of new Leader.

Registration Hours
Monday, July 28   10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.
Tuesday, July 29   8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.

You **must** have registered before 9:00 p.m. Tuesday evening in order to participate in Wednesday's events.

Status Upgrading Only
Wednesday, July 30   8:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.

Choosing the Future

LEADERSHIP'86

Choosing the Future

WHISTLER VILLAGE DIRECTORY

HOTELS & CONDOMINIUMS
6. Blackcomb Lodge
16. Carleton Lodge
12. The Clocktower
17. Crystal Lodge
18. Delta Mountain Inn
9. Fitzsimmons Condos
11. Fireplace Inns
3. Hearthstone Lodge
15. Mountainside Lodge
25. Nancy Greene's Olympic Lodge
5. Plaza Suites
4. Rainbow Condominiums
7. Regency Suite
8. Snoland Condominiums
20. Tantalus Lodge
19. Telemark Place
10. Whistlerview Condos
13. Whistler Village Inn (Keg Lodge)
14. Whistler Village Inn (Powder Lodge)
2. Windwhistle Condos

RESTAURANTS
6. Araxi's
17. Black Forest
17. Citta
24. Springs Grill
11. Il Caminetto di Umberto
25. Isabelle's
13. Keg at the Mountain
26. Lu Garden
16. Nasty Jack's
26. Pizza
2. Peter's Underground
9. Chez Joel
15. Sundial
26. Sushi Village
18. Twigs

NIGHT CLUBS & BARS
6. Araxi's Lounge
13. Brandy's Lounge
17. Citta
9. Club 10 Disco
25. Jazz & Piano Bar
16. Longhorn Pub
6. Savage Beagle
18. Stumps Lounge
7. Tapley's Neighborhood Pub
11. Umberto's Lounge
5. Moguls

FOOD/BEVERAGE
3. B.C. Liquor Store
8. Birmiy Bay Cafe
17. Germain's Licks
11. Going Nuts Shop
4. Gourmet Bakery
26. Hasty Market
3. The Grocery Store

MEDICAL SERVICES
23. Dr. Rob Burgess 932-3977
Dr. Christine Rodgers 932-5338
Susie Young (physio) 932-4001
Public Health Unit 932-4911
22. Ambulance 932-3044/932-4233
5. Wh. Dental Group 932-3877

VILLAGE SHOPS
4. Armchair Books
17. Brick Shirt House
10. Carlberg's Gift Shop
18. Carleton Lodge Sports
17. The Crystal Vase
10. First Run
6. Heritage Canada
12. Hole-in-the-Wall Gallery

12. Inge's Gifts & Crafts
18. J. McConkey's Boutique
26. McConkey's Sport Shop
12. Mountain Moments
25. Nancy T's
25. Olympic Lodge Mall (10 shops)
25. Sports Style
16. Summit Cycles
17. Talk of the Town
17. Today's Video
17. Village Sportstop
17. Village Traditions
17. Whistler Gifts
8. Whistler Hardware
5. Whistler Pharmasave
4. Whistler Tops
10. Whistler Village Ski Services
12. Whistler Village Sports

VILLAGE SERVICES
17. Avis Rent-a-Car
17. Crystal Cuts (salon)
18. Studio 1983 (salon)
5. Whistler Printing & Publishing
5. Young's Travel

LEADERSHIP'86

WHISTLER VILLAGE FACILITIES

Emergency Services:

Fire	932-5111
Police (RCMP)	932-2044

Medical Services:

A First Aid Station is located in the Convention Centre. An ambulance service and medical clinic are located off Village Gate Boulevard at the northeast side of Whistler Village.

Dr. Rob Burgess	932-3977
Dr. Christine Rodgers	-5338
Public Health Unit	-4911
Ambulance	-3044/4233
Dental	-3677

Transportation:

The Party is providing a shuttle bus service from accommodations outside the main Village area. A schedule is available from the Party office in the Conference Centre.

Avis car rentals	932-4870

Parking:

Public parking is available at the municipal lots located on the northeast side of the Village. The parking lots immediately adjacent to the Convention Centre are reserved.

Activities:

Water slide and spa	932-2340	Fishing tours	932-5850
Whistler Golf Course	-4544	Helicopter tours	-4105
Mini-golf	-3434	River rafting	-3784
Bicycle rentals	-3928	Bus tours	-3290
Canoe/kayak rentals	-3389	Trail rides	-3033
Chair lift rides	-3434		

Booking service: Leisure Connection: 932-5850

Choosing the Future

BILL VANDER ZALM
FOR PREMIER

We invite all members of the Social Credit Party to unite together to support former MLA and Cabinet Minister Bill Vander Zalm to become our next Party Leader and Premier of our Province.

B.C. needs a Premier and a Cabinet with the desire and experience to put our Province on the road to the future.
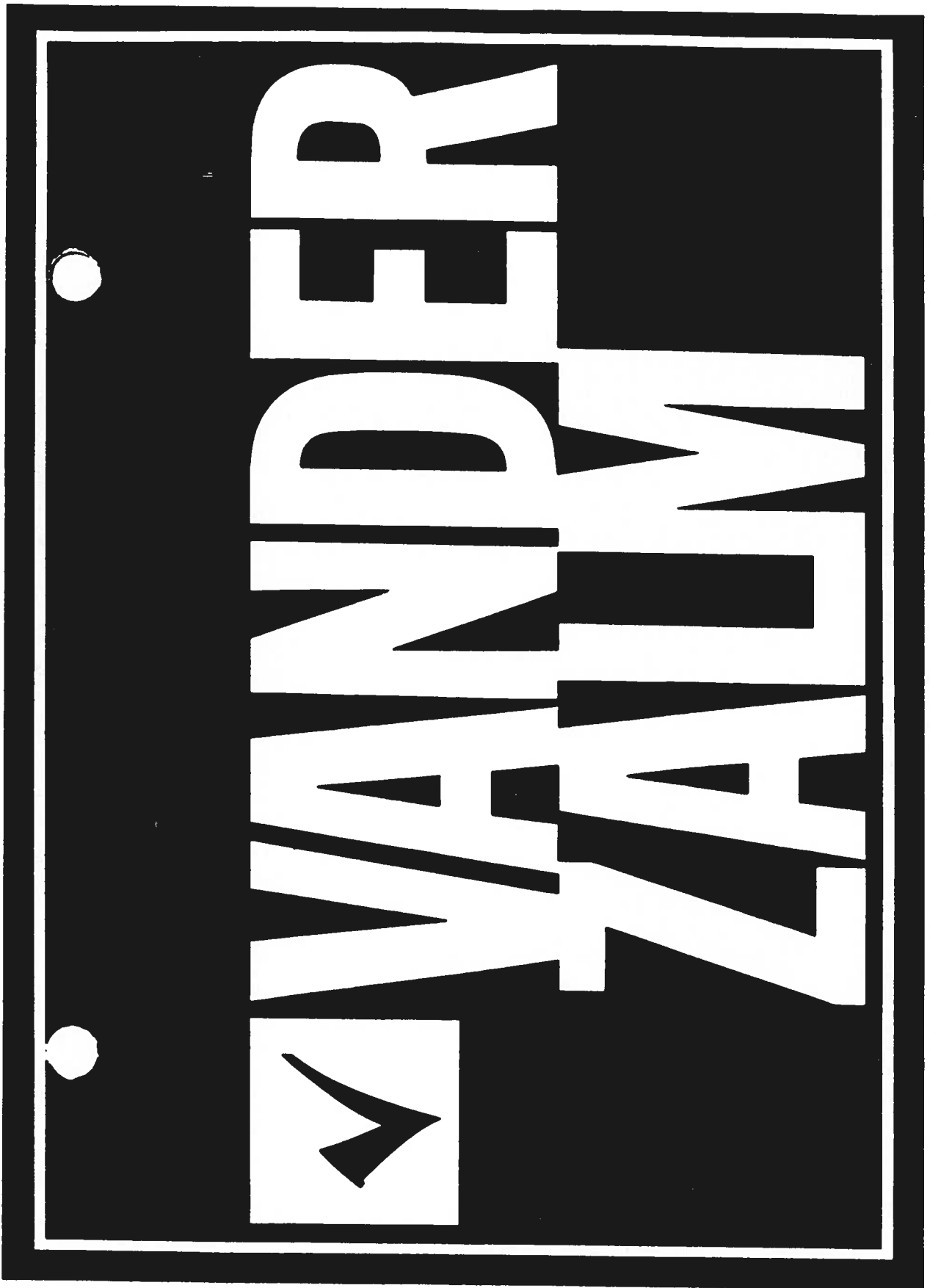
WE NEED
BILL VANDER ZALM!

Richmond Headquarters
270-9290

Surrey Satellite
590-1182

1-800-663-0897

Mr. William P. McCarthy

403 - 6175 Nelson Ave.

Burnaby, B.C. V5H - 4E7

RECEIVED JUL 1 5 1986

RICHMOND OFFICE: 11915 Cambie Road, B.C. V6X 1L6 (604) 270-9290
SURREY OFFICE: 6922 King George Highway, B.C. V3W 4Z9 (604) 590-1182

Dear Delegate...

Congratulations on your election to our Social Credit Party Leadership Convention at Whistler. I'm looking forward to meeting you there.

If I don't get through to you beforehand (face to face or on the telephone), I hope you will call me. I can usually be reached at 1-800-663-0897 or 270-9290.

Our Province needs a strong leader. With your support I can be that leader.

Enthusiastically Yours,

☑ VANDERZALM

"The Growing Sensation"

Bill Vander Zalm - Campaign '86

There comes a time in this land of ours when we've got to choose someone new.

We need someone, who's not afraid to speak what's really true.

I know a man, who'll take the lead to make this province run.

He makes the best of it, no matter what you say of it, this man is number one!

CHORUS

He's a growing sensation

It's a new generation

Bill Vander Zalm - He's our man!

I know he seems to make the crowds follow him whereever he goes.

And if he's had a bad day his smile won't let it show, so,

Come on my friends, the time is now to make this party grow.

We need a man who'll take the lead, he's someone we all know.

CHORUS

He's a growing sensation

It's a new generation

Bill Vander Zalm - He's our man! (Repeat all three lines)

Bill Vander Zalm - Bill Vander Zalm

Bill Vander Zalm - He's our man!

✔ VANDER ZALM

BILL VANDER ZALM IS:

* happily married to his wife of 30 years, Lillian. Born in Holland on May 29, 1934, Bill Vander Zalm was raised and educated in B.C. As a longtime member of the Social Credit party, he has solid grass roots support throughout the province.

* an experienced political leader. He served three years as Minister of Municipal Affairs, two years as Minister of Education, three years as Minister of Human Resources, six years as Mayor of Surrey, and four years as Alderman in Surrey.

* recognized as one of British Columbia's most popular politicians.

* a person of integrity whose ability to "dig in and get the job done" is well known throughout B.C.

* a conscientious businessman who has the capability to utilize realistic marketing strategies to ensure the future financial success of B.C.

* a dynamic, forceful, thought-provoking and enter- taining speaker.

* a man whose moral convictions have caused him to return to public life.

* a politician who travels light without a wad of I.O.U.'s. His campaign team is a group of hard- working Social Credit volunteers.

* not controlled by any backroom manipulators.

* a leader who brings a refreshing new approach to government.

* a parent who recognizes that the best investment in our future is in our children.

* a sensitive listener who is able to respond to the needs of people in every region of the province.

* able to fully comprehend the challenging problems which need to be resolved.

* convinced that the least amount of government is the best government. He believes in decentralization of government to bring decision-making closer to the people of B.C.

* committed to the revitalization of all of British Columbia.

* the Best Choice for the position of Premier of British Columbia.

Bill
Vander Zalm
On...

Dear Friend:

Welcome to Whistler and to a challenging and exciting time in Social Credit history. By Wednesday night, you will have selected a new party leader and the next Premier of British Columbia.

You will be considering twelve dedicated individuals. Each of us believes, of course, that we are the candidate best suited to provide the leadership required to win the next general election and govern in the name of free enterprise in this province.

It is your responsibility and, in fact, your similar and compelling priority to choose the individual with the proven ability to respond to issues with decisive and effective action. In these hours before the critical first ballot, I urge you to absorb, reflect, read, and search out as much information as possible on each of us. Then, at some point before the vote, find some quiet time to do two things. First, decide for yourself which one of us most deserves your support. Second, reflect that our democratic process can, and will, yield the best individual; then, commit to stand behind that person for the greater benefit of the Party and the Province. With this perspective, we are all assured a bright and prosperous future.

Sincerely,

Bill Vander Zalm

"I have a long experience in government and I've also had the advantage of being away from government for three years, taking care of my businesses, signing payroll cheques, and generally dealing with those concerns facing business throughout British Columbia. It's an added perspective that many other candidates do not share."

- Born in Holland, May 29, 1934
- Married 30 years to Lillian; four children
- Educated in Abbotsford
- Started business career selling shrubs by auction from the back of an old truck
- Built Art Knapp Plantland to a business with 18 stores in British Columbia

- Established Western Lettuce, Western Canada's largest with eight acres of greenhouses
- Owner of Fantasy Garden World in Richmond, one of North America's finest tourist attractions after only two years of operation
- Served four years as Alderman in Surrey
- Mayor of Surrey for six years
- Three years as B.C. Minister of Human Resources
- Three years as Minister of Municipal Affairs and Transit Authority (Made the decision on the SkyTrain ALRT)
- Two years as Minister of Education
- Served on many Boards and Commissions over the years

...On Social Credit

*The Social Credit Party serves
the needs of all the people of
British Columbia, whatever
their economic status.*

Under our leadership, the broadest range
of social programs available in Canada
have been implemented. We have among
the highest, if not *the* highest, standard of
health care. And, we have fostered an
environment that encourages the growth
of business in the province.

There are challenges still to be met. The
needs of our two and a half million people
"way out west beyond the mountains" are
not considered as often as they should be
by the central government. As British
Columbians, we need a strong voice in
Ottawa to convey our unique provincial
message.

The British Columbia Social Credit Party is
the vehicle. The Party must be a broad
provincial movement, not the extension of
a federal party, because we are a province
where the opposition holds over 40% of
the vote – possibly the highest percentage
of any province in Canada. We must
encompass the concerns of all of the free
enterprise people of the province. We must
work toward fuller Party participation in
developing effective provincial goals and
objectives to promote these needs.

...On Free Enterprise

*If you believe in free enterprise
you fight for it, even when the
odds appear to be against you.*

Free enterprise is the system which affords
the individual the greatest opportunity to
contribute economically to the people and
the welfare of the province. It recognizes
that the individual is society's greatest
asset, and that when given the free
opportunity to realize his or her dreams,
it is the community as a whole that will
prosper.

The role of government is to be a guiding
and governing force, rather than a body
that takes over and may even get into
competing situations with the entre-
preneur. It is bureaucratic rigidity that
breaks the camel's back of free enterprise
in this province. It is our job to remove the
stumbling blocks and cut the red tape.
Government must create a climate which
allows things to happen because *people*
take the initiative, not because it is
imposed from above.

...On Employment

Employment issues in the Province are our number one priority!

British Columbia is a resource province and therefore dependent on major industries. Yet these have to be balanced with small business. It is the little business that gives us economic stability in the long run, "hanging in" even when times are difficult. We have to open up employment opportunities by encouraging small business and by providing the resource and assistance they need to make things happen.

Don't be duped by those who say the simple solution to employment is just better education and retraining. That's part of it, but only part. The employment problem is here . . . right now. We need more jobs for miners, for farmers, for millworkers . . . as well as jobs for those with specialized training. And the solution to that is economic growth in the private sector.

Employment opportunities will come with a government that emphasizes the development of new markets, freer trade and more trading partners, more resources available to small business, less bureaucracy and red tape, a commitment to work together with the unions and, ultimately, the promotion of a positive entrepreneurial attitude in the Provinc·

...On Labour Relations

I intend to make it my priority to bring all sides together to assure the greatest possible degree of labour peace, with as many as possible working.

In a healthy economy, we all enjoy a higher standard of living. Both labour and management benefit. No one benefits from unemployment . . . whatever the cause. And, *no one* whether government, business, or labour should bully its way at t! :xpense of others – especially at the expense of British Columbia.

I want people working, union or non-union. Working together, working in concert for the benefit of a stable, healthy economy in British Columbia. During the last several years, many have suffered much from uncertainty and dispute. What is needed in this province is someone who can bring the issues to the table in a spirit of cooperation, dealing fairly and forthrightly with all interests – with the interests of the people of British Columbia at heart.

...On The Governing Process

Decisions with respect to the development of legislation, and regulation of policy in government, should really come from the grassroots up — rather than from the top down.

If we do that, with good input, then we'll get legislation which has a body of support right from the outset. And in the final analysis, of course, it's the whole government — not just the Premier — who gets it together and brings about results.

When government is flexible, it works better for everyone. We have to recognize regional opportunities. There is a need for us to decentralize and, in fact, have economic initiatives which have impact throughout the province. Each area differs in its needs. Some are tourist-oriented, others are agricultural, and others mig' 'e great areas for forestry. Unfortunately, too many decisions affecting the economy of the regions are still being made centrally. I think the best decision-making can come

from the concerned area. As a result, we need better relationships with the municipalities.

Similarly, Ottawa is developing economic programs in isolation from the province and our particular needs. We need to work with both the federal and local levels of government to bring about an economic strategy that is coordinated between all of the players. I can't stress enough the importance of good intergovernmental relations.

Then you'll find government using a bulldozer where a lawnmower will do. With all-encompassing, "big umbrella" legislation, things can get tied up to the point where nothing happens. We need less bureaucracy and more flexibility. Very often these abuses aren't in the act, they're in the application of the act. That's where the problems are with legislation at all levels.

We need more open government, more partnerships with the regions, and wide- lines of communication between the government and labour and business. We all have to re-assess our roles. It's time to put democracy back into the governing process.

...On Social Programs

The number one priority, as far as I'm concerned, is the basic structure in society — the family.

Programs adopted by government should be geared to first provide an opportunity for people to care for individuals — any member of the family in need of assistance at home.

Secondly, we should be viewing many social support programs as things which can frequently be delivered locally, or from a community level rather than from Victoria or Ottawa.

Thirdly, if things can be done privately involving the community, chances are they will be more humane and done with greater feeling.

And while I believe that we should have a broad range of programs, they should be s that people don't develop an unnecessary dependence on them. Right now, too many programs are operated in a way that does make people too dependent.

...On Education

I'm not convinced that we should be concentrating solely on funding, as has been the emphasis recently.

The often asked question is whether we should pump more money into education. I'm not suggesting for the moment that somehow there needs to be a continued freeze. It may be that things ought to be loosened up when the economy permits it.

The education system deals with two things: fact and opinion, and oftentimes opinion is taught as fact, and this presents a problem. I think it's *what* we teach, and *how* we teach it, that becomes important.

The community should have some opportunity to give priorities to what it is they would want to see taught in their particular areas. And we should give young people the choice to determine whether it's an academic course or a vocational route which they'd prefer to take. There ought to be enough flexibility in the educational system to permit this to happen. And as it exists today, this isn't always the case.
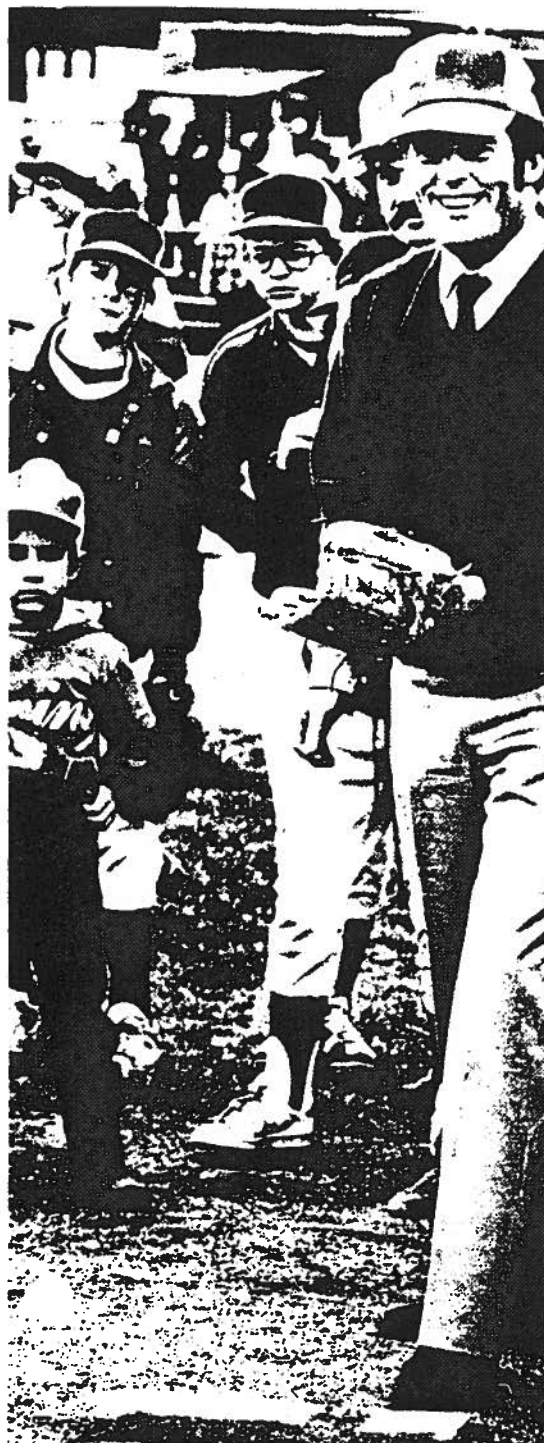
...On Economic Growth

Economic growth has to come, in part, through the process of decentralization.

Too many decisions are made for the province in Victoria and downtown Vancouver, without due consideration of what the many small needs are in the areas where they could make a big difference. British Columbia is the size of western Europe and it's governed from one corner of the province without enough consideration to the different concerns of the various regions. Sensible economic grov.. .t can only be thought out and brought about at the local level. If you go into a community like Smithers and ask the people themselves what is needed to get their community working, they have some good suggestions which might not have been readily apparent from Victoria.

Another thing we're going to have to do is get out and market this province. Not just sell. . . not just take orders, but actually get out in the world and develop new markets and develop opportunities for the selling of our resources and products.

We also have to provide opportunities for secondary manufacturing. There are thousands of small entrepreneurs who have good ideas which never come to fruition. Why? Because they are either too removed from the central scene, or they do not have the resource material to make it happen. We must have a bank of information and resources for these people available. As a government, we should be a facilitator . . . making things available that can lead to economic growth.

...On Leadership

At this time in history, it is most important that we select the leader who is best able to communicate the message to all of the people.

People generally in our country have become distrustful of government; they've heard politicians say things and yet never really come through with what they've promised. A leader is needed who is decisive and convinced of that which they d rying to do; a person who is willing to carry through with the knowledge that the end result and the honesty of the attempt will overcome any temporary differences that exist. During difficult times you've got three choices: you capitulate, you compromise, or you act decisively and see things done.

I've always believed in action. I think that one of the problems with most people in politics is that once they get involved they get overpowered by the bureaucratic view that everything is so complicated. I haven't changed my view that the basics haven't changed — it's just that the bureaucracy, the consultants, and all the people who stand to gain from the complications tend to elaborate them.

The job of government should be to open up the process, making it more accessible to the grassroots, and to encourage p cipation. Decisive leadership will en..re that the team is in place to achieve this.

☑ Vander Zalm

*We need a strong leader. One who can
provide a vision and motivation for the people
of British Columbia; one who can bring a
spirit of cooperation to balancing the needs of
diverse groups; one who can see through the
complexities of issues and mobilize the
government into action; one who will listen to
all the people . . . not just special interest
groups. I believe I am that leader.*

*And we need the Party of free enterprise to
remain in power. Our ability to help bring
about a better British Columbia requires a
leader who can gain the support of a clear
majority among all B.C. voters.*

*More than any other candidate, I believe that
I could bring together the widest cross-se͏ ͏n
of people in British Columbia to lead the _ ͏rty
to victory.*

VANDER ZALM

> **V**

HIS GOALS:

- Fuller party participation in developing provincial goals and objectives.
- Govern the province in an open, honest and forthright manner.
- A specific economic strategy for each region of the province, setting forth the objectives with a strong marketing program.
- Less government, less red tape, more opportunity and entrepreneurism for fuller employment.

THE MAN

- Born in Holland, May 29, 1934.
- Married 30 years to Lillian; four children.
- Educated in Abbotsford.
- Started early business career selling shrubs by auction from the back of an old truck.
- Built Art Knapp Plantland to a business which now has 18 stores in British Columbia.
- Established Western Lettuce, which now includes eight acres of greenhouses, Western Canada's largest.
- Owner of Fantasy Garden World in Richmond which in only two years has become one of North America's finest tourist attractions.
- Served four years as Alderman in Surrey.
- Mayor of Surrey for six years.
- Three years as B.C. Minister of Human Resources.
- Three years as Minister of Municipal Affairs, and Transit Authority. (Made the decision on ALRT – now SkyTrain.)
- Two years as Minister of Education.
- Served on many other boards and commissions over the years.

THE VANDER ZALM LEADER

Dear Delegate,

Welcome to the Whistler Convention.

It is time for a fresh approach to leading the Social Credit Party in British Columbia. It is time to seek reasonable solutions to the problems we are all facing. It is time for this party to represent the needs and concerns of all its members.

I believe that I am the best candidate to serve as your new leader. I know that you will find my approach a refreshing change.

Many of you are aware of some of my beliefs: I believe in law and order. I believe in moral integrity. I believe in fairness for all people in society. I believe we must help the disadvantaged. I believe we must all work together as prou British Columbians.

The selection of the new leader requires your careful consideration. In the midst of all the activities here at the Convention I hope that you will set aside some time for your own private decision making.

I look forward to meeting you and sharing your concerns.

Sincerely

Bill Vander Zalm

☑ **VANDER ZALM**
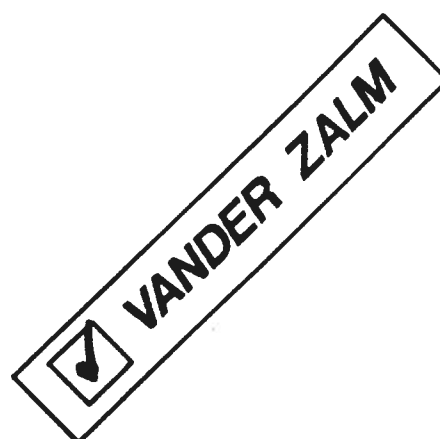
Bill and Lillian lead the way in a parade to register as delegates Tuesday. Led by a six piece band, their parade attracted excellent attention in Whistler Town Square and got the Vander Zalm campaign off to a rousing start!

✔ VANDER ZALM
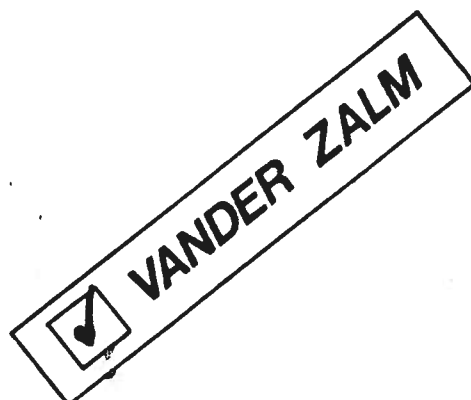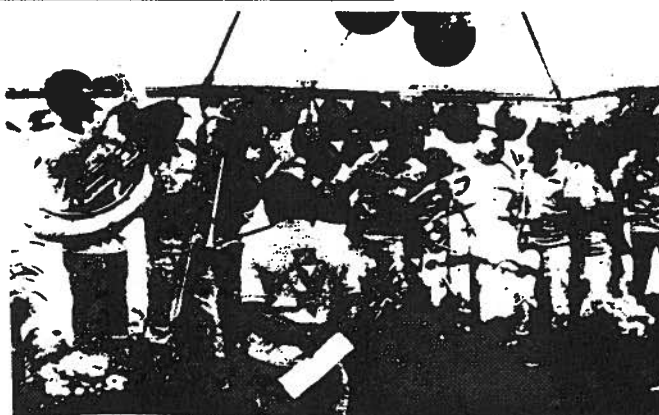
✔ VANDER ZALM

Have you been through BILL VANDER ZALM'S Hospitality Tent yet? If you have, you probably saw Herb Weins, who spent a busy week organizing and coordinating the Entertainment division for our man 'BILL' Kicking off the festivities were the "Vander Jams", a group of 1st year students from UBC, who led Bill and Lillian Vander Zalm's parade to registration. These kids are very enthusiastic and are followed everywhere they go by huge throngs of Bills supporters. Rick Colquon, Cam McQueen, Duncan Errington, Dave McCormick, Debbie Kerr and Jenie Ehy will be busy "jamming" for Bill at the tent, and throughout the village for the next 2 days.

✔ VANDER ZALM

" So I figure, we elect Vander Zalm on the first ballot and we've got all Wednesday to enjoy Whistler"

Dear Bill:

You have my full support in your campaign for leader of the Social Credit Party. As a divisional chairman at V.V.I. I recall that when you were Minister of Education you visited V.V.I. (Vancouver Community College) on two occasions:

1. To open the renovated facility and
2. To tour the campus

You took the time to assess the situation at V.V.I. so that you had a thorough understanding of the operation of the varied programs.

I feel confident that as our new leader you will financially support vocational education in the future.

Good Luck with your campaign.

Sincerely
Tony Wood
Richmond, B.C.

Dear Mr. Vander Zalm.

I am a card carrying member of the N.D.P. Party. My wife and I feel that you have the highest morals, integrity and business sense along with a true concern for the people of B.C. I want you to know that if you win the leadership of your Party, that my wife and I will give up our N.D.P. memberships and join you and your Party. We also feel that you will bring new and exciting ideas to the province. I will tell you, Bill, it sure is nice to agree with my brother, who is a socred — you are the best man for the job.

Best Wishes and Good Luck
Mr. & Mrs. T. Stewart
Burnaby, B.C.

Dear Bill Vander Zalm.

As a career public servant for some twenty years now, I was delighted to watch the BCTV news coverage of your address to the Fraser Valley delegate nomination meeting recently.

Right on! I wholeheartedly agree that "Big Government" now so complex and extended that much of our energies as employees are consumed in needless bureaucratic trivia Especially within the last ten years I have witnessed an invasion by middle level managers who seem intent only in pursuing unrealistic self - perpetuating goals and of course padding their administrative support systems.

It has now reached the point where just a short time ago I had to remind our local managers that the public were suffering and hence our image was in sharp decline. Consequently, these last weeks I have been engaged in a "smarten - up" talk to our front line staff, reiterating that we are here to assist and serve the public - funny thing is though - many of our resource managers seem to think the licensees, permitees and the public at large are there to assist THEM in achieving THEIR various missions!

I wish you every success in your endeavours.

Yours Truly,
Kenneth G. Weir
Williams Lake B.C.

☑ *VANDER ZALM*

" BILL IS TREMENDOUSLY GOOD NATURED; NO MOODINESS
TO HIM AT ALL, HE'S ALWAYS UP; NEVER UPS AND DOWNS.
THAT'S NEAT .... TO WORK WITH PEOPLE WHO ARE UP"

GRACE McCARTHY
Vancouver Magazine, April '83

Bill Vander Zalm seems to be destined to be a leader in British Columbia.
"Vander Zalm" means 'of the salmon' , an intriguing coincidence for the man
to be our next premier.
      For all the delegates at Whistler, this is Bill Vander Zalm . . .

* Happily married to his wife of thirty years, Lillian. Born in Holland on
  May 29th, 1934. Bill Vander Zalm was raised and educated in B.C. As a
  longtime member of the Sociial Credit Party, he has solid grass roots support
  throughout the province.
* an experienced political leader. He served three years as Minister of
  Municipal Affairs, two years as Minister of Education, three years as Minister
  of Human Resources, six years as Mayor of Surrey, and four years as Alder-
  man of Surrey.
* recognized as one of British Columbia's most popular politicians.
* a person of integrity whose ability to 'dig in and get the job done' is well
  known throughout B.C.
* a conscientious businessman who has the capability to utilize realistic market-
  ing strategies to ensure the future financial success of B.C.
* a dynamic, forcefull, thought provoking and entertaining speaker.
* a man whose moral convictions have caused him to return to public life.
* a politician who travels light without a wad of IOU's. His campaign group
  is a team of hardworking Social Credit volunteers.
* not controlled by any backroom manipulators
* a leader who brings a fresh new approach to government.
* a parent who recognizes the best investment in our future is in our children.
* a sensitive listener who is able to respond to the needs of people in every
  region of the Province.
* able to fully comprehend the challenging problems that need to be resolved.
* convinced that the least amount of government is the best government.
  He believes in decentralization of government to bring decision - making
  closer to the people of B.C.
* committed to the revitalization of all of B.C.
* the Best Choice for the position of Premier of British Columbia.

☑ VANDER ZALM

THE
PREMIER EDITION

VANDER ZALM
LEADER

NUMBER 1   *JULY 30, 1986*

VOTE VANDER ZALM FIRST

POLLS SAY BILL IS NUMBER 1

Bill Vander Zalm is the people's choice to become leader.

This fact was strongly evident in the Vancouver Sun which published the results of a poll conducted by Marketrend Marketing Research Inc.

This poll, accurate to within 4.3 percent, clearly states that Bill is the one person who can win the next election.

Topics polled included the candidate most trustworthy, most caring for poor, elderly and dis   antaged, strongest leadership, ability to end confrontation, repre   ation of B.C. interests federally, and able to deal with organized labor. On every topic Bill Vander Zalm led by such a margin that other candidates clearly are not being considered for the position of Premier of British Columbia by the general public.

BC. conducted their own survey on Saturday and Sunday. Their question: How about: your choice for Premier? The answer: Bill Vander Zalm 46.7%, Grace McCarthy 20.7%, Brian Smith 6.1%, Bud Smith 5.3%.

The second question in BCTV's survey was "who would you support in an election against Bob Skelly?" 56.8 percent of people polled would support Social Credit, if, and only if, Bill Vander Zalm was the leader.

Good news does not come in bits & pieces. The Victoria straw poll by the Victoria Social Credit constituency asked 1050 citizens who they wanted for premier. The results, Vander Zalm - 589, the next closest candidates, Brian Smith - 178, Grace McCarthy - 165 (see accompanying picture)

The message is clear. In every corner of this huge province citizens are stating their preference for premier. Bill Vander Zalm is their choice.

Be Smart! Mark Bill Vander Zalm your choice on the first ballot. Win with the winner!

✔ Which of the candidates is the most trustworthy?

Name	%
Vander Zalm	30.7
McCarthy	16.9
Brian Smith	5.0
Bud Smith	3.7
Wenman	2.0
Nielsen	1.7
Rogers	1.5
Campbell	0.7
Couvelier	0.5
Ritchie	0.5
Reynolds	0.2
Michael	0.0
Don't know, etc.	36.5

✔ Best at providing strong leadership for the province:

Name	%
Vander Zalm	50.0
McCarthy	16.9
Brian Smith	7.5
Bud Smith	3.7
Nielsen	1.7
Rogers	1.5
Wenman	1.0
Couvelier	0.5
Campbell	0.5
Ritchie	0.2
Reynolds	0.2
Michael	0.0
Don't know, etc.	16.1

✔ Best at managing native Indian claims:

Name	%
Vander Zalm	23.4
McCarthy	10.9
Brian Smith	8.0
Bud Smith	3.2
Nielsen	2.0
Wenman	1.0
Rogers	0.7
Ritchie	0.7
Couvelier	0.2
Reynolds	0.2
Campbell	0.0
Michael	0.0
Don't know, etc.	49.5

✔ Best at dealing with the unions:

Name	%
Vander Zalm	36.8
McCarthy	9.2
Brian Smith	6.2
Bud Smith	4.2
Nielsen	3.5
Wenman	1.0
Ritchie	0.7
Reynolds	0.5
Rogers	0.5
Michael	0.2
Campbell	0.0
Couvelier	0.0
Don't know, etc.	40.0

✔ Best at representing B.C.'s interests with Ottawa:

Name	%
Vander Zalm	33.6
McCarthy	16.7
Brian Smith	7.0
Bud Smith	5.2
Wenman	3.2
Nielsen	2.5
Rogers	2.2
Ritchie	0.5
Reynolds	0.5
Couvelier	0.2
Campbell	0.0
Michael	0.0
Don't know, etc	28.3

✔ Best at ending the atmosphere of confrontation in the province.

Name	%
Vander Zalm	39.1
McCarthy	14.9
Brian Smith	7.0
Bud Smith	4.5
Wenman	2.0
Nielsen	1.7
Rogers	1.7
Campbell	0.7
Couvelier	0.5
Reynolds	0.5
Michael	0.5
Ritchie	0.5
Don't know, etc.	28.3

✔ VANDER ZALM

220
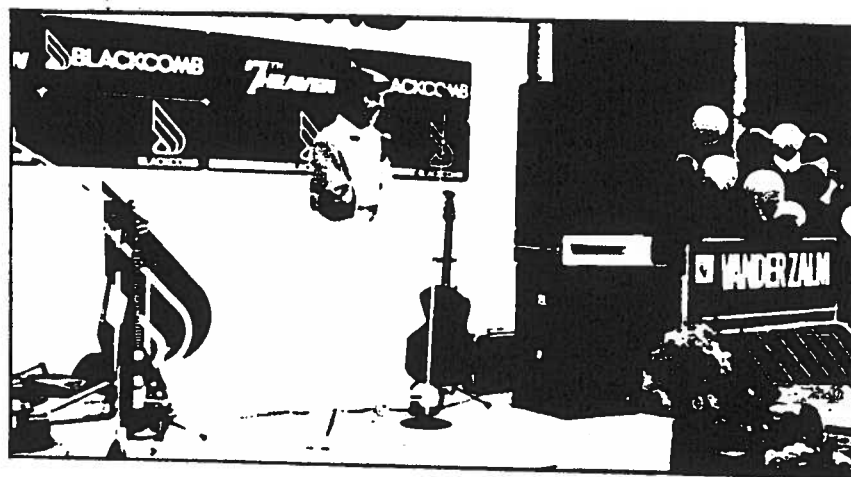
July 25th, 1986

Mr. and Mrs. Bill Van der Zalm
Social Credit Leadership Convention
Whistler, British Columbia

Dear Bill and Lillian:

Welcome to our hotel! we are very pleased that you
chose to stay with us during this exciting event.

It is heartwarming to be able to welcome you back to
Whistler with much of the Village now completed. It
has been more than six years since you, as Minister
of Municipal Affairs, helped launch the community water
system which allowed the Resort Municipality of Whistler
to realize its 'Village' dream.

At the time when Whistler Village was still a vision,
we were greatly encouraged by your ability to see its
potential for tourism. In those days there were very
few believers and you were often criticized for your
support of a new concept in resort development.

We appreciate your role in the birth of Whistler and
will never forget the encouragement and enthusiasm
you gave to us during Whistler's darkest hours.

Again, welcome to Whistler. We look forward to
having you both as our guests.

Sincerely,

Al + Nancy

Al and Nancy Raine

Nancy Greene's Olympic Lodge
P.O. Box 280, Whistler, British Columbia, Canada V0N 1B0   Telephone: (604) 932-2221 Telex: 04-51208

☑ **VANDER ZALM**

BCTV POLL

SURVEY TAKEN SATURDAY & SUNDAY AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC

Your Choice for Premier?

Bill Vander Zalm	46.7
Grace McCarthy	20.7
Brian Smith	6.1
Bud Smith	5.1
All others	21.2

Who would you support in an election against Bob Skelly?

	Bill	Grace	Brian	Bud
Socred Leader	56.8	48.0	44.9	39.5
Bob Skelly	40.1	47.5	46.8	50.5
Undecided	3.1	4.5	8.3	10.0

% Support among the NDP

Bill	Grace	Brian	Bud
19.1	17.7	9.0	N/A

Poll Conducted Among Representative Sample (673) Of The Voting Public In All Areas Of The Province.
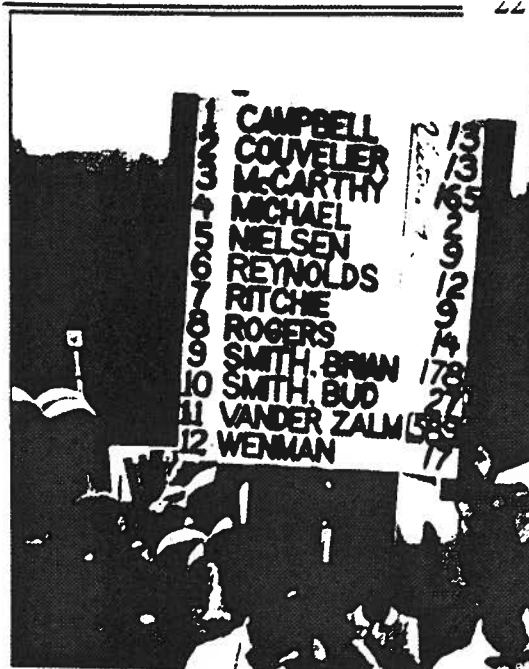
Pictured here are the results of the straw poll conducted by the Victoria Social Credit Constituency office asking people which candidate they preferred as premier. Votes for Bill were more than 3 times that of his closest rival!

The Vander Zalm campaign picked up more momentum on Wednesday. At a candidates breakfast, Bill & Lillian served coffee and pancakes & took time out for a short jive!

The Vander Zalm campaign continued strong with one days largest and best received parade which filled the town centre, with Bill again leading the way. .

Even 'Al' the alternate robot candidate got into the act.

Bill's grassroots support have made his campaign a huge success at Whistler.

REMEMBER TO VOTE VANDER ZALM FIRST TODAY!
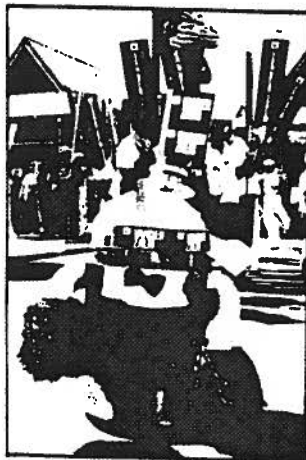
BILL VANDER ZALM DELEGATES

MEET THIS MORNING @ 8:30 AT THE VANDER ZALM TENT. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT SO PLEASE BE THERE. LET'S VOTE BILL IN ON THE FIRST BALLOT!

BILL'S RECORD AS A LEGISLATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR SPEAKS FOR ITSELF. DURING HIS TERM AS MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCES HE UNDERTOOK THE FOLLOWING INITIATIVES:

* Proclamation of the GAIN Act
* Introduction of a policy of employment rehabilitation for welfare clients
* Introduction of an Internal Audit Team
* Introduction of the inspectors program for the prevention & detection of fraud
* Establishment of the Community Living Society for the mentally retarded

* Changed the emphasis from child welfare to family support services, with programs such as the family support workers program
* Arranged the continuation of medical coverage to assist the handicapped to gain independence after leaving income assistance, thereby encouraging them to seek employment in the community
* Creation of an integrated service delivery system within the ministry of human resources

As Minister of Municipal Affairs he was responsible for the following:
* The ALRT Project
* The ongoing work on land use regulation reform
* Introduction of Part X of the building code, which helps insure that buildings are accessible to the disabled
* Conversion guidelines for older buildings
* Building Safety Standards Act
* Downtown re-vitalization Program
* Expansion of conventional transit and transit services for the disabled
* The extra homeowner grant for the disabled

As Minister of Education he was responsible for:
* The re-introduction of provincial government examinations
* The school district administration cost program
* The training access program
* The deregulation discussion paper

☑ **VANDER ZALM**

VOTE VANDER ZALM FIRST

BILL VANDER ZALM

SOCIAL CREDIT LEADERSHIP CONVENTION

WHISTLER, BRITISH COLUMBIA
JULY 28th - 30th, 1986

THE ONLY CANDIDATE WHO CAN OVERWHELMINGLY _WIN_ THE NEXT PROVINCIAL ELECTION!

WALDO'S PRINTING CENTRE

COMPLIMENTS OF:
BILL VANDER ZALM

WHISTLER

SITE MAP

1 - CONVENTION CENTRE
2 - TRAILER AREA Vander Zalm - Site 10
3 - TENT AREA Vander Zalm - Site 9

VANDER ZALM
TENT - Site 9

VANDER ZALM
TRAILER - Site 10

GOLF COURSE
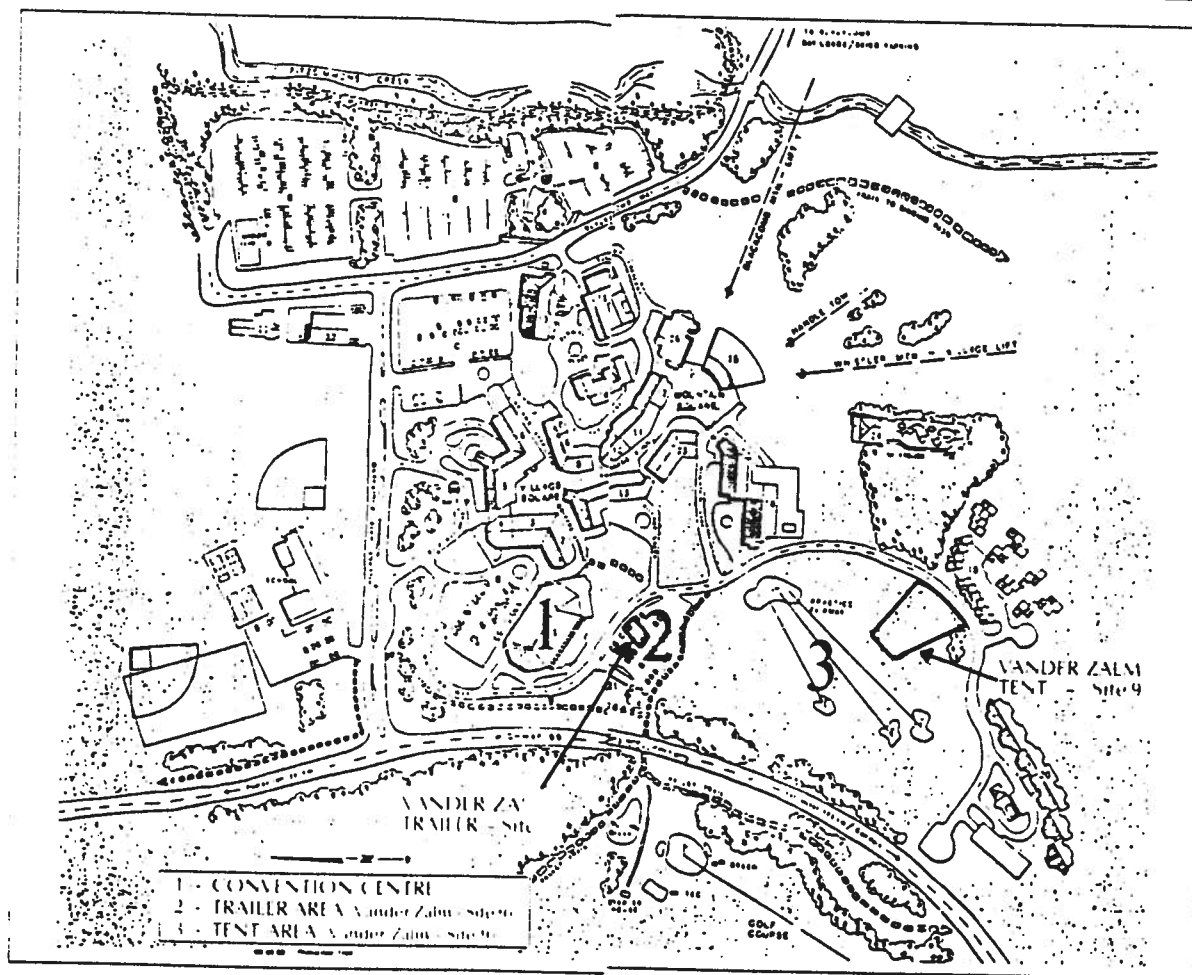
EVENTS

MONDAY, JULY 28th, 1986

10:00 AM - 10:00 PM
REGISTRATION
SCHOOL GYM

8:00 PM - 9:00 PM
PREMIER'S TRIBUTE
CONVENTION HALL
CONVENTION CENTRE

9:00 PM - 1:00 AM
TRIBUTE PARTY
SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY TENT
(Cash Bar)

EVENTS

TUESDAY, JULY 29th, 1986

9:00 AM - 9:00 PM
REGISTRATION

7:00 AM - 9:00 AM
PANCAKE BREAKFAST
VILLAGE SQUARE
Leadership Candidates are Your Chefs!
(This is a Complimentary Breakfast)

9:30 AM - 12:30 PM
CANDIDATES' FORUMS
These will take place simultaneously in 3 locations:
1. THE CONVENTION HALL
2. THE CONVENTION ATRIUM
3. THE SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY TENT
(Candidates will move between areas.)

12:30 PM - 5:00 PM
"FREE" TIME
Time to visit Candidates' Village!!

5:00 PM - 9:15 PM
CANDIDATES' SPEECHES
CONVENTION HALL

EVENTS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30th, 1986

8:00 AM - 10:00 AM
DELEGATE STATUS UPGRADING
SCHOOL GYM

10:00 AM - TO COMPLETION
BALLOTING
CONVENTION HALL · TENT

AT COMPLETION
LEADER'S PARTY
SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY TENT

ADDRESSES & PHONE NO.'S

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

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BALLOTING

RESULTS

	CAMPBELL, KIM	COUVELIER, MEL	McCARTHY, GRACE	MICHAEL, CLIFF	NIELSEN, JIM	REYNOLDS, JOHN	RITCHIE, BILL	ROGERS, STEPHEN	SMITH, BRIAN	SMITH, BUD	VANDER ZALM, BILL	WENMAN, BOB	
1st BALLOT													1st BALLOT
2nd BALLOT													2nd BALLOT
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6th BALLOT													6th BALLOT
7th BALLOT													7th BALLOT

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ITINERARY

MONDAY, JULY 28th, 1986

7 AM _____

8 AM _____

9 AM _____

10 AM _____

11 AM _____

NOON _____

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MIDNIGHT _____

ITINERARY

TUESDAY, JULY 29th, 1986

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MIDNIGHT _____

ITINERARY

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30th, 1986

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NOON _____

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10 PM _____

11 PM _____

MIDNIGHT _____

AUTOGRAPHS

COMPLIMENTS OF:

BILL VANDER ZALM

APPENDIX 7
The Selection and Election of
Social Credit Party of British Columbia Leaders
1952 - 1993

Since the 1952 provincial general election, the British Columbia Social Credit party has chosen six leaders. The first, fourth and fifth leaders were selected by their caucus colleagues, with the fourth having her selection confirmed at a full party leadership convention. To date, the party has had three leadership conventions, (1973, 1986, 1991) where the voting delegate had been elected by their constituency associations. In 1993, the party leader was elected by universal ballot.

The six Social Credit party leaders have been selected or elected as follows:

1.   THE FIRST LEADER: WILLIAM A.C. BENNETT

    July 15, 1992 (Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver, B.C.)

    Two weeks before the final results of the 1952 provincial general election are known, the Social Credit candidates meet at the Hotel Vancouver to select their Leader. (The party had campaigned during the election without an official leader, although W.A.C. Bennett acted as its de facto leader).

    The voting procedures are determined that day. Unsuccessful candidates cannot vote, but they could be nominated for the position. The winner must receive 50% of the vote, plus one.

    Nominated by their fellow candidates are MLA - elects W.A.C. Bennett (Okanagan South), Philip Gaglardi (Kamloops), Thomas Irwin (Delta) and J.A. Reid (Salmon Arm). Peer Paynter, an unsuccessful candidate in the provincial election also was nominated.

    The voting results, which launched W.A.C. Bennett's twenty year premiership were:

W.A.C. Bennett	14
Philip Gaglardi	1
Thomas Irwin	1
Peer Paynter	2
J.A. Reid	1
	19

2.   THE SECOND LEADER: WILLIAM R. BENNETT

<u>November 24, 1973 (Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver, B.C.)</u>

In the party's first leadership convention, former premier W.A.C.
Bennett's second son, William is elected party leader on the first ballot. The voting
procedures are those outlined in the Social Credit party constitution. Those
delegates selected by their constituency associations vote as follows:

William R. Bennett	833
Robert McClelland	269
Harvey Schroeder	204
Jim Chabot	97
Ed Smith	74
James Mason	10
	1,487

3.   THE THIRD LEADER: WILLIAM VANDER ZALM

<u>July 30, 1986 (Whistler Trade and Convention Centre, Whistler, B.C.)</u>

The Social Credit party held its second leadership convention in 1986, with
delegates again being selected by their respective constituency associations.

Candidate	1	2	3	4
William Vander Zalm	367	457	625	801
Brian Smith	196	255	342	454
Grace McCarthy	244	280	305	
Bud Smith	202	219		
John Reynolds	54	39		
Jim Nielsen	54	30		
Stephen Rogers	43			
Robert Wenman	40			
Cliff Michael	32			
William Ritchie	28			
Mel Couvelier	20			
Kim Campbell	14			
	1,294	1,280	1,272	1,255

4.   THE FOURTH LEADER: RITA JOHNSTON

(A).   April 2, 1991 (Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.)

On the same day that William Vander Zalm resigned as premier, Rita Johnston is selected interim leader of the Social Credit caucus by her fellow MLAs. The caucus decision is quickly ratified by the party's board of directors, which was meeting in Victoria. That evening, Johnston is officially sworn in as premier by the province's Lieutenant Governor.

(B).   July 20, 1991 (Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre, Vancouver, B.C.)

109 days after the Social Credit caucus elected Rita Johnston their interim leader, the delegates at the third Social Credit party leadership convention elected her as party leader.

For the last time, the party elected its leader by the procedures outlined in the party's constitution. (Throughout the leadership campaign, there was an active movement to drop the existing leadership procedures in favour of a yet to be defined universal ballot procedure. While unsuccessful in changing the rules for the 1991 contest, the universal ballot procedure was finally accepted by the party at its 1992 convention).

The results of the 1991 leadership race are as follows:

	Ballots	
Candidate	1	2
Rita Johnston	652	941
Grace McCarthy	659	881
Mel Couvelier	331	
Norm Jacobsen	169	
Duane Crandall	35	
	1,846	1,822

After the first ballot, Mel Couvelier moved to and endorsed Rita Johnston. Duane Crandall moved likewise to endorse Grace McCarthy.

5. THE FIFTH LEADER: JACK WEISGERBER

March 7, 1992 (Social Credit party offices, Richmond, B.C.)

Following the Social Credit party's massive defeat in the October 17, 1991
provincial general election, the party was reduced to only seven M.L.A.s (forty less
than their 1986 election results. This number would be reduced to six when MLA
Peter Dueck left the caucus to sit as an independent). Among the defeated was party
leader Rita Johnston, who shortly thereafter announced she would neither try to
retain the party leadership, or be a candidate in any future leadership race.
Following Johnston's announcement, MLA and former Cabinet Minister Jack
Weisgerber announced that he would be a candidate for the interim leadership of
the party. No other candidates declared, and so at a party board of directors meeting
held in Richmond on March 7, 1992, Jack Weisgerber was acclaimed by the caucus
and other board members as the party's interim leader. (Weisgerber sought and
received confirmation of his interim leadership from the Social Credit constituency
association's at their respective 1992 annual general meetings when the riding
associations passed special resolutions of support).

6. THE SIXTH LEADER: GRACE McCARTHY

After over five years of often acrimonious debate, the Social Credit party finally
implemented the universal ballot process for selecting their sixth leader.

All party members in good standing (estimated between 40,000 - 50,000) were
eligible to cast a transferable ballot at polling stations at an advance poll (October 23,
1993) or at more than 125, polling stations in the province's seventy-five
constituencies on the November 6, 1993 election day.

There was no leadership convention for this contest. The candidate's were, however,
able to participate in a question and answer session and make speeches at the party's
annual general meeting, held the week before the vote in Kamloops, B.C.

There were four contestants in the 1993 contest. Three were former MLAs; Graham
Bruce (MLA 1986 - 1991), Grace McCarthy (MLA 1966 - 1972 and 1975 - 1991)
and Claude Richmond (MLA 1981 - 1991). All had served in cabinet. The final
contestant was Vancouver businessman Jim Turner. (Widely respected interim leader
Jack Weisgerber declined to enter the race).

The transferable ballot allowed party members to vote, in their order of preference,
for one of all four candidates. In the event their preferred candidate(s) were
eliminated, and they had stipulated another choice, then their votes would be

transferred to this other candidate on subsequent ballots. A winner would require 50% plus one vote to win. The process was somewhat confusing, and it took three ballots and over seven hours to tabulate the votes before 66 year old Grace McCarthy won the party's leadership, after failing to do so in the last two contests.

Candidate	First	Second	Third
G. McCarthy	7,338	7,351	7,790
G. Bruce	5,321	5,352	6,245
C. Richmond	2,083	2,099	
J. Turner	91		
Spoiled	182		
TOTAL	15,015		

APPENDIX 8
British Columbia Provincial Election Results
1952 - 1991
Contested by the British Columbia Social Credit Party

1.   <u>July 31, 1952 (Final Count)</u>:

PARTY	SEATS	POPULAR VOTE
Social Credit (A)	19	30.18%
New Democratic	18	34.30%
Liberals	6	25.26%
Conservatives	4	9.66%
Labour	1	

2.   <u>June 9, 1953</u>:

Social Credit (A)	28	45.54%
New Democratic	14	29.48%
Liberals	4	23.36%
Conservatives	1	1.11%
Labour	1	0.12%

3.   <u>September 19, 1956</u>:

Social Credit (A)	39	46%
New Democratic	10	28%
Liberals	2	22%
Labour	1	3%

4.   <u>September 12, 1960</u>:

Social Credit (A)	32	39%
New Democratic	16	32%
Liberals	4	21%

5.   <u>September 30, 1963</u>:

Social Credit (A)	34	41%
New Democratic	13	28%
Liberals	5	20%

6.   <u>September 12, 1966</u>:

Social Credit (A)	33	45.5%
New Democratic	16	33.8%
Liberals	6	20.0%

7. August 27, 1969:

Social Credit (A)	38	46.8%
New Democratic	12	33.9%
Liberals	5	19.0%

8. August 30, 1972:

New Democratic	38	39.2%
Social Credit (A)	10	31.8%
Liberals	5	16.2%
Conservatives	2	12.6%

9. December 11, 1975:

Social Credit (B)	36	49.2%
New Democratic	17	39.0%
Liberals	1	7.2%
Conservatives	1	4.1%

10. May 10, 1979:

Social Credit (B)	31	48.2%
New Democratic	26	45.9%

11. May 5, 1983:

Social Credit (B)	35	49.76%
New Democratic	22	44.94%

12. October 22, 1986:

Social Credit (C)	47	49.32%
New Democratic	22	42.60%

13. 1991:

New Democratic	51	40.71%
Liberal	17	33.25%
Social Credit (D).	7	24.05%

NOTES:
(A). Denotes elections where the Social Credit party was led by William A.C. Bennett.
(B). Denotes elections where the Social Credit party was led by William R. Bennett.
(C). Denotes elections where the Social Credit party was led by William N. Vander Zalm.
(D). Denoted elections where the Social Credit party was led by Rita Johnston.

Source: Chief Electoral Officer for British Columbia, Statement of Votes for Elections 1952-1991, Province of British Columbia, Victoria.