

DOCUMENT NAME/INFORMANT: ART K. DAVIS
INFORMANT'S ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
INTERVIEW LOCATION:

TRIBE/NATION: NON-INDIAN
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
DATE OF INTERVIEW: JULY 5, 1976
INTERVIEWER: MURRAY DOBBIN
INTERPRETER:
TRANSCRIBER: JOANNE GREENWOOD
SOURCE: SASK. SOUND ARCHIVES
PROGRAMME

TAPE NUMBER: IH-365
DISK: TRANSCRIPT DISC 75
PAGES: 16
RESTRICTIONS: NONE

ART DAVIS

Art Davis, professor of sociology, worked at the Centre for Community Studies at the University of Saskatchewan and was involved in research on the north. He employed Jim Brady as a researcher.

HIGHLIGHTS:

- Brady: his work, his personality, his politics.
- Norris: comparison of his style with that of Brady.
- Problems in northern Saskatchewan; where the CCF went wrong.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Art Davis is a professor of sociology and was associated with the studies done on northern Saskatchewan between the years of 1959-1964. He hired Jim Brady as a research technician - interviewer for work in the north. Davis knew Brady well, partly through his efforts to tape Brady's about his experiences. In this tape he talks of Brady's strategy in the north; his disillusionment with government; his contrasting life style to that of Norris; Brady's work with the Centre for Community Studies with Davis; efforts of Brady and Norris to instill pride in the Metis people; their disillusionment in the later years.

INTERVIEW:

Murray: I'm speaking to Art Davis of Edmonton. Art, you knew Jim Brady very well having worked with him and you knew Norris

as well because Norris was active in the north. Could you give me some idea of what Brady's strategy was in terms of resisting or defeating colonialism in northern Saskatchewan among the native people?

Art: That's not too easy to answer you know. I think that he had sort of a buckshot approach. He tried to get anybody interested and agitated that he could. He placed most reliance upon getting the native people organized and aware. He worked at that for a long time. But he always, I think, took every opportunity to talk to anybody or go to a meeting even though he had a pretty good idea that the people weren't going to be, the person he was talking to wasn't going to be, perhaps, too receptive. Now of course, I would like to listen to those tapes again that I have or at least read the transcript (because they were all transcribed) just to check that out. So I don't want this to be taken as a definitive answer. But that's my rough feeling right now.

Murray: What was his view in particular of government initiative in decolonization, if you like?

Art: He was pretty negative toward the government. Now I'm talking, of course, about the old CCF government. I first met Brady in February 1959 up at Lac La Ronge but I knew of him several months before that. And he had, by then, had quite a long experience with governments in Alberta and Saskatchewan both. I felt he was quite disillusioned about the CCF. He saw them as paternalistic and they were there to be used if they

could be levered, that is if he could persuade them, or somebody could persuade them, to do something sensible. I think, in the main, he was pretty negative.

Murray: He came into Saskatchewan to work for the CCF government. Did he talk about that at all? Did he gradually become disillusioned or did that happen pretty quickly?

Art: I don't remember that. Let's see, he would've come, I guess...

Murray: 1947 I think.

Art: Yeah, I was going to say late forties. And I guess one has to remember at that time that the early years of the CCF were felt by many people to be more promising than, say, by the middle fifties. People were thinking something different by that time, the late fifties especially. So he would've come over, this was after all the 1950s, a pretty reactionary time in the rest of Canada and North America. Saskatchewan was about the last halfway progressive beachhead in North America. But by the time I got to know him, which was a dozen years after he went to the province, he was pretty thoroughly turned off.

Murray: He had different experiences in Alberta and Saskatchewan, at least in the beginning period. In Alberta, he

was active in pressuring government for things. And then when he came to Saskatchewan at least, it was almost as if it was a top-down thing with the CCF implementing programs that hadn't been demanded by the native people. Did he learn anything particular from that experience other than just disillusionment with the government?

Art: I think at first he may have had the notion that, yeah, these people are going to do something. And he may have pinned more hopes on them than turned out to be warranted by later experience. But you see, I don't know the details of those early, late forties, early fifties. Unless I could refer back to the transcripts.

Murray: Did he analyze the failures of the CCF? Did he look at the role of bureaucrats and the politicians? Did he have a fairly in-depth analysis or did he ever express that in conversations with you?

Art: Oh, he used to feel they were better than the Liberals, let's put it that way. Now, granted, that's not saying much. That's not saying a thing.

(chuckles) Especially the Liberals in those days in Saskatchewan. But I think he came to feel increasingly alienated. He was glad to come to work for us at the Centre because we were, in a sense, operating autonomously of the government. We were not an agency of the government. We were co-sponsored by the province's funds but we were on the University and the University supplied half of our board of governors. Now, I don't think he perhaps was fully aware of all those details. I think he saw me as something a little different from the Prince Albert bureaucrats. I got along quite well with his friends, Quandt and Berry Richards, Malcolm Norris. And a few others but I think those were the main ones in my perspective. There is something you have to realize, that even Jim Brady - although he and I never had any arguments, we worked very well - and yet there was always the feeling underneath the surface that he could spring at you. You know, he'd turn on you very suddenly. He'd turn on other white people very suddenly. Now, he never did that with me but I do remember when I was going up, say to Prince Albert or to North Battleford in the early sixties to read his interviews over a weekend, we'd sit around the beer parlour and all of a sudden he'd starting swearing at some white man. Or about some white man, you see, who wasn't there. So I had that feeling and I was told by other people (Quandt, you know, Berry Richards) that yeah, Jim can turn pretty fast on somebody.

Murray: That was the reaction to the racism that he constantly experienced.

Art: Yeah, sure, yes. But in a sense, all white people were white people. There was a sort of stereotype categorizing and I don't suppose underneath there were really any exceptions.

Murray: So there was a separation to some extent of his

intellectually understanding that progressive people were in a group but he was...

Art: Oh yeah, yeah, he was quite an emotional fellow in many ways. And he had this marvelous articulate knack of telling a story, you know. Probably he didn't tell it quite the same way twice but the essentials, you know. If he told the same story, the essentials would be there in both cases. But I think he expressed himself not so much in terms of say, straight reporting, straight narrative, but the way he felt at the moment. And he liked to have an audience. That picture I have of him, I showed you the other day. I showed that to somebody, the name may come to me. But whoever it was said, "That's Jim Brady all right and he very much approves of having his picture taken at that moment." (laughter)

Murray: Did he, in your experience with him and other people, did he impress other people? Do you think he had an effect on their attitudes and their understanding of the north? As far as people in the south were concerned?

Art: I think he was impressive, yeah. Now, of course, at times he would use the language, you know, the rhetoric of imperialism and colonialism and racism, this sort of thing. And that turned some of the white people off, the sort of wish-washy Liberal types in particular. But he spoke well, you see. He marshalled his arguments. He could speak better than a great many of the white people could and he had this Oxbridge accent, sort of. Yeah, I think he impressed people even if they didn't like him.

Murray: He didn't adjust his speech at all to the audience. I mean, he would just come out and say what he felt?

Art: He didn't adjust very much. I think he did a little bit, but sooner or later he got around to saying what he was going to say anyway. He was that kind.

Murray: What about Norris in the same context?

Art: Very similar, very similar. Norris was also very articulate. If he liked somebody, he liked them. If he didn't, he didn't. And that wouldn't change very much. And he too spoke with a great deal of feeling. It was a discourse of, you might say, the whole man. He was giving a rational argument or trying to perhaps debate something but there was a good deal of emotion in it.

Murray: I don't know exactly how to put the question, but various people have compared the two men in terms of the Indianness, if you like, and said that they were different in some ways, in that way - if you get what I mean, in terms of how they fit with the natural native culture in the north. What was your feeling about the two men in that sense?

Art: Malcolm Norris could have passed as white. Though he never made any attempt to. I mean, he always told you right off

the bat, if you didn't know, that he was of Indian ancestry. I think some of his kids married white people; well I'm not definitely sure of that. They got education as nurses or teachers. They were, you see, sort of on the escalator to some extent. Malcolm had this prospector's job; he ran this prospectors' school. He lived in Prince Albert, a middle class type home. I would say he was less Indian than Jim Brady. Jim

had this cabin. He never wanted anything else I don't think. He would come down to Saskatoon. He would maybe stay with me or we'd put him up in a hotel as long as he could stand the city; but he didn't like Saskatoon. Five days and that was it; maybe four and off he'd go. I think Malcolm had the feeling... Malcolm circulated around Regina and Saskatoon and bureaucratic meetings. He worked directly for the province, you see. So he had to put up with more of that.

Murray: He was more at ease with that sort of thing than Brady, was he?

Art: Yeah, yeah, I think so. Now, mind you, they could both go off in the woods and find their way around and they liked the woods, you know. They liked the bush. But I always felt that Malcolm, Malcolm made it into town. His house was halfway up that Prince Albert hill sloping back from the river. You get up to the top and you are in sort of the upper middle class and...

Murray: So he was climbing.

Art: He was part way up there, yeah. Again, I should say I never felt that this was one of his ambitions and that was just the way he happened to live.

Murray: Right. Getting back a bit again to the approach to the northern dilemma, the Department of Northern Saskatchewan and the whole sort of development scheme now has talked a lot about community development as a process and as a strategy. How did Brady and Norris view that sort of approach to things?

Art: At that time, the approach - talking about the late fifties, the late 1950s - the approach was relatively new in Saskatchewan. And they had been trying a lot of things in the north, and none had worked, really. They had rebuilt the school system in the late forties. There was that famous Piercey Report. He was a school principal at some place near Prince Albert or maybe in Prince Albert, I don't know. But in 1944 he was commissioned by the government to go around and visit all these schools. And his report - of which I have a copy and which I think is still classified, twenty odd pages, a little bit about each place - it's really an eyeopener. They were using fish crates for desks, you know. And they had old text books from Quebec and things like this, terrible shape. Now, they did build up the school system. That was one of their great successes in the north and they did that in the late forties and early fifties. They built new buildings, new teacherage for a good many of these places and it was quite a

feather in their cap. And yet, by 1948 and certainly by 1952, the vote was going the other way. They were losing votes in the north and by the time I was operating in Saskatchewan, the late fifties, Allan Guy, rather a notorious Liberal politician, was the kingpin up in Lac La Ronge. And I don't remember whether he was MLA at that time or not, but he soon became one and he certainly was a political power. And the government, of course, couldn't figure out why. Well, they tried several things. They sent in Vic Valentine, for instance, an anthropologist. They hired him for a couple of summers and I think he spent a winter there eventually in the early to middle fifties. Go up and find out what was wrong, what were they doing wrong and why was everybody mad at them up there? Meaning particularly the native people. And he found out, I think, but they didn't like what he found out. And they talked a lot in the middle fifties about the single agency for the north. Instead of having separate government departments, education, health, welfare, they'd have one that did all these things. And in effect, actually in practice, by I'd say at least the middle fifties, probably before, the DNR, the Department of Natural Resources, the conservation officers were really single agency people. They handled welfare, they did this and that and the other thing.

Murray: Colonial officers, almost.

Art: Yeah, right. As well as enforced the game laws. And these game laws were not... this block system of conservation which was intended to keep out white people from the south and was intended to save the trapping for the northern people, the native people, actually, it didn't work out too well. It wasn't perhaps fully understood. But towards the end of the fifties, they began to talk about community development. This was the newest thing. Help people to help themselves, you know, sort of an Operation Bootstrap; and it fits in well with a government that has to watch pennies, you know, count costs. They thought it wouldn't cost much. Well, unfortunately they started to train some of the CO's, Conservation Officers as CD operators, try to give them this extra background. We had them down for a week every spring for two, three years there at the Centre in Saskatoon. Short course, institute sort of thing in this area. But it went with too many other things. They were seen as enforcers. That's what they really were.

Murray: That's what they were first.

Art: Yeah, and that was antagonizing. And they never got over that. That was one thing that was wrong. And secondly, increasingly, the whole idea came to be something down from the top. It was white people, you see, who were going to do this and they were going to do something for the Indians and they were right back from the old rut, you see, even before they started.

Murray: Go back a minute to Vic Valentine. You said he did

discover some of the things. Was that part of it? The whole feeling of white people doing it? What else did Valentine report to the government about?

Art: Well, there is a paper too, that Vic wrote, to which you ought to perhaps refer to. It was published I think in the Canadian Journal of Political Economy, the old before it was split up into political science on one hand and economics on the other. I've got his report somewhere. He caught on to a lot, yeah. Now, I think Vic may have pulled his punches a little bit in his reports. He actually went out on the trapline. He was great at anecdotes, you know. And then he was siphoned off to Ottawa and they hired him. He became a wheel in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Research, Northern Development. Now he's at Carleton, anthropology. And again, you see, I should try and say that precisely. You should look at those reports, yeah.

Murray: Yeah, right, I'll have to do that, yeah. Now, it's pretty clear from other people I've spoken to that Brady considered himself a Marxist and I assume from that that he would attempt to analyze problems from that perspective. Did you ever discuss that with him? You know, the analysis of what was happening in the north and what might happen from a Marxist perspective?

Art: To a certain extent. I was careful never to ask him any political questions in the sense to asking what was his political affiliation. That, I felt, was no business of mine. I had a pretty good idea of course, but officially, I didn't know firmly, you see. But his general orientation was certainly Marxist. And well, I think he felt that not much is going to happen anywhere in Canada until we get a socialist revolution.

Murray: But in the meantime his attitude towards it was to more practical sort of thoughts in terms of getting people just to a decent standard of living. Was that sort of his...?

Art: Any little step he could make at the time, yeah, he'd be in there. If you could get people agitated over some local issue, he'd do it. He was a good, you know. He was on the ball.

Murray: A good agitator.

Art: Yeah, a good organizer. Again, of course, I guess I should qualify that to some extent. There is no doubt but what he turned some people off - Indians and whites, both. And there is always that effort to overcome, you know, some of these native people getting more from the whites than they get any other way. They were exploiting their own people even more than some of the whites were.

Murray: Common occurrence.

Art: Yeah, compadors(?) and sods(?) and storekeepers in particular.

Murray: How did the two men compare as actual organizers in the north? Was one more an organizer than the other?

Art: I think Norris probably operated better among the whites. And Malcolm maybe was a bit more outgoing in terms of temperament: he could laugh, you see. And he enjoyed a joke. Now, Jim Brady could do that too, at times, but I always had the feeling he was a bit on the dour side. He scowled whereas Malcolm Norris rarely did even though they felt about the same. You know, and this sort of thing.

Murray: Just different personalities, not so much difference in politics?

Art: Yeah. Not so much difference in politics, no. Style, that was it. There was a difference in style and temperament.

Murray: I talked to Gus McDonald who was one of the chief bureaucrats at the time and he mentioned that neither Brady nor Norris were program people as he was and that they seemed more interested in trying to instill in native people a pride in themselves. Could you talk about that a bit? Did he concentrate on that as a strategy as well as just a feeling that something should be done in a hurry?

Art: Yeah, I think that would be fair. That would be a fair judgement. Now, of course, Gus was not your usual, run-of-the-mill bureaucrat, and he had a fairly responsible job, you know. He had to deal with Regina. And the efforts of Brady and Norris were, I think, very much oriented towards getting the natives to stand up and get over their colonial sense of inferiority, and inferiority complexes. And to operate that way, very much in line with Fanon, you know, The Wretched of the Earth, to overcome that kind of feeling, you

have to overreact, you know. You have to be more aggressive. And they were, you see. To set the example, I suppose.

Murray: They viewed themselves in that way as example setters in terms of their aggressive...?

Art: Yeah, I think so, yeah.

Murray: And certainly among white people who were racist, they must've presented quite an image as being extremely brave and aggressive and intelligent.

Art: I think a very negative image, too. They were afraid of these guys. They were hostile to them. I had some trouble off and on. We hired Brady, you know, for two or three winters to do interviewing. Now, Brady was very good at that. See, he worked as a prospector's clerk out of La Ronge in the summertime. He would go out; his notes were always very accurate, very precise, very systematic and of course, in that

sense, he was the ideal interviewer because he got the material. He might have to make two or three calls.

Murray: To get it.

Art: But he got it, yeah. And it was on the grounds of his efficiency that I was able to get him hired. But there were many people in the Centre and especially the other wing... There were two wings in the old Centre for Community Studies. There was the research wing; that was my wing. And there was what I call the action or adult education or community development wing. Actually it was two divisions, training division and consulting division. But in effect, they were very much the same types of people. They always wore neckties when they were out in the field and had their pants pressed, you know, this kind of thing. Drove a big car. And now the times when Malcolm Norris would come down, say for these training sessions in the spring of the year when for a week or ten days we would have these CO's down from the north in between the ice going out, you see, and not much for them to do. And the other wing in the Centre would look very much askance at Malcolm Norris when he showed up. And they would look very much askance at Jim Brady, you know, in the same way.

Murray: For superficial kinds of things or because of their...?

Art: Well, there was a real class antagonism there, I think, as well as a personality clash. This kind of thing.

Murray: One thing I should get from you, when did Brady first work for the Centre and what years did he work?

Art: Well, let's see. We started the life histories, I'd say 1959 and 1960, that winter. And maybe late 1959, he might have come down in the spring of 1960 for I'd say the week here and there. We had him three to four or five months in Prince Albert for two winters. That would be I'd say 1959-60, 1960-61. Then I think 1961-62 we went up and did North Battleford and in the spring we rushed through Meadow Lake. We got some white interviewers to help out from the Centre at that time. So, about 1959, say late 1959 through maybe into 1962.

Murray: Spring of 1962?

Art: Yeah.

Murray: What was his precise job? Was it strictly to do interviews or to sit down and analyze them afterwards or what?

Art: He was classed as a research technician, I think. We drew up the interviews at the Centre. We, of course, consulted him. And then it was understood he would have to tailor these. We tried it out as a pilot and, you know, the usual procedures and get the thing adjusted. And when it looked as if it was going okay, then we'd just give him a batch of interviews and by that time he knew where the main groups of

native people were in Prince Albert or North Battleford as the case might be. And there were three or four in each place, three or four different categories. People who had been in town quite some time, people who have just come in. And he had a very intimate knowledge of last names, family names, and ancestral lines.

Murray: Where they came from and...?

Art: He could tell you, as he put it, "I know which people named Fiddler really are Fiddlers and which ones are not." You know. So, in a lot of ways, he was the ideal, because he had enough initiative and enough independence and he could go into the welfare office, you know, get information from them. Of course he had our credentials and all that. And he was always willing to call back, you know, if something got left out for some reason or wasn't clear.

Murray: You associated with him after he was finished working with the Centre, did you? You knew him beyond 1962?

Art: Yes, well he was still working on his report, you see. He did his own. I asked him to do his own report on Prince Albert, take a few weeks toward the end of the winter or early spring. I gave him a few guidelines but it was independent work and we printed that. I think I did edit out a few repetitious points but I tried not to change his meaning at all. And then I would see him, of course. I was in Saskatoon until 1964, early 1964 and I saw him after that when I went to Alberta. I went to Calgary in mid 1964, September of 1964, and I can remember his coming over the see Charlie Brandt in Edmonton. I saw him there. Maybe I was up for the summer or part of the summer or something like that. So I would have seen him into 1965, 1966, thereabouts. Just on perhaps a couple of short visits to Edmonton.

Murray: Did his views change at all in that span of time that you knew him? Did he become more pessimistic or was he pretty steady in terms of his political work and his attitude towards that?

Art: I couldn't say for sure. I have the impression that he was about the same but now, my....

(End of Side A)

(Side B)

Murray: I understand, although this hasn't been established for certain either, that he was a member of the Communist Party. Did he ever talk about that at all with you?

Art: No.

Murray: No. That was his...

Art: We talked about imperialism. We talked, you know, we talked that language, but I don't recall ever having a concrete specific discussion about party membership.

Murray: Right.

Art: Of any sort.

Murray: Right. Did he or Norris ever talk to you about their attempts to organize a Metis Association?

Art: Once in a while both of them would refer back to the old St. Paul Metis reservation and their work back in the thirties in Alberta. And from time to time I would see documents. That would be from Malcolm, Malcolm Norris mostly. Malcolm would send me things, old reports occasionally. I've given what I've found, I've given to Ken Hat. He always wrote me as Neestow, you know, 'Dear Neestow'. That means something like cousin or brother, something like that in Cree. And one got the impression in later years that, I am thinking now toward the middle sixties, in the middle sixties, that they saw themselves very much as two voices in the wilderness.

Murray: Did they attempt to apply what they had done in Alberta to Saskatchewan and find that frustrating? Did they get the same response in Saskatchewan as they...?

Art: I don't know enough about what they did in Alberta to say.

Murray: They seemed to have more success. They had large memberships in the Association in Alberta.

Art: Yeah. Well, don't forget of course, Alberta was somewhat different. I suspect the people around St. Paul were less isolated. And that was the depression and maybe the press, the pressure was greater.

Murray: It may have had a little more of a consciousness of their background in Batoche and things which is where a lot of them came from, I think. Perhaps that had something to do with it.

Art: Possibly. Now, we had Worsley, Peter Worsely, an anthropologist from England over for thirteen months in 1960-61. And he was more or less in charge of the northern research. He was the one that got started the first observance, the first holiday observance of Batoche. He got that thing going, then it dropped a few years and now, you know, later years I hear it picked up again and it still, maybe, is going on.

Murray: Yeah, it's still a yearly event. But they felt, you say, in the middle sixties, that things were not going very well.

Art: No, I think they felt quite negative. I mean, they were still in there punching, the rhetoric was there. You know, the old fire was there all right but what they got, I think what they got out of Saskatchewan was jobs. You know, they could get work and they stayed. Now, they probably didn't have the success organizing they did in Alberta which was a different time and a different place. But still, they stayed, you see. Because I think, because they could make a living.

Murray: How serious was their disillusionment? Were they, not so disillusioned that they quit working obviously but they felt, they were getting tired were they do you think? In terms of their political activity, because of the lack of response?

Art: That's hard to say. You see, my stays in Lac La Ronge were no more than maybe a week at a time. A week or ten days. And I don't feel I had enough grasp of La Ronge, the situation up there, to talk about something as detailed as that.

Murray: Right. Did you notice any difference between the two men in terms of their feelings in those later years? Was one man more in a hurry than the other do you think?

Art: I don't think either one was - well, they knew it was going to be a long time. And there was no short cut. I think sometimes Malcolm hoped for more from the bureaucracy than he ever got. But his program was a pretty small program. See, training prospectors, giving them some experience. It's hard to say.

Murray: Brady, I know from some of the letters I've read, seemed to be almost completely disillusioned with the CCF and government programs. I got the impression that perhaps Norris had a little more hope for that and was willing to push that a little harder. That's just an impression I've got from some of his papers.

Art: That could be due, as well, to the fact that he was a CCF employee. And perhaps he rationalized to a certain extent, you know I'm just guessing to a certain extent, that, well yes, it's worth staying in there and pushing this thing along. And he had a family, of course, to support.

Murray: The last thing I wanted to get from you, and perhaps you'll want to go over your tapes again before you can answer this in detail, but I'm interested in discovering how Brady became a political sort of person. What events or what process he went through. I mean, he devoted a tremendous amount of his life to organizing. There must have been some experiences that led him in that direction.

Art: Well, obviously, the experience in Alberta was important. And I can't say, you know. Again, there may be something on the tapes but that was years ago since I've looked at those. I think his war experience broadened his vision a great deal. He read widely, of course. I always felt Jim Brady was better read, better informed and sharper than, I would say, two thirds

to three quarters of the University of Saskatchewan faculty.

And his experience abroad in the Canadian Army, artillery he was in, I think had quite a bit to do with picking him up and taking him outside his former circles. And he was interested, of course, with what the Russians were doing.

Murray: He really followed the whole world political situation.

Art: Yeah, he was, in that sense, he was a cosmopolitan up there in his cabin at La Ronge.

Murray: Right. Did he talk to you much about his war experiences and what they taught him?

Art: Not very much. He did finally let me read his war diary and he gave me permission to copy it, to xerox it, which I did. And I think I may have done a little work toward editing it, and just in the way of putting periods and commas here and there, not changing really any of the text. But again, I have to look up, dig out those cartons of files I've got.

Murray: Right. In his scrapbooks of which there are many and a tremendous number of pages, clippings from newspapers, there seemed to be two themes that run - well, one theme I suppose, the battle between fascism and the communist movement or the socialist movement. Was that a recurring theme in conversations at all?

Art: Yes, he could talk very intelligently about what was going on in Europe. Now, I never felt he, and this may have been my own blank spot at the time, I never felt he was that much up on China. Of course, I've changed my mind about the importance of China since I've been there. But that all came along after I knew Brady, you see, and what his view of China was, I really couldn't say. Does anything show in his notebooks?

Murray: Not that I've... no, I...

Art: I have a feeling it was sort of out of his, you know, it was way out on the edge of his ...

Murray: Soviet Union was much more a focus of his interest.

Art: Yeah.

Murray: Of course, there was an extremely reactionary period in the fifties. Did he follow that closely as well in the North American context?

Art: Oh yes, I think he was very aware of the McCarthyite era in the States and there were some counterparts up here, of course. Even perhaps before that, the cold war, he was very

much aware of that, you know.

Murray: I remember he apparently took part in an anti-bomb march in Regina at one time and Norris was with him as well.

Art: What year was that? That would be about 1960-61?

Murray: I think so.

Art: Yeah, well we did have that 'Ban the Bomb' thing about that time. I was probably in the same march.

Murray: I think Farley Mowat was apparently the one who led the march.

Art: Oh yeah, I was there. Yeah, I was there. Yeah, in his kilts. You know Mowat was in his kilts. However, a number of cabinet ministers were sitting in chairs on the steps of the legislative building in Regina and they received the parade. Now that, of course, was something new in my experience. Usually you were met by barricades and cops and this kind of thing. But, a lot of people went down from Saskatoon so he must have caught on there somehow. I've forgotten where they... Now that you mention it, you see, I've forgotten he was there.

(End of Side B)

(End of Interview)

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