

one kind of equality reduces to the other kind."<sup>90</sup> Rawls, on the interpretation I have given, comes the closest to making the same distinction as Satz when he notes that some sorts of material inequalities, despite their apparent advantages, might produce unacceptable levels of excusable envy. In highlighting the distinction between material and status equality however, I take Satz to be offering, potentially, more than a simple expansion of Rawls's initial characterization of the role of self-respect to include not only "public' political relations" but "private' relations in schools, workplaces and families,"<sup>91</sup> as well. In short, status equality may offer a means of separating the public and the private while avoiding the problems associated with traditional liberal conceptions.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 83-4.

<sup>91</sup> Satz, D., "Status Inequalities and Models and Market Socialism," p. 85.

**REVIEW:** WALTER STEWART, *M.J. THE LIFE AND TIMES OF M.J. COLDWELL*. TORONTO: STODDART, 2000.

Murray Cooke

This book attempts to fill a longstanding hole in the literature on the Cooperative-Commonwealth Federation. Despite leading the CCF/NDP longer than anyone else (1942-1960), M.J. Coldwell has not been the subject of a book-length biography. This stands in sharp contrast with his fellow social democratic leaders, especially J.S. Woodsworth and Tommy Douglas.

Coldwell was the leader for a long and vital period of the party's history including the Second World War and the postwar years that saw the beginning of Canada's liberal welfare state regime. Stewart argues that Coldwell's two main contributions were to make the CCF respectable and organizationally sound. Under his leadership the party moderated its policies and by the 1945 election "was officially embracing the idea that Canada's economy was, and should remain, a 'mixed economy' rather than the state-planned model envisioned by the *Regina Manifesto*" (156). Then in 1950 he began the process that would culminate in the new Winnipeg Declaration of 1956. It was under his leadership that the epic battles against the Communists were fought. Much of this terrain has, of course, been well documented elsewhere in the literature on the CCF.

Still, an informative and critical biography of Coldwell would be useful. Thus, the appearance of this volume is to be welcomed. The choice of journalist Walter Stewart as author (he was commissioned by the Douglas-Coldwell

Foundation) however, is perhaps unfortunate. He has attempted to write a popular history. Overall, the result is a rather shallow exercise in myth making. Coldwell is canonized to join Woodsworth and Douglas in social democratic sainthood. Coldwell's honesty, integrity and selfless dedication are central themes of the book. Stewart explains "what made him so effective in the House was the respect he earned by his politeness, reasonableness and willingness to listen to other arguments, as well as his outstanding ability as an orator" (171). We are introduced to the personal tribulations of the man, including his wife Norah's struggle with multiple sclerosis. Diagnosed in 1930, she required increasing care and attention before she died in 1953. This was a physically and emotionally draining challenge for Coldwell.

However, the legend being built (or reinforced) is not simply one of personal valour. It is also the myth of social-democratic parliamentarians doggedly waging a successful but thankless campaign to build Canada's welfare state. In Stewart's words, "If he did not achieve power, he did set an example of what could be done by persuasion, reason and common sense" (235). Surely, the CCF applied pressure on the other parties but it does not deserve all the credit for the Keynesian revolution or the introduction of programs such as unemployment insurance and family allowances. For one thing, Stewart ignores the strike wave during and immediately after the Second World War. Such pivotal labour battles as the Autoworkers strike in Windsor in 1945 and the Steelworkers in Hamilton in 1946 are invisible. So much for the 'life and times' of M.J. Coldwell! One might be led to believe that recognition of the industrial unions, the Rand formula and the entire postwar collective bargaining

regime emerged due to the parliamentary speeches of Coldwell and his colleagues.

Stewart could have performed a real service by carefully examining Coldwell's political development and beliefs. Unfortunately, Stewart did not take on this task. Instead, we are simply told "study and experience made him a convinced socialist" (108). While working toward his teacher's certificate in England, the young Tory was exposed to Fabian socialist thought. Yet, in Canada, for a time he supported the Conservatives. On a family trip back to England in 1924, Coldwell "made a thorough and sympathetic study of the politics of the Labour Party" in government for the first time under Ramsay MacDonald (82). We are not told what elements of this short-lived government impressed him. The following year Coldwell ran for Parliament under the Progressive banner. Stewart does not provide Coldwell's reasons for joining this populist agrarian formation. Unlike many Progressives, Coldwell was not absorbed into the Liberal Party. However, he did support a Liberal candidate in the 1926 federal election. Then in 1929 Coldwell helped create the Independent Labour Party in Regina. Three years later, the Saskatchewan section of the United Farmers of Canada joined with the ILP to form the Farmer-Labour Party and Coldwell was acclaimed as president. The new party was one of the founding groups of the CCF. However, Stewart fails to describe the ideology, strategy or constituency of either the ILP or the Farmer-Labour Party.

Clearly, Coldwell was influenced by Fabian socialism. This raises interesting questions that go unanswered. In the 1930s, the Fabian socialists, Sidney and Beatrice Webb were extolling the virtues of Soviet economic planning. Similarly,

during the Second World War, David Lewis and F.R. Scott of the CCF described the Soviet Union in glowing terms. Stewart does not discuss Coldwell's views on the Soviet Union in this period. While it is well known that Coldwell later considered the Regina Manifesto to be a 'millstone around the party's neck,' it is hard to get a handle on the extent to which he embraced centralized state planning in the 1930s and early 40s. Overall, political ideas and ideology get short shrift in Stewart's account.

Another potentially illuminating area that Stewart fails to investigate is Coldwell's involvement in teachers' unions. Coldwell "was very much part of the growing movement to unionize teachers, which gradually spread right across the country" (73). He was active in the formation of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance, and later became president. He would also serve on the executive of the Canadian Teachers' Federation. Stewart provides few details about this aspect of Coldwell's career. We do not learn anything about how Coldwell perceived teachers (i.e. as workers or as professionals) or their relationship to the broader labour movement. Considering the expansion of the 'white collar' work force that would occur in ensuing years and the immense ramifications for the social democratic movement, it may be useful to investigate Coldwell's leadership in these bodies.

Stewart has achieved what he set out to do. This is a readable and celebratory introduction to an influential politician. The author does an adequate job covering familiar material. In particular, his discussion of Coldwell's influence upon the CCF's response to the Second World War is illuminating. Where Stewart could have added to our knowledge about Coldwell as a social democratic activist

and thinker, he fails to dig deeper. But the weakest aspect of Stewart's approach is that it ignores the possibility that Coldwell's pragmatic method and Parliamentary focus may have contributed to the lack of class consciousness among workers during this crucial period in the formation of postwar Canadian society.